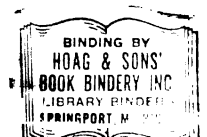


DISCREPANCIES IN SOCIALIZATION,
SELF, AND RELATED VARIABLES
BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL AND
TRAINING SCHOOL YOUTH: A
PRELIMINARY EXPERIENCE SURVEY

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
LAURENCE LEWIS
1972



~~9~~ 173 239

ABSTRACT

DISCREPANCIES IN SOCIALIZATION, SELF, AND RELATED VARIABLES BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL AND TRAINING SCHOOL YOUTH: A PRELIMINARY EXPERIENCE SURVEY

By

Laurence Lewis

This study is an attempt to gather some exploratory information concerning the socialization process, self-concept, self-attitude, juvenile delinquency and subsequent internment in the training schools, and related variables. The general statement of the problem would be: Why do most youths spend their adolescence in secondary school, while some spend it in training school? More specifically:

1. How do socialization agents influence the individual youth's self-concept, self-esteem, and other variables (e.g., attitudes, values); the youth's response to the process of socialization; and each other's attempts to socialize the youth?
2. How do agents of socialization perceive themselves, the socialization process, and treatments of more or less anti-social youths?

3. What is, or should be, the role of juvenile detention institutions, such as the training schools, in the treatment of anti-social youths?
4. How do various treatment methods, models, and ideologies deal with socialization problems manifest in the behavior of anti-social youths?

The method used here is the experience survey, a systematic set of interviews with experienced people in the field of study. In this research, these included deans, counselors, and administrators of three secondary schools in the Lansing, Michigan school district, and psychologists, counselors, and supervisors of the Lansing Boys' Training School and Adrian Girls' Training School. Direct questioning and examination of records were employed as tools for information gathering.

The attempt was to discern differences between high school and training school students along the relevant dimensions. Differences between the two populations were discussed concerning family structure and characteristics, early and later socialization methods, self-perception, self-attitudes, attitudes toward authority, value structures, temporal structure and "short-run hedonism," affection and attention, "youthful rebellion," parental cooperation, and various dimensions of treatment methods.

Nine major tentative conclusions were put forth concerning the interrelationships between such variables

as locus-of-control orientation, school attendance and performance, success at socialization, and juvenile delinquency and subsequent internment. Three other relationships studied remained undetermined. Also, some evaluations of four dimensions of treatment methods were made and discussed.

The value of this study to research in the field is that it establishes direction and specificity for further investigations.

DISCREPANCIES IN SOCIALIZATION, SELF, AND
RELATED VARIABLES BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL
AND TRAINING SCHOOL YOUTH: A
PRELIMINARY EXPERIENCE SURVEY

By

Laurence Lewis

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

1972

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My gratitude is expressed to my wife, Sharon, for her encouragement and patience; to my guidance committee, Drs. John H. McNamara, Donald W. Olmsted, and William L. Ewens for their suggestions and advice; to all my interviewees at Lansing Boys' Training School and Adrian Girls' Training School, and at Eastern, Everett, and J. W. Sexton High Schools in Lansing for their time and information; and a special thanks to Mr. A. Dale Shears, staff psychologist at Lansing Boys' Training School, for his continuing help and the use of his projective material, and to Mr. Vergil M. Pinckney, of the Office of Youth Services, for his help in obtaining whatever data was available.

Finally, my gratitude to Kenneth Keniston, who stimulated my interest in the field of youth behavior and juvenile delinquency with the profound exposition: "Childhood is seldom the unmitigated fulfillment portrayed in the toilet-paper ads."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. NATURE OF THE PROBLEM	1
II. RESEARCH DOMAIN	4
Populations.	4
Secondary Educational Institutions	6
Juvenile Detention Institutions	7
III. VARIABLES	10
Socialization	10
Self	11
Related Variables.	14
IV. METHODOLOGY	18
The Experience Survey	18
Some Possible Confounding Factors	22
V. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	25
Family Structure	26
Generational Continuity.	27
Early Socialization	27
Later Socialization	30
Self-Perception	35
Attitudes	38
Self-Attitudes.	39
Attitudes Toward Authority.	40
Value Structure	49
"Short-run Hedonism".	51
Temporal Structure	52
Affection and Attention.	54
"Youthful Rebellion".	55
Parental Cooperation.	56
Treatment Dimensions.	57

Chapter	Page
VI. TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS	64
On Socialization Processes.	64
On Treatment Dimensions.	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	80

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Adaptation of "Percentage of Students Perceiving Various Ways to Get Ahead Fastest" (Northeastern High School Sample), by W. D. TenHouten	36
2. High School Student Differentiation of "Police" Concept.	42
3. High School Student Authority Differentiation: "Police Department" vs. "School"	44
4. High School Student Authority Differentiation: "Police" vs. "Police Department"	45
5. High School Student Authority Differentiation: "Teachers" vs. "School"	46
6. High School Student Authority Differentiation: "Police" vs. "Teachers"	47
7. Subjective Desirability of Combinations of the Various Treatment Dimensions	78

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Overall Scheme of Socialization Process Interrelationships	76

CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

This thesis is a report on efforts to clarify some thoughts on the socialization processes and self-orientations among juveniles in two institutions: high school and training school. Since this is a preliminary study for subsequent, more detailed research, the institutional populations here were chosen to represent a sample of "normal" high-school-aged youths and a sample of "extreme" delinquent youths. Efforts are aimed at a comparative study of qualitative differences in "socialization," "self," and related variables between the two populations.

Given the constant exposition of the increasing incidence of youth crime by governmental agencies and the mass media, and the high rates of recidivism of problem youths in juvenile detention facilities, the need for more research in the field of juvenile delinquency is evident. When one reviews the literature in the field, one is lead to the most general statement of the problem at hand: Why do most youths spend their adolescent years in secondary

educational institutions, while some spend those years in juvenile detention institutions?

For the purposes of research, however, this question is much too broad. The juvenile delinquency and social psychology literature do indicate the relative importance of socialization (especially "early" socialization), self-concept, and self-esteem as influences on other social psychological phenomena and on later behavior patterns. Therefore, for my purposes here, the problem can be stated in four related multiple questions:

1. How do socialization agents influence the individual youth's self-concept, self-esteem, and other variables (e.g., attitudes, values); the youth's response to the process of socialization; and each other's attempts to socialize the youth?
2. How do agents of socialization perceive themselves, the socialization process, and treatments of more or less anti-social youth?
3. What is, or should be, the role of juvenile detention institutions, such as the training schools, in the treatment of anti-social youths?
4. How do various treatment methods, models, and ideologies deal with socialization problems manifest in the behavior of anti-social youths?

It is to these questions that this thesis addresses itself.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DOMAIN

Populations

In the case of high-school-aged youths, the group studied was students at three of Lansing, Michigan's four city secondary schools.¹ Since most youth, in whatever state or area, eventually attend secondary school, this was felt to be an adequate place to obtain information about the majority of juveniles in Michigan.² Students in the district come from a reasonably representative

¹The fourth high school only recently opened and is very experimental regarding the nature of its curriculum. The school officials with whom I spoke felt that they could tell me little because of the newness of their jobs, the school, and the resulting problems loosely termed "getting organized."

²In later studies, this group will be further divided into categories of "self-reported" delinquents and non-delinquents. For a complete discussion of the pros and cons of the "self-report" method of measuring delinquent activity, including lists of questions, scales, and narrative employed by its users, see Hardt and Bodine (1965). There is ample justification for making this distinction, especially in the "hidden delinquency" literature. See, e.g., Robison (1936), Schwartz (1945), Murphy, et al. (1946), Porterfield (1946), Short and Nye (1958), Erikson and Emprey (1963). Also, demographic characteristics of students, e.g., race, sex, socioeconomic status, and other family characteristics, will be considered.

variety of race and ethnic groups, socioeconomic statuses, family occupational groups, and other such demographic categories.

In the case of delinquent youth, the group studied was students at the Michigan State Boys' Training School (BTS) at Lansing and Girls' Training School (GTS) at Adrian, both supervised by the Institutional division of the Office of Youth Services, Michigan Department of Social Services. This group was chosen as an "extreme" example of juvenile offenders because, in general, the youths have been made wards of the state, i.e., taken away from their parents, because of repeated delinquent behavior and general "incurability." It is thought that boys and girls at these institutions will display "extreme" social psychological tendencies characteristic of delinquent youth.

It is worthwhile to mention at this point that both the education and adjudication processes have, of course, several steps prior to secondary and training school. Studying at these levels, however, is no drawback to purposes here. Records of both institutions indicate aspects of these intermediate steps (e.g., elementary and middle school, police and probation authorities) and the youth's responses to these institutions. In the process, and at the age level desired, these levels are comparable "ends of the line," i.e., before college or working

adulthood, adult prison or, in some cases, mental institutions.³

Secondary Educational Institutions

The Lansing public high schools chosen for this research appear, at face value, to be reasonably typical of secondary educational facilities statewide. Curriculums include general education, college preparatory programs, business-oriented studies, and vocational education, the latter usually coupled with some form of work-study program with cooperating local businesses. Institutional structures and faculty educational backgrounds are also similar among the schools. One school is located on Lansing's south side, drawing students from a virtually all white, middle-class area. Very few Blacks and Chicanos attend this school, and about 47 per cent of its students who graduate continue on to some form of post-secondary education. Another school is located on the east side of town, drawing its students from an admixture of middle- and working-class areas. The Black and Chicano enrollment here is about 8 per cent, and 34 per cent of these students continue their education after graduation. The third

³Several studies have been done, for example, which separate "mentally retarded" delinquent youths from other delinquents. Unfortunately for research purposes, definitions of such things as I.Q. requirements for placement in that category are inconsistent from study to study. See, e.g., Spata (1965), Wilson (1970).

school is on the west side of the city, drawing its student body primarily from working-class and inner-city areas, with some middle-class enrollment. A relatively high percentage of Blacks and Chicanos attend this school, with approximately 20 per cent of its graduating class continuing their education. The latter two schools' districts encompass all the areas in Lansing which are defined by the United States Census Bureau as "major concentrations of poverty."⁴

Juvenile Detention Institutions

Youth in Michigan first come in contact with the Office of Youth Services as a result of juvenile court action, usually for repeated delinquent behavior and probation violations. Decision-making power as to the institutionalization or non-institutionalization of the youth rests with the OYS. Should their decision be to institutionalize the youth, there are several places for such internment. These are one of five Shelter Homes in the Upper Peninsula (two in Escanaba, one each in Sault Ste. Marie, Marquette, and Ironwood), a Group Home in one of several small towns, one of seven Halfway Houses in several Michigan urban areas, the Michigan Children's Institute-Arbor Heights Center in Ann Arbor, one of three major treatment programs of the W. J. Maxey School in

⁴Specifically, Lansing census tracts 2, 13, 14, 15 and 18. See U.S. Census Bureau (1966).

Whitmore Lake, the Girls' Training School in Adrian, and the Boys' Training School in Lansing. The latter two were chosen for study here.

The Lansing BTS contains 103 boys, with a median age of 15 years. The primary emphasis of the school is therapy and behavior modification through a variety of techniques. Recently, however, the methods of Harry Voorath, called Positive Peer Culture (PPC), have been made the primary operating philosophy at BTS. It is a group therapy technique stressing interpersonal "caring" among the boys and utilizing the peer group as a vehicle for behavior change. The boys themselves provide the element of social disapproval of anti-social behavior, and ostensibly reinforcing resocialization efforts of other agents. More will be said about this later.

There are educational programs at BTS, including special and remedial education, library services, and driver education. Skills training includes institution maintenance (food services, laundry, etc.), graphic arts, machine and small engine repair, woodworking, shoe repair, and upholstering. Recreational programs include swimming, bowling, physical education, and some intramural sports.

Adrian GTS contains 140 girls of roughly the same age group as BTS. Treatment methods here are described as "multidimensional," with no particular operating philosophy or model. This, however, will probably become more

structured and internally consistent, especially if PPC efforts at BTS are reasonably successful.

Educational programs at GTS consist primarily of remedial education and some high school "solids," plus "restaurant training" and cosmetology. Also offered is skills training in office machine operation, health occupations, food services, and child care. Recreational activities are varied, depending upon the interests and expertise of the group and the staff.

CHAPTER III

VARIABLES

Socialization

Socialization is the process by which a society transmits to its individual members: (1) the culturally-defined primary values of the society; (2) the socially-defined goal-objects which symbolize the societal interpretation of those values; (3) concomitant attitudes and interpretations of events; (4) the socially prescribed methods by which these goal-objects may be attained; and (5) the necessary skills requisite to these methods. It is a process of a primarily punishment-reward nature carried out by particular "agents" of socialization, a conditioning to a particular type of content learning. Socialization, then, is a branch of total learning, the learning of particular responses, interaction processes, and behavior patterns which presumably allow an individual to function socially in the society in a manner detrimental to neither the person nor the society.⁵ If a youth is

⁵The delinquent youths in this study, although unsocialized and anti-social, are quite adept at learning. Despite a school of thought which claims that this type of

"unsocialized," he has not acquired the above type of learning. This virtually always results in some degree of "anti-social," or "sociopathic," behavior, i.e., interaction breakdowns with others and defensive behavior at others' expense.

The "socialization agents" on whom I focus are the family, the school, and the peer group. These three agents appear to be most influential towards the individual youth's behavior (see, e.g., W. TenHouten, 1965), allowing many insights into answering the most general question, i.e., why a youth spends his adolescence in training school. This latter institution I prefer to designate as an agent of "resocialization," for this appears to be its purpose.

Self

Concerning the next variable, "self," there is much confusion in the field of its conceptualization. Many theories exist concerning the nature of the self and its functions.⁶ On the individual level, we have

young person is "just stupid," one study showed their average Wechsler I.Q.'s to be comparable to any other population of youths (Versilius, 1964:54). They are particularly good at using other people to their own perceived advantage, i.e., conning or "working a game." In other words, they do learn and often well, but the content of that learning is different. Miller's (1958) discussion of "smartness" among delinquents illustrates this point well.

⁶For summaries of many of the theories, see Sherif (1968), Coleman (1960: 449-74), Hall and Lindzey (1957: 467-99).

"personality," which can be conceived of for the purposes here as being dichotomous, i.e., "self" and "other." The self side of the personality is the more important one here, the other becoming useful operationally as a method of bringing the self into focus (since it is formed from interaction with others).

Self is the part of the personality dealing with cultural symbols and values that can be denoted in the first-person (I, me, my, myself, mine), as opposed to second- and third-persons, i.e., the "other."⁷ It is composed of certain attitudes (evaluations), values (ideal modes of conduct and/or end-states of existence), perceptions (views of reality), goal-objects (specific societal symbols of values), and a totality of experiences, all resulting from the interaction processes of learning and socialization, and one's mere existence in a spatial and temporal world. Self-attitudes are evaluations of oneself, as opposed to attitudes about other environmental objects. Self-values are the particular values which an individual considers positive. Self-perceptions ("self-image," "self-concept") are who or what one views oneself, or aspects thereof, to be. Self-goal-objects are the individual ideal achievements selected from the environment

⁷This "other" scheme might be subdivided again into "significant other" (second-person) and "generalized other" (third-person), but that is not important at this point.

and society, based on interpretations of cultural values. The totality of experiences is self-explanatory. Any aspect of the self may be conscious or unconscious at any given time and in any given situation.

To the newborn infant, the only things that are present are what he brings into the world with him, like hereditary and biological variables and his senses. It is through the latter that the self initially develops.

At first, a baby cannot see himself or perceive himself in any way as an entity apart from all other objects he senses. I don't believe that an infant can, at first, differentiate between an object touching him and him touching an object. It is only when, through a complicated, trial-and-error sensory interaction with his environment that the child becomes aware of himself as a distinct object, one in which he has a vested interest. This awareness is aided by auditory recognition of his name as "mine," a name which he compares with other auditory symbols for other objects. (This is the primary reason for defining the self in first-person terms.) At first, "my" and "mine" encompass just about everything in the child's environment. Through a reward-punishment parental socialization, he eventually learns that not everything is his. As a result of the continuation of such social processes, sensory interaction is replaced primarily by interpersonal interaction, and subsequently

including both "significant" (e.g., family) and "generalized" (e.g., adults in general) others.

All types of interaction contribute to the development of the self in this way.⁸ Here, we are interested in the contribution of significant and generalized others (who are here manifested as agents of socialization) to the selves of the youths studied.

Related Variables

The concept of "attitude" has long been in existence as both an object of research in itself and as a tool for explaining and predicting human behavior in a number of situations. The concept of "value" is a more recent addition as an empirical tool of social scientists. Rokeach (1968b) has stated before a conference of his colleagues that it is time to shift the emphasis of social psychology research from attitudes to values and "value-attitude systems." Studies have been done in some areas indicating the possible worth of such a consideration (Rokeach and Parker, 1970; Rokeach and Homant, 1970). In any case, both concepts and their hybrid will be considered in this study.

An attitude is an evaluation of some object, situation, or both. Characteristically, it is object

⁸This self-development scheme resembles that of Charles Horton Cooley. For a convenient and complete summary of Cooley's position, see Borgatta (1969).

and/or situation specific, and the evaluation takes place along a positive-negative dimension.

A value is an ideal or abstract of a particular "mode of conduct" or "end-state of existence" (Rokeach, 1968a).⁹ They differ from attitudes in that they are not situationally defined, and are often objects of attitudes, i.e., evaluated as positive or negative. For example, the value "conformity" is an abstraction of both a mode of conduct and an end-state of existence. It may be evaluated as good or bad, in general or in given situations.

Rokeach never specifically defines the "value-attitude system." However, it can be thought of in terms of the nature of the interrelationships between attitudes and values within any individual. Such interrelationships include consistency at different levels of analysis. For example, how does one who places high value on "conformity" feel about the S.D.S.?¹⁰ Other such relationships might include attachment, involvement, and commitment to particular values or value structures (Hirschi, 1969). From there, the relationships of attitudes, values, and

⁹My definition of "value" differs slightly from Rokeach's in my use of the phrases "ideal or abstract of" vice simply "ideal." The latter implies an automatic positive evaluation by society of such a mode or end-state, which I do not want to imply. In actuality, all of Rokeach's values could be considered societally-prescribed in the United States.

¹⁰This would have to be done by establishing indices of consistency.

value-attitude systems to certain kinds of behavior may be ascertained more specifically.

One will notice my heavy reliance on the work of Rokeach in the preceding paragraphs. This is not to say that I agree with his conceptualizations in toto.¹¹ Suffice it to say that I am operationalizing some of his individual concepts and ignoring his more elaborate total system.

Perceptions are views of reality, that which one accepts to be real or true.¹² They differ from attitudes in that no evaluative judgment is involved. Using the common scales of the "semantic differential,"¹³ for example, the "potency" and "activity" dimensions can be considered perceptions, whereas the "evaluative" dimension is an attitudinal continuum.

Goal-objects are the tangible societal objects which symbolize values. For examples, diamonds and Cadillacs are goal-objects that can symbolize "wealth" or

¹¹E.g., I concern myself with neither his concepts of a "belief system," which I feel is not supported by his own statistical analysis, nor his distinctions between "beliefs," "attitudes," "perceptions," and other variables, which I also consider debatable, and of little use here (see Rokeach, 1968a: chaps 1, 2, and 5). Also questionable is his distinction between "instrumental" values (modes of conduct) and "terminal" values (end-states of existence), which my example of "conformity" I believe illustrates. For his lists of both types of values, see Rokeach (1968c).

¹²This concept is similar to Rokeach's "primary beliefs" (1968a: chaps 1 and 2).

¹³See Osgood (1967), Kerlinger (1964: chap 32).

"success" in the materialistic sense. Individual differences in self-goal-objects arise when one likes diamonds and abhors Cadillacs. Likewise, friends and children may also symbolize "wealth" and "success" in another sense, and in the same manner, one may love friends and hate children. Therefore, individual self-goal-objects are important to consider here not only in themselves, but also as indicators of the individual's interpretation of values. For research purposes, they may also serve as a measure of consistency between attitudes and values. Goal-objects are attitude objects, like values, but differ from values in that they are not ideals or abstractions, but specific "things."

One's totality of experience, every single event of an individual's life, must be considered as an important part of the self. It is a "bank" of additional resources which an individual may draw upon for clues to behavior in any given situation, and can certainly account for much of the difficulty in attempts at changing behavior. However, the variable is practically unresearchable because of the myriad of such experiences in any given self. Therefore, it will be assumed in this thesis that one's totality of experience can act as either a reinforcing or modifying agent to the individual's behavior.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The Experience Survey

Originally, the method of study was to be some form of "participant observation" of youth in the high school setting, outside the school setting, and in the training school setting.¹⁴ However, I was not given access to the youths directly because of the many somewhat vague ideas which I presented to the relevant authorities in the early stages. As a result, I was only allowed to interview the staff members in the institutions, prior to a more comprehensive proposal. Therefore, the method used here, by necessity, was what Selltiz and his colleagues (1960: 55-65) called an experience survey; formulative, exploratory, and "insight-stimulating."

Constructing a model based on the Selltiz et al. text, I drew several propositions and stipulations from that work:

¹⁴Naturally, there are very few settings outside the training schools in which participant observation would be feasible.

1. " . . . a selected sample of people working in the area is called for" (1960: 55).
2. "Perhaps the most direct method of selecting informants is to ask strategically placed administrators working in the area one desires to study to point out the most informative, experienced, and analytical people" (1960: 56).
3. "The aim of the experience survey is to obtain insight into the relationships between variables rather than to get an accurate picture of current practices or a simple consensus as to best practices" (1960: 55).
4. " . . . the formulative and discovery functions of the experience survey require that the interview always allow the respondent to raise issues and questions the investigator has not previously considered" (1960: 57).
5. "Concrete illustrations, from the respondent's own experience, of successful and unsuccessful attempts to achieve a specific effect are of particular value" (1960: 57).
6. "At a certain point the investigator will find that additional interviews do not provide new insights, that the answers fall into a pattern with which he is already familiar" (1960: 56).

Following propositions (1) and (2), I started with school board administration people, school principals, and the assistant director of the OYS. In some cases, these people were good respondents themselves, since many school principals, for instance, were once teachers, counselors, and deans. These administrators then directed me to the people dealing more directly with youths, and these people, in turn, directed me to others whom they thought would be helpful, and so on. The results were interviews with fourteen school counselors, boys' and girls' deans, assistant principals, and a truant officer of the Lansing schools system. At BTS, my interviews were with the staff psychologist and four of the "cottage counselors," i.e., the supervisors of the individual residence halls. At GTS, I talked to a section supervisor and ex-counselor, and three of the "cottage counselors." All interviews were by appointment, were carried on in an office or waiting room setting, and ranged in duration from one to two and one-half hours.

Following propositions (3), (4), and (5), I first explained the nature of the study in general terms, and asked broad-based questions concerning the respondent's experience in dealing with the youths in question, i.e., high school or training school. This usually evoked responses indicating the number of years they have spent dealing with youth, general statements about how the young people have or have not changed over the years, and

the like. From there, questions and responses became more and more specific and detailed as to particular cases and problems, and the various treatment methods applied. My questions focused on my concern with relevant variables being considered here (e.g., How do you think he really felt about . . . ?, How did his parents react to . . . ?, What sort of considerations guided . . . ?, etc.). General life histories and specific events, based primarily on official records and sometimes on the personal knowledge of the respondent, would usually enter the discussion at this point. Material from official records was read to me by the respondent (i.e., I personally viewed none of them) and they were always kept anonymous. In a few interviews, no such particulars appeared forthcoming, so I simply asked for specifics, and always got them. At this point in the interviews, this process of general to specific would often reverse itself, especially with regard to general statements about the individual youth's personality orientations, and comparatively with other youths.

Finally, concerning proposition (6), later interviews did in fact start to be repetitions of previous ones; different cases, but pretty much the same patterns of response and analysis from the respondents. It is at this point that further interviews become fruitless, and it is time for the researcher to get to the major part of his task--integration of diverse, qualitative material and the generation of hypotheses, or tentative conclusions.

This reliance on the ability of the researcher to prepare a more or less unified interpretation of a variety of material is probably the most criticized aspect of the experience survey method. Quoting from the reference text, the authors justify the method (and I agree) as follows:

This last characteristic has led many critics to view the analysis of insight-stimulating instances as a sort of projective technique, in which conclusions reflect primarily the investigator's predisposition rather than the object of the study. Even if this reproach is appropriate to many case studies, the characteristic is not necessarily undesirable when the purpose is to evoke rather than to test hypotheses. For even if the case material is merely the stimulus for the explicit statement of a previously unformulated hypothesis, it may serve a worth-while function (Selltitz et al., 1960: 60-61).

Some Possible Confounding Factors

From a methodological standpoint, the interviews indicated two possible sources of difficulty in this type of qualitative comparison study.

First, the training schools draw most of their populations from central-city Detroit and out-state rural areas, and primarily youths from lower socioeconomic strata and family occupational groups. Racially, BTS is 50 per cent Black, 49 per cent White, and 1 per cent Chicano.¹⁵ Many people would interpret this to mean that such social groups breed delinquent youths, and a few social causes of delinquency are hereby established. However, my respondents at the training schools felt that

¹⁵ Similar data on GTS was not available.

this was a gross oversimplification. Youths from other, more affluent and prestigious social groups are given the services of private psychiatrists, or their behavior is covered up in other ways (not excluding outright bribery!) by their parents.¹⁶

Secondly, the given reasons for committing girls to GTS are primarily labelled as truancy, both from school and home, which is legal behavior in the former case at age 16, and in the latter at age 18. The only "crimes" these girls have been involved in are drug abuses and prostitution, the latter almost always a result of the former. At BTS, there is a much broader range of reasons for the boys' internment; from truancy and general incorrigibility to breaking and entering, theft, rape, and in a couple of cases, murder. Most of my respondents felt that this made no difference when such variables as socialization and self were being considered. The girls and boys display very similar problems social-psychologically, regardless of how the symptoms of trouble manifest themselves. Several, however, felt that boys and girls are considerably different in these respects. Also, several felt that parents were more "protective" toward girls than toward boys, and therefore displayed more characteristics common to youth from more affluent families.

¹⁶Evidence of differentiation in treatment due to family economic status often arises in the literature. See, e.g., Goldman (1963), Eisner (1969).

By this it is meant that parents sought private help if at all possible, or tried to solve the problems without any professional help. A few felt that such differences are inherent in the juvenile justice system, but no one could be very specific--except that judges in juvenile courts are more hesitant about sending girls to the training school than boys.

There is no way of ascertaining whether or not the two factors muddle the qualitative findings, or if so, how much. In any case, it can be assumed that they tend to compound various discrepancies between the high school and training school populations presented here, but in no way deny the findings.

The next section of this work will be an integration of materials from my interview notes, which were organized and summarized in all cases directly following the interview. The format of the discussion could best be called "comparative," and examples and other related data from a variety of sources will be used. However, no directly comparable data between these two populations was available, so supportive data can only be considered illustrative of a particular point. Most data available concerned Lansing or comparable high school youths. The training schools, especially GTS, had and knew of very little.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Comparing the high school (HS) and training school (TS) youths, one can see many similarities and differences along many dimensions. The more obvious ones follow, not necessarily in order of importance. Two stipulations can be made at the outset, however.

First, when references are made to disciplinary problem youths in the high schools, they usually serve to illustrate one or more factors common among TS youth. The best that can be said here is that HS problem kids show some social problem symptoms, but not all or as many as are well in evidence among TS youths. In other words, the former youths have something going for them despite some social handicaps. When problem kids were mentioned by my respondents in the high schools, they almost always followed up by adding a qualifying statement like: "But even so, this girl did have a lot in her favor, like"

Second, since no self-report questionnaire designed to measure "undetected" delinquent behavior was used here,

and my respondents had no systematic data, nothing can be said about the delinquent activities of the HS youth sample, problem kids or otherwise. I will assume, however, that such activity is not indigenous or mutually exclusive to any particular group studied here, since most variables and problem manifestations have their origins long before contact with the training schools, and all training school youths were once in the regular school systems.

Family Structure

Often there are differences between youths because of the nature of the family unit structure. Records from the training schools show an extremely large number of youths from "broken homes," and if there is a parent in the household, it is almost always the mother. Another somewhat common characteristic among TS youths is the large number of siblings with which they must share whatever benefits derive from the family.

However, any relationship to delinquent behavior appears not to be in the family structure per se, but in the nature of the family interrelationships. Many HS youths come from families of one or no parents with lots of children, but they never get to the training schools.¹⁷

¹⁷No empirical data concerning the percentage of Lansing HS youth with incomplete family structures was available. However, Lewis (1968) found that 35 per cent of the youths at Berkeley High School, Berkeley, California, had such family structures, and where one parent was present, it was the mother in 78 per cent of the cases.

Where the problems appear is usually when the parents and older siblings show little or no interest in the child and take little or no part in his socialization (Glueck and Glueck, 1962; D. TenHouten, 1965; Rodman and Grams, 1967). What is common to the TS youths are such recorded statements in their records as: "Parents show no interest in child," "No father, mother an alcoholic," "No father, mother a 'fence,'" "No father, mother a prostitute," "Parents constantly fighting, take out aggressions on child," and so on. All of these are obvious drawbacks to child-rearing.

Generational Continuity

Records of TS youths sometimes show that the parents of youths have histories of juvenile and adult criminal activity. This is also the reason in some cases why the family structure is incomplete, i.e., the father is in jail. This phenomena is virtually absent among the HS youths studied, only presenting itself once in a long while among youths having disciplinary problems--but even then, very seldom.¹⁸

Early Socialization

The role of socialization through sensory interaction with the environment and interpersonal interaction

¹⁸For illustrations of the types of parental behavior and family characteristics common to "sociopathic" people, see Robbins (1966: 159-80).

with others has been discussed in relation to the development of the self in the child. During the "early," i.e., pre-school, period of his life, this socialization is carried on primarily by the family, usually the child's first "significant other." In addition to self development, goal-oriented behavior, self- and other-perceptions, and attitudes begin to take form during early socialization. The process of socialization at this stage is basically of a punishment-reward nature involving specific behaviors. However, there is a great variance in the nature of the process in any given family setting. The comparison of the family backgrounds of HS and TS youths illustrates major differences between the two groups.

In the case of HS youth in general, a more or less consistent pattern of behavior-related rewards and punishments have been administered by the family. When Junior does something his mother does not like, he is punished for it; if she does like something he does, he is rewarded. There are also neutral acts by the child in that they elicit neither punishment nor reward from a parent, of course, and complications may arise in the organization of this pattern. For example, there may be a time lapse between the act and the response to it, i.e., the child may not know which of his many acts (even ones he has forgotten) that the parent is rewarding or punishing. Even with these sorts of complications, the responses by

the parent are related to some behavior of the child, more or less systematically.

An extremely common item in the case histories of TS youths is a punishment-reward socialization which is unrelated to the behavior of the child. This is not to say that their parents do not punish or reward them. Much too often, however, they did it for their own reasons, unknown to the child and not connected to anything he did. For example, the father tells his son to pick up his toys and he will give him a quarter. If the boy does this, his father may or may not give him the quarter. He may even get a spanking for his efforts, or in more cruel cases, a full-fledged beating. Or he may get no response at all from his father. Another time he might be sitting on the living room floor playing with a toy, or doing absolutely nothing, and the father will walk over to him and hand him a quarter--or, again, give him a spanking. The point is that the response is not behavior-related, and this problem has many implications in self and social development.

As a result of this, typical HS youths believe their behavior really matters in obtaining rewards in the greater society, i.e., there is an internal locus of control. TS youths, however, possess highly fatalistic orientations, i.e., an external locus of control. They are an object of forces beyond their grasp, and nothing they do has anything to do with obtaining rewards.

Later Socialization

Once the child starts school, there are two primary agents which share in socialization with the family--the school and the peer group.

Education is the socialization process (again, mostly of a punishment-reward nature) first encountered by the youth in which is contained all aspects of the total process. The specific socializing agents are the teachers and other school officials, and the other children. The peer group is, then, both an agent and an object of socialization, as the parents, teachers, etc., are both agents and objects of continuing socialization (and sometimes resocialization), responding to changes in society and culture in a defensive, neutral, or supportive manner.

A youth who has developed an internal locus of control responds to this system in roughly the same way he responds to family socialization, i.e., by learning which behaviors elicit rewards and which do not, and becomes "well adjusted" to societal norms of behavior, especially if the school's legitimacy as a socialization agent is reinforced in the home. In addition, if parents and school officials reinforce the individual's peer group affiliations (e.g., by parents saying "I like your friends," or teachers praising certain individuals or groups with whom the youth associates), the youth appears then to be

well on the way to attainment of society's highly valued goal-objects.

In the case of TS youth, records show no such systematic socialization combinations. If the early socialization into prescribed behaviors is relatively absent, then it is very likely that parental reinforcement of the school's attempts will also be absent. If the child responds to teacher's praise of his drawing of a pretty giraffe, for instance, and the parents ignore or rebuff the effort, then a vital part of socialization is missing. If teachers do not praise the child's drawing, then another part is missing. If the child:

- (a) does not associate with a peer group whose members have a more or less internal locus of control and have received some positive recognition as socializing agents,
- (b) tries to associate as such and is rebuffed by them,
- (c) does associate as such and their value as a socialization agent is ignored or denied by teachers and parents,
- (d) attempts to associate with a peer group who, like himself, possesses external control loci--and fails.

All of these events may lead to anti-social behavior in the child. Records of TS boys and girls show one or more

of these characteristic peer-association attempts in the schools, in virtually every case history studied.

If the youth is successful in (d), there is a probable basis for delinquent "gang" membership.¹⁹ However, social interaction within a gang and between the gang and non-gang members tend to operate on the basis of certain norms of behavior (Cohen, 1958; Matza, 1964; Miller, 1958; Short et al., 1965). These norms are designed in general to preserve the group rather than the individual. For example, such behavioral traits as "sounding" (Matza, 1964) or "ranking" (Miller, 1958) are acceptable within the gang, but never outside it with non-gang members.

In the case of BTS youth,²⁰ my respondents there, in their varying number of years at the institution, claim that they have yet to see a youth committed who has had a history of successful delinquent-gang participation. Youths at both training schools have considerable difficulty making successful associations with anybody, and the ones they do make are almost always of a short-run nature

¹⁹Reiss and Rhoses' "status deprivation" (1963), Cloward and Ohlin's "opportunity theory" (1961), some of Sykes and Matza's "techniques of rationalization" (1957), Short and Strodbeck's "group processes" (1965), and Miller's "focal concerns" (1958) appear to have at least partial relevance to this process.

²⁰Girls seldom operate in gangs, unless associated with a particular boy or boys individually. In these cases, they might better be described as "near-groupers" (Yablonsky, 1959).

and based upon some pragmatic consideration, usually selfish. Their reaction to being "sounded," for instance, would range from severe paranoia to utter panic. Many of these youths had accomplices in their delinquent activities, but when caught, they almost always implicate them, and often blame the other youths for the major part of the endeavor, thinking that this might get themselves off easier. In other words, no such norms of behavior operate, nor could they operate, with these youths--only self-survival and self-defense.

In any case, the end result of these school- and peer-related events is an increase in the youth's totality of experience reinforcing anti-social behavior patterns and external control loci, and keeping socialization attempts, or the lack thereof, as unsystematic and un-behavior-related as earlier ones. However, if a teacher praises a child for something, and the parent ignores or beats him, error can be introduced into research because of several factors. For instance, if he has developed an affinity for a particular teacher, it may temper the effect of his parents' rebuff. Such interplay between the child and the socializing agent, on an individual basis, can be an important variable here as to whether or not he responds to socialization attempts. This can also be true in early socialization, but dependency upon parents would appear to favor the child leaning toward them for final rewards.

Also, records at the training school show that death, or other such separation from the child, of a parent with whom the child has a definite affinity most often is the trigger of anti-social behavior in later adolescence.

If rewards do not appear forthcoming to the child, and no such interpersonal affinity develops between the child and the socialization agent, the most common reaction to this befuddling situation is to run from it. This is when the formal juvenile authorities first come in contact with the child--he is truant, often from both home and school, but usually only the latter at first. A study of youths referred by the juvenile court in Kent County, Michigan, to detention institutions showed that 60 per cent of these youths had "poor" school records, and 84 per cent had histories of school truancy (over one-half of these cases were described as "excessive"); all this despite a median Wechsler I.Q. of over 100 (Versluis, 1964: 51-54). HS problem kids are also often truant, and more often tardy. However, this pattern of behavior seldom starts at the early primary grade level. In the TS youths records, almost all showed repeated truancy from school and sometimes from home prior to ten years of age. Contact, then, with two, and sometimes three, important agents of socialization goes from often-but-insufficient to virtually nill-and-absent.

Self Perception

The difference between HS and TS students here appears to be primarily defined by the internal- vs. external-locus-of-control phenomenon.

Most HS students perceive themselves as "actors," that they are in some way responsible for their own behavior. This perception may be tempered somewhat by the current "youth culture" Zeitgeist, that there are powers-that-be who hamper their individual, and sometimes collective, freedom. However, in most situations, HS students are generally willing to try new methods when one fails, or summarize failures with the expletive, "I blew it!", instead of repeatedly blaming problems on powers beyond their control (whether they actually are or not). W. D. TenHouten's (1965: 326) data illustrates this point for youths in a sample of three Northeastern high schools. These youths chose "hard work" and "brains" as the "way to get ahead fastest" in this world, as opposed to chance factors like "family" and "good luck," regardless of the sex/race variable. His data is illustrated in Table 1.

HS problem youths often blame problems on someone or something other than themselves, but this is apparently not an overall characteristic. When it does happen, most of my HS respondents attributed it to a sham, that what the youths really want is attention. That these youths are different from TS youths is evidenced by the fact that most of them eventually graduate from high school. Most

TABLE 1.--Adaptation of "Percentage of Students Perceiving Various Ways to Get Ahead the Fastest" (North-eastern High School Sample), by W. D. TenHouten.^a

Way to Get Ahead Fastest	Boys		Girls	
	Black	White	Black	White
Hard Work	41%	44%	45%	50%
Brains	37	30	25	21
Personality	10	5 ^b	21	14
Know People	9	17 ^b	6	12
Family	3	2	2	2
Good Luck	1	1	1	.. ^c
	101% ^d (1067)	100% (1636)	100% (1203)	99% ^d (1639)

^aTenHouten (1965: 326).

^bThe only discrepancy in the ordering.

^cLess than .5 per cent.

^dDue to rounding.

often, this appears to be the case among kids who act up in class. They are quick to blame it on the teacher (which is sometimes true), but what they appear to want is recognition, either from peers or the teacher.

In the case of TS students, however, they blame virtually everything on forces outside themselves. They have no responsibility whatsoever for their actions, or rewards or misfortunes which befall them. They see themselves as objects of external powers, as being "acted upon" rather than being "actors." To most of them, they see no rhyme or reason to how authority figures treat them, just randomly distributed punishments and rewards unrelated to their own actions. In terms of Table 1 variables, "family," and especially "good luck," would have been more prevalent had they been asked the question. And they view this authority almost always as oppressive.

The overt manifestation of this type of self-perception is anti-social behavior, with the motivating factor being fear and self-defense. Such defensive characteristics of this self-perception is evident in the following passages, where nine BTS students were asked the question: "If you could be an animal, any animal you wanted to be, what kind would you be, and why?" Eight of these nine boys projectively showed these characteristics, as the following six quotations exemplify:²¹

²¹This data is the personal data of A. Dale Shears, Staff Psychologist, Boys' Training School, Lansing.

German Shepherd--so most other dogs couldn't take advantage of you.

Siamese Cat--most other animals live in the woods, cats live in homes where children and people care for him; . . . a warm house. A cat wouldn't have to worry who's going to shoot me or what.

German Shepherd--used to have one . . . used to fight good with other dogs.

Eagle--you're not supposed to kill eagles in the state of Michigan.

Robin--can fly up in the air and nobody can mess with me. If I'm on the ground, they can throw rocks at me.

Siamese Cat--I just like cats. They're friendly. They couldn't do no harm to you.

Self-defense and fear of personal adversity is blatantly evident.

Attitudes

None of my respondents, HS or TS, could give me any general ideas concerning general attitude patterns among their students. Most claimed that few such patterns evolved and great variance exists on any particular attitude-object. However, concerning three such objects, their responses about the attitude orientations of youths were concise enough to examine here in more detail. These concerned attitudes toward themselves, toward what could generally be called authority, and toward what I have defined as values.

Self-Attitudes

If self-perceptions answer the question "Who (or what) am I?" then self-attitudes, or "self-esteem," answer the question "How do I feel about that?" or "What do I think of myself?" Self-attitudes, then, are evaluations of one's self-perception, like adjectival self-descriptions on an evaluative dimension.

In the case of HS students, my respondents described them as generally positive, but sometimes negative in certain aspects. HS students, for example, may consider themselves physically unattractive, i.e., have a negative evaluation of their looks, but at the same time think positively about their "nice personality," or physical prowess (boys), or culinary talents (girls). In other words, negative characteristics are generally over-balanced by positive ones, lending a more or less high level of self-esteem.

TS students generally possess the opposite, i.e., more negative than positive evaluations and a more or less low level of self-esteem, often connoting impotence. This would be predictable, given the external-locus-of-control phenomenon and the fear evident in their self-perceptions. Some of the TS students perceive themselves as "human," yet attach to that various negative evaluations.

In other words, based on my respondents' statements, were one to place indices of self-attitude orientations on a positive-negative continuum (or "self-esteem"

on a high-low one), one should find a significant difference in means (HS toward the positive or high, TS toward the negative or low), with some variance to both, and some probable overlap in their curves. Specific empirical verification of this, however, is problematic.

Attitudes Toward Authority²²

Differences between HS and TS youth in this respect would not become immediately apparent in a simple observation study. In both cases, it is defined by my respondents as "poor." However, a closer examination reveals some distinct qualitative differences.

In the case of HS students, most of my informants attributed such poor attitudes to the contemporary Zeitgeist concerning the legitimacy of authority. Counselors and deans described youth today as generally prone to questioning anything that rings of absolutism, especially agents of authority. Kids often ask them why school officials' decisions should matter to them as to their life plans. If answers to these questions are adequate to the youths, they will accept them, but that will not stop them from questioning. Often, authority figures are generalized into socially defined groups, e.g., police. High school youths often refer to the

²²Empirical data on this topic in public schools is comparatively available. See, e.g., Johnson (1969), Lewis (1968), Miller (1971), Scott (1969).

police as "fuzz" or "pigs,"²³ but may have very positive attitudes toward particular policemen, or even groups of policemen; say, a particular department. For example, Lewis (1968) asked tenth-grade students at Berkeley (California) High School to describe their general attitudes toward both "police in general" and the "Berkeley police." Using his data, assuming that the sample was drawn from a normally distributed population of tenth-graders in the city, and testing for significant differences in the mean scores for the two "police" stimuli, Table 2 illustrates these students' tendency to differentiate the concept "police" in attitudinal formation.²⁴

In short, HS students' poor attitudes toward authority may be described as an adherence to current peer themes and symbolic typefications, systematically related to specific behaviors and situations in which the definition of right and wrong are not shared by the authority and the youths. However, when questioned specifically and individually, the operating generalizations become evident in their propensity to become specific, and usually not so negative.

²³A somewhat imaginative variant of this is in referring to police helicopters as "pork-choppers"!

²⁴To show only differentiation, a two-tailed Z-test is necessary.

TABLE 2.--High School Student Differentiation of "Police" Concept.

$H_0: \text{Mean}_1 = \text{Mean}_2$				
$H_A: \text{Mean}_1 \neq \text{Mean}_2$				
	Positive (3)	Indifferent (2)	Negative (1)	

Question 1: "How would you describe your attitude toward police in general?"				
N:	55	31	47	(133)
Mean = 2.06				
Variance = .77				
Question 2: "How would you describe your attitude toward the <u>Berkeley police</u> ?"				
N:	80	31	22	(133)
Mean = 2.44				
Variance = .58				
Z-value for difference between means = 3.80				
Level of significance = less than .01				
Therefore, REJECT H_0				

This appears to be true not only within one authority group, but also between authority groups, between authority groups and authority "figures," and between authority figures alone. Miller's attitudinal study of HS youths in Lansing, Michigan, using the Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank technique, illustrates this point when data for "police," "police department," "teachers," and "school" are compared interchangeably (1971: 264, 274). Using the same method of comparison of mean differences used in Table 2, these comparisons are shown in Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6.²⁵ Again, all measured differences are significant at least to the .05 level.

This is not the case among TS youth. First, as to the Zeitgeist effect mentioned earlier, the TS youths generalize even more concerning authority. Authority to them is anyone "bigger" than they are, who possesses a mighty "fist," be the authority police, school officials, probation officers, or whatever. All of my respondents felt that the aforementioned Zeitgeist effect, popular in the HS "youth culture," has had little effect on TS youth. They cite as evidence their lack of participation in school, and with peers in general, and their general

²⁵ It has been shown that a "no response" could very well be considered negative (Marcus and Maher, 1957). However, since Miller codes degrees of positive and negative here, the "no response" will be appropriately coded with "neutral," as Miller himself does later in his research.

TABLE 3.--High School Student Authority Differentiation:
 "Police Department" vs. "School."

$$H_0: \text{Mean}_1 = \text{Mean}_2$$

$$H_A: \text{Mean}_1 \neq \text{Mean}_2$$

	Dir. Pos. (5)	Indir. Pos. (4)	Neut. - No Resp. (3)	Indir. Neg. (2)	Dir. Neg. (1)	
Question 1: "The police department _____."						
N	299	232	340	105	145	(1121)
Mean = 3.38						
Variance = 1.73						
Question 2: "The school _____."						
N	235	306	210	195	175	(1121)
Mean = 3.20						
Variance = 1.93						

Z-value for difference between means = 3.16

Level of significance = less than .01

Therefore, REJECT H_0

TABLE 4.--High School Student Authority Differentiation:
"Police" vs. "Police Department."

$H_0: \text{Mean}_1 = \text{Mean}_2$						
$H_A: \text{Mean}_1 \neq \text{Mean}_2$						

	Dir. Pos. (5)	Indir. Pos (4)	Neut. - No Resp. (3)	Indir. Neg. (2)	Dir. Neg. (1)	
--	---------------------	----------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------	---------------------	--

Question 1: "Most police are _____."

N	356	406	72	79	208	(1121)
---	-----	-----	----	----	-----	--------

Mean = 3.55
Variance = 2.14

Question 2: "The police department _____."

N	299	232	340	105	145	(1121)
---	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	--------

Mean = 3.38
Variance = 1.73

Z-value for difference between means = 2.89

Level of significance = less than .01

Therefore, REJECT H_0

TABLE 5.--High School Student Authority Differentiation:
"Teachers" vs. "School."

$H_0: \text{Mean}_1 = \text{Mean}_2$						
$H_A: \text{Mean}_1 \neq \text{Mean}_2$						

	Dir. Pos. (5)	Indir. Pos (4)	Neut. - No Resp. (3)	Indir. Neg. (2)	Dir. Neg. (1)	
--	---------------------	----------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------	---------------------	--

Question 1: "Most teachers are _____."

N	276	415	62	106	272	(1121)
---	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	--------

Mean = 3.34
Variance = 2.34

Question 2: "The school _____."

N	235	306	210	195	175	(1121)
---	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	--------

Mean = 3.20
Variance = 1.93

Z-value for difference between means = 2.27

Level of significance = less than .05

Therefore, REJECT H_0

TABLE 6.--High School Student Authority Differentiation:
"Police" vs. "Teachers."

$$H_0: \text{Mean}_1 = \text{Mean}_2$$

$$H_A: \text{Mean}_1 \neq \text{Mean}_2$$

	Dir. Pos. (5)	Indir. Pos. (4)	Neut. - No Resp. (3)	Indir. Neg. (2)	Dir. Neg. (1)	
Question 1: "Most police are _____."						
N	356	406	72	79	208	(1121)

Mean = 3.55

Variance = 2.14

Question 2: "Most teachers are _____."

N	276	415	62	106	272	(1121)
---	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	--------

Mean = 3.34

Variance = 2.34

Z-value for difference between means = 3.32

Level of significance = less than .01

Therefore, REJECT H_0

inability to read and understand anything above the level of children's literature.

Second, as to any systematic relation to behavior, these youths so often perceive no such relationship in their dealings with authority. This would again be predictable, given the evidence of their incomplete socialization mentioned earlier. These youths do not view authority in terms of someone telling them "right" from "wrong," for their concepts of these phenomena have no bearing on any moral code. Rather, it is related to the idea that a person is "right" if his fist is big enough to "convince" you. If it is not, he simple is not "right." But, in any case, it has nothing to do with the youth's behavior. The locus of control is, again, completely external.

This concept of authority and patterns of reaction to it are common among both TS boys and girls, but most common in the case of boys. There were many more girls with attitudes toward authority more similar to HS youth than boys.²⁶ Two of my respondents, a GTS section supervisory and a BTS cottage counselor, suggested a possible reason for this difference. They attribute this to girls

²⁶ However, two studies of HS youth, done at the same time but different locations, and using sex, race, and attitudes toward police as variables, found Black girls to possess the most negative attitudes (Lewis, 1968; Johnson, 1969).

not being repeatedly truant from school as young as boys,²⁷ thereby the increased exposure to formal education, and consequently higher reading levels, and exposure to the current "youth culture."

It should be noted that the Zeitgeist phenomenon may be misleading. The counselors and deans who suggested it may be merely thinking of the differences between today and when they were in high school. In other words, the HS kids may or may not have "poor" attitudes toward authority, but they certainly are different from those common among youth of yesteryear. The term "poor" may only be a relative one from the standpoint of the attitudes of the school officials.

Value Structure

Values, i.e., ideal modes of conduct or end-states of existence, are attitude objects. Referring to my earlier example, "conformity," people form a positive or negative predisposition to this idea.

The striking thing about this phenomenon is the similarity between HS and TS students. HS students appear to embrace traditional societal values and desire socially-accepted goal-objects, which may not be surprising.²⁸ What

²⁷ Both respondents claimed they had seen empirical evidence of this, but neither could cite a source, or postulate any empirically-supported reasons for it.

²⁸ Unfortunately, most value studies encountered in my review of the literature used rank-order methodology,

might be, however, is that TS students apparently do likewise. When asked the question: "If you had three wishes, what would they be?" nine BTS students' answers projectively indicated an abundance of traditional values and goal-objects. They have been categorized as follows:²⁹

"finish high school and college" (EDUCATION)

"own the whole world," "all the money I want,"
richest man in the world" (WEALTH)

"have a job," "get a job" (JOB, WEALTH)

"have a car," "buy me a car" (AUTOMOBILE)

"had a family," "be at home," "go home," "being home"
(SECURITY, HOME AND FAMILY, RELEASE FROM INSTITUTION)

"was on my own" (INDEPENDENCE, RELEASE FROM INSTI-
TUTION)

"straighten up," "turn over a new leaf," "wasn't in
here," "get out of here" (RELEASE FROM INSTITUTION,
RETURN TO SOCIETY)

and usually testing only for a value "heirarchy" of socially-accepted values (Osgood et al., 1961; Rokeach, 1968c; Miller, 1971). Values with a negative connotation are seldom considered in depth. Also, all of the above names studies, save Miller's, were done with college student samples.

²⁹The number of quotes does not add up to the expected twenty-seven because some of the boys named less than three wishes. This data, again, is the personal data of A. Dale Shears, Staff Psychologist, Boys' Training School, Lansing.

"make a good success of my life," "a hundred more wishes," "live forever," "live in happiness and peace" (GENERAL)

This is, of course, not conclusive proof, but the indications of the traditional values and goal-objects are evident.

There appears to be some differences concerning the socially-prescribed methods of attainment of these goal-objects, however. Much more negative predispositions toward these methods appear among TS youths than among HS youths. Most of my respondents attributed this to another facet of the education process--the acquisition of skills necessary to implement these socially-approved methods of attainment. Given the truancy records and generally poor socialization of most TS students, it seems very reasonable to assume that their facility at these skills (e.g., reading, writing, etc.) are severely lacking. If a youth cannot handle prescribed methods adequately and obtain societal rewards as a result, the youth would be prone to attaching negative predispositions to them.

"Short-run Hedonism"³⁰

The "get-what-you-can-now" appears at least somewhat pervasive throughout both HS and TS students.

³⁰ This term is Cohen's (1958), and the ideas presented are very similar to his.

However, in the case of HS students, their view of future attainment of goals is also present and pervasive, and for many, taken for granted. Most see at least some value in formal education, some value in starting "at the bottom" and working your way up by learning the job,³¹ and in general, some value in putting off immediate gratifications for future rewards.

This is not the case with most TS youths. Since they see rewards as randomly distributed and not behavior-related, the belief is that when opportunity for immediate rewards presents itself, take advantage of it now, for there will probably be no tomorrow. The big fist of authority could fall on you at any minute. To many TS youths, pleasures and rewards in life are few, and they are to be sought out and taken whenever and wherever they should arise.

Temporal Structure

Related to the pursuit of immediate pleasures and rewards is the general ability or inability to structure one's time. In the case of HS students, in addition to their more or less future-oriented behavior, there is the question of day-to-day life. If HS students get bored, they have gained many resources through socialization,

³¹Every high school studied had a pervasive and well-populated "work-study" program.

learning, and peer-group associations with which to alleviate boredom. Some may read, some have hobbies, and most have friends and some money, which open many doors to activity.

However, among TS students, one of their more serious problems appears to be their inability to structure and utilize time, i.e., to alleviate boredom. As one of my respondents at BTS put it, "To these kids there are twenty-four hours in a day. You can sleep away some of them, but what do you do with the rest?" These youths apparently lack the resources gained through socialization with which to take care of this problem. Few read because of such generally poor ability to do so; few do at all well in sports, especially team sports, because this involves association with others, albeit pragmatic, with little meaningful rewards; few have anything which remotely resembles a hobby; and almost all have extremely short attention-spans. The television, for those who have had them, is often a source of some alleviation, but how long can one watch T.V. before that becomes boring, too? If most of these youths were not in the training school, and someone asked them what they would do next week, or tomorrow, or even an hour from now, they would have no answer.

Affection and Attention

Another possible source of difficulty in socializing the child is the lack of parental affection and attention received by him. While this is a severe problem among TS youths, it is also extremely common among HS problem youths, and even some HS youths who are not a problem to school officials.

In the latter case, my respondents felt that they had found another source of affection and attention somewhere along the way, probably from teachers, peers, or other more distant relatives or neighbors living in the Lansing area. In the other cases, this seems to relate to family structure and relations within the family. For example, many siblings results in less attention, therefore affection, from the parents for each individual child, especially if there is only one parent source. Also, if the child is unwanted, parents are more likely to show no affection, and often ignore or rebuff the child. However, if there are many children in the family, it is often the case that one or more of them supply the source of attention and affection, and consequently become socialization agents (good and poor) much like the parents or the peer group (D. TenHouten, 1965).

Consequently, what can be said here is fairly indefinite,³² but when added to other problems common among TS youths, the effect of lack of attention and affection can compound the difficulties, although not necessarily when taken as a lone variable.

"Youthful Rebellion"

Related in some ways to the Zeitgeist effect is the question of "normal youthful rebellion," or in contemporary terms, the "generation gap." It is no secret to social scientists that the socialization processes on any given individual are not perfect, and conflicts will arise between and among socialization agents, and between the individual and the "realities of life." These conflicts are a major source of differences between generations, and would be expected to be manifest among both HS and TS youths. Given the differences in socialization already stated among the two groups, one might expect greater "rebellion" among TS students because of more sources of conflicts. Problematic, however, is defining the concept of "youthful rebellion" and measuring its particular impact on the youth. One can say that the effects are probably the same in both cases if the quantitative or qualitative differences between parents and children are the same. There

³²Robbins (1966), in his study of the "sociopathic" personality, places lack of parental affection relatively low on the priorities as a causal factor for the phenomenon.

may be a case for this argument if parents of TS youths are, in fact, reasonably unsocialized themselves, and parents of HS youths are reasonably socialized, making the differences between the generations comparable. This may also be true in a changing social structure, where socialization agents are responding to different values, attitudes, norms of behavior, etc.

What appears to result from this concept, often referred to by my HS respondents, is total confusion. I feel that other consequences and differences are more relevant, more important, more easily conceptualized, and vastly more measurable.

Parental Cooperation

The role of parental (or in loco parentis, e.g., older siblings) reinforcement of other agents of socialization has been noted as crucial to the complete socialization process. At the HS and TS level, however, it has varying impact.

In the case of HS youths, parental cooperation is regarded by my respondents as vitally important for the proper socialization of the youth. When it is there, it "makes the school's job easier." This is simply a continuation of earlier parental support for the school's legitimacy in raising the child, and the earlier support appears to have more impact on the child's acceptance of this legitimacy. For example, in cases where HS youths

have "changed parents," i.e., are living with someone other than whom they resided with during early school years, if the earlier parent did not reinforce the school's position, the youth is likely to have problems in school, regardless of how staunchly it is supported by the new parents.

Similar "parent changes" and differences in support of the school are evident in records of TS youths. However, once the youth has been sent to the training school, parents have little say concerning the youth--he is a "ward of the state"--and whether or not they are cooperative may be helpful or hindering, but often it is a moot point.³³

Treatment Dimensions

At this point, it may be somewhat enlightening to examine some of the methods of handling HS and TS problem youths which are used by some of my respondents.³⁴ Their approaches can be differentiated along four dimensions.

³³I am given to understand that this situation is changing. Parents of TS youths have recently been given more say in decisions concerning their children. However, the extent of these new rights seemed unclear to my respondents at the training schools.

³⁴Very little research is available concerning the relative effectiveness of treatment methods. In my review of the literature, there were two studies done concerning BTS (Wilson, 1970; Spata, 1965), one unsuccessful study concerning BTS (Caronis, 1963), and one more concerning the Michigan State Reformatory at Ionia (Cohen, 1964).

1. ASSISTANCE OF PARENTS vs. ASSISTANCE OF PEERS.

HS officials have the option of calling parents into school to discuss and aid in solving problems with HS youths. They often do, sometimes right after the first offense, sometimes after "all else fails," and other times somewhere in between those two instances. How soon is often related to the school official's knowledge of the youth's parents and their perceived probability of cooperation. Many officials blame problem HS youths on uncooperative parents.

TS officials, given the parents' lack of rights over decisions concerning the youth, or their unwillingness or inability to cooperate when asked, previously relied solely upon themselves and the norms of the institution enforced by them for discipline, control, and resocialization. More recently, however, BTS has been using the power of peer influence on the boys, through Positive Peer Culture (PPC). Often, a youth is not released from BTS unless other (hand-picked) youths say it is all right. The peer norm that has been established is that once out, the other boys do not want to see them back there again. They want them to do well in society, i.e., they "care." Prior to the proposed release of a boy by school officials, some of the other youths might feel he will do something after he gets out which will cause him to be sent back (usually stated or hinted in something the boy says). In

a case where an about-to-be-released boy hinted that he was going to kill his father when he got home, the other boys stayed up with him day and night trying to talk him out of it, a session which involved some violence. If this does not work, they can request that the boy not be released, and the request is usually granted by BTS officials, barring extenuating circumstances. If a boy escapes, other boys are sent out to bring him back, and in fact do so. This method serves to legitimize this peer group authority (within bounds) and give the boys a sense of group cohesiveness and responsibility for each other.

No such usage of peer group socialization is prevalent at GTS. My respondents there seemed to feel it would never work with girls because girls seem to be more competitive with each other. However, if PPC is successful at BTS, an operating philosophy of just such a nature will probably be installed at GTS (as well as other OYS institutions).

2. YOUTH-INVOLVED DECISIONS vs. YOUTH-EXCLUDED DECISIONS. This concerns the question of the say of the youth himself in decisions that affect him and his problems with HS or TS officials. Youth-involved decisions refer to such practices as sitting down with a problem youth, discussing the problem with him, trying generally to make him tell the official what he did wrong, and letting him have some say in the punishment, at least as to its

fairness. Youth-excluded decisions, then, refer to punishments levied by authorities, with or without talking to the youth but never asking his opinions, and generally with the youth usually mum and powerless in the decision-making process.

There are evidences of both types of decision-making among both HS and TS officials. Strict disciplinarians, or "hard-liners," at both institutions are prone to exclude youths from such decisions. Their feeling is that society has expectations of youths behavior, that they are agents of society (and therefore responsible in part for the youth's socialization) and know what is best for him, and that the youth must change his orientations to fit society and not vice versa. Proponents of youth-involved decision-making feel that the youth must have some say in decisions that directly affect him, be it ever so limited, and that this instills in the youth a sense of power and responsibility for his acts and their consequences, and therefore a sense of potency in general.

3. IMMEDIATE PUNISHMENT vs. DELAYED PUNISHMENT. The former refers to the "nip-it-in-the-bud" philosophy of correction, where punishment is immediate, unquestionable, and there is no leniency for first-timers. This is often the case whether or not the youth has a say in it, and regardless of how many socialization agents are involved in the decision. The latter refers to punishments levied

only after multiple offenses, and usually after many previous efforts to "reason" with the youth instead of punish him.

Again, both approaches are in evidence at both the HS and TS institutions. Officials who use the "immediate" approach justify it by saying that the youth must know explicitly, and right away, what will and will not be tolerated, and what behaviors are expected of him and acceptable to the officials. Some also say that the punishment must be fair and/or exceptionally firm. Delayed punishment is usually justified by saying that the youth must be given every opportunity to decide for himself what is right and wrong, with the help of reasoning and understanding, vice direct punitive action, on the part of the officials.

4. RIGID SOCIETAL VIEW vs. FLEXIBLE SOCIETAL VIEW.

The question of social expectations of acceptable behavior in youths has been addressed in terms of the other dimensions. One must also take into account the official's view of those expectations. All officials appear to see themselves as "teachers," agents of socialization given the task of correcting previously demonstrated behavior problems of youths charged to them. However, it is obvious from some of the approaches mentioned that some HS and TS officials view society as a more or less rigid structure of expectations, with some acceptable range of

behavior depending upon the situation, but nevertheless unbending in its definition of the improper. Others view society as a reasonably flexible organization, allowing for a relatively wide range of behavior in any given situation, and extremely variable in its reaction to non-sanctioned or prohibited behavior. These societal views appear to have a definite bearing on the type of approach used by the officials, and how best to alleviate problems of the youths.³⁵

In summary, it can be seen that there is much variance in approaches to "correction" (i.e., "resocialization"), and officials charged with this task have relative autonomy in their chosen approach. Dimensions (2), (3), and (4) of these approaches cross institutional (i.e., HS and TS) boundaries. If parents are given more say concerning decisions affecting TS youths, (1) could also be included as cross-institutional.³⁶

³⁵There are, of course, many other facets of the individual HS or TS official that may influence his immediate or long-run reaction to his perceived position as socialization agent, but most long-run approaches mentioned here have this factor as a common denominator. For more detailed discussions of the extraneous variables influencing officials' approaches to delinquents, see especially Eisner (1969), Goldman (1963), Glueck and Glueck (1956).

³⁶There is no indication that HS officials will use peer influence to a greater extent, however. There are such things as "student judiciaries" in some high schools, but aside from the fact that their power in decision-making is virtually nil, they are almost always comprised of straight-A, extremely "well-adjusted" students. These

Summarizing generally from the entire discussion, many differences and some similarities between HS and TS youths are evident. Many of the differences seem a matter of degree on some dimension, others to be completely contrary opposites. In all cases, however, the differences appear explainable in terms of socialization.

The point now becomes what hypotheses, or "tentative conclusions" for further research, can one infer from all this qualitative material, especially hypotheses which can be tested quantitatively. And it is to these hypotheses I now turn.

youths often have little in common with average students, regardless of whether or not they are having problems. Concerning these bodies, therefore, I feel the use of the term "peer" in their relationship with problem HS youths is farcical.

CHAPTER VI

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

On Socialization Processes

The following conclusions are intended to be hypotheses for further research, as the experience-survey method demands. Some of these tentative conclusions will be the subject of subsequent empirical study by this author, and where possible research methods for such study are at least roughly formulated, they will be mentioned in footnotes. I feel that the following nine major conclusions illustrate the importance of the socialization process and specific aspects thereof in answering the questions addressed in the beginning.

1. Locus-of-control orientation is conditioned by the behavior-relatedness of punishments and rewards meted out by the family during early socialization.³⁷

³⁷This will be difficult to measure quantitatively. The locus-of-control phenomenon can be done by a series of agree-disagree questions, and formed into a Guttman-type scale of greater or lesser degree of external-locus-of-control. (See Guttman, 1967; Riley et al., 1954: chap 18.) As for a method of measuring behavior-relatedness of

In the pathological case, the greater the amount of non-behavior-related punishments and rewards given to the youth by the family in his pre-school life, the greater will be an external-locus-of-control belief in the youth.

2. School attendance and performance, while inter-related in themselves, are conditioned by:
 - a. The locus-of-control orientation of the youth,
 - b. The inter-reinforcement of the legitimacy of the three socialization agents as such.³⁸

The greater the belief in an external-locus-of control, and the poorer the legitimacy reinforcement of the school as a socialization agent by the parents and peers, the lower the value the youth will place on going to and doing well in school, and consequently, the poorer will be his attendance and performance in school.

punishments and rewards, a possibility might be to give the youth a hypothetical situation calling for a reward or punishment, and asking him how his parents would react to the situation in an open-end question, then coding his answer. Scoring "1" for non-behavior-relatedness and "0" for behavior-relatedness, the test may then be comparable to the locus-of-control data, and amenable to correlational techniques. However, other methods should be sought out and explored.

³⁸Using a Guttman-type scale for (a), a correlational comparison to school attendance (truancy records) and school performance (G.P.A.) appears possible. Inter-relational effects between school attendance and performance will have to be taken into account to check for such things as spuriousness. The degree of inter-reinforcement between socialization agents is very important, but as yet, I have not found an adequate measure of the phenomenon.

3. School attendance and performance conditions:
 - a. The knowledge of skills requisite for socially-accepted goal-attainment methods,
 - b. The ability to structure time,
 - c. Exposure to and knowledge of the youth Zeitgeist,
 - d. The tendency to differentiate authority,
 - e. Self-perception.

All of which helps determine the success of the socialization process and the frequency, variability, and seriousness of delinquent behavior in a non-gang situation.³⁹

In school, a youth learns socially-accepted ways of manipulating objects and symbols in his environment which enhance his self-perception as an "actor" and facilitate the attainment of socially-accepted goal-objects. He learns how "a dollar saved is a dollar earned," that it is good to put off immediate pleasures for future rewards. He gains resources which enable him to occupy his time in socially-accepted ways. In the

³⁹Concerning the interrelationships stated above, many school "achievement tests" measure (a), and some "personality inventories" have items which deal with (b) and (e). Lewis (1968) and Miller (1971) have used measures of (d), as stated earlier. Comparative analyses between some of these measures, or indices derived from them, and school attendance and performance appear feasible. In the case of (c), however, measurement will be tricky and of questionable reliability, so no plans have been made as to possible methods.

school situation, he is placed in a classroom of youths like himself, with an authority figure in charge of his activities. He begins to realize the teacher-pupil relationship, the dichotomy of a "her" and an "us," and begins to differentiate it from the parent-child relationship in many aspects. And the later socialization process has begun.

Needless to say, then, the poorer one's attendance and performance in school, the poorer the youth will be concerning all these variables, and the chances of successful socialization become smaller. (The delinquent behavior manifestation will be discussed in conclusion [8]).

4. Self-perceptions are conditioned by:

- a. The locus-of-control orientation of the youth,
- b. School performance,
- c. The success of peer relations in school⁴⁰

The greater the youth's external-locus-of-control orientation and the poorer his school performance (e.g., manipulating symbols and objects in socially-prescribed ways), the greater is his self-perception as "acted upon."

⁴⁰Measurement techniques of (a) and (b) have been discussed. Self-perception as "actor" or "acted upon" is amenable to Guttman analysis and to scales of the "semantic differential," i.e., "active-passive," and "strong-weak" (Osgood, 1967; Kerlinger, 1964: chap 32). Possibly a "like me-not like me" dimension could be added. The latter, (c), must be done, I suspect, using some index, as yet undetermined.

Likewise is the case if his interaction with peers is unrewarded or upset by negative reactions from them.

5. The success of peer relations in the school is conditioned by:
 - a. The inter-reinforcement of the legitimacy of socialization agents as such,
 - b. Self-attitudes⁴¹

The lesser the reinforcement by parents and teachers of the legitimacy of one's peer associations, the less the youth will associate as such. It is recognized that this might be somewhat confounded by the concept roughly referred to in the text as "youthful rebellion," but the true incidence of this, according to my interviewees, is relatively small. But for seemingly sure, the poorer one's attitude toward himself, the poorer his chances for success in peer relationships.

From (4) and (5) we derive the next conclusion.

6. There is synergic relationship between the success of peer relations in school, self-perception, and self-attitudes, the sum of which helps determine the success of the socialization process and the

⁴¹The method for (a) is still doubtful. Self-attitudes, however, can be measured by "semantic differential," Guttman sentence-completion (Miller, 1971), or many other techniques. See Edwards (1957), Kerlinger (1964), Riley et al., (1954), Likert (1967).

frequency, variability, and seriousness of delinquent behavior in a non-gang situation.⁴²

Since self-perception is a function of feedback from peers and success at interaction with them, self-attitudes are a function of self-perception, and success at peer relations are a function of self-attitudes, then a circular interrelationship develops and reinforces itself, and characterizes one's capability at social interaction. Since socialization is a social process of interaction, then pathologies here decrease the chances of successful socialization. (Again, see conclusion [8] for a discussion of actual delinquent behavior.)

7. There is a two-way relationship between the success of peer relations in the school and exposure to and knowledge of the youth Zeitgeist.⁴³

It has already been noted that the schoolroom situation sets up the teacher-pupil dichotomy, and begins to socialize the youth into the role of pupil. Once

⁴²This index of this "sum" might best be called an "index of successful interaction capabilities," or negatively, an "index of sociopathology." Specifics on deriving this index are not complete as yet.

⁴³As mentioned earlier, the Zeitgeist measurement would be difficult at best. These two variables reinforce each other, and each's success is at least somewhat dependent on the other. However, as to the measurement techniques and, in fact, the relative importance of measuring this particular reinforcement phenomenon, I am undecided at this point.

done, the success of peer relations is enhanced by the realization of the common role among other youths in the same situation. Likewise, knowledge of and exposure to the norms applicable to the role, and norms developed through interaction with other youths, enhance the prospect of successful peer relations. When a realization of certain commonalities between teacher-pupil and the parent-child dichotomies develop in the youth later on, a "generation gap" begins to take form.

8. School attendance and performance and one's success at social interaction with peers are the major determinants of the frequency, variability, and seriousness of delinquent behavior in a non-gang situation.⁴⁴

As has already been mentioned, the success of the socialization process is a function of the time spent and performance in school, and the sum of the circular process of self-perception, self-attitudes, and success at peer relations in school. It is also a function of other factors, but for purposes here, these two are considered primary.⁴⁵ The greater the pathologies in these areas,

⁴⁴Measurement here will involve somewhat of a replication of Short et al. (1963) and comparisons made to measures of school attendance and performance and peer relations indices. The specific comparison method is as yet undetermined.

⁴⁵"Success of socialization process" is an abstraction of the components of the process summed up,

the less the success of socialization, i.e., the youth's interaction with these two socialization agents will be at a minimum at best. Any delinquent activity he engages in will be pretty much on his own, while other youths' delinquent activity will be tempered by the effects of socialization agents, and relatively "protected" by the peer group. This, of course, assumes some delinquent activity on the part of HS youths, an assumption well documented in the "hidden delinquency" literature.⁴⁶ Frequent truancy gives the youth more time to commit more different offenses more often, a behavioral proposition about TS youths supported by Short et al. (1963) and the interviews, and poor relations with peers create the "loner."

9. The frequency, variability, and seriousness of delinquent behavior, along with certain given demographic characteristics of the youth and his family, determines whether or not a youth is arrested, referred to OYS by the juvenile court,

i.e., not as relevant taken alone as a variable for consideration as certain of its components. "Other variables" may include psychological dimensions like emotional states, affection, attention, and tolerance for ambiguity; or social psychological and sociological ones like values, demographic characteristics, or geographical area. No attempt is made here to separate them and diagram their inclusion into the process, except for affection, attention, and values. And in the cases of those variables, attempts were basically unsuccessful. (See conclusions [11] and [12]).

⁴⁶See footnote 2.

and spends his adolescence in the training schools.⁴⁷

If one commits many varied delinquent acts outside the "protective" environment of a peer-group situation, one is more likely to get caught more often, by sheer chance alone if nothing else. However, studies have shown that the disposition of the youth by relevant authorities, from the arresting officer to the juvenile court judge to the OYS official, will depend heavily on these authorities' images of certain demographic characteristics of the offender and his family, i.e., there is a selectivity operating at all levels of the adjudication process.⁴⁸ Therefore, the combined effects of these factors determine whether or not the youth spends his teen years in training school or is allowed to return to society. However, this conclusion taken by itself, i.e., without conclusions (1) through (8), ignores too many pre-conditioned phases of the socialization process which are extremely important in assessing the youth's behavior.

Those are the major conclusions arrived at from this research. The following are three more relationships

⁴⁷From the standpoint of measurement techniques, this may be difficult. Demographic comparisons of the youths in the sample will have to be done all through the adjudication process, but intermediate stages of such will require the cooperation of several other agencies (e.g., probation).

⁴⁸See footnotes 16 and 35.

which were studied here, but their relationships to the nature of the socialization process remained undetermined after the study.

10. Given demographic characteristics of the youth have an undetermined relationship to the success of the socialization process and the nature of delinquent behavior.⁴⁹

Specifically, the fact that a person is born Black, poor, into a large family, etc., may or may not relate directly in some way to deficiencies in socialization and anti-social behavior. Saying, for example, that a greater percentage of Black youths than White youths are delinquent is begging the question. From the interviews, a more important consideration would be how such things relate to the behavior-relatedness of early socialization attempts, or to the success and type of peer relations established in the school. In any case, there is no way of ascertaining this from the current research.

11. The amount of attention and affection given the youth by socialization agents has an undetermined relationship to the nature and success of the socialization process.⁵⁰

⁴⁹No specifics on measurement have been determined at this point.

⁵⁰I feel that this variable might account for some of the variance in the populations, but I have derived no method of measurement as yet.

Too much differing opinion and not enough empirical evidence exists on this question. It appears evident that these two variables, probably interrelated in themselves, complement socialization efforts, but to what extent? How does the lack of these two phenomena affect school attendance and performance, or the success of peer relations in school? Can the affection and attention of one socialization agent offset the lack thereof in another? The interviews shed no light on its placement in the socialization process and its interrelationships and effects on other variables.

12. The placement of values in the overall scheme of the socialization process is undetermined.⁵¹

Values apparently enter the picture somewhere, for both HS and TS youths, and probably during both early and later socialization. For example, attitudes connote a negative or positive evaluation of certain phenomena

⁵¹There have been several methods of measuring rank-order value systems, but most have concerned only positive, socially-accepted values. I see no reason why this must be so. Rank-ordering, using simple mean ranks, appears limiting to a thorough study of values, and lending much variance to the results. Rokeach (1968c) found the "paired comparisons" method (Edwards, 1957: 19-52; Thurstone, 1927) more reliable than simple ranking. In addition, since values are a type of attitude object, the semantic differential appears applicable. Osgood et al. (1961) used "ways of life" to refer to values, which is easily amenable to my definition of them. In short, measurement techniques are in abundance, and more than one method appears preferable here.

based upon some criteria. Values, or consistency between self-values and those positively-defined by the greater society, may be those criteria. Also, consistency between one's self-attitudes and self-values, i.e., the probably value-attitude system of Rokeach (1968b), may be a function of behavior-related reward-punishment criteria, or some other component. However, there is no way of ascertaining their relationships to the socialization process, individual components thereof, or the nature of delinquent behavior by this research method.

An illustration of the total scheme of the interrelationships presented here appears schematically in Figure 1.⁵²

On Treatment Dimensions

In the discussion of treatment dimensions earlier in the text, it may have been somewhat apparent as to which facets appear more related to solving the problems of the socialization process as I have portrayed them. In case it was not, I will reiterate here.

⁵²One further methodological note. A comparison and discussion of major theories of juvenile delinquency would be appropriate in further research. For such purposes, then, a sample of gang delinquents might also be studied, since most theories deal with this aspect of delinquency. Gang delinquents, I am told, are often found at the Michigan State Reformatory at Ionia. Also, I believe the evidence of the process discussed in this research will show up as well-entrenched in the youths at intermediate stages of the adjudication process. Therefore, a sample of, say, probationers should also be considered.

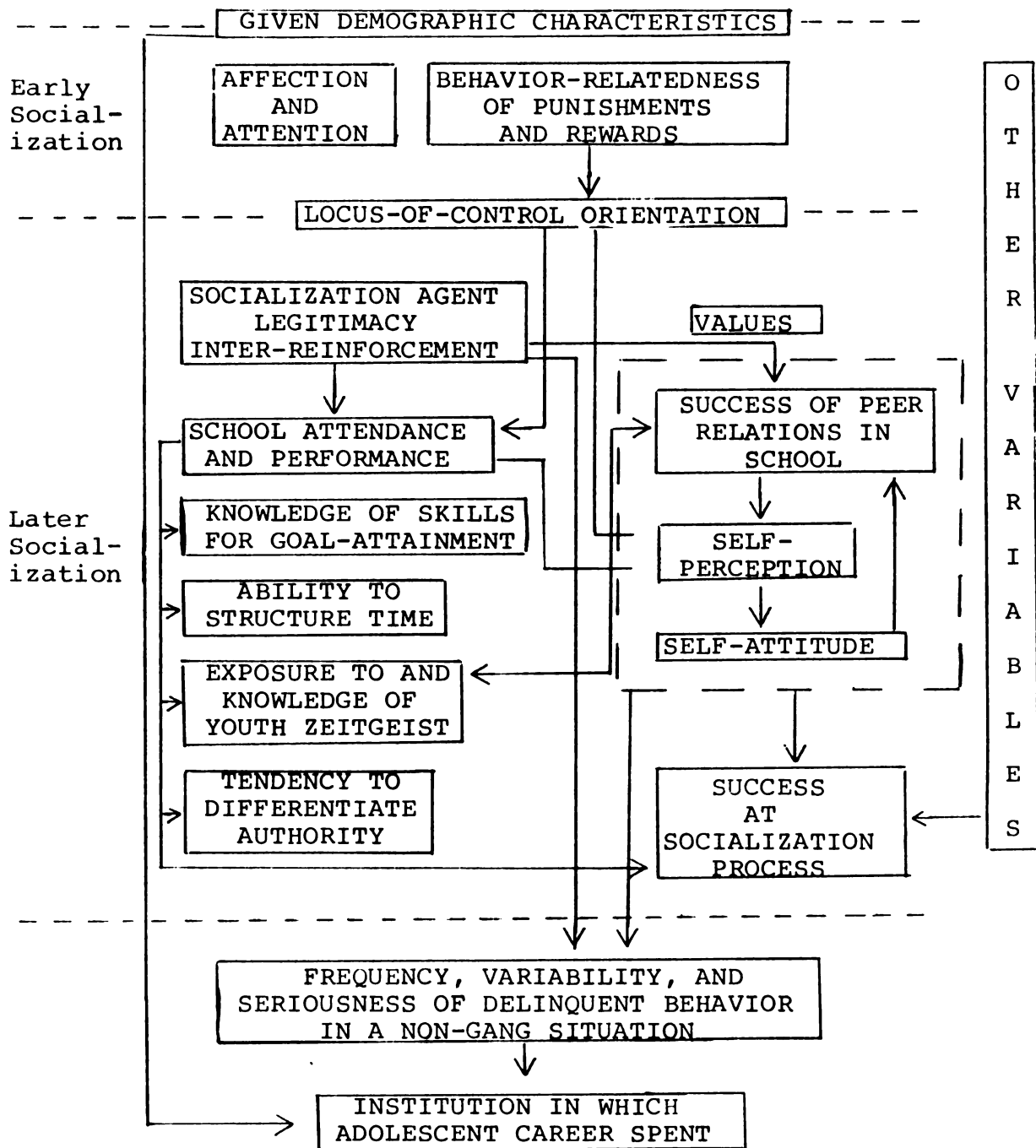


Figure 1. Overall Scheme of Socialization Process Interrelationships.

First, concerning the question of assistance in socialization, one should obtain all the help one can get, be it parents, peers, or both. The type of assistance selected in any particular case should be that which reinforces the socialization agent's legitimacy as such.

Second, youth-involved decisions appear more valuable to resocialization efforts. This would apparently aid the individual's potency-perception in decisions which affect him, thereby helping in the development of a self-perception as "actor."

Third, the punishment should be immediate. The fact that the youth should have some say in punishment does not mean that the anti-social act should go unpunished. It appears that the immediacy of punishment (and rewards, too) would help instill a sense of behavior-relatedness to these things.

Finally, I believe that the flexible view of society is more supported in fact, given the wide range of so-called deviance which is at least tolerated in society today.

Table 7 illustrates the desirability of all possible combinations of these dimensions. Numbers in the cells indicate the number of desirable characteristics of each four-way combination which the cell represents. "Desirability" here is, of course, subjective on my part

TABLE 7.--Subjective Desirability of Combinations of the Various Treatment Dimensions.

Societal View	Decision Participation	Assistance			
		Yes		No	
		Punishment			
		Imm.	Del.	Imm.	Del.
Rigid	Youth-Inv.	3	2	2	1
	Youth-Excl.	2	1	1	0
Flexible	Youth-Inv.	4 ^a	3	3	2
	Youth-Excl.	3	2	2	1

^aThis is the optimum combination, i.e., flexible societal view, youth-involved decisions, immediate punishment, and the use of assistance.

based on this text, since no actual data was available concerning the successes of treatment methods.

To assess failures in resocialization and institutional recidivism, other factors would have to be taken into account. For example, taking any given combination of these dimensions, what is the probability of the combination's existence, and the population of its users? It appears from my research that it is very improbable to find the combinations portrayed in, say, cells 2 and 15, in existence, much less in use to any extent. By the same token, it appears relatively probable to find the combinations in cells 5, 7, and 10 in existence, and in fact in use by at least some officials.

In conclusion, the preliminary and exploratory nature of this study predisposes this author to call his conclusions "tentative." However, those conclusions allow direction and systematization for more empirical investigation, both at the qualitative and quantitative levels. Therefore, it serves the field of delinquent behavior by begging the questions, many of which will be investigated by this author in later research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Borgatta, E. F.

- 1969 Social Psychology at the Turn of the Century: Charles Horton Cooley's "Human Nature and the Social Order"; in E. F. Borgatta (ed.), Social Psychology: Readings and Perspective (Chicago; Rand McNally), pp. 12-26.

Caronis, G. P.

- 1963 An Experimental Study in Evaluating the Adjustment of a Group of Disturbed Delinquents Exposed to Guided Group Counseling Within a Training School Setting (Unpub. M.S. Thesis; Mich. State Univ.).

Cloward, R., and Ohlin, L. E.

- 1961 Delinquency and Opportunity (Glencoe, Ill.; Free Press).

Cohen, A. K.

- 1958 Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (Glencoe, Ill.; Free Press).

- 1966 Deviance and Control (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.; Prentice-Hall).

Cohen, B. J.

- 1964 Differential Correctional Treatment Programs and Modification of Self-Image (Unpub. Ph.D. Diss.; Mich. State Univ.).

Coleman, J. C.

- 1960 Personality Dynamics and Effective Behavior (Chicago; Scott, Foresman).

Edwards, A. L.

- 1957 Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction (New York; Appleton, Century, Crofts).

Eisner, V.

- 1969 The Delinquency Label: The Epidemiology of Juvenile Delinquency (New York; Random House).

- Erikson, M. L., and Emprey, L. T.
 1963 Court Records, Undetected Delinquency and Decision Making; in Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science (vol. 54), pp. 456-9.
- Glueck, S., and Glueck, E.
 1956 Physique and Delinquency (New York; Harper and Row).
 1962 Family Environment and Delinquency (Boston; Houghton-Mifflin).
- Goldman, N.
 1963 The Differential Selection of Juvenile Offenders for Court Appearance (Washington, D.C.; Nat'l Research Info. Center, Nat'l Council on Crime and Delinquency).
- Guttman, L. A.
 1967 A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data; in M. Fishbein (ed.), Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement (New York; John Wiley), pp. 96-107.
- Hall, C. S., and Lindzey, G.
 1957 Theories of Personality (New York; John Wiley).
- Hardt, R. H., and Bodine, E. G.
 1965 Development of Self-Report Instruments in Delinquency Research: A Conference Report (Syracuse; Syracuse Univ. Press).
- Hirschi, T.
 1969 Causes of Delinquency (Berkeley; Univ. of California Press).
- Johnson, K. W.
 1969 Socioeconomic Status as Related to Junior High School Students' Attitudes Toward Police (Unpub. M.S. Thesis; Mich. State Univ.).
- Kerlinger, F. N.
 1964 Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York; Holt, Rinehart, Winston).
- Lewis, L.
 1968 Minor Juvenile Delinquency and Attitudes Toward Police: A Study at Berkeley High School (Unpub. Res. Paper; Univ. of California, Berkeley).

- Likert, R.
1967 The Method of Constructing an Attitude Scale; in M. Fishbein (ed.), Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement (New York; John Wiley), pp. 90-5.
- Marcus, B., and Maher, B. A.
1957 The Validation of the Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank on an English Criminal Population (Unpub. Res. Paper; Northwestern Univ.).
- Matza, D.
1964 Delinquency and Drift (New York; John Wiley).
- Miller, M. G.
1971 Socialization and the Compliance System: An Attitudinal Study of Adolescents, Their Teachers, and Police Officers (Unpub. Ph.D. Diss.; Mich. State Univ.).
- Miller, W. B.
1958 Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency; in Journal of Social Issues (vol. 14; no. 3), pp. 5-19.
- Murphy, F. J., Shirley, M. M., and Whitmer, H. L.
1946 The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency; in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry (vol. 16; no. 4; October), pp. 686-96.
- Osgood, C. E.
1967 Cross-Cultural Comparability in Attitude Measurement via Multilingual Semantic Differentials; in M. Fishbein (ed.), Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement (New York; John Wiley).
- _____, Ware, E. E., and Morris, C.
1961 Analysis of the Connotative Meanings of a Variety of Human Values as Expressed by American College Students; in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (vol. 62; no. 10, pp. 62-73.
- Porterfield, A. L.
1946 Youth in Trouble (Fort Worth; Leo Potishman Foundation).
- Reiss, A. J., Jr., and Rhodes, A. L.
1963 Status Deprivation and Delinquent Behavior; in Sociological Quarterly (vol. 4; Spring), pp. 135-49.
- Riley, M. W., Riley, J. W., and Toby, J.
1954 Scale Analysis (New Brunswick, N.J.; Rutgers Univ. Press).

Robbins, L. N.

- 1966 Deviant Children Grown Up: A Sociological and Psychiatric Study of the Sociopathic Personality (Baltimore; Williams and Wilkins).

Robison, S. M.

- 1936 Can Delinquency Be Measured? (New York; Columbia Univ. Press).

Rodman, H., and Grams, P.

- 1967 Juvenile Delinquency and the Family: A Review and Discussion; in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.; U.S. Gov't P.O.), Appendix L.

Rokeach, M.

- 1968a Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values (San Francisco; Jossey-Bass).

- 1968b A Theory of Organization and Change Within Value-Attitude Systems; in Journal of Social Issues (vol. 24; no. 1; January), pp. 13-33.

- 1968c Comparison of Rank-Order and Paired Comparison Methods for Measuring Value Systems; in Perceptual and Motor Skills (vol. 27; no. 2; October), pp. 417-8.

, and Parker S.

- 1970 Values as Social Indicators of Poverty and Race Relations in America; in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (vol. 388; March), pp. 97-111.

, and Homant, R.

- 1970 Value for Honesty and Cheating Behavior; in Personality: An International Journal (vol. 1; no. 2; Summer), pp. 153-62.

Schwartz, E. E.

- 1945 A Community Experiment in the Measurement of Delinquency; in National Probation Association Yearbook (Washington, D.C.; Nat'l Probation Ass'n).

Scott, R. D.

- 1969 A Comparative Study of the Influence of Sex, Race, and Socioeconomic Status on the Attitudes of Children Toward Authority Figures (Unpub. M.A. Thesis; Mich. State Univ.).

- Selltiz, C., Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., and Cook, S. W.
 1960 Research Methods in Social Relations (Rev. ed.)
 (New York; Henry Holt).
- Sherif, M.
 1968 Self Concept; in D. L. Sills (ed.), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York; Macmillan and Free Press; vol. 14), pp. 150-9.
- Short, J. F., Jr., and Nye, F. I.
 1958 Extent of Unrecorded Delinquency, Tentative Conclusions; in Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science (vol. 49; November-December), pp. 296-302.
- _____, and Strodtbeck, F. L.
 1965 Group Processes and Gang Delinquency (Chicago; Univ. of Chicago Press).
- _____, Tennyson, R. A., and Howard, K.
 1963 Behavioral Dimensions of Gang Delinquency; in American Sociological Review (vol. 28; June), pp. 411-28.
- _____, Rivera, R., and Tennyson, R. A.
 1965 Perceived Opportunities, Gang Membership and Delinquency; in American Sociological Review (vol. 30; February), pp. 56-67.
- Spata, P. J., Jr.
 1965 A Study of the Social Position, Reputation and Adjustment of the Mental Retardate in an Institutionalized Delinquent Population (Unpub. Ph.D. Diss.; Mich. State Univ.).
- Sykes, G. M., and Matza, D.
 1957 Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency; in American Journal of Sociology (vol. 22; December), pp. 664-70.
- TenHouten, D.
 1965 Siblings and Socialization (Unpub. M.A. Thesis; Mich. State Univ.).
- TenHouten, W. D.
 1965 Socialization, Race and the American High School (Unpub. Ph.D. Diss.; Mich. State Univ.).
- Thurstone, L. L.
 1927 The Method of Paired Comparisons for Social Values; in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (vol. 21), pp. 384-400.

U.S. Census Bureau

- 1966 Maps of Major Concentrations of Poverty in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of 250,000 or More Population (Washington, D.C.; U.S. Gov't P.O.), vol. 2.

Versluis, P. P.

- 1964 An Exploratory Study of Adjustment of Delinquent Children in Private Institutions (Unpub. M.A. Thesis; Mich. State Univ.).

Wilson, J.

- 1970 What Happens to Defective Delinquents? (Unpub. Res. Paper; presented to Bureau of Group Service, Mich. Dept. of Social Services).

Yablonsky, L.

- 1959 The Delinquent Gang as a Near-Group; in Social Problems (vol. 7; Fall), pp. 108-17.

General References

Allport, G. W.

- 1967 Attitudes; in M. Fishbein (ed.), Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement (New York; John Wiley), pp. 1-13.

Berg, I.

- 1967 Economic Factors in Delinquency; in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.; U.S. Gov't P.O.), Appendix O.

Bernard, J.

- 1967 Teen-Age Culture: An Overview; in E. W. Vaz (ed.), Middle-Class Juvenile Delinquency (New York; Harper and Row), pp. 23-38.

Bogardus, E.

- 1967 Measuring Social Distances; in M. Fishbein (ed.), Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement (New York; John Wiley), pp. 71-6.

Council of State Governments

- 1965 Juvenile Delinquency: A Report on State Action and Responsibilities (Chicago; Council of State Gov'ts, Pres. Comm. on Juv. Del., Nat'l Council on Crime and Delinquency).

- Fannin, L. F., and Clinard, M. B.
 1967 Differences in the Conception of Self as a Male Among Lower and Middle Class Delinquents; in E. W. Vaz (ed.), Middle-Class Juvenile Delinquency (New York; Harper and Row), pp. 101-12.
- Gigliotti, R. J.
 1969 A Matrix of Social and Personality Variables for the Prediction of School Achievement (Unpub. M.A. Thesis; Mich. State Univ.).
- Hirschi, T., and Selvin, H. C.
 1967 Delinquency Research: An Appraisal of Analytic Methods (New York; Free Press).
- Luger, M., and Saltman, E. B.
 1967 The Youthful Offender; in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.D.; U.S. Gov't P.O.), Appendix G.
- Merrill, M. A.
 1947 Problems of Child Delinquency (New York; Houghton-Mifflin).
- Miller, W. B.
 1962 The Impact of a Total-Community Delinquency Control Project; in Social Problems (vol. 10; Fall), pp. 168-91.
- Morse, R. J.
 1963 Self-Concept of Ability, Significant Others and School Achievement of Eighth-Grade Students: A Comparative Investigation of Negro and Caucasian Students (Unpub. M.A. Thesis; Mich. State Univ.).
- President's Commission on Law Enforcement Administration of Justice
 1967 Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.; U.S. Gov't P.O.), pp. 1-56.
- Robison, S. M.
 1960 Juvenile Delinquency: Its Nature and Control (New York; Holt, Rinehart, Winston).
- Rubin, S.
 1949 The Legal Character of Juvenile Delinquency; in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (vol. 26; January), pp. 1-8.

Sabine, G. A.

- 1971 When You Listen, This is What You Can Hear: Teenagers Tell About Their Parents, Schools, Teachers, and Student Protest (Iowa City, Ia.; American College Testing Program).

Schafer, W. E., and Polk, K.

- 1967 Delinquency and the Schools; in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.; U.S. Gov't P.O.), Appendix M.

Sellin, T., and Wolfgang, M. E.

- 1964 The Measurement of Delinquency (New York; John Wiley).

Tappan, P.

- 1949 Juvenile Delinquency (New York; McGraw-Hill).

Toby, J.

- 1967 Affluence and Adolescent Crime; in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.; U.S. Gov't P.O.), Appendix H.

U.S. Department of H.E.W., Children's Bureau

- 1967 Survey of Juvenile Courts and Probation Services; in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.; U.S. Gov't P.O.), Appendix B.

 , Office of Education

- 1967 Delinquency and the Schools; in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.; U.S. Gov't P.O.), Appendix N.

Westley, W. A., and Elkin, F.

- 1967 The Protective Environment and Adolescent Socialization; in E. W. Vaz (ed.), Middle-Class Juvenile Delinquency (New York; Harper and Row), pp. 9-22.

Wise, N. B.

- 1967 Juvenile Delinquency Among Middle-Class Girls; in E. W. Vaz (ed.), Middle-Class Juvenile Delinquency (New York; Harper and Row), pp. 179-88.