A Selective Review of Research and Theory on Delinquency

Oliver Moles
Ronald Lippitt
Stephen Withey
SELECTIVE REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND THEORIES
CONCERNING THE DYNAMICS OF DELINQUENCY

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Inter-Center Program of Research on
Children, Youth and Family Life

September, 1959

Document Series #2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Delinquency Statistics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Social Organization</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Delinquent Subcultures</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Family Organization</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Personality Factors</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Self-Concept and Identification</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Psychopathic Personality</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Constitutional Factors</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Miscellaneous Factors</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Toward the Integration of Theoretical</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orientations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*An alphabetized bibliography of the contents with an index to placement begins on the next page.*
**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Aichhorn, August</td>
<td>Wayward youth</td>
<td>The Viking Press, 1935.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Bender, Lauretta</td>
<td>Aggression, hostility and anxiety in children</td>
<td>Springfield, Ill.: C. C. Thomas, 1953.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bordua, David</td>
<td>Comments on &quot;Social class and deviant behavior,&quot; a syllabus and statistics compiled on data through 1957. (Original on file.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Cohen, Albert K.</td>
<td>Middle-class delinquency and the social structure</td>
<td>Address delivered at American Sociological Society meeting, August, 1957.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


| 111 | Moles, Oliver. *Psychopathic behavior processes.* Notes from discussion, February 27, 1959. |
Page


PREFACE

This collection of abstracts is based primarily on articles and some longer works on the causation of juvenile delinquency. It stems from an extensive review and discussion of different theoretical viewpoints made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation's Youth Development Program.

Our approach has been to locate and study distinctive theoretical viewpoints, hoping to see the major contributions and inadequacies of each. A theoretical summary of each contribution has been proposed, using a common conceptual outline. This collection of abstracts represents the major groundwork for the subsequent integration paper. A preliminary draft of the paper is included as the final integrative section of this collection.

The scope of these abstracts is in part reflected by the section headings in the table of contents. Each section is named for a theoretically important causal condition or set of conditions. From time to time, however, our interest focused on particular syndromes, and this accounts for whole sections devoted to a series of articles on the same theoretical viewpoint.

The following comments will help in understanding the arrangement of the abstracts and their contents. Each section opens with a short introduction which outlines the scope of the material included and the way it is related to forms of delinquency. Within each section, abstracts are placed alphabetically by author's name.

Each abstract is divided into three or four sections, depending on whether or not it treats an empirical research problem. If so, salient features of the design of the study are summarized. The other three sections are Summary, Generalizations and Critique. The summary has two parts: the E-I-B aspects of the article (to be explained below) and a general statement
of the problem being studied. The generalizations section presents the major findings or conclusions of the author. The critique points out a few important contributions and limitations of the exposition as the abstracter sees them. He has tried not to insert his own views, except in the critique. We have tried to remedy in part our bias in the selection of articles by asking several experts in delinquency and adolescence from different professional fields to suggest further articles representing distinctive viewpoints. A number of these have been abstracted, but of course the sins of omission as well as those of commission lie with us.

The E-I-B model referred to earlier is an abbreviation for environmental conditions (E), intrapsychic states and processes (I), and behavioral effects (B) of E and I. It is recognized that the causation of B may stem from either type of variable and their complex interactions, although behavior itself may also create changes in the environment which react back upon behavior, instead of environmental or intrapsychic states originating all behavioral changes. This issue is largely a matter of where one chooses to begin tracing a causal sequence. In the abstracts, E or I may be underlined depending on which one the author emphasizes.

The letter D where it is used will always refer empirically or theoretically to "delinquency" or "delinquent(s)," and in most cases the B under study will be some form of delinquency. Where some words in a model are underlined, they represent major variables which have been embedded in a longer statement. They are underlined for convenience in grasping the essential points of longer models.

Occasionally the E-I-B summaries will have some material after an E or I enclosed in parentheses. The form may look like this: E: Delinquent gang (coerces neighborhood boys to join). This indicates the actions or processes of some environmental entity or condition. Following an I, these
variations are also possible: I: (feels parental rejection) growing sense of frustration, (anger expressed toward parents, hate of authority figures). Where the parenthetical material directly follows the I, it refers to some perceptual or input processes as viewed by the delinquent and made important by the author. Unenclosed material points to central processes states. Parenthetical material at the end of the I category, may refer to the second part of a central process as does the development of anger, and it may refer to attitudes or constellations of attitudes about social objects. This explanation only applies to a few abstracts, since most of the models are written in a style which connects these elements within each category by narrative.

One caution about interpreting the E-I-B models is that information within each category may have been gleaned from various sources, such as the delinquent himself, census data or his parents. The reader may want to note these differences in source of information, and the differences in interpretation they may imply.

The reader should also note, if he is not already aware, that the correlations reported in the following abstracts are no proof in themselves of causation. They may represent spurious links, or co-effects of other variables, or as the editor often suspects, the observed antecedent variables may be phenotypes of some more elusive genotypic phenomena. All that can be claimed is an attempt to report articles which link delinquency to previously-occurring states and processes. To understand causation is our ultimate aim.

The abstracts in this collection were made by Oliver Moles for weekly theory discussions with Ronald Lippitt, Stephen Withey and occasionally including Martin Gold and Albert McQueen. The specific points discussed in our meetings have not been included here except as they have found their
way into the integrative theoretical paper which is chapter ten. The theoretical paper represents the thinking of all three authors of this review. The editor of this volume has been Oliver Moles.

Several persons deserve special thanks for their help with this project besides those who are specifically identified with their contributions in the text. Robert L. Smith, who has taken over the abstracter’s job on a new study, wrote the abstracts for nine articles. Kathryn Weimar devoted many hours to proofreading and organizing the abstracts. Alice Phelps did most of the long job of typing these manuscripts.
CHAPTER I

Delinquency Statistics

Introduction

This brief section contains several types of statistics. The study of delinquency, as is true of many other fields, is in need or more adequate statistics. The article on "What is a delinquent" should make clear the different phenomena which are often confused when one speaks of delinquency. The most commonly collected records that approximate actual commitment of delinquent acts are the police contact lists. Other articles in this section describe both crude and refined rates for several places. The change in rates over time, which requires explanation in any complete causative theory, is presented both across many years and by type of offense within certain years. Short term trends in offenses categorized by age and sex of offender are also presented.
WHAT IS A DELINQUENT?1*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term Applied</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Population</td>
<td>1 All children below given age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(in Michigan, age 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Deviates</td>
<td>2 All children showing deviant behavior whether or not antisocial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Delinquents</td>
<td>3 All deviants committing antisocial acts as defined by law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detected Delinquents</td>
<td>4 All detected antisocial deviants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency Delinquents</td>
<td>5 All detected antisocial deviants reaching any agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleged Delinquents</td>
<td>6 All apprehended antisocial deviants brought to court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjudged Delinquents</td>
<td>7 All court antisocial deviants legally &quot;found&quot; delinquent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed Delinquents</td>
<td>8 All adjudged delinquents committed to an institution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COURT AND AGENCY DELINQUENCY2

Children Registered for Specified Offenses by All Agencies and by the Juvenile Court (Washington, D.C., 1944)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>No. Registered by all Agencies (inc. court)</th>
<th>% Registered by Juvenile Court</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>1,870</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault, Injury</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Careless-Mischief</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungovernable</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Offense</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truancy</td>
<td>3,488</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF DELINQUENTS3
(Passaic, N. J., 1937-41)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>% of 761 Delinquents</th>
<th>% of School Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical-Sales</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory Operatives</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Laborers</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Adapted from Carr, DELINQUENCY CONTROL, 1950, p. 59

*Tables adopted by David J. Bordua, Dept. of Sociology, Univer. of Mich.
Summary

What are the reasons for referral to Michigan Juvenile Courts 1945-1954?

Design

Used only one reason for each referral, that being most important immediate one. Seems to depend on source doing the reporting; e.g., school report of truancy and car theft classed as truancy. Numbers rounded to nearest hundred (e.g., 66 means 6600). Selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gen: (Page 17)</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1954</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All delinquency referrals</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School truancy</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incorrigible or disobedient</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex offenses &amp; immoral associations</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Running away</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic violations</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault or injury</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carelessness or mischief</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other not specified</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Critique

Definitions of mischief vary. Some classed as "other." Part of increases explained by better reporting, but we don't know which agencies are reporting what kind of cases more often. Why does stealing increase sharply and truancy remain steady? How much of the stealing is car theft? Is the use of stolen objects purposeless and hedonic as Cohen suggests?

Summary
To outline major offenses by age and sex among Detroit's youth population.

Design
A rank ordering of most frequent offenses which are known to the police in 1955 and 1956. Less frequent cases are not reported here.

Generalizations
Delinquency continues to rise faster than the youth population. Among boys under 10 years old, total offenses have dropped from 1449 in 1955 to 1314 in 1956. Home truancy was most frequent, and it actually increased by one hundred cases to 658. Disorderly conduct was second at 210 cases with almost as high a percentage increase. Theft was third (203) and constant. Miscellaneous and sex offenses were down.

Among boys 10 to 16 there was an increase from 7011 to 7295 offenses known. Theft was most frequent but decreased by 130 cases to 2546. Auto theft was second and increased by exactly five hundred cases to 1472 cases in 1956. Robbery and assault were almost constant at 1051 cases and third. Fourth in frequency was property destruction almost constant at 396.

Among girls under 10 offenses decreased from 460 to 426. Home truancy was most frequent and constant from 1955 to 1956 at 247 cases. Miscellaneous offenses were only one-third as frequent at 42, perhaps indicating an attempt to classify more accurately.

Among girls 10 through 16, offenses increased by 150 to 4599. Incorrigibles were most frequent and increased by 94 to 899 in 1956. Second was robbery and assault with an increase of 38 to 480. Third was theft which increased by 110 to 474, and liquor remained constant at about 125.

Critique
Among the older boys, car theft seems to be an important source of the increase in apprehensions. Wattenberg and Balistrieri's article on car theft in Detroit indicates that this is predominantly an offense of white boys not generally from the slums. Of course, other offenses may be more serious, and car theft a more likely source of being picked up.

Among older girls, incorrigibility, as is true of most legal categories, can cover a multitude of delinquent acts. The emphasis on robbery and theft parallels the boys' in rank order, although not in proportions. How much this is imitative, cooperative or developed independently is hard to say.
CHAPTER II
Social Organization

Introduction

This chapter includes all articles which treat sociological factors rather than subcultures or family organization as the major independent variables.

A wide range of theoretical orientations are represented here. The breakdown of social controls is used as a starting point by two writers who discuss middle-class delinquency and its forms. The social disorganization viewpoint with its ecological background is advanced by some who have studied lower-class delinquency, and criticized by others. Akin to these orientations is the view of delinquency resulting from a lack of cultural integration which is often termed anomie. Conflicts between cultural prescriptions have also been considered a source of delinquent behavior for the marginal youth, and elsewhere intergroup conflict is predicted to increase cohesion among group members. Delinquency among Jewish young people is analyzed, and the theory that delinquency stems from differential associations with a criminal normative system is also presented.

The problem is to schematize social correlates of three major psychological types of delinquents. (Pp. 226-227, chart adapted by D. J. Bordua)

**Summary**

1) The relatively integrated delinquent
   - E: unstable community controls; high D area; stable family.
   - I: relatively integrated personal controls. B: member of D group; burglary and larceny.

2) The defective superego delinquent
   - E: broken, conflictful homes; downtown and industrial area.
   - I: little conventional value internalization or sense of guilt. B: gang member; burglary and gang offenses.

3) The relatively weak ego delinquent
   - E: good community controls; conflictful homes. I: insecure, conflictful and hostile personality. B: incorrigible and destructive; least integrated into peer groups.

(See chart on Social Correlates)

**Critique**

The authors tend to place too many things together in etiology. For instance, in the "relatively weak ego" type does not resemble the psychopath or the "unsocialized aggressive" which seems to represent a distinct type.

One must beware not to equate lack of conventional standards with lack of internalization in general. Thus guilt may be aroused over nonconventional violations.
| **Social Correlates**
<table>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>of Three Major Psychological Types of Delinquents</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1) The Relatively Integrated Delinquent.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personality Structure</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Residential Area Type</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mobility</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structure</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orientation of Child</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Extent of Schooling</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Truancy Record</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Deportment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frequency</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Types</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group Character</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average at Time of First Adjudication</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recidivism (Probation violation)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) The Defective Superego Delinquent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not internalize conventional standards; oriented toward nonconventional groups and standards; little sense of guilt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areas of commerce, industry, rooming house and semi-residential.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable; infrequent movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broken (separation, desertion, divorce, death); large number of siblings, many delinquent; parental conflict and hostility; lack of conventional moral ideas; ineffective control.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usually member of gang; ready response to peer-age culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally does not complete grade school education; frequently found in elementary schools; over-age in grade level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High frequency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor. Poor scholarship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not significantly greater than other types.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary; characteristic offenses of organized delinquent groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readily suggestible to delinquent peer groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greatest frequency in very youthful age-category (12 years or less).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest rate. 52.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary

E: Conflict of values between first generation Mexican-Americans and their parents; father unskilled and uneducated; many broken homes.
I: (perceived status deprivation) need for recognition by any available means. B: theft, burglary and injury to persons.

The problem is to outline some of the causal factors in Mexican-American delinquency. (Pp.116-120).

Generalizations

The verified interest of Mexican-American youths in boxing can be traced to the fact that this field offers a chance to make money quickly, to be noticed, and to be somebody.

For all immigrants, culture conflict or culture differences are potential sources of disorganization. Hanging around the corner which is normal in Mexico becomes suspect here.

The total rate of delinquency without social class or other controls indicates that Mexicans and Mexican-Americans have higher rates than Anglos. Gangs go out of their way to make themselves visible and exaggerate their differences, e.g., Zoot suits, duck-tail haircuts, chin whiskers and goggles, and a specialized language.

A recent study by Crasilneck in San Antonio among male Latin-American delinquents came to these conclusions: 1) the majority were native born of foreign-born parents, 2) the three most common offenses were theft, burglary and injury to person. 3) Most of the offenses occurred at night, in a slum or downtown area. 4) The majority were not attending school at the time of the last offense. The average age for first referral was fourth grade and sixth grade at official hearing. 5) The average age for first arrest was 12.4 years, and gang delinquency was the rule. 6) The average educational level of the father and mother was second grade. The large majority of the fathers were unskilled laborers, and two thirds of the mothers were working. 7) Two-thirds of the homes were broken. 8) Eleven percent of both boys and parents regularly attended church; about 50 percent of both never attended.

Critique

Unfortunately the Crasilneck findings suffer from the lack of a control group and thus conclusions about delinquents vs. nondelinquents are impossible. But all signs point to a kind of demoralization and anomie which has been described by others to occur particularly often among first generation immigrants. The high incidence of theft and burglary suggest the internalization of material success goals, and the drop-out from school fits the notions about not having the adequate means, but I suspect that regardless of outcome in delinquency a large proportion of American kids drop out of school.
Cohen, Albert K. Middle-class delinquency and the social structure. Paper delivered at A.S.S. meetings, August, 1957.

Summary

A trend toward a consumption-oriented society reflected in both lower expectations by teachers and a general breakdown of the deferred gratification pattern; similar to the psychosocial moratorium in making few demands on the adolescent. I: Perception that future success is not dependent on present constructive activities, and consequently a need to prove maturity and masculinity in new terms. B: Pleasure and autonomy-seeking activity of the youth culture stemming from much free time and striving for status validation through prowess, daring and indulgence of adult privileges.

Text:

This paper is an attempt to explain a fact whose existence has not yet been established, namely, the increase in middle-class delinquency rates. My evidence that middle-class delinquency rates have increased, and possibly contributed disproportionately to the overall increase in delinquency as measured by official delinquency statistics, is not the sort that will hold up in court. It consists entirely of the impressions of police, court workers, social workers and school authorities, but there is enough consensus among these people to create a strong presumption that such an increase has actually occurred. Pending research of a more conclusive nature, we shall assume that this is so and attempt to explain it. Parenthetically, it is noteworthy that, despite all that has been written on the causes of juvenile delinquency, there has been hardly any serious thought given, in recent years, to explaining changes in delinquency rates over time.

In the writer's book, Delinquent Boys, and elsewhere in the literature, it is suggested that the middle-class boy—and also the upwardly mobile working-class boy who has elected what William Foote Whyte has called the "college-boy" way of life—has traditionally been insulated from delinquency by what has been referred to as the deferred gratification pattern: the subordination of present hedonic satisfactions and immediate impulse to the rational pursuit of long-run goals. A boy committed to such a deferred gratification pattern cannot afford to be a member of a delinquent group, because such groups make demands upon their members which are incompatible with middle-class goals and middle-class ways of striving for them. The delinquent gang demands loyalty, reciprocity, sharing and mutual aid, that is to say, the subordination of one's own long-run aspirations to the claims and the welfare of the group. Needless to say, it makes enormous demands upon the boy's time. The delinquent gang is notoriously street-centered: it "hangs around the corner"; it "fools around"; it "kills" and "wastes" time in the streets, in the alleys, in the candy store. Delinquent subcultures do more than provide a social support for delinquency; they provide a design for living, a way of life. And to the degree that one is committed to either way of life—the delinquent or the middle-class way,--he is restrained from participating in the other.
Now this deferred gratification pattern used to be more than just a middle-class tradition. It was supported by a social structure in which achievement of middle-class goals was actually heavily dependent upon conformity to such a pattern. In a society of relative scarcity and one not so technologically advanced as present-day American society, there was a huge demand for relatively unskilled labor and great pressure to turn young people into the labor market at an early age. The schools were under no great pressure to cater to the unambitious and the dullards, and neither parents nor the state were willing or able to assume the continued tutelage and support of young people unless they showed special ambition, seriousness and promise. Adults could dictate the terms on which young people could remain in school and the "undeserving" were unsentimentally dumped on the labor market. Ambitious young people danced to the tune the adults played. Good grades and graduation went to those who were talented or hard-working or both.

Recent social changes, however, have weakened the nexus between the deferred gratification pattern and the goals to which it was formerly instrumental. These changes have included: phenomenal increases in productivity of labor, an increased demand for labor in the higher status occupations, an increased ability of the government, through increased revenues, to assume new responsibilities, increased pressure to keep young people out of the labor market and a general improvement in family resources. In consequence, the functions of the schools have undergone change. They are now charged with the responsibility of keeping the children off the streets and out of the labor market--and "children" are increasingly defined as anybody up to the age of eighteen or nineteen. "Dropouts" from school under the age sixteen, regardless of their origins, ability or aspirations, are increasingly thought of as "failures" on the part of the school.

This means that the schools are no longer in a strong position to impose high standards of performance and achievement. Children can no longer be readily sloughed off if they fail to meet such standards. In fact, in order to avoid an intolerable accumulation of pupils in the lower grades, they must be promoted regularly regardless of performance. The schools are required to process vastly increased numbers of students, and these include large numbers of children who formerly have left school or been expelled because of lack of interest, incompetence, or behavior problems. The schools are faced with an unprecedented problem of maintaining order. Deprived of their principal sanctions--expulsion and refusal to promote to a higher grade--they must seek to make school a pleasurable experience rather than a discipline. Increasingly the adults in authority are forced--often with great reluctance--to take their cues from their charges, to find out what the children want to do and help them do it. Status in the school is increasingly defined in terms of the standards and values of the adolescent peer groups, and the role of the adult becomes to create a benign atmosphere in which every child can integrate happily with some group. Modern philosophy and psychology of education have commended themselves and caught on, we suggest, because they rationalize and legitimize this situation, this fait accompli.

It is difficult for a school system like ours to maintain a double standard for children of lofty aspirations and high ability and children who are just making time. Standards of academic performance tend to drop
for all categories of children, and the child of just modest talents and middle-class aspirations can achieve at least his proximate goals of good grades, promotion and graduation with just a moderate investment of time and effort. Getting into college—the great gateway to middle-class occupations—also becomes easier, since many colleges require little more than graduation from high school for entrance; and, in these times of full employment, and high prosperity, financial barriers to higher education are greatly reduced.

The general effect of all this is to produce, in the eyes of middle-class children with middle-class aspiration, a picture of the world in which the attainment of their future goals does not appear so contingent upon what they do now as it did to their predecessors of a generation or two ago. The structural props of the deferred gratification pattern have been greatly weakened. (It is too early to assess the effect of the impending crisis in the ability of the colleges to accommodate greatly increased numbers of students. Apparently colleges are beginning to become more selective, to tighten up their standards, and young people or at least their parents are becoming anxious about admission to college. This could result in an attitude of heightened seriousness in the high schools.)

To the extent to which these changes have occurred, there has resulted a weakening of one of the principal insulators against juvenile delinquency. It becomes possible to be middle-class in terms of aspirations and at the same time to "hang around the corner." Middle-class youth turn increasingly to hedonically oriented "youth cultures." These youth cultures are not necessarily delinquent but they are generally characterized by pleasure seeking and emancipation from adult controls. We have middle-class "corner-boys."

With respect to delinquency, however, the new situation is more than merely permissive. It also contains certain positive motivations to delinquent behavior. In the "old-fashioned" system, the subordination of consumption activities and temptations to sober, productive, "constructive" activities was legitimate and recognized way of establishing and vindicating one's masculinity and maturity. It becomes a task of the youth cultures to provide a means for doing this same thing within their own hedonically oriented framework. The youth cultures tend to place a high value, therefore, on those traits and activities which, in our culture, are symbolic of masculinity or adulthood or both, but which do not require self-discipline, deferred gratification, sobriety and diligence. Recklessness, prowess and courting of danger ("chicken") are safely masculine and may take the specific form of predatory and destructive behavior. The stimulation and compulsive exaggeration of certain patterns which are symbolically adult, especially those connected with liquor, sex, and automobiles, also lend themselves to the requirements of the youth cultures and easily take a specifically delinquent form.

In conclusion, we want to emphasize that we have treated but one mechanism through which social changes have contributed to middle-class delinquency. Some of the same structural changes in American society, through their impact on family life, have contributed to other ways as well, but these matters fall outside the scope of this paper.
Critique

Insightful analysis of change in high and grade school orientation. If it is correct, some kind of gross correlation should arise between measures of academic rigor like per cent failing various grades and delinquency rates among various school districts. There also should be personal correlates of delinquency rate to the effect that "sober, productive and constructive activities" are not necessary to prove one's adulthood. Of course, one can also argue that a high dropout or expulsion rate is conducive to high delinquency rates through the freetime and already-present deviant tendencies as well as the way Cohen argues. The basic question of why some middle-class children choose this solution is still unanswered.

Summary

E: Same persons subscribe to both criminal and conventional value systems. I: (mixed associations) learning roles in both systems. B: D: as learning criminal skills (Where integration of value systems is low, violent combat occurs).

Generalizations

The author makes the point that police complaint records are probably the most inclusive measure of delinquency generally obtainable, although they surely are not complete. Kobrin has conducted a study showing that even 51% of the adults who had lived in high delinquency areas without a court record later had been arrested for offenses other than violations of traffic laws. 75% of those with a court record were also arrested as adults. He concludes that those without early court records did not change later, but had as youths also engaged in delinquent activity.

Thus a duality of conduct norms, delinquent and conventional, is prevalent in these areas. Individuals participate simultaneously in both value systems in two ways: (1) through mixing in play groups, and (2) by playing a range of roles in both systems.

The degree of integration between criminal and conventional value systems varies. When highly integrated, the same persons may be leaders in political and religious organizations while carrying on their illegal enterprises. Delinquency becomes a recognized training ground for acquiring skills of the underworld. At the other pole, one finds a lack of systematic and organized adult criminal activity. Delinquency here is unrestrained by controls originating at any point in the adult social structure. This will occur frequently in periods of invasion when the bearers of the conventional culture are demobilized. Delinquency here becomes wild and untrammeled such as acts of violent combat.

Kobrin then invokes Cohen's status anxiety and norm inversion model to explain the personality of delinquents.

Critique

The discussion by George Vold following the article makes the crucial point that while all of this may be true in general outline, we still don't know why some individuals identify with the criminal and others with the conventional value system.
Summary

At least two distinct models are present. Chap. 4. E: mass media and adult-carried negative stereotypes of youth. I: want to be seen as tough. B: imitate stereotypes. Chap. 9. E: focal concerns of lower-class culture. I: internalize concerns. B: action on basis of these values often violates legal norms.

The problem focus is to outline a theory of delinquency causation which takes account of personality and cultural system differences.

Generalizations

This theoretical report was made toward the understanding of delinquency as an adjustive behavior in school and society, based on the interaction of personality and cultural systems.

(Chap.4) Walter Miller, a large contributor to this volume, indicates that all societies need institutionalized scapegoats. Today most minority groups are no longer acceptable hostility targets, and many people turn to delinquents and "leftists" for targets. These images are reinforced and exploited by the mass media writers who have stereotyped the delinquent as cruel, uninhibited and inhuman. On seeing these, youth may feel that to be really tough they will have to adopt the publicized stereotypes. This becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy. Police also may feel pressure to make more arrests.

(Chap.5) The authors discuss a variety of "common misconceptions" concerning the origins of delinquency. These include the "working-mother myth," the "broken" home explanation which is in need of more precise definitions, the "mental retardation myth," the "playground myth," "bad companions," the "evil gang leader" and others.

(Chap.6) When delinquency is viewed as norm-violating behavior, one still says little without some criteria of severity. Four factors are suggested: seriousness of the offense, form of behavior (e.g., assault much different from truancy), frequency of violation, and prior behavior and individual personality. Behavior which is only mildly norm-violating, according to one's reference group, may be viewed as severe from other points of view (e.g., teacher, police, group worker). For example, swearing will be acceptable in lower-class street corner society, but not in school, or in middle-class society where it takes on "dirty" connotations.

(Chap.7) Two typologies of delinquency are discussed. The first suggests that most norm-violating behavior is done by youths who are not emotionally disturbed; 75% of all delinquents have little or no serious emotional disturbance. Of the 25% who do have demonstrable emotional disturbance, 10% are non-lower class, so that, proportionately, the emotionally disturbed are more concentrated among non-lower class delinquents than among lower class. The second typology suggests that about 85% of all delinquents have lower class status. Delinquency is now tentatively defined as "behavior by nonadults which violates specific
legal norms or the norms of a particular societal institution with sufficient frequency and/or seriousness so as to provide a firm basis for legal action against the behaving individual or group (p.54)."

(Chap.9) Lower-class culture influences somewhere between 40% and 60% of the U. S. population. Its "focal concerns" are the following: staying out of trouble, proving one's toughness, outsmarting others, finding excitement, attribution of events to fate, and maintaining one's autonomy, which alternates with seeking out controlled situations. Delinquency may originate simply from following the dictates of lower-class culture (e.g., profanity, loitering), from the law-violating means to a goal requiring less energy, or from delinquent responses being demanded in certain situations (e.g., prestige through toughness, outsmarting others, etc.). Three patterns of adaptation are discernible: the "stable" lower class, the aspiring but conflicted lower class, and the successfully aspiring lower class. The first pattern is much larger than is usually supposed and appears to be increasing. School experience is regarded as useless by this type.

(Chap.10) Middle-class delinquency tends to be less patterned and more frequently handled without official help. Middle-class focal concerns include achievement through work, deferred gratification, responsibility, accumulation of material goods, education, formal organizations, cleanliness and ambition. Lower-class concerns are influencing middle-class youngsters via fads in music like "rock and roll" with its accompanying styles of dress and action. These fads serve as a rebellion against parents, as well as a means of exclusiveness.

(Chap.11) The female-based household is a prevalent type of family unit in lower-class communities. The "father" is often absent and the household is composed of one or more females of child-bearing age who are related by blood or marriage. The "serial monogamy" mating pattern with a succession of temporary spouses is associated with the female-based household.

Adolescents often experience conflicting directives from parents regarding aspiration and achievement. The first-generation immigrant parent may urge his son to better him, but covertly threaten him if he does exceed the father. The father who approves of mischievous acts also may be preparing the son for norm-violating behavior.

(Chap.13) There are three levels of readiness for delinquent behavior: first, where personal adjustment and social milieu indicators point to exposure or a tendency toward eventual violation of legal norms; second, where borderline or minor offenses occur; and third, where actual delinquent behavior occurs but the youth is not apprehended.

Critique

This book is heavily flavored with the ideas of Walter B. Miller, who is concerned with the origins, focal concerns and influence of a lower-class culture. His basic arguments which include a discussion of the female-based household have been reproduced here. Miller tends to over-generalize from his experience with essentially Negro lower-class individuals to all of the lower class, although he does not say here as he
has elsewhere (see Miller's article on lower class) that the female-based household has a primary role in the formation of the one-sex peer unit which performs the major part of socializing the adolescent boy. The female-based household is not typical of the urban upper lower or working classes, and hence their subcultural systems are likely to be somewhat different.

Since this book is aimed at the layman, it is understandable that precise definitions are not often offered but in the case of defining seriousness, form, and other aspects of severity of delinquent act, such precision would have helped the scientific enterprise greatly.

There is no bibliography with this book and the source of ideas is not often footnoted.


Summary
See summary of Chapter 9, page 15.

Generalizations
Comprising about 15% of the national population, the lower class culture's "hard core" is defined by use of the "female-based" household (see Chap. 11, p. 16). This culture is characterized by a set of focal concerns or issues commanding widespread commitment listed in order of descending cultural attention (see Chap. 9, p. 16). Each is a dimension permitting a variety of behaviors in different situations. For example, "trouble" refers both to law-abiding and law-violating behavior, and the former is often done more from compliance than from internalized pressures.

The one-sex peer group is significant in the lower class community. Its enduring prevalence is probably related to the female-based household. The age-graded same-sex peer group is assumed to be the major socializing agent for youth, especially males who have special problems of sex-role identification. The concern with "toughness" may represent a reaction-formation against being reared in a predominantly female household. Mature youth leave to marry only temporarily before group pressures and personal needs draw them back. Two new concerns are distinguished in the peer group: (1) The feeling of belonging and acceptance is enhanced by normative conduct, and the threat of exclusion may compel even law-violating behavior; (2) Intra-group status is conferred by demonstrated ability to practice the focal concerns and symbolically adult activities like drinking, driving and gambling. Inter-group status or "rep" may provoke gang fights typical of corner group delinquency. Three kinds of processes support the commission of illegal acts (see Chap. 9, p. 16). The data were obtained from twenty-one Negro and white, male and female adolescent corner groups observed in a "slum" district of a large eastern city.

Critique
See critique on pages 16-17.

**Summary**

E: Anomie measured by per cent home ownership and Negro-white proportions in an area. I: (Norms not perceived as valid) non-normative orientation. B: High D rates in census tracts.

The problem is to discover variables which are statistically significant in predicting the differential delinquency rates of various areas within the urban community.

**Design**

Point of departure from social disorganization theory of Burgess and others, yet recognizes that group standards do exist even in a high delinquency area.

Study involved a comparison of Census Tracts in Baltimore with socio-economic variables taken from the 1940 Census. The variables employed are: (1) median years of school completed by all persons at least 25 years old; (2) the contract or estimated monthly rent; (3) the percentage of persons living in homes where there are 1.51 or more persons per room; (4) substandard housing—i.e., having no private bath or needing major repairs; (5) percent nonwhite and percent foreign-born; and (6) the delinquency rate based on court hearing records.

Data based on 8,464 cases, the total for 1939 through 1942. Multiple and partial correlations were used along with factor analysis. Aspects of the ecological organization of the city were also examined for relationship to juvenile delinquency.

**Generalizations**

Surface associations disappeared when other variables were controlled for all but home ownership and Negro population concentration. Even these are only indices and not causal factors. Home ownership is an indication of stability, and where the percent nonwhite is either very large or very small, stability is also high and delinquency rates low. Lander suggests that anomie will handle the findings. He says that when group norms are no longer binding or valid in an area or for a population subgroup, the individual is likely to engage in deviant behavior.

The other socio-economic factors—bad housing, poverty, and pro-pinquity to the city center—are not predictive in themselves.

**Critique**

Bordua makes the point that we need more direct measures of anomie than census tract data, which obscures individual exposure to disorganizing influences. These indices will not help much for this task. Nor does anomie itself explain why certain individuals should choose a delinquent rather than some other solution to their anomie situation. I think something like Wilensky’s status anxiety model helps to answer this latter problem. But it may have some shortcomings too. Assuming that all the Negro kids are lower or working class, the exposure to middle class standards would be roughly equal; yet the incidence of delinquency is
lower where the percentage of Negroes is low than where it approaches 50%. It may be that areas of low concentration contain middle class Negroes and areas of high concentration prevent so much exposure to middle class norms.

The discussion of anomie borders on a tautology, if anomie means the loosening of controls among which are the prohibitions against acts of delinquency.

**Summary**

E: Unhappy and broken marriages (breakdown of social controls).
I: Reject parents. B: D-scale responses.

The problem is to study delinquent tendencies in "normal" high school age children. Rejects single causation theories, even for sub-categories of delinquency, and turns to multiple causation.

**Design**

Uses social control theory embracing four not unrelated clusters of attitudes and behavior patterns: 1) direct control imposed from outside by means of restriction and punishment; 2) internalized control; 3) indirect control related to affectional identification with parents and other noncriminal persons; and 4) availability of alternative means to goals and values.

Population studied was all students in grades 9-12 in their regular classrooms on an unannounced day in three small cities (10,000 to 30,000 people) in Washington state; 3158 respondents. A comparison group of children in the state correctional institution was also included.

Delinquency scale composed eventually of seven questionnaire items (e.g., "Have you driven a car without a driver's license or permit?"
Response categories from "very often" to "no."). The Guttman Cornell technique indicated that this is a quasi-scale with a reproducibility coefficient of .80 for boys aged 14 to 15 years. Other items were included to trap over-conformers, and eventually 32 respondents were disqualified. Responses to several more items indicated only infrequent commission, so they were not used for the scale.

**Generalizations**

Socio-economic status is not generally related to delinquent behavior as measured. Some variation does suggest that either the middle class is under-reporting or else more effective in control and socialization procedures. The upper class was almost as high as the lower class.

Happiness of the marriage is more closely related to delinquency than is whether the marriage is original, broken, a remarriage, or child living with only one parent. Happiness is not defined. A larger proportion of children from broken homes end up in the state school (48.1%) than fall in the most-delinquent category in high school (23.6%). This results apparently from differential treatment by police, parents, etc. A small but significant difference in delinquency between broken and unbroken homes is suggested to result from confusion and competition in the step-parent role in families where a parent has remarried, and loss of direct control in families with only a single parent.

In general, only about two percent of all the parent-child differences tested were inconsistent with social control theory. Among the findings in this area was the greater relation to delinquency of the child rejecting the parents than of the parents rejecting the child. No significant difference occurs between rejection of the mother and father either for most- or for least-delinquent kids.
Critique

The delinquency scale devised is clever in construction and covers a fairly wide range of activities. I am suspicious of only rejecting 1% for falsification, although the overconformity index is a good start. Self-reporting is open to more subtle attempts to clear one's record. Only a minority of the delinquency-scale questions refer to serious delinquent acts, so acts such as theft are probably not well represented by the answers, even assuming frank reporting.

Nye is not very specific about some concepts, like happiness, apparently leaving them up to the respondent to define from his own viewpoint. Findings are reported in a very general, often only a quantified form. Operational definitions and question wordings are usually missing.

The lack of connection between socio-economic status and delinquency is worth pondering.

Summary
E: Entrepreneurial occupation; B: different offenses referred to courts.

The problem is to outline types of delinquent acts committed by Jewish and non-Jewish kids, and study the family and personal characteristics.

Design
The 226 families studied are the total number who had children referred to the Children's Court in four of five New York City boroughs for 1952. Supplementary material obtained on 100 of these families. No indication of selection procedure.

Generalizations
If Jewish children were delinquent in proportion to population size, there would have been ten times as many. The rank order of some offenses (one per child), along with rates for all delinquents (A) and Jewish ones (J) in 1951 is: 1) wrongful appropriation of property—burglary (J 20% (A 30%); 2) ungovernable behavior (J 20%/A 9%); 3) wrongful appropriation—auto stealing (11%/7%); 4) injury to persons (10/6). The rates for wrongful appropriation—stealing are (5/11), and no other categories show any appreciable differences. In 1930 the leading offense among Jewish children was peddling or begging without a license.

Concerning family characteristics, 60% of the children were living with both parents and another 20% with their mothers. Family size was generally small being generally the median and mode, and only two of the 100 on whom case material was secured had been born out of wedlock.

Occupation of father was given in 59 records and is reported impressionistically. Various entrepreneurial occupations mentioned, and author claims no menial unskilled jobs. Only rarely were the mothers working. Among personal characteristics of interest is the fact that only 11% of the 226 were under 12 years old at the time of their court appearance.

Critique
A comparison with nondelinquent Jewish children would tell us much more. The low incidence of mothers working and broken homes indicate an intact home life, but more specific data are needed to test the entrepreneurial-bureaucratic occupation theory, or even to tell what social class the children come from.

Why should stealing be less common, except for auto theft, among Jewish delinquents, and acts of physical violence and impulsiveness be somewhat more common than among the 1951 comparison group? This would suggest among other things that less gang delinquency would be found among Jewish delinquents.

**Summary**

E: Residential contiguity and mobility, and the invasion by alien conduct norms in some manner can all lead to *culture conflict*. I: Little *internalization* where norms were absent or situation was defined differently and hence little group *resistance* is felt in the present situation. B: Crime which defined as behavior violating norms of the dominant cultural system.

The problem is to establish a *universal* causative explanation of crime, and to evaluate the *scientific* utility of crime norms for explanatory purposes.

**Generalizations**

Individuals are exposed to and identify with various social groups. Each group *sets up* conduct norms. The more complex a culture, the larger the number of reference groups per person, and the greater the chance that the norms of these groups will not agree.

The conduct norms are not necessarily embodied in law, but the type of conduct norm and the extent to which one follows the norm will determine whether he commits criminal acts. Crimes are those acts which are regarded as so injurious or showing such an anti-social *attitude* in the actor that the group publicly, overtly and collectively reacts by trying to restrain the actor.

The following schematic classification of group resistance to one's conduct suggests itself:

1) No group resistance is felt by one in whom the norm is not a personality element. This may result from
   a. incapacity from mental disease or deficiency
   b. norm of group judging him may not have been possessed by groups from which he has drawn the personality elements.
   c. life situation involved may have been defined differently by the respective groups.
2) No group resistance is felt if one accidentally violates a norm. (This would only apply in cases of minor infractions.)
3) Conflicting norms are internalized. Authority of a particular norm depends on what group had the dominant influence in the process of personality growth. This is a case of reduced group resistance.
4) Complete group *resistance* is felt by one who possesses only one norm for the situation.

Sociological research on norm violators should concentrate on persons who have violated norms a) with high resistance potential, b) incorporated as personality elements, c) which possess strong emotional tone, not just knowledge of the norm.
Sellin

Conflict between norms of divergent cultural codes may arise:
1) when codes clash on border of contiguous culture areas
2) when the code of one cultural group is extended to cover the territory of another (or presumably the actions of another in specific situations, as in the law)
3) when members of one cultural group migrate to another
4) without personal contact but by the mass media, for instance, and the divergent conduct norms put forth.

Culture conflict may be studied either as mental, and hence internalized conflict, or as a conflict of cultural codes where the individual only subscribes to one.

Research tends to confuse 1) conflict between the conduct norms of old and new cultures, 2) change from rural to urban life, and 3) change from a well-organized homogeneous society to a disorganized heterogeneous one.

Critique
Absence of items b) and c) on last page points to the psychological states like sociopathic personality which also produce delinquency. Type 3) above leads directly to the study of reference groups. May be only reduced resistance with respect to one reference group. Note that the above paradigm refers only to resistance felt and not to pressure applied.

Definition of crime suggests a useful distinction between acts which are seen to be consciously antisocial and those which are so only in effect. Different public reactions may follow each type of evaluation, with those who are apparently not conscious of the implication of their deeds, perhaps receiving less condemnation and more efforts at rehabilitation. These acts may in time affect the course of antisocial activity. The differential perceptions and treatment may be important in childhood development in the home, both before and during latency.

Summary:

E: Heterogeneous, economically depressed and highly mobile population with no permanent stake in the community leads to a condition of lack of social control. I: Delinquency perceived to bring economic and social rewards. No external restraint felt. B: Juvenile delinquency follows the pattern of the physical and social structure of the city, being concentrated in the areas of physical deterioration and neighborhood disorganization.

The problem faced in this study was to account for the relatively constant delinquency in space and time as populations changed.

**Design**

Concentric zones were set up by arbitrarily marking off uniform distances of from one to two miles. Delinquency rates were calculated by taking for each zone the ratio of the official juvenile delinquents to the population of juvenile court age.

**Generalizations**

The higher rates were in the inner zones, and the lower rates in the outer zones. The rates declined regularly with progression from the innermost to the outermost zone.

Juvenile delinquency was shown to be highly correlated with a number of presumably separate factors including population change, bad housing, poverty, foreign-born and Negroes, tuberculosis, adult crime and mental disorders. All these factors including juvenile delinquency may be considered manifestations of some general basic factor. The common element is social disorganization or the lack of organized community effort to deal with these conditions.

Juvenile delinquency follows the pattern of the physical and social structure of the city, being concentrated in the areas of physical deterioration and neighborhood disorganization. Variations in rates in areas of the city correspond closely with variations in economic status. The areas of highest rates are occupied by those segments of the population whose position is most disadvantageous in relation to the distribution of economic, social and cultural values.

Persons who occupy a disadvantageous position are involved in a conflict between the goals assumed to be attainable in a free society and those actually attainable for a large proportion of the population.

The economic position of those living in the areas of least opportunity is translated at times into unconventional conduct, in an effort to reconcile the idealized status and their practical prospects of attaining this status.

The areas of low economic status are characterized by wide diversity in terms and standards of behavior. The development of divergent systems
of values requires a type of situation in which conventional control is either weak or nonexistent.

Crime may be regarded as one of the means employed by people to acquire, or to attempt to acquire, the economic and social values generally idealized in our culture, which persons in other circumstances acquired by conventional means.

Crime develops, as does all social traditions, as a means of satisfying certain felt needs within the limits of a particular social and economic framework.

Critique
The social disorganization hypothesis is not conceptually clear because in many respects the immediate social world of the delinquent or the professional criminal, in terms of norms and expectations, may be highly organized.

The origin of the tradition of crime is obscure. Its existence, as a means employed to gain certain economic and social values, is accepted as given.
Summary
E: An available crime-oriented social system exists. I: The process of learning by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning. B: People become criminals because of more contacts with criminals.

The problem is to account for the learning of delinquent behavior patterns.

Generalizations
Criminal behavior is learned and is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication within intimate personal groups.

The learning includes the techniques of committing the crime and the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes.

The person becomes delinquent when the strength of his attitudes favorable to violation of law is in excess of attitudes unfavorable to violation of law.

While criminal behavior can be considered an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since noncriminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values.

Crime is rooted in the social organization and is an expression of that social organization. Varying crime rates, therefore, are a function of differential social organization.

Critique
This position is known as the differential association theory. It is not inconsistent with the social disorganization position because the existence of the criminal organization is dependent upon certain breakdowns in the mechanisms of social control.

This position doesn't concern itself with the delinquent impulse as such because differential association determines the behavior. Criminal behavior, then, in this context, represents a rational socially acceptable form of behavior.

Retreatist and conflict subculture delinquency patterns aren't as well handled by this model.
E: Intergroup conflict. I: Intensified loyalty to D associates. B: D activities become organized and disguised more highly; define selves as conventional, not D.

The problem is to outline the above approach to crime. (Chapt. 11)

Generalizations
Conflict between groups tends to develop and intensify the loyalty of members to their respective groups. Most reported delinquency is in the company of other delinquents. This collective action may be interpreted as a banding together for protection and strength of those who are at odds with organized society and its police force. Many of the gang's activities are sometimes continued under various more respectable guises (e.g., political clubs) which now have influence and the cloak of respectability.

Members of those groups do not define themselves as criminal or dishonorable. It is very difficult to persuade these persons otherwise, even by coercive methods.

Critique
It would seem more likely that delinquents band together first as peers and only later as antagonists of society. Why they come to see themselves as antagonists is not explained by this theory. Perhaps it is the perception for some of a disadvantaged position in society or a disadvantaged family position.

The treatment method of approaching the whole gang and not isolated members is clearly implied. How they avoid the stigma of "criminal" might be accounted for by the theory of neutralization (Sykes & Matza) we discussed.

Summary
Important article discussing limits to social disorganization theory, setting out an alternative to Cohen's explanation of middle class D and suggesting needed research.

The problem is to set up a plausible interpretation of juvenile delinquency based on the analysis of urban-industrial society presented in the book. To critically appraise existing theory. (Chapt. 9)

Generalizations
The following evidence suggests limits to the "social disorganization" and "culture conflict" arguments:

1. The slum is seldom a lawless "jungle"; it is highly organized. (c.f., Street Corner Society.) Logical error: some indices of social disorganization include crime and delinquency too, then are used to predict to them.

2. Areas of low mobility sometimes show high delinquency rates, sometimes low. Lander's Baltimore study indicates that only when residential mobility is not accompanied by social mobility does instability and delinquency occur.

3. Poverty or substandard housing as such does not cause delinquency. (c.f., Lander: Delinquency rates related to anomie or social instability not specifically to socioeconomic conditions.)

4. Young people in delinquency areas are only to a limited degree confronted with a moral vacuum or moral confusion due to culture conflict: Consensus even in slums that truancy, stealing, etc. are "wrong." Delinquents provide ready rationalizations for their acts and this reveals some awareness of community standards. Mere presence of two groups does not insure conflict; e.g., Chinese and Jewish minorities. Only where the smaller of two clashing groups is large enough to threaten the dominance of the larger will "culture conflict" contribute to delinquency.

These positive things may be said about the approach:

1. Targets for stealing, etc., are readily available.
2. Escape into a sea of "strangers" is ever possible.
3. Slum family is less cohesive.
4. Legal and impersonal controls are a larger part of all controls. These are easier to flout and evade than rural mores.
5. Delinquency rates are low where one minority is dominant, but high where heterogeneity is maximal (e.g., half Negro). Then cultures conflict and gang warfare have plenty of opportunity.
Conclusion

"Poverty and social disorganization in the slum" theory stands thus: delinquency rates will be low despite bad housing, bad location and poverty if area is socially stable.

Content and distribution of delinquency as a culture pattern.
(Borrows heavily from Albert Cohen here). Concludes behavior typical of the subculture is characterized by gang solidarity, apparently non-utilitarian, short-run hedonism, and malice toward respectable out groups.

Why is delinquent subculture concentrated among lower-class boys?

Summary

E: Pervasive middle-class values are unattainable because the institutionalized means to them are beyond access to lower-class youth.
I: Internalization of middle-class goals and subsequent status anxiety over inability to attain them. B: D as malicious destruction of middle class symbols which represent the source of this frustration.

Status anxiety hypotheses: Most institutions uphold middle-class virtues, and impose punishments for deviation, but few clear channels for attaining standards. Role models of early life again are of low status.

The extent to which the lower-class child picks up success goals is an empirical question, but an affirmative answer to this is crucial to the theory.

Many observers, including Cohen, assume these goals are internalized to some extent along with or sometimes in place of other working-class standards.

So the lower-class boy feels at a disadvantage in struggle for status as measured by middle-class values; he is anxious and looking for a solution.

Delinquent solution is most satisfactory: Flouting rules that stigmatize them as inferior. Pick middle-class targets for vandalism. Already handicapped and with limited opportunities for conforming to middle-class standards. This is the delinquent subculture appealing as a rejection of these standards, a protest with "criteria" of success that can be met. A reversal of middle-class standards.

This theory accounts for (a) the aimless and malicious character of delinquency; (b) its distribution among the working class, and (c) more so among boys since they are more exposed to job achievement.

How to explain middle-class delinquency.

E: harsh lower-class sex-role demands; father weak in power. I: (weak identification with him) sex-role anxiety B: D partly to prove self, and avoid "goodness" associated with femininity.
1. Statistics often misleading. May be lower-class experiences and child training even if middle-class income.

2. Cohen argues that anxiety about male identity is crucial; i.e., (a) mother is dominant value disseminator, father is more often absent from home than in lower-class families thus making mother the dominant object of identification for boys which leads to the sex-role anxiety. (Wilensky questions greater absence of father--strong identification with mother); (b) work has become less visibly and distinctively masculine in the middle class. Men and women do same jobs. Model of manliness unclear. (Wilensky agrees); (c) leisure is feminized, too, i.e., change to passive hobbies and doing things around the home like washing dishes (Wilensky believes delinquency rates here suggest that few middle-class juveniles reach this height of anxiety. Conditions must be well developed). Note 3 below for Wilensky's views.

The following are needed research topics.

1. Frequency of delinquency rates by categories. Proportion of offenses by girls may be increasing. If so, are girls exposed to demands for achievement beyond sex? Is sex dating increasing?

2. Content of delinquent subculture: types of acts by categories. Theft is most prevalent in court records. Is it purposeless, etc.?

3. Male identity as a source of anxiety: suggests design for a test of delinquency vs. nondelinquency through role models, pressures to achieve, mobility of father. More anxiety in lower class could be expected from greater clarity of parental demands for manliness; harsher sex discipline (verified). Middle-class boys can seek refuge in tolerant ambiguities of their class. Identification depends on respect and deference by mother and others, not just proximity. If resentment greater among working classes, then identification less strong. Thus, Wilensky sees that only severe and shared status anxiety would contribute strongly to middle-class delinquency rates.

4. Type of interaction: lone wolves most often are emotionally disturbed. A few gangs are also so large and bureaucratically organized that it is hard to assess motives. Do they perform different functions?

5. Why many lower-class families escape delinquency: Presence of middle-class values. Need design including what success goals internalized with what intensity, resources and skills available for status achievement, who experiences how much status discontent relative opportunities for learning delinquent behavior among lower-class delinquents and nondelinquents. Why do some minorities, mainly the Chinese, Japanese and Jews, produce so few delinquents? More self-contained and isolated and integrated--less exposed to delinquent subculture. Jews also often have skills of urban life, e.g., retail entrepreneurial talents.
Wilensky, & Lebeaux

6. Psychogenic factors: need to ask why child with certain adjustment problems chose the delinquent solution. World outside the family often ignored. Influence of status and sex-role anxieties have not been studied enough. Wilensky's view is consistent with some psychological interpretations, too; e.g., the socialized delinquent who is neglected and exposed to the delinquent subculture. Habitual truancy and stealing are highly correlated with this but not with other syndromes. Theory does not cover some types like unsocialized aggressive and overinhibited behavior. These not common among gang members. The "socialized" delinquent has often been impervious to psychological treatment.

Critique

This theory of lower-class delinquency does a good job of spelling out connections between disadvantaged position and characteristic delinquent behavior. Need empirical verification. If really anxious over status, why not take other ways out (e.g., try harder). Personality characteristics will come in here.

In 4 above, need to specify conditions for gang conflicts, and for such conflicts to threaten dominance of one group.

Need to explore extent of punishments for their nature used by various institutions to induce conformity (e.g., school system, teacher ideals and their views on what will happen to those who don't comply). And channels for advancing from lower class.

Summary
E: Anomie defined as weak social and cultural integration of the group; low economic and ethnic status further weaken integration; hostile treatment. I: Lack of subjective integration into minority group plus frustration over acceptance into dominant group leads to demoralization. B: Highest crime rates among minority groups; crimes of violence.

The problem is to set forth and document a sociological approach to criminality which will take account of various minority group rates.

Design
Review of previous studies and intensive use of three case histories: a culturally disintegrated group of American Indians in a small community, a culturally integrated group of Bohemians in another town, and an undifferentiated group of Kentuckians in a third town in Wisconsin.

Predict that minority-group criminality is basically a function of the type of cultural and social integration of the group. Predict more specifically that without strong social integration (i.e., patterns of interaction and interstimulation) relative economic inadequacy further weakens the integration of the group, and crime approaches a maximum. With strong social integration, low economic status strengthens the (cultural and social) integration of the group, and crime approaches a minimum. Also predicted that hostile treatment affects criminality. Crimes of violence to be expected. This state of anomie arises from the failure of the moral system to serve the purposes of the minority group.

Cultural integration indicated by the degree to which the folkways of a group enable people to attain their culturally defined ends.

Generalizations
Data from the above sources support the predictions. Concludes that minority groups are too differentiated to make any general statement about their criminality, and hence "culture conflict" is not a useful approach. Neither are economic status or religious participation direct causal factors. But status and persecution may influence cultural and social integration. Low status and high persecution with high integration leads to low crime rates.

As frustration over acceptance rises, due at times to discrimination, demoralization sets in and crime becomes one method of adjustment. (Documented by observation of voluntary and formal organization membership and group crime rates. Frustration inferred. Why crime is chosen is not clear.)

Social integration tends to fortify the group's mores through its threat of ostracism. Integration (both types) may be around maintaining native culture, assimilating majority group culture or anomie state of organization.

Subjectively felt "culture conflict" is only significant after the minority group has identified itself with its prevailing culture.
Critique

This is a highly suggestive article to me both in theory and in the detail of the data which I had to omit. It provides an explanation for low delinquency rates among lower class, persecuted Jews and Orientals. Strong family and group loyalties and participation in mutual aid associations are cited from another source by Wood as being important in the latter case. And as Jews have become more assimilated in the Netherlands their crime rates have increased to slightly more than the national average.

I think Wood's theory is important but still much too general. His data do suggest to look at the composition of voluntary and economic associations among various age groups for examples of anomie interaction. We need to determine the values that individuals hold as ends, and also the channels through which they want to attain them, like the association above. Then the extent of social integration in these bodies along with some measures of how complementary and satisfying these role relationships are may give some idea of the subjectively-experienced state of anomie. Which role and group affiliations are important in anomie is a big question. I would guess that it is most important to have stable, reciprocal and satisfying role patterns in the family, occupation, and religious spheres, in that order.
CHAPTER III
Delinquent Subcultures

Introduction

The subcultural approach to delinquency is relatively new, having first been made prominent by Cohen's book, *Delinquent Boys*. A subculture is considered to be a collective solution to adjustment problems experienced by a segment, often socially disadvantaged, of the population.

In other articles the delinquent subculture formulation is criticized both on theoretical and empirical grounds. Some useful additions to the theory have also been advanced, especially regarding techniques which protect the delinquent gang code and prevent guilt.

Another view is that adolescent gangs arise to provide avenues for status attainment when the adult society does not grant status. Some neighborhood and family correlates of gang delinquency are considered by other researchers. Two important recent articles, one co-authored by Cohen, suggest that a variety of delinquent subcultures may in fact exist, tied in each case to problems the young person faces because of his or her position in the social structure.
Summary
E: Society fails to prepare the adolescent for induction to adult status. I: His role is ambiguous and he finds few institutionalized aids to help with the transition. Nevertheless, the adolescent is strongly motivated to gain adult status. He feels hostility and resentment toward adult society. B: The effect of these conditions is that the adolescent searches for paths leading to adult status and finds in the gang informal and gang-approved mechanisms of symbolic adult status which appear to be psychologically satisfying substitutes for adult status.

The problem confronted was to account for and to understand the nearly universal phenomenon, the adolescent gang and its behavior.

Generalizations
It is assumed that in any society there is strong motivation among normal adolescents to gain adult status. In most societies puberty rites help to smooth the transition from "childhood" to "adulthood."

If puberty rites fail or are nonexistent, then there is a lack of preparation for the induction of adolescents to the adult status. When this is the case, equivalent forms of behavior arise spontaneously among adolescents themselves. This behavior, reinforced by their own group structure, seemingly provides the same psychological content and function as the more formalized rituals found in other societies.

What confuses the picture of adolescence in most modern industrial societies is the ambiguity with which the adolescent role itself is defined. In societies where there exists a well defined conception of the adolescent role as part of the total social structure and where the adolescent has status, severe adolescent problems tend not to occur.

It is assumed that because of the restrictions which societies must inevitably impose upon their young, hostility towards adults and organized society as well as socialized patterns of resentment must inevitably arise.

It is further assumed that the gang as well as other adolescent groups is a manifestation of the universal process of grouping of given age levels.

Given natural age grouping, given the "natural" hostility and resentment, and given the failure of society to satisfy the psychological and sociological needs of the adolescent, we have the adolescent (delinquent) gang.

Critique
(1) The theoretical scheme accounts for gang formation and maintenance; however, the relation between this and delinquency is not clear. (2) Although Cohen's position is criticized with some justification by the authors, they nevertheless failed to account in their scheme for the greater incidence of delinquency in the lower classes (unless they wish to imply greater problems for lower class youth in the transition to adulthood). (3) "Inevitable hostility" as a reaction to necessary social restriction appears to be an untenable assumption. There is more than one possible reaction to restrictions.

Summary

(1) E: The middle-class ethic prescribes the symbols of status and the rules by which one attains status. The working-class value system does not prepare its children to compete in the middle-class status game. Middle-class norms continually frustrate them. I: The working-class boy finds himself at the bottom of the status hierarchy. Since everyone wishes to have status, the working-class boy has an adjustment problem. Aggression against middle-class standards is supported by reaction formation. B: The delinquent subculture is a way of dealing with adjustment problems, particularly with problems of status. It legitimates non-conformity and hostility.

(2) E: For the middle-class child the mother is the chief agent of indoctrinating respectable behavior. I: Gradually the growing boy seeks to give up early identification with the mother and deny feminine attachments. B: Delinquency is "bad" behavior which serves to deny his femininity and the "good" standards associated with it.

The problem Cohen attempts to handle is to explain the formation of delinquent subculture and middle-class delinquency.

Generalizations

A child's experiences in the family are the most important determinants of the frame of reference through which the child perceives, interprets and evaluates the world outside. The position of the family in the social structure determines the experiences and the problems which all members of the family will encounter in their dealings with the world outside the family.

Systematic class-linked differences in the ability to achieve will relegate to the bottom of the status hierarchy those belonging to the most disadvantaged classes, not by virtue of their class position as such but by virtue of their lack of the required personal qualifications resulting from their class-linked handicaps.

The middle-class ethic prescribes an obligation to strive, by dint of rational, ascetic, self-disciplined and independent activity, to achieve in worldly affairs. To the degree to which the working-class boy values middle-class status, he faces a problem of adjustment and is in the market for a solution.

Although it entails great effort and sacrifice, a certain proportion of working-class boys accepts the challenge of the middle-class status system and plays the status game by the middle-class rules. These are the college boys.

The most common response is the stable corner-boy response. It represents an acceptance of the corner-boy way of life and an effort to make the best of a situation.

The delinquent subculture is another way of dealing with the problems of attaining status. The delinquent subculture faces these problems by
providing criteria of status which can be met by the working-class boy. Nonconformity to middle-class standards becomes a norm which allows the gang member to think of himself as better than conforming boys.

The delinquent boy has been socialized in a society dominated by a middle-class morality. He can never quite escape the pressures of middle-class society. A certain amount of frustration is experienced in these relations, and the delinquent subculture legitimizes aggression against middle-class norms and persons. But internalized norms are not lightly put aside, so reaction-formation helps to negate their power. Reaction-formation in this case should take the form of an irrational, malicious unaccountable hostility to the inhibition of impulses as well as to the external target.

Characteristics of the delinquent subculture:
1. Non-utilitarian—steal for the "fun of it."
3. Negativistic—norms opposite to middle-class norms.
4. Versatility—nonspecialized with regard to criminal and mischief acts.
5. Short-run hedonism—characteristic of lower-class culture in general. Little interest in long range goals.

Middle-class delinquency pattern: Male delinquency in families which are culturally middle class is primarily an attempt to cope with a basic anxiety in the area of sex-role identification; it has the primary function of giving reassurance of one’s essential masculinity.

Children of both sexes tend to form early feminine identifications. The boy, however, unlike the girl, comes later under strong social pressure to establish his masculinity, his difference from female figures.

Because his mother is the object of the feminine identification which he feels is the threat to his status as a male, he tends to react negatively to those conduct norms which have been associated with mother and therefore have acquired feminine significance. Since mother has been the principal agent of indoctrination of "good" respectable behavior, "goodness" comes to symbolize femininity and engaging in "bad" behavior acquires the function of denying his femininity and therefore asserting his masculinity.

Critique

The emphasis on nonutilitarian over instrumental nature of the delinquent groups is questionable. There are varieties of delinquent groups some of which are very utilitarian.

The "anti-middle-class" especially with regard to property ideals, assumes a degree of sophistication with regard to the middle-class value system that hardly seems tenable.

There appears to be some data which is at variance with Cohen's assumption that lower-class children are oriented to middle-class status concerns.
Several delinquent subcultures will be discussed. The number plus the emphasis on cultural rather than personality systems precludes any short E-I-B summary except to say that the authors lay heavy stress on sociological variables in these admittedly short descriptions. Their problem foci are to describe these principal varieties of subcultures, to speculate on their origins, and to indicate the kinds of theory and research that are needed.

The first part of this paper summarizes the argument of Cohen's *Delinquent Boys*. Then the article by Sykes and Matsza on techniques of neutralization is discussed as an important elaboration of Cohen's theory, but these authors do not view it as an alternative because the techniques presuppose some kind of delinquent motivation which is unspecified. The authors then mention Wilensky and Lebeaux's critique, especially on the point of needed research on gang structure and activity variations.

There are some important limitations of *Delinquent Boys*; not the least is the failure to differentiate a variety of delinquent subcultures both within and between societies. The task is first to describe these subcultures. This must come from observing groups as wholes, their social structures, their activity structures and their external relations structures. The second task is to define the distribution of these patterns in the social system. The general theory of subcultures is then reviewed with attention to the questions of why particular problem solutions are chosen and which are then real adjustment problem sources.

Delinquent subcultures often have several and changing functions but the following ones seem likely to represent etiologically different entities with different attributes or manifest content. Their names here represent social positional coordinates of these attributes. First come the male subcultures.

1. The parent male subculture is Cohen's "delinquent subculture." It is parent because of its ubiquitouness and its common core shared by the following variants.

2. The conflict oriented subculture consists of large gangs often formally organized with emphasis on their territory ("turf") and reputation ("rep"). Status of the gang is largely determined by its toughness, and courage in fighting is highly desirable.

3. The drug-addict subculture appears to recruit primarily from the delinquent population and works closely with criminals. The addict subculture is nonviolent and utilitarian in emphasis. Studies in New York and Chicago reported in this article expand on these characteristics.

4. The semi-professional thief differs from the elite professional thief in being a transition stage from petty to organized crime. Although most juveniles appear to drop out of the parent subculture by 16 or 17, a minority takes up this style of life which includes the use of strong-arm methods and the sale of stolen goods.
5. The middle class delinquent subculture is assumed to represent solutions to distinctively middle class problems. The manifest content may look the same but important subtle differences will probably be found such as the courting of danger and the "playboy" type.

Determinants of the male subcultures are harder to specify, for even distributional data are lacking and on some of these subcultures little at all has been written. Kobrin's article is suggestive of the differences between the semi-professional and conflict orientations; although the area of integrated criminal and conventional roles is probably rare, conflict subcultures may result from the lack of such integration. Violence, however, appears to stem as much from conformity as from hostile impulses.

The New York investigators of the drug-addict subculture suggest that addiction alleviates anxieties stemming from deep emotional problems. The Chicago investigators refer to an explanation similar to Cohen's status frustration model, but this does not explain why only a few gravitate into this subculture. The authors also expound Cohen's thesis in the abstract on middle class delinquency. The conventional ways of attaining adult status are likely to be denied the adolescent; hence the alternatives to the deferred gratification pattern all the more push him toward irresponsible symbolic expressions of adulthood. Other social changes affecting middle class parents are also suggested.

On female delinquent subcultures little has been written. Cohen has argued that the girls' status is largely derived from attracting the "honorable" attention of males. Many lower class girls who lack the requisite social skills and material means may seek to reassure themselves of their adequacy as girls by abandoning their unrewarding reputation for chastity. This is also a theory based on the rejection of legitimate status goals.

A variety of female delinquent subcultures do exist organized around sex activities, mixed groups of middle class sex gangs and girl gangs resembling the male conflict gangs. Female drug addicts appear to feel a keen yearning for a stable marriage which makes them fall easy victim to exploiting men. The ensuing complications plus opiates lead to depression and a heightened dependence on the same drugs and social contacts, and a vicious circle is perpetuated.

Critique

This article is very suggestive of needed research in differentiating delinquent subcultures both on the descriptive and the theoretical levels. This same point of recognizing that diverse descriptions may refer to different subcultures which need separate study has been reached in our project too. Other types might be mentioned such as the more general withdrawal subcultures of the Beat Generation, the utilitarian shoplifting subcultures, but this is not a criticism.

Whether in fact Cohen's original model is a parent either in terms of life history progression or standard of comparison remains an empirical question.

The vicious cycle of opium use must include some rejection by former friends to set it in motion.
The sex role anxiety concept might be used to explain sex activities by girls.

The general theory of subcultures is presently in a very general and unelaborated condition.

The bibliography of the original article has several good references.
Summary

E: Greater use of physical punishments as contrasted to withdrawal of love. Mother the chief source of nurturance and father the principal disciplinarian. I: Perceive that nurturance is not threatened by aggression. Weak superego development. Low guilt. B: Aggression more often expressed directly toward the object of frustration.

The problem is to investigate the relations between child rearing practices and patterns of expressing aggression with emphasis on the roles of acceptance and control displayed by parents.

Design

Assumes the frustration aggression hypothesis, and that the mother is the principal source of nurturance. Thesis is that when external restraints on behavior are strong (required to conform rigidly to demands and expectations of others), the expression of aggression against others is legitimized. This is one strong basis for homicide. The converse prediction is made for suicide where aggression is directed against the self.

Generalizations

Contradictory views have been expressed on the effects of parental severity. Freudians assume that parental severity is introjected, while Heinicke has recently found that among four and five year old boys greater parental severity (tendency to use such techniques as physical punishment rather than control by reason) was associated with little internalization of parental values. Dickhorn has noted this latter relation too.

Another variable — loss of love — is also important in internalization. Withdrawal of love has been associated with a high degree of internalization and guilt. Whiting and Child found this in their cross-cultural study and Heinicke has confirmed this too. His "low guilt" boys were more frequently spanked or punished physically. Heinicke also found that among the three guilt groups, controlling for nurturance, the stronger the guilt, the more the mother was the primary source of discipline and control over the child. Thus the authors conclude that "love oriented" techniques of discipline are associated with strong superego formation and high guilt, as in the mother playing a dominant disciplinary role.

Assuming that aggression is originally directed to the object of frustration, then the quantity to be expressed varies directly with the severity of control by the controlling parent. The object of the expression is another thing. The authors suggest that when aggression threatens nurturance (i.e., when parents withdraw love if the child becomes hostile toward them) it will be directed inward. Where control is not exerted by withdrawing love, aggression is expressed outwardly against the object of frustration, and superego formation will be weak and defective.
It would also follow from the first sentence of the last paragraph that if the mother is looked to for love and the father for control, weak internalization would result. Then nurturance is not threatened by aggression.

*Critique*

The implications for delinquency potential are apparent; however, they seem to hang on the premise that the outward object of one's hostility is itself a frustrating one. Granted this, aggression and deviant behavior in general would be less impeded by weak internalizations. The authors suggest that projection may also account for acts of homicide committed by persons with apparently strong superego demands.

The Henry and Short thesis depends on the validity of their assumption that the mother is the chief source of nurturance, yet is not the chief punisher. For young children especially, this separation of powers would seem unlikely, although it would operate more in patriarchal homes.
Summary

These varied comments do not fit into the E-I-B pattern, the more so because they refer primarily to subcultures rather than individuals.

The problem is to critically examine Cohen's book as a substantive theory of the "delinquent subculture" and as a contribution to the general theory of delinquency.

Generalizations

1) Cohen does not adequately support, either in theory or in fact, his explanations of the delinquent subculture: He argues both that the lower-class boy is attracted to the American Dream and that he does not care what middle-class people think of him. Cohen rightly suggests that this is an empirical question, but rejects the idea of not caring. Yet class differences in socialization plus the working-class boys emphasis on satisfying peer relationships do tend to separate him from concern over the evaluations of middle-class adults.

Introduction of the reaction-formation concept with its outcome of irrational, malicious and unaccountable hostility furthermore assumes that the delinquent boy is strongly and fundamentally ambivalent about status in the middle-class system. Yet it is not that he is motivated but unable to achieve prestigious status in the middle-class system; rather, he does not want to strive for status in the system and resents the attempts to force its values on him, according to the authors' reading of Cohen's factual evidence. Hence the reaction-formation concept does not apply. The support of working-class peers, who are strongly depended upon, also mitigates the impact of the middle-class system.

The descriptions of the delinquent subculture in terms of non-utilitarian, malicious and negativistic behavior is an interpretation which is not independent of Cohen's explanation of the delinquent subculture. In fact, subcultural delinquents display no absence of rational, calculated, utilitarian behavior. Middle-class adolescents are engaged in the same sorts of activities that Cohen uses to support his description of the working-class delinquent subculture. Thus Cohen's description of the delinquent subculture is also open to question.

2) Does empirical research demonstrate the validity of his major thesis? The authors contend that the methodological basis of the theory renders it inherently untestable, since it is an historical construction of the emergence of the subculture and its present concentration among working-class males. This also requires data on the psychological characteristics of past populations, which is at least very difficult to obtain.

Cohen himself states that the motivations of individual members of the subculture may be quite varied, and his job is not to elaborate on this. Thus he separates the dynamics of the etiology from the dynamics of the maintenance of the subculture, but he must implicitly concede that some present members have the status anxiety syndrome.
It may be fruitful then to ask: What consequences in motivational structure follow from participation in the delinquent subculture? As a heuristic device, Cohen's theory allows the following propositions to be drawn:

a) The individual learns the values of the delinquent subculture through participation in gangs that embody that subculture.

b) Motivations for participating are varied.

c) The malicious, non-utilitarian, and negativistic behavior which is learned through formal participation in the subculture is met by formal negative sanctions, rejection, and limitation of access to prestigeful status within the middle-class system.

d) Thus, such participation creates similar problems for all participants.

e) The participants' response to the barriers raised to exclude them from status in the middle-class system (that is, the "problem") is a hostile rejection of the standards of "respectable" society and an emphasis upon status within the delinquent gang.

f) The hostile rejection response reinforces the malicious, non-utilitarian, and negativistic norms of the subculture.

This suggests that the delinquent subculture persists because it creates for its members the very problems which were the bases for its emergence.

Critique

The propositions derived from Cohen's theory, while not contributing to an understanding of original motives for subcultural participation, do suggest some important conditions for reinforcement of the delinquent pattern. It might be argued that at this stage, middle-class delinquents are not confronted with so much rejection as are lower-class ones. The processes of delinquency reinforcement have been relatively little studied, and deserve more detailed analysis.

Summary
E: Existence of class or peer subculture, or neighborhood gang.
I: Identification with the code of a deviant subgroup, supported by "gang psychology" processes. B: Genuine or peer group D. Segregation from and depersonalization of nongroup members.

The problem is to analyze the group psychological conditions under which delinquent traits are reinforced or counteracted.

Generalizations
There are four fundamentally different types of delinquency:
(1) as a defense against wrong handling, a wrong setting in which to live or against traumatic experiences; (2) as a result of some acute adolescent growth confusion; (3) on a neurotic basis; and (4) "genuine delinquency" i.e., certain disturbances in the impulse system, or malformation of the ego, superego and ego ideal in intensity or context. Redl discusses the fourth type here.

Society itself is not unified but highly stratified. The delinquent refuses to identify with exactly that substratum of society which the parents or the law-enforcing middle class represent. This subgroup identification may happen in three ways: (1) on a class basis; e.g., "the tough way of life"; (2) on a development basis, e.g., identifying with the unwritten code of the peer-culture; and (3) on a neighborhood gang basis. These can occur together also.

The genuine delinquent is not one against the world, but a member of one group against another. He depends on the group psychological support for his delinquent actions. Then "gang psychology," which refers to any of the three bases above, supports the individual's delinquent trends in these ways:

(1) The process of "magical seduction"--where impulses are reinforced by seeing others express themselves fearlessly, and by having the leader do things first and thus extinguish inhibitions and bring out unconscious absolution.

(2) Ego support through organization of ways and means--the leader provides the means for satisfying the common undesirable drives and thus prevents guilt feelings, anxieties and conflicts for the members.

(3) Guilt insurance through coverage by the group code--the group code supplants the individual's superego. These mechanisms allow the adolescent to feel no guilt but instead pride, moral indignation and the feeling of being in the right.

The group develops special mechanisms to protect themselves against disaffection while they are not together:
(1) segregation and hatred of nongroup members.

(2) depersonalizing symbolization—people of out-groups whose code is hostile to the group are not thought of as people but only as symbols of the value system of that out-group.

(3) tabu against code-dangerous identification—various attachments to the out-group members are all right except for identifying with them when they criticize certain code-dangerous items like "stealing" or "delinquency."

Redl goes on to suggest some implications for psychotherapy.

Critique

Redl makes a useful distinction between identification with the gang and with the peer culture and perhaps by implication with the neighborhood subculture. The question then is what process explains each identification.

Again on the supports for delinquent activity we need to know the conditions under which leader or other-member action reduces inhibitions and guilt.

The second protection mechanism, depersonalization, is suggestive of the treatment of middle-class individuals as only symbols of oppression and status anxiety to the lower-class delinquent.

**Summary**

I: Commitment to dominant normative system, yet want to justify deviation from some of these norms. B: Techniques developed to neutralize violations of norms.

The problem is to critically evaluate (mostly criticize) Cohen's formulations on delinquent subculture, and to set up an alternative explanation.

**Generalizations**

The authors see certain empirical and theoretical difficulties with Cohen's notion of delinquency springing from deviant and countervailing values and norms. These problems are:

1. If the delinquent behavior were viewed as morally right according to subcultural standards, we would expect no feeling of guilt or shame at being caught or confined. Instead indignation and a sense of martyrdom should prevail. Yet many delinquents do experience guilt and shame.

2. Observers have noted that delinquents frequently admire and respect law-abiding persons. Attachment to humble mother or upright priest at least indicates he does not regard those who live by the legal rules as immoral. He may resent the imputation of illegal behavior to "significant others."

3. Delinquents often draw a sharp line between those who can be victimized and those who cannot. This may be a function of social distance between delinquent and others.

4. It is doubtful if many delinquents are totally immune from demands for conformity made by dominant social order. Parents will usually agree that delinquency is wrong. Completely delinquent neighborhoods just aren't found.

The authors suggest that social rules and norms seldom take the form of categorical imperatives. They appear as qualified guides for action. For example, killing is condoned in war. The authors' thesis is that "delinquency is based on what is essentially an unrecognized extension of defenses to crimes, in the form of justifications for deviance that are seen as valid by the delinquent but not by the legal system or society at large." Disapproval is neutralized by rationalizations not only afterward but also before the violation. Thus the delinquent can remain committed to the dominant normative system and yet qualify its imperatives so that violations are acceptable.

Five major types of techniques are used to rationalize or neutralize normative violations:

1. Denial of responsibility—claim of "accidental" or due to forces beyond his control and outside himself such as unloving parents, bad companions, slum neighborhood. This may also represent a culturally patterned alienation from oneself. The delinquent views himself as more acted upon than acting and thus paves the way for deviant behavior
(2) Denial of injury--the delinquent may define wrongfulness in terms of whether anyone has been hurt by his deviance. Auto theft may be thought of only as "borrowing" and gang fighting a private and voluntary duel. May not be explicitly formulated.

(3) Denial of the victim--injury may be viewed as rightful retaliation or punishment: attack ethnic minorities who have "gotten out of place" or homosexuals or "crooked" storekeeper. Robin Hood still captures American fancy. The victim may also be denied because he is physically absent, unknown or a vague abstraction like property.

(4) Condemnation of the condemners--delinquent shifts attention to the motives and behavior of accusers. Police may be said to be corrupt, stupid, brutal; teachers to show favoritism; and parents to 'take it out' on their children. The rewards of conformity can become matters of pull or luck, thus decreasing the stature of those who conform. The validity of these accusations is not so important as their effects to shift attention.

(5) Appeal to higher loyalties--in this case, loyalty to peer groups. Societal norms are not explicitly rejected, but relegated to inferior status. This is role conflict. The choice to help a friend remains familiar to the law abiding.

These techniques may not be enough, since the delinquent often suffers from feelings of guilt, too. Some may also be isolated from the dominant culture. Research would best proceed by (1) discovering the differential distribution of techniques of neutralization, with important concern for family influences and segments of society where discrepancy between social ideals and practices is most apparent; and (2) analyzing the internal structure of the techniques as a system of belief and values and its relation to delinquency. Certain techniques are better suited to some deviant acts such as offenses against property and denial of the victim.

Critique

I found this article very stimulating, even while disagreeing in places. What the authors say may certainly be true of some delinquents--such as their feeling that guilt is expressed. But their view that the lack of guilt may be traced to neutralization should warn us against too readily assigning delinquents to, for instance, a lower-class subculture. It may also be that these are not true feelings of guilt, but rather reactions of feigned guilt, or shame over exposure of delinquency to parents, or even guilt over letting the gang down.

Cohen has mentioned elsewhere that this is an important addition to the theory of delinquent subcultures in accounting for anti-normative behavior.
Summary

E: "Easy-going" home life; lower socio-economic status of neighborhood,
B: Gang D.

The problem is to go behind Hewitt and Jenkins' description of the
"socialized delinquent" and compare gang and non-gang delinquents for the
etiological factors they found.

Design

The hypotheses state (1) that gang members will more often come from
poorly supervised homes and unfavorable socio-economic conditions,
(2) that these differentials will be sharper for repeaters, (3) that the
items will be better predictors of repeating for gang than non-gang boys.

Gang is defined as a group of four or more boys who regularly spend
their spare time together. Repeating refers to whether 1946 offenders were
also reported in 1947.

Data obtained from records of Detroit police on 5,878 boys on whom
complaints were filed. Boys and parents were interviewed. All of 1947
and last five months of 1946 records were used. Only 10% of these boys
were referred to the juvenile court.

Generalizations

Concerning the first hypothesis, gang members more often came from
homes where the marriage was intact, where few chores were required, where
money was given on request as compared to none given, and where parents
were over 45. The neighborhoods were rated as average for the gang
delinquent compared to "good" for the usual non-gang delinquent, with
substandard compared to modern homes. All these significant at .01 level.
So the hypothesis is supported with regard to the socio-economic factors
but the home life of gang boys is more easy-going than neglected.

Hypothesis no appeared inconclusive if not negative. On the third
hypothesis, it was found that socio-economic indices had greater pre­
dictive value for spotting repeaters among the gang members and family
indices were more helpful among non-members.

Critique

These findings cannot directly be compared to the "socialized
delinquency" pattern without considering the unknown changes in population
between gang life and the residue which eventually is filtered to the
child guidance clinic. The data add little new, as I at first thought
they did, concerning social class differences in delinquency.

The non-gang type would suggest a less subcultural root of delinquency
for these boys, and the significant incidence of separated or dead parents
is consistent at least with the "unsocialized aggressive" delinquency type.
Summary:

E: Relative inaccessibility of success-goals by legitimate means; some degree of anomie concerning institutionalized means.

I: Internalization of success-goals, but not institutionalized means so much.

B: 1) When there is limited access to success-goals by legitimate means and incomplete internalization of norms then delinquency will vary according to the availability of illegitimate channels to success-goals.
   (a) When illegitimate means are available, delinquency will tend to follow the criminal pattern.
   (b) When illegitimate means are not available, delinquency will tend to follow the conflict pattern.

2) When faced with limited legitimate means and with an inability to utilize illegitimate means, and assuming continued acceptance of the success-goals, the retreatist pattern develops.

The problem faced in this report was to account for all types of delinquency patterns within the same conceptual scheme.

Generalizations:

There are three distinct types of delinquent subculture patterns. They are the criminal, the conflict and the retreatist pattern.

Antecedent conditions to, but not sources of, delinquency are (1) the nature of adolescence in Western Society and (2) the nature of lower class culture.

The independent variable is anomie. When men are led to orient themselves toward goals under conditions which preclude their achievement, strains toward deviance will be experienced. Such persons are then in the market for a solution to their achievement-frustrations, and deviant solutions frequently result.

Intervening variables: (1) degree of internalization of institutional norms; and (2) relative accessibility of success-goals by illegitimate means.

Assuming (1) limited access to success-goals by legitimate means, and (2) incomplete internalization of institutional norms, then delinquency will vary according to the availability of illegitimate channels to success-goals. When illegitimate means are available, delinquency will tend to be more or less rational and disciplined, i.e., oriented toward a criminal career. When such means are unavailable, it will take the form of conflict.
The existence of the criminal pattern is dependent upon the degree of integration between the adult carriers of both criminal and conventional values. When a high degree of integration exists delinquency will tend to be rational and disciplined; violence and similar forms of behavior will be curbed by the local agents of social control.

It is under conditions of simultaneous detachment from both of these traditional opportunity structures that violence tends to develop.

The changing rates of delinquency currently apparent are due to changes in (1) the structure of organized crime; (2) changes in the urban political machine, and (3) increasingly rapid population turnover.

The retreatist pattern develops as a function of failure to reach culturally approved goals by legitimate means and the inability to employ illegitimate means because of internalized prohibitions while at the same time continuing to accept the success-goals as supreme values.

If a person's level of aspiration is high and he experiences failure in his attempts at a criminal or conflict adaptation, then he is likely to adopt the retreatist pattern, especially if his primary role-set during adolescence was his peer group.

The various delinquency patterns will exhibit different resistances to change. The criminal culture would exhibit the greatest resistance because it is (1) integrated with the conventional world, (2) integrated with at least one other delinquent subculture, and (3) it is characterized by considerable integration of different age-levels of participants. The retreatist culture would be moderately resistant to change for it displays only the second and third forms of integration. The conflict culture would appear to be the least well integrated and would exhibit the greatest susceptibility to outside influences.

Critique:
This is an ambitious scheme which attempts to account for the varied observed delinquency patterns. Most notable is that the authors tend to avoid the problem of many theorists who tackle only one type of patterns and incorporate premises into their schemes not consistent with the nature of other observed patterns.
CHAPTER IV

Family Organization

Introduction

The family has been probably the most intensively studied social unit of any in the literature on delinquency. Because many of these studies focus also on intrapsychic and other phenomena, a good number of them were placed elsewhere.

The Hewitt and Jenkins study reported here is a good early example of linking parental and intrapsychic variables on an empirical level. A recent re-evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville study includes a detailed empirical study of both parental characteristics and parental relationships with children as these are related to different kinds of delinquent acts. Theoretical bridges to intervening intrapsychic variables are also suggested. Other investigators were concerned with the effects of parental absence or neglect. These and other factors such as family conflict and severe punishments have been linked with delinquency by others via the self-concept. For other contributions related to family life, see especially personality factors (Chapter 5), self-concept and identification (Chapter 6), and psychopathic personality (Chapter 7).
Summary:
E: Personal dissatisfactions in the lives of the parents which affects their behavior and attitudes in such a manner that their relationships with some of their children are unsatisfying from the child's point of view.

I: The child's need for satisfying human relations is frustrated and through this lack, feelings of inadequacy, deprivation, or thwarting are created. When these discomforts are strong, the driving forces of the frustrated needs develop into urges for substitute satisfactions.

B: Substitute satisfactions may take the form of delinquent activities.

The problem here is to trace the impact of unsatisfying relationships with parents on the channeling of normal urges.

Design:
The study centered on the family life of delinquents and non-delinquents in the same family.

Generalizations:
Over 90% of the delinquents gave evidence of being or of having been, extremely disturbed because of emotion-provoking relationships with others, mainly with others in the same family.

Delinquents were definitely more active and restless than controls. They exhibited a greater urge for companionship and showed more marked ascendant tendencies.

The controls tended to be notably quiet, placid and subdued. They tended to avoid companionship and exhibited more distinctly submissive tendencies.

Unsatisfying human relationships form barriers to the flow of normal urges, desires and wishes toward socially acceptable activities. The deflected current of feelings of being inadequate, deprived or thwarted in ego or love satisfactions naturally turns strongly into urges for substitute satisfactions.

The obstructive relationships are mainly those within the family group where the attitudes and behavior of parents and others are influenced by their own personal dissatisfactions.

Ideas of delinquency are derived from companions, the observation of special temptations, reading, etc. These sources of ideas constitute environmental pressures. Through the acceptance of such ideas the deflected portion of the current of feelings and activities finds expression in delinquency.
Critique:

The figure that 90% of the delinquents were emotionally disturbed is interesting. The study would have been better designed and more meaningful if the control group had been subjected to a comparable intense investigation and equivalent data presented.

It should be noted that many controls, in reported comparisons, appeared the more disturbed of the two. It seemed that close attachment to the mother to the extent that the child had no other close relations at all was apparently regarded as "healthy" simply because no delinquent acts were performed.

The original matching of children left much to be desired. The differences in the adjustment problems of the two sexes is such that matching boys with girls cannot be justified.

The source of the delinquent response as a solution to feelings of deprivations is not clear. The authors noted that the child must first pick up the idea somewhere, e.g., in reading. There is no support for the contention that such ideas can be secured from such sources. Even if plausible, it is not clear how the delinquent response is the appropriate substitute response for satisfaction of the originally thwarted urges.

Summary

See the headings of influence chart below for major variables.

The problem is to determine the distinctive environmental circumstances of children who differ in expressing fundamentally different patterns of behavior maladjustment.

Design

500 problem children referred to Michigan Child Guidance Institute--55% from cities 10-100,000 population.

Can't control for adjustment potentialities of subjects. Sample composition: 97% white, 70% no minority culture group contact, 10% first or second generation foreign born. School authority referrals 49.8%, juvenile court 9.2%; 78% boys; average age 11.7; IQ skewed low.

Syndrome placement criteria 1) positive tetrachoric correlation of .30 or more and logically consistent (i.e., fit clinical picture of this type of maladjusted kid; 2) not too many items; 3) not many to appear in each case.

Interview schedule: weighted toward family questions.

Generalizations

See enclosed chart (next page)

Critique

Treatment of opportunity to contact delinquency patterns is crude: sibling delinquents and living in urban deteriorated neighborhood are vague.

No description of selection procedures; only one correlation on unsocialized aggressive behavior syndrome above .50, none above .69; factors beyond family poorly treated; 305 cases unclassified on behavior. Method in reverse: obtained independent variable by correlation with dependent variable. Thus larger N's among independent variables indicate that other effects may also be found.

Dependent variables selected first, so no knowledge of effects of lack of independent variables.
CHART OF INFLUENCE PATTERNS

Situational Syndrome

PARENTAL REJECTION (N = 101)
- illegitimate pregnancy
- pregnancy unwanted (Father)
- pregnancy unwanted (Mother)
- post-delivery rejection (Father)
- post-delivery rejection (Mother)
- unwilling to accept parent role (Mother)
- sexually unconventional (Mother)
- Mother-person openly hostile to child
- loss of contact with both parents

Environmental Structure

PARENTAL NEGLECT AND EXPOSURE TO DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR (N = 78)
- interior of home unkempt
- irregular home routine
- lack of supervision
- Father's discipline lax
- Mother's discipline lax
- Mother mentally inadequate
- Father's discipline harsh
- Mother's discipline harsh
- Mother shielding
- sib reputedly delinquent
- sib officially delinquent
- urban deteriorated area

Personality States & Processes

Behavior Syndrome

UNSOCIALIZED AGGRESSIVE
assaultive tendencies (N=52)
initiatory fighting
cruelty
defiance of authority
malicious mischief
inadequate guilt feelings

BEHAVIOR SYNDROME

UNSOCIALIZED AGGRESSIVE
assaultive tendencies (N=52)
initiatory fighting
cruelty
defiance of authority
malicious mischief
inadequate guilt feelings
FAMILY REPRESSION (N = 106)
Father's discipline inconsistent
Father hypercritical
Father unsociable
Mother unsociable
Mother dominating
compensated rejection (Mother)
sibling rivalry

OR

PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY (N = 95)
central nervous system disorder
abnormal growth pattern
convulsions (past or present)
auditory defect
speech defect
diseased tonsils or adenoids
(present)
chronic physical complaints

Environmental Struc. at Time of Behavior
Personality States & Processes
Behavior Syndrome

Unsure of position in family; jealous, feels neglected.
Increased depression, and sensitivity leads to less exposure for fear of inadequacy.
Lacks social skills at adolescence when one is measured by what he can do.

OVERINHIBITED BEHAVIOR (N = 73)
seclusiveness
shyness
apathy
worrying
sensitiveness
submissiveness

Cases classified on;
behavior syndrome - 195
situational syndrome - 280

**Summary**

1) E: Early family neglect leading to (I) feelings of rejection and deprivation. Lack of consistent discipline leads to (I) rebelliousness unchecked by internalized prohibitions. Delinquent subculture available. I: Desire for attention and material welfare. B: Property crimes.

2) E: Inconsistent or lax discipline results in (I) weakly internalized prohibitions. Maternal domination or parental rejection causes (I) feelings of frustration and rage. I: Retaliation. B: Crimes against persons.

3) E: Little maternal affection; father rejects or neglects, socially acceptable modes of expressing affection are barred while deviant ways are not forbidden. I: Thwarted desire for maternal affection. B: Sex crimes.

4) E: Inconsistent or punitive discipline, quarrelsome or broken homes. I: Feelings of rejection and anxiety. B: Drunkenness to "forget" insecurity.

5) E: Maternal domination leading to (I) search for escape, or passive mother causing (I) a desire for recognition. I: Search for mastery and power. B: Traffic crimes as expression of self-importance.

The problem is to re-analyze the effectiveness of the Cambridge-Somerville treatment, to assess the relevant personal, family and social background data on the boys, and to trace their lifetime court records to date.

**Design**

All treatment and control individuals were included except deceased matched pairs, etc. In 1948 only ten percent lived outside greater Boston so Massachusetts court actions and dispositions are the dependent variable measures. Case data were read and categorized without previous knowledge of criminal record. (However, the control case data were generally less complete and hence perhaps identifiable.) The total sample was drawn from lower middle class and lower in the social class structure. In the following the antecedent factors relate to crime generally unless the specific acts are mentioned.

**Generalizations**

The following is a summary of important causes of crime at various ages. Intelligence and physical conditions (not somatotype) did not affect crime. Social factors were not strongly related either. A slum neighborhood can mold a child's personality but apparently only if other factors make him susceptible to the subculture that surrounds him. Family cohesiveness, consistent discipline and affection from parents serve as insulators. Children from "good neighborhoods" tend to channel frustrations in a noncriminal way. Neighborhood seemed to have a stronger causative influence on delinquency than on adult criminality. Second-generation Americans were less likely to become criminal than sons of native born Americans.
McCord, et al.

Home atmosphere had an important effect: Cohesive homes produced few criminals. A quarrelsome home led to delinquency beginning early.

**Discipline:** Consistent discipline, whether punitive or love-oriented, tended to prevent criminality. Lax discipline promoted early delinquency particularly property, sexual and violent crimes. Erratic punitive discipline promoted all types and was least likely of all discipline types to "reform."

**Father's personality:** These factors increased criminality: paternal absence especially led to drunkenness, cruelty if mother was nonloving, and neglect except where maternal love or consistently love-oriented discipline was present.

**Role model of the father** was related to criminality when: father was criminal and rejected the boy since son tended to imitate when father rejected.

**Mother's personality** appeared to be most fundamental source: lack of maternal love; maternal passivity, especially sexual and traffic violations; cruelty and absence; maternal neglect encouraged early delinquency and was least likely to "reform"; maternal overprotection led to high proportions of violent criminals and traffic offenders.

**Son's position in the family** increased his chances of criminality if he was viewed as a "troublemaker" by parents, and if he fell in the middle range of the birth order.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>Crimes Against the Person</th>
<th>Sex Crimes</th>
<th>Drunkenness</th>
<th>Traffic Violation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal background</td>
<td>neglect (p&lt;.001)</td>
<td>overprotection, neglect (p&lt;.005)</td>
<td>neglect (p&lt;.001)</td>
<td>overprotection, neglect (p&lt;.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal background</td>
<td>neglect (p&lt;.005); criminal role model (p&lt;.01)</td>
<td>cruelty, neglect (p&lt;.005); criminal role model (p&lt;.02)</td>
<td>neglect (p&lt;.05)</td>
<td>absence, neglect (p&lt;.025)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplinary background</td>
<td>absence of consistency; erratic-punitiveness, laxity (p&lt;.005)</td>
<td>absence of love; erratic-punitiveness, laxity (p&lt;.02)</td>
<td>absence of consistency; erratic-punitiveness, laxity (p&lt;.05)</td>
<td>absence of consistency and love; erratic-punitiveness (p&lt;.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home atmosphere</td>
<td>quarrellsome-neglecting (p&lt;.001)</td>
<td>broken, quarrellsome-neglecting (p&lt;.005)</td>
<td>quarrellsome-neglecting (p&lt;.001)</td>
<td>broken, quarrellsome-neglecting (p&lt;.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
<td>average (p&lt;.05)</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 74, p. 150, McCord et al.*
Property crime: seems to be motivated by a desire for attention and for material welfare. On the basis of the data, one may argue that early family neglect creates deep feelings of rejection and deprivation; the lack of consistent discipline leads to a rebelliousness unchecked by internalized inhibitions. These plus a delinquent subculture eventuate in the above.

Crimes against the person appear to be a reaction against either maternal domination or paternal rejection. Retaliation is the primary motivation of these criminals. Inconsistent punitiveness or laxity in discipline resulted in low inhibition. The sequence is severe rejection or maternal domination causes feelings of frustration and rage which are not internally inhibited. The child may later identify with the aggressive role model.

Sexual crimes stem from thwarted desires for maternal affection. Fathers were also neglecting or rejecting. Socially accepted modes of expressing affection are inhibited while deviant ways were not forbidden.

Drunkenness occurs as an attempt to assuage feelings of rejection. Inconsistent punitive discipline, quarrelsone or broken homes added to feelings of rejection and anxiety. By drinking we might hypothesize, they are able to "forget" their insecurity.

Traffic crimes appear to be a search for mastery or power. They may be seeking escape from maternal domination or recognition to compensate for the emotional passivity of the mother. By "controlling" the car at high speeds or disregarding traffic regulations the offender probably feels a sense of mastery and self-importance denied him at home.

Critique
This book has a wealth of other data on these topics and others. I have only selected the most salient points.

Operational definitions are unclear sometimes.

Although reference is made to the deviant subcultures, no systematic discussion of how one gets involved in them is presented.

On the effects of treatment, only younger boys and the few who received intensive supportive counseling had lower crime rates.

The authors do not discuss social forces which may compel an individual to join a subculture or deviant peer group, or how the norms of such groups may structure the type of criminal act. Their motivational theories are weak on this point of deciding how the felt frustrations are channeled into particular types of crime.

Summary
E: More family conflict, less joint family participation; parents more often punish; broken homes; friends in trouble. I: Less socially-acceptable self concept. More aggressive (expect trouble). B: "Potential D" nominees; truancy; less obedient.

The problem is to explore what the title says.

Design
The sixteen census tracts with the highest delinquency rates in Columbus, Ohio were selected. All sixth grade teachers were asked to nominate boys who would almost certainly experience future police and juvenile court contact and those who would most likely stay clear of such contacts. 192 students (52% of the eligibles) were nominated as the latter type and 108 or about 25% were deemed potentially delinquent. There was wide variation among teachers in the frequency of nominations.

Both boys and mothers were interviewed. The delinquency vulnerability and social responsibility scales of the Gough California Inventory were used along with a self concept measure.

Generalizations
It turned out that 8.3% of the "good" boys had misconduct records generally for malicious destruction of property, and the 23% of the potentially delinquent nominees (PD) with records were more often booked for incorrigibility and forms of theft. The boys with a record were excluded from the refined PND group.

The PD more often came from broken homes, but showed no differences from the potentially nondelinquents (PND) on father's occupation, percentage of mothers with full or part-time employment, percentage home owners or length of residence. Race and socio-economic status differences were minimized by the sampling procedures.

A socially acceptable or appropriate self concept may be an important underlying component of PD and PND. The refined PND group more often indicated a desire to avoid trouble at any cost, did not expect to have to go to court or jail, and had few friends who had been in trouble with the law. They more often liked school, and rarely played hookey. They more often pictured themselves as obedient sons living in a harmonious family. They felt that parents were neither overly strict nor lax.

If anything, these differences were magnified by the parents. All but one of the PD mothers thought their sons could have picked better friends. They were also more often unaware of their sons' whereabouts and knew fewer of his friends. They pictured more family conflict and less family participation in leisure and other activities. The "good" boys were less frequently punished and more often defined as being quiet.
(The following is from "Self concept as an insulator against delinquency" by these authors in the same journal for Dec. 1956.) The sample is the same. The "good" boys also visualized themselves as being above average in ability, activity level and aggressiveness more often than the PDS. The PNDs more often listed parental direction, non-deviant companions and work as keeping boys out of trouble.

Parental supervision and interest in the boys' welfare and activities is pronounced among the PNDs, yet these boys do not feel unduly restricted.

The PND self concept may stem from the social definition of role from significant others, from effective socialization, from rewards for being a good boy.

Critique

The procedure of matching PNDs and PDS overcomes much criticism of studying institution populations. The authors failed to find Lander's correlation between home ownership and delinquency, but percentage non-white was not computed here.

As for the self concept and attitudes measures, it is unfortunate that they are not linked to the mother's practices or other external conditions. The influence of peers on forming these conceptions is noticeably unassessed. Punishment may be a significant variable, depending on how it was defined; e.g., punishment style such as withdrawal of love leading to quiet boys, but offhand I see no social structural difference in the samples that would account for this.

**Summary**

B: D to achieve status and valued self-identity among peers by oversubscribing to peer norms.

The problem is to outline the causes of delinquency (only part of the book).

**Generalizations**

The source of delinquency begins early in life with a lack of love and care and attention. In most cases it can be detected years before the child's conduct creates any disturbance. Almost any good third grade teacher can point out the problem children.

Home is the root of the vast majority of delinquencies, and others stem from the street-gang contacts. Neglect at home is likely to bring with it the lack of a positive self-identity. One's efforts to achieve status and a clear feeling about who he is are transferred to the peer group more intensely. Proving oneself then becomes a matter of outdoing others in toughness, daring, etc. This becomes the most important means of achieving high status.

Some boys apparently are coerced into joining a gang. Police and parents cannot be expected to be on hand to prevent the coercion. The boy may be very much afraid of hurting another or being hurt, but the fear of "punking out," i.e., being called a coward, in the gang frays keeps him in it. The need for status among his peers drives this kind of a boy to join the gang.

Salisbury states that he did not meet a single gang leader who did not want to break out of the pattern of street life. He thinks they are sincere but ignorant of the means to do this.

The notion of purposelessness seemed to occur several times. A boy would have delinquent connections; he would be arrested on a charge, and this in turn would lead to his losing a job, the family being evicted from public housing, etc. If he is detained long, he may also lose his girl friend, his status in the gang, etc. With this sense of important ends becoming unattainable a more general feeling that nothing really matters begins to crystallize.

**Critique**

Concerning the last paragraph it is as if the arrest was perceived to be responsible for an irretrievable loss of self-esteem and identity, which leads to a feeling of indifference or subjective anomie. This in turn loosens the boy's restrictions against antisocial activity. The loss of esteem may also be pictured as a severe frustration which leads to aggressive activity to reestablish gang status and avenge oneself against society, especially since the earlier restrictions no longer have their previous force.
Salisbury's comments are directed primarily to the conflict subculture of gang warfare.

Parental neglect has been cited in other studies, too, and deserves careful consideration. So has the effort to attain peer status. A crucial question of why certain values arise, such as toughness, remains to be answered. Since peer formation itself is well nigh universal for youths, the empirical question remains as to whether unsatisfied Identity strivings predispose a more total loyalty to peer norms.

There is much more worthwhile in the book, although of course it is generally described anecdotally.
CHAPTER V

Personality Factors

Introduction

The material in this chapter covers a wide range of topics. Some articles are eclectic or synthetic while others concern specific processes. Most make some reference to conditions influencing personality factors, largely family life variables, but all place major emphasis, for our purposes, on personality antecedents of behavior.

Several integrative schemes are presented. One is based largely on clinical diagnosis, another on Freudian defense mechanisms, a third on expanding interpersonal integrations, and a fourth on dependence and independence strivings. On the level of specific processes, several neurotic outcomes of basic anxiety are proposed which might increase delinquency potential. Other researchers have studied the growth and malfunctioning of the superego. Still others have studied the socialization of aggression or used it as a variable intervening between parental practices and delinquency. This is the broad scope of the chapter.
Summary:
E: Socialization influences are inadequate for leading the child from his asocial to a social state. This is often, in part, because of an unharmonious home situation and lack of love from parents.

I: The individual remains governed by the pleasure principle because of inhibition of development or because of a regression.

B: The powerful pleasure principle calls forth reactions which are inappropriate to the situation and the age of the child.

The problem is to understand the forces which prevent the normal inhibiting functions from developing.

Generalizations:
The task of socialization is to lead the child from an asocial to a social state. Given certain disturbances of the libido, the child remains asocial.

Two groups of delinquents were observed:
1. Border-line neurotic cases with dissocial symptoms. The individual finds himself in an inner conflict because of the nature of his love relationships; a part of his own personality forbids the indulgence of libidinal desires and strivings. The dissocial behavior results from this conflict, a super-ego-id struggle.

2. Dissocial cases in which that part of the ego giving rise to the dissocial behavior shows no trace of neurosis. The individual finds himself in open conflict with his environment because the outer world has frustrated his childish libidinal desires. This is an id-reality conflict.

The delinquent possesses little capacity for repressing instinctual impulses and for directing energy away from primitive goals. He is thus unable to achieve what is considered by society a normal ethical code. This is because of an unsatisfied need for tenderness and love in childhood in the majority of cases.

Most of the cases observed came from families where the home was broken up or disharmonious.

Critique:
The cases observed and reported by the author appeared largely to be behavioral problems. No cases were noted wherein the delinquent behavior was associated with gang activities.
Summary
I: Internalization of values found instrumental to major goals, internalization of more realistic goals and roles, stronger self-esteem and self-critical faculties. B: Greater volitional and executive independence from parents; greater moral responsibility, more long-range status goal motivation.

The problem is to take account of the facts of adolescent development and order them in a logical framework. (Chapter 7, Personality maturation during adolescence.)

Generalizations
Ego maturation tasks during adolescence.

A. Acquiring greater volitional independence.

1. Independent planning of goals and reaching decisions.
2. Assimilation of new values on basis of intrinsic validity or relevance to major goals of individual, not from personal loyalty to parents. (This is incorporation as contrasted to satellization of early childhood; both are forms of identity.)
3. Greater reliance on non-parental sources of ego support.
4. Aspiring to more realistic goals and roles. Adopting a level of ego aspiration that is consonant with ability and environmental possibilities.
5. Greater frustration tolerance against loss of self-esteem, aspiration levels and performance.
6. Emergence of adequate self-critical faculty and ability to judge parents objectively.
7. Abandon specific claims on indulgence of others.

B. Reorganization of goal structure on a less devalued basis.

1. Greater need for obtaining primary as contrasted to derived status of accepting parents. Primary status is that which one achieves himself.
2. Higher level of ego aspiration.
C. Replace hedonistic motivation with long-range status goals.

D. Acquire increased executive independence.

E. Acquire moral responsibility on societal basis.

Negativism of adolescents as an outgrowth of insecurities and anxieties of rapid transition in bio-social status where adolescent receives too little volitional independence in relation to abilities.

Shift in primary status is more reminiscent of infancy than childhood because satellizing child (age 2-3 on) is normally content with derived status. In adolescence child is not so accountable to parental moral standards, but in adolescence his feelings are based on abstract propositions, societal sanctions and guilt feelings. (Thus, the parental standards are internalized and no need for reward and punishments).

Desatellization can occur from:

1. Resatellization--to age mates, social institutions, etc.

2. Achieving primary status--economic, etc.

3. Exploratory orientation--learning directed to objective problem solving regardless of status implications involved.

Types of non-satellizers--don't surrender volitional independence and grandiose level of aspiration.

1. Rejected child--feels neurotic anxiety, accepts situation meekly, then rebels violently.

2. Overvalued child--low frustration tolerance, too self-centered to relate to others.

Effects

Poorly internalized values may be resigned to personal gain if chances of apprehension and punishment are low.

Critique

Concept of satellization and types of status are useful. Note also life stages from infant's feeling of volitional independence and executive dependence, through period of realizing he is dependent on their willingness as well (period of satellization when normal child accepts this) through to adolescence.

Primary vs. derived status line unclear. In a sense every child must achieve and strive to merit derived status. Need to trace relations between types of parent-child relationships and predispositions for certain types of relationships among adolescents.
Rejected child may not sateilize but may still learn various parental standards through mechanisms of reinforcement learning and identification with aggressor. In a sense he learns even earlier that he is not volitionally independent, but must depend on whims of parent. But parent does not provide a satisfying basis for derived status (Cf. NOWET on defensive and developmental identification).

Summary

E: Parental absence. Prolonged paternal and hostile rejection.
I: Less aggression or fear of aggression from father, and less affection from him received. A weaker disapproval anxiety is suggested to result.
B: D's under psychiatric care. They were more indifferent to fathers and only weakly anticipated punishment. They displayed continuous aggressive anti-social tendencies.

The problem is to determine whether delinquents have excessive frustration-induced aggressive drives generalized from father to all authorities and weak anticipation of punishment.

Design

Standardized projective doll play situation. Twelve delinquent and 20 normally adjusted boys compared. Both groups from families of lower middle-class urban status, and had average intelligence. Delinquents were from broken homes and committed to the care of a psychiatrically supervised study home for pre-psychopathic and neurotic children. Symptoms included continuous aggressive anti-social tendencies. Ages 7-10. Delinquents had prolonged "paternal or hostile rejection" of the child.

Generalization

Delinquents showed more indifference to their fathers, and weaker anticipation of punishment.

Normals gave significantly greater evidence of aggression received from fathers and fear felt toward father's aggression as well as evidence of more affection received from father. But there was no significant difference between groups on amount of fantasy that should denote strength of aggressive drive directed against the father.

Delinquents are suggested to have a weaker disapproval anxiety. Father hatred must be a factor before the latent period if it is to affect criminal behavior at all.

Critique

These delinquents are obviously a specialized type approximating the unsocialized aggressives in etiology, in present feelings toward authority figures and in delinquent acts. Unfortunately, little is said about the nature of extent of father rejection. Since others have assumed that the relationship with the mother is more important comparative data on parents is needed and not presented here. Examining earlier periods seems to be most important in understanding the etiology of this type.

Did the father of normal children actually display more aggression as the children indicated, or were they simply around more often than in the broken homes? Various explanations of the unusual finding are possible.

**Summary**

A: Freudian adjustment mechanisms. B: Delinquent behavior.

**Generalizations**

The findings are not often relevant or easily summarized but these types of reactions represented by delinquency are worthy of note:

1. Attempt to avoid an unpleasant situation.
2. Attempt to achieve substitute compensatory satisfactions; e.g., special recognition or material rewards.
3. Attempt to strengthen the ego wounded by feelings of inferiority or inadequacy. Aim is to obtain recognition and status usually in a gang, but sometimes by solitary activities to prove it to himself. This can be a "masculine protest" from previously effeminate boys.
4. Attempt to get satisfaction by conscious or unconscious revenge attitudes; e.g., hidden desire to punish parents.
5. Attempt to get maximum of self-satisfaction to inflate the ego by exhibiting definite hostility to authorities.
6. Response to a thwarted instinctual urge; e.g., urge for independence normal at adolescence.
7. Wish for punishment—a response to a conscious or unconscious sense of guilt.

**Critique**

While the authors do spell out some important differences in motives from the psychoanalytic viewpoint, they are of unequal importance in accounting for large numbers of delinquents, and of course omit the social structural variables completely.

Summary

E: Early hostility of parents. I: Feelings of isolation and helplessness giving rise to basic anxiety. Different neurotic personality syndromes may predominate, depending on acceptance of helplessness, hostility or isolation. B: Primarily compliant, aggressive or detached modes of behavior.

The problem is to evaluate the nature of neurosis, outline its structure and distinctive characteristics and trace the effects of conflict on neurotic trends.

Generalizations

Neurosis is only different in degree from normalcy; basic conflict is fundamentally contradictory attitudes about people.

Developments of Neurosis

Basic anxiety from feeling of isolation and helplessness in hostile world (e.g., from direct domination, indifferent, erratic behavior, etc., of parents).

--Child's sense of lurking hypocrisy (from actual pretenses and own aberrations).

--Neurotic trends:

Compliant personality.

1. Move toward people, accepts helplessness, tries to win affection from others, attaches to most powerful, persuades self that all are nice people, overconsiderate, boundless need for affection.

Aggressive personality.

1. Move against people, accepts hostility, distrusts others' feelings, rebels, wants to defect them from own protection and get revenge.

Detached personality.

1. Move away from people, accepts isolation, little in common, feels they don't understand him, builds own worlds (e.g., books, nature, etc.)

All present because stem from underlined aspects of basic anxiety. Can't use any wholeheartedly because inflexible in approach, but predominant one determines conduct. If trends are not strong, events like adolescence can change and mitigate them.

Critique

How to tell which is predominant trend is unclear. What influences development of each trend?
What influences account for change away from trends?

Influence of intervening factors between infancy and adulthood? None noted. No mention of time sequence or relative importance of acts leading to basic anxiety?

The aggressive personality may be an important type of delinquent. Such persons should show evidence of aggressive strivings at both the conscious and the unconscious level.

**Summary**

**I:** The father is perceived to be the major punisher, so less anxiety is aroused over expressing aggression because he also is more permissive of aggression than is the mother. Less dependence on parents was also found which should lead to reduced anxiety over transgressions. **B:** More anger in story endings, and more overt aggression as rated by teachers.

The problem is to study the prediction that overtly aggressive boys would have fantasies containing more hostility between parent and child and less dependency on adults than stories by nonaggressive boys. Assumed that minimal dependency and perception of hostility would oppose the adoption of parental prohibitions on aggressive behavior.

**Design**

Interviews with 118 boys, ages 6-2 to 10-2, in which fantasy stories to pictures and answers to direct questions obtained. Teachers rated aggressive behavior of children, and data for the 21 most and 21 least aggressive boys are reported. Predominantly middle-class families, the majority of fathers being skilled laborers and tradesmen.

**Generalizations**

More of the aggressive boys told stories involving anger between parent and child. More of the nonaggressive produced themes of dependency on adults, and perceived the mother to be the major punitive agent. Author suggests that anxiety over alienation from the mother should lead to relatively strong inhibitory responses with respect to aggressive behavior since mothers are apt to be less permissive of aggression than fathers.

No differences were found between groups on the nurturance themes, except that on "adult concern for a child's welfare" the aggressives more often named nonparental figures.

From the interview data it was found that significantly more of the nonaggressives answered "Mother" to the question "Who is the boss in your family?" Likewise the mother was preferred by more nonaggressives if the parents presented conflicting demands.

**Critique**

One cannot be entirely sure which is cause and which is effect in this study. Perhaps the aggressiveness led to the minimal dependence and perception of hostility.

There is no matching or control for class differences except that the sample was drawn from the same school, and a high correlation of aggression, parental dominance, etc. with social class might be expected.
In the introduction Kagan points out that current theory suggests that the perception of the parent as hostile and nongratifying influences the child's predisposition to aggressive behavior by increasing aggressive motivation and going against conditions which would motivate the learning of prohibitions on aggression, such as anxiety over anticipated loss of parental love.

Factors largely influencing the degree of felt anxiety are (a) the degree to which the child feels dependent on the parent for support in time of need and (b) the degree of nurturance given the child. Hence the assumptions Kagan made, as stated in the problem section refer (a) to dependency and (b) to hostility. Sears et al. have reasoned that "high conscience" should be highest among warm and loving mothers who threaten the continuance of this affectionate relationship as a method of control.

These studies treat conscience or prohibitions as unitary phenomena, and we now need to study elements of each and their interrelations. Kagan makes the point that aggression under some circumstances is justified, and this too must fit the more detailed treatment.

Summary

I. defenses; neurosis; impulse or ego function disturbances; D subculture. B: D behavior.

The problem is to define distinct areas within the delinquents (not types of delinquency) that may be disturbed and lead to delinquent behavior.

Generalizations

Redl discusses these types or sources of delinquent behavior.

I. Defense of organism because of something done to it, e.g., traumatic experiences (Merton's comment: where norms too high, individuals may repudiate them, leading to high degree of anomie.

II. Growth confusion - e.g., sexual potency ahead of emotional ability to handle it.

III. Impact of excitement and group intoxication.

IV. Neurotic afflictions

expressions of neurosis: legitimate kind is anxiety neurosis; illegitimate (legally) though not clinically is theft.

secondary results of neurosis: e.g., disguise anxiety by acting tough.

schizophrenics - not accepted by gangs unless to pin blame on.

V. Result of severe impulse disturbances - i.e., in aggression where explosiveness comes, or in aim and means of sexual gratification

VI. Disturbances in ego function (contacts with reality, with past and future, with self-concept, with perception of others and their aims) and in superego.

VII. Delinquent subculture of neighborhood. Some are also pathological. Parents don't want kids to act as adult delinquents do.

Critique

Need also to locate each type in the social structure and trace structural influence on development of type and on channels of expression. Useful to distinguish types of neurotic affliction.
Summary

Important limitations of the "psychopathic personality" characterization.

The problem is to outline certain peculiarities of superego formation observed among the boys at Pioneer House, and describe the process of identification.

Generalizations

All of the kids they observed had some superego. It is impossible to defend the "child without a conscience" concept. It is an oversimplification that may hide any of these special problems:

1) Peculiarities of value content—for example, identification with a delinquent neighborhood code. Thus destructive acts are not defiant and deviant but conforming.

2) Inadequate signal functioning—the child is only dimly aware that his anticipated acts would not be so good. This is different from the post-action conscience of a neurotic.

3) Deficiencies in identification machinery—identification is a two-step process. First must come a love or liking of the model. Then one must renounce some of the intense demands for a counter love and replace this with a readiness to incorporate part of his personality into one's ego ideal and finally into one's superego. This process may fail because of inconsistent demands, the absence or lack of distinctive models and adequate models, and a turnover of uninterested or hostile people.

4) Model rigidity—feelings of guilt are limited to situations solely involving the person who first made the demands (e.g., parents). No generality of proscription to other persons or situations.

5) Guilt displacement—guilt attached to harmless events but missing from those where it would normally be found.

Critique

This formulation is obviously important for its arguments against the psychopathic or so-called sociopathic personality and its powerful indications that we must study these cases more carefully. On thinking over these arguments, they do not seem to quite satisfy me when applied to examples like the "unsocialized aggressive" delinquent. His behavior starts at an early age when the presence of alternate value systems is unlikely, he seems to display no model rigidity or displacement of guilt, although more detailed study is needed here. And if he can find little love for a parent who has rejected him, this child cannot identify with the parent very much according to the authors. Perhaps the child is vaguely aware of standards, but the "unsocialized aggressives" begin acting out at a somewhat earlier age than that of Pioneer House boys. At the later age, a greater amount of internalization has gone on, but perhaps
much of it is what the authors term a delinquent superego which supports the id impulses. The authors point out that love or liking a model is not enough for identification. Some present measurement of this phenomenon takes only attractiveness as an indication. Several factors were indicated to help produce the attraction—consistency of demands, the presence of friendly, distinctive and loving people. But the crucial factors which bring about a reduction in the demands for counter love are left up in the air.

Summary

I: Seven successive maturational levels of personality integration, each focusing on a crucial interpersonal problem. B: Seven matching modes of behavior, the first four having delinquency potential.

The problem is to outline the development, perception and integration of experience that characterize the delinquent personality, by studying his interpersonal relationships.

Generalizations

A basic core structure of personality is postulated which grows in spurts by periods of insight and reorganization. Seven successive levels of integration can be distinguished which focus on crucial interpersonal problems. If one stage is not resolved, the individual may develop caution, or if the need continues for long he may develop a style of life or fixation here.

1) Self-nonself distinction. Necessary because tensions cannot be reduced without interaction with others. Adults involved in maintaining this level of integration operate as if they were the whole world, and consistently perceive that the world adapts to their needs. They cannot postpone gratification and fantasies of possession are acted on with feelings of justification. They cannot submit to control or recognized dependency. Such a person is bound to be at odds with society.

2) Person and object differentiation. Problem of how to control the world arises now, and persons are more unpredictable than things. Objects which do not give satisfaction are blamed. Adults operating thus perceive people only as aides or barriers to their satisfaction. Delinquents perceive laws and rules to be the denying acts of specific individuals.

3) Perception of rules governing relationships between people and objects, and beginning awareness of potential for complex manipulation. Roles become more complex than giver and taker, but rules still seem to be arbitrary. Adults fixated here perceive that the world is a series of rule-bound relationships, and they anticipate that their manipulations alone will bring rewards if the absolute rules can be discovered. No internalized guilt; only fear of punishments. No trust; only short-term relationships. May continually test limits or else completely conform. Delinquents may engage in "confidence man" activities and later excuse themselves by pointing to the rules or lack of them. Others may try to make others assume the giving role (e.g., swindle). The conformist tries to get along with whatever external authority is present. He has an externalized superego.

4) Perception of influence and psychological force of others. Wants approval and power of others. Begins to play roles as a solution. Some internalization and guilt. Such adults have continued feelings of inadequacy. Delinquents here do so from a sense of wants to certify their guilt feelings.
Sullivan et al.

5) Perception of stable action patterns in self and others. Differentiates roles for self and others that are appropriate to situation. First noticeable appreciation of others’ feelings. Adult operating thus is freed from overly intense identification with others, although he may at times wonder which is the "real me."

6) Perception of differences between one’s self and the social roles one may play momentarily. Can see self as enduring.

7) Perception of integrating processes in self and others. No longer an absolute reality. Probably no one completes this stage in today's society.

In the stages 5 through 7, there is relatively little delinquency if any.

Critique

It would be very helpful to know what causes a fixation at each stage. For our purposes, the applications to delinquency lack any consideration of how the delinquent act is filtered through group norms or encouraged by such norms.
CHAPTER XI
Self Concept and Identification

Introduction

Some of the material in this chapter will appear to be a digression from the stated purpose of this review since self-concept and identification are treated as dependent variables in most of these articles. This emphasis reflects our interest in factors which account for identification with deviant and modal fathers. The untested assumption is that identification with culturally modal fathers will tend to prevent delinquency. Identification with hostile models may lead to the opposite effects. Several articles are included which attempt to define types of identification and related concepts. These attempts are important since the concept is used so many ways. Others are concerned with the relation between parental practices and both conscious and unconscious emotional dependence. These practices are also related to similarity of attitudes with parents. Another use of identification is represented by the theory which relates delinquency to adopting the norms of delinquent reference groups.

Sex role typing has been distinguished from identification and one article studies social class and sex differences in time of becoming aware of sex-appropriate objects. The self concept writers do not pay particular attention to the process of identification except in the reference group adoption sense. One is interested in the standards of a series of prominent referents as perceived by delinquents and others; the others are interested in concomitants of a socially unacceptable self concept.

Summary

B: Arbitrary demands; harsh enforcement. I: (Anxiety) Dependence on parents; externalized standards. B: Act out away from home the hostility felt toward parents.

Our problem began with trying to understand the sources of identification with parental models, problems pertinent to delinquency arising from identification with the opposite sex model, and even an uncertainty as to what identification means in the various studies.

Generalizations

Adelson suggested two sources of identification—love and anxiety. The latter is more associated with delinquency, according to this reasoning. Arbitrary demands that are harshly enforced create a tension between the ego and the superego which finds expression in extrapunitiveness. Whether an individual would actively seek delinquent activity or merely be susceptible to it would depend on other variables.

Two aspects of punishment were studied by Adelson and Douvan in the research discussed—consistency (and fairness), and harshness which was equated with physical punishment among these adolescents. The belief that boys generally think that punishments are deserved is not borne out by projective tests, while at the same time the kids who are physically punished show more conscious dependence on their parents, disagree less often and choose them more often as models. But these kids also show externalized standards because they appear rebellious and act out when away from these models. Be speculated that this syndrome is probably due to harsh and inconsistent parental punishment.

On character development, these researches showed that in normal kids who had no harsh punishment, there was a harmony between conscious and unconscious values. Where punishment had been too harsh, there emerged either a psychopathic type (with an abnormal superego that allowed id impulses to be acted upon, yet brought censure afterward) or a type which found it too dangerous to be bad. Behavior of this latter type could be termed obsessional or depressed.

Adelson discussed two variables related to internalization of standards: whether the superego was internalized or externalized, and whether or not it was effective in guiding behavior. The effective and somewhat externalized superego is characteristic of most normal and extrapunitive individuals who are little guilt-ridden. Applying these variables to certain personality typologies, it may be said that autonomy implies internalized and effective standards, that the well-adjusted person described above has effective but more externalized standards, and that the anomie individual has ineffective externalized standards of conduct.
Adelson

The anomie individuals were the downwardly mobile people studied and it was suggested that such persons would be most delinquent. Since this categorization excludes the lowest occupational grouping which also contains a large proportion of delinquents, the generalization about anomie persons is less sure.

Psychoanalysts would interpret the child's continuing to do things which the parents disapprove as attempts to embarrass the parents and to displace their hostile feelings to parent substitutes.

Adelson listed three types of autonomy, distinguished in the study. The first is a freedom for the child to do what he wants to do; the second, emotional autonomy, is freedom from excessive unconscious determination; and the third, value autonomy, is a detachment from parents, an ability to take the observer role.

Referring to problems of modeling during adolescence, Erikson has indicated that large changes in ego identity are possible, and Adelson now agrees somewhat more on the possibility of change. Two problems were mentioned: that of premature closure on problems (e.g., career), and narcissistic attraction. This adolescent modeling is different from earlier efforts in that many nonfamilial models are presented, limited only by each person's social relations and psychological structure, and adolescents can apparently make large changes in themselves.

Summary

E: Mother dominant in home setting. Parental roles deviant from modal roles. I: Perception of greater role similarity. B: Expressions of conflict in identification, on either the conscious or the unconscious level depending on which above factors are being correlated.

The problem is to discover significant correlates of change from early identification with mother to that with masculine role.

Design

Two hundred and eleven seventh and eighth grade boys who were white, Christian, living with biological parents who were born in the USA. Independent variables included:

1. Three areas of perceived parental behavior: (a) relative dominance in making decisions; (b) parental role similarity; and (c) type of discipline (psychological or physical punishment).
2. Motivation for achievement.

The standard n Ach procedure was used. Unconscious and conscious sex identification measures were employed as the dependent variable.

Generalization

On the prediction that for conflicted children (those in the top third on either conscious or unconscious femininity) the mother would be dominant, while for the unconflicted the father would be dominant, these were the findings. This was confirmed for dominance in setting limits for the child but not for dominance in making family decisions or gratifying the child.

The prediction that conflicted children would perceive their parents' roles as being more similar and that their parents' roles deviate more from the modal parental role were verified, but not the prediction on greater role reversal (from the modal type) for conflicted children.

Sex identification was not found to be related to parental discipline style, but conscious sex identification was related to dominance in setting limits for the child, and unconscious identification was related both to perception of similarity in parental roles and role reversals.

Unconsiously feminine boys (top third of range from masculine to feminine) obtained higher need-achievement scores under neutral conditions than any other unconscious identification group (masculine-feminine or masculine type) as predicted, but no group showed a significant change in the aroused condition. He predicted that the latter two group scores would increase.

Critique

Distinction between conscious and unconscious identification is important. Rabban's study deals with awareness and approval of sex-typed conscious choices. Rabban and Altucher's array of choices in this regard suffer both from being extreme on sex emphasis and from often not appearing in the daily routine between parents.
Altucher

Self report of adolescents may hide data on earlier experiences, especially of 4-6 years that are important for sex appropriate object typing and future role differentiation (see Rabban abstract). Wesley Allinsmith informed Altucher that there were no substantial differences between mother and child reports of parental discipline style, but whether child reports are reliable in other areas is open to question. The perceived parental action may of course mold the child's behavior, but discrepancies cannot be studied.

Four contributing factors to identification were set forth. Discipline style (as distinct from severity or frequency of punishment) was found unrelated, although even the questions on it pertained only to discipline of an early adolescent according to the set established by the introduction. A second factor, distinctness of parental roles, was related to unconscious identification, as was the third factor—reversal of roles when compared to the modal types. The fourth was dominance in setting limits for the child which was related to both conscious and unconscious identification.
Summary
Too diverse to summarize in model form. The problem is to establish
the common properties and differences between identification processes, and
to describe them metapsychologically from the Freudian viewpoint. (Identifica-
tion. Pp.97-111.)

Generalizations
The following kinds of identification were distinguished:

A. Primary identification--at early period when ego is weak and little
differentiated. Identification shares in fixing this differentiation.
A reaction to the disappointing loss of unity between ego and external world
spurs this identification at time or oral phase. This is an attempt to
incorporate external pleasurable objects, and occurs before object
relationships are possible.

B. Regressive identification--more differentiated form of identification
which overlaps the primitive form. It can be seen at the bottom of every
object of love, and occurs both in deep love and disappointment.

B-1. Total identification--when the object cathexis is given up; appears rarely.
   a. in melancholia (schizophrenia)
   b. In the superego formation of normals--occurs following the break-
down of the Oedipus complex indicating a change from object love
to identification, the basis of the superego. Without total regress-
ion to narcissism and orality taking place, the process is
narcissistic in that object libido flows back into the ego.

B-2. Partial identification--object cathexis persists and exerts an effect
on isolated actions, more frequent.
   a. Hysterical identification in cases of borrowed guilt feelings
      where only these feelings and not the instinctual characteristics
      of the object have been introjected into the ego.
   b. In normal persons after loss of object or alongside of object
      love. Marked occurrence in mourning persons, feminine men and
      masculine women.
   c. In homosexuals
   d. On the basis of a recent common factor--primarily the same relation-
      ship to a third person e.g., identification with the sexual partner
      of one's love object, or members of a group with each other. May
develop into object love. (This is Freud's 3rd type of identifi-
cation.)
   e. In the superego formation of neurotics--where the Oedipus complex
      persists bringing impulses unacceptable to the superego.
Characteristics of all identification processes

They exhibit the phenomena of the primary process. They arise from the striving to find a substitute for lost gratification. This loss of object may be due to reality (e.g., mourning or broken romance), the demand of repressive forces (as in homosexuality), or the demands of the repetition compulsion or deep ambivalence (as in melancholia).

Critique

Our interest is in the regressive types. Concerning superego formation among boys, in The Ego and the Id Freud reverted to "strength of masculinity" to determine whether the Oedipal stage is succeeded by identification with mother or father. French posits an identification with the father for the boy from earliest times. Identification is from the start ambivalent—leading to expressions of tenderness or wishes for removal, i.e., identification with parent whose place one wants to take. But the reasons for identification going one way or another are obscure.

The general comments on identification do suggest a frustration (loss of gratification)—incentive. The particular object losses and mechanisms mentioned might be followed up for broken homes, etc., looking for similar substitute models.
Summary:
E: Aggressive behavior or potential aggression on the part of adults in authority.

I: The individual, because of fear and/or guilt identifies with and introjects the aggression.

B: Aggressive acts directed against the relevant adults or authorities.

The problem here is to describe the processes of identification with the aggressor.

Generalizations:
All defensive methods serve a single purpose—that of assisting the ego in its struggle with its instinctual life.

Identification and projection are two mechanisms of defense available to the ego. They figure prominently in the development of the superego.

These processes in some cases involving aggression have certain characteristics which place them in the category of identification with the aggressor.

The process involves introjection of an experience involving guilt or anxiety (in some cases, the 'criticism') and the projection of or externalization of certain aspects of the experience.

One form arising in the process of superego formation is the introjection of the criticism and the projection of the offense. More relevant to the study of deviant behavior is the second form, the introjection of the aggression of the adult, and having exchanged the passive for the active part, the directing of aggressive acts against the same person because of fear of punishment, i.e., fear of aggression.

Critique:
The process of identification with the aggressor gives no indication of the conditions under which aggressive responses might be generalized to other targets.

Since this process refers usually to aggression directed against parental authority figures, this process may not account for much of the variance in delinquency in general which typically occurs outside the home.

Summary

A: Identification with individuals accepting criminal behavior.
B: Criminal behavior.

The problem is to evaluate existing theories of criminal causation and come up with a better explanation.

Generalizations

I will omit the critiques of other theories except to say that he groups them under three headings—monistic (e.g., "possession imagery" like constitutional and instinctual factors), pluralistic (of which he thinks there are no good examples, and which tend to become special cases of more general theories), and integrative (of which Sutherland's "differential association" theory is most outstanding).

For uniqueness, the main point of this article is the author's modification of Sutherland's theory into what Glaser calls a "differential identification" theory. It is stated thus: "a person pursues criminal behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seems acceptable." This formulation allows one to use role and reference group theory, and avoids Sutherland's unclear and often untrue assumption that association is the same thing as identification.

Many factors enter into the choice of models, but they may generally be subsumed under the categories of prior identifications and present circumstances.

Glaser believes that this is the most adequate and parsimonious theoretical framework within which to account for the findings of criminology.

Critique

Glaser's critique of other theories did not seem very new or unusual and the targets were the old favorites; for these reasons I have not reproduced the argument.

This theory suffers obviously from its extreme generality. No differential predictions about the types of present identification on the basis of the two general factors were made. This is the crucial point.

The author acknowledges that this formulation does not take account of "accidental" criminality. In this I suppose he would include the "unsocialized aggressive" and "affectionless" kids who act as delinquents either from lack of superego controls being developed or from thwarting of needs, depending on your theoretical orientation. In either case, identification with people approving the criminal behavior is apparently not at the basis of their delinquency.

Glaser's definition would apply well to the "socialized delinquent."
Summary
I: Succession of developmental stages: differentiating self from others, relations to others separated from own possessions, and distinguishing the rewarding or punishing nature of others. The need for security motivates each level of striving.

Notes
Steve proposed a scheme that would focus on the identity of the person, the nature of his relationships with others, and in essence his self-concept. This would involve a series of developmental stages with the motivational emphasis on security or successful experiences of the individual. The first state concerns differentiating the self from others; the second refers to differentiating one's relationships to others and to owned objects. The third stage involves a differentiation of the nature of others, both persons and objects along the lines of whether they are rewarding or punishing. At this stage comes an elemental ability to love, to inhibit acts, to feel guilty, etc. Then follows a stage of self-integration around impulse control, resolution of conflicts, etc., and then a fifth stage, the integration of continuity and relinquishment.

Several sketches of the father-son relationship we drew made it clear that it is important to treat both the meaning of the relationship (e.g., aggressive) and the meaning of the relations (e.g., loving) separately. As time goes on, the son may picture himself more distinct from or more identical with the father in various ways. The question is why? We don't yet know the full processes.

Why should the son be attracted to the father? Several possibilities suggested were that he controls the means to desirable goals or activities, that he is perceived to be physically similar, and that he does things together with the son that are rewarding.

Dan Miller's schema on identification that refers to three antecedent conditions of inclusion, control and affect was also cited as relevant.
Summary

B: Highly rewarding, affectionate father; father gives more concrete rewards. I: Identification with father. (Masculine attitudes.) B: Calm, friendly.

Design

Initially 182 junior and senior boys in high school given 50 items from the California Psychological Inventory, and 72 of these had mothers and fathers tested likewise. Identification with father was measured by subtracting number of items that mother and son had answered identically from the number for father and son. The 20 highest and 20 lowest boys on father-identification were given an incomplete-stories test. Judges rated the stories for presence of concrete rewards and psychologically sound relationships with parents. The former was denoted by gifts, praise, demonstrations of affection, permission to use the car and the latter by presumed clinical criteria such as parental understanding, mutual respect and affection in making judgments. Scores for each parent and an undifferentiated score were calculated.

Generalizations

As predicted, high father identification is significantly related to perception of the father as a highly rewarding affectionate person—the presumed antecedent condition. The second prediction was that where the father is seen as relatively more rewarding than mother, the son will identify more with the father. This was only supported with respect to disparity of concrete rewards and not with respect to the differential in general psychological soundness of the relationship.

Strong identification with the father was associated with perceptions of relationships with parents (considered together) as highly rewarding and warm, thus lending evidence to the third hypothesis.

According to teacher ratings of the subjects on nine personality characteristics, boys who were strongly father-identified were significantly more calm and friendly than their less highly identified peers.

Degree of father-identification was highly correlated with masculinity of attitudes, but not of teacher rating. Yet highly identified boys were not significantly more masculine than other boys. The authors suggest that good identification with the father is basic to learning these attitudes from other role models in adolescence. The more masculine the mother, the less the boys identified with father.

Critique

Authors recognize that there is no check in this study on whether favorable perceptions lead to identification or whether identification leads to favorable perception but they say that the weight of theory and observation point to the first formulation.

The greater extent of giving concrete rewards by the father seems, in the final analysis, to be the only differentiating factor between treatment by father and mother.

Summary

E: Clarity and timing of indicating sex-appropriate activities determined by definitions and enforcements of parents and peers plus the quality of the relation with parents. I: Differences in age of crystallization of sex-role identification by sex and social class of child. B: Selection of sex-appropriate objects.

The problem is to explore "the extent and nature of cultural determination of the expression of an inherent biological characteristic." To discover whether age, sex, social class, or the interaction of these were factors in sex role patterning.

Design

One hundred and fifty children from working class (upper-lower) and upper middle class neighborhoods between the ages of 30 months and the eighth year with 15 boys and 15 girls in each age category.

Eight pairs of toys rated for sex appropriateness by 317 adults and 64 9-11 year old children were presented to each child altogether, and he was asked to choose the sex he liked best. The toys were matched generally for manipulative interest, color, small size, cheapness, availability, and familiarity.

Six dolls of equal size, three of each sex, all dressed differently, were presented for the child to pick those looking most like him and identify their sex. Also the child was asked what his adult family role would be and whether he wished this so.

Social classes correspond to Hollingshead's Class II (upper middle) and Classes IV and V (working class).

Generalizations

Boys in both classes are more clearly aware of sex appropriate behavior at an earlier age, and both boys and girls in the working class are earlier and more clearly aware of sex-role patterns. The patterns run as follows: Three year olds of all groups and both sexes show incomplete recognition of sex differences and are unaware of any sex-typing of toy objects. The fourth and fifth years bring clarification for working class boys, while the sixth year is most significant for middle class boys. Working class girls accept the sex-appropriate patterns by six years of age, but middle class girls do not fully acquiesce even by the eighth year.

But what causes the identification? Rabban suggests several factors which may account for preference of parents by the child: the parent who less frequently punishes, who expresses more affection, who has superior role status, who offers more companionship, and who caters most to their material needs. But Rabban seems to think that conformity to sex role expectations is a function of how soon and how clearly the parents and others indicate what is proper activity. He lists four factors in shaping identification: Parents
and siblings as models and definers of appropriate behavior, amount of time each parent spends with the child, effect of parents and peers as enforcing agents, and the quality and intensity of the relationship to the parent.

The content and timing of identification work thus. The working class has notably a clear-cut concept of sex-appropriate behavior, an established pattern of early reinforcement and punishment conducted by like-sex parent, and early peer culture acceptance of the role model coupled with severe handling of deviation, especially among boys. Among the middle class kids, the father was often absent, leaving the mother as both model and authority, less clarity and concern over early identification, and more influence of school age peers in providing sanctions for behavior.

Critique

This identification is not the deep, emotional type, but refers operationally to toy selection and conception of future sex role. Unfortunately, there is no breakdown of the data according to any of the factors which might account for both preference and identification; however, there are about ten case histories which summarize these factors for each child.

The last generalizations concerning class differences were made without reference to specific data, and it is not clear how much of them was gleaned from the comments of other authors whose works are cited, or that the number of cases used is much more than two or three at times. Nevertheless, Rabban does present many very suggestive ideas.

Summary
E: Threat to self-esteem or existence. I: Strong impulses reacted against. B: Identification as an unconscious striving for identical behavior.

The problem is to clarify the conceptual meaning of identification, review various uses, and isolate relevant dimensions.

Design
Review the synthesis of literature, introspection of own psychotherapeutic work.

Generalizations
Characteristics of identification: a mechanism not a category of behavior, unconscious, identical striving to behave exactly as object, a rigid, all-out form, unrealistic in aim. (Not same as integration of parental standards), e.g., all this is exemplified in the patient who identifies with therapist.

Sources of identification. Threat to self-esteem or physical existence or integrity—a kind of identification with aggressor when attack comes from outside, but can be from impulse, e.g., feminine impulses in male causing him to react and identify with males, etc.

Lasting effects of identification are overestimated. Identification is evoked by a crisis and when it passes or is mastered, the identification goes away. Account for superego by introjection and other processes, e.g., learning and punishment of certain acts. Introjection occurs earlier, danger is more extreme and capacity more inadequate, but identification implies some conception of the self.

Critique
Sanford's identification seems to be process underlying Authoritarian personality. Not consistent in anticipated outcomes of process: whether to ally with the threat or to ward against it. Does not attempt to show limits of traditional identification on basis of personal loyalty and affection for the object, except to show how learning serves as well. (Cf. Mowrer and Ausubel on types of identification) Important attempt to clarify nature of identification in threat situations.
Summary:

E: The lower class boy experiences a wider range of perceived evaluations in his social environment than does the middle class boy.

I: As an effect of this wider range of perceived evaluations, it is inferred that the lower class boy has a self concept which permits a more varied range of behavior under different conditions.

B: Therefore, the middle class boy will exhibit relatively constant approved behavior as contexts change, while the lower class boy will be more likely to behave in a manner deemed inappropriate by some significant others.

The problem in this study was to relate consequences of the social structure to the self concept and deviancy.

Generalizations:

The mean of the perceived evaluations of the teacher, father, mother, friend and police is more highly correlated and in greater agreement with the self-evaluation than is any one of these individual perceived evaluations. Each evaluation is simply a total score based on whether the other evaluates him plus or minus on each of eight unspecified areas in pie charts.

The self concept is dependent upon the perceived evaluation of the significant others in one's life. Significant others are those persons who serve as a reference point for a boy's feelings and behavior and who are significant because they are capable of invoking and enforcing sanctions.

Boys in the lower class have less agreement and thus a wider range in the perceived evaluations of significant others than do the boys in the middle class.

The greater proportion of delinquency committed by the lower class group of boys is due in some part to the greater range of evaluations perceived by the boy--this range being a function of class membership.

Critique:

These data were based, not upon samples of alleged delinquents, but upon groups of children whose behavior was rated by their teacher as acceptable or unacceptable.
Simpson, J. E., Reckless, W., Dinitz, S., Kay, Barbara, & Delinquency potential of pre-adolescents in high delinquency areas. Unpublished manuscript. Ohio State University, Spring, 1959.

Summary
E: Fewer friends who were law-abiding. I: Male; Negro. (socially unacceptable self-image; expect trouble).

Problem
Variations in delinquency potential are correlated with various factors to see if differential risks for 12-year olds becoming involved in future delinquency can be found in a slum environment.

Design
Four hundred sixth grade pupils in poor socio-economic and high delinquency areas. Administered the delinquency vulnerability and social responsibility subscales of the California Psychological Inventory, and a series of self-concept questions, plus social background items. Teacher ratings of delinquency proneness were also obtained.

Generalizations
Significantly more females and whites than males and Negroes had a socially acceptable self-image in overall trend though not in a majority of the self-concept items. They did not expect trouble with the law, considered their friends as law abiding, thought they could benefit from school, etc. When teacher nominations were added, twenty-one of fifty-two self-concept items were found to differentiate these groups.

Critique
There is little detail in the article as to which self-concept items are related to sex and race, etc.
CHAPTER VII

Psychopathic Personality

Introduction

A great deal has been written on the relation between psychopathic personality states and delinquent acts. Unlike most subtypes in the delinquency area, a number of researchers appear to be saying somewhat the same thing about both the etiology of psychopathic states and the class of illegitimate actions which such persons are likely to commit. One or the other of early parental rejection, deprivation of love and separation from a mother figure have been noted by each of these investigators. Likewise the lack of affectional ties and a developed conscience resulting in the absence of inhibitions and organization of behavior have been widely observed. It is the editor's opinion that psychopaths are aggressive only in the sense of moving toward an object and that hostility toward persons is only an instrumental action calculated to help attain this end. Thus impulsive theft should be a prevalent act of such persons. The editor also suspects, however, that the psychopathic personality will account for only a very small proportion of all delinquents.
Summary

E: Deprivation of love and attention during the first nine months of life. I: Inborn capacity to relate is undeveloped, and hence no object relations evolve nor feelings of conscience and anxiety.
B: Much imitative behavior; aimless hyperkinetic and often destructive behavior.

E: (a) Lack of love and encouragement expressed to the child, or (b) open violence and aggression among family members. I: Intense sibling rivalry, organic or intellectual inferiority without the security of feeling loved—a frustration condition, or following E (b) the child identifies with aggressor and must defend himself against him.
B: Homicidal aggression often within the family.

The problem is to critically evaluate the prevailing theories of aggression, especially the psychoanalytic ones, in the light of the case studies here observed. To formulate a theory of origins for aggression, hostility and anxiety based on the evidence presented.

Design

Population of children being observed at Psychiatric Division of Bellevue Hospital in 1934, 1935. Mostly severe behavior problems. Ages were 3-15; 34 girls; 47 boys. Thirty-two of these 81 had normal IQ (90-110); 38 below and 7 above. Most were from underprivileged homes.

Methods included 1) case history; 2) psychiatric interview; 3) observation of behavior on the wards; 4) observing specific play situations, especially with dolls, soldiers, etc.; 5) children's descriptions of pictures with aggressive content; and 6) a questionnaire for children with sufficient verbal facility.

Follow-up of five boys and five girls in 1950-1951 concerning intervening events and current adjustment.

No correlations presented, but frequent quotes to document generalizations.

Definitions: Aggressiveness—violence against other persons inflicted by psychical means only. Violence—action that damages body of another or distorts his body image by pain or discomfort. Hostility—based on general feelings of anxiety and on the sense of possessing power and rivalry. Anxiety—unpleasant emotional experience with physiological responses which arise from within and are unrelated or disproportionate to external factors.

Generalizations

Aggressiveness is expressed more directly in younger children, in actions, play, words and description of pictures. Older children were more inhibited and often needed the play situation or other indirect method by which to express unconscious aggression. Aggression against a group was expressed more freely than that against single persons.
Young children seek immediate satisfaction and are in immediate fear of punishment and retaliation. Good and bad are seen as the somewhat arbitrary decisions of adults. Right and wrong began to depend on immediate advantage.

Deprivation of love or food increases the aggressive tendencies of children.

(The following are sketches of some patients, with age, early history and symptoms. Note the similarity with unsocialized aggressive and affectionless types. Cases described were consecutive ones, where patients were at least nine years old before being seen. Dorothy—parents subject to severe temper outbursts, hostile toward self and others. James—placed in boarding school early, subject to lying and stealing. Eventually classed as psychopathic personality in mental hospital. Marshall—inadequate mother, impulsive, striking-out behavior. Vivian—mother died while an infant and father deserted, temper outbursts and stubborn resistance.)

Aggression is characteristic of all humans and is only increased by deprivation. It results from experimenting with objects wherein the child, in order to learn the nature of things, must literally tear them to pieces. Thence comes a direct pleasure in destroying things and in reconstructing them.

Aggressiveness occurs in specific situations; often at home but not at the hospital.

Homicidal aggression may be precipitated by increased Oedipal situations, intense sibling rivalry without offsetting strong positive emotions of love, organic inferiority or intellectual inferiority such as reading disabilities where little chance for compensation through parental encouragement, or family pattern of violence and aggression with which the child both identifies himself and must defend himself against, and foster homes which do not give love and security to a child who has already suffered deprivation and rejection from own parents.

Firesetting follows much the same causative syndromes, with threats of rivalry and withheld love as prominent factors. Fires usually made at home and to burn the offending one. Adolescents went in pairs of active and passive members, setting fires for excitement. No overt homosexuality found. No guilt or rich fantasy life.

Children raised without personal mothering in institutions, etc., develop aimless hyperkinetic and often destructive behavior. No opportunity to experience their capacity to relate to a mother object, and they are incapable therefore of personality maturation, interpersonal relationships, feeling guilt or anxiety. Argues against inborn instinctual hostility, guilt and anxiety which need an inhibiting and restraining education.

Anxiety in disturbed children: concerning the development of psychopathic behavior disorders, Bender concludes that a child needs the
Bender

continuously affectionate care of one mothering adult, either at home or elsewhere, up to the age of nine months so that he can develop a clearly differentiated relationship with the mother. John Bowlby believes that the crucial time is from nine months to two and one-half years while the child's first object relationship is developing. Bender believes that object relationships begin before this. These children have no capacity for anxiety, for neurotic defense mechanisms, for self-healing or responding to therapy. They engage in much imitating behavior.

Critique

No indication of whether differential pathology and diagnosis affected selection of children.

Lack of consistent conceptualizing and quantifying scheme prevents ready classification of source, environmental and personality factors.

Findings on psychopathic behavior disorder etiology seem to coincide with that of unsocialized aggressive, and affectionless children.

**Summary**

E: No personal mothering early in life. I: Inborn capacity to relate to a mother object and to master activities—the capacity for normality—is undeveloped, and hence the personality does not mature. B: Disorganized, hyperkinetic and often destructive activity. Aggression in the sense of approaching a person or object.

The problem is to outline her major orientation (to be found in notes we already have) and comment on the origin and nature of psychopathic behavior disorders.

**Generalizations**

Children raised without personal mothering behave in a disorganized and therefore hyperkinetic manner. Their behavior is aimless and often destructive, but it cannot be called hostile for it is not directed toward any object. It is aggression in the sense of "to go forward or approach" and not in the sense of expressing a feeling of hostility. The former is Schilder's instinct to action and mastery and to identify with significant others. Bender accepts these, terming the first an inherent capacity for normality which is determined by biological maturation and includes direction toward a goal.

These children have had no opportunity to experience the inborn capacity to relate to a mother object, and they are therefore incapable of any personality maturation, guilt, etc. Compare Bender to Goldfarb notes on emotional trends of institutionalized child.

**Critique**

What is the process that mediates between the lack of opportunity and the personality correlates?

Bender says it is this lack of a chance rather than overt rejection that makes the difference. Rejection is not mentioned. This I infer.

Aggression in the sense used above is not frustration induced; it is instinct-aroused. But the motivating character of the goal is not considered. Hostility also occurs, however, as the result of frustrations. Aggression in this sense appears always to be directed at the source of the frustration without consideration of any psychological defense.
Summary


The problem is to distinguish features characteristic of thieves for those common to all maladjusted children. No specific hypotheses. Psychoanalytic orientation generally.

Design

Forty-four juvenile thieves compared to 44 nonthieves. All were referrals to a Child Guidance clinic. Only nine thieves referred by courts, thus not representative of court delinquents. Half were under 11. Twenty-two thieves were chronic and serious.

Controls. Similar age range except more controls (C hereafter) in 5.0 - 6.11 age group; sex ratios about equal; median IQ probably lower for thieves (T) or between 85-114. No data on economic status. Eighteen T and almost same number of C has family history of mental illness.

Statistical treatment of various differences.

Generalizations

Distribution of thieves on basis of qualitative clinical exam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>T 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressed and unstable</td>
<td>T 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circular (manic depressive) manic; boasting and phantasy</td>
<td>T 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyperthymic--overactive, defiant, boastful</td>
<td>T 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectionless--lack of affection, shame and sense of responsibility, solitary and unresponsive, little gang life</td>
<td>T 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schizoid</td>
<td>T 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priggish--symptoms of anxiety or hysteria</td>
<td>T -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44 44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Affectionless children significantly more delinquent; 13 of 14 were serious offenders. The majority were truants. Nineteen T had suffered complete and prolonged separation (six months or more) from their mothers or established foster mothers during first five years of life. Only 2 C had. Twelve of 14 affectionless T had this experience (but no classification of remaining 5). All cases share this sudden removal and placing with strangers during early stages of object relationship. Majority had had several interruptions, e.g., several foster homes. Yet if separation occurs under six months effect may be negligible. Believed to be foremost cause of delinquent character development and persistent misbehavior.
Among 27 T who had no early separation, 17 had mothers who were extremely anxious, irritable and fussy or else rigid, domineering and oppressive—traits masking much unconscious hostility. Five of 27 had fathers who hated them and expressed hatred openly, but in these 2 comparisons the T did not differ from the C.

Incidence of prolonged separation is significantly greater among habitual than low grade thieves. But incidences of ambivalent mothers and recent traumatic experiences are lower among habitualls and genetic factors and hostile fathers show no differences among degrees of theft.

Psychopathology of affectionless thief: (a) strong libidinal and aggressive components of stealing, e.g., many stole food or money for food and often from their mothers—desiring love and mistaking symbol for love; e.g., frequent pilfering of mothers' possessions despite punishments. Stealing hurts others. (b) failure of superego development following failure in developing of capacity for object love. Latter from inhibition of love resulting from rage and phantasy and emotional self protection, and lack of opportunity for developing capacity and indifference to others.

Sixteen T were truant while only 3 C were so. Few sexual offenses (4 in all) because of young age, yet expect many affectionless girls to become prostitutes.

Critique
Need group of normals for full comparisons. Don't know what offenses the C's had committed; thus can't compare controls and nondelinquency. Yet information available suggests that thieves should be considered the prime delinquents. Note similarities of affectionless type with Hewitt and Jenkins unsocialized aggressive types. Author either does not or cannot often compare T and C. Description of affectionless separation cases too short to tell if relatives who took care of kids in some cases knew them well and closely and thus had libidinal ties, or were simply strangers. Note different effects of oppressive and separated mothers.
Summary


The problem is to point out the effects of institutional care during infancy on the childhood and adolescent personality.

Design

Equated pairs of orphans, some in institutional care from infancy to age 3 and then transferred to foster home, others in foster home continuously. Study effects on intellectual and emotional trends at ages 3, 6, 8 and 12 variously. Independent variable of "infant deprivation" and lack of any stimulation.

Generalizations

Institutional children characterized by these things as opposed to rejected children.

1. Limited capacity for abstract performance. Reflected in absence of goal striving and awareness of implications of behavior. Not same as rejected child where parental hostility is common: here capacity and desire for relations do develop though they may be blocked by suspicion, distrust, etc. He has identifications, goal seeking, tension and anxiety, greater capacity for insight.

Emotional trends of institutionalized child: (need for ego structure to develop, not reduce conflicts).

1. Absence of normal inhibiting pattern--disorganized and undisciplined, diffuse discharge, constant unsatisfied drive to test and try out environment, hostility develops rapidly to ego frustrations.

2. Affect hunger--need of physical expression of affection overpowering.

3. Emotional imperviousness and superficiality of relations, capacity to form ties not helped by demands of affection.

4. Absence of normal tension and anxiety--reactions, punishments often ineffective.

5. Social regression: in social maturity, part of infantilism.
Critique

Note Horney's aggressive type and Hewitt and Jenkins' unsocialized aggressive type--no description of how much the foster home children did same things; *ex post facto*, interpretation, what was deprived is unclear.

Summary

E: Early maternal rejection. Parents are inconsiderate. I: Need and expectation of love, but lack of it prevents growth of conscience. Hostility against lack of consideration. B: "Unsocialized aggressive": assaultive, cruel, defiant, malicious.

E: Parental indifference in supervision, disorganized home, high delinquency area. I: Exposed to delinquent behavior. B: "Socialized delinquent" belongs to a gang, steals and plays truant from school and home.

The problem is the importance of distinguishing above two types of etiology in delinquent behavior.

Design

Review of own work and research derived from it; quantitative study of case records of delinquents; had to have at least three characteristics to be assigned to type.

Generalizations

Types earlier proposed:--says delinquency follows this bimodal distribution 1). Unsocialized aggressive: assaultive, starting fights, cruelty, defiance of authority, malicious mischief, inadequate guilt feelings.

Predisposing factors: parental rejection, especially maternal from earliest. Sources of delinquency in (1) need and expectancy of love; (2) lack of effective and affectionate tie to developing superego; (3) examples are themselves highly selfish and inconsiderate leading to great hostility and bitterness and aggression yet sees self as victim of aggressors.

This is the Frustrated Type which is not same as neurotic delinquent wherein one is relieved of guilt by punishment. Related rather to the psychopath.

2). Socialized delinquent: bad companions, gang activities, cooperative stealing, furtive stealing, habitual school truancy, truancy from home and staying out late at night.

Predisposing factors: parental negligence and exposure to delinquent behavior, e.g., lack of supervision and crowded often impoverished area and usually disorganized home in high delinquency area.

Goal-oriented type somewhat circular reasoning because socialized delinquency is defined as occurring in company with others and this is also one of the independent variables.

A study in England by Dr. H. Lewis (Deprived Children, published for the Nuffield Foundation by Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1954) confirms this.
Jenkins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Socialized delinquent behavior</th>
<th>Unsocialized aggressive behavior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Combination of parental neglect and bad company</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination not present</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental rejection</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental acceptance</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Critique

Not clear what makes this socialized delinquent behavior any more "motivated" than other forms of delinquency. Not an explanatory device; only a name. Evidence substantiates earlier classifications by Hewitt and Jenkins, although high ratio of parental rejection among socialized delinquents makes one wonder at what age this occurred and with what effects. Also the 14 cases where the expected combination which fosters socialized delinquency was not present require some explanation.
Summary

E: Severe rejection or mild rejection coupled with brain damage. I: Absence of affectional ties prevents development of empathic ability and conscience; unchecked impulsivity. B: Inconsistent and purposeless activity; lack of close relationships; aggressive behavior arising from lack of inhibitions.

The problem is to synthesize the important theoretical approaches to psychopathy (primarily pages 67-71). This is a "neuro-social" theory of causation.

Generalizations

Two major causes of psychopathy: severe rejection, and mild rejection coupled with brain damage, probably to the hypothalamus, thus preventing the inhibition of behavior.

The psychopath's inability to maintain close relationships seems due to his inexperience with affectional bonds. He lacked the satisfactions which accompany emotional attachment. Since he never developed ties of affection, he never acquired the ability to empathize.

Conscience does not develop because it depends on the identification with parents, which is nonexistent. Love from the parents which makes possible the identification does not exist so it is the most basic element of this progression. Without the love and consequent fear of having it withdrawn, no adherence to moral standards comes about.

The inconsistent and purposeless behavior of psychopaths may be traced to impulsivity unchecked by the moderating effects of parental love, or it may also be due to a deficiency in the psychopath's ego; that is, to his lack of a coherent attitude about himself stemming from the lack of early emotional interaction with others.

The psychopath's pleasure-seeking arises from early emotional frustrations which increased the intensity of his desires. He lacks the inhibition of attachments to others or feelings of conscience. It seems probable that a lack of inhibition rather than a heightened drive accounts for the psychopath's aggressive behavior.

Critique

This section is good as far as it goes. To posit the lack of inhibition rather than a stronger drive leading to aggression and exploratory behavior seems to fit the evidence better. No distinct classes of goal objects with reward value seem to appear. The lack of love, too, is surely important but its relationship with the lack of object relationships (and consequently the lack of conscience) in psychopaths remains to be spelled out.
The notes on the Goldfarb article were helpful as we tried to fill in the processes on Chart IV of theoretical and empirical factors affecting delinquency.* The second and third of Goldfarb's emotional trends of institutionalized children seem to refer to a lack of inhibitions while the first and fourth, referring to the absence of normal tensions and organization of behavior have more to do with the lack of unconditional or even conditional love.

A rapid build-up to aggression following frustration is characteristic of these psychopaths. One might speculate on the effects of the kind of need fulfillment that indifferent and neglectful parents would provide. Perhaps the aggression arises from the child's perceiving the withheld help at a time when the child can begin to differentiate between self and others and understand that he is dependent on their help in satisfying his needs.

The psychopath's acts of aggression, used in the sense of wanting to possess objects, may originate during Erikson's first stage of man. The infant may come to distrust the world if his expectations are not confirmed and various needs are not relieved. He would then turn to defending his own interests exclusively. If needs have initially been fulfilled and then frustrated by deprivations of love in the next Eriksonian stage, the causative factors are different, although the subject's behavior may be very similar. However, one might expect somewhat more destructive behavior to arise from this situation.

Several distinctions were made that provide important points of orientation in trying to understand the psychopathic syndrome. First, the causal conditions seem to occur before the age of three. Second, aggression in the sense of attempting to injure another, is only a small part of the behavior pattern. A diffuse and disorganized discharge is also an important characteristic. The Goldfarb article lists others. The chief external causative variable seems to be bound up with the neglect and indifference of parent-figures, rather than overt rejection in the form of hostility and severe punishments. Rejection may more likely lead to encapsulation and defenses to protect the self. Neglect and the concomitant emotional deprivation may take various forms such as parents only attending to urgent needs or leaving the child with unconcerned baby sitters.

How do we observe these hypothesized connections? One can trace back from a classification of cases to family events, but categorizing the delinquent's feelings and motivation for similar offenses is still a problem. In another regard, it will be important to watch for changes in the effects of the same independent variables depending on the stage of the child's development. And conversely, the same effects may stem from different origins.

*See Goldfarb abstract in this section.
Rabinovitch, Ralph. The concept of primary psychogenic acathexis. 

Summary

The problem is to differentiate various types of mental disorders lumped together as "psychopathic behavior" and discuss characteristics of the type alluded to in the title.

Generalizations
By means of case studies, Rabinovitch points out that "psychopathic" may refer to what turns out to be neurosis, schizophrenia, brain injury or Bender's psychogenic psychopathic conduct disorder. This illustrates the need to evaluate the patient's thought content, his level of relationship capacity and superego awareness in making diagnosis.

Rabinovitch cites the work of Spitz, Levy, Goldfarb, and Bowlby, Bender and others to make the point that we know a good deal about the effects of a lack of mothering and how this fits the pattern of psychogenic psychopathic conduct disorders. On the basis of his own observations, Rabinovitch notes that kids who had this kind of early experience do not develop goal-directed hostile aggression because they have no capacity for intrapsychic conflict because no relationships have developed. Their antisocial behavior stems not from goal-directed behavior, but from the uncontrolled impulse to action.

Rabinovitch stresses the need for substitute mothering where the biological mother is incapable or not present.

Critique
An excellent synthesis of the findings we have studied. This is an unusual but apparently quite destructive type on the delinquency scale. Noticeable much earlier than adolescence.
CHAPTER VIII
Constitutional Factors

Introduction

The constitutional approach to delinquency has a long history which would surely be reported if these articles were designed to present historical developments. Over fifty years ago Cesare Lombroso set forth a systematic constitutional theory of criminology. A number of European scholars still follow in this tradition, but in the United States this viewpoint has only been espoused by William C. Sheldon and his disciples Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. The latter two persons have written a large number of books on crime and delinquency, since the early 1930's, but only their most famous one, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, and reports stemming from it are abstracted here. Together they might be said to represent a natural history of the constitutional theory's utility for prediction since each places a different emphasis on physique. Because of their wealth of other data, they might almost as well have been placed under the headings of Family Organization or Personality Factors except for the unique constitutional emphasis.
Glueck, S., & Glueck, E. T. Early detection of juvenile delinquents. 
J. of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1956-1957, 
47, 174-182.

Summary
E: Extreme forms of paternal discipline and lack of affection, unsuitable supervision and affection from the mother, unintegrated home life.
I: Traits of character structure and temperament with unspecified relation to E.
B: Lower class delinquency in general.
The problem is to further analyze the factors reported in Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency which were said to allow predicting persistent delinquency from scores obtained at the time of school entrance.

Design
Fifteen factors involved that distinguished delinquents from non-delinquents. Five social factors: discipline of boy by father, supervision of boy by mother, affection of father for boy, affection of mother, cohesiveness of family. Five traits of character structure from Rorschach tests: social assertion, defiance, suspicion, destructiveness, emotional lability. Five traits of temperament determined by psychiatric interview: adventurousness, extroversion in action, suggestibility, stubbornness, emotional instability.

Weighted scores obtained for each factor as per Chapter XX of the above work.

Number and percent of delinquent and nondelinquent boys computed for arbitrary intervals (e.g., 150-199) on basis of summed scores for various combinations of factors.

Four hundred and twenty-four cases (205 delinquent and 219 non-delinquent), which was the total of 1,000 which had full information in these areas, were used.

Generalizations
Simply stated, the five social factors alone provide the best breakdown of various combinations. That is, the percentages are more extreme in the end categories (e.g., among those with weighted scores of 400 or more, 98.1% were delinquents, and of those with scores below 150, only 2.9% were, based on the five social factors). Correlation coefficients also supported the stronger prediction of delinquency from the social factors as contrasted to the psychiatric and the Rorschach factors--social has .682. But the social and psychiatric indices taken together yield a multiple correlation of .759 and all three yield .783. The five social factors are 1) discipline--overstrict or erratic got the highest score, followed by laxness; 2) supervision--unsuitable, fair, etc.; 3) and 4) affection of parents--indifferent or hostile, highest; and 5) cohesiveness--unintegrated had highest weighted scores.

Critique
The correlation coefficients were computed by an independent person and they somewhat modify the Gluecks' conclusions. The ideal would be to obtain all the indices.
The surprising thing to note is that the social factors now found significant are far removed from the body and constitution types the Gluecks began with. Perhaps this article is a landmark for them.

Unraveling should be studied for the exact description of these factors, although my impression is that the definitions were never very vigorous or detailed. I think the Gluecks would be careful about attributing causal significance. Certainly many of the intervening processes between the social factors and delinquency, and many of the factors which cause such traits as defiance must be determined.

The Gluecks' traits unfortunately do not make clear the causal chain, and they refuse to do much speculation. Much remains to see what influences these traits and how they in turn lead through varying channels to delinquency and other types of action.
Summary

E: Factors contributing selectively to delinquency of mesomorphs.
    Lack of institutionalized family activities and recreation; parental neglect. I: Mesomorphic body type influencing greater energy potential, feelings of not being taken care of and receptive trends among delinquents.
    B: These I variables respectively are assumed to affect seeking recreation outside the home, seeking active outlets for frustrations arising from parental neglect, and stealing or expressions of greed to satisfy oral needs. Actually studied institutionalized Ds.

The problem is to take data from Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency and go beyond broad descriptive generalizations. To analyze causal syndromes beginning with breakdown into four physique types, and then determine what traits and socio-cultural factors are related to the types.

Design

Comparison of 500 persistent delinquents and 500 proven nondelinquents in Boston schools. Matched for age, IQ, ethnic-racial deviation and residence in economically and socio-culturally underprivileged areas. Data on family backgrounds, physique, health, aspects of intelligence, temperament, personality and character structure. Each aspect explored without benefit of other data to prevent bias.

Assumes that traits which vary by somatotype "owe their deviation more to constitutional than to socio-cultural influences." May be either direct genetic or conditioned influence. Can be genetic through genes or through inherited selectivity to environmental stimuli.

If body build is relevant to delinquency, then expect find:

1) some traits should vary in association with delinquency among body types.
2) effect on delinquency of some socio-cultural factors should vary among physique types.

Onset of persistent delinquency before age 8 for 48%; and before 11 for 87%. Four body types studied: ectomorph, mesomorph, endomorph and balanced following Sheldon's classification.

Generalizations:

Summary of findings from Unraveling shows that delinquents are distinguishable by:

1) physically--mesomorphic essentially (solid, closely knit, muscular)
2) temperamentally--impulsive, extroverted, destructive
3) attitude--defiant, suspicious, socially assertive, unconventional
4) psychologically--direct and concrete not symbolic expression; less methodical approach to problems
5) socioculturally--homes had little understanding, affection, stability, moral fiber; parents usually unfit to be guides, protectors, or desirable sources of emulation and basis for well-balanced superego in early stages of character development.
Sixty percent of delinquents were mesomorphic, while only 10-15% fell in each other class. High probability of delinquency depends on interplay of conditions and forces from all these areas.

**Traits separating mesomorphs from the other body types:** Clinical indication of more vigor inferred from (a) less susceptible to childhood contagion, (b) fewer disorders of which tremors are symptomatic, (c) better developed genitals, and (d) more strength in their hands. Among psychological traits of nondelinquents are: less sensitive, less tending to phantasy, less feelings of inadequacy. (Author lists quite a few more, but these are only ones which show tendencies by comparison with at least two of three other types.)

**Traits contributing selectively to delinquency of mesomorphs:** susceptibility to contagion, low verbal intelligence, feeling of not being taken care of, destructiveness, destructive-sadistic trends, receptive trends, feelings of inadequacy, emotional instability and conflicts. (The six underlined are less characteristic of nondelinquent mesomorphs than of other body types. This suggests that the interaction creates some kind of internal disharmony to which is added traits which are linked with delinquency regardless of body type—and the indirect outcome is delinquency.) Among remaining three traits, the first is more likely to embroil energetic youngsters in delinquency, the second may direct these energetic and dynamic mesomorphs to seek active outlets for tensions and frustrations from parental neglect, and third expresses oral needs that may lead to outwardly expressed greed or stealing again stronger in mesomorphs who need energy outlets.

**Socio-cultural factors contributing selectively to delinquency of mesomorphs** (in contrast to endomorphs only): careless household routine, lack of family group recreations, meagerness of recreational facilities in the home. Mesomorphs more likely to overreact to lack of energy channels and seek adventure and recreation elsewhere because of greater vigor and energy. Some aspects have greater effect on ectomorphs: emotional disturbance in father, working mothers, careless supervision by mother, indifference or hostility of mother or sibs, quarrelsome parents, low conduct standards, rearing by substitute parents. More rugged constitution of mesomorph is less affected by these.

**Conclusions**

Excess of mesomorphs among delinquents explained by (1) traits such as energy, insensitivity, and tendency to express frustrations in action which are suitable to committing acts of aggression together with relative freedom from inhibitions to antisocial adventures arising from feelings of inadequacy, marked submissiveness, emotional instability, etc., and (2) admixture of traits affecting delinquency regardless of body type.

Most traits that have an impact on delinquency among mesomorphs, "are not usually typical of that physique." Thus "alien traits" in constitutional host predispose toward delinquency.

**Conclusions on endomorphic constitution and delinquency:** Traits found among endomorphic nondelinquents are not conducive to a career of criminalistic aggression, e.g., submission to authority, conventional modes
of thought, less assertive and lesser tendency to work off emotions in action. Thus a lower delinquency potential than mesomorphs. Viewed as a reasonable hypothesis, not a definitive conclusion.

Conclusion on ectomorphs: In same vein of energy and inhibition where these tend to bottle up aggressive impulses. Greater influence of home and family life on delinquency than among endomorphs. Over-reacting to pressures and tensions in these areas from sensitivity of this body type leads often to delinquency.

Conclusions on balanced types: No consistent pattern of criminogenic involvement in either traits or socio-cultural influences. Few in sample, but same principles evoked for lack of delinquents in this type.

Critique

Delinquent activity may select mesomorphs because of need for physical ardor in gang life.

Accepts significance levels as low as .10.

Author does not demonstrate that more energetic mesomorphs seek energy outlets more often, or why the outlets should be delinquent ones.

Author only weakly demonstrates that mesomorphs are more energetic than other body types.

Traits listed are often agglomerations, e.g., authority—parents, teachers? dependence—on whom, in what ways?

Comparisons often show extreme differences only with one other body type, yet author generalizes to all other types; e.g., only intelligence and feeling of not being taken care of are traits which separate delinquent mesomorphs from at least two other body types.

(See notes on Physique and delinquency by same authors for design and general findings).

**Summary**

**E:** Homes more often broken, on relief, less routine, lower conduct standards, lack of supervision. **I:** Mesomorphs especially susceptible to D. Less self-control; impulsive. **B:** Institutionalized D.

The problem is to assess the factors influencing delinquency, and in view of the inadequate present knowledge and theory (1940) to measure a broad range of factors.

**Design**

Definition of delinquency: Repeated acts which when committed by persons beyond statutory juvenile court age of sixteen are punishable as crimes.

Delinquent population: inmates of state correctional school in Massachusetts who were persistent offenders, 66% first in court for offenses against property (e.g., larceny, burglary, attempts at these, using autos without permission); 10% for offenses against the public order (e.g., breaking windows, destroying, trespassing, throwing missiles).

Most but not all the generalizations are supported by $X^2$ probabilities of less than .01.

Matched by taking all delinquents and then trying to find non-delinquents. Some individual but mostly subgroup matching.

**Generalizations**

The following are salient conclusions about differences between delinquents and nondelinquents along the various dimensions tapped:

1. Home conditions: Delinquents are more residentially mobile, their homes are more crowded, their families more often dependent on relief agencies, fewer are living with own parents.

2. Setting of family life: Families of delinquents characterized by more mental retardation, emotional disturbance, drunkenness and criminality; more marriages forced by pregnancy; aid large because of unwilling principal breadwinner.

3. Quality of home life: Delinquent homes had less planned routine, lower standards of conduct, greater lack of supervision. (c.f. role of neglect in Hewitt's socialized delinquents).

4. Physique: Mesomorphic (muscular, solid) build more often among delinquents, delayed growth spurt. More homogeneous in type and fewer disproportions within type.

5. Temperament: Delinquents more extroverted, vicarious, impulsive, and less self-control.
Critique

Many response categories are vague (e.g., emotional disturbances). Author takes eclectic approach, and sometimes concludes that origins in heredity or environment cannot be determined without more information.

Definition of some key concepts (e.g., immorality of parents) largely missing and oriented to middle-class norms.

Case could be built for social causation as well as constitutional.
CHAPTER IX

Miscellaneous Factors


Summary
(1) E: Person resembles the parent. I: Incorporation of the object based on fear of or wanting to share his power. Person represents gaining maximal acceptance in group. B: Contagion with object.
(2) E: Person has greater knowledge. I: Desire to achieve his power. B: Contagion specific to the situation.

The problem is to outline some theoretical aspects of contagion (ability to influence) related to prestige in the group.

Design
Some definitions. Prestige is used as the perceptions of individuals regarding how they locate each other. Operationally defined in the thesis research as the extent of possessing admired characteristics as determined by near-sociometric methods. All contagion had in common that the initiator did not evidence a clear desire to be "contaged" and that the behavior was a direct result of the influencer's actions.

Generalizations
Two types of prestige delineated. (1) Identification-prestige referring to the incorporation of personal objects. Occurs on a symbolic level and most often for children, on the basis of fearing another, or the loss of his love, or wanting to share his perceived omnipotence. Probably occurs most easily the closer the object resembles the parent; in fact, identification prestige is defined as such similarity to parents. Usually unconscious process. (2) Expert-prestige--referring to greater knowledge. Relatively conscious and subject to reality testing. Should tend to be specific to the situation in which it operates and the behaviors which would correlate with it.

Influences from the fact that this contagion occurs in a group setting. (1) Object is seen as representing in his person and/or behavior that which is necessary to getting maximal acceptance in the group. A form of expert prestige. (2) The object is seen as powerful in the group. Power may derive from popularity, control of approval, etc. One may want to achieve this position (expert prestige), or the persons in such positions may arouse old feelings toward parental or authority figures (identification prestige).

Types of forces acting on the recipient. (1) Forces derived from the relationship--the prestige aspect discussed above. This does not account for all contagion. (2) Forces relating to the initiation act and based on its ability to (a) provide a means for reaching an existent goal, (b) activate a "latent force" and make it a means or goal of enjoyable activity, (c) provide a point of reference (e.g., define what is safe behavior), and (d) reduce restraining forces preventing attainment of goals where paths are clear. One sees that the initiator is not harmed, nor feels guilty nor blames another for his actions.
Critique

These two bases of contagion suggest some important general conditions for imitation. It would be valuable to find out how much identification prestige operates in the gang. To do this, some similarity between the leader's sources of power and those of parents must be traced.

It is worth noting that differential predictions can be made for the two types of prestige, the outcome of expert power being more situational.

Note that this theory does not include a discussion of attempts at direct induction. This is quite important for parental relations with children. It may involve a new set of forces pertaining to resistance to influence pressures.
Summary
E: Situational pressures toward delinquency. I: Individual weaknesses preventing resistance to situational pressures or to loss of self-control. B: Delinquent behavior resulting from these forces toward deviation.

The problem is to formulate a causal law concerning delinquency. (Pp.79-81.)

Generalizations
The simplest form of a causal law is S/I or Situation/Individual. The S stands for pressures of the situation and the weakness of the social order. The I stands for individual strength to withstand pressures or control the self without a supporting moral order.

The I can be equated to various kinds of individual weaknesses: inadequacy, anxiety, compulsion, low frustration tolerance, weak ego structure, restlessness, suggestibility, uncontrollable temper, instability, immaturity, poor attitudes, absence of goals and ideals.

The S strengths may come from family, friends, neighborhood, group affiliation and organization. Pressures toward delinquency may arise from confusion, tension, conflict, transition, disruption, dislocation, lack of direction, thinly held social controls, absence of structured roles and statuses.

Among S and I pressures there can be conformity and deviation forces. The resultant behavior is a balance of these.

Critique
The combinations of the above factors would yield the good boy in good neighborhood, good boy in bad neighborhood, etc., paradigm. The author doesn't suggest what the tolerance limits of either factor are beyond which delinquency results, or which S and I concepts are of greater importance.
Summary


The problem is to correct some of the common misconceptions.

Generalizations

The following are erroneous views about sex offenders.

(1) that there are tens of thousands of homicidal sex fiends—the vast majority are minor offenses.

(2) that victims of sex attack are "ruined for life"—friends and public agencies often do more damage.

(3) that sex offenders are usually recidivists—among serious crimes homicide alone has a lower rate. Most get in trouble just once. Of those who do repeat, a majority commit some other offense. Recidivists are characteristically minor offenders like peepers, exhibitionists, homosexuals.

(4) that minor sex offenders, if unchecked, progress to more serious types of crime—statistics and psychiatrists agree that sex deviates persist in behavior they have found satisfying.

(5) that it is possible to predict the danger of serious crimes being committed by sex deviates—psychiatrists, clinical researchers and legislators agree this can't be done with present knowledge.

(6) that "sex psychopathy" or sex deviation is a clinical entity—unclear to psychiatrists that this is a clear diagnostic entity.

(7) that these individuals are lustful and oversexed—a majority are passive and undersexed like voyeurs. The cause is more psychological than physical.

(8) that reasonably effective treatment methods to cure deviated sex offenders are known and employed—we don't know enough or devote enough efforts toward treatment.

(9) that the sex control laws passed recently in one-third of the states are getting at the brutal and vicious sex criminal and should be adopted generally to wipe out sex crime—but most offenders are minor deviates, not "sex fiends."

(10) that civil adjudication of the sex deviate and indeterminate commitment to a mental hospital is similar to our handling of the insane, and therefore human liberties and due process are not involved—no sound reason exists for sending peepers and similar types to prolonged hospitalization.

(11) that the sex problem can be solved by passing a new law on it.
Critique

We need to know what proportion of each type of these sex offenders is juvenile. The low recidivist rate coupled with the commission of other offenses suggests that we should look for connections between minor sex offenses and other illegal activities.
CHAPTER X

Toward the Integration of Theoretical Orientations

This paper represents an attempt to organize and summarize some of the major variables that have been used in approaches to the explanation of juvenile delinquency. Our viewpoint here will be to look upon explanations as theoretical models, and then to try to develop some taxonomy for these models that might suggest new or integrated approaches toward the problem.

This work is a product of a project in which various theoretical approaches to the explanation of juvenile delinquency were examined. This examination was not exhaustive as we have noted in the previous sections. Rather the goal was to examine research reports dealing with the distinctive viewpoints that are represented in the field today. We hope that all distinctive orientations, though perhaps not equally covered, are at least included in this approach.

We would like to suggest three criteria that are important for any adequate theory about juvenile delinquency. First, there is the need for the inclusion of both precipitating and maintenance factors in considering the "causes" of delinquency. To explain origins of a set of behaviors may not in many cases be enough of an explanation as to why such behaviors persist; in a full explanation one must be able to identify both sets of conditions. Second, a good theory needs to consider the developmental levels, or stages, at which certain conditions may have created critical effects. This concern with the age of youth is important for most theories of delinquency, although in some cases the age limits are rather broad and in most cases the consideration of age as a variable is only implied. Thirdly, although it is legitimate to
postulate an explanation at any level of phenomena, an increasingly comprehensive theory should link classes of variables so that anthropological, sociological, economic, psychological or psychiatric explanations can be dovetailed together; then one can understand how something like poverty or crowded living conditions has a consequence in personality, or how a lack of loving in the first year or two of life has an impact during the years of adolescence.

In approaching this problem, we have had a greater interest in deviancy, positive or negative, than in delinquency per se, but delinquency is a big part of the deviancy picture. Our conceptual definition of the dependent variable is very similar to the one adopted by Kvaraceus et al (1959)*: juvenile delinquency is behavior which violates specific legal norms or the norms of dominant societal institutions with sufficient frequency or seriousness to provide a firm basis for legal action. This definition would exclude a variety of minor misbehaviors and certain behaviors within a peer or family situation, for instance, that might be highly disapproved or punished but not by the legal institutions of society.

Operational definitions of delinquency have been quite diverse. They range from samples of institutionalized delinquents to those treated in child guidance clinics, and from a specific diagnostic syndrome to a generalized, disapproved pattern of behavior. The methodological error of generalizing from all studies to all legal delinquents should be apparent. Various selective biases are of course operating even in the systematic study of delinquents detected and apprehended by police. Police vigilance

*Except where indicated by footnote, references in this paper may be found in the preceding collection of abstracts. Placement of abstracts is noted in the bibliography at the beginning of the volume.
will vary by neighborhood and area, and dispositional and reporting practices are equally diverse. Another critical operational inadequacy is the practice of some authors of combining all kinds of delinquents rather than classifying them according to some etiological or behavior grouping. Such a failure may hide important differences in etiology and maintenance conditions.

There are of course a great variety of independent variables in this field. Sometimes the interaction of several such variables is invoked to account for deviancy. We have found it helpful to classify them under one or another of five headings:

First, there are the macro-cultural and macro-social conditions that define the state of society—its values, its economic system, its institutional patterns, and so forth.

Second, there are the macro-temporal conditions that define the line and course of developments for an individual over a long period of time, perhaps a total life time up to the present. These are to a major extent developmental variables.

Third, there are situational conditions that define the current ecological conditions such as locale and social setting for an individual. Most of these variables refer to typical settings for action, given the motivation to delinquency.

Fourth, although they are also situational and contemporaneous, there is advantage in looking at interpersonal variables separate from the other modes of situational description. Interpersonal relationships are so crucial in defining personality and one’s behavior that they deserve separate classification and attention.

Lastly, there are the intrapsychic variables that are to a large extent the resultant of all of the others and are precipitating causes of delinquent behavior, conditioned by the opportunities and happenstances of environmental conditions of the moment.

Some theorists have concentrated on the correlates between socio-economic conditions and the figures on incidence of delinquency—these we would put in the first category. Others have focused on parental disaffection, broken homes, etc. in terms of a child’s continued orientation to life or the critical importance of certain events at certain stages. These we
would place in the second category.

Area of the city and time of occurrence of delinquent act would be candidates for explanations in the third grouping. Interpersonal relationships within the family or peer or inter-racial relations could all be types of explanation in the fourth constellation of variables. The last would include explanations that dealt with lack of internalization, inappropriate or immature defenses, and so forth.

It should be clear that intrapsychic variables have origins in situational and interpersonal conditions, and that these are determined to a large part by historic and societal conditions and events. Thus, as we have already indicated, an adequate theory should connect variables in one category to variables in another with an adequate postulation of the processes or linking mechanisms.

By and large, theorists have not made this sort of linkage and approaches to theory have often remained on one or another of these various levels.

Still another way of categorizing independent variables was attempted and it too served certain advantages. This is the procedure of grouping theories by their most salient independent variables. In this second system we have used three levels of organization: social, familial, and intrapsychic. On each of these levels we proposed a four-part categorization that was replicated at each of the other levels.

First, we propose a variable of normlessness in which situations are such that behaviors were not strictly defined in terms of prescriptions, rewards or sanctions. In such a situation a person is encouraged if not forced to experiment and the most probable result is a more or less random or unpredictable pattern of success and failure.
Second, we propose a variable of **norm conflict**. In many ways such a situation is analogous to normlessness since the prediction of consequences of an act may be equally difficult. But the situation is different in that two groups are imposing conflicting patterns of behavior, regardless of whether these groups are defined as competing racial groups, or national groups at various stages of assimilation or as generational categories. The same group may also be imposing changing norms as it meets new situations.

Third, we suggest a variable of **anti-social norms** as the content of the socialization forces. In such a situation one assumes a condition in which a sector of society trains its children in certain behaviors, and normal processes of socialization inculcate these behaviors as norms in the younger members of this society; but in the larger society—the society of legal sanctions—these behaviors are not condoned and are thus defined as delinquent.

Fourth, we must imagine a situation in which acceptable norms are known, though perhaps not overly internalized, yet the situation in which an individual or group finds itself is one of such deprivation of means that illicit means for satisfaction are knowingly adopted. To the extent that this situation becomes widespread throughout a group one would assume that innovation occurs, and alternate norms for goal achievement are developed which may come into conflict with the rules of the legal system.

Examples, or definitions of these variables, have usually been given at the **societal level**. However, we would propose that the same four categories could be utilized at the **family level**: normlessness, norm conflict, anti-social norms, and means deprivations of enough severity to stimulate norm breaking.
Again, within the individual we would propose a similar grouping of conditions though it would be customary to alter the nomenclature to label the variables: lack of standards, conflict of standards, anti-social standards, and lack of resources.

**CLASSIFICATION OF THEORIES**

In this section a tentative classification of causative theories of delinquency will be presented. The theories cover a wide range of sophistication and specificity. The major criterion of classifying a theory will be where the author places his major emphasis in describing the independent variables of the theory. At this point, we will categorize theories on three levels of analysis: **social organization**, **family organization** and **intra-psychic organization**. Different authors tend generally to begin their explanations on one of these levels. The social organization section will include all theories which focus on initial causal events outside of the psyche and the home. More specifically, this includes emphasis on cultural and subcultural conditions, social structural and ecological relations. The family organization section will include theories concerning child training practices, the actions of family members and the effects of more global variables whose impact on the child is by means of family agents and is primarily described in terms of these intra-family processes. The intra-psychic organization section will contain theories whose major focus is on internal states and processes. They may be conceived as originating outside of the organism, but if the theory emphasizes primarily the mediating intra-psychic activity it will be placed here.

Within each of these major headings we will utilize the four main categories which seem appropriate when speaking of origins of deviant behavior; namely normlessness, norm change or norm conflict, strong anti-
social norms, and deprivation of means or resources. The boundaries of these categories have been discussed in the preceding section of this paper.

I. Social Organization

Normlessness. On the social organizational level, normlessness points to the absence of norms concerning important regions of the life space. Normlessness is usually associated with the concept of anomie. This sociological variable has been used in several delinquency studies (e.g., Lander, 1954). It refers to a disintegration or formlessness of the normative structure of the society or a sector of it with regard to particular roles and activities. Under such conditions it is expected that individuals will become demoralized and lose the typical restraints preventing antisocial conduct. Lack of social and cultural integration of a group (Wood, 1946-47) is another way of describing normlessness which in this case was related to higher crime rates for a certain ethnic group.

The social disorganization theory applies normlessness to a specific sector of the society. Certain deteriorated neighborhoods of large urban centers are thought to lack social controls, and delinquency becomes a means of obtaining desired economic and social values outside of the usual normative pathways (Shaw & McKay, 1942). One form of weak social control is a dissociation of conventional values from the total value system. This condition has been linked to the development of patterns of violence (Kobrin, 1951). Such patterns between groups, which may burst into open gang warfare, are called conflict subcultures. The concept of a psycho-social moratorium introduces another theoretical viewpoint which pictures
that adults in our society grant adolescents a large measure of normless freedom and allow a "provocative playfulness" before the age at which adolescents are expected to assume adult status (Erikson).* Somewhat similar to the psychosocial moratorium is an explanation of the well-publicized youth culture which emphasizes pleasure seeking, prowess and daring. This culture is seen to result from a societal change toward a consumption-oriented society which is reflected in the breakdown of the deferred gratification pattern and high expectations of teachers. The extra free time and lack of normative prescriptions as to its use allow for growth of the youth culture (Cohen, 1957). A similar explanation is offered by Bloch and Niederhoffer (1958) for high delinquency rates in societies like our own which, the authors contend, provide few institutionalized supports during the stage of transition to adulthood. This void leads to spontaneous adolescent groupings dedicated to a symbolic display of adult status. This process is typically independent of the mores of the adult world and involves hostility toward any segment of organized society that threatens gang values by pointing out the adolescent's dependent status. Each of these theories points to a void in the lives of particular youth which may be filled in a variety of deviant ways.

Norm conflict. Norm conflicts may occur as a result of residential and social mobility, change in age-graded or inter-generational values, to mention some of the most common types. In each case, the following theories focus on norms which exist in non-familial social groups as contrasted to those the individual has internalized. The culture conflict theory is

prominent here. It refers to the effects of immigration, invasion and exposure to various sources of discrepant information. Delinquency may follow from the absence of norms in the previous cultural context or from different definitions of the situation. The individual may get in trouble either by following the norms of this previous group or by rebelling against these norms (Sellin, 1938). Another type of conflict, to be called pervasive norm violation, is the practice of activities by social groups which these same groups in another context have proscribed. War and prejudice against minorities are two cogent examples which may serve as guides to youth.

**Antisocial norms.** Deviant subcultures and group norm patterns are an essential part of the following theories. These theories are to be distinguished from others which emphasize origins of such subcultures and are classified elsewhere. The differential association model places major emphasis on the individual’s affiliation with persons or groups which condone or encourage criminal behavior (Sutherland & Cressey, 1950). The lower-class culture described by Miller contains a set of focal concerns which, such as proving one's toughness and outsmarting others, if followed, would soon bring the individual into conflict with legal rules of our society (Kvaraceus, et al., 1959). The adoption of criminal and conventional value systems by the same persons has been viewed by another theorist as leading youths in such a neighborhood into established criminal activities (Kobrin, 1951). Ohlin and Cloward (1959) have theorized that this criminal subculture results from the availability of illegitimate opportunities to practice delinquent behaviors. The ascetic subculture of the Beat Generation is another deviant pattern. While it is not oriented toward illegal activities, the actions of adherents may arouse disdain in some members of the dominant social system.
Deprivation of resources. Among these are influences mediated by the social structure which tend to prevent certain individuals from attaining desired states. The structure of opportunities to practice learned roles and to receive assistance in the process of socialization is drastically reduced for some lower-class urban boys. This deprivation of opportunity may appear in the form of poor recreational facilities and no jobs which increase tendencies toward boredom, and the lack of community and financial assistance. Shaw and McKay (1942) discuss factors such as these. Several models focus on disparities between available legitimate means and cultural goals in the experienced social structure. The theory of the "delinquent subculture," hereafter referred to as non-utilitarian because of the variety of delinquent subcultures, traces an outgrowth of the lower-class boy's dilemma in the quest for middle-class goals (Cohen, 1955). Others have argued that this same dilemma operates to create utilitarian activity aimed at obtaining middle-class material goals (Kitsuse & Dietrick, 1959). Still other investigators have traced a drug addict subculture to this same kind of a means-end dilemma plus a failure to attain legitimate goals even by illegitimate means (Ohlin & Cloward, 1959).

II. Family Organization

Normlessness. In this category are placed theories which point to a void in important norms and roles prescribed for youngsters by their parents. Several empirical studies point to the association between a lack of institutionalized family activities and the presence of delinquency (Hewitt & Jenkins, 1946; Glueck & Glueck, 1950; 1956-57). This viewpoint stresses both the lack of a family routine and also the scant ties of inter-dependence between family members. A lack of a subcultural integration
whose impact is felt primarily through family control has been advanced to account for the high incidence of delinquency in some minority groups but not in others, notably the Jewish, Chinese and Japanese (Bordua, 1959).* This theory focuses on the entrepreneurial occupations, found mostly among the low delinquency minorities, as a source of prestige and power for the father and also as a path for the boy toward useful adult occupational roles.

Another type of normlessness is the lack of precise limits on child behavior. Parents who are lax in their discipline or who only punish the child erratically have been assumed not to provide definite boundaries for the child, and also to prevent the internalization of standards (Glueck & Glueck, 1950; McCord et al., 1959).

**Norm conflict.** This type of theory points to conflicting norms, prohibitions, expectations and roles which are mediated or originated by parents. This may take on the color of role conflict when the young person sees parents acting in ways contrary to their expectations of children. This phenomenon we call personalized norm violation. The assumption of an implicit conflict of norms between parents is essential to the sex role anxiety theory which depicts delinquency as a masculine protest against maternal authority which happens to be aligned with the prevailing standards of goodness. Different views have been advanced concerning the specific origins and social class distribution of this type of anxiety (Cohen, 1955; Wilensky, 1958).

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Anti-social norms. Some parents and siblings act in such a way that adopting their behavior would almost surely mean the violation of norms by which we have chosen to define the delinquent. The general case is the theory that the delinquent child has adopted the actions of deviant role models in the family. This may refer in particular to modeling after criminal parents (McCord, et al., 1959) or to the process of identifying with aggressive parents (Freud, 1946).

Deprivation of resources. Other theories point to parents withholding certain things needed for normal development. The psychopathic personality theories focus in common on the lack of or rejection by a mother figure in the early life of the child (Rabinovitch, 1951; Bowlby, 1946; Goldfarb, 1954). The resulting affectionless state provides no internal resistance to antisocial behavior; the child is in an a-social state. Hostility from parents has been linked with rejection of parental standards by children (Glueck & Glueck, 1950; Bender, 1953). Hostility here is taken to mean deprivation of the needed encouragement to expected conduct. Parental neglect and rejection appear to be at the basis of property crimes which indicate a desire for attention and maternal welfare, of crimes against persons motivated by frustration and rage, of sex crimes instigated by frustrated desires for maternal affection, and of drunkenness to relieve anxiety over such unhappy home life. The inconsistent and lax discipline found with these syndromes is also an inadequate basis for strongly internalizing parental demands and further leaves the child open to deviant activities (McCord, et al., 1959).

III. Intrapsychic Organization

Lack of standards. Some theories place major emphasis on the lack of internalized conduct guides rather than on the norms of significant others.
Because of this orientation toward internal organization, we will change terminology in this section from norms to standards within the individual.

The teenager who experiences role diffusion rather than a sense of ego identity is suffering under a situationally induced lack of internal standards. The psycho-social moratorium and negative evaluations by adults work to create such a feeling (Erikson, 1956).* The absence of internalized standards, known also as a defective superego, has also been used to explain delinquency as a function of the unrestrained pleasure principle (Aichhorn, 1935). In the psychoanalytic tradition, pure impulse gratification has also been attributed to a lack of reality orientation inherent in a weak ego structure (Redl & Wineman, 1951).

**Conflict of standards.** A conflict between two discrepant internalized standards has been suggested to result in a weakening of both standards, the extent depending on which norm source had the strongest influence in personality development (Sellin, 1958). A conflict between an unconscious desire for punishment and consciously experienced prohibition has been hypothesized to account for certain neurotic acts motivated by a desire for punishment (Abrahamson, 1952).**

**Anti-social standards.** The influence of such standards is invoked by several theories.

The differential identification theory proposes that delinquency is a function of identification with reference entities from whose perspective criminal behavior is approved (Glaser, 1956). A socially unacceptable self concept, which is partially defined by association with delinquent peers has

*Erikson, Erik H., op cit.

also been used to account for delinquent activity (Reckless, 1957). Identification with deviant role models has already been mentioned, but in this case (McCord, et al., 1959) the causal sequence began with the antisocial norms of the parent. Thus explanations such as this one are not included in this section.

**Lack of resources.** Several other theories fit under this final classification. The weak ego concept has been used to explain delinquent behavior in terms of impulse gratification which cannot be controlled (Redl & Wineman, 1951). The frustration-aggression hypothesis points to the experience of being denied important goal resources. It has often been applied in delinquency research. Sometimes the source of the frustration has been traced to sociological variables, but in any case some internal state of frustration is exceedingly important in arousing aggression.

Several theories place major causal emphasis on the lack of intrapsychic resources which is not created by any process of social interaction. One is the "neuro-social" theory of psychopathic personality. The authors contend that this state may arise from severe brain damage coupled with mild rejection, deprivation (McCord & McCord, 1956). Another example is the effort to link delinquency to constitutional factors. This theory suggests that body type influences delinquency potential both genetically and by sensitization to environmental stimuli (Glueck & Glueck, 1956).

This concludes the first system of classification in terms of emphasized independent variables. The exploration so far has led us to consider several clusters of variables that are prominently associated with different types of theories in the field. We have explored the utility of organizing the causal statements by level of social and personal system. This approach will be expanded in the next section where these and other
variables will be arranged also by *distance* from the predicted event in a process sequence model.

**PROCESS-ORIENTED ANALYSIS OF VARIABLES RELATED TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY**

It will now be helpful to look in some detail at the types of variables employed in these theories and also in other research which cannot easily be classified as to theoretical orientation. For this purpose, as already indicated, we have found it helpful to devise a system of classification ranging from variables which occur at a distance from the delinquent act in time or space and moving toward more proximal or immediate variables. Schematically, the following plan will be used in this section:

**Types of Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent and Intervening Variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assumed greater distance from delinquent act</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Macro-cultural &amp; social</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Macro-temporal</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Interpersonal</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Intra-psychic</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Situational</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed that variables on the macro-cultural and social level may be linked with delinquency via other variables on the intervening levels. The dashes in the above scheme refer to intervening conditions that must be specified for a complete causal statement. Many intervening processes must be
inferred if no such intervening variables are indicated. Of course the connection between intrapsychic variables and delinquency has need of many fewer inferences. Macro-cultural and social variables concern the physical and demographic environment in which the delinquent grows up and questions of values and action patterns on a societal level. The macro-temporal dimension includes events occurring in the history of one's relations within the family. If delinquency is in fact traceable in part to societal conditions, then in a more complete explanation these developmental factors should be tied up with variables on the first level. Likewise, they should be tied to particular kinds of interactions between significant others and potential delinquents, although many important interpersonal relations may not occur until late in the child's development. Interpersonal variables describe interactions initiated by both the delinquent and others such as family members, peers, and authority figures.

These last three independent variables--interpersonal, intrapsychic and situational--refer generally to events contemporaneous with the delinquent act which may either direct the youth's energies into deviant channels, or be expressions of events occurring at the time of the delinquency. The intrapsychic variables represent the internal organization and interpretation of past experience which the investigators assume is activated at the time of the delinquent act. This category refers to the needs and wishes of the delinquent--structures and processes of his personality. The situational variables describe mainly the physical structure of the site of the delinquent act. They might be viewed along with the intrapsychic variables as the part of a motivational sequence involving the assessment and selection of appropriate and safe channels for expressing the previous motives at the time of the delinquent act.
If causal sequences which begin with the more distant variables also make use of the more proximal categories, these latter variables will not be discussed again under such categories. For a list of the variables that have been related to delinquency at each level, as well as the different forms that delinquency may take, the reader is referred to Table I.

The organization of variables in this section takes precedence over the organization proposed in the introduction.
### TABLE I

**I. MACRO-CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL VARIABLES**

- physical deterioration, slum poverty
- low economic status of neighborhood
- proximity to commerce and industry
- zone of transition between business and residential use
- proximity to exploitive industries and amusements
- lack of recreational facilities
- low home ownership
- high visibility of material goods
- high ethnic and racial minority concentration
- anomie
- psychosocial moratorium
- social disorganization
- weak age stratification sequences
- dissensus re neighborhood problems
- cultural heterogeneity
- culture conflict
- language barrier
- role dislocation of immigrants
- lack of subcultural integration
- opportunity deprivation
- legitimate means-goals conflict
- illegitimate means-goals conflict
- illegitimate learning structures
- consumption-oriented society
- high residential mobility
- pervasive norm violation
- deviant role models in mass media
- lower-class subculture
- criminal subculture
- conflict subculture
- drug-addict subculture
- impersonal, exploitive relations with organizations and individuals
- status of parent
  - low occupational status
  - low ethnic status
  - low educational status of father
  - father an unreliable worker
  - father an unwilling provider
  - family dependent on relief

**II. MACRO-TEMPORAL VARIABLES**

- control and discipline
  - erratic
  - severe
  - lax
- physical love oriented
- mother controls
- father controls
- affect
  - indifferent, neglect, passive
  - hostile
  - rejection
  - interparent conflict
  - sex role conflict between parents
  - maternal overprotection
- parental attributes
  - physical disability
  - mental disability
  - emotional disability
  - drunkenness
  - criminality
  - body type
- parental absence
  - broken homes
  - early absence of mother-figure
  - deviant role model-criminal father
  - sex role reversal
  - low power father
  - middle of birth order
  - negative stereotype by parents
  - harsh sex discipline
  - mother chief value disseminator
  - lack of subcultural integration
  - male peers as primary socializers
III. INTERPERSONAL VARIABLES

youth's action toward others
  differential identification
  boredom
  has friends in trouble
  identification with the aggressor
status striving
  differential association with delinquents
  association with delinquents
seek recreation away from home
rivals for affection of parents
  less emotional dependence on parents
negative affect toward father
indifference toward parents
rejection of parental influence
perception of low parental concern:
  low affect and low control by parents
  defiance of authority
  ambivalence to authority
resentful to others
hostility to school peers
desire for sexual relations by boy
desire for marriage by girl
desire to quit school
desire to acquire material objects
  manipulative view of the environment
social assertion
aggression toward parents
escape from parents
lack of self-nonself discrimination
lack of person-object discrimination
desire to stay out of trouble
reliance on fate
outrsmarting others
action of others toward the youth
  low expectations by teachers
  parental absence
  low supervision
  deviant role models: drunken, criminal, immoral
lack of institutionalized family activities
parental indifference
depression of love
parental hostility
  lax discipline
  severe discipline by father
erratic discipline by father
community authorities cut off legitimate means to status goals of jobs, school, housing
manipulatory conformity pressures
peer threats to withhold status
peer coercion
conventional friends withdraw
family interaction patterns
  low cohesion: poor emotional ties, few joint interests
neutral or negative affect among members
interparent conflicts
unintegrated family life: no routine, no group recreation

IV. INTRAPSYCHIC VARIABLES

  parental norm violation
  other interpersonal relationships
  anonymity of delinquent situation
  removal from natural parents
  parents cannot effectively interpret life in new culture
impulse gratification prone
need for autonomy
delinquent ego
reaction formation
unconscious conflict over guilt
techniques of neutralization
pain avoidance
aggressiveness
suspiciousness
extroverted tendencies
suggestability
adventurousness
more energy
oral goals
destructive-sadistic goals
organic pathology
low verbal intelligence
unrealistic thinking
unsystematic approach to mental problems
less accurate and consistent observation
less fear of failure
severe superego
defective superego: weakly internalized standards
less masochism
less self-control
less emotional stability
status frustration
status anxiety
sex role anxiety
disapproved self concept
role diffusion
subjective anomie
boredom
inflated need for self-esteem
need to prove toughness and daring
inattentive, lazy, lacking interest in school
desire for excitement
V. SITUATIONAL VARIABLES

Illegitimate opportunity structures re
manner of committing delinquency
place and time of committing acts--
higher rates are found:
closer to city center
deteriorated neighborhood
industrial areas
commercial areas
business areas
in streets
at home
nights
weekends
summer months
retarded education of boy
little family appreciation
proximity of similarly underprivileged
boys

VI. DEPENDENT VARIABLES-DELINQUENT ACTS OR DELINQUENCY

Social distribution
lower-class delinquency
middle-class delinquency
ethnic and racial minority delinquency

Type of act
crimes against persons (e.g., assault, rape, homicide)
property crimes (e.g., stealing, property destruction)
drunkenness
sexual offenses
traffic violation
truancy
drug addiction

Interpretation of act
proving toughness
proving daring
proving maturity
malicious, destructive
seeking excitement

Types of subculture
conflict
nonutilitarian (Cohen's delinquent subculture)
retreatist
youth
criminal
ascetic (Beat Generation)

Stage of apprehension
potential delinquent nominees
police contact
police permanent "blotter" records
court referrals
court convictions
institutionalized delinquency
child guidance clinic
On the basis of our survey of delinquency research, we assume that this list is representative of variables being currently employed in research on delinquency.

Many of these variables have been gleaned from *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* because of the many-sided approach of the authors (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). Represented in the list are both empirically and theoretically relevant variables, with no attempt to separate them. Most have been regarded as independent variables, while some have been used as intervening or associated with the independent variables. No attempt is made to separate these types in the list, although clarification is attempted in the following discussion. In the following treatment both operational and conceptual definitions will be described where possible and conceptually similar variables at each stage are discussed together.

I. Macro-cultural and Social Variables

From an ecological point of view the zonal hypothesis stands out clearly in delinquency research. It states that deteriorated neighborhoods near or being invaded by commerce and industry will have the highest rates of delinquency. Deterioration of the neighborhood goes hand in hand with the poverty of its inhabitants and their frequent cultural heterogeneity which result in differential social organization and the lack of common orientations to their collective problems. Many families are oriented toward their future residences outside of the neighborhood (Shaw & McKay, 1942). All of these factors weaken social controls and encourage deviant adjustment. Similar to the poverty and deterioration concepts is low economic status which has been linked to such utilitarian forms of delinquency as crimes against property arising from a culturally-enforced means-goals discrepancy (Shaw & McKay, 1942). This disadvantaged position
with regard to legitimate opportunities to attain cherished goals is especially important for Negroes against whom the most severe restrictions are employed. A look at the chart will indicate how much this theory fails to cover. That delinquency is primarily a lower-class phenomenon has been demonstrated repeatedly (Shaw & McKay; 1942; Cohen, 1955; Kvaraceus et al., 1959; Flint Youth Study, 1959*) but that it is characteristic of poverty-stricken neighborhoods has not always been supported (Lander, 1954; McCord et al., 1959). The weight of these findings do suggest however that an individual may become delinquent by being transplanted into a lower-class environment; they also tend unfortunately to imply that all individuals in these circumstances will have the same predisposition to delinquency when in fact it is known that a majority of individuals and of youths in even the most delinquent neighborhoods still have no contact with the police.** Thus other conditions will be needed for a full explanation of motivation to delinquency.

Miller (in Kvaraceus et al., 1959) believes that the lower class possesses a distinctive and historically evolved culture which emphasizes values like excitement, outsmarting others, proving one's toughness and staying out of trouble. These focal concerns are presented to the boy by his primary socializing agents, his male peers. Even beyond their conformity pressures, he may run afoul of the law in the normal pursuit of his daily life since these values are so disparate from those of the dominant society. Whether an extensive lower-class culture like this


does exist is still debatable, especially in view of the restricted populations which have been studied to date.

The social disorganization variable appears in several forms. One is the lack of integration between criminal and conventional values systems for role occupants. This is assumed to eventuate in violent combat similar to the conflict subculture. An integration of the two value systems within the same individuals allows the individual to learn criminal skills. This leads to delinquency in the context of preparation for adult criminal roles (Kobrin, 1951). These two patterns have also been described in means-ends terms. The opportunity to learn and practice illegitimate means to legitimate goals such as by working for a fence or a junk man is supposedly conducive to learning appropriate role behavior within a young criminal subculture. Where such illegitimate channels are not available, the deprived individual will presumably orient himself toward gaining acceptance in the conventional adult society. Violence in terms of the conflict subculture then becomes an expression of desire for attention and consideration from adults (Ohlin & Cloward, 1959). Here again certain intervening processes, notably those concerning the child's development, have been largely ignored. Some further notions of differential susceptibility which may well evolve from developmental sequences must be introduced here in order to explain why not all individuals with this kind of a means-ends conflict turn to delinquent avenues of expression. It is well to keep in mind that these and most explanations of delinquency are concerned with lower-class life. The state of personal development, and the type of situations needed for youth to recognize a particular means-end blocking, is in need of being spelled out more precisely in this theory.
Prominent among the means-ends theories is Cohen’s formulation of the "delinquent" or nonutilitarian subculture (1955). The socially structured inability to attain middle-class goals leads the lower-class boy to a state of frustration and anxiety which is expressed in acts of aggression against middle-class targets. The concept of reaction formation is called on at the intrapsychic level to explain the lack of conflict over internalized middle-class norms. This situation, the interpersonal peer stimulation to nonutilitarian delinquency, and the developing adoption of middle-class success goals—these factors give this theory much more substance and continuity across categories of variables than is true of most theories.

This formulation was designed by the author to account for the origins of the nonutilitarian subculture, and was not meant as an explanation of why this pattern sustains itself. Nevertheless, one might hypothesize that this theory points to a frequent motivational basis for delinquency and might investigate whether lower-class delinquents are motivated by this kind of status frustration. To do this well, some better knowledge is needed of the process by which the discrepancies between expectations and abilities become apparent and are reinforced. Only then will we know why aggression should be repeated. Another problem is that the nonutilitarian subculture theory does not offer any thorough explanation of why this subculture springs up more rapidly in some periods or how it is maintained.

Another pattern of delinquency which affects lower-class youth predominantly is the drug addict subculture. On the cultural level this has been linked to the same kind of means-ends discrepancy that motivates nonutilitarian delinquency. It has been pointed out however that the drug-addict subculture attracts many fewer and also somewhat older youth so
some extra factors must be considered. At times delinquency and drug addiction go hand in hand but in other cases drugs are used to relieve anxieties over inadequate interpersonal skills and emotional disturbances. These problems may come to a head in later adolescence when responsible adult roles begin to attract gang members away from delinquency and the unstable individual finds this prospect too disturbing (Chein, 1956).*

Another school of thought argues that a retreatist adaptation to anomie, presumably including drug addiction, represents a withdrawal from culturally prescribed values resulting from checks against using either legitimate or illegitimate means to attain success-goals which the individual continues to value (Merton, 1948).** However, the basis of this retreatist mode of adaptation has been disputed by the observation that some addicts have engaged in various forms of delinquency and thus do not have strongly internalized prohibitions against employing illegitimate means. The effects of failure in both legitimate and illegitimate channels to status seem especially important in predisposing one toward drug addiction (Ohlin & Cloward, 1959).

Although these theories describe the etiology of addiction in detail, the processes promoting continued use of drugs are more elusive. In fact the general devaluation of status accorded by delinquent associates to a drug user would seem to be a strong force opposing maintenance of the pattern. Such problems point to needed research on the interpersonal level. The implication of strong intrapsychic forces that counter interpersonal influence also needs to be explored in the individual's developmental history.


Another theoretical variable on the macro-cultural level is the psycho-social moratorium. This lack of institutionalized emphasis in our society on expecting responsible behavior from adolescents is paralleled by the general expectation that young people are less than worthwhile. When these cultural variables are also present in the immediate situation even stronger pressures exist toward role diffusion. This lack of an integrated and approved self concept with regard to the roles one plays may eventuate in delinquency (Erikson, 1954).*

While this conceptualization is quite provocative, it requires more precise statement in order to account for the social structural distribution of delinquency. The moratorium may in fact be more common in the middle class. Perhaps the negative self-evaluation by self and others is more typical of the lower class boy's experience.

The psycho-social moratorium idea is closely akin to certain purported effects of the change from a production to a consumption-oriented society. Its effects at the cultural level for the middle class theoretically involve the breakdown of deferred gratification patterns, and the lowering of expectations by teachers for hard work in school. This is a kind of moratorium or reduction of role obligations for youth.

This situation also creates the need to validate one's maturity in new ways. In the new hours of freedom spent together teenagers evolve a pleasure seeking "youth culture" subculture dedicated to proving one's status among peers by acts of prowess, daring and symbolic adulthood. This theory also provides a rich treatment of independent and intervening

*Erikson, Erik. op. cit.
variables at several levels in the sequence from macro-cultural to intra-psychic conditions.

Another set of variables which provides a detailed account of events at the different levels is commonly known as the sex-role anxiety model. Different theorists see this sequence as more important in different social classes, but the basic focus is on obstacles to the growing boy’s ability to emulate the appropriate sex role as a result of his conflict over accepting the different socially patterned attributes of each parent. Although the focus is on intra-family affairs, social structuring of rights and obligations carries the explanation with this category. One line of reasoning proceeds this way. The mother’s primary role in moral training of children, plus lower-class family life where fathers are more often absent and weak in power and where early training is more severe, combine to lead to anxiety within the child over his possibilities of attaining the required sex role. This results in a rebellion against feminine standards which in effect is a rebellion against societal standards of proper conduct (Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1958). Cohen (1955) sees this process as predominantly occurring in the middle class without so much emphasis on the factor of early sex training or the weak father, and more on the father’s abstract occupational role and feminized home activities.

An empirical study bearing on the sex role anxiety debate indicates that lower-class boys select sex-appropriate objects and activities before the age of six, and earlier than either girls or middle-class boys (Rabban, 1950). While anxiety over attaining more abstract masculine values probably comes a little later, it would most likely come at an age which somewhat precedes the ten to twelve-year-old period where
delinquency rates rise abruptly. It seems unlikely that sex-role anxiety serves as a general precondition of lower-class delinquency, unless it involves a reworking of the problem at the later ages of adolescence.

Concerning sex-role anxiety among middle-class boys, it would seem crucial to introduce some comparison process by which boys perceive differences between their own role behavior and the expected sex role. However since adult males in the middle class, who presumably are the reference group for sex-role identification, generally act in a somewhat feminized way, it seems unlikely that boys would get cues from them as to a difference in sex role which would arouse anxiety and motivate the rebellion. Thus both explanations of sex-role anxiety appear to have some large deficiencies.

The culture-conflict variable represents an immediate conflict of norms. One common derivation from conflict at the cultural level is that parental standards provide no help for the boy. Consequently he does not internalize these standards and comes to rely increasingly on his peers for guides to behavior. One kind of conflict may be between parental demands for early work and the discovery by young people that work is not necessary or is hard to obtain in the new culture (Shaw & McKay, 1942).

Another formulation of the culture-conflict variable proposes that norms of the new society were absent in the old. This leads to less constraint against violating these new norms just as does the actual conflict in definitions of the situations present in the former type of conflict (Sellin, 1938). Hence norms against certain forms of delinquency do not have the same internalized force as they do with individuals growing up in the culture. A further variant of the culture-conflict notion suggests
that norms of the old culture are internalized and that these dictate activities which are proscribed as delinquent in the new culture. An example here would be the idea of hanging around on the streets which is sometimes viewed by legal authorities as a delinquency-oriented action (Burma, 1954).

While these variables indicate various supports for delinquency, they do not overly well allow for why these actions should persist in the face of community acts of condemnation. Also it is quite unlikely that situations are defined so differently in other societies that many situations are approved which are classified as delinquent in American culture. With the sharp decrease in immigration in recent decades the notion of culture conflict between national groups would seem to be much less tenable as an explanation of present juvenile delinquency trends. Perhaps some more subtle conflicts emerge from rural to urban migration and the codes of minorities experiencing considerable discrimination.

It has also been argued that integration into an ethnic subculture may tend to prevent delinquency. Jews and Orientals have low delinquency rates and the predominantly independent and entrepreneurial power of the father allows the son a ready object of identification and ready source of responsible and capable support. The lack of such a feeling of belonging and the interpersonal relations which sustain it may be important forces in accounting for the higher delinquency rates of other ethnic groups (Bordua, 1959).* If these variables are clarified, especially on the situational and intra-psychic levels, they may provide a good explanation of why individuals of certain ethnic groups deviate from the orientation of the family. This explanation may not, however, account

*Bordua, David. op. cit.
for particular forms of delinquency among these groups.

Anomie has been linked with delinquency via the individual's feelings of demoralization (Wood, 1947) or subjective anomie (Lander, 1954). It is not clear from these variables when the demoralization should lead to delinquency and when to other forms of asocial behavior. It may be that anomie leaves one susceptible to other group influences or allows one's impulses to find uninhibited expression, but these pathways are not spelled out. Anomie, viewed as the means-end discrepancy of socially structured limitations to reaching valued conditions, has been used in other explanations, usually as an intervening state.

One other variable at the cultural level is a conflict between professed and practiced action-orientation of important societal institutions and groups. This is the pervasive norm violation variable. Some examples are warfare, race prejudice and white-collar crime. If one sees the overt behavior often and discounts the prohibitions against it, he may feel fewer restraints against practicing it when in an opportune situation. The extent and exact processes involved here are not known.

II. Macro-temporal Variables

The variables placed in this section refer to events occurring earlier in the life of the delinquent in his family and other groups. Unusual child training practices predominate here.

Most of the developmental variables have been related to delinquency by some intervening processes or states, but the following ones are not usually connected by any "linking processes": parent's negative stereotype of the boy as a "trouble maker," (McCord, et al., 1959) his being in the middle of the birth order, and interparental conflict (McCord, et al., 1959; Glueck & Glueck, 1950). These are related to lower-class urban
delinquency in general, but it is not possible to determine their relative strength among middle-class youth since this class was not sampled in these studies. It is difficult to know whether many of these variables are closely linked to delinquency or not. It has been argued, for instance, that being born in the middle of the birth order may prevent the child from receiving the usual amounts of attention and status from parents and that parental regard is the more general, causative variable (McCord et al., 1959).

Several macro-temporal variables have been more directly linked with lower-class urban delinquency by means of intervening processes. These include parental absence, parental hostility, erratic and punitive discipline, and body type.

Absence of both the mother and the father has been empirically related to delinquency in general and to the sub-category of when the father is absent (McCord et al., 1959). Parental hostility in the form of over-strict punishment and cruelty to the child has been linked to hostile acts of the child by the familiar identification with the aggressor (Freud, 1946). Others have related hostility directly to delinquency without tracing intervening processes (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). Erratic and punitive forms of discipline seem to prevent the strong internalization of standards which might prevent deviancy (McCord et al., 1959). Punitive discipline is operationally similar to physical forms of punishment which also are associated with weakly internalized standards (Henry & Short, 1954; Allinsmith, 1953).* Erratic discipline is operationalized as inconsistency in acts punished either by the same parent or by different parents. The continuing greater prevalence of physical punishments in the

lower class (Bronfenbrenner, 1958)* suggests that one important factor in an explanation of lower-class delinquency may be the relative paucity of internalized prohibitions against delinquent acts.

The last variable linked by intervening processes is body type. Three somatotypes have been studied in one investigation, and the influence of the mesomorphic constitution on delinquency was deemed greatest. Mesomorphic build is inferred to have a complex though unclear relation to delinquency via susceptibility to environmental situations and to direct genetic influence. These boys are reported to have an excess of energy which is often not channelled through family activities and recreation. Therefore, they seek diversion, probably outside the family, in physical activities. Parental neglect is believed to increase observed feelings of not being taken care of by these children, while receptive trends, which they supposedly have, lead to stealing and expressions of greed related to oral needs. Mesomorphic physique is also at times coexistent with low verbal intelligence (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). The use of body type as an independent variable has been severely criticized for not making clear its link with intra-psychic phenomena.

Discipline oriented toward the withdrawal of love has been related to the development of strong superego demands (Allin-Smith, 1953; Henry & Short, 1954). This may be an important part of the explanation for a form of delinquency precipitated by an unconscious conflict between feelings of guilt over a norm violation and a strong need for punishment which leads one to leave obvious identification clues at the scene of the crime.

(Abrahamson, 1952). This strong guilt component is typically a middle-class phenomenon, and even if it were a general factor in middle-class delinquency, which seems doubtful, it would not account for the bulk of delinquency.

Turning to causes of specific forms of delinquency, parental indifference may occur in several forms: maternal neglect, lax discipline, lack of supervision and passivity. Indifference is supposed to create feelings of rejection and anxiety which drinking alleviates. It also influences feelings of rejection and deprivation which provokes instigation of property crimes as restitution. Indifference is also related to feelings of frustration, aggression, and rage leading to crimes against persons and also to strong desires for affection which, being unsatisfied by parents, lead one to deviant forms of sexual activity. It is also proposed that parental indifference makes the child search for recognition, sometimes through the thrills and sense of mastery that dare-devil driving bring (McCord et al., 1959).

The same investigators have traced several other sequences. Early maternal overprotection has been linked with crimes against persons and traffic violations at a later age. The traffic violations are assumed to represent a search for escape from overprotection. Drinking has been related to maternal absence, as have property crimes, crimes against persons. Sex offenses have been linked with lax discipline. Such discipline is interpreted as producing only weakly internalized prohibitions against deviant behavior.

Personalized norm violation occurs when parents or other important adults act in ways that violate their professed intent or their expectations for children. It is not clear exactly what process goes on in the
child when he notices the disparity except that he learns to act in the illegitimate manner of the adult. Perhaps he perceives this as the good life of the adult from which he had been shielded. Mussen and Conger (1956)* suggest that this phenomenon is more prevalent among middle-class youth where parents preach and reward a stricter code of behavior and protect the child from seeing the adult world more than in the lower class.

Among the independent variables which are linked to intervening processes is the lack of subcultural integration. This is a phenomenon found among most minority groups, except a few, such as Jews and Orientals, who have low delinquency rates. It refers to the lack of meaningful goals developed within the family for the growing boy which would help him to become integrated into a responsible adult society. Fathers who are employed in large bureaucratic institutions cannot provide this kind of role training and so the boy feels alone and adrift and is separated further from parental controls (Bordua, 1959).**

Having a deviant parental role model in the form of a criminal father, plus rejection by him, leads to crimes against persons through the intervening process of identification with the aggressor (McCord et al., 1959). The early absence or indifference of a mother figure has been associated with a psychopathic personality state characterized by lack of affection for others and no feelings of guilt. This results in a form of impulsive delinquency which is uninhibited by internal restraints. As delinquency-oriented activities, stealing, defiance of authority and aggression


**Bordua, David. op. cit.
against persons have all been noted (Bender, 1953; Bowlby, 1946; Jenkins, 1957).

While it has received wide recognition among clinicians, the mechanism of identification with the aggressor has not received much empirical research support. On the other hand, the effects of variables like the early absence and indifference of mother figures have been more fully verified and both the intervening personality states and the eventual types of behavior have been widely noted. The subcultural integration theory fills in a much needed bit of information regarding differential rates among ethnic groups and may eventually contribute notions of mechanisms that operate also among majority groups.

III. Interpersonal Variables

In this category is a series of variables relating both to the delinquent's relations with others and their relations with him. This includes attitudinal and behavioral variables from both viewpoints existing at the time of the delinquency, but this category is not limited to events and relations existing only within the peer group in which the delinquent act is committed. For example, perhaps the largest group of variables listed here will refer to events occurring in the family but which cannot be definitely identified as directly connected with the delinquent acts. Looking first at interactions originating with others, we see a large number related directly to institutionalized delinquency (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). Because most of the data are obtained after the delinquent was placed in a state institution for delinquents, the timing of many events in relation to the delinquency is not clear. The following variables have been correlated with delinquency by these researchers without benefit of tracing intervening processes.
These have occurred in the home except where otherwise specified. They are: removal from natural parents, parental indifference, parental hostility, lack of positive affective ties among family members, lower conduct standards, lack of supervision, interparental conflict, integrated family life, parental absence, deviant role models and the lax discipline by both parents. These last four have been previously mentioned. Deviant role models in the home include drunken, criminal, and immoral parents; however, one author suggests that influence of criminal parents in his study is negligible (Burt, 1925).* Also stressed is the presence of deviant role models among peers themselves, but the question of which youth influences another is difficult to determine without longitudinal studies. Low cohesion has been defined by the same authors to include lack of emotional ties among family members, lack of joint interests or pride in the home, and the lack of "we" feeling. This combination of affective and conative orientations is not a clearly defined variable. It includes things which have been treated separately elsewhere in the above list. Lax discipline has been linked to weakly internalized standards previously and it also may contain the element of indifference to the activities and the welfare of the child by the parents.

Among home events which are related by intervening processes to delinquency both severe and erratic discipline stand out. The former is assumed to create either a fight or a flight reaction in the child and the second is assumed to make him more prone to manipulate the environment to get what he wants (Burt, 1925).** Since erratic discipline is


**Burt, Cyril. *op. cit.*
inconsistent, it is likely to lead to weakly internalized standards also because of the lack of clear expectations. The scope of generalization about these discipline variables is limited by the more or less institutionalized setting of both studies. Another study concerned with punishment techniques indicates that positive affect from the mother, plus control largely from the father, leads to more direct aggression in the child due to reduced fear of losing love if he expresses hostility toward the punishing parent (Henry & Short, 1954). This would presumably affect tendencies toward delinquency by making the child more ready to express aggression directly against any frustrating object. At the same time the father's aggression may also serve as a model of correct behavior under stress. Still another study begins with the child's realization that the father is both the major punisher and is permissive of aggression. This led to more overt aggression in the classroom and fantasies of anger, because the boy's anxiety over expressing aggression was reduced by the father's permissiveness (Kagan, 1958). These studies on methods of discipline suggest that aggression may be encouraged in several ways: by weakly internalized prohibitions, by identification with aggressive parents, by reduced anxiety against venting hostility toward a source of frustration, and by lack of consistent expectations concerning conduct. Aggression has been traced to another variable, parental hostility, through identification with the aggressor and a defense against these aggressive impulses of the parents (Bender, 1953). The author does not say how and to whom aggression, as anticipation of the other's aggression, is generalized beyond the home. She has, however, indicated how indifference is tied to homicidal aggression within the family, either by leading to rivalry for affection or by occurring concomitantly with psychological
handicaps such as organic damage or reading disabilities. Another author has linked parental indifference with the lack of a positive self-identity. Acts of daring and toughness in the gang are oriented toward proving one's status among peers. The process involved here is one of reorientation to peer groups as a source of status and self-identity because of the lack of parental concern over these very important problems (Salisbury, 1958). Continued indifference would also seem to preclude the internalization of norms due to the parents' lack of clearly enunciated standards or of the possibility of withdrawing love. In another vein, Bender (1953) has linked the deprivation of food to an increase in aggression presumably by means of the frustration which the deprivation brings on. One last theoretical variable unique to the family is personalized norm violation. This means that the parent acts one way but expects another thing of the child, and the child comes to internalize and act on the parent's behavioral standard. For example, some parents may say that it is all right to violate norms unless one is caught.

Turning to interpersonal variables originating outside the family, coercion to compel a boy to join a gang or join in its activities has often proved effective (Salisbury, 1958). The threat to physical well-being is apparently a very successful ultimate weapon. Once he is a member of a delinquent gang, more subtle forms of influence are often used. Threats to withhold status and derisive name-calling are frequently employed to bring the emotionally dependent member in line. While much has been written about the origins of subcultures, such cases as these point to the causative influence of the gangs which have adopted certain subcultures, not only in the obvious coercion of their members, but also in forcing others to join and thus supposedly protect the gang from potentially
disruptive external influences.

In reviewing these findings and comparing them to similar ones mentioned among the developmental macro-temporal variables, several things of importance stand out. First is the cluster of home conditions which may eventuate in weakly internalized prohibitions against violating dominant norms. Both physical punishment and parental hostility fail to capitalize on the strong effect of withdrawing love in disciplining children. Inconsistent and lax forms of punishment as well as parental indifference leave considerable ambiguity as to parental expectations and hence should also lead to weakly internalized prohibitions. Parental indifference may also be viewed in the affect dimension as a withholding of love which the child senses and eventually reacts to by rejecting parental influence. This would most likely come about through continued frustration of the child's needs by the parents. Continued frustration without compensating love from the parent could create less emotional dependence in the child and greater dependence on peers for emotional satisfaction. The same sequence of separation might occur as a result of parental hostility when it takes the form of over-severe punishment or rejection. It is also possible that when counter aggression is checked by the parent it is displaced onto other objects. This might provide another explanation of why forms of property destruction occur among the earliest delinquencies. The early presence of nonutilitarian froms of delinquency in a statistical study of police contacts as well as in more clinical and theoretical studies (Flint Youth Study, 1959).*

Indifference, lax discipline and forms of low control over the child are very likely to mean that parents do not set situational standards so often for the child, and he then has a deprivation both of internalized

*Flint Youth Study. Basic Tables, op.cit.
and of external parental standards of conduct. These two may push him more toward peer groups and make him more susceptible to their conformity pressures.

A large number of reported variables concern interpersonal events originating with the delinquent. Most of them represent some output of the youth with a role partner either mentioned specifically or implied. A few have no such referent. A few also, such as boredom, may better be considered as input to his psychic system. It may also be helpful to the reader to distinguish between attitudes and overt behavior. Again most of these actions occur a few temporal stages before the delinquent act (see Table I) and provide the background for the development of the motives to be discussed in the next section.

Differential identification with delinquent groups has been postulated as a source of deviant norms. This fills in a gap in the differential association theory which assumes that interaction is the same thing as compliance with standards. This newer formulation still does not cover delinquent acts created de novo such as psychopathic inclinations or frustration-aggression themes unless the targets of aggression were learned from others. Identification also does not describe well the phenomenon of forced compliance with delinquent gangs.

Again many variables are derived from a single source (Glueck & Glueck, 1950) and do not include any linkage with intervening intra-psychic processes. These include negative and neutral affect toward parents, conflict over relations with parents, conflict over sexual identification, perception that parents have little concern for the boy's welfare, the desire to quit school, hostility to school peers, and the search for recreation away from home. The correlation of negative affect with delinquency is supported by only a very small N and differences are only
observable for affect toward fathers. Low parental concern includes the perception of both negative affect toward fathers. Low parental concern includes the perception of both negative affect and little control. Another study has indicated, however, that rejection of the parents by the child is more strongly associated with a delinquency scale response than is rejection of the child by parents (Nye, 1958).

On a trait level of analysis, the following factors have been noted in delinquents primarily by psychiatric interview: social assertion, rejection of parental influence, defiance of authority, ambivalence to authority, resentfulness toward others, hostility, suspiciousness, destructiveness, extrovertive tendencies, less emotional dependence, more suggestibility, and more adventurousness (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). Rejection and ambivalence toward authority are again prominent among these variables. They indicate more than the lack of guilt feelings. In view of the parental variables mentioned earlier, it seems that this repudiation may arise from negative attitudes and indifference of parents. The destructive tendencies fit well with property destruction crimes and suggest some form of generalized aggression against the frustrating environment. Whether this comes about directly as a reaction against parental influence or whether it stems from restraints imposed by other socializing agents is not clear. Another prominent feature of these delinquents is a desire to acquire material objects which leads to theft.

A need for autonomy from control has been associated with a kind of striking out against the environment in another analysis. Weak ego plus striving for status in order to attain self-esteem may be responsible for following peer standards more closely even when they lead to delinquency.
Differential association with those approving criminal behavior has been linked with criminal behavior itself presumably by means of identification with this group and its standards. The crucial question of what causes the different membership patterns is only answered in a general way by this theory.

IV. Intrapsychic Variables

While these factors are placed closest to delinquency in our outline they are not necessarily last in a sequence of development. They may arise at an early age or from influences outside the home but they are presumed to exist at the time of the delinquent act as motivational forces within the individual. In this category are placed central states and processes and traits which are not directly concerned with interpersonal relations.

A series of intrapsychic variables have been related directly to delinquency in the literature. The following have been related to the occurrence of delinquency among a state correctional center population: low verbal intelligence, unrealistic thinking, unsystematic approach to mental problems, less accurate and consistent observation, suspiciousness, impulse gratification proneness, greater energy, oral goals, destructive sadistic goals, less fear of failure, less masochism, less self-control, less emotional stability, more extroversion, destructive tendencies, suggestibility, more aggressiveness, and more adventurousness (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). Another team has linked delinquency to tendencies to avoid pain, to aggressive impulses, and to an ego needing extra self-esteem which leads to hostility toward authorities (Healy & Bronner, 1936). A weak ego is also the basis of certain defensive measures which are aimed at supporting impulse gratification (Redl & Wineman, 1951). Similar in form to these techniques of the "delinquent ego" are certain techniques of neutralization.
These also are aimed at nullifying guilt feelings by means of various rationalizations such as denial of responsibility and denial of injury. Reference to these latter techniques has been employed to account for lack of guilt and expectations of disapproval for any kind of delinquency, not just impulse-oriented delinquent acts (Sykes & Matza, 1951). It is an important contribution to the nonutilitarian subculture theory, or any theory which purports to explain why normative standards are violated.

Cohen (1955) indicates that the mechanism of reaction formation may play a large part in the negation of internalized standards, although he recognizes that basic research on the operation of this mechanism remains to be done.

A weak ego may also be aligned with superego demands. An unconscious conflict between knowledge of societal norms and severe superego demands for punishment may result in delinquency with the hope of being punished (Abrahamsen, 1952).* This was referred to earlier in connection with the origin of strong guilt feelings, and probably does not account for a large proportion of delinquent acts.

Pertaining to their school performance, the teachers of institutionalized delinquents rate them as being more inattentive, lazy and lacking interest in school than do teachers of comparable nondelinquents (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). The fact that teachers of delinquents probably knew exactly who were delinquent boys may have biased their ratings, but the record of truancy and retarded educational progress reported earlier tend to verify the observation that for whatever reason delinquents are likely to be uninterested.

*Abrahamsen, David. op. cit.
A number of other intrapsychic variables have been discussed in previous sections in connection with processes beginning on other levels. Since their relations to independent and dependent variables have already been spelled out, they will not be reviewed again here. They do, however, appear in Table I among the list of intrapsychic variables.

V. Situational Variables

Situational conditions are those of the contemporary physical and economic environment in the home, the neighborhood and the community. The majority of them, however, refer to the temporal and ecological setting of the delinquent act. They may be viewed as part of a motivational sequence: the empirically preferred settings of action given certain intrapsychic needs and goals. Thus delinquency rates are highest in deteriorated areas, near the central business district and near areas high in industrial and commercial organizations, as might be expected if more delinquents come from these areas and commit illegal acts in their own neighborhoods. Delinquency also decreases by distance from the central area of large cities (Shaw & McKay, 1942). Among a minority group delinquency has been found to occur principally at night and in slum or downtown areas (Burma, 1954). Perhaps business and commercial areas, as well as the absence of daylight, allow for more anonymity and chances of escape from the scene of the crime. It has been observed in Flint, Michigan that Negro boys from outlying neighborhoods tend to commit more delinquent acts in the poorer, more central Negro neighborhoods than in their own (McQueen).* These "geographic" areas may also provide a

*Material drawn from a personal communication with Albert J. McQueen.
higher concentration of property which is desired by delinquents. And the presence of more delinquents in these areas may serve to train potential delinquents from other areas who then try their skills in the safer central area. Generally, these central districts provide a greater opportunity to practice illegitimate activities because of their characteristics mentioned here. In relation to deteriorated areas, Cohen (1955) has postulated that the proximity of similarly underprivileged boys is an important basis for the origin of the nonutilitarian subculture.

It is clear that these ecological variables refer to situational opportunities for delinquency but the relationship to needs or motives which instigated the action is not apparent without additional assumptions.

Among situational variables two others should be included which concern social categories of the individual or of significant persons for him, since they do not pertain directly to other levels. A retarded educational history of the boy has been related to institutionalized delinquency (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). The authors make no inferences from this about the intrapsychic state of the boy or his interpersonal relations, but presumably this makes him prone to truancy and thereafter leaves him open to greater influence of delinquent peers. Frustration over failure and a sense of inadequacy may be part of this picture, too. The absence of family appreciation of the arts is also correlated with institutionalized delinquency, but without any indication of how this affects interaction patterns, etc. (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). It may be that this variable indicates that delinquents more often come from lower in the lower-class sample, and is simply associated with the home life of these delinquents rather than being determinative of delinquency.
VI. The Dependent Variables

We have of course been dealing with a variety of types of deviancy. The fact that they are often combined into a simple index of "delinquency" for legal purposes, only serves to obscure the scientific concern with typologies and explanations. A look again at part six of Table I indicates some of the complexity in classifying delinquent acts. No doubt this list is much oversimplified. For instance, the property crimes of stealing and destruction may turn out to result from generally different conditions. Likewise the classification by social class is very crude, and of course a good deal has been done to indicate the presence and origins of distinct value systems just among lower-class adolescents. But the list in Table I may serve a useful purpose if it stimulates others to expand and subdivide and interrelate different types of acts, or if it alerts one to the biases and advantages of research at different stages of legal apprehension.

Another use of this list might be to trace backward from a certain category of delinquent acts to all of the previous conditions mentioned in this paper and elsewhere. We have tried to organize the paper, where possible, to facilitate this; in cases like the origins of subcultures this method of analysis should be easy to use. In others, however, such as lower-class institutionalized delinquents, the material reported here is scattered through different sections. Where it happens to come from only a few sources, as in this example (the Gluecks' studies) the interested reader may want to go immediately to the original sources.

One of the most interesting and potentially fruitful ways of classifying delinquent acts would seem to be according to the deviant's own interpretation of the act. Such a typology would more directly connect with
a motivational analysis of the action than any of the other category systems. The assumption that motives are constant enough to consider is strongly supported by the theoretical literature. But even disregarding repressed material, devising a technique for eliciting valid responses in this area will prove difficult. Dissembling in the presence of authority figures is to be expected, as is a certain indefiniteness about the nature of some motives. Methodological difficulties notwithstanding, this approach deserves more thought and exploration.

Concluding Comments

We do not believe that the present stage of empirical knowledge about the phenomena of delinquency warrants any attempt at an overall systematic synthesis. The need is for intensified programs of research and theoretical analysis on a number of fronts, and for a growing emphasis on the analysis of the interplay of sociological and psychological orientations in pushing towards an understanding of this complex and varied social problem. We would like to conclude our taxonomic review and commentary by pointing briefly to what seem to us to be some of the most exciting research problems which should have priority in the development of current investigations.

**Discovery of Critical Developmental Phases and Experiences**

In our attempts to clarify the causal process sequence implied by the various studies, we found very little attention to the temporal developmental timing of the emergence of particular variables as connected to delinquent behavior output. It seems to us important to raise many more questions than have been raised about crucial ages and settings in the acquisition of motivational and cognitive predispositions. Certain
psychopathic disturbances seem to begin with the lack of "mothering" during the first year or two of life and it is reported that events occurring from then to the time of the observed delinquent acts seem to have a negligible effect on the appearance of the behavior output. There are suggestions that at a later age the lack of parental supervision may be very significant during the period when the child is at a point of developing a balance of relationship between loyalty to adult norms and peer norms. The onset of adolescence, with the concomitant weakening and vagueness of society's directives seems to be another example of an interaction between personal and social factors at a crucial developmental period, resulting in much unchanneled energy and ability. Perhaps another crucial period begins about the age of 16 when legal opportunities for leaving school and seeking employment create a significantly different and new situation. We believe that it would be very profitable to study certain age periods with an eye to the uniquely occurring maturational and socialization experiences of that phase of growing up. Such studies should permit a much better understanding of crucial times and experience areas where it would be possible to introduce preventive and reconstructive forces most effectively.

**Processes of Maintenance of Deviant Patterns**

Among the conditions supporting the continuity of deviant behavior patterns, the consequences of the initial delinquent act deserve further study. A number of reports suggest a process in which the apprehension of the delinquent results in rejection by parents and by nondelinquent friends, loss of jobs and of girl friends, and of punitive experiences in interaction with the police. One outcome of these experiences is very likely to be the development of aggressive alienation from the major
conventional socialization agents. Another outcome would be the development of dependence on new peer reference groups which offer acceptance, and perhaps support, for antisocial behavior. There is need for the study of such circular social processes. These have received very little attention and might account for a very significant number of delinquent behavior patterns. Another related source of behavioral reinforcement and maintenance which needs study is the development of the self-images and self-evaluations of delinquent youth. The self-image is a continuing source of input into the behavior system, and often represents a very persistent trend toward self-devaluation, and self-expectations toward the maintenance of aggressive antisocial role patterns. It might be fruitful to apply the notions of balance and imbalance in interpersonal relations which have been developed by Heider and others.

Transformation of Ecological-Cultural-Situational Variables into Life Variables

One of the most pervasive problems of achieving conceptual clarity revealed in our causal process analyses is the problem of discontinuity in relating social system variables to psychological system variables. The presence or absence of recreational resources is often related directly to delinquent actions without discovering the psychological meanings of existence or nonexistence of the recreational facilities; and conversely the delinquent boy's resistance and hostility toward authority is often regarded as a satisfactory discovery without any attempts to explore the existence and nature of present or past hostile objects (e.g., parents) in the boy's environment and whether their hostility arises from differential patterns. There is discussion of the critical importance of the economic opportunity structure, but little exploration of whether such an environmental condition has become psychological reality in terms of the
structure of time perspective, goals, hopes, and other life space phenomena. There is discussion of the boy living in an overlapping world of lower-class and middle-class values, but little exploration as to whether the life space of a particular boy or group of boys includes discrepancy perceptions, comparison orientations, multiple loyalty conflicts, and similar phenomena. The exploration of these transformation processes suggests some exciting types of research designs where there is intensive study, for example, of comparable life spaces which have emerged from different environmental settings, and the analysis of differential life space resultants from what appear to be comparable ecological and cultural settings.

Comparative Analysis of Norm-Representative and Deviant Individuals in Various Social Settings

Many observers have wondered whether the delinquent youth in a particular neighborhood are to a large degree the unfortunate ones who got caught carrying out activity patterns which are representative of a large proportion of the youth population of that particular age in that particular social setting. We have very little data on the qualitative differences between the life spaces of more and less conventionally socialized youth of a given age level in a particular community area. There seems to us to be great need for comparative research designs which study carefully matched samples of, for example, delinquent and nondelinquent boys in lower-class areas and in middle-class areas. Important insights should also be gleaned from research designs which compare lower-class and middle-class delinquents within the same community, and which compare samples of delinquent boys living in metropolitan areas, smaller cities, suburbs, and rural areas. In order to understand delinquency within the framework
of deviancy from social norms it might also be fruitful to study the positively creative deviant whose behavior patterns fall outside of normative expectations.

Reversals in Orientation Toward Normative Behavior Patterns

It should be possible to learn a great deal about delinquency prevention and control by studying the process by which children and youth who have shown a continuity of antisocial behavior then change to a pattern of constructive and acceptable behavior output. Very few theoretical insights have been offered concerning the many reports of the breakdown of delinquent behavior patterns at certain age levels or at the time of finding a regular job, or beginning steady dating, or getting married. All of these events have been given as examples of situations that disrupt cohesion of the urban delinquent gang during later adolescence. The psychological processes and their social origins which underly these events and result in behavior change have not been systematically clarified.

There are an increasing number of clinical reports of successful practice by detached workers and therapists where work with individuals or groups results in the youth giving up delinquent patterns. But except in the case of intensive milieu therapy in institutional settings, there has been very little systematic work on the psychological processes of relationship and of personality restructuring which lead to the behavior changes. There is a great need for collaboration between skilled practitioners and sophisticated researchers in tackling this type of problem.

Studies of Significant Variations in Macro-Social Conditions

There seem to be significant temporal fluctuations in the delinquency rates of cities and of nations. Although there has been very little
research, what evidence there is suggests high delinquency rates are positively correlated with periods of economic growth. This seems to hold true in this country since the 1930's, which is as far back as statistical analysis is able to go with any degree of certainty about the reliability of the statistics. (See Glaser & Rice, 1959 for a short review of these findings).* In the 1930's delinquency rates dropped noticeably and then picked up during the years of World War II, only to drop again during the transitional recession. The rates started to climb steadily again from about 1948. These rather impressionistic findings have recently been tested with an operational definition of economic conditions in terms of unemployment rates. The authors posit that unemployment promotes both more companionship and more cohesion within the families resulting in more communication of socially acceptable standards to youth (Glaser & Rice, 1959).*

Some rather impressionistic reports have been made concerning contemporary delinquency phenomena and social structures in several European countries as compared to the United States. Good systematic comparative study is very much needed. We have already noted the need for comparative studies of delinquency phenomena in different types of communities within our culture.

There are no doubt other issues which are equally in need of further analysis in pushing back the frontiers of research on phenomena of anti-social behavior by children and youth. These are the ones which stand out for us as we conclude this effort to gain some perspective in pursuing our own studies.