THE STRATEGY OF DELINQUENCY CONTROL

A Critical Survey of Recent Developments and a Proposal for Some Local Applications

by

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ABSTRACT

Although there are immense philosophical and technical difficulties in assessing the dimensions and severity of a social problem, there can be little doubt that juvenile delinquency is a proper subject of deep public concern. At the present time, however, few of the methods commonly employed in dealing with it appear to have more than a marginal effect on its ever-increasing prevalence.

Part of this problem seems to be attributable to the heterogeneous and often contradictory character of the available etiologies of juvenile delinquency. But part also would appear to derive from the stereotyped reliance on a "case" approach to the phenomenon; an approach which, though legitimate and even indispensable when some form of psychiatric abnormality is involved in the genesis of delinquent behavior, is manifestly inept when the problem has reached epidemic proportions.

The aim of this study, therefore, is to examine a number of recent attempts - of both scientific and a practical nature - to formulate alternative and demonstrably more effective techniques of solving or mitigating the problem of juvenile delinquency. In fact, many of the programs reviewed do give promise of an altogether higher level of usefulness than can be assigned to the methods which are currently favoured.

The position is taken that juvenile delinquency can only be dealt with competently if the decisions underlying the employment of particular programs are based upon essentially strategic considerations of (a) the type of delinquency at issue, (b) the nature of the causal factors predominating in its occurrence, and (c) the consequent differences in the aptness of the several alternative responses to the problem.

The composition and condition of local correctional services are reviewed and evaluated in the light of this critical principle and are found to be alarmingly inadequate to its demands. It is argued that a region, such as British Columbia, which is in the convulsions of rapid social change, is under a particular necessity to anticipate and plan for its social problems with strategic breadth and intelligence.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To all those who contributed in various ways to this thesis, we express our gratitude.

We extend our most sincere thanks and appreciation to our adviser, Mr. Adrian Marriage, for his guidance and help in carrying out this study. His "sociological imagination" has opened for us new vistas of knowledge and understanding.
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CHAPTER I

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY:

The Problem, The Questions and The Challenges

Purpose and Scope of the Study

The principal aim of this study is to undertake a synoptic assessment of the nature of juvenile delinquency and to relate it to those programs of prevention, control and treatment that have been designed or can be designed to deal with this social problem.

Firstly, we want to know what juvenile delinquency is. How is it defined? What is its extent? Where is it found geographically, demographically, ecologically? What are its clinical patterns, its historical trends, its rates of prevalence, and its main points of incidence?

Once we have outlined the dimensions of juvenile delinquency as a social phenomenon, we will proceed to some assessment of its proportions and significance as a social problem. What material and human resources are brought to bear against it? By what criteria is it judged to be a social problem? Who sees it as a social problem? What is its relationship to other social problems?

A major part of the study will then be taken up with an examination and review of the various theories as to the causes of juvenile delinquency. In what degree are these theories scientifically validated? Are the various theories mutually antagonistic, or do they have common elements? Are there separate types of juvenile delinquency and delinquents? Do different communities and environments produce different types of delinquents? Is there any possibility of a comprehensive or general theory of juvenile delinquency? What part do the larger forces and values of society play in shaping déviance?
In connection with this discussion of the etiology of juvenile delinquency we will try to show the points of correspondence with and relevance for prevention and treatment programs. How effective are these programs? Are they realistically predicated upon an understanding of the underlying causes of juvenile delinquency? Where should the strategic point of intervention be: in the delinquent? the potential delinquent? the family? in the neighbourhood or milieu? in the social structure itself? or should it be in a combination of these, and if so, in what proportions and with what emphases?

How should the community's resources - social welfare and otherwise - be allocated and mobilized, and how directed towards the strategic targets of the delinquency configuration in the community? What should be the "community" of the problem area: the neighbourhood, the city, the metropolitan complex, the province, the nation? What does coordination and integration of welfare and other services mean in the context of the juvenile delinquency problem? How can a concerted approach be made? By inter-agency cooperation and coordination directed towards the individual or family; or by multi-functional integration of treatment directed towards the family as the basic unit?

When and where should emphasis be placed differentially on casework, groupwork, community organization, social policy and social action? What are the criteria for their appropriate use? What research questions must be explored?

In the latter part of this study we will try to combine our understanding of the various theoretical approaches we have examined with some current strategies and programs for the control, prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency.

Finally, we will offer a description of juvenile delinquency on the local Vancouver scene. The purpose here will be to bring into significant juxtaposition, in an admittedly limited and general way, the relationship between the consensual parts of current delinquency theory and the services
which are and could be brought to bear on the problem locally. By this means we hope to arrive at a viable statement regarding the efficiency of the present system of services in the jurisdictional context of Canada, British Columbia and Vancouver in turn.

Why are the kinds of questions posed above so urgent and challenging? It has to be said in all candour that there are few answers to be found in observable practice and in the available literature. In the first place, there is a lack of uniformity in, or common understanding of, precisely what phenomena constitute juvenile delinquency. Inspite of the fact that official and legal definitions exist, the perception of the facts and application of the law both vary greatly and capriciously. Nevertheless, even in the absence of a uniformly reliable definition, there is a growing international awareness that the incidence of juvenile delinquency has been increasing in the post-World War Two era. Particularly is this so in the western countries and in those countries which are undergoing a marked acceleration in their rates of industrialization and urbanization. The startling fact is that this increase is associated with a corresponding increase in the availability of social services in these countries. Moreover, there is evidence that violence as a component of the total juvenile delinquency picture is growing larger.¹

As the absolute and relative numbers of delinquents grow, as the economic costs of prevention, control and treatment spiral, as the number of victims suffering at the hands of delinquents increases — as all of these become more visible — public concern has become widespread. Moreover, as the youthful component of the population grows, the threat takes on added significance.

In British Columbia, specifically, it appears that juvenile delinquency is increasing at a more rapid rate than

the population of the relevant age group (a trend common to Canada as a whole) and is also increasing at a more rapid rate than that for Canada.¹

For metropolitan Vancouver it has been tentatively estimated that the total number of charges laid against juveniles for 1962 was almost twice the number for the preceding year.²

The importance of juvenile delinquency as a social problem is felt the more keenly as it is seen as a threat to the organized community - to the protection of persons and property. But at the same time, there is heightened concern for the welfare and future development of the delinquent himself. The great majority of institutionalized adult criminals were originally juvenile delinquents.

While there appears to be a generally shared concern about the problem, there seems to be little agreement about the actual dynamics of juvenile delinquency. Everybody has a pet theory or an all-embracing reason to explain it. Among those who work in the field in one capacity or another, ranging through psychiatrists, police, judges, and wardens of institutions, there is a babble of voices but no common language. Even among the so-called experts, there is little clear agreement, and meagre evidence at best to distinguish between the multiplicity of theories.

An additional need for the kind of study of which this is a modest example, lies in the fact that what little evidence there is indicates the signal lack of success and the clear ineffectiveness of most current treatment and prevention programs.

Our purpose, then, will be to document these areas of the juvenile delinquency problem, and to bring them together so that they may be seen in a more comprehensive totality.

2. "'Finger Print Juveniles' Call Runs Into Stout Opposition", The Vancouver Sun, November 15, 1962, p. 10.
The Problem of Definition.

Let us turn now to the problem of definition. There is, as we have noted above, a wide spectrum of interpretation of just what we mean and ought to mean by the term "juvenile delinquency". In a very loose sense it connotes "acting out" behavior by children, adolescents and young adults against the norms and accustomed expectations of the community. The offensive behavior in question can range in some places all the way from spitting on the sidewalk to an extreme of first degree murder. There is no clear agreement as to whether this norm-violating behavior may be sporadic or whether it must be chronic to constitute "juvenile delinquency"; whether it should include some adjudicated dimension or whether the behavior alone is enough. Clearly an amorphous, shifting definition like this does not suffice for purposes of global description and analysis. However, it does convey the main idea that juvenile delinquency is anti-social and anti-authoritative in nature, whether from the individual's or the community's point of view. Bloch and Flynn say:

In a survey of the wide range of circumstances covered by our courts in the handling of juvenile offenders, the Federal Children's Bureau lists no less than 34 separate conditions, the vast majority of which are forms of behavior which can only typify protests against parental and adult authority.\(^1\)

Even so, we require a more concrete definition if we are to examine the nature of this "deviance" more specifically. For a definition which appears to be both reasonable and operable, we might well adopt the British practice of defining juvenile delinquency as any act, that if committed by an adult, would be considered criminal. At this point we are on more solid ground. In analogous North American terms, we can thus define delinquency as any violation of the criminal law, committed by pre-adults below a certain age.

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The Canadian Juvenile Delinquents Act - a federal statute applying to the entire country - defines a juvenile delinquent (far too broadly, we believe) as

...any child who violates any provision of the Criminal Code of any Dominion or provincial statute, or of any by-law or ordinance of any municipality, or who is guilty of sexual immorality or any similar form of vice, or who is liable by reason of any other act to be committed to an industrial school or juvenile reformatory under provisions of any Dominion or provincial statute.

The rationale and philosophy of treatment inherent in the act is reflected in another paragraph which reads as follows:

Where a child is adjudged to have committed a delinquency he shall be dealt with, not as an offender, but as one in a condition of delinquency and therefore requiring help and guidance and proper supervision.

While we may use this as a working definition, some caution should be enjoined. It has limitations and variations, the chief of which is that the age limits vary from place to place. The situation is even worse in the United States. The criminal law is a state matter there and is therefore open to differences of interpretation and application. Official statistics accordingly are limited in their usefulness in that they reflect community differences between detected and reported delinquencies, between official and non-adjudicated cases. They also reflect those variations in the attitudes of individuals and organizations which would result in the recognition of a given act of delinquency in one neighbourhood of a community, but not perhaps in an adjacent neighbourhood.

Bloch and Flynn attempt to capture the elusive forms of the "juvenile delinquency" concept by including the following definitional categories:

...(1) officially adjudicated delinquents, or

1. Canada, Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1949, c. 46, s.1.
2. Ibid.
those for whom the courts have made some official disposition; (2) unofficial delinquents, or those handled informally by the courts or some designated agency; (3) cases handled by the police, one of its bureaus, or some other law-enforcement agency; (4) children with special behavior problems or those giving evidence of anti-social practices, and treated by a social welfare, casework, or some other "unofficial" or non-punitive agency; and (5) children presenting evidence of behavior problems or anti-social conduct, whether or not they are brought before official or unofficial agencies for handling and treatment. 1

In terms of our prevention-control-treatment continuum, we are bound to include the broader, looser definition of delinquency, which takes in the incipient and latent aspects. We have to be careful, however, to be explicit as to when we are speaking of official and when of unofficial statistics.

Having attempted to invest some structure in the concept of juvenile delinquency, we would agree with most researchers in the field: that within the boundaries of an admittedly portmanteau term, there are broadly discernible patterns and characteristics in the incidence and epidemiology of juvenile delinquency, at least in North American society, which provide some basis for modest generalizations.

Patterns and Trends of Delinquency.

Thus, of all the children in the United States population between the ages of ten and eighteen, in 1952, about two per cent were juvenile delinquency cases (i.e., appeared in courts). In 1952 this constituted about 65,000 offenders.

In general, juvenile delinquency is primarily a matter of early adolescence: eight out of ten are over fourteen years of age; one-third of delinquent boys and two-fifths of delinquent girls are between the ages of sixteen and seventeen.

On the average, during the course of the past two decades, boys were apprehended for offenses approximately 4.5 times more frequently than girls. It should be noted that this ratio narrows with increase of age. (The theoretical basis for explaining this consistent discrepancy is that there are more fundamental differences in role definition, e.g., there is more sanction, opportunity and incitement for boys to enter delinquent activity. Obversely, the community's perceptions and sanctions operate differently for boys and girls. This question will be examined in greater detail later).

Of the types of offenses committed for each sex, the percentage distributions are quite different, as the following sample shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Boys (percentage)</th>
<th>Girls (percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stealing</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Mischief&quot;</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic violations</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truancy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex offences</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Measuring the extent of juvenile delinquency as a component of all crime, it has been estimated that in the U.S.A. one half of all automobile thefts, one third of all burglaries, robberies and thefts, one fifth of all rapes and one seventh of all homicides are committed by youths under twenty one years.

In the number of children concerned, in the financial and human resources involved - police, personnel in courts, clinics, institutions - in the volume of property damage and loss, it cannot easily be determined what part juvenile delinquency plays in the total social problem of crime in the community. We can but guess at the damage in and to normal human functioning and the loss of productivity inherent in the whole delinquency picture.

Just as one index, in the matter of institutionalization

alone, Bloch and Flynn calculate that the major proportion of commitments to state penal institutions is of youths under twenty-one years of age - as high as forty per cent in most states.1

The majority of delinquencies occur in the cities, and are committed by our urban youth. In general, there is an average from 3.5 to 5 times more crime (by rates) in urban than in rural areas. However, there has been a recent and accelerating increase in rural rates which is no doubt attributable to the growing similarity in the quality of social life in rural and urban areas.

In a statistically consistent way, analysis reveals that juvenile delinquency is a function of social marginality and lower economic class. Bloch and Flynn describe how these patterns have changed historically in relation to shifting cultural and class structure in the United States:

Economically depressed, recently arrived immigrant groups and cultural outsiders have traditionally tended to produce high rates of delinquency.... But whereas the problem of delinquency before 1930 was mainly a problem of the native-born child of foreign parentage, notably European, the problem has shifted, since the curtailment of immigration in 1924, to the new "immigrants" and the new marginal groups on the American scene - the urban drifting Negro, the Puerto Rican, and the Mexican. This shift, of course, does not indicate any tendency inherent in these groups toward youthful lawlessness. It is almost wholly a consequence of the barriers to adjustment on social, cultural and economic levels placed in their way, the ecological concentration and cultural segregation they experience, and the development of a peculiar "delinquent subculture", into which many of their children, marginally excluded as they are, are inevitably drawn.2

To back up this main view of the argument, Bloch and Flynn offer these data: whereas in 1930, two-fifths of female delinquents and one-half of male delinquents were of foreign parentage, by 1956, seventy per cent of the delinquents of

2. Ibid., p. 45.
both sexes were of native born parents. Again, Negroes (about 9 per cent of the population), make up about eighteen per cent of the delinquency figures.¹

In presenting this study we have referred primarily to the United States scene, and have used the above quotations as our main points of departure for several reasons. Firstly, in reviewing the theories of etiology, most of the significant research has been done in the U.S.A. and we want to make the theory and source data comparable. Secondly, a theme that we will be trying to develop is that the ecological and epidemiological distributions of delinquency, in themselves, give us clues about the causes. Thus, following the above descriptions of where and among which groups delinquency predominantly lies, sociological patterns have more clearly emerged, and this has had far-reaching consequences for the development of a theory about the etiology of delinquency. And the simple fact of the matter is that data of this kind are available primarily (and sometimes only) for the American scene.

While the demographic and social structure of Canada is in many respects different from that of the U.S.A., it is still felt that some of the broad sociological patterns which describe delinquency in the latter country are no doubt applicable to this country as well. Thus, if we can draw a composite profile of some of the more certainly known trends of delinquency, we can say that it is primarily - although there are exceptions in varying degrees - a phenomenon of the lower socio-economic class, evidenced mainly by males who tend to live in certain recognizable areas of the inner city. The general nature of these patterns tends to be remarkably consistent. For example, a study by Warner and Lund confirms the high correlation between juvenile delinquency and low social class. An analysis of seven years of arrests in Newbury Port, Mass., revealed that approximately ninety per cent of the arrests came from among those in the lower socio-economic group. The total population of this lower socio-economic

¹ Bloch and Flynn, op. cit., p. 46.
group composed about fifty eight per cent of the over-all population of the city.¹

That the problem is a serious one in Canada is perhaps attested by the fact that more than half of the persons who commit criminal offenses today are between the ages of sixteen and twenty four - where this age group makes up less than twenty per cent of the country's population. A total of 16,976 juveniles appeared in Canadian courts in 1961.²

Nature of Delinquency as a Social Problem.

At this point let us now look more closely at the nature of juvenile delinquency as a social problem.

Implicit in the concept of juvenile delinquency is its connection with the idea of "deviance". It is a "social problem" in general linguistic usage because it is deviant behavior. It represents a departure from the norms, morals and sanctions of the community. In this context, delinquency, like other forms of deviance (such as prostitution, crime, and suicide) is a threat to the structural cohesiveness of the community. It is often assumed, therefore, that deviance is a "disorganizing" force within the body politic. It is "dysfunctional" to the values, goals, institutions and methods of organization of the society.

Deviance represents a dislocation in the social patterns and relationships that a society values. As commonly conceived, deviance denotes conflict, disruption, unauthorized and illegitimate behavior. In this popular and general view of deviance, it is the society at large that suffers and is the victim of the non-conforming behavior. The deviance is a violation of the normative expectations, prescriptions and proscriptions of the majority group.


² Street, G., Chairman National Parole Board, as reported in the Vancouver Sun, February 7, 1963.
However, a more critical and penetrating analysis of "social problems" reveals the complexity and relativity of the concept. We follow Merton\(^1\) in submitting the following conceptual dimensions of a "social problem".

1. **The central criterion of a social problem is a significant discrepancy between social standards and social actuality.** It is the quality and magnitude of this discrepancy which determines the nature of the "social problem." Is there a valid criterion, therefore, in asserting, ranking, comparing and relating social problems? Despite the limitations and biases of statistics, they do serve as crude yardsticks of the relative dimensions of one problem as compared to another. For example, that the prevalence of criminality stands at such and such a percentage for suicide, gives some basis for comparison. However, absolute or relative numbers in themselves do not tell us much about the significance or impact of the social problems they describe. The reason for this is that each kind of deviance is associated with different values which vary in intensity. How can one compare the degree of impairment to society from the suicide of a genius, for instance, as compared with the act of prostitution? In short, there is no easily commensurable or easily perceived way of relating social problems. They are linked to values which in themselves are shared differentially in the population.

2. **The social origins of social problems.** Under this heading a distinction is drawn between those problems that originate in social conditions, processes, or circumstances, and those which do not. One view suggests that social disruptions that are "nature-made" are excluded by definition. A broader conspectus does not draw this distinction but discriminates between those social problems that are social, both in precipitating origin and consequences, and those that are precipitated by non-social events, but have socially disruptive

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consequences (such as the effects of an epidemic).

This distinction will be an important one to remember in the subsequent sections of this study, which will draw some lines between the psychiatric and sociological theories of juvenile delinquency. We are not implying that the two would be necessarily exclusive, as the above first definition of the social origins of social problems would suggest. Rather, as in the alternative part of the definition, a specific discrimination is made without excluding the things the two categories have in common. For as Merton observes in another place,

(The psychiatric) analyses ... provide no basis for determining the non-biological conditions which induce deviations from proscribed patterns of conduct.... The difference is one between a strictly utilitarian interpretation which conceives man's ends as random and an analysis which finds these ends deriving from the basic values of the culture. 1

(3) The judges of social problems. For some forms of gross deviance, such as murder or rape, there is a consensus by the great majority of people, who readily identify it as a social problem. But for many acts of supposed deviance, the criterion of numbers is not clear cut. Merton says:

Those occupying strategic positions of authority and power of course carry more weight than others in deciding social policy and so, among other things, in identifying for the rest what are to be taken as significant departures from social standards.... Furthermore, people occupying different positions in the social structure tend to have distinct interests and values (as well as sharing some interests and values with others). As a result not all social standards are evenly distributed among diverse social positions (statuses). It follows logically and is found empirically that to the extent that these standards differ among social positions and groups within a society, the same circumstances will be variously evaluated as being at odds with the standards held by some and as consistent with standards held by others. Thus, one group's problem will be another group's asset. 2

For instance, in the case of juvenile delinquency, stealing may be seen as a threat by the middle class, but be perceived as a "way of life" in a lower socio-economic neighbourhood. Aggressive acting out is shunned and inhibited by those aspiring to status mobility in society. It may be the essential mode of attaining recognition and status by the "fighting gang" on the East side of New York where advancement is blocked by perceived economic and social barriers. In this regard, the problem is experienced with varying intensity from one cultural or ethnic group to another.

Moreover, Merton points out that sometimes the proposed solution to a social problem may for the first time bring home to those for whom the solution is directed that they are involved in a social problem. They may have had no awareness of this before or, in other instances, the intended solution of a problem may in effect create a larger or different kind of problem. For example, an idea we will be looking at later suggests that incarceration of the delinquent as a method of control only reinforces his self-image and identification as a delinquent, and he will act accordingly. From a somewhat different argument by Glasser in connection with his so-called "reality therapy"1 it is suggested that the delinquent exposed to psychiatric treatment comes to exploit the label of "emotionally disturbed" as a sanction for his misbehavior.

Juvenile delinquency, like any other social problem, changes in perceptibility and popular evaluation as other social problems either diminish or increase and affect the social structure. In general, we think it is fair to say that deviance and juvenile delinquency have become more visible as social problems as some of the other major problems - such as poverty, ill health, and so on - have been obviously reduced. Also, the sharp contrasts between the deviations on the one hand and the apparent well-functioning of the larger community on the other hand; becomes more obvious. We are thinking

here for instance of the increasing incidence of violence against the background of an expanding "affluent society."

We have said that the awareness of a social problem is linked to its concomitants of origins, change and the differential judgments of those occupying varying statuses in the social structure. In other words, juvenile delinquency as a social problem does not lie outside of the social system; rather it is an intrinsic part of it. The problem may be peripheral or residual in varying degrees to the more crucial issues facing the society. Nevertheless, it is an integral part of the society. It does not detract from the fact that there is a functional relationship between juvenile delinquency and the interrelated patterns of institutions and values by which the whole society operates. In fact, a significant observation made by many sociologists is that there is a common basis underpinning both deviance and conformity:

What we observe repeatedly in deviant behavior is the pursuit of the same values sought by the rest of society, but through channels or by means that are condemned.

We are saying that juvenile delinquency does not occur in a vacuum. It is a product of some of the same forces that elicit the constructive aspects by which society is articulated. For instance, it may be assumed that social class differences are needed to institute the division of labour and the allocation of jobs, for the integration of society. At the same time we have previously indicated that juvenile delinquency is functionally related to class behavior. In this way delinquency may be the necessary price society pays for establishing, structuring and regulating its work world. In much the same way, some economists would state that a certain margin of unemployment is necessary for the efficient functioning of the overall economic system.

In any event, if juvenile delinquency is etiologically linked to the operations of the social system itself, the

question arises as to where prevention and treatment should be directed: towards the deviant or potentially deviant groups per se? or towards some overall feature of our society?

The concepts of the relativity of juvenile delinquency as a problem of social disorganization and as a function of social structure are important themes in connection with our focus upon prevention, control and treatment. They will colour our assessment of the various theories of causation of delinquency. Cohen writes:

Social disorganization is ... a relative term whose evaluation may vary with one's value system .... For some, the disorganization may be evaluated as a negative thing, but others see it positively. In brief, the same observable phenomenon of social disorganization may be viewed from a number of perspectives, and there may consequently result a wide variety of theories to explain the causes and the possible solutions. Such theories may run the gamut from a concept of the problem as residing in the individual to a stress on the core as residing in the society, or in the political and religious design of life. Projected solutions to problems of social disorganization, therefore, vary in terms of their focus on changing and reforming the individual or the society, or on letting nature take its own course. Within the context of changing the individual or the society, the method for achieving this goal may also vary....

For understandable reasons applied fields dealing with social disorganization have found one-dimensional answers easier to utilize. If one begins with the premise that either an economic, psychological, biological, or cultural factor is the cause, the pattern and methodology for solutions can be built accordingly. Much has been learned from the intensive efforts along one-dimensional lines. It has become apparent, however, that the problems of social disorganization are of a multi-dimensional nature and demand a multi-dimensional approach in their solution.1

This latter idea of the "multi-dimensional approach" is a

central concern of this study. Our preoccupation is with exploring as fully as possible the configurational aspects of juvenile delinquency as a total social problem.

However, the concept in itself may be misleading, for it suggests that juvenile delinquency is one unitary problem area. We have been using the term "juvenile delinquency" in a blanket way to cover what in effect might turn out to be several separate and distinct conditions. In other words, there may be types of juvenile delinquency which spring from different factors and causes. And these types may not be functionally related to each other in any discernible way. Correspondingly, treatment, prevention and control may have to be designed differently for each of the types.

An important purpose of this study is to attempt to synthesize the problem and describe its most general aspects. At the same time the purpose is to differentiate, or partialize, the problem area into workable units or "typologies" of juvenile delinquency, and where possible to make connections between the typologies. The premise is that we cannot coordinate and integrate the services more effectively until we can analyze both the overall problem and its component units. This will give us a map for identifying the strategic points of intervention.

(4) Manifest and latent social problems. Some part of what we have been discussing can be summarized in Merton's contrasting conceptions of manifest and latent social problems. Manifest problems are characterized by those conditions in society which a majority of people readily perceive to be undesirable. Latent social problems are those dysfunctions which are not readily obvious and are only assessed by more objective criteria of analysis. In this connection juvenile delinquency has both its manifest and latent aspects. It is manifestly adverse to the main institutional values of the larger society; but latently, at the same time, it may be functional both to the larger society and to members of its sub-groups as a mode of expression conducive to satisfactions which would not otherwise be available, or if available, at even greater social cost.
(5) The social perception of social problems. Associated with the above concepts is the visibility — the degree of alertness and public attention which the larger society attaches to its various social problems. The range of these problems, their scale, distribution, consequences, persistence or changes, — these are coloured and distorted in many ways, depending upon the publicity they are given through the mass media and other, less formal channels. The attitudes and values the public holds will be sensitized and influenced by the amount of "ostentation" or denial accompanying the occurrence of a social problem.

For example, until relatively recently, society has tended to "exteriorize" mental illness as lying outside the community's boundaries, so to speak. This was reflected in the removal of the mentally ill person from the community. With a greater understanding of the causes and distribution of mental illness the community was more able to perceive and ready to admit that it had a problem within itself.

In the matter of juvenile delinquency, crime waves and dramatically anti-social episodes are broadcast and headlined so as to attract much popular attention and excitement. The sententious head-wagging reaction may then be: "What is happening to the younger generation?" It is forgotten that delinquency involves only about two per cent of our youth. The stability and good behavior of the great majority of young people recedes into the background.

It has often been suggested that the public seems to have a need for becoming absorbed in the details of deviant behavior. This is shown in the widespread vicarious identification with those guilty of crime, violence, and abnormal sexuality. Perhaps in this way delinquency, as the behavior of a despised minority, serves as a latent surrogate for the covert needs of the many.

Again, because delinquency is to a great extent (as we have already observed) a lower class form of behavior, and since lower class behavior — no less than lower class values and aspirations — is something which is always in some degree
alien to the middle and upper class people who make laws and morals alike, it is not likely to be perceived either clearly or impartially. As Merton says,

The perception of social problems is affected by the structure of social relations between people ... and the judgments of the individual members of society afford anything but a secure guide to the objective saliency of social problems.¹

This points out the need for a more objective analysis of delinquency as a social problem in relation to other social problems if the resources of society are to be allocated with some just sense of priorities and importance. We have described "deviance" as a form of "social disorganization," but a finer distinction has to be made. Sometimes the deviance may be given more attention than the form of social disorganization that gives rise to the deviance. In other words, when the social disorganization becomes manifest in the form of deviance, it is then described as a social problem, when in fact the behavior in question is best regarded as symptomatic. The actual forces of disorganization in the society - growing alienation in the work world, the commercial exploitation of our wants, the miseries of living in a slum - are not easily perceived.

Put in general terms then, the type of social problem involved in disorganization arises not from people failing to live up to the requirements of their social statuses as in the case of deviant behavior, but from the faulty organization of these statuses into a reasonably coherent system.²

This question of the perception of the social problem takes on an altogether different aspect when seen in this light. Certainly it has implications for determining at which etiological levels prevention and control of delinquency are to be attempted. At which level of responsibility is society to be called to account?

¹ Merton and Nisbet, op. cit., pp. 70-72.
² Ibid.
Non-conforming and aberrant behavior. Merton distinguishes between two major varieties of deviant behavior, namely, non-conforming and aberrant. These concepts will be found useful later in categorizing the various types of juvenile delinquency, particularly with regard to the utility and relevance of the sociological and psychiatric approaches, respectively.

The "non-conformer" knows the differences between the expected norms and his own behavior. He is able to articulate his dissent publicly. He challenges the applicability or legitimacy of the norms for the whole society. The non-conformer departs from prevailing norms for disinterested purposes and not for what he can personally get out of it.

The "aberrant" seeks to avoid public scrutiny. If his perception of reality is not distorted, as with those who are mentally ill, he acknowledges the legitimacy of the norms he violates. He tries to escape the sanctioning force of existing norms without proposing substitutes for them. He deviates from the norms to serve his own interests.

In what proportions does juvenile delinquency fall into each of these classes? The question is certainly not easy to answer, but it will remain so as long as it is so seldom asked. Juvenile delinquency is the challenging problem it is, primarily because (a) there is little agreement about its etiology, and (b) there are few evaluative studies concerning the effectiveness of current prevention and treatment programs. What little evidence there is reveals the relative (if the word be allowed) futility of these programs. Let us look at these two problems in order to convey some idea of the difficulties of determining where preventive measures stop and treatment begins, where doctrinaire speculation ends and assured knowledge begins.

Herman G. Stark, Director of the California Youth Authority, has said that juvenile delinquency arises primarily out of some fundamental defect of family structure. Treatment of youthful misbehavior should be located

... in the dynamic setting of family life with its composite of family liabilities and assets,
not upon delinquency as an artificially categorized behaviour entity.... Understanding of the symptomatic nature of disordered behaviour; of the family factor in its causation, paves the way for development of procedures for focussing and co-ordinating the specialized services necessary for its treatment and prevention.¹

William C. Kvaraceus, Director, National Education Association Juvenile Delinquency Project, places major emphasis on the cultural aspects of the outer environment as the most decisive influences contributing to juvenile delinquency.

These cultural forces act to set up patterns of behaviour and modes of adjustment. They provide a normative structure of how to act and how not to act, they can be strong determinants of desirable or undesirable behaviour."²

Thus, he sees violence, modified hedonism and self-indulgence, popularity, the urgency to succeed, as basic values and modalities in the culture that are shared by most adults. It is these values that in the final analysis precipitate and mold juvenile delinquency. Kvaraceus concludes that only by changing the culture will delinquency be prevented. He is pessimistic about this.

If the behaviour of large numbers of adults and future adults can be changed, the culture can be changed to the advantage of present and future generations. Failing in this, delinquency will long be with us and many of the procedures used to prevent and control juvenile delinquency today will remain ineffective and irrelevant to the delinquency phenomena.³

Arthur Miller, the noted American playwright, who grew up in poverty in the slums of New York, and whose masterful plays depict his deeply moral concern for the human predicament, would agree with Kvaraceus that the essence of the problem

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³ Ibid. p. 12.
lies in the ethos of society. His contention is that the social services and social workers will not solve the problem as long as today's youth feels that life is meaningless. He states that "... his overwhelming conviction ... is that the problem underneath is boredom," a condition from which many others suffer. The delinquent's reaction to this boredom is his style and mode of life - a pursuit of the "kick", whether it lies in the "... shot of heroin; the rumble around the corner, or the well executed 'job'." To Miller, the significance of juvenile delinquency transcends its superficial welfare aspects. The philosophical dilemma of what he calls "social nihilism" is the important controlling consideration. In its present form he believes that this pervasive boredom is due to the effects of technology, which "... is destroying the very concept of man as a value in himself." What can we as ordinary people do to offset this terrible condition of alienation? Miller appeals to the spirit which evokes the "essential" response of human beings to each other.

It is the spirit which seeks not to flee the tragedy which life must always be, but seeks to enter it, thereby to be strengthened by the fullest awareness of its pain, its ultimate non sequitur,... Not reform of idiotic narcotic laws, a real attempt to put trained people at the service of bewildered, desperate families, job training programs, medical care, reading clinics all of it is necessary and none of it would so much as strain this economy.... But none of it will matter, none of it will reach further than the spirit in which it is done.... Not the spirit of fear with which so many face delinquency, nor the spirit of sentimentality which sees in it some virtue of rebellion against a false and lying society.... The spirit has to be that of those people who know that the delinquents are a living expression of our universal ignorance of what life ought to be, even of what it is, and of what it truly means to live.  

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Relative Ineffectiveness of Current Programs.

Now, let us look at the other side of the coin - the brute fact of the relative ineffectiveness of most current programs. Witmer and Tufts$^1$ have shown that very few correctional programs have built-in evaluative procedures designed to demonstrate how effective they are in achieving their intended objectives. In the case of those that have made some attempt at self-evaluation, the suggestion is that there has been low or dubious success. The authors divide their analysis between two main approaches to delinquency prevention: (a) environmental and (b) services directed towards individuals and groups.

In the first category, the Chicago Area Project (which will be examined in more detail later) is reviewed. The goal of the program was to engage and motivate "indigenous" local leadership for community improvement. The conclusion reached is that even if there were an improvement in community organization and a reduction in delinquency rates, it would be difficult to attribute this, with any statistical assurance, to the program itself. A second study, which evaluates the effects of the provision of large scale recreational and groupwork facilities, yields the observation that "...it is by no means established that delinquency will decline if good facilities are provided."$^2$

In a review of the more self-consciously therapeutic approach, reference is made to the famous Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. This was a controlled experiment which compared the different results obtained in matched groups of potential delinquents - one receiving intensive counselling over a long period of time, the other not. Analysis of the end results showed that the device of friendly counselling and enlarged access to community facilities did not reduce the delinquency rates in the treated group when they were compared with the base-line of the delinquency rates in the untreated

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2. Ibid., p. 48.
An example of child guidance treatment is given in an evaluation of the Judge Baker Guidance Center in Boston. This does indeed reveal a certain amount of success. Children who had not been too severely emotionally damaged, on the whole, appeared to improve with treatment. However, at the same time it is suggested that this kind of work is ineffectual with children who suffer from certain extreme personality disorders, as well as with those who live under conditions of gross social pathology. The voguish aggressive "reaching out" types of program which offer groupwork with delinquent and near-delinquent gangs in their own neighbourhood settings, are commonly claimed to be unusually successful. But no detailed and systematic evaluations have been made to substantiate these claims.

In summary, the authors conclude from their review of the few reliable evaluative studies that, having regard to our limited knowledge of the causes of delinquency, there is no single panacea or answer for preventing or reducing delinquency. A major need is for research aimed at defining typologies of delinquents so that our treatment programs can be more differentially relevant. Witmer and Tufts end by calling for a greater coordination between practice and research as the only sure means of providing cogent and soundly based theory on the directions in which to move next.

Finally, we want to add a word of caution concerning the dangers of taking too pessimistic a view of current treatment as it appears in its separate and specialized facets. Most of the presently favoured programs are theoretically dedicated to an "individualized" appreciation of and concern for the unique individual. Kahn rightly says that it would be false and uncharitable to attack current programs of rehabilitation (conceived as they are in terms of individualized treatment) as having failed, and unreservedly to urge that new policy is needed. For the efficacy of these programs will not have been adequately tested as long as the standards and qualifications of those staffing them remain so uncertain a factor.
Moreover, the inter-relatedness of one correctional facility with another is generally far from perfect.

For the fact is that systematic, comprehensive, scientific rehabilitation has not yet been tried.... Even where a good facility is available, it is unlikely that related facilities which articulate with it at various stages of the rehabilitative work are of equal calibre. An integrated system of high quality services is required to apply a scientifically based rehabilitative program. Such a system does not exist today.... While there are some good services in departments or institutions, there are no fully adequate and comprehensive community-wide programs with access to the full gamut of needed services, organized for integrated operation.... Treatment facilities (already in existence) cannot in good faith claim to prevent delinquency basically, for the frequency, nature, and form of anti-social deviant behavior are a function of broader social causes, national and international as well as local in scope. However, given a group already unable or unwilling to accept the rules of the larger society, the treatment programs described (in a given community) may offer the beginnings of a sound corrective approach. This is hardly the time to say that such programs have failed; one can only properly ask when they shall be permitted to begin.1

Such are the uncertain dimensions and unanswered questions to the juvenile delinquency problem today. Having set the groundwork for our approach to the field, we now turn in the next chapter to a preliminary exploration and assessment of the causes of juvenile delinquency.

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CHAPTER II

DELINQUENCY CONTROL PROGRAMS AND
THE PROBLEM OF UNCERTAIN ETIOLOGY

Knowledge of Causes Necessary.

Before it becomes possible to treat and prevent juvenile delinquency on an appropriately massive and effective scale, it will be necessary to have some more or less exact knowledge of its causes. The only types of delinquency control that can be operated without any reference to the causes of the behavior in question are control through the threat and execution of punishment for the forbidden act and the erection of mechanical obstacles in the way of the potential offender.¹ We like to think of these two types of control as undesirable remnants of the past, but in any case, they are clearly rule of thumb devices, the success of which will always be at least in part fortuitous.

In recent years, however, the preferred approach has been for the emphasis to be placed on the treatment and prevention of delinquency rather than on its mechanical control, and this presupposes knowledge of the causes of the objectionable behavior.

One cannot rationally and purposefully prevent delinquent behavior, that is, remove the causes of its appearance, without having an explicit or implicit idea as to what the causes are. One cannot correct the delinquent, that is, put a stop to his already manifest delinquent behavior by removing the causes for it, without first having an explicit or implicit theory as to what the reasons are.²

There are some notable exceptions to the principle that a knowledge of causes is necessary for the development of

² Ibid.
treatment. Doctor von Meduna, for example, on the mistaken hypothesis that there is an antagonistic effect between epileptic fits and schizophrenia, found improvement in schizophrenic patients through producing artificial epileptic fits. Although the basic theory has been discredited, the treatment has been refined, and electroconvulsive therapy now produces remarkable results in restoring depressed patients to health.\textsuperscript{1} Although we see here that effective treatment may be developed in spite of a misconception of the cause of the condition (or the absence of any concept of its causes), our point still remains. We cannot depend on chance and luck in the scientific consideration of any problem.

Variety of Theories.

During the past few decades there has been a growing concern with the etiology of delinquent behavior, and a variety of students of the behavioral sciences have been on the alert in the hope of finding the "open sesame" to the riddle of delinquency causation. A tremendous amount of work has been done, and innumerable articles and books written on the subject.\textsuperscript{2} There has been a general agreement about the complexity of the problem, but there has also been a regrettable tendency to put forward categorical and excessively simple reasons for its existence. As Barnes and Teeters observe, it has been all too common a practice to attribute criminal behavior to one single cause or factor, or to a uniform set of factors.\textsuperscript{3} Everybody has his own favoured explanation for delinquency, and his own idea on its treatment and prevention.

Professor J.P. Shalloo has, somewhat facetiously, listed

\begin{itemize}
  \item 2. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency publishes every six months an \underline{inventory} of current research.
\end{itemize}
a number of pet theories, all of which have their adherents:

Crime and delinquency have been and are currently being explained by: the exploitation of the workers, lack of education, inadequate recreational facilities, defective glandular functioning, biological inferiority, police corruption, neglect in religious training, psychometric deficiency, emotional instability, frustration in fundamental satisfaction drives, adult insufficiency, broken homes, lack of love, poverty, alcohol, narcotics, lack of intelligent parental control, the persistence of a frontier psychology, the doctrine of easy money, an unequal distribution of wealth and income, defective moral and social conditioning, exhausted nervous systems, focal infections, temporary insanity, social inadequacy, just plain stubbornness, incorrigibility and perverseness, and lastly, the modern doctrine of individual liberty.1

It is little wonder that there is confusion about the etiology of delinquency.

Most of the better known and more serious theories of delinquency causation fall into three categories: the physiological, psychological, and sociological.

Cesare Lombroso, in the late nineteenth century, made the idea of a physical or anthropological criminal type an important part of his theory of crime causation. His general theory was one of a biological degeneracy which postulated certain characteristics, such as slanting forehead or a large jaw with no chin, as indicators of constitutional social inadequacy. Lombroso used detailed measurements of skulls and other anthropometric data to "show" that these characteristics were the peculiar traits of criminals. The immensely influential evolutionary theories of that time provided a further vindication for this notion of degeneracy, in that it was conceived to be a reversion to an earlier form of animal life. To Lombroso, the criminal resembled the "lower" or more ape-like evolutionary ancestors, and the "stigmata" of criminality were the characteristics assumed to belong to those earlier evolution-

ary stages.¹

Charles Goring’s monumental study of 1913, *The English Convict*, contradicts Lombroso’s main argument.² We have exhaustively compared, with regard to many physical characters, different kinds of criminals with each other, and criminals, as a class, with the law-abiding public.... Our results nowhere confirm the evidence (of a physical criminal type), nor justify the allegation of criminal anthropologists.... Our statistics present a startling conformity with similar statistics of the law-abiding class. Our inevitable conclusion must be that there is no such thing as a physical criminal type.

Ernest Hooton, in his temporarily voguish *Crime and the Man*, (1939), tried to rescue Lombroso from Goring’s criticism. From an examination of 13,876 criminals and 3,205 non-criminals he concluded that criminals were organically inferior, with broad noses, low foreheads, and other abnormal features. His general thesis was that crime was the result of the impact of environment on low-grade organisms. He did not consider that social variables would cause crime unless they were associated with certain physical deficiencies. However, since he never succeeded in developing a convincing rationale for his equation of physical deviations with physical inferiority, there seems to be a serious if not fatal gap between his conclusions and his data.³

Sheldon, in *Varieties of Delinquent Youth* (1949), has also advanced the argument that behavior is a function of physical structure. He contends that people may be divided into three "somatotypes" on the basis of which their personalities and potentialities may be predicted. These are the endomorphic (round and soft), the mesomorphic (round and hard),

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and the ectomorphic (flat and fragile). The hypothesis implicit in his methodology is that all variations in personality and behavior will be found to be related to variations in these basic indexes. From his observations of two hundred boys referred to the Hayden Goodwill Inn in Boston, Sheldon concluded that delinquents are chiefly mesomorphic, with thick necks, broad shoulders, and a somewhat "hefty" build. He claims that with careful measurement and interpretation fairly accurate predictions can be made about an individual's behavior. Sheldon has had some support for these views from the Gluecks, as we shall have occasion to observe at a later point in our essay.

E.H. Sutherland is only one who has challenged Sheldon's claims.1

...Varieties of Delinquent Youth is useless as a demonstration of the value of constitutional psychology in action. Sheldon's definition of delinquency cannot be used in empirical research; his selection of cases prevents him from generalizing about any given population; his method of scoring delinquency is subjective and unreliable; his varieties of delinquent youth are meaningless, because no one of his varieties differs from any other in somatotypal or psychiatric indexes; his findings on these indexes have no evaluative significance; and his argument for selective breeding is based on preconceptions, not on the data of his study. These failures can be put in a general class of unsuccessful attempts to differentiate criminals from non-criminals as to physical or generic traits of personality. This book fails completely to add anything to scientific knowledge except the evidence from which the conclusion can be drawn that in this particular group of 200 youth variations in civil delinquency are not related to variations in the basic indexes of Sheldon's constitutional psychology. This conclusion is, of course, not Sheldon's, but is based on his data.

Vold agrees with this, stating that

...there is no evidence at all of physical type, as such, having any consistent relation

to legal and sociologically defined crime.¹

Some criminologists have claimed that mental deficiency is the principal characteristic which serves to differentiate delinquents from non-delinquents. This school of thought is typically represented by Goddard, who has stated that feeble-mindedness, inherited as a Mendelian trait, causes crime because the feeble-minded person is unable to appreciate the meaning of the law. His tests are claimed to have shown that almost all criminals are feeble-minded, and he has even asserted that almost all feeble-minded persons were criminals.² But to the extent that intelligence tests have since been made more reliable and administered to significantly larger samples of the general population, this theory has been proven false. In the Cambridge-Somerville project, for example, it was found that of the boys who turned out to be criminal, forty two per cent were of below-average intelligence, while of the total sample, forty four per cent had below-average intelligence.³ On the other hand, of course, although it can no longer be said that there is a comprehensive relationship between low intelligence and criminal behavior, it is not to be supposed that this factor may not play an important part in individual cases.

While the theories of causation we have considered above have stressed constitutional etiologies, a great many students of the subject, particularly psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, have singled out various forms of mental and emotional disorder as the chief dynamic elements in delinquency. Under this theory, (which we will consider in greater detail in Chapter Three), the main emphasis is laid on certain personality traits, transient psychological states, or the pathogenic

influence of early family environment on the delinquent's attitudinal system.

Among the different "schools" of criminology, the sociological is perhaps the most varied and diverse. The central thesis is that criminal behavior results from essentially the same processes as does other social behavior. Sociologists maintain that delinquents adopt the values and learn the methods of crime through association with a particular subculture; or that certain other sociological and economic factors (rather than idiosyncratic psychological conditions) are the essential causative elements in crime. Alexander and Healy, writing as spokesmen for the psychiatric approach, are very critical of this perspective. For example, they charge that Shaw's statistical investigations, which showed that vastly greater proportions of delinquents came from certain areas of a city than from others,

...contribute literally nothing to a deeper knowledge of the sources of criminality and adds nothing to what we already know by common sense.  

The Plurality of Causes versus Need for General Unifying Theory.

These potted accounts of the doctrinal disputes of criminologists have been offered here, not because we delude ourselves that they are novel or unfamiliar, but in order to show that in the past there has been very little agreement among the experts as to what is the cause of delinquency. The schoolmen of deviance have tended to cling tenaciously to their own explanations, and to offer only that evidence which was fairly clearly in their favour. There is, however, a growing consensus that the causation of delinquency is plural rather than singular, even in individual cases. It is impossible to "blame" any single factor for the problem.


Only the naive and credulous accept theories of unit causation of delinquency. An examination of the most elementary case shows that behavior, socially approved or not, is a product of the individual's many experiences, reaching far back into his early development.\(^1\)

It is not required either that we should seek for the cause of delinquency, as there is not necessarily one to be found. John Stuart Mill has definitively pointed out that more than one different cause may produce the same effect:

> It is not true ... that one effect must be connected with only one cause, or assemblage of conditions; that each phenomenon can be produced only in one way. There are often several independent modes in which the same phenomenon could have originated.... A given effect may really be produced by a certain cause, and yet be perfectly capable of being produced without it.\(^2\)

Clearly then, if any real progress is to be made in the development of practical programs of delinquency control, some reconciliation will have to be effected between the many alternative and even warring theories of its causation which presently obscure our view of the problem. If this is to be done, not only must we have a moratorium on the gratuitous and illiterate pronouncements of the panacea-mongers and professional moralizers; but we must also have a far higher level of methodological punctiliousness and intellectual disinterestedness among the social scientists themselves. Only by this means shall we have any real hope of achieving a general theory of delinquency; only by achieving that do we stand a chance of formulating effective and cogent control programs.

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CHAPTER III

NEO-FREUDIAN METHOD AS THE
DOMINANT THEORY OF DELINQUENCY CONTROL

So far as any of the current, theoretically articulate approaches to juvenile delinquency can be termed the dominant or standard one, it is that which descends, through one lineage or another, from psychoanalysis. At first glance it might appear unlikely that a treatment system as exotic, expensive, and (comparatively speaking) rare as psychoanalysis would have modal status among the varied methods of dealing with this problem that we regularly use. But if it is remembered that we are excluding from consideration both the purely deterrent approach (trial-and-punishment) and the purely empirical approach (trial-and-error), the field is immediately seen to be very much narrower. Furthermore, we are speaking not merely of those relatively infrequent occasions on which a delinquent formally enters into some kind of psychoanalytic therapy, but also (and in fact primarily) of those wide-ranging activities of probation officers, child welfare workers, school teachers and school counsellors, psychiatric social workers, and many others, which owe their diagnostic categories, their heuristic justifications, and their principles of method to the precedents and teachings of psychoanalysis. Their number may not be legion, but it is very great.

It behoves us, therefore, to offer some summary account of the cardinal propositions and major techniques of the psychoanalytic approach to delinquency. Since we assume that the reader will already have some familiarity with the subject, our aim will be not so much to provide a detailed exposition as to set down an adumbration sufficiently ample and coherent to enable us to identify the principal implications of the approach for delinquency control. Our interest is in psychoanalysis as a strategy, and in its vices and virtues as such.

Since it would be tedious and circumlocutory to use the
conventions of indirect speech in rendering this account ("... psychoanalysts allege that;" or "Freud was wont to claim ...") we have adopted a simple narrative technique that lends itself to our aims of brevity and clarity. It is not to be assumed that the absence of explicitly critical comment in such a technique signifies our unequivocal agreement with what we report.

**The Essential Theory.**

The psychoanalytic approach to criminality and delinquency, in a way, owes its beginnings to Lombroso who, in his search for fundamental differences between criminals and law-abiding citizens, insisted on the study of the individual offender. Although his substantive theories have been discarded, his approach paved the way for such pioneers as Healy, who in 1909 established in Boston the "Juvenile Psychopathic Institute" to test a variety of hypotheses regarding the etiology of delinquency. Freud's contribution to the knowledge of human behavior inspired similar efforts by Staub, Aichorn, Alexander, Stekel, and others too numerous to mention.

Adequate personality functioning, both from the individual's and society's point of view, depends on successful integration of the id, the ego and the superego, or to put it differently, on the balance between pleasure seeking (or frustration avoidance) and the demands of reality as represented by the environment. Little can be done about the id or the instinctual responses which are genetically and biologically determined. Deviant behavior consequently implies some defect of the ego and superego, the two mediating factors between the human organism and society.

The process of socialization has as its primary goal the channeling, suppression and sublimation of instinctual drives, whose only aim is satisfaction. There is an inherent conflict in this process. The physical functioning is determined by the autonomic nervous system. The ego is an agency of personality, dependent on the reception of stimuli from the environment
and integrated by the central nervous system. One of its major adaptive modes is logical reasoning. The primary functions necessary for interaction with the environment — perceptual activity, motor control and memory function — are biological processes and undergo obervably gradual maturation. Consequently, the rate of ego development depends on the rate of body development, and this, in turn, on the rate of myelination of nerve fibres. The whole process is influenced by the individual's physical endowment.

The instincts in manifesting themselves are mediated by certain chemical transmitters within the organism. The manifestations produced by these transmitters are what we recognize socially as the emotions. These are produced by the function of the autonomic nervous system which is connected through the autonomic co-ordinating centres in the central nervous system with the cerebral cortex, which houses the potentiality for rational thinking. The degree of rational functioning of the cerebral cortex depends upon the past emotional experiences of the individual.¹

The gratification of the basic body needs of the infant promotes the favourable formation of the body-ego — he likes himself. At the same time, because his needs are met, he comes to trust the world.² As he perceives the self as separate from the mother-self, he begins to perceive other people and objects as differentiated from himself. But he still needs the mother's care and love and learns that his receiving is conditional upon his giving.³ He learns to do things for mother, yet for himself as well. To the extent that his first efforts at autonomy are met with approval and encouragement, he ventures further and further. This brings him more approval

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and thus he learns true reciprocity. At the same time he learns to be proud of his own achievement. These are the beginnings of initiative. From them stem future ego strengths: self-reliance, adherence to resolutions, ability to foresee immediate as well as broader consequences. Through experimentation - verbal and motor - he learns to test reality, one of the most important ego tasks. Because of his identification with early love objects he learns some controls, learns to master incoming stimuli and to discharge them effectively. The positive cathexis of the mother as the earliest love object leads to future identifications and superego formation.

Owing to the infant's total helplessness, a strong attachment to the mother develops. Although much has been made of the Oedipus complex, the child's libidinal ties to the mother are normal and realistic manifestations compounded by need, habit, and the structure of the family in our society. That this attachment cannot be allowed to continue is an equally obvious social necessity. That the child should be unwilling to give up the source of pleasure is only to be expected. He will do so only if other sources of satisfaction are available. Within a family, the father is the counterbalancing factor. For boys, especially, it is imperative that the father become important as a future masculine model. If the father fails to live up to this expectation, the child's development becomes unbalanced. His physical development cannot be stopped but his emotional development can certainly be skewed.

The process of emancipation from dependence on the parental figures presents innumerable frustrations to the growing individual. The ego, thanks to the capacity of the brain for certain mental processes, has recourse to various defenses. These are more or less effective depending on the strength of the impulse to be subdued and the stage of maturational development. If a severe disappointment or acute fear are the

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stimuli calling for mobilization of defenses, or when all defenses fail, the ego may regress to a former mode of satisfaction the "reliability" of which has been already proved. When this manoeuvre fails as well, further regression may take place as an extreme measure. The unpredictability of the environment in relation to needs can understandably cause confusion or disorganization of personality. It appears that the environment of the delinquent is such as to cause disorganization rather than a complete withdrawal, one extreme expression of which is psychosis.

A relatively conflictless process of socialization obviously demands a great deal of understanding and tact from the parents. An impulsive and violent curbing of the infant's undesirable actions provokes fear in him. Fear brings into action one of the most easily available mechanisms of defense—repression. The problem with repression, however, is that it is not integrated into the personality in the same meaningful way as, for instance, sublimation. The latter allows for the satisfying expression of feeling even while the action itself is given up. In repression, both the action and the affect disappear below the conscious level, yet press for recognition. The amount of psychic energy required to maintain repression is far in excess of that of sublimation, and leaves that much less libidinal energy in the total ego economy. Sublimation is one of the most effective defenses both from the point of view of the personality and the society. But sublimation requires outside resources—human relationships, activities, tasks to be performed, materials to be used in these tasks.

The individual's adaptation to society and his cooperation with it depends on his perception, awareness and acceptance of its values. Despite the fact that an individual is capable of perceiving logical connections between actions and consequences (we are disregarding here such gross disabilities as

mental retardation), the delinquent and the criminal appear not to have this ability. This is because the conscience, the superego, does not entirely depend on the ego functions (reality testing) for its development. If it did, the process of socialization (at least for one particular meaning of that term) would probably be completely impossible, or at best much delayed. Instead, it actually depends on the id's libidinal cathexis to the parents whose values must be introjected.¹

This cathexis depends on their meeting the child's early and basic needs. Except for certain extreme and isolated cases, these needs, for food, shelter and protection, are met even in the most inadequate environments. The proof of it lies in the very fact that the child lives. The adequacy with which they are met is the principal variable in the mode of functioning of the superego. Consequently, it is not consistent with theory to suppose that the delinquent does not have any superego at all, as is sometimes suggested. A more likely assumption is that its manner of operation is inadequate to the demands of a particular environment. The first libidinal ties are not only the beginning of the superego, but also determine the fate of future goals, identifications and identity formation. Several developments are possible and have been put forward as causes of delinquency.

A strong libidinal tie (need to be loved and to love), together with strong hostility ("justified" or not) toward the parent, will result in the introjection of a very severe parent-image or superego. The harsher the superego, the more must the ego strive to keep the id in check. But the ego until maturity (and sometimes not even then) is relatively weak and cannot maintain the balance. The continued functioning of the superego depends on continuing need-gratification. If the satisfactions are not forthcoming (and they must come from the environment), the superego need not exert itself.² The ego

then seeks out situations which will place the superego in conflict with the source of its satisfactions - the society. The superego which is punished as a result gives up some of its strength, allowing more freedom to the ego. The ego, in turn, can allow the id more gratification. The capacity of the brain to symbolize allows for transformation of clearly unacceptable strivings into symptoms which can be defended by the ego through rationalization. Thus stealing can represent an extreme dependency and a need for love and can be rationalized as a physical, reality need.

We have said before that the process of socialization depends on introjecting parental values. This presupposes that the parents themselves are socialized.

The integration of the ego and the superego depends on a balance of strengths. A certain minimum strength of the superego is demanded by society. The ego must have complementary strengths (ability to judge, to defer satisfactions, to set limits) so that it can allow the id enough satisfaction to promote self-realization (which is the ultimate "goal" of the personality) and at the same time appraise the conditions under which this is possible. If the ego, however, does not match the strength of the superego, conflict results. Parents often exhibit marked inconsistencies in their own patterns of behavior, in which the dominant theme may be precisely this incompatible and discrepant relationship between the ego and the superego. This can manifest itself in inconsistencies, in a sort of a double-talk by which the individual, under the superego's demands, expresses beliefs congruent with them, yet acts according to the wishes of the id, over which the weak ego does not have adequate control.

The child, however, identifies with the whole parent, actions as well as ideology. The conflict is transmitted, for the most part, on an unconscious level. Here we have a case

where the parents, to their knowledge, have "done their best," only to find that the child acts in complete contradiction to what they have fondly taken to be their demands, ostentatiously in agreement with those of the society. We think that it is not so much the total identification with the parent that causes acting out behavior, because then some of it would be "desirable," but the confusion of demands with which the immature ego has to cope, throwing it, so to speak, into panic. The usual defense against panic is diffuse, unplanned, random activity. The ensuing emotion is hostility projected onto the environment. To these parents the situation is completely unexplainable because outwardly they have given little cause for direct hostility.

Much has been said elsewhere about the cultural transmission of the delinquent superego as a special case of identification with the parent. It has been called a "normal superego" as far as the child's dynamics are concerned. We do not believe that such a simple relation is possible. Whatever the reality factors and pressures that brought about the parents' anti-social behavior, they seldom make the parents immune to the awareness of their conflict with societal values. It is this conflict and the resultant hostility which is transmitted, along with the potentially deviant patterns of behavior.

Another complication may be introduced by the mother-child relationship. In order that a boy may give up the mother as an erotic love-object, there must be a male figure who can provide some of the needed alternative satisfactions. But the mother must also be willing to give up the child, if only for the sake of the same male figure - in this case the husband. Our society (and most known societies) demands that she accomplish this transformation of feeling. The child is made aware of these demands as soon as he leaves the immediate family environment for that of the peer group, the school, and so on. The tie is mutual. He cannot simply leave, for he is still physically dependent, as well, apart from anything else. His only recourse for achieving some emotional independence is to be different from the mother to whom he is often only an
extension of herself. Acting-out may be the only outlet for the need for self-expression and revenge at the same time.¹

So far we have discussed conditions which originate in conflict. Another possibility has to do with character structure. By "character" we mean personality traits which are more or less constant and which develop as a means of coping with the environment. They have a definite sociological orientation. Freud's emphasis was on the integration of the three agencies of personality, the id, the ego and the superego. The basis of neurosis is the conflict between the id and the superego, with the ego as a victim. However, if a weak superego structure is possible, as it undoubtedly is when parental ties are very weak, a great degree of libidinal gratification or impulsiveness is possible.² The ego as such has no quarrel with the id. Only if the superego is strong, the ego must take action. But if no such restricting forces are present, the impulses are ego-syntonic and are incorporated into it. The resultant personality is one where all impulses must be gratified. There is no awareness on the part of the ego of any illness or suffering, as there is with the neurotic. The emphasis is on action. When we remember that language is a very refined sublimation for action, the retardation of verbal ability and the occurrence of reading difficulties, so common in delinquents, come into focus as significant diagnostic clues.

The weakening of parental ties as a modern cultural phenomenon has been observed by writers like Riesman³ and Wheelis⁴. The scientific developments which brought with them

². Arieti, op. cit., chapter 19.
the mass communications media and easily available means of transportation, left tradition and the institutionalized means of full parental control far behind. The parents are no longer oracles of truth. Nor is the future likely to be much different since new developments might in turn completely change our present way of life. These conditions can be expected to give rise to the decline of superego strength and the consequent rise in impulsive, unpremeditated behavior.

The complexity of the process of socialization and the strength of the impulses and conflicts associated with giving up gratifications, drive memories into the unconscious. Psychoanalysis and its derived therapies depend on bringing these to consciousness where they can be examined, rationally appraised and integrated into the personality. The feeling that accompanies the unconscious thought processes must be modified as well. As it originates in the autonomic nervous system, it must be translated into verbal links in order to be incorporated into the rational connections of the central nervous system.

Its Characteristic Difficulties.

Psychoanalysis has met with much criticism, and above all, perhaps, on the grounds that its method is pseudo-scientific and cannot be subjected to rigorous empirical proof. Many of the dynamic relationships postulated by psychoanalysis lie, inaccessible to direct observation, in the subconscious. The very existence of the unconscious was, after all, inferred by Freud from the resistance to personal revelation which he was able to observe in his patients. At times it may be very difficult to tell whether a subject shows resistance to avoid the discomfort of facing his unconscious, or because the ontogenetic connections imputed by the therapist are really

* We are not here speaking of the uninformed and often barbarous criticism that Freud encountered in his own career. We are speaking of serious and reasonably well motivated criticism.
alien to his personality.

Freud himself envisaged an eventual growth of psychoanalysis into a true science and never considered it a closed system.¹ He insisted on considering the individual a bio-psycho-social organism. In some instances his followers got lost in facile generalizations, in others, they made departures which have the flavour of a personal quarrel with the teacher rather than of a constructive contribution to scientific controversy. Many others, however, tried conscientiously to seek for new knowledge and to test the old.

Psychoanalysis as a science is relatively young and suffers the same difficulties that physics and chemistry, for instance, have now well passed. The basic sciences on which psychoanalysis could safely have its foundations such as neuroanatomy, -chemistry, -physiology, -psychology and cybernetics as applied to the central nervous system, are themselves in their beginning stages.

It is true that psychoanalytic theory is not very well systematized and that its hypotheses are frequently not clearly related to observation. The many intricate variables involved in human conduct pose unusually obstinate problems of quantification. (By contrast, although no one has "seen" the atom, it has been weighed and measured). Measurement in psychoanalysis appears very distant. In the meantime, rigorous methodology has had to be sacrificed to pragmatism and speculation has had to take precedence over tested theories. However, we have many examples in the history of science where theory-building has run ahead of the capacity for systematic observation. One well known example of this is Einstein's theories of relativity.²

Another difficulty in psychoanalysis is that elements of behavior which appear similar may be dynamically quite differ-

¹. Freud, S., op. cit.
ent, and vice versa. Many of the causal links in behavior, buried in very early childhood, are not easy to reach. Their reconstruction and authentication both depend on a large number of biographical cross-checks, themselves equally difficult to make. However, a tremendous wealth of observational data is available, and certain generalizations can be made. These can lead to the formulation of hypotheses which, if properly stated, are amenable to testing. This is certainly scientific procedure.

There is a difficulty with tests in this field—especially those of the "clinical" variety. A misapplication of theory is not nearly as obvious in psychoanalysis as in other sciences. A mistake in a chemical laboratory can have spectacular results and leaves little doubt as to the error of the supposition. The personality, however, is a dynamic and ever-changing entity, and the very error might produce conditions of change that make it impossible to start anew. Often enough (to come back to the therapeutic situation) the dissatisfied subject simply leaves, never to return; and thus renders further observation impossible.

Most of the better-developed sciences have been relatively immune from public scrutiny as well as being objects of indifference to popular concern. Psychoanalysis suffers from the disadvantage that everybody considers it both within his rights and his competence to express his opinion on the basis of personal experience; though this experience derives principally from conscious observation, while the data of greatest interest to psychoanalysis have generally been gathered from the observation of unconscious processes.

Its Principal Merits.

We have presented a very crude and abbreviated sketch of the psychoanalytic approach. Nevertheless, it may appear, even from this bald summary, that its most damaging fault (as has often been said) is that it does not take cognizance of the social situation in which an individual finds himself.
The fault, we think, lies with the average practitioner, and not with the theory. We believe, on the contrary, that the theory is capable, without losing its essential character, of taking account of a multitude of such factors. It eliminates the necessity of an endless search for an order-less variety of ad hoc causes of delinquency, such as deteriorated neighbourhoods, broken homes, working mothers, immoral influences, horror comics, and so on. This is not to say that such considerations are never relevant. But psychoanalysis provides a conceptual framework in which their relevance becomes hierarchical and systematic. Freud's greatest originality and intellectual usefulness lie in his emphasis on the economic approach to mental life, in which the psyche appears as a bounded energy system in equilibrium. When any particular trend becomes excessively predominant, the entire equilibrium may be upset.¹ In the final analysis, all deviance, propelled by whatever sociological factors, is expressed through the medium of personality.²

Its Practical Shortcomings.

There are various practical considerations in treatment, however, that place psychoanalysis in a less favourable light. To begin with, the technique of psychoanalysis depends on a face-to-face relationship. The complexity of personality dynamics, and the multitude of therapeutically relevant variables to be controlled, do not readily lend themselves to other treatment methods. Some saving in time has been introduced by the group therapy approach, but this depends for its success on significant personal interaction within the group, and consequently limits the size of the group in a serious way. Furthermore, the method also requires that


² In saying this, we are not posing a factitious, antinominal contrast between "personality" and "culture", or involving ourselves in silly chicken-and-egg questions. Our claim seems to us to be an independently valid truism.
the group possess a certain homogeneity in its composition, and the degree of individual disturbance must not be too disruptive to the group as a whole. Because of the highly confidential nature, not to mention the painful content, of the psychoanalytic exchange, a personal relationship based on trust and sympathy must develop before the patient can feel free to discuss what he has been trying to hide even from himself.

The reconstruction and reintegration of character occurs (virtually by definition) at the patient's pace, and this has been typically an extremely long procedure. Even if some techniques were devised to speed up the process (by the use of drugs, for instance), it is unlikely that a great saving in time could be effected. The combination of the individual approach and the length of treatment makes psychoanalysis extremely costly. It is obvious that there are not, and probably never will be, enough personnel to make any appreciable impact on "mass" problems of personality disorder. What is no less to the point, this handicap will be found also in any treatment system (such as social casework) which derives the bulk of its methodological resources from psychoanalysis. Then again, psychoanalysis was developed in the treatment of neurotics whose suffering was an important motivating force in treatment. Equally, the transformation of irrational into rational connections requires a certain amount of sophistication and verbal facility. The impulsive "acting-out" individual possesses neither, and therefore often causes extreme frustration for the therapist, whose training and middle-class orientation have not prepared him to relate to his patient on his primitive level, or to awaken and keep motivation alive. This frustration often precludes continuation of treatment on the part of the analyst if not the subject. Usually, however, the latter can sense the lack of interest and withdraws first.¹

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In cases where the superego formation is weak, the professional relationship serves, through identification (provided this much can be accomplished), as the foundation on which the superego is built. Once this is achieved, the acting-out behavior may disappear, but the problem of an inadequate ego remains. It is really a problem of converting a character disorder into a neurosis and then treating the neurosis, with "twice" the usual investment of time. The therapeutic goal is pretty distant for the patient, and moreover it is frequently not ego-syntonic either, insofar as the desired outcome is alien to his whole personality structure. The problem of maintaining motivation outweighs all other treatment considerations.

Maslow conceived of personality as an arrangement of "coping syndromes." He says that a system (syndrome) has a tendency to resist change and to re-establish itself after change has taken place. The therapist has no control over his patient's environment and much of what he has accomplished can be undone between sessions. There is a time lag between new insight taking place and its assimilation. Its hold is pretty tenuous and can be outweighed by the old "coping syndrome" which has been entrenched for some time. This problem will arise with almost all patients, but it is a notably prominent one with the delinquent.

In all treatment with children and adolescents the cooperation of the parents is essential. What is more, passive cooperation is not enough, although even this much is often difficult to secure. If there is no modification of parental behavior, the same conditions which brought about the problem will prevail, sooner or later bringing regression or relapse.

We might consider also the process which brings a delinquent before a psychiatrist. As we have said before, many of

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the diagnostic clues to pathological states of mind are obtained by interpreting behavior in the light of its probable latent meanings. This takes skill and knowledge. The majority of parents do not recognize fine nuances of behavior. When a more obvious symptom in the form of acting-out finally develops, the disturbance is well in progress and all the more difficult to treat. By that time not only the parents but others in the community are well aware of the problem and have probably compounded it by their attitudes or even by officially-sanctioned interference.

And lastly, the community's unrealistically high expectations of quick results, and the unreasoning demand for punishment, are both contrary to the therapeutic outlook, even if we did have enough personnel.

As we consider these various problems, it becomes apparent that the psychoanalytic approach can never be an exclusive answer. Coming back to the question of the multitude of data necessary to understand the patterns of personality, it is obvious that a therapist cannot possibly gather it all alone. He needs to understand social structure in all its relevant ramifications, and needs the help of sociologists. He needs to understand the place of the patient's family in this structure, and therefore needs the help of social workers. He needs community resources to provide means for sublimating his patient's needs and drives. He has perhaps already learned to use the services of psychologists and their testing techniques. He needs the cooperation of those who have an opportunity to observe children's behavior before serious difficulties develop - namely teachers. In short, the psychotherapeutic approach must be interdisciplinary, even when an explicit and well-founded decision has been made that it is the correct approach to use anyway.

Special techniques will need to be devised for those who cannot be reached by the traditional means. Perhaps because social workers have more often than not worked with unsophisticated clients, this problem does not strike them as particularly difficult to overcome. Hollingshead assures us, however,
that the gulf between the lower-class patient and the psychiatrist with his middle-class background is an ever-present reality.¹

Granted all this, we are still likely to be left with great numbers to whom psychotherapeutically oriented services will not be available or useful. Indeed, we wonder why we bother to maintain the hypothetical mood, for the plain fact is that this is precisely what is happening already. Most juvenile delinquents never get near the consulting room, even if we allow (which we do not) that it is a uniformly appropriate place for them to be anyway. Our main problem, therefore, is to develop an entire repertory of new treatment resources; and in particular, to make the best use of those which can be employed on a "mass action" basis. The ideal solution, of course, would be to inhibit the very occurrence of delinquent behavior through the application of preventive, or prophylactic, measures.

Prophylactic treatment means reducing or eliminating the stresses that disturb the economic balance of personality, the conditions which leave needs unmet and tensions unresolved. It means provision of services to meet these needs. Some of the services such as recreation facilities are needed for all, children and adults alike, and need not set the delinquent apart as alien. There are many such facilities needed by the healthy and the sick. The fact that illness, physical or emotional, makes large incursions into the whole personality and undermines its resources, means that scattered, symptom-ameliorating measures are not likely to succeed, but that concentrated effort is needed - an effort which anticipates as many criminogenic processes as possible.

¹ Hollingshead and Redlich, op. cit.
CHAPTER IV

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

In the preceding chapter, we indicated both some of the values and the limitations of the psychiatric and psychological approaches to juvenile delinquency. Our conclusion was that, taken in itself, the psychiatric approach was inadequate to the scope of the delinquency problem. We turn now to a review of some of the sociological theories. It is our theme that the sociological frame of reference offers a wider, more comprehensive viewpoint for understanding delinquency as a patterned social response in relation to the structure, institutions and functions of the overall society.

The Sociological Frames of Reference.

There are two main conceptual premises underlying the sociological approach: The first depicts delinquency as a species of "social role" in interaction with other social roles. The meanings, images and perceptions of the delinquent role vary not only from delinquent to delinquent, but also among the network of persons having contact with the delinquent. These differences in role perceptions in part determine the behavior of the delinquent himself. Reciprocally, the feelings and attitudes of parents, teachers, judges, clinicians and social workers are organized in accordance with their roles vis-a-vis the delinquent's. In other words, the consequences and implications of the "delinquent role" vary in the social system. The variation can be cultural as between social classes; and it can be functional as between lawyers, doctors, social workers, and the like.

Cohen and Short analyze the determinants of "self" in role terms as follows:

1. Behavior is oriented to the maintenance and enhancement of the Self.
2. The self is largely defined in role terms.

People classify themselves in terms which evoke socially standardized expectations which may be called role demands. Self-demand consists largely of a set of roles with which the actor identifies or to which he aspires, and the corresponding socially defined role demands. Here we may distinguish between role-expressive and role-supportive behavior. Role-expressive behavior fulfills what has been called the "role-demands". It is an attempt to validate one's claim to being an authentic member of a given role. Role-supportive behavior does not correspond directly to the role demands but it makes possible or facilitates behavior that does correspond directly to the role demands.

3. Meaning and validity depend on one's normative reference groups.

Those groups whose perspectives are authoritative for us and provide standards by which we test the meaning and the rightness of our own behavior are called our normative reference groups. The justifications and rationalizations of our behavior are convincing largely to the extent to which they are shared by others whose opinions we value. ¹

From the above it can be gathered that delinquent social roles tend to "cluster" because they are interrelated and are oriented to common reference groups. This leads us to our second basic premise, namely that delinquent behavior is socially and culturally stratified and patterned. From the two frames of reference we have mentioned we feel that sociological analysis accommodates more of the known facts about delinquency than does the individualized psychiatric approach. It provides a broader (and perhaps more substantially valid) orientation for designing effective strategies of intervention. At the same time, however, we do not mean to imply that this excludes the psychiatric concern with the individual delinquent; the two viewpoints are not mutually exclusive. Rather, our

ultimate objective is to conciliate and integrate both perspectives at all points possible. This is perhaps more easily said than done. For, just as there is a lack of unanimity among the exponents of the psychiatric approach, so are there diverse and conflicting sociological theories. Among these there is need for consolidation, aimed ultimately at the development of a general theory.

Let us now examine the development of the various sociological theories, their similarities and differences.

The "Chicago School" of Ecologists.

It was the "Chicago School" of sociology which first really began to bring together in a theoretically systematic way the conceptual frameworks of ecology and demography and to relate these to determinate social forces and specific features of the social structure. Park, Burgess, Zorbaugh, Wirth, and others showed how the differentiation of neighbourhoods was linked to typical patterns of growth in North American cities. With particular reference to the large influx of newly-arrived poor immigrants in the first quarter of the twentieth century some interesting observations were made. It was found rather consistently that in the beginning stages these immigrants lived together in the lower rental areas circling the business and industrial heart of the city. Once these original groups adapted themselves to the American scene, and had acquired some wealth and status, they began to move to the outer fringes and suburbs of the city. In their old downtown neighbourhoods they were supplanted by new waves of incoming groups often of different ethnicity and culture.

Where a given ethnic group remained together in a neighbourhood long enough to take root they transplanted their traditional and institutional mode of living. Traditional family life and its extension into the institutions of the community created an integrated structure of norms and prescribed behavior for the group. The community became stabilized and organized. At the same time the inner consistency
of the ethnic community provided security for the community as a whole to adjust to the outer demands of the larger society. Wirth's description of the Jewish Ghetto in Chicago is an example of how deeply the milieu affects the daily lives of its inhabitants and how at the same time the highly organized and regulated neighbourhood is consistent with the social standards and minimum requirements of the surrounding community. The reason for this is that the prescriptions of lawful behavior in the sub-culture are both congruent and commensurate with those of the surrounding society. Wirth shows how the Ghetto took on the aspects of a "natural area". It became institutionalized in itself with regard to location, character and the functions it performed for its constituent members.¹

The point brought out by the Chicago studies - and by replication and extension to other large North American cities - was that social change and the sequences in human relations did not occur accidentally and at random. The patterns of association could be predicted according to certain ecological and demographic factors inherent in the "organic nature" of the cities. These factors made for the integrative organization of society. But on the other hand they could cause dislocation and the breakdown of interpersonal relationships in certain segments of the community. For example, to return to the low rental areas adjacent to the downtown: precisely because they were low rental they tended to attract a diversity of low status ethnic groups. These groups often were in conflict culturally, but economically they shared in the same relative deprivation. The earliest established group would resent the intrusion of the "foreigners", and inter-group competition and conflict would ensue. The tempo of those moving in and those moving out would increase. The former institutional means of control in the community would begin to break down. Overcrowding would create tenements; and the neighbourhood

would begin to deteriorate physically. With the increased rivalry and competition, the integral nature of the community began to crumble. As the other residents left, the neighbourhood was left without new forms of interdependent relationships. According to the Chicago sociologists, this kind of neighbourhood had become transitional and was marked by disorganization.

It is a striking tribute to the theoretical "power" of the formulation of this process of disorganization that studies of the distribution and incidence of delinquency revealed consistent statistical connections between its occurrence and these disrupted areas. From his detailed and extensive ecological studies Clifford R. Shaw drew several significant conclusions pertinent to the determinance of delinquency: (a) delinquency was concentrated in certain areas of the city; (b) the areas were near the central business districts and industrial areas of the city; (c) they were transitional areas; (d) the areas were characterized by deterioration, decreasing population, and the disintegration of the conventional neighbourhood, culture and organization; (e) delinquency closely related to certain community situations which arose in the process of city growth; (f) traditional norms and standards of the conventional community weakened and disappeared; resistance on the part of the community to delinquent and criminal behavior was low, and such behavior was tolerated and might even become accepted and approved; when few constructive community forces were at work to re-establish a conventional order, the situation made for continued social disorganization; when criminal patterns were socially transmitted, they might become the dominant values of the community; (g) recidivism rates showed that recidivism varied directly with the rates of the first delinquents and inversely with the distance from the centre of the city. Shaw surmised that delinquents living in areas of higher delinquency rates were more likely to become recidivists.¹

The main features of Shaw's findings have been substantiated in several subsequent studies of the larger cities both of North America and of Great Britain. Mays summarizes his investigation of delinquency around the Liverpool docks, which are immediately adjacent to the main business and commercial centre of the city, as follows:

Such areas which seem to be always located in the older and poorer parts of big industrial or commercial cities may be called delinquency-producing. They are characterised by a long history of poverty, casual employment and bad housing. Cultural conflict and religious division have been isolated as further factors making for a deleterious social tradition. In such areas educational attainments lag far behind those of the better-off districts and a lack of creative activities and healthy recreation are contributory causes for the general drift of children and young people into crime and delinquency. Delinquency has become almost a social tradition and it is only a very few youngsters who are able to grow up in these areas without at some time or other committing illegal acts. (...) In such circumstances, therefore, it was argued that delinquency is not so much a symptom of mal-adjustment as of adjustment to a sub-culture in conflict with the culture of the city as a whole.¹

In his study of delinquency in Croydon, Terrence Morris distinguished between "psychiatric delinquency," which could occur anywhere, and "social delinquency" which predominated in the working class districts. He observed that housing estates (governmental public housing) were not adequately designed to accommodate the primary family comfortably or easily. Since the family in the lower economic class did not place as much emphasis on family social controls in the first place, the housing developments merely strengthened the habit of sending their children out into the streets. As a result, the new environment actually encouraged cultural deviance.²

¹ Mays, J.B., Growing Up in the City, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1956, p. 147.
The findings of Lander's multi-factorial analysis of delinquency in Baltimore also support the view that lack of social cohesion and social controls is a significant factor in the production of deviant behavior.¹

Bell associated delinquency and crime with the attempts of underprivileged groups to gain status and to become integrated into the common society. He was thinking essentially of theft and the acquisition of material goods. He believed that the poorer the ethnic groups were, the more involved they were in crime. Thus, the rates of delinquency historically would rise and fall with the sequential waves of immigrants, who in turn would rise in the social hierarchy, being supplanted on the bottom rungs by succeeding ethnic groups.²

All the above-mentioned studies emphasise the etiological significance of "social disorganization" depicted in terms of poverty, neighbourhood deterioration, slums, and the disintegration of institutions. In his book The Shock-Up Generation, Salisbury suggests that it may not be so much a matter of "disorganization" and breakdown, as an absence of social organization in the first place. Of the high rate of delinquency and acting-out behavior in some of the new housing projects in New York, Salisbury remarks that these projects were, in their very nature, barren and devoid of meaningful institutional and cultural life. A feeling of community "belongingness" and collective participation are missing. Community leadership and responsibility are not present.³

One of Salisbury's main recommendations is for physical planning of the city to be co-ordinated with social planning, and that development of the kind in question be so designed as to include social services as an integral part of the community.


A fundamental question to which our study addresses itself is: What do the alternative theories of behavior mean for the determination of social policy? To the early Chicago ecologists it was often the deteriorating physical aspects of the environment, per se, which led to social disorganization. Relying on this limited appreciation of the influence of environment, legislators and administrators even today merely call for urban renewal and physical planning as the solution to problems of social living. It offers a good illustration of how social policy based on too limited a theoretical understanding fails to ameliorate the conditions which it is intended to control.

By this last comment we do not mean to cast retrospectively complacent aspersions on the early formulations of the Chicago sociologists. For while their initial focus concentrated on the "interstitial" zones of the city they later began to realize that it was the content and quality of social relationships within those "interstitial" areas that were the decisive influences upon behavior.

Although at first they (co-ordinated) behavior with the distribution of groups, artifacts and institutions in space, they subsequently became concerned with the processes which relate structure to function and to the dynamics of social change. Their descriptions of the operations underlying human interactions were among the earliest specifications of the idea of process in social theory, and they provided the field with such distinctly sociological concepts as mobility, segregation, centralization, accommodation, and competition.1

Social Dynamics of Gang Formation.

Perhaps the best example of this beginning movement towards a more dynamic sociology of delinquency is to be seen in Thrasher's compendious and classic study of 1,315 Chicago gangs.2 However, even at this stage, Thrasher was still


strongly influenced by the ecological viewpoint. Of the many gangs he studied, Thrasher found that those most liable to be the training schools for criminals were to be found in the "interstitial area": that is, in the areas fringing the cultural-business and industrial sections. Thrasher defined the actual or potential delinquent "gang" as being a "conflict group" in a socially disorganized neighbourhood. He postulated that gangs arose

... from the more or less spontaneous effort of boys to create a society for themselves in age spans and social areas where no others (societies) adequate to their needs exist.¹

Thrasher was nevertheless bridging the gap between the environmentalists on one side, and those who emphasized human interaction within the environment on the other side. His descriptions of the dynamics and differentials of gang formation and the activities and functions these served for their members, were significant documentary sources for developing "typologies" of gangs. The interpersonal dynamics of deviance became more apparent. The role of the delinquent gang as a vehicle for criminal activity began to emerge more clearly.

Thrasher defined some essential characteristics of the gang as follows:

The gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously and then integrated through conflict. It is characterized by ... meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict and planning. The result of this collective behavior is a development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local territory.²

From the versatility, so to speak, of these characteristics, it can be seen that every gang is unique, serving the special needs, history and problems of its members. The activities of the members were for the most part random in nature, denoting their ennui and instability of interests. The members sought

¹. Thrasher, op. cit., p. 510.
². Ibid., p. 57
escape from monotony in games, vandalism, commercialized recreation in the pool room, burlesque theatres and carnivals, or just by loafing a good deal of the time. Part of their ingroup ritual entailed the use of stimulants, smoking, alcohol.

In general, the relative spontaneity of the gang behavior...gave an opportunity to the boys' undirected energy for expression in the freest, the most spontaneous and elemental manner possible and at the same time intensified all the natural impulses by the process of cumulative stimulation.1

In the more structured gangs, the groups became an entity with a compelling force greater and different in quality and direction than would be inherent in the aggregate, as it were, of its individual members. Because the gang was a product of a disorganized social milieu and was a conflict group, it thrives on strife and warfare as a means of externalizing its conflict. Within the gang, members jockeyed with each other to release tension. But generally they would seek a "cause" which would mobilize their "togetherness" as a gang. This would result in inter-gang battles where each gang fought to maintain its play privileges, its property rights and the physical safety of its members. "Its status as a gang among gangs, as well as the neighbourhood and community, must also be maintained, usually through its prowess in a fight."2

Thrasher found that the gang in the Chicago of his period was largely a phenomenon of the poor immigrant community. Most of the children were American born, but most of the parents were foreign-born, primarily Polish, Italian and Irish. In line with Bell's thesis, it is interesting to note that the rates of delinquency for these particular ethnic groups have tended to decline with the curtailment of immigration in the last twenty five years and as the original groups have become interwoven with the larger American society. At the same time, the original "interstitial areas" still show the same high

1. Thrasher, op. cit., p. 78
2. Ibid., p. 174
delinquency rates; but these areas are now occupied by other racial and ethnic groups.

In contrast with those who assume that conflict and delinquency arise out of cultural conflict, Thrasher found that antagonism between gangs was generated along territorial lines rather than between ethnic groups. Where ethnicity and territory co-incided however, the conflicts were motivated from both sources of antagonism. Different ethnic gangs exhibited characteristic modes of adaptation and expressiveness. Some of the Old World patterns were transplanted to American soil as in the case of the Italians' criminal activities and the Chinese "tongs". Culturally these two were quite disparate. Where the Italian crime tended to be overt and easily given to violence, the Chinese tended to be covert and surreptitious. Yet the latter "not-so-visible" group has generic features of the "gang", according to Thrasher. It originates in conflict situations and is a symptom of disorganization in the Chinese-American community; it is an attempt to organize in defense of certain interests, which are often illegal in the American context. It subsequently involves a "professionalization" of behavior to protect or carry out illicit business.\(^1\) Irish gangs, as another example, had a reputation for pugnacity. This could be explained as their "learned" reaction to oppression, and was reinforced by the cultural stereotype.

Gangs typically were male - involved in adventurous activities generally associated with the male role. Thrasher does not explicitly ask why it is that females do not respond in anything like the same degree to community disorganization as do boys. However, he does indicate that the girls closely adhered to conventional morality and standards, and their conforming values and behavior were important in modifying the continued participation of males in gang activity.

Marriage is the most powerful and dominant social pattern for mature sex relations even in the disorganized regions of gangland.

Consequently it represents the ultimate undoing of most gangs with the exception, perhaps, of the distinctly criminal groups of the professional type.... For the gang boy, marriage usually means reincorporation into family groups and other social structures of work, play, and religion which family life as a rule brings with it.¹

The independent variable underpinning Thrasher's conceptual framework is the factor of the disorganized neighbourhood. He felt that the "run-down" and demoralized neighbourhood failed to provide organized and meaningful activities for adolescents. As a result, the delinquent gang became "naturally" organized, with the critical difference, however, that it was free from conventional controls. In this way it attained a subcultural style with its own distinctive mode of conduct, morale, solidarity, interdependency, and division of labour. Also, it was the learning ground for the determination of leadership roles. Because the gang lived and operated in the "no-man's-land" of the interstitial area, contact with the conventional larger world usually was experienced through outside "official" types of representatives, such as police, teachers, and government officials. These latter tended to stereotype the gang as delinquent, and thereby entrenched the self-image of ingroup identity. Thus the middle class goals of individual striving for attainment were rejected. The gang was a primary group, relatively small, with face-to-face contacts, and with its own controls over possible individual deviance.

Thrasher concluded that the "undirected" gang was the seed bed of future serious delinquency. Thus the implication for controlling the phenomenon of gang behavior was that if the activities of the gang in its fluid state could be directed into constructive channels, anti-social behavior would subsequently be avoided. Arising out of this insight, programs have been set up whereby detached street workers, using so-called indirect aggressive methods, reach out into the community to contact and engage the delinquent gangs. Once the

¹ Thrasher, op. cit., p. 242.
gangs, through their leaders, have accepted the helping presence and non-coercive intentions of the social worker, a process of constructive re-channeling of their behavior ensues.

We have already intimated that a major line of attack on delinquency has been community development and redevelopment in the fullest sense; that is, a balanced and integrated program of physical and social planning. The question may then be asked: should the planning be imposed from without, or should the people living in the disorganized neighbourhood be engaged in organizing themselves for improvement and better social relationships?

The continuing Chicago Area Project, beginning in the early 1930's, is one program whose aim is to bring some integration and organization back into the neighbourhood by utilizing local indigenous leadership to help mobilize the larger community. A major activity of this Project was the development of youth welfare organizations among the residents of the delinquency areas, thus "exploiting" the structure of the indigenous groupings to redirect delinquency.

If "social disorganization" is indeed the main etiological agent in delinquency, we are faced with the puzzling phenomenon that some individuals in a family become delinquent while others do not. Why some individuals on a slum street but not others? Why those from one ethnic group in a neighbourhood, but not those from another ethnic group sharing the same neighbourhood? Why boys decidedly more than girls? The reply (partial at least) to these questions is captured and summarized in Sutherland's theory of "differential association."

Sutherland's Theory of "Differential Association."

The importance of Sutherland's theory is that it does not deny that a given individual may have emotional problems, or low intelligence, or physical handicaps, or what have you.

Any of these conditions might predispose the individual to be suggestive to delinquent behavior as a solution to his problem. But in themselves they do not explain the actual delinquent behavior. Sutherland combined these "potential" emotional and genetic factors with the actual situational and environmental features, which together selectively elicit delinquency in patterned ways. Thus Sutherland's general theory of criminal behavior was an important step in integrating the psychological and sociological approaches. The main propositions of the theory are as follows.

1. Criminal behaviour is learned. It is not inherited. While a biological or psychological inadequacy may lead the individual to crime, he still has to learn how to execute the crime.

2. Criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.

3. The principal part of the learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups. Negatively, this means that the impersonal agencies of communication, such as movies and newspapers, play a relatively unimportant part in the genesis of criminal behaviour.

4. Learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime; (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes.

5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable. In some societies an individual is surrounded by persons who invariably define the legal codes as rules to be observed, while in others he is surrounded by persons whose definitions are favorable to the violation of the legal code. In our American society these definitions are almost always mixed, with the consequences that we have culture conflict in relation to the legal codes.

6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law... This is the principle of differential association. It refers to both criminal and anti-criminal associations and has to do with counteracting forces. When persons become criminal, they do so because of contacts with criminal patterns and also because of isolation.
from anti-criminal patterns. Any person inevitably assimilates the surrounding culture unless other patterns are in conflict....

7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity. "Priority is assumed to be important in the sense that lawful behavior developed in early childhood ... and also that delinquent behavior developed in early childhood may persist throughout life. "Intensity" ... has to do with such things as the prestige of the source of a criminal or anti-criminal pattern and with emotional reactions related to the associations.

8. The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.

9. While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since non-criminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values.1

Sutherland's theory of "differential association" interpreted individual delinquency as a concatenation of the individual's susceptibility to the differential content of association, his chances of association, and the effects of association. Thus we have arrived at a level of theory which embraces the previous explanations we have discussed. It takes into account the patterned distributions of delinquency and the quality of the delinquency as it is experienced from the delinquent's point of view. Moreover, the theory does not at all discount the concepts of "social disorganization." However, Sutherland did draw a new distinction. He did not dichotomize the disorganized criminal area and the socially organized non-criminal area. Rather, he saw a relative mixture of both organization and disorganization in all milieux and communities. It was the balance between the two which comprise the "differential group organization" in a given place. By extension, differential individual association was meshed with

1. Sutherland, op. cit., pp. 77-79.
differential group organization:

... differential group organization as an explanation of variation in crime rates is consistent with the differential association theory of the processes by which persons become criminals.¹

**Implications of Theory for Policy and Program.**

This advance in general theory has its obvious implications for the prevention, control and treatment of delinquency. It points to the conclusion that if the likelihood of association between delinquents is reduced by intervention of some sort, then the expression of delinquency will be reduced. This idea is put into practice at various stages and phases of the correctional process. At the juvenile court level, for example, the judge will assign the incipient delinquent to probation rather than subject him to the associations with other delinquents that would occur if he were sent to an institution. Furthermore, probation is sometimes given with the injunction and condition that the delinquent not associate with other known delinquents in the community. For those incarcerated, institutions are set up, theoretically that is, with specific rehabilitative intents in mind. These vary from those institutions which specialize in clinical treatment to those which emphasize vocational training. The choice of sentence for the individual offender will be based on a diagnosis of his condition, and on the corollary assessment of what he needs in order to reach an acceptable level of social adjustment. Hence, implicit in the legal and social processing of the delinquent for rehabilitation is the concept of selective association.

Where the institution is not itself highly specialized, the inmates will be segregated, by age, type of offence, and so on, so as to obviate "contaminating associations."

On a more basic level, perhaps the theory suggests that

¹. Sutherland, _op. cit._, p. 80.
if we are to contain the probability of differential associations leading to delinquency, we should detect those with personal-emotional and social problems and treat them at the incipient stages of deviance, before they feel the need to resolve their problems by group associations. At this stage, prevention and treatment can be viewed as being individual and psychological in nature.\(^1\) To the degree that the individual becomes delinquent as a consequence of his associations, the more difficult it is for psychological techniques to prove effective. The greater the social ramifications of delinquency, the more need is there for intervention to be directed at the relevant social unit that is the carrier of the behavior.

Theories of Social Structure, Anomie and Illegitimate Means.

Thus far we have been looking at our subject matter from the "inside", so to speak; as a role response of the delinquent to the pressure of his immediate neighbourhood, class and culture. We turn now, however, to a highly influential theory of deviance which takes as its point of reference the relationship of criminal activity to the total social structure. Moreover, it does not depict the delinquent's problems as a personally absolute experience brought about by essentially local circumstances. Instead, it sees the deprivation relative to the aspirations of those in a structurally significant group or class; and relative to the counterpart reference groups in other classes. Furthermore, these aspirations are not determined by the standards of the group itself, but have their source in the values, ideology and ethos of the total culture. According to this theory - as put forth by its leading exponent, Robert K. Merton - American culture tends to indoctrinate all groups within its ambit with high status aspirations, yet at the same time, fails to provide corre-

\(^1\). That is, in the sense that we do not have to "detach" the delinquent from a tenacious and powerful deviant subculture; not in the sense that we can only meet personal needs and solve personal problems on a one-by-one basis.
sponding opportunities for realizing these high status goals.  

There is a universal, pervasive ideology which has succeeded in inducing the great majority of North Americans to attach an inordinate value to achievement - in terms of mobility, status and money. Nearly everybody becomes motivated to succeed by "getting ahead." But in reality, the nature of the social system just does not provide enough opportunities to ensure success for all. And those opportunities which are available are not equitably distributed throughout the social structure, that is among the different classes and ethnic groups. Even though all are imbued with the same general aspirations to success, the "legitimate" means of achieving these ends are not open to all.

Within this frame of analysis, deviance in general and delinquency in particular are caused by a patterned response to this discrepancy between the cultural norms common to all and the social means (social structure) designed to facilitate the achievement of these values.

This dislocation between cultural values and institutional means results in what Merton, following Durkheim, calls "anomie." Anomie is a state in which the conventional social norms no longer serve to control or give direction to behavior. It is important to note here that anomie, or normlessness, is a "psychological" condition of mind in relation to a sociological state of affairs. In other words, the anomie occurs concurrently in both the situation and the individual. It has both a subjective and an objective side.

Merton contends that the class strata are not only differentially subject to this particular form of anomie, but are differentially liable to one or another type of response to it. In particular, he holds that the lower socio-economic


2. It might be timely and useful to point out that no definition of "anomie" that is wholly free from conceptual ambiguity has yet been devised. That does not mean, however, that it is devoid of use. Even a blunt knife can cut.

3. Merton, op. cit., p. 538
classes are more seriously exposed to the tensions associated with this discrepancy, and this is why they exhibit the greatest amount of deviant behavior. Merton identified five types of response, or "modes of individual adaptation to anomie":

(1) **Conformity.** This is the most wide-spread mode of social adaptation and integration. It is the main ballast keeping our society on an even keel. Individuals and groups feel at one with society when they pay allegiance to the cultural goals and have commensurate access to the institutional means.

(2) **Innovation.** This is a response by certain people exposed to the anomie. It involves a departure from the sanctioned means that is not technically legal but may become sub-culturally acceptable and thus achieve a conditional "legitimacy." For example, gambling as a way of striving for success is on the borderline between legitimacy and illegitimacy.

(3) **Ritualism.** This method of adaptation to anomie takes place when the cultural aspirations are abandoned but there remains a compulsive adherence to and compliance with the "institutional" norms. The former aspirant reaches a point where he gives up the struggle for success and lowers his level of aspirations. "Ritualism" helps maintain a co-ordinated social structure because it preserves the status quo.

(4) **Retreatism.** Anomie takes a decisive turn with retreatism because it is a rejection of both the cultural goals and the institutional means. The individual no longer tries to succeed, and what is more he does not "care". The state of anomie is such that conflict is eliminated in self-defence, and the individual becomes "asocialized." Psychotics, hobos and drug addicts fall into this category.

(5) **Rebellion.** Those who react with rebellion seek to overcome their dilemma by changing either the social structure or the cultural values or both. They are among the political radicals and social reformers of the day.

Appearing against the foregoing theoretical background, a recent book by Cloward and Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity*²,

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combines the strands of the theories we have discussed previously - social disorganization, cultural conflict, differential association, and the formation of delinquent subculture - and links them systematically to the social structure of contemporary North American urban life. The authors of this book offer a description and an analysis of three gang typologies - the criminal gang, the conflict gang and the retreatist gang. Once again they reiterate Merton's theory by describing delinquency, and particularly gang delinquency, as a function of the operations of the social system itself. The process begins when particular individuals, in neighbourhoods affected by anomie, begin (partly consciously and partly unconsciously) to perceive their condition. To solve their dilemma they come together to develop "illegitimate means" (i.e. delinquency), to achieve recognition and status among themselves. Thus it is that subcultural norms of delinquency are engendered. They are both a protest against the lack of opportunities, and a collective way of freeing its victims from the moral claims of the dominant society.

It is our view that the most significant step in the withdrawal of sentiments supporting legitimacy of conventional norms is the attribution of a cause of failure to the social order rather than to oneself, for the way in which a person explains his failure largely determines what he will do about it.¹

Coming together in gangs serves several purposes for "psychologically disenfranchised" individuals. It helps them find a solution to their adjustment problems with others rather than alone. The gang process serves to drain the reservoir of guilt that the individual would feel in denouncing the social order. The gang provides for a collective alternative to the unsuccessful attempt to meet the demands of conventional society.

In line with Merton's typologies of adjustment to anomie, Cloward and Ohlin describe three typical alternative responses of an essentially deviant character. It is here that they make

¹ Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit., p. 111.
a decisive addition to criminological theory. Their schema is developed in connection with the problem of how groups of alienated boys develop into different types of delinquent gangs. The answer they give is that the form of "illegitimacy" the gang chooses will depend upon the particular "means of illegitimacy" available in a given neighbourhood or community. Thus, criminal gangs form where

...an area has an age-graded criminal structure in which juvenile delinquents can become enmeshed, (and)...the norms governing adult criminal-role performance filter down, becoming significant principles in the life organization of the young.1

Conflict gangs develop where the young are "relatively deprived of both conventional and criminal opportunity", and where "social controls are weak."2 And finally, they contend that retreatist behavior (drug use, for example)"emerges among some lower-class adolescents because they have failed to find a place for themselves in criminal or conflict subcultures."3

The three subcultural patterns of behavior are different and are oriented towards the achievement of distinctive goals. However, they do have one feature in common: they represent a repudiation of the legitimacy of conventional norms in favour of norms and values which are apposite to the delinquents' situation.

To Cloward and Ohlin, it is the content and meaning of the delinquent behavior of the boys that provides the best viewpoint from which to understand and approach the problem. Thus they feel that previous etiological systems, such as those that focus on the problems of masculine identification, of transition from childhood to adulthood, of peer group associations, of family disorganization, and so forth, do not explain the types and content of delinquent behavior. To understand the latter, one must relate the behavior to specific features of the social structure. The authors' central premise is that

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2. Ibid., p. 172.
3. Ibid., p. 183.
delinquency is not a property of individuals or even of subcultures; it is a property of the social systems in which these individuals and groups are enmeshed. The focus for prevention programs, therefore, should be on the reorganization of slum communities in order to provide easier access to opportunities for success.

In an intelligent review of *Delinquency and Opportunity*, Jackson Toby suggests that the authors have adopted too limited and narrow a base for their analysis. He agrees that they have identified a major etiological sequence in the development of gang delinquency. But looking at the problem as a whole, he estimates that this form of juvenile delinquency would probably not constitute more than ten per cent of the total problem, if one were to take some simple measure like the number of cases handled by the courts.¹

This very modest estimate may perhaps mask the fact that, in certain specific areas, the phenomena of anomie and the withdrawal from legitimate norms in favour of illegitimate norms may be very much more important. The main point, we believe, is that the different types of delinquency occur with different frequencies and intensities in different areas, neighbourhoods and cities. The formulation and execution of a strategy of community action would have to be based, therefore, on just such a diagnosis of the "types" of delinquency to be found in a given place. It is the principle of using typologies, rather than the merits of any particular typology, which is at issue. For instance, there is a significant amount of evidence that the specific typology formulated by Cloward and Ohlin is particularly applicable to certain sections of New York City, where economic and social barriers in the way of certain ethnic and racial groups create a situation which would probably not have an exact parallel in a place like Vancouver.

The empirical evidence available to us at the present time leaves the question of the validity of the Cloward-Ohlin typology in an unresolved condition. One admirably meticulous study undertaken by Chein for the U.S. Public Health Service in New York City\(^1\) does corroborate that narcotics use tends to be concentrated in the more deprived, crowded and underprivileged sections of the city. Drug use was highest where income and education were lowest and where there was the greatest breakdown in family living. Further, Chein established that high rates of drug use were found in the high delinquency areas, but that there were areas of equally high delinquency rates where drug use was not high. Those areas that were high in delinquency but low in drug use were substantially less underprivileged. Chein also discovered that gross differences in environmental deprivation within the home did not appear to play a significant role in the etiology of drug use over-and-beyond their role as a factor in delinquency. Environmental factors that do play special roles in drug use would have to be along lines other than those that are associated with delinquency. Neighbourhoods which are high both in delinquency and drug rates are more deprived than areas which are equally high in delinquency but low in drug rates.

Thus the observations made in this setting substantiate a part of the Cloward-Ohlin theory. On the other hand, Chein found no connections between drug use and the formation of street gangs. He suggests that when the adolescent in the conflict gang grows up he no longer needs the support of the group. It is those who cannot operate alone, who need the sense of belonging to a wholly sympathetic group, who eventually become drug users. Hence according to Chein, it is the weak personality structures of delinquents and the fact that most of them come from disturbed family backgrounds which predispose them to drug use. On this point, consequently, the data seem to be in conflict with the Cloward-Ohlin theory.

But in general outline, the observations are that drug use and delinquency are carried out in a social and physical context which plays an important part in determining the likelihood of their occurrence and the specific forms they will take.¹

In Canada it is believed that half the known drug addicts of the country live and operate within the ambit of the drug user's culture in Vancouver. The indication therefore is (in part, at least), that in order to be near the organized supply and distribution system for illicit drugs, addicts gravitate to this center. In other words, it may not be so much a matter of a neighbourhood "compelling" its residents to drug use or delinquency, but of drug users and delinquents coming together in certain areas of the city to facilitate their mode of life.

Equally, it is possible that both of these influences are at work. For example, a Vancouver newspaper article² quotes a twenty eight year old drug addict of eleven years standing, telling the court upon sentence that he actually saw an entire neighbourhood, all from "good families", become "hooked" on narcotics. This addict makes the plea that social workers should ignore the known addicts and concentrate upon preventing young people from being exposed to the drugs.

Mobilization for Youth, Inc., a large co-ordinating organization commanding community-wide professional personnel and resources, and addressing itself to the larger dimensions of juvenile delinquency in New York City, has attempted to test the Cloward-Ohlin theory on an extensive scale. The team first conducted an intensive survey in a delimited high delinquency area of the East Side. After careful evaluation of the survey data it was concluded that it was indeed the community's perception of meagre and restricted opportunities

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¹. Chein, op. cit., pp. 50-60.
². The Vancouver Sun, Thursday, November 22, 1962, p. 14.
which seemed to be the major factor in the development of delinquency. "Mobilization" then planned a concerted, comprehensive, integrated program to deal with the problem. This meant securing the cooperation of schools, employers, recreation centres, police, courts, and so on. Special attention was given to those returning to the community from institutions. Various devices for evaluating the results have been built into the program. In short, this is a good example of a relatively large scale attempt to integrate theory and practice at the community organization level. It will be interesting to see what the outcome is.

Theory of Status Conflicts.

There is an obvious kinship between the ideas we have just been examining and the widely-discussed theories of Albert Cohen. There are enough distinctive and novel features to Cohen's work, however, to warrant our giving it separate attention.¹

Cohen begins by indicating his agreement with the consensual view that juvenile delinquency is primarily a lower class, male, adolescent manifestation that expresses itself in a subculturally structured fashion in certain neighbourhoods of cities. But from there he departs company with the crowd. He disputes the "social disorganization" theory. He does not believe that the "interstitial areas" are really lacking in organization. Perhaps formal institution are not as evident, but their absence is more than made up for by informal associations; and there is an awareness, interpenetration and involvement of people in each other's lives that makes for a genuine sense of community. Secondly, Cohen argues that even if formal controls are not sufficient to suppress delinquency, the theory of disorganization does not account for the origin of the impulse to deviance and the peculiar content and spirit of the delinquent subculture.²

² Ibid., p. 33.
Similarly, Cohen discounts the "culture conflict" theory, which depicts the confused adolescent as being subjected to a welter of differing cultural codes and values, and ending up by forming his own delinquent culture. Cohen concedes that some cultural and ethnic groups have a more lenient attitude to violation of the law than others, and that this might cause some confusion to boys growing up in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, he is not convinced that any of these cultural groups actually condone the more obvious, willfully destructive behavior of delinquents. Even if there were no moral consensus in the community, why would the boys choose to express their confusion in a particular delinquent manner?

Merton's theory of "illicit means," which underlies the Cloward-Ohlin approach, would perhaps explain delinquent gangs whose structure and function revolved around professional theft. But Cohen's observation is that most gangs are not motivated to acquire material goods per se, and when they do, show little respect for them. * What Cohen fails to take into account, however, is that it is not the material rewards of success that are at stake for the underprivileged, but the recognition and status that come from being successful in a competitive social system. The subcultural "purpose" is to create an alternative system of statuses and self-recognition among those unsuccessful in the larger social struggle.

Putting this objection in abeyance, however, it must be

*Here we have to point out that Delinquency and Opportunity was published several years after Cohen's book. In the former book it is contended that the form and content the delinquent gang assumes will depend upon the structure of illegitimate means available in the particular community. Hence the typologies of "theft", "conflict" and "retreatist" gangs. Furthermore, Cloward and Ohlin agree that delinquency behavior is becoming increasingly violent. But they ascribe this to changes in slum organization. With the decline of the urban political machine and more stringent social legislation to combat organized crime, the traditional routes to stable criminal roles have been closed off. Delinquency is no longer a way of acquiring skills and attitudes for participation in the adult criminal world. Since illegal channels of social ascent are blocked, the pressure towards conflict forms of behavior mounts.
admitted that Cohen's emphasis on the non-acquisitive nature of much delinquent behavior brings out many points of interest. For example, he goes on to describe gang behavior as being "non-utilitarian," "malicious" and "negativistic" - thus confirming a widespread impression of the seemingly "purposeless" and random nature of delinquent behavior. Why then do boys become members of gangs, to behave in this odd fashion? Cohen advances the hypothesis that these boys all have in common a characteristic status dilemma. In going to school, the neighbourhood house, and the other institutions in the community which are established and staffed by middle-class people, working-class boys are expected to aspire, behave and succeed in middle-class ways. Their abilities and conduct are judged by middle-class standards. It is made known to them, and they perceive correctly, that if they are to compete successfully with their peers in the approved middle-class ways, they will have to change their "natural" habits, and develop new attitudes and skills, such as postponement of immediate gratification, the cultivation of patience, self-control, the inhibition of spontaneity, and so on.

The dilemma occurs because the boy from the lower-class has not been trained, conditioned, taught in his family and in his social environment to prize these values or acquire these disciplines. On the contrary, he has been brought up to behave according to their opposites - to value spontaneity, living for the day, sharing with the group, rather than self-containment, competitiveness, and the like. Moreover, in his family training the lower class boy has not been equipped with the skills he would need to compete with the middle-class boy. Thus he is faced with a loss of relative status and a critical adjustment problem. His "solution" is to join with boys suffering from similar problems in delinquent gangs which repudiate the values of the middle class. The boy now attains status in the gang, which thus offers a collective solution to the problem. This motivational background to the gang explains its attack upon everything that symbolizes middle-class order and propriety; hence the attacks upon persons
and property.

The gang dissociates itself from the mainstream of society; it becomes an "autonomous" group. Not only does the identification with the gang as a unit make it possible for the individual to resist regulation from the school and other community agencies, but from the home and family as well, "...and the breakdown of family controls is as much a casualty as a cause of gang membership."  

Cohen's concept of a status dilemma yields an interesting explanation of why males outnumber females in delinquency. The lower class girl does not identify with middle-class standards to the degree that the boy does. This is because her "success" lies primarily in the objective of establishing satisfactory relationships with males. The male "role" expectation of success for either the lower or the middle class is in assertive "performance" of some kind; whereas the female role of success is essentially to be "feminine", that is dependent upon the male. Therefore, if the female does have a status problem, it is likely to be different from that of the male, revolving around her identity as a "female." The fact that the typical female delinquency involves a sexual offence, would tie in with this part of the theory.

Some suggestive ideas about middle-class delinquency are put forward by Cohen, in line with certain earlier formulations of Talcott Parsons. With the extensive structural changes that have occurred in recent times in social life, our kinship system has been pared down to the elementary forms of the isolated nuclear family. The male head of such a household is away at work much of the time. Consequently child-rearing has come more and more under the domain of the mother. Supplementing this trend, teaching in the public schools is dominated by female teachers. As a result, the middle class boy has become relatively isolated from male role models. He is exposed to female values, modes of thought and styles of conduct. He feels

1. Cohen, op. cit., p. 31
oppressed by the conflict between his search for masculinity and the pervasively feminine atmosphere. In reaction, he "acts-out" aggressively to assert a masculinity about which he feels fundamentally skeptical.

In effect, the adjustment problems of the middle class boy are probably quite different from those of the lower class boy; yet their observable manifestations may be the same. In terms of treatment, therefore, it would be important to separate and distinguish between the specialized dynamics of middle class and lower class delinquent behavior.

What are the implications of Cohen's theory for social policy? Cohen himself asks this question, but he is the first to caution against the assumption that there is a facile and direct connection between knowledge of causes and knowing what to do about a problem. For instance, with regard to his own theory, he asks:

Can we enable the working class male to compete more effectively for status in a largely middle class world, or, if we want to cut into the web of causation at another point, how can we change the norms of the middle class world so that his working class characteristics do not relegate him to an inferior status?" 1

Do we reduce competition in the schools? Do we reduce standards of conduct to a common denominator? Do we segregate working class males into vocational and technical schools at an early age? The alternative choices are not easy to make. The solution of some aspects of a given problem can create additional problems, perhaps of greater magnitude. What happens to creativity in the individual, and in the society at large with standardized, mass education?

The formulation of policy is a matter of choosing among alternatives, and our choice must include not only technical considerations but the balancing of social values. 2

We should note before passing on that there is an important

2. Loc. cit.
distinction to be made between Cohen's conception of "lack of opportunity" and that of Merton, Cloward and Ohlin. To the former, the limitations to improvement partly reside in the lower class per se, as they compare themselves to the middle class, rather than in any impediments or barriers placed in their way. To the latter, the lack of opportunities are real barriers placed in the way of intrinsic potential ability. This may take the form of discrimination against the Negro or other minority groups, for instance. When we speak of strategic approaches to delinquency these two types of analysis would have to be carefully differentiated.

The Theory of Basic Social Class Differences.

To complicate matters further, a third possibility is to be found in a theory put forward by Miller. Miller does not believe that the lower class characteristics of delinquency are a response to conflicts with middle class values or with objective barriers. Rather, he sees delinquency as being a built-in feature of the lower socio-economic class culture. Delinquency is not either implicitly or explicitly anti-authoritative or anti-conventional. It is ingrained, customary and stereotyped behavior, expressive of distinctive traditions and values which have a compelling influence on certain social groups. This mode of life is not necessarily a breakdown of middle class ways; it exists in its own right and is "self-referent." The class in question is characterized by its engagement in unskilled occupations, a grammar and language of its own, involvement in activities which are seen as illegal by others but not by its own members, and a granting of the

1. We doubt, though, that Cohen's theories would bear the interpretation that the status predicaments of delinquent boys are imaginary. It is rather a matter of what might be termed "heuristic emphasis." In fact, "subjective" and "objective" status frustrations are almost certainly highly correlated.

fact that the peer group supersedes the family as a primary reference group. Miller distinguishes three broad categories of youngsters in the lower class. (1) Some young people, through family and other influences, are motivated to change their social status and have the personal equipment to effect this change. (2) Some aspire to change but lack the necessary training and capacities. (3) Some have no realistic aspirations to effect any significant change in their social status. The second two groups traditionally come into contact with social agencies.¹

The Multi-Problem Family Approach.

In so far as delinquency is concerned, it follows that the social work approach used for each of these categories would have to take on a specialized character. In regard to the first two categories, historically and traditionally each of the separate and various welfare agencies has dealt either with the individual as a \textit{delinquent}, or with some special aspect of his needs, economic, medical, recreational, social or otherwise. It has been a rare exception when an agency or a social worker has treated the \textit{total person} for all of his social problems requiring help, let alone treated him in the context of his family and cultural environment. The work of Bradley Buell et al. (Community Research Associates) and the St. Paul Study² of multi-problem families has recently confirmed the observation that welfare agencies are generally not so much \textit{problem-oriented} as they are \textit{service-directed}. Buell has further suggested that, because of this, the focus of activity has usually been on the fragmentary problems of the individual abstracted from his total situation. Thereby social work was really treating the symptoms of delinquent behavior, instead

¹ Miller, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 220-236  
of attacking the problem at its essential source, namely the family, where the pathological processes take root, (wherever else it may be that they originate).

A central discovery of these studies was that approximately six per cent of all the families in large urban communities are responsible for about fifty per cent of all welfare expenditures and efforts. Extending the methodology of this St, Paul Study, a specialized study of "disordered behavior" was made in the county of San Mateo in California, beginning in 1954. The total community was canvassed to describe and plot the form and shape of disordered behavior. The epidemiological characteristics of volume, spread, distribution and intensity were plotted to show that there were certain patterns of concentration. It was found that forty per cent of the community's known total cases of disordered behavior (mental illness, crime and delinquency, divorce and separation) were linked to multi-problem families. Furthermore, there was a high concentration of the total problem in recidivist families. A small group of recidivist families, 1.7 per cent of the population, accounted for forty per cent of all behavioral episodes officially dealt with.

The nucleus of the theory underlying the multi-problem approach is that the family is the key target of treatment. It is the family which generates the etiology of delinquency. The family is the most meaningful social unit of the individual's life. Therefore it is towards the total family that rehabilitation should be directed.

Those who espouse the Community Research Associates' approach claim that one cannot predict where and when malfunctioning in the family will occur. Effective prevention programs cannot be designed before the incipient stages of pathology have become manifest. Only at the point where the

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2. Ibid., p. 169
disordered behavior becomes officially known can a family-directed approach (including aggressive reaching out) prevent and control the spread and intensity of the behavior in the family.

Despite the fact that several C.R.A.-type studies have shown that multi-problem families tend to cluster in certain concentrated areas, its supporters seem to attach little or no importance to community development and social policy as weapons in the arsenal of prevention programs. In their own way, they are equally guilty of the fragmentary approach to social problems.

**Social Characterology.**

Most of the theories we have looked at contend that there are pressures in the social structure which elicit a socio-cultural response in the form of deviance; and that the deviance becomes organized and persistent as it develops into a subculture. In essence, these theories state that the nature of the social system affects social relations, self-concept, and personal behavior, thus producing deviance. The theory we come to now states that changes in the social structure actually generate distinctive personality types, which in turn are characteristically disposed to deviance. It is in this context that Louis Jablonsky\(^1\) asserts that "... a new type of criminal is at large." This is the sociopath. The sociopath is without conscience (superego); he is highly egocentric and impulsive, a pathological liar and manipulator. He engages in senseless violence "for the kick of it." Or, when his impulsiveness cannot be given expression, he resorts to violent outbursts for ephemeral goals and momentary satisfactions.

If we are to give credence to the arguments Riesman offers in the *Lonely Crowd*\(^2\), there has been a shift in the dominant

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characterology of our society from the "tradition-directed" and "inner-directed" to that of the "other-directed" man. In parallel fashion there has been a change in the characterology of the criminal mind. In former days, the criminal took pride in his "professional self", developing his skills as a craft, having a sense of belonging in the underworld, as well as a systematic if ambivalent connection with the world of the police and the courts. His standards of conduct, status and competence were determined by his role in this network of relationships. Moreover, young criminals on the way up were apprentices and had a tradition to follow in identifying with their older and experienced colleagues.

Because society is no longer so stable and consistently organized over long periods of time, it continually demands shifts in relationships and allegiances. In order for the individual to achieve status today he has to develop the ability to adapt to new situations quickly. Conscience and morality become permeable and elastic and do not incorporate fixed values. In this process of shifting relationships and shifting values, internalized controls and social responsibility become thin. Hence, the noted increase in the number of character disorders and sociopaths.

From hard and long experience it is known that most forms of current psychiatric therapy have little effect on the sociopath. In recent years, however, the ideas associated with Jones' "therapeutic community" have lightened this otherwise gloomy picture. Under this plan, sociopaths are brought together in groups and allowed to take the initiative in organizing themselves. The staff do not try to impose their values or rules upon them. Forced to endure each other in community living, the group as a whole begins to exert collective pressure upon the individual to exercise responsibility for himself and towards the group. Although Jones's work has perhaps been cried up too much, it obviously has the richest implications for the re-organization of prison life in general.

Summary, and Points of Rapprochement with Psychiatric Theory.

We have presented an number (and by no means all) of sociological "typologies" and theories of juvenile delinquency: the gang in the disorganized urban area; "differential association" leading to a delinquent sub-culture; The structurally oriented theories of "illegitimate means"; the culture conflict theories; class conflict theories; masculine and other role conflict theories; the multi-problem family theory; and the social structure and characterological theory.

As we have gone along we have tried to bring out some of the implications of these theories for the strategy of the prevention, control and treatment of delinquency. In the following chapter some of the current programs will be described; the reader is asked to place them in his mind's eye against the background of theory presented in this and the preceding chapters.

If the various theories have seemed to be presented as distinct prototypes, or separately exclusive "models" for explaining delinquency, this has been both intentional and unintentional. On the one hand, it is simply convenient to separate the strands of what in effect probably is a complicated, interwoven problem of many interpenetrating factors. The distinct theories serve as points of orientation, the better to discipline our observation of the data of delinquency. Secondly, new theory is sometimes introduced as something novel and unique by its original author; and this is sometimes reflected in the literature as a greater interest in the theory than in the live subject matter it is supposed to describe. Thirdly, there is some justification for looking at the theories as entities in their own right: the very essence of sociological theory and analysis is that there are structures, patterns and predictable variables governing our society, so that distinct "typologies" can be detected.

On the other hand, on our part, we have tried to link the theories, to show their continuities and discontinuities. Just as real life is dynamic - so, no doubt is there considerable
overlapping in the kinds of behavior described in the theories. Acknowledgement of this means that we have to be flexible and eclectic in the absence of any clear-cut or all-embracing answers.

However, we should not be dismayed by the variety and profusion of theories. If we have learned anything from the multiplicity of theories, perhaps it is to distinguish between "causes" and "factors." Thus, a constellation of "factors" may contribute to a visible syndrome for one "type" of delinquency; and another constellation of factors might constitute yet another syndrome of another "type" of delinquency. The important contribution that can be made by this kind of specific diagnosis, as it does in medicine, is that it will lead to correspondingly specific and relevant prophylaxis and treatment of the different delinquency entities.

The delinquent is an individual personality in a social role. How does his uniqueness as an individual tie in with his situation - as a member of a class, a culture and a society - to make him a delinquent? From our theoretical viewpoint, at what junctures do the psychiatric and sociological components of delinquency come together? Can the two be conciliated, and can we divide the work of delinquency treatment efficiently between them? What are the implications for programming and social policy?

Perhaps the clearest demarcation between the psychiatric and sociological approaches, for purposes of treatment, lies in detecting incipient and latent delinquency before it becomes entrenched as a "social role." We are suggesting that on the first side of this demarcating line, psychology and psychiatry have a greater part to play in modifying the personal tensions and needs which give rise to delinquency before they develop beyond a certain point into "social pathology."

The Gluecks, who for many years have been working with a multi-factorial approach, trying to isolate the crucial variables in delinquency, concede that there are no easy answers.  

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There are many levels of approach because there are many levels and stages of development of delinquency. The important thing is that these various levels of approach should be co-ordinated. They must be co-ordinated, both in a quantitative and a qualitative sense, in a way which will be commensurate with the existing and shifting patterns of delinquency in the community - which alone is the relevant unit for the needed service. This requires constant assessment and evaluation of the typologies, distribution and patterns of delinquency. Moreover, control and treatment of delinquency must be of uniformly high standards in all phases of the correctional process. Understanding and efficiency in one phase and failure in another defeats the comprehensive solution of the problem. To come to terms with delinquency we need to know its roots, breeding-ground, culture, amenability to treatment, and its potential for re-direction.

Of course an imaginative, co-ordinated and integrated program requires ongoing research: research to elucidate and assimilate the underlying theory; and research to match imaginative programs to intelligent theory.
CHAPTER V

EMERGING STRATEGIES IN THE CONTROL OF DELINQUENCY

1. Prediction of Delinquency.

Prediction of delinquency is a crucial factor in prevention, treatment and control. It is logically linked with theoretical assumptions. Prediction implies knowledge of causation and, conversely, theories of causation can only be tested by formulating hypotheses which themselves are actually a form of prediction.

To us, prevention means forestalling the occurrence of delinquency. In this connection the importance of prediction is obvious. It would not be possible to plan treatment facilities, environmental changes or educational programs designed to change community attitudes, with the broad aim of removing conditions which give rise to delinquency, without being able to predict where, how and why they are likely to arise.

As we shall probably never be able to prevent the occurrence of delinquency completely, treatment and control will remain necessary, and they both depend on the knowledge of causation. The intensity and location of treatment efforts also depend on prediction. Estimates of needed facilities, personnel, finances, both current and future, are more likely to meet the need if they are based on some predictive measures.

The value of early treatment, particularly recognized in medicine, has parallel importance here. There is fairly general agreement that the foundations of personality are laid in the early years of life. The basis for this is both cultural and biological. The small child in our family system is exposed to a narrow range of influences, each of which consequently has greater intensity and impact. He is helpless physically and all the more dependent on the immediate family. Furthermore, his maximum neurological development (differen-
tiation of neuronal pathways) takes place between birth and six years of age.\(^1\) Thereafter, very little differentiation takes place until age twenty five. This means that the early psychological foundations have a firm basis in physical development. During the latency stage, co-ordination and development of skills take place. The earlier patterns are elaborated and confirmed. It is a period of growth and learning, but without gross changes such as occur in early infancy or later in adolescence. Although personality trends become obvious at this time, they are still tenuous and amenable to considerable modification.

There are other, more circumstantial considerations which make this an important time. At this stage the child enters school where he is easily accessible for the purpose of assessment. At the same time his contacts with the outside world are geographically fairly circumscribed so that he is more easily available for both observation and treatment. Contact with him is continuous, frequent and close.

The major example of an effort to arrive at a set of prediction criteria is that of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck.\(^2\)

They have investigated a number of factors such as parental background, present home environment and the delinquent's physical attributes: health, intelligence, bodily structure. Out of the multitude of data they extracted what appeared the most significant factors: the affection of the parents, discipline by the father, supervision by the mother and cohesiveness of the family group.

Hathaway and Monachesi\(^3\) conducted an extensive study with the use of MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory).

The essence of this series of tests is arrival at a personality profile.

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2. Glueck, S. and E., Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950. (This is only one of the better known of many such studies by the Gluecks).
Hathaway's major conclusion appears to be that prediction regarding children unlikely to become delinquent is more promising, a fact which should deter efforts at stamping out all misbehavior among children and adolescents since it is not always significant. This hopeful note has the sound of reassurance which has led many parents to inaction on the assumption that misbehavior is but a passing stage of growth, only to find later that they engaged in wishful thinking, while their optimism was kept alive by the element of truth present in their belief.

The New York City Youth Board attempted an experiment to validate the Glueck Prediction Scale. Their study lasted from November, 1952 to December, 1956. The children tested were five and a half to six and a half years old at the time and nine and a half to ten and a half years old at the time results were analysed. This is their conclusion:

The findings at this point reveal that the majority of the boys are behaving in accordance with the prediction made when they entered school. The majority of those who were rated with a low probability of becoming delinquent are currently presenting no serious community problem. The majority of those who are already showing delinquent or pre-delinquent tendencies were assigned a high probability of becoming delinquent.¹

Since the highest incidence of delinquency occurs at twelve to thirteen years of age, they expected that results might be further confirmed by the time these children reach that age.

Working from the same prediction scale, Robert G. Andry² formed a number of hypotheses which he proceeded to test. He found that basically there were no material differences in infant training between delinquents and non-delinquents but that the prime differentiating feature, as far as parental role playing was concerned, was the delinquents' perception of their fathers' role as being negative. Andry suggests that this

tends to call into question the absolute supremacy of the mother's role in the theoretical formulations of many psychoanalytically oriented writers. In other words, Gluecks' "discipline by the father," and all that this involves in a reciprocal relationship, was weighted more heavily than other criteria as a contributing factor in delinquency.

The limitations of the prediction techniques are obvious immediately one perceives that they differentiate delinquents and non-delinquents by relative rather than categorical criteria. The terms of the generalizations offered are almost always: "majority," "by and large," "on the whole." More specific examples are:

... over half the maternal families of delinquents contained one or more criminalistic members, as contrasted with a third of non-delinquents.

... six out of ten of the homes of delinquents as compared with three out of ten of non-delinquents had been broken by separation, divorce, death, or prolonged absence of one of the parents.1

This indication that undesirable influences operate in the lives of non-delinquents as well, forces the conclusion that they have unequal impact on the individual and that it is their interplay rather than their presence or absence which determines the outcome. The estimate of the impact is further complicated by the fact that some of these influences might later undergo great changes or become completely inoperative.

Some specific difficulties were encountered by the Youth Board during the gathering of data. Many mothers, in providing information, found it hard to focus on the child in question and tended to offer data pertaining to the total family situation. This was especially so with the more "limited" parents. Protection of the child, of the father substitute or step-father, or of family interrelationships exerted even more subtle influences.

Another study\(^1\), utilizing a combination of the Gluecks' and MMPI predictive criteria, found that teachers were apprehensive about "branding" the child. His misbehavior also had personal significance to them in terms of their own competence in dealing with him. These feelings had to be worked through before cooperation was assured.

Then again, the reliability of prediction itself was found greater than the reliability of reasons given for the prediction. This points to a possible existence of additional factors or to such an interplay of factors as could only be determined on a preconscious, intuitive level. Both these conditions could be partially eliminated by clinical acumen of a high order.

A point also to be considered is the extent to which prediction might lead to the ascription of deviant role to the child in question, and create anxiety which in itself can be responsible for acting-out behavior or other "abnormal" patterns of adjustment to this additional stress. The question of role expectation has been a matter of concern in ascribing delinquent status to boys who appear in court for the first time. The impact of this on the boy's image of himself as well as on the attitudes of relatives, neighbours, teachers and employers, and the consequent structuring of opportunities for normal development and behavior, might be the turning point in his career. It is possible that danger exists for the "problem" child" as well. For that matter, the exposure to the subculture of clinics and the like can, for many, obliterate the vision of other solutions. In the field of mental health it has made many a psychiatric patient a chronic case. To what extent this would be significant for a child who, after all, has much more potential for growth and change, cannot easily be estimated.

Delinquency is only one of several solutions to stress. When we consider that besides children who act-out there are

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children who are neurotic or even psychotic and that a withdrawn child is just as disturbed, we are getting closer and closer to the conclusion that prediction of delinquency is only one small part of the general problem of mental hygiene. Extensive mental hygiene screening is, after all, one of the long-standing goals of medicine. It seems to us, therefore, that much of the responsibility belongs in that quarter. Conceivably, a system of mental health prediction, which would include all children, would at least partially eliminate the disadvantages inherent in singling out the potentially delinquent child only. In addition, it would focus on the family at a time when modification of the home environment might have significance for prevention.

We must admit that the answer is not simple. On the one hand we desperately need to be able to predict; on the other, we suspect that prediction may have its own undesirable consequences and limitations. However, it seems to us that it is better to predict even a small percentage than none at all, and better to be prepared than surprised. Perhaps prediction can be only a watchful readiness for intervention while its validity is periodically assessed, a sort of on-going research project of a longitudinal character, and a foundation for the development of theory. Even as such it is of inestimable value.

2. Prevention.

The logical sequence to prediction is prevention. In many cities action has been taken in this direction. It has taken various forms, depending on which factors were emphasized: personality growth, environment, or amelioration of conditions after onset of delinquency (prevention of recurrence).

The pioneering effort in the environmental approach was the Chicago Area Project, based on the findings of Clifford Shaw and others that delinquency was most wide-spread in the deteriorated areas of the city.\(^1\) On the assumption that change

\(^1\) Shaw, C., *Delinquency Areas*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.
can be brought about only when desired by the community, outside leadership was kept to a minimum and the principle of self-help utilized whenever possible. Emphasis in mobilizing the community was put on recreational facilities, participation in neighbourhood matters - in short, on community organization. The results could not be measured accurately, but some findings were significant. The residents of low income areas proved capable of organizing working groups which were stable, they administered and financed their own programs, and they undoubtedly possessed leadership ability.

Among efforts to improve the environment we may also consider re-organization of school services to accommodate the less able, housing and slum clearance projects, and all income maintenance programs such as public assistance. These are familiar to everyone. (We will refer to them again in Chapter VI.)

An intermediate step between modification of the environment and the rendering of direct services has been provision of recreational facilities to channel the energies of delinquent children. Studies of this approach were carried out by Shanas and Dunning in 1938-39 in Chicago, by Thrasher in New York in 1927-31 and Ellery Reed in 1942 in Cincinnati. Shanas found that more non-delinquents than delinquents used the recreational facilities and both groups tended to be under fourteen years of age. Thrasher concluded that Boys' Clubs performed an essential function in crime prevention and should be extended but that poor neighbourhood environment offset some of the advantages.

The Gluecks' findings (dubious though some critics think them to be) that delinquents are generally built more "symmetrically" and are frequently of superior physique, particularly suitable for action, may be taken as a clue that recreational facilities for such boys should be designed so as to exploit these physical qualities. The fact, on the other hand, that these characteristics occur frequently enough in

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the general population indicates wide usefulness of such special activities or sports. This ought to gladden the hearts of all those who bemoan the cost of services for delinquent youth.

Under the heading of direct preventive services, two main approaches have been tried and evaluated: long term counselling and street clubs. Both of these have applied the principle of "reaching out"; that is, they did not depend on referrals but instead took initiative in stimulating participation on the presumption that the need was there even though it was not overtly expressed.

In the long-term counselling program, known as the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, the approach was on the individual basis with emphasis on "friendly" rather than "professional relationship." No major environmental changes in the community were attempted. The "friendly" visitors did, however, make referrals to other agencies for specific treatment, provided tutorial help in school work, and attended to matters of health.

There is no conclusive evidence to show that this method is particularly effective. The report\(^1\) contains a fairly extensive evaluation, but because of the tremendous number of variables which were involved in the program, it would take literally a book to enumerate faults and difficulties. The name "long-term counselling" refers to its length only and has nothing to do with intensity or thoroughness. The method approximated casework only in its intent. It is a wonder that any conclusions could be reached at all. These were that good results are likely to occur when:

1. the emotional maladjustment in the home and in the boy is not too extreme
2. the boy and, (preferably), his parents desire help with the problem
3. the counsellor's services are consistently and skillfully related to the source of the difficulty.\(^2\)

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1. Powers and Witmer, op. cit.
2. Ibid., p. 546.
It would not be absurd to say that these conclusions could probably have been arrived at on purely theoretical grounds, at a great saving of time and effort.

An attempt to "reach" groups rather than individuals, a project of the Council of Social and Athletic Clubs of New York (better known as the Street Club Project); was an outgrowth of the "area approach" (pioneered by the Chicago Area Project in 1940) and of similar efforts in other cities. In the "area approach" workers were "detached" from the regular agency program, though their formal affiliation remained to their respective agencies. The Council of Social and Athletic Clubs was, however, specifically programmed and geared to the groups they planned to serve.

The goals of this program were reduction of anti-social behavior (particularly street fighting), friendlier relations with other street gangs, and, whenever possible, modification of individual responses to various life situations.

The program's basic assumptions were that membership in natural groups (or gangs) is a part of growing-up, that environmental conditions produce anti-social behavior but repressive measures do not induce changes in it, that members of a gang could be reached and would respond to sympathy, affection and understanding when approached on their own level, and that the positive relationship thus established would serve as a catalyst in modifying anti-social attitudes.¹

The experiment began in two city areas with eleven carefully selected and well supervised workers, and progressed to becoming an ongoing program with nearly a hundred workers attached to the most troublesome fighting gangs in New York. The workers, whenever necessary, co-operated with and assisted law enforcement agencies. Although the main goal was to "work-through" conflict situations, the project aimed at integrating its services on inter-agency and community levels.

Some of the criticisms levelled at the projects were that

¹ New York City Youth Board, Reaching the Fighting Gang, New York City Youth Board, New York, 1960.
it in fact increased conflict since gangs competed for workers. It is easy to imagine that since workers were assigned to the most troublesome groups, increased violence would bring the service to a gang hitherto excluded. The amazing thing, and one that validates the agency's assumption of these groups' "reachability," is that they did compete. The agency also worked on the assumption that street club work must be applied on a "saturation" basis, and endeavoured to meet any arising needs as speedily as possible. The extension of the program from two areas and eleven workers to ten areas and nearly one hundred workers over a period of nine years provides some measure of how well this principle was put into effect.

The "street club" workers use both groupwork and casework methods. The latter are applied as the situation warrants rather than in any scheduled way. They concentrate on the symptom and not the cause, having observed that the delinquent youth's sense of time rarely includes much more than the present. (This is consistent with the point we made in Chapter III about impulsivity). The peculiar configuration of psychological and physical forces at puberty and adolescence makes an attack on symptoms much more logical. This does not negate the importance of causes. The New York City Youth Board (the parent agency of the Council) takes them into account and works towards unity and co-operation between all services and communities within the city. The hierarchy of services of the N.Y.C.Y.B. is paralleled by that of its personnel, from the Mayor of New York to the indigenous local leaders. They are involved in the integration and co-ordination of total services for multi-problem families (which comprise less than one percent of the city's family population yet account for seventy-five percent of its juvenile delinquency), in groupwork and recreation, job-finding and rehabilitation, interpretation and guidance for religious groups, work with changing neighbourhoods whose populations are shifting, with volunteer organizations, in co-ordination of protective and correctional services, work-camps for teenagers, work with landlords and tenants to prevent neighbourhood deterioration, in maintaining
close relations with schools, and, finally, in continuing with research to evaluate existing efforts, to experiment and to plan.

Both the Cambridge-Somerville Study and the Youth Board found "reaching out" productive. There is no great mystery involved in this approach and its soundness is demonstrated daily in social work practice. The lack of knowledge of resources, the doubts, hopes and fears associated with facing a problem, can often be dispersed only by intervention from outside. Nor does inaction imply unwillingness to accept help, but rather the impaired ability to ask for it.

The Youth Board's report published on the tenth anniversary of its existence\(^1\) showed a significant drop in delinquency in the areas served by the Board from a rate that was above average for the city, to one that was below it. They have maintained their gains. The fluctuations in the incidence of delinquency in both Youth Board areas and other areas of the city co-varied with each other after the initial drop in the former. This possibly indicates that some factors not yet appraised are operating, or that some of the work, especially in community organization, will not bear fruit for some time.

3. Control.

It is doubtful that preventive methods will ever be totally effective because of the complexity and scale of the task. Provision for control, in fact, has been for the past six decades linked with the treatment of delinquents and prevention of recidivism, rather than with the occurrence or non-occurrence of delinquent behavior. The juvenile courts have stood as a focal point in this approach, in theory if not in reality.

The concern which eventually led to the establishment of juvenile courts dates back to the early nineteenth century and

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had to do chiefly with child offenders who were incarcerated indiscriminately with adult criminals. Various slow changes were taking place on this and other continents until the historical year 1899, when the first law providing for the establishment of a juvenile court came into effect in Illinois. Canada followed in 1908 with the Juvenile Delinquents Act and its first juvenile court in Ottawa. The Provinces, one by one, provided their own legislation, until in 1929 New Brunswick completed the list.

The basic underlying philosophy was help and protection of children rather than their punishment. This had many immediate implications for court procedures. In contrast to the adult courts where the focus is on punishment for offences, the juvenile courts were asked to concentrate on the person. Accordingly, informal hearing rather than a trial, confidentiality and absence of publicity, a summons rather than a warrant, complaints and petitions instead of charges, were adopted as part of the protective approach. At the same time the courts would administer child protection and welfare laws in those cases where parental neglect played a part, and in this sense the court took over parental responsibilities, including the right to make the child a ward of the court until the age of twenty one.

The role of the juvenile courts in their early years was made difficult by lack of community services. It was not until 1935 in the United States, shortly after in Canada, and still later in Britain, that reasonably comprehensive social security programs came into existence. Diagnostic and psychiatric facilities were also lacking. At the beginning of the century the ghost of Lombroso and his theory of a "born criminal" had yet to be exorcised by psychoanalytic theory and a "de-mythologized" view of the lower classes.

Some of these basic conditions necessary to the helping process are no longer so primitive and meagre, but other difficulties persist. The final resolution of the conflict between protecting the offender and protecting society does not depend on the court alone but on society's attitude
toward punishment, and this has not changed drastically. On the other hand, the protective procedure of private hearings does not allow the court the sort of publicity which might foster the necessary change. We are not advocating newspaper coverage leading to lurid publicity, but rather the presence of an observer serving as a liaison with community services.

The helpful disposition of the case depends on familiarity with the etiology of the problem, the existence of facilities for treatment, and knowledge of the effects of different methods of treatment. This knowledge, as the preceding chapters show, is far from being either complete or totally reliable. Furthermore, many juvenile court magistrates, even if genuinely sympathetic to the aims of the system, continue to show a baffled insensitivity to the real nature of its process.

These are only some of the problems facing the juvenile court. What has been done, however, to change the experiment into a program? How have we tried to resolve some of these difficulties?

The consensus of opinion is that judges are poorly equipped by formal legal training to understand the dynamics of human behavior. Nor are they regularly appointed on the basis of even a presumptive competence in this field. At best, they are "interested" in juvenile delinquency. The question of the motivation and character of this interest is never raised. Frequently they serve in other courts, so that their concerns as well as their orientation are continually divided. Within the legal profession they have little prestige, and considering their dilettante and amateur approach, do not really deserve it. Whatever the mitigating influence of the probation staff


2. Several sources were consulted and appear in the bibliography. The essence of them all was extracted from the following references:
in a court, the judge has the final authority and responsibility and sets the tone of the whole institution.

The system of probation, supposedly the chief diagnostic and treatment tool of the court, has remained such only in the statutes. There are still many untrained probation officers. They are overworked and responsible for performing a bewildering variety of functions which fragment both their efforts and their time. The solution most often recommended is more and better-trained staff. It seems to us that a thorough re-organization might be more to the point. Here and there such attempts are made. The diagnostic function, so essential to a proper disposition of cases, can best be served by a skillful, well staffed "intake" section composed of a team of behavioral experts. The traditional probation function, however, except for a minority of cases, could probably be largely dispensed with. The New York City Youth Board estimates that in New York multi-problem families are responsible for seventy five per cent of delinquency. The majority of delinquent children, therefore, or their families, are already known to other agencies. Our personal experience supports this impression. It seems that if the probation function in these cases were to be taken over by a community agency, we might eliminate duplication of services, partially solve the shortage of probation staff, and promote withholding of delinquent status, all in one sweep. We grant that other problems (again with staff shortages) will arise, but perhaps they will be more manageable problems. In any case, anticipation of difficulties is no excuse for inaction. The legal approach to delinquency is characterized by a singular lack of imagination, not so much in the making of legal provisions as in carrying them out. Indeed, the administration of the criminal law is one of the weakest aspects both of legal practice and legal training.

Detention facilities are generally at the same low level as the rest of the juvenile court system. Canada is not alone in this respect. In rural areas especially, the original concern of over a hundred years ago that children not be
treated as adult criminals has never come to practical realization.

To summarize the essence of a recent submission to the Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, (Department of Justice), we could say that we have yet to put the Juvenile Delinquents Act into operation.

Finally, a word about the functions of the police. The major function is the protection of the community. This involves not only appraisal of the factors which constitute existing or potential danger, case screening and referral, but also the seeking out of conditions leading to delinquency. In this respect the police are in a strategic position, somewhat similar to that of the school. It follows that police officers should have an adequate understanding of human behavior and a thorough knowledge of community resources. The protection of the child as envisaged by the juvenile court legislation should also be the aim of police; but implemented not through leniency and inattention to minor misbehavior, but through an attempt to make breaking the law difficult, and obeying it easy. The efforts of some well meaning police departments, as in New York, to become involved in the provision of recreational facilities, although commendable for the spirit in which they are undertaken, would be better used in improving the primary rather than these secondary aspects of their work.

4. Institutional Treatment

Institutions for juvenile delinquents came into existence


before the juvenile courts, and were for many years the dumping ground for children suffering from various degrees of neglect or displaying anti-social behavior of diversified etiology. The methods of treatment were punishment and hard work. With the formation of the juvenile courts, a gradual change in emphasis took place to parallel the court's philosophy.

Ideally, the court would commit to an institution only the child who could not be returned to his parents. Frequently, however, he is no more than "incorrigible," which means that someone is tired of him. The first offenders are usually released to parents or under probation, so that most children who are committed to an institution are already recidivists. They are either too well known to the various social agencies (so that familiarity has bred contempt), or the parents are unable to deal with them. It follows that the institutional program must offer something special, since parental and other (generally deterrent) methods have already failed. The public attitude, however, is an ambivalent mixture of the demand for punishment and the demand for treatment. It may be taken for granted that the punishment side is usually well taken care of. What about treatment? Apparently, despite sporadic effort to change things, institutions for delinquent youngsters remain mainly custodial.¹ Vinter and Janowitz list several problems involved in improving the effectiveness of correctional institutions. First of all, the correctional agency cannot be solely responsible for resolving all the problems which combine to create delinquency. The primary responsibility—which belongs to the community at large—lies in preventing as much delinquent behavior as possible. Secondly, the mental health approach from which the juvenile institutions get their "treatment" title emphasizes intrapsychic conflict. If we recall the theories discussed in the preceding chapters, we shall have to recognize that some of the conflict originates

in a lack of opportunities and culminates in a lack of social skills. These cannot all be acquired in a closed institution with a limited program. Thirdly, the therapeutic goals often conflict with administrative necessities and thus have to be compromised. Finally we may mention the frequent poverty of therapeutic techniques adapted to the lower-class culture of the delinquent, and the almost standard condition of inadequate staffing.

Successful treatment means that the individual learns personal restraint and accepts the value of social controls. Social controls, as we observed in Chapter III, are internalized through a process of identification based on affectually-endowed relationships. Simply stated, this means that an institution, besides providing educational opportunity for acquiring social skills, must also provide means of emotional gratification. But who will love and accept the delinquent? Some social workers will, and some psychiatrists will easily learn to. But they are both in short supply. The only satisfactory answer to this dilemma is that the whole institution should be therapeutically oriented. (This does not mean that even the cook should be well versed in the intricacies of human behavior, but only in its rudiments as they pertain to his being able to withstand the stress of his duties in this therapeutic setting). Thus the usual system of task differentiation imposed by administrative structure of the formal kind should be kept to a minimum to avoid major differences in orientation among the staff.

A closed institution only alienates its inmates from society. Socialization cannot take place in isolation. Interaction with the community through schools, recreational facilities, and participation in the daily transactions which are a

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part of community life (such as shopping) provide the necessary opportunities.

Another essential characteristic of a therapeutically oriented institution would be its sensitivity to the principle of differential diagnosis - for example, in regard to such matters as the severity of symptoms and their significance in terms of personality development and function. This would be of crucial importance in planning and administering diversified programs and facilities. Further differentiation by age groups (or physical development) seems an obvious necessity.

Such a near-ideal approach was used by a group under the direction of Fritz Redl. The number of children cared for was very small, though all of them were extremely disturbed. The treatment lasted eighteen months, and it was clearly shown that the children had improved. However, because of the expense of the programme it was discontinued. The children were returned to their former and unaltered environment and most of them soon deteriorated under the influence of its built-in deprivations.

Institutional services in the United States are reported to be showing a definite trend towards treatment and rehabilitation, though some traces of past methods - old buildings, inadequate staff, repressive attitudes - of course remain. Fifty-four per cent house populations of under 150 children, the rest range upward to as high as 700. Many have inadequate facilities for the numbers they serve. A few cottage-type training schools are overcrowded, but several exist where family type units under the direction of house parents are operated. There are 19 forestry camps or work camps as well.

In Britain, institutional treatment shows a considerable degree of diversification, while at the same time retaining a certain measure of unity or order. (At least, so it appears

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when viewed as a system, rather than in detail). The existence of Remand Houses, Detention Centres, Attendance Centres, Approved Schools, Probation Homes, Probation Hostels and Borstals, testifies eloquently to the diversity. The tactful superintendency of the Home Office, a compact geography, the absence of the special legislative and administrative handicaps of a federal constitution, are, presumably, among the factors that make for some condition of coherence and order.¹, ²

We should not want to hold the British system up as an ideal. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that the problems of co-ordinating and improving services in a country that has lots of them are just as formidable as they are in Canada where we have comparatively few.³ But for all its faults, the British system of delinquency services does at least have this merit for anyone willing to examine it—namely, that it offers, in its scope and variety, a damning comment on how narrow and impoverished our accustomed notions of what is possible really are.

Much could be said, too, about the stereotyped and unimaginative approach to the tasks of treatment within the institution that is so common; and in this connection it is just as easy to cite exemplary programmes as it is to cite exemplary (or relatively exemplary) systems.

We examined in particular two new approaches to treatment currently in progress in the U.S. which are based on the proposition that at least some aspects of the problems experienced by an institution's residents are connected with the functioning

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of the institution.  

One of these, the Highfields Project, attached to the Annandale Reformatory in New Jersey, is an extension and elaboration of some older policies of this institution. It is based on a short sentence for a period of treatment falling midway between probation and reformatory. Small groups of no more than 20 or so boys, aged sixteen or seventeen, participate in an intensive program of group therapy or interaction. At the same time they work daily in a neighbouring community, can go to town under adult supervision, are allowed visitors, and eventually are allowed weekend visits at home. This program started in 1950, and in 1953 the interim evaluation indicated that Highfields accomplished as much, if not more, in its four months of residential treatment as the reformatory at Annandale (one of the most progressive in the country) did in twelve months. Yet Freeman and Weeks are not sure whether the treatment situation, the small size of groups, the informal setting, are not more responsible for success than the therapy sessions themselves - a thought to ponder for those who are under the mistaken impression that the only alternative to routine custody is mass psycho-analysis.

The different approach of the Provo Experiment does not involve any incarceration at all, and in this respect resembles the British Attendance Centres. Boys live at home and spend

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only a part of each day in the program centre. The experiment, begun in 1956, was designed specifically to help those habitual delinquents, 15-17 years old, whose persistence made them candidates for a reformatory. The program does not utilize any testing devices or gathering of case histories, but operates in two phases with two small groups of ten boys each. The first phase consists of intensive group therapy, the next, of community adjustment. This is somewhat similar to the borstal system, but for the greater sophistication and shorter time element. The length of stay is not laid down, but is usually between four and seven months.

It will be noted that both of these novel, imaginative, but essentially unpretentious approaches bear some resemblance to similar developments in the mental health field. The cross fertilization of ideas between the fields of corrections and mental health may bring further refinements in techniques of both treatment and evaluation. Indeed, it is a matter for surprise that this is not already taking place in a more thorough-going way than it is.

5. Control of Normative Ambiguity

Another approach to prevention can be (and has been) derived from the theoretical formulations of Robert Merton.

The occasional sacrifices involved in institutionalized conduct must be compensated by socialized rewards. The distribution of statuses and roles through competition must be so organized that positive incentives for conformity to roles and adherence to status obligations are provided for every position within the distributive order. Aberrant conduct, therefore, may be viewed as a symptom of dissociation between culturally defined aspirations and socially structured means.

One of the major predicaments of adolescence is associated with...
with this very problem of "institutionalized conduct". There is a split between status and role, which are usually in a state of complementary integration.\(^1\) The adolescent is expected to conform to an adult role without having the accompanying status. Nor are "structured" means available to him to perform the adult role.

The problem originates partially from what Ruth Benedict\(^2\) called "discontinuities in conditioning," that is, a necessity to relinquish previous training and embark on new patterns of behavior. When one considers that the previous behavior pattern must be unlearned first, conflict is inherent in the situation. In our society the child is non-responsible, while the adult must display disciplined, goal oriented behavior. The Papago (Arizona) culture, on the other hand, conditions the child gradually and increasingly to social participation, commensurately with the development of his skill and strength. Other cultures also expect the children to behave differently from adults, but provide institutionalized means for this transition through initiation rituals, so that the point of transition is definite and leaves no doubt.

The dominance-submission pattern is especially pertinent to our topic. When little stress is laid on submission, but much on winning approval and praise, punishment is seldom necessary, and relationships of balanced and reciprocal nature can develop. The contradictions involved in the dominance-submission pattern undoubtedly are responsible for much childhood aggression, and later may give rise to a struggle for control of the environment which is expressed in reactive violence.

Similar discontinuity in the western societies exists in the sexual role, with childhood being considered virtually

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\(^1\) Linton, R., Culture and Mental Disorders, Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, Springfield, Illinois, 1955, pp. 54-63.

sexless. When sex is considered as an evil in the early years, it is hardly surprising if it is used as a method of doing evil later on. This attitude is possibly responsible for many sexual offenses, which may be a surrogate for a variety of extrinsic impulses like aggression, guilt and revenge.

One common adaptation to the dilemmas of "responsible-non-responsible" status is what Parsons calls the "youth culture."\(^1\) It is characterized by its polarized contrast with the style of life of the adult male. His status depends on a "job" and earning a living, while the emphasis in youth culture is on pleasure, entertainment, athletics, and glorification of physical attractiveness and a socially agreeable personality.

One intriguing consequence of this phenomenon is the intense ambivalence it arouses in adults. On the one hand they are reluctantly drawn to it by the vicarious hedonic satisfactions it affords; on the other hand, they are compelled to condemn it for its flouting of conventional values. Thus the prospects of dealing rationally with the misconduct of adolescents are vitiated by our own unacknowledged moral conflicts.

The "youth culture" is everything that adult culture is not. Consequently, the prospect of adulthood is not particularly enticing. Its acquisition is further complicated by lack of the skills required for entering it successfully. As an illustration we might take the case of a sixteen or seventeen year old boy, released abruptly from the authoritarian school system, who must find a job and become independent emotionally after years of examining life in a classroom.

We must supplement Merton's theory of inaccessible legitimate means by adding the suggestive ideas of Cloward and Ohlin on the problems arising from the differential availability of illegitimate means. Violence does not take any special ability. Even a relatively weak youth can be transformed into a dangerous and threatening power with the help of a knife valued at a few cents. Stealing a car is

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relatively easy also. The pride of ownership and the symbolic meaning of possessions endow stealing with both manifest and latent (in this case symbolic) functions. The latter are less easily discernible and are psychologically more complicated; for that reason they are not dealt with either so promptly or so appropriately as are the more ostensible kinds of behavioral problem. Thus role experimentation, hate, symbolic dependency and rebellion against it, rolled into a syndrome of delinquency, are perpetuated.

What can be done about the normlessness of adolescence? Parsons' general formula of social cohesion is relevant here.

...effective social control is dependent on an integration of two main factors, the cathexis of the individual actor as a social object, that is, of support, and taking responsibility for upholding of the normative pattern.¹

The normative pattern can only be meaningful to a young person if it has some continuity with his previous conditioning. Thus, two prerequisites are necessary: first, that the emphasis in the non-adult years be on co-operation rather than submission (a prescription which would necessitate changes of a deep character in our patterns of child up-bringing); and second, that adolescence contain more of the adult normative patterns (which would mean our creating a coherent set of definitions for that period of life). Parsons mentions the mechanism of insulation

...as having the function of preventing potentially conflicting elements in the culture and social structure from coming into the kind of contact which would be likely to lead to open conflict or to exacerbate it - conflict is kept relatively latent.²

One method by which we might employ this mechanism of insulation in a constructive way for adolescents - and at the same time

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2. Ibid., p. 309.
endow their circumstances with a clearer sense of "adult" purpose—would be through such organizations as the Youth Conservation Corps.

As for the "cathexis of the individual actor as a social object," the Highfields Project is an attempt to do just this, and the Provo Experiment an elaboration of it. More comprehensive strategies would have to be devised to make this concept applicable within the adolescent culture, rather than in an already deteriorated situation. An example of this, perhaps (though even so, not on the scale required) is Mobilization for Youth, Inc., in New York, which utilizes both Merton's and Shaw's theories, a combination of providing legitimate means, modifying cultural transmission, and generating an ambiance of supportiveness and encouragement.


The varied approaches to delinquency, as well as the theories underlying them, point to what Sheldon Glueck has called a hierarchy of causes. As will be the case in any hierarchy, each level is structurally integrated with the neighbouring one and with the whole. The broad base is society, and the structure narrows down through the class system, the neighbourhood and the family, to the individual.

What this figure of speech signifies (and it is no more than a figure of speech, of course) is that the causes of juvenile delinquency can be conceptualized both in narrow terms and in broad terms; that there are linkages in time between the points at which one set of factors rather than another is dominant (so that a particular type of remedial action taken at one "moment" will be useful and appropriate,

1. Mobilization for Youth, Inc., A Proposal for the Prevention and Control of Delinquency by Expanding Opportunities, Mimeograph, New York, 1961. (There is a fuller discussion of this project in Chapter IV).

when left till later it will be altogether ineffectual); and that an account of the "causes" of delinquency which ignores their relationship to the other items in the hierarchy of causes will be impoverished and restrictive. The upshot of all this is that the decision on what to do about delinquency must always be systematic and strategic while the activity that follows from the decision must be versatile, flexible, many-sided, opportune, and always conditional upon its continued relevance.

It is fashionable, and even commonplace, nowadays to talk of the need for co-ordination of services. Nobody will deny either that it is needed or that it is a principle as applicable to the problems of juvenile delinquency as to those of catching up with so-called welfare freeloaders. The real question is not whether the co-ordination of services is a good thing, but what services we have in mind to co-ordinate. If the slogan spells out in fact to a delinquent getting the full-time services of one caseworker instead of the half-time services of two caseworkers, the gains may prove to be less than decisive. If, on the other hand, it offers the prospects of a system of services which ranges freely from constitutional reform to skilled psychotherapy and which is guided in its operations by a theoretically alert intelligence, we may have something that is worth having.
CHAPTER VI

THE LOCAL SCENE

In this final chapter we will attempt to draw together the threads of what we have discussed up to this point in the hope of showing, in summary terms, what implications it contains for policy-making in local jurisdictional contexts. In doing so we propose to use the same categories of action that were employed in Chapter V. We will not only consider what is being done at the present time, but also make some tentative suggestions as to how existing services could be improved and new programs introduced.

1. Prediction.

As far as we know, no program has been inaugurated in British Columbia which is aimed at predicting delinquency, or for that matter, any other major social disturbance. The Metropolitan Health Unit conducts Well-baby Clinics and has a system of examining all pre-school children to assess their health. This is followed up in Grade One, and where it seems necessary, referral is made to a private physician for specific treatment. The physician who performs the school examinations is in a position to gain some insight into personality dynamics and family interrelationships since the mothers are usually asked to be present during the physical examination. He might make an observation that the child is likely to show behavior problems at a later date, and this is duly recorded in the child's dossier, so that years later, when the child in fact does show disturbance, the shock of surprise is somewhat lessened for the school personnel.

The Public Health Nurses, who often visit homes where there is a small baby, are in an advantageous position to observe the home environment. Their role is perceived fairly accurately by parents, and they are accepted in homes. Confusion arises,
however, because the nurses do not perceive their own role as clearly. The home visit atmosphere encourages the development of a personal relationship which, used in a disciplined way, could be a basis for a well-planned referral to an appropriate agency. The role confusion, instead, results in the nurse performing both her role and that of a "half-baked" social worker, until the problems reach such proportions that she has neither the time nor the training to continue.

The Metropolitan Health Services can be seen as an organizational base for predicting delinquency and the nucleus of possible prevention services. At the present time, however, they are not used for those purposes.

As a footnote to our discussion of the idea of a comprehensive mental health scheme in Chapter V, it is interesting to record that the small group of psychiatrists on the staff of that agency have long been enthusiastic advocates of just such a program.

The Research Department of the Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area has instituted an ambitious survey of multi-problem families, and one of the criteria used in defining a multi-problem family is the presence of a serious behavior problem in at least one member of the family. However, some of the children have already shown delinquency, so that the study will not be truly predictive. It also leaves out the less extremely pathological families who contribute to delinquency.

Whatever the value of its eventual achievement and conclusions, this "multi-problem family" study has this signal merit - that it indicates a commendable step on the part of the Community Chest to move from the plane of individual treatment to the plane of what one might call structural service. The principle implicit in this broadened viewpoint is eminently applicable to the problems of prediction. Most prediction studies, however meticulously conducted, have been limited to the work of prognosticating pathology in individuals or populations of individuals. What is even more imperatively needed are planned attempts to forecast the development of
structurally-rooted social problems, and this is as true of the field of penology and crime as it would be of (for example) the estimated need for trained engineers in twenty years time. The papers presented at the periodical conferences on provincial resources offer an illustration of the kind of thing that is wanted, and it is a pity that we seem to think it so much more important to do it for base metals shortages than for children in conflict with themselves and their environment.

2. Prevention.

As also with prediction, delinquency prevention services in British Columbia are in no better than an embryonic condition at the present time, and their value must be assessed in the perspective of promise rather than achievement. It would be less than honest if we did not say, however, that even at this stage of development, one has a right to expect a more rigorously thoughtful approach to the subject than the facts give evidence of.

As an example of what we have in mind we refer the reader to the case of school counselling. In Vancouver the role equivalent of a school social worker is the so-called "special" school counsellor, usually a teacher with some special training. The counselling job, itself an escape from teaching, is often seen as a preparation for a further promotion to the rank of principal. Even in this regard the connection seems tenuous. The school principal is an administrator who frequently teaches as well. What he needs to have is a broad understanding of problems. When faced with making a disciplinary decision he can count on the help of the teacher, the public health nurse, and the counsellor. He needs to understand why a certain recommendation is made, but he has not the time to involve himself in problem-solving activities that are not reasonably directly concerned with school affairs. Consequently, he does not need to have any thorough knowledge of resources for more dubiously relevant problems.

As for the child, he must either first recognize his own
problem and approach the counsellor, or get into some difficulty to be seen. Moreover, the counsellors do not appear to cultivate a particularly close association with the students' families, though this would presumably be the ground both of their diagnostic and their therapeutic work. Even when they do meet a parent on the occasion of the latter's visit to the school, there is no convincing evidence that their training has equipped them to undertake the demanding and skilled work of family casework.

Since the 'special counsellors' are likely, even at their most active, to be duplicating the work of an agency better accredited to do it, we see their role as best confined to academic matters involving vocational counselling where they can be genuinely useful both to the students and the principal.

The value of social workers in a school setting has been questioned on the grounds that they do not fit easily into the school's administrative structure. This appears to us to be either a rationalization for professional insularity or an excuse for inaction. If a social worker can recognize and work through a problem that comes to notice outside the school, he can also recognize the problems facing the teacher. Nor are social workers unfamiliar with limit-setting and "authoritative" decisions, especially in dealing with children where anxiety must be contained by some sort of firm attitude. The presence of social workers has been accepted in many school jurisdictions and proved workable.¹

The Metropolitan Health Unit has three social work consultants who are doing treatment in selected cases, but they work in liaison with the Public Health Nurses for the most part and are very indirectly connected with the counsellors by way of being the nurses' advisors.

A more direct, organized, and purposive effort is that of the Big Brothers. They began their local operation in a limited

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way in 1957 and expanded in 1960 with the financial help of the Community Chest. They operate on the assumption that fatherless boys need the stabilizing influence of a mature and responsible man as model for identification. On this basis they provide suitable volunteers on a one-to-one basis. One of the eligibility stipulations is that the referral must come from an agency (for example the City Social Service Department, the Children's Aid Society, the Juvenile Court, or the school special counsellors), and another, that there be no adequate male figure in the family (an uncle, for instance). The boys are accepted between the ages of eight and eighteen. The Big Brothers are carefully screened and thoughtfully matched with their prospective charges. Supervision on an individual basis is supposedly carried out by the referring agency and group meetings with other Big Brothers are arranged monthly by the parent agency. Records are kept of the boys' progress. There are now 170 Big Brothers in the Vancouver area.

The concepts underlying the Big Brother movement are basically sound, but it is unlikely that the Big Brother can serve as a genuine surrogate for the absent father since his contacts, even if regular, are not continuous enough. He does not get involved with the rest of the family, and because of this has not even the status of a family friend. This may have good or bad implications, depending on family dynamics. The role of the widowed and especially the deserted mother may have subtle influences on the relationship. It is to be hoped that the many complex questions of this kind that are bound to arise are taken account of by the referring agency.

The condition that a referral be made by some social agency implies a pre-existing problem. In fact, at one time the condition was that the boy must show some signs of disturbance. At this stage a more intensive kind of treatment might be called for, and for this the Big Brothers have no training. For that reason we are inclined to think that their

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1. Don Waring, Executive Director, Big Brothers of British Columbia. Interview with the writer, April 19, 1963.
effectiveness might be greatest when the home is basically sound, but lacks male identification models. We would not totally discount their value, however, even for the truly delinquent boy, and feel that any positive relationship is tenfold better than none. We simply wonder whether their most useful and appropriate sphere of action has yet been identified with sufficient precision.

We are more critical of the supervision arrangements. The relationship which develops between the Big Brother and the boy is unique, as are the problems inherent in it. Frequent and planned supervision by the parent agency would be a learning process for both participants. The agency cannot evaluate the program's effectiveness, difficulties, or future needs, unless it has access to information such as is available only in the supervisory situation. The interest of the referring agency and that of the Big Brother would best be served through liaison with the Big Brother organization. Although the Big Brother is not an employee but a volunteer, the administrative principle that having two superiors is unsound holds true here as well.

An agency which sees itself as preventive in the broadest possible sense is the Y.M.C.A. The "Y" has five locations in the Greater Vancouver area, one in West Vancouver, one in Burnaby, and one in New Westminster. They have numerous programs suited to different age groups and interests. Their view is that all children need recreational outlets, and if some of the facilities happen to be particularly beneficial to an individual child, all the better. On the other hand, if they are approached specifically in regard to a troublesome group of adolescents in the area, they will design a special program for that particular group. At one time a group of parents approached the Dunbar "Y" for help with a disorderly group of "hot-rod" enthusiasts. The agency undertook to organize them into a "Car Club," and met with notable success. This group has now grown up and disintegrated, but no effort was made to make it a fixed tradition. This flexibility of the Y.M.C.A. and their adaptability to varying conditions is
a commendable feature. They are a very old and well-known agency. Their programs include adults and are patronized by a great variety of men on whom the agency could possibly draw for volunteers in other areas, as well as within the agency, were the "Y" an integral part of an overall prevention program.

Membership in the "Y" is fairly expensive and many families on marginal income are thereby discouraged from joining. Referrals from other agencies are accepted and fees waived, but this is not a well-advertised feature. Secondly, the "Y" is at a considerable distance from home for many youngsters, and for this reason is not easily accessible.

Other recreational facilities are provided by local Community Centers. Their programs are geared to meet the needs of the whole family, and include educational courses, hobbies, crafts, and physical activities such as square dancing, trampoline, and the like. The fees are very modest, and the hours adapted to convenience.

There are various other organizations and facilities such as the Neighbourhood Houses, Boys Clubs, and some private clubs, which meet the needs of boys in special ways. Of these the Boys Clubs seem to be the most extensive. None of these, however, constitute an organized effort, nor forms part of an over-all plan for the prevention of delinquency. We are not aware of the existence of any recreational activities designed specifically for troublesome youth.

We wonder whether the fact mentioned in Chapter V that only younger boys tended to use recreational settings does not have something to do with the fact that many disturbed adolescents display reckless, ego-testing tendencies. This has been observed by both Thrasher and Salisbury, and manifests itself in their contests of daring and cultivated display of aggression. The tame game of ping-pong hardly meets such needs. Well organized and adventurous undertakings would probably prove more enticing. We should not like to suggest hot-rod races, but mountain climbing might be a suitable alternative. At any rate, we wonder whether Baden-Powell would think the present-day scouting movement as briskly adventurous as he
obviously intended it to be.

Broad preventive measures in the form of slum clearance and housing projects have been embarked upon, but with little anticipation of possible problems. The present slum clearance project under construction in Vancouver covers only a small section of the city. More is actually done by private enterprise to change the face of the city than by any town-planning body.

The housing projects in Vancouver have not been developed as integrated communities. Salisbury, in The Shock-up Generation, referred to the housing projects in New York as "the new ghettos." Desirable from the point of view of physical facilities and low rental costs, they are productive of innumerable tensions, and bring together many disturbed children. It has been our personal experience that some of the problems arise because of the physical proximity and close interaction of the tenants. The management is forced to take disciplinary measures such as eviction, which means that the tenant returns, because of a lack of resources, to the same deteriorated area from which he came.

As for income maintenance programs, the federally administered unemployment insurance provides some leeway for part-time earnings. For the large family the payments are inadequate, and have to be supplemented by public assistance. The duplication of effort, with the resulting confusion of requirements for reporting, documentation, and so on, is too intricate to be summarized here. The public assistance rates, measured some time ago by a desirable minimum standard of nutrition for Canada, were just adequate for a family with pre-school children, but not with adolescents. Since then prices have risen on almost all commodities and especially food. Our own experience, again, has been that in very few cases could the family manage adequately on the existing rates, and then only if the mother baked her own bread, made clothes, and possessed a fair degree of knowledge, motivation, and intelligence. We could fill pages with examples of adolescents wearing outgrown, grotesque clothing, plastic bags over their shoes which could
not be repaired or replaced, and going with uncut hair because of the cost of a hair-cut. The heavy caseloads, the peculiar system of administration, the restrictive regulations without incentives, prevent the social workers, who try to make the best use of available resources, from meeting expressed needs and from giving real effect to the often-expressed idea that welfare is not charity but a right.

While existing resources are not fully utilized, there are many others which are badly needed but absent. Housekeeping services are allotted as a precious commodity with much administrative fuss. There is no way of allowing an exhausted mother a short break away from her duties except through summer camps. Many women often prefer to stay at home rather than go through the effort of organizing the whole household for the great departure. Summer camps for children financed through the Community Chest and private donations have not been available to all those who needed the service. Because of limited resources, referrals have to be carefully screened and are an extremely time-consuming task for the social worker.

An encouraging sign is a recent appointment of special police officers, a sort of "special interest group," to the Dunbar, Kerrisdale, and Fraserview areas to maintain contact with youths. These areas comprise a very large part of the city, and need a better coverage. We see this as a progressive step, however, and hope that it is not a sentimental vision of a fatherly policeman that is motivating the move, but an honest effort to seek out unhealthy conditions, provide protection for adolescents, and acquaint them with the sort of authority which is firm, fair, and commanding of respect. An attempt begun by the now retired Chief Archer to have a disciplined, honest and courteous police force must be a foundation for the more specialized approaches.

We have already discussed the need for police officers to have some knowledge of human behavior and community resources. Especially in dealing with aggressive, hostile adolescents, a knowledge of the dynamics of behavior would be useful, not
only in order to "understand" them but in order to refrain from meeting them on their own irrational terms. The provision of such education for the police could come from many places, but in the absence of anything like the university schools of police science found in the United States, we should be disposed to recommend that the matter be taken under advisement by a working committee comprising representatives of the Police Department and officials of the University Extension Department.

From the services we have discussed thus far, it appears that the local approach to delinquency prediction and prevention is fragmentary, and that there is very little inter-organizational co-operation. But to be honest, there is some question in our minds whether it would be either kind or useful to uncover potential delinquency when some of the very basic preventive programs, such as public assistance, are not designed to meet elementary needs.

3. Control.

The British Columbia Juvenile Court was one of the earliest in Canada. It had the same initial poverty of resources to contend with as other provinces and countries, and of course, the federal-provincial legislative dichotomy complicated matters. The province has a large area, sparsely populated in some regions, so that administration, supervision, and equality of standards all pose special difficulties.

While much of the literature bemoans the fact that juvenile court judges lack specialized training, some of the judges in British Columbia, particularly in rural areas, have no training, legal or otherwise. It is obvious to anyone that some appointments of this sort are political. While the integrity of the individual concerned need not necessarily be questioned, his lack of knowledge is a graver matter. This is mirrored in the fact that over the years judges outside the major cities of Vancouver and Victoria have been responsible for two-thirds of committals to the Brannen Lake School
for Boys.  

The full-time courts exist in large centres only, while in the rural areas they are part-time, inadequately equipped and staffed.

In the field of probation, effort is made by senior probation officers in supervisory positions, who screen applications for final approval by the judge, to ensure that only qualified workers are hired. This is sometimes made difficult by reason of the simple unavailability of qualified personnel. In this respect British Columbia is not alone. Even more serious problems in standards are raised by large case-loads, large areas to cover, and a multiplicity of duties. There is no organized, full-time, specialized core of intake workers at the Vancouver Juvenile Court, nor is there much co-operation with other agencies. The duplication of services so often decried in social work literature is nowhere as apparent. The probation officer is only one of a group of "experts" harrassing the family.

The detention facilities in Vancouver and Victoria are adequate, but in the rural areas youngsters are often secured in the local jail.

The Department of Justice established a Committee on Juvenile Delinquency over a year ago, but as yet there has been no report. The members of this committee are experts from the field of the adult penal system. Although their qualifications are not questioned, it is a sad comment on the poverty of leadership in the juvenile delinquency field.

While the federal report has not been published, a bill dealing with juvenile delinquency has been passed by the B. C.

2. Blacklock, D. J., op. cit., p. 54.
3. Ibid., p. 68.
Legislature. This lack of co-ordination and co-operation leaves us at a loss for explanation.

The new bill provides for the appointment of committees of local citizens as a liaison between the judge and the community's needs and resources. It provides for court facilities and probation officers in every municipality, for the use of other agencies or individuals for probation, and the use of foster homes or institutions other than detention homes for the purpose of detention. Most of these provisions existed before. The major change involves probation and gives it more scope. But the stroke that negates many of these provisions is that the municipalities must bear the financial cost. This is unrealistic, as many of the smaller communities do not possess sufficient financial resources. It is not the matter of a judge alone, for it involves hiring a probation officer, a court clerk, and providing physical facilities. This one provision will perpetuate the inequality of standards. It is reinforced by the lack of any formal requirement that judges be suitably trained. Nor does the bill say how its provisions will be enforced. If there were a requirement that judges be suitably qualified, the solution for the rural areas could be the appointment of travelling magistrates. If the provincial government shared the cost it could demand adherence to certain standards.

A sad commentary on the vitality of our legislative body was contained in the Vancouver Sun recently:

...bill comes after years of criticism ... from B.C. lawyers, police, welfare workers and opposition members.¹

In other words, it came under pressure, and was not a part of a self-evaluating effort. This is policy-making in its last ditch.

While we are deploring the complete lack of training of some magistrates, and of specialized training with the others let us note that the University of British Columbia Faculty

of Law does not offer any such specialized training, nor are there any special grants or bursaries to stimulate such interest.  

4. Institutional Facilities

It is evident that while the judges remain untrained and continue to find automatic committal an easier solution to their problems than sifting the multitude of factors which comprise an enlightened diagnosis, the need for institutional services will mount with the growth of population.

As in the fields of prediction and prevention, there is at present a nucleus - one institution for boys and one for girls. The Annual Report of the Provincial Social Welfare Department (1962) states that the Brannen Lake School aims at rehabilitation, and teaches a boy to ... "accept responsibility, and not to avoid it. He is held responsible for his actions throughout his stay in the school." With a staff of three social workers to 185 boys, one is tempted to say that they have to take responsibility, if they like it or not.

Activities in the school include academic studies, hobby shop, recreational activities, and work parties.

This report is written as though good intentions represented useful actions, and it would scarcely be too cynical to say that it positively depends upon either gullibility or indifference in the reader to make its points. It would not take an especially malicious tongue, for example, to suggest that the Brannen Lake School's work parties are not so much the rehabilitative activities they are claimed to be as they are a source of cheap labour.

The school was originally built to house 120 boys. The population has been increasing steadily, the average last year

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3. Ibid.
being 185, with an all-time high at one point of 199. The resulting over-crowding, however, was somewhat relieved by 62 runaways. On the other hand some boys appear to find the school comfortable, since the rate of recidivism is 27.3 per cent.  

The over-crowding appears to go hand-in-hand with the decreasing length of stay, which declined from nine months in 1952 to 5.7 months last year. Although the success of short treatment has been demonstrated by the Highfields Experiment and the British Attendance Centres, these projects relied on other community contacts such as outside work, contact with families, and so on, to provide some constructive influences. The Brammen Lake School isolates the boys from their own communities and families, although they are allowed in some cases to visit. When they do visit they must travel in the school uniform so that they can be easily apprehended in case they try to escape. The uniform consists of a pair of khaki pants, ble blazer, and regulation shoes, and is supposed to resemble private school outfits. Although the elegant combination of khaki and blue flannel may be objected to by the more fastidious, it is the shoes that bother the boys who confided in us. An average citizen might not recognize the gab, but the boy himself takes no pride in his "private school" membership, and feels that all eyes are on him.  

This opens up other areas for consideration. While we have been cleaning up our vocabulary in the mental health field, public works, and even the home, nothing has been done for the delinquent. While a lunatic asylum has become a clinic of psychological medicine, while a garbage collector is a sanitary expert, and the housewife a domestic engineer, a troublesome boy is a delinquent even before he is legally so described. The catchy phrases used by the press, such as "hoodlums," "punks," and "thugs" are more likely to awaken stereotyped

1. Annual Report, p. 73.
2. Ibid.
antagonism than to stimulate a concerned understanding.

The Report states further that 580 boys were worked with during the past fiscal year. The turn-over is obviously high, and it can be imagined that the three social workers hardly do more than meet the boy. When this fact is appreciated, the rate of recidivism does not appear nearly as high, and in fact makes one wonder how necessary many of these committals are.

In theory there is an effort to segregate the younger boys from the physically adult seventeen year olds. In practice, however, this is not possible because of overcrowding, though the younger boys do sleep separately.

With only one institution there can be no provision for separation into diagnostically differentiated groups, not to mention age groups. There is no mental hospital for children in B. C. The seriously psychotic are admitted to Essondale to mingle with the adult patients there. The borderline, acting-out child can only be committed to Brannen Lake. Conditions are similar for the mentally retarded. The Woodlands School has waiting lists which would discourage the most hopeful. Most mentally retarded children eventually show secondary behaviour disorders. Only therapy, and very skillful at that, can cope with such problems. These children are completely unsuited to a correctional approach. Together with psychotic children they are primarily a medical problem, and only secondarily a legal problem. The child with a medical problem has more appeal, and even parents are more understanding. It is parental pressure which brought some recognition of the problem of the mentally retarded. The parents of the delinquent often feel very guilty and are inhibited from voicing their feelings. The Brannen Lake School is out of sight and out of mind, even for the main body of professional people. Perhaps it is this combination that is responsible for the general silence on the subject. Nor do we hear the provincial government crying to the people to support larger expenditures.
for additional facilities and personnel.

The Willingdon School for Girls is also new, the present facilities having been opened in 1959. There are more opportunities here for training than in Brannen Lake, including sewing classes and a beauty parlor offering a full vocational course, as well as regular school instruction. Although this school is also crowded, it has not been necessary to discharge girls prematurely as is the case with the boys at Brannen Lake. Willingdon School has modelling classes, self-improvement classes, films, sports, and swimming instruction as well. There are two trained caseworkers here, who do get to know the girls.¹ In spite of these factors the Willingdon School is not distinguished for the adventurousness or sophistication of its therapeutic approach.

An updated version of the old Industrial School for Boys Act and the Industrial School for Girls Act, scheduled to go into effect July 1, 1963, appears to be designed to give more scope. It provides for the establishment of training schools for children under eighteen, committed by the Juvenile Court.

The purpose of every training school is to provide for the treatment, training, reformation and rehabilitation of children lawfully committed to its custody.²

The Bill is very short and does not specify how these aims are to be accomplished, by what techniques, or with what staff.

A proposal by six elementary school principals that children with delinquent tendencies be treated at boarding schools, to fill the gap between existing probation services and the training school, shows a little more vision. It was suggested that this might be administered by the Vancouver School Board.³ We are concerned that these administrative auspices might result in more emphasis being placed on education than on therapeutic atmosphere. However, anything that is new should

¹ Blacklock, op. cit., pp. 72-73.
² Training Schools Act, Bill #46, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1963.
be welcomed in this dismal void, if only as an inadvertent demonstration project.

While we might approve of new departures, much could be done by simply improving existing methods of treatment. Better trained judges and more extensive and original use of probation might limit overcrowding at Brannen Lake. More staff there might influence the rate of recidivism. The shortage of staff, universally recognized, has not inspired the government to much action in this direction. Although some encouragement to take professional training is given to workers employed by the province, many of them have serious educational deficiencies. A general appeal, via scholarships and bursaries, could possibly interest many who now hold a B.S.W. degree in completing the second year of training, and would probably stimulate recruitment as well.

5. Control of Normative Ambiguity

As we have already tried to show there is for many adolescents in our modern urban society a period of normative ambiguity, or anomie. One possibility for its control is the introduction of "youth codes," whereby parents and adolescent children in a given neighbourhood get together to decide what is "proper" conduct and dress for the adolescent. This not only makes it easier for the parents to set limits for their children, but also gives the teen-ager something definite by which to guide his behaviour. It is possible that is is because of the uncertainty of this stage of development that some adolescents become very active in church groups, particularly those of a fundamentalist variety, with very definite codes of behaviour. It is not unreasonable to argue that a similar code could be established in a different setting. We have not been able to find any evidence that any work of this kind is being undertaken in Vancouver, or none that would have a wide and attentive audience. Although various minority groups, especially religious, do have just such codes, they serve merely to isolate their own youngsters
from the main culture.

6. Opportunity

The subject of opportunity covers a wide field, but has probably been thought of in the past chiefly in connection with the problems of underprivileged ethnic minorities in large American cities. It is easy for us to say, therefore, that this is a topic better suited to a consideration of gang delinquency in deteriorated urban areas. There are, however, applications in our own bailiwick also. In particular, there is the problem of the minority Indian group in the population. This has been given a great deal of attention in the news during the past six months, beginning with the plight of young Indian girls coming to Vancouver from the reservations. There are no organized legitimate means whereby they can become established in the urban area. Many of them, as a result, turn to prostitution and common-law relationships as a means of existence. The existence of the Department of Indian Affairs, together with the whole complex of Indian Reserves and Indian Schools, helps prevent the assimilation of Indians into our society. Their escape to alcoholism is an expected solution, as their own culture no longer provides any outlets. It is probably only because there is a considerable degree of solidarity and mutual affection that the rates of mental illness—a sign of unavailability of any solutions that are socially or emotionally meaningful—are not the predominant problem. There are no signs that this Department is likely to be disbanded.

The system of vocational training, together with provisions for financial support, is an attempt to take care of the large numbers of young unemployed. Candidates for support, however, are carefully screened and must prove to be good prospects. They are not likely to be given a second chance should they change their preference. Most occupations demand completion of Grade Ten or Eleven. It has been our experience that this has precluded many boys from taking advantage of the oppor-
tunity offered. Their experience with school has often been so negative that they are not motivated to return to it, even after having surveyed the limited opportunities. Some of them have so matured physically that they find it too embarrassing to go back to school, even if they are willing to continue their education. More opportunity for adult education might be the answer here. The last time we inquired the cost per course was twelve dollars plus materials, often prohibitive when more than one course is involved. The free (if recommended by a social agency) correspondence courses require not only determination, but a certain degree of ability, or at least guidance, and are often too discouraging when these are lacking.

7. Co-ordination of Services

The promising B. C. Youth Council lasted only three years after its formation in 1956. It died from a lack of large-scale support, though had it been better planned and less pretentious, assistance might have been obtained by soliciting support from smaller neighbourhoods and drawing on parental interests.

A co-ordinating function has been taken over by the Co-ordinator of Juvenile Prevention Services, a governmentally appointed office. The Co-ordinator has been surveying the local and more distant areas of B. C., and a report is expected soon. The information so far gathered is classified, so that no clues are even available. Although this is reasonable enough, it is a pity that interim recommendations could not have been made, and some publicity not given as to the thoroughness of the efforts, the areas of concern, and so on.

It is evident that there is very little vertical co-ordination between levels of government, and not very much more between the private welfare agencies. Yet there are many

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agencies in Vancouver and they serve many types of clientele. The target of individual services, the family, is seldom dealt with through a concerted effort. In the public assistance field the caseloads are too heavy, and many of the staff poorly trained. The Family Service Agency, unwilling to compromise standards, must limit the numbers it gives service to, consigning the rest to a lengthy waiting list. Yet this agency is presently engaged in desperate negotiations with the Community Chest regarding finances. It is difficult to see what the grand design in all this is.

An even greater contrariety exists between other agencies, some of which appear to have a left hand-right hand relationship. Thus while the public welfare agencies can make innumerable referrals, the Burnaby Mental Health Clinic restricts intake by rigid screening, some of it pretty arbitrary.

Most of the communication necessary for co-operation between agencies occurs on a worker-to-worker level but must be contained within the respective agencies' policies. Some of the duplication of casework services is avoided in this informal way, but frequently even a minimum of communication is lacking, and patients discharged from a mental hospital, for instance, appear at the door of the public assistance agency fully expecting to be immediately accommodated.

Some contribution to the remedy of this situation is expected to be made by the forthcoming Co-ordinated Services Project, set up by the Community Chest and Council. The project is expected to be in operation by the beginning of next year. Basically a research experiment, it will aim at reaching the multi-problem families in the South Vancouver area. Besides evaluation of methods and problems, it can conceivably bring innovations in our approach to this type of family.
Conclusions

During the process of conducting this study we have been impressed with the amount of expressed concern and the volume of documentary and scientific material which has been produced on the subject of juvenile delinquency. There are few people who are not willing and anxious that juvenile delinquency be treated and prevented. Yet in view of the present levels of activity, one begins to wonder how much of this is lip-service, and how much is real concern. The size of the prescriptive literature is sharply contrasted with the amount that is actually being done, not only in terms of money invested and institutions erected, but in terms of planning, the search for skilled personnel, and research.¹

Some public figures in British Columbia are ostentatiously fond of dwelling on the frontier-like newness of the province, its "limitless" natural resources, its booming development, and the breath-taking rapidity of the changes taking place in it. What they fail to add however, is that conditions of this kind are invariably accompanied by a host of social problems: family disorganization; slackened social controls; shanty towns, urban slums and reckless land waste; economic exploitation and political venality; and not least, crime and delinquency. In other words, unless a region of this character is prepared to pay monstrous human costs, it must undertake to bring every possible resource of intelligence, skill and good will to bear in anticipating and planning for the evil consequences of its own good fortune.

The massively obvious implication of this is that juvenile delinquency in British Columbia ought never to be regarded as an idiosyncratic phenomenon, as something which is attributable

¹. This is well expressed in a recent Herblock cartoon showing an indignant legislator pounding a desk and crying "We aren't doing enough about delinquency. We must build more prisons." Through the window of the legislature one can see a crumbling slum and a decrepit, over-crowded school.
to quirks in the personalities of the young people concerned and having no connection with the quality of the social life through which those personalities have been formed. To greet each single case of juvenile delinquency as though it were an accident (which is what unaugmented reliance on the traditional "case" approach implies) is akin to an expression of wonder that so many people got burned at the same time when an atomic bomb fell. Until we confront facts like these it may be said none of the numerous roads we are building in this province will do more than help spread the social infections which are an unheeded part of our historical condition.
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