

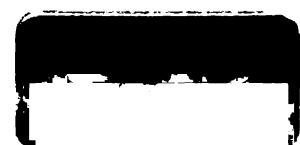
THE ANOMIE TRADITION IN DELINQUENT
SUBCULTURAL THEORY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND
ASSESSMENT OF THREE CURRENT POSITIONS

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Cyrus Shepard Stewart
1964

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**THE ANOMIE TRADITION IN DELINQUENT SUBCULTURAL THEORY:
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT
OF THREE CURRENT POSITIONS**

By

Cyrus Shepard Stewart

A THESIS

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

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1964

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to Dr. John C. Howell, my chairman, for his help and stimulation during the writing of this thesis.

To Drs. Charles P. Loomis and Orden C. Smucker is due a special note of thanks for their assistance and for their willing participation as members of my committee and for their patience and understanding.

To the two women in my life, my mother and my future wife, Nancy, I give thanks for their understanding and patience which many times served as an effective mechanism of tension management.

Cyrus Shepard Stewart

East Lansing, May 21, 1964

DEDICATION

To he whom I wish could have lived
to see this day: - my father
Cyrus Shepard Stewart, Sr.

CHAPTER

I INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An Overview of Approaches to Delinquent Behavior

A review of the literature on the delinquent behavior of juveniles reveals the gang having been dealt with from several different perspectives. Three major theoretical-research orientations can be distinguished: the biogenic, the psychogenic, and the sociogenic. While these orientations are arbitrary and tend to obscure the interdependency of significant variables, they do have utility for analytical and heuristic purposes. Nonetheless, in such different theoretical frames of reference, different aspects of the observational environment comes to be isolated for emphasis while others are discarded as irrelevant. Each of these orientations will exclude observations that may be crucial within the logical framework of one of the other orientations.

Biogenic orientations present serious difficulties for the researcher in the field of delinquent behavior. In its extreme form, the biogenic position is deterministic. An example of this type of approach would be William H. Sheldon's

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constitutional psychology.¹ Sheldon believes that all humans can be classified on the basis of three body types or somatotypes: ectomorphic, mesomorphic, and endomorphic. Accompanying the characteristic of each somatotype, and visceratonia respectively. These behavioral traits are considered by Sheldon to be a function of the somatotype. The psychological and/or social behavior of the individual has little to do with the environment within which he must function; behavior is merely and basically dependent upon the biological structure of any given human being.

Most researchers interested in the biogenic orientation, however, are not committed to any definite position. They, in fact, acknowledge the legitimacy of behavioral factors. The primary problem involved in this approach is the specification of the precise relationship between the biological and the behavioral dimension. Too often the difficulties in measuring these two sets of variables are such that the precise relationships are obscured to the point that the significance of the biological factors is lost. The net effect of this general problem has been to lead many investigators to make certain assumptions about the biological dimension as it relates to delinquent behavior.

These assumptions are sometimes explicitly acknowledged but more often they are implicit within the research.

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While they take many forms there are two which are most frequently encountered. The first of these is the assumption that biological factors encountered in delinquent populations do not differ significantly from those in non-delinquent populations. Such being the case, biological factors usually are treated as a constant variable. A second frequently encountered assumption is that biological factors have no intrinsic functional relationship to the behavior under examination; what is important is the social meaning attributed to any biologically based attribute. These two assumptions, along with others, have the effect of leading many researchers to exclude from consideration the biological dimension as such and to proceed to account for delinquent behavior in terms of psychogenic and/or sociogenic factors.

With respect to the second and third orientations, the psychogenic and the sociogenic, it should be noted that there has been some confusion between partisans of these approaches. This confusion has resulted in part from the tendency to emphasize the differences between these two orientations rather than to acknowledge the similarities. At this point, and for this reason, it is appropriate that acknowledgement be made of an essential similarity between the psychogenic and the sociogenic approaches to the study of delinquent behavior.

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A careful reading of the literature indicates that, for the most part, both orientations view delinquent behavior as a product of social interaction that takes place within a given time span. From this basic commonality, certain differences which distinguish the two approaches may be noted.

A major difference is that the psychogenic orientation tends to concern itself more with social interaction during that particular time span that takes place in the early years of the life of a child. Moreover, certain of the writers identified with the psychogenic approach have additionally seen fit to elaborate a particular kind of biological set that reputedly characterizes man.

Thus, Cohen in discussing the psychogenic approach identifies two variants. The first takes the point of view of classical Freudianism, by postulating the existence and the dynamic interplay between the id, the ego, and the superego. This approach emphasizes the underlying importance of the initial years in the formation of an adequate ego and superego as means of handling the impulsive nature of the a-social id. "The delinquent and the criminal differ from the normal, law-abiding person in the possession of unusually imperious id drives or faulty ego or superego development, resulting in the eruption of the id into illegal acts."²

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A second variant of the psychogenic orientation, discussed by Cohen, does not commonly assume that the impulse to the delinquent act is inborn. "Rather delinquent behavior is viewed as a symptom of, or a method of coping with, some underlying problem of adjustment."³ The delinquent individual differs from the "normal" individual in that the "frustration, deprivations, insecurities, anxieties, guilt feelings, or mental conflicts (of the delinquent) differ in kind or in degree from those of the non-delinquent children."⁴ Delinquent and non-delinquent actors differ in degree rather than in kind.

As distinguished from the psychogenic approach, the sociogenic orientation tends to place considerable less importance upon social interaction during the early years. Moreover, this orientation has not seen fit to develop and elaborate a conception of man as a biological animal. The preoccupation of the sociogenic approach has been essentially with interaction as it is mediated by cultural patterns.

Delinquency...is not an expression or contrivance of a particular kind of personality; it may be imposed upon any kind of personality if circumstances favor intimate association with delinquent models. The process of becoming a delinquent is the same as the process of becoming...a boy scout. The difference lies only in the cultural pattern with which the child associates.⁵

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Social scientists who have followed this approach have seen fit to develop concepts and theory which have increased our "understanding" of delinquent behavior. As Cohen's statements suggest, one major contribution has been to see delinquency as a behavioral phenomena which is learned in interaction with others in the social and cultural environment.

Statement of Purpose and Problem

The purpose of this thesis is to examine critically and assess one particular tradition within the sociogenic approach to delinquent behavior of youth: the anomie tradition of deviant behavior.⁶ The objective of this examination will be that of identifying convergences in theory and research and the issues within this perspective which press most vigorously for solution. Primary attention will be given to the following students whose contributions to and analysis of this viewpoint have been the most influential in the last decade: Albert K. Cohen, Richard A. Cloward, Lloyd E. Ohlin, and Lewis Yablonsky.

This thesis will (1) examine briefly the anomie tradition in the works of Emile Durkheim and Robert Merton, (2) carry out a detailed analysis of the writings of Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin, and Yablonsky for purposes of identifying

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 (3) state convergences of these authors which suggest a
 common theoretical base, and (4) enumerate and discuss points
 which call for theoretical clarification and/or empirical
 verification.

The Anomie Tradition and Its Significance

The anomie tradition as it is relevant to our concern
 with delinquent and deviant behavior had its initial formu-
 lation most fully developed by Emile Durkheim. Anomie was
 introduced as a sociological concept in The Division of Labor
in Society⁷ in which it played a relatively minor and descrip-
 tive role. However, with the publication of Suicide,⁸
 Durkheim gave anomie a much more central place and is more
 clearly worked out.⁹

Durkheim makes a distinction between two types of
 human needs: physical and moral. This distinction was
 essential as Durkheim saw a basic difference in the means by
 which these two types of human needs could be regulated. A
 human's physical needs are automatically regulated by features
 of man's bio-organic structure. However, such is not the
 case when one is dealing with the moral or social needs of
 man; nothing in man's organic structure is capable of regu-
 lating social desires. Since there is nothing in the

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biological or the physical structure of the human being to regulate and satisfy the moral or social needs of man, Durkheim postulates that this regulatory function must reside in some force external to the acting individual. Durkheim postulates that the regulatory functions for moral needs are resident in the collective order, a force external to the individual regulating, defining, and ordering the goals to which men should orient their behavior and strivings. If, for some reason or another, the collective order is disrupted, then men's aspirations rise exceeding all possibilities of realistic or possible fulfillment. Traditional rules and norms have broken down and no longer hold a regulatory effect upon the individual. The state of de-regulation is further heightened by passions being less disciplined precisely when they need more disciplining. Pressures toward deviant behavior arise when aspirations are no longer matched by realistic possibilities of fulfillment.¹⁰

From Durkheim's point of view, a society as would be characterized by the above would be classed as a relatively unstable society; a stable society would be one in which men throughout the social hierarchy are more or less content with their lot in life or aspire to achieve only what is realistically possible for them to achieve. A stable order

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is one which men ascribe legitimacy to the criteria for the distribution of social rewards and do not challenge the socially defined relationship between personal worth and location in the social hierarchy. A stable order is characterized by a realistic connection between means and ends or conditions and possibilities. This stability tends to break down when men's aspirations become unlimited.

Durkheim postulates that societies regulatory functions break down and men's aspirations rise in periods of or under such conditions as sudden depression, sudden prosperity, and rapid technological change. Under such conditions, men are led to aspire to goals extremely difficult if not totally improbable or impossible to attain. Depression results in a chronic loss of status which can be viewed from the societal point of view as a process of reclassification; reclassification in the sense that a large number of individuals are cast into a lower status than their previous one. They are not adjusted to this new class or condition which is forced upon them by impersonal societal forces. The very abruptness of these changes presumably heightens aspirations beyond all possibilities of realistic and successful attainment; these sudden status relocations call into question the moral validity of the tradition moral standards. This

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dislocation between aspirations and realistic possibilities of successful attainment causes men's aspiration to rise even higher. These conditions in a society will put a severe strain upon the regulatory mechanisms created to maintain order. This societal condition is the state of normlessness or anomie.

It seems possible that with a condition of sudden prosperity, the condition of anomie would be more severe than in the state of chronic depression. In severe prosperity, a reclassification of the involved populace also takes places in which individuals are suddenly casted into a higher status than the one to which they were used to. The result of this situation is that those involved blur the boundaries between the possible and the impossible and therefore strive to attain goals that, to them, are realistically impossible. People are thrown with relative suddenness out of adjustment with certain important features of their social environment.¹¹ In depressions, expectations relative to the standards of living are frustrated on a large scale. In prosperity, goals which had seemed altogether out of the range of possibility are now within reach or even realities. Anomie is seen by Durkheim to be the result of the breakdown of the regulatory functions of the collective order resulting in a dislocation

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Durkheim sees the state of anomie as a relatively common condition of the social order. He believes it to be the nature of the case that man's social needs are never satisfied; it is man's nature to be eternally dissatisfied, to continually advance toward an indefinite and receding goal. It was these pressures to strive for infinite or receding goals that generate a breakdown in the regulatory norms or functions of the social order and lead ultimately to a condition of non-regulation or anomie.¹²

Durkheim's basic emphasis was upon the goal structure of a given society as highlighted by the structure of means available for their achievement. It was up to Robert Merton to explicate the relationship between the goals and means and the norms regulating the choice of means. Merton believes that both goals and means can vary independently of one another which sometimes leads to degrees of malintegrated states or cultures.¹³ In the first type of malintegrated culture the stress of the different individuals is upon the goals while little corresponding stress is laid upon the means of attaining these goals. "There may develop a very heavy, at times a virtually exclusive, stress upon the value of

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particular goals, involving comparatively little concern with the institutionally prescribed means of striving toward these goals."¹⁴ The second polar type of malintegrated culture is constituted by overwhelming stress upon the means of goal attainment but in which there is no stress upon the end of action; the end or goal is lost sight of in view of a concentration upon the means. "A second polar type is found in groups where activities originally conceived as instrumental are transmitted into self-contained practices, lacking further objectives. The original purposes are forgotten and close adherence to institutionally prescribed conduct becomes a matter of ritual."¹⁵

Merton delineated the two polar types of malintegrated cultures as "ideal types." Therefore, Merton concludes most societies can be characterized as only by degree approximating these extreme or polar types. The usual case is some balance between an emphasis upon the goals of social action and upon the means to these goals.

Between these extreme types are societies which maintain a rough balance between emphases upon cultural goals and institutionalized practices, and these constitute the integrated and relatively stable, though changing, societies.

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An effective equilibrium between these two phases of social structure is maintained so long as satisfactions accrue to individuals conforming to both cultural constraints, viz., satisfactions from the achievement of goals and satisfactions emerging directly from the institutionally canalized modes of striving to attain them.¹⁶

Merton contends that this balance between stresses upon means and goals is maintained so long as a person or groups of people gain satisfaction by attaining the goal by the socially prescribed mode of goal attainment.

Merton's interest is in the society where there is an exceptionally strong emphasis upon specific goals without a corresponding emphasis upon the institutional procedures which regulate the choice of means. Attenuation between the goals and norms comes about because man in such societies internalize an emphasis upon common success goals under conditions of varying access to them. With such differential emphasis upon goals and institutional procedures, these procedures may be lost sight of and the behavior of individuals will become limited only by considerations of limited technical expediency. In a social situation in which the emphasis is upon means rather than ends the significant question becomes "which of the available procedures is most efficient in netting the culturally approved value?"¹⁷ The stress upon the efficiency of the procedure becomes the guiding factor rather

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than upon its cultural legitimacy. It matters little whether or not the chosen procedure is defined by society as legitimate or illegitimate, rather what is significant, is whether or not the procedure is a technically effective method of attaining the cultural value.

Merton's basic hypothesis revolves around the interrelationships between the cultural and social structures and the creation of deviant behavior. "It is my central hypothesis that aberrant behavior may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations."¹⁸ If there is a dislocation or a differential distribution of socially structured means for the attainment of universally specified cultural values, aberrant behavior will be the result. It seems that Merton sums up his thesis in the following statement: "It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common success goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale."¹⁹ This is to say that the culturally structured ends or values are universally given to a

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certain segment of the population. Within this segment, the social structure differentially distributes the acceptable modes of goal attainment. It is this condition, the dissociation between the cultural and social structures that pushes the individual into deviant behavior. The focus is upon the way in which the individual reacts to the social structural strain upon the cultural structure which results in deviant behavior.

The result of this process is the state of anomie which can be conceived as "a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them."²⁰ The dislocation between goals and norms (the cultural structure) and the institutionalized means (the social structure) results in a state of anomie.

Seemingly, Merton extends the concept of anomie and its relationship to deviance in several ways as compared to Durkheim. First, Durkheim's concentration on anomie conceives it as the social situation ensuing when the regulatory functions of the collective order break down. Anomie is not a relationship among individual actors, rather it is a societal condition wherein there is no normative structure or

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expectations to guide behavior. Durkheim's concern was with the processes which facilitate this breakdown and how the individual faced with unlimited aspirations without realistic possibilities of successful attainment. Merton does not see the necessity of unlimited aspirations but rather aspirations which are universally given to a population but which the corresponding means of legitimate attainment are not given. The goals or aspirations do not necessarily have to be unlimited for the emergence of the state of anomie; anomie is entirely possible in a condition of limited goal aspirations as long as the goal is universally given and the means are differentially distributed.

Secondly, Merton's extension of Durkheim gives us the opportunity to examine the occurrence of anomie in societal conditions more frequently encountered. Durkheim postulated anomie to emerge when the regulatory controls of the collective order are disrupted. This disruption occurs for Durkheim under conditions of rapid social and institutional change, e.g., chronic depression. These are conditions that are not the usual situation characteristic of any society. They all involve a chronic reclassification of the status positions of the individuals within the society. Merton's extension allows us to examine the causes of deviant behavior in the normal

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Merton's extention allows us to make distinctions regarding the severity of pressures toward deviant behavior which originate at different points in the social structure. Durkheim does not take into account explicitly the differentials as to the susceptibility to anomie of the different classes. Merton's reformulation allows us to view the middle class as having a greater access to the socially structured means of goal attainment than is the case with those of the lower class.²¹

In summary, Durkheim sees anomie as the result of the breakdown of the traditional normative structure of the society because of a sudden reclassification of the populace in status categories to which they are not accustomed. Merton conceives anomie as a breakdown in the cultural structure occurring particularly where there is an acute disjuncture between the cultural norms and the socially structured capacities of the populace to act in accordance with these norms. Deviant behavior is seen, by Merton, as symptomatic of a breakdown or dissociation between the cultural and

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social structures. When aspirations and achievement are not in line with one another, and when common success-goals are expected of a large segment of the same population, deviant behavior will occur on a wide scale. The type of deviant behavior that will occur depends greatly upon the ability of the individual to reject both the means and the norms of the society.

The anomie tradition has significance for this study in that it has become a major theoretical framework underlying a number of studies of gang delinquency. These studies basically see delinquent subcultures as the collective solution to various problems of adjustment that are shared and communicated by a number of interacting individuals. The explicit behavioral content of the subculture can possibly be explained by a reference to the psychodynamics of the individuals concerned. But foremost and basically, the creation and the maintenance of the delinquent subculture is seen to lie in the discrepancy between the culturally given common success-goals and the socially structured differentials in availability of access to institutionalized means of successful attainment. As indicated, the focus of this study is upon a selected group of sociologists whose

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*Developing outside of the anomie tradition but with a major interest in delinquent subcultures has been the "Chicago School" tradition. Thrasher, who can be taken as an illustration of this approach, largely focused on the process by which individuals are indoctrinated into a delinquent subculture by their initial exposure to norms supporting law violation and their eventual incorporation into the criminal role expectations characteristic of the members of the delinquent subculture. The problem to which this tradition addresses itself is the explanation of the acquisition of the delinquent values and norms by a sociological study of the social processes and organization of the urban slum. Thrasher sees the delinquent gang as the logical development or outgrowth of the spontaneously formed play-groups formed in the socially and culturally disorganized interstitial area. Those play-groups that persist do so because of a conflictual element in their relationship with other gangs and with the larger context of society. The rationale behind the exclusion of the "Chicago School" from consideration is because its conceptualization of the etiology of the delinquent gang or subculture is significantly different from that of the anomie tradition, which assumes that the delinquent subculture or gang is the result of a collective solution to a mutually shared and communicated problem of adjustment resulting from a perceived discrepancy between the cultural and the social structures.²²

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FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER I

¹Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey, Theories of Personality (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960), Chapter 9, "Sheldon's Constitutional Psychology," pp. 336-375.

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⁶Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1959), p. 164.

⁷Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, translated by George Simpson (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960).

⁸Emile Durkheim, Suicide: A Study in Sociology, translated and edited by George Simpson (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

⁹Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1949), p. 334.

¹⁰Cloward, op. cit., p. 165.

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¹²Emile Durkheim, Suicide: A Study in Sociology, pp.246-254. See also Cloward, op. cit., pp. 164-165, and Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), pp. 78-82.

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¹³Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," op. cit., p. 166.

¹⁴Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 133.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 135.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 132-134.

²⁰Ibid., p. 162

²¹Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit., pp. 82-86.

²²Frederic M. Thrasher, The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1963). For additional illustrations of this perspective see also: Ernest Watson Burgess and Robert E. Park, The City, (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1925); Clifford R. Shaw, Delinquency Areas (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1929); Clifford R. Shaw, The Jack-roller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1930); Clifford R. Shaw, The Natural History of a Delinquent Career (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1931); Clifford R. Shaw, Brothers in Crime (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1938); and Clifford R. Shaw, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1942).

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CHAPTER II

ANALYTICAL MODEL

This analysis of the anomie tradition as represented by our four authors presents serious analytical problems. What is called for is more than various summary statements of the different theoretical positions; what is needed is a means by which the different theories of these authors can be isolated and compared and through which the variations and similarities in theoretical perspectives can be identified. Several analytical models suitable for the needs of this study are currently available. The model adopted herein is the Processually Articulated Structural Model (PAS Model) developed by Dr. Charles P. Loomis.¹ In Figure 1 the reader can visualize the structure of the PAS Model.*

In this chapter, Albert Cohen, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, and Lewis Yablonsky will be analyzed according to the structural-functional categories of the PAS Model, the master or comprehensive process, and the conditions of

* For an explication and visual representation of the PAS Model, the reader is referred to Appendix I.

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social action. In the subsequent chapter, the material so analyzed will be utilized in order to state various propositions which will develop the core agreement of these three positions. In addition a second set of propositions will be developed which will alert the reader to those areas within that particular use of the anomie tradition which need further theoretical specification and/or empirical research.

Knowing

Belief as an Element: Albert Cohen

Cohen states that for every role in every conceivable social structure "there are certain kinds of action and belief patterns which function as signs of membership."² To the extent that an individual wishes to assume membership in the delinquent subculture, he will be motivated to assume those signs and incorporate them within his personality and his behavioral frame of reference. In this sense, the delinquent subculture constitutes a salient reference group to which the individual in question orientates his motivational and belief structures. The delinquent gang can be seen as both a normative and status reference group, modification of the belief structure facilitates not only the passage into a new group but also acts as a mechanism of anticipatory socialization.

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Correspondingly, when an observer views the delinquent subculture from his point of view, he may reach the conclusion that the group, though it be stable, has no definable interactional patterns which would enhance the creation and stability of the group. On the contrary, Cohen states, "the delinquent subculture is not a disembodied set of beliefs and practices but is carried and supported by groups with distinctive organization and distinctive personnel."³ As we shall see later, the delinquent subculture is defined by the normative structure to which it adheres; here we see that the delinquent subculture, viewed from the social systems point of view, is characterized by a pattern of belief which defines the distinctive practices that it engages in. The delinquent subculture is set apart from the social system in terms of both its belief and its normative structures. At no point does Cohen develop the content of the delinquent beliefs, but he does speak of them as being middle-class norms "up-side down."⁴ What is believed to be true and false in the conventional world is turned around in the delinquent's world.

The characteristic qualities of the behavioral system of the delinquent subculture are isolated by Cohen as negativistic, non-utilitarian, and malicious.⁵ From

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these characterizations, implicit conceptualizations of Cohen's thoughts on the content of delinquent beliefs can be gained, for Cohen states:

every choice expresses a preference, and every preference reflects something about the chooser or his circumstances that endows the object of his choice with some special quality as virtue. The choice is not self-explanatory nor is it arbitrary or rendered.⁶

The content of the delinquent subculture is obviously viewed from the viewpoint of the middle-class. It is obvious from Cohen's prior statements of the content that the subculture is operating at variance with middle-class expectations. This peculiar behavioral content does reveal something of the actor, and in this case it is elements of his belief structure. The belief structure of the delinquent is diametrically opposed to the middle-class expectations.

The delinquent subculture must be viewed in relation to not in isolation from the larger social system. Both society and the subculture are to be characterized as social systems, and subculture being but a single component in the complex makeup of society. Since both are social systems, they are bound to be characterized by a system of values and beliefs. It is essential to Cohen's thesis in Delinquent Boys that the values and beliefs of the delinquent subculture are

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at variance with those of the wider social system; as we shall see later, the status criteria of the delinquent subculture are virtually those of the middle-class society only they are inverted.

Reflection on the conflict features of gangs and on their variable distribution in the social order has led to a conception of gangs as carriers of subcultures: systems of values and beliefs peculiar to the gang world or those segments of the social order in which the gangs are located and that are at variance⁷ with the values and beliefs of the larger society.

The relationship between behavior and belief is ably tied together by Cohen in his conceptualization of the self: "The self is an interrelated set of beliefs and attitudes of the actor."⁸ The self is composed of the self-image, the self-expectation, and the self-judgment. The self-image is simply that which the actor believes to be true about himself in any given situation or at any given time. The self-expectation is that which the person expects of himself; the self-expectation can be equated with the self or ego ideal. The self-judgment is that which is the result of the interaction between the self-image and the self-ideal.

Since behavior is oriented toward the maintenance and enhancement of the self, we can see that the beliefs that a person holds will be a great determinant in the behavior that

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one manifests. Delinquent behavior would be seen to be the result of the belief on the part of the individual that he is a delinquent, i.e., the self would include delinquent definitions. Because of these definitions, behavior would be chosen that would be consonant with this definition thus reinforcing the belief. A vicious circle is formed between belief, behavior appropriate to the belief, and subsequent reinforcement of the belief.

The actor tends to select, in any given situation, from possibilities open to him, that mode of action that is most likely to reduce the discrepancy between the self-image, self-demands, and thereby⁹ maintain or enhance a satisfactory self-judgment.

Belief as an Element: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin state that "every culture provides its members with appropriate beliefs, values, attitudes and norms to carry out required activities."¹⁰ It is logical to assume that what is characteristic of the society as a whole is, to a certain degree, characteristic of its sub-systems. While an individual is being socialized into the subculture, he acquires characteristic patterns of describing the world about him which enables him to perform the requisite functions to his being a group member.

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These perceptions and descriptions of the world enable him to "understand, discriminate, predict and interpret the actions of others in relation to himself as a member of the subculture."¹¹ As these perceptions and descriptions of reality are continually reinforced, they "acquire the force of belief,"¹² and are transmitted to future members as part of the subcultural tradition. Once the sub-culture generates and endows a "force of belief" to the world-views, they are "turned around upon the group and mobilized to support its prescriptions, which become elaborated as a set of norms for directing and controlling the behavior of its members."¹³ Beliefs form the substructural basis for the process of gang behavior; there is an inter-weaving of belief with sanction, power, norm and evaluation. These beliefs or world-views function to support the characteristic behavior of the sub-culture.

Members of the criminal subculture believe the world to be populated by "smart guys" and "suckers" . . . The members of the conflict gang see their "turf" surrounded by enemies . . . The retreatists regard the world about them as populated by "squares."¹⁴

Cloward and Ohlin see belief as one of the major components which determine whether an individual will seek the delinquent adaptation. The crucial variable is the relationship of the individual to the societal normative structure.

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The first condition for the evolution of a subcultural adaptation is that the individual be "freed from commitment to a belief in the legitimacy of certain aspects of the existing organization of conventional means."¹⁵ To become delinquent, the individual must retract his sentiment of legitimacy from the conventional means-ends relationship and divest this legitimacy upon normative structures characteristic of one of the delinquent patterns.

Cloward and Ohlin see the "conversation of gestures" and the resulting social support to be important variables in determining whether or not the individual will become delinquent; important in this connection is belief. The creation of social supports needs the belief structure of the individual as a mechanism for consensual validation. Delinquency can be an isolated adaptation, but in most cases, delinquency is a group effort at problem-solving and as such needs the support of both beliefs and the behavior of others. "The deviant requires not only justifying beliefs but also social validation of the appropriateness of his deviant acts."¹⁶

Through the process of the communication of sentiment, the different individuals make it known to each other that they are in need of a means to alleviate the problems to which their behavior is a response. The individuals need a

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mechanism by which they can transfer not only their behavior but also their belief as to the legitimacy of delinquent norms. "The emerging subculture acquires a set of beliefs and values which rationalize the shift in norms as a natural response to a trying situation."¹⁷ Belief functions as a method of ego-defense insulating the individual from guilt feelings which would arise in the course of their behavior.

Belief as an Element: Lewis Yablonsky

In this description of the dynamics of the leadership of the violent gang, Yablonsky sees the element of belief as intricately tied to the power that the gang leader has or, more realistically, wishes he had. "Gang leaders conjure up vast networks of gang alliances . . . to fulfill their own needs and those of their gang's members for power."¹⁸ In these systemic linkages between the gang and other gangs in their immediate neighborhood or in the community, the leader is attempting to fortify the belief on the part of the members and within himself that the gang of which he is the leader is the toughest, strongest, and most powerful gang in the city. This belief focuses back upon the leader to fortify internal feelings of inferiority and to act out power roles which he could not achieve when he was younger. The belief of the

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relationships between their gang and others serves to give the members a sense of security and power. "Gang members want to believe, and thus do believe, that their leaders control vast networks of gang relationships that can be called forth for gang warfare and defense purposes even though their assumptions are not valid."¹⁹

Yablonsky uses the element of belief in connection with differential ranking. "Despite the different degrees of participation (core or marginal), and the individualized interpretations of gang membership, a unifying bond among gang members is the belief that through gang membership they acquire prestige and status."²⁰ As we shall see under the element end, this ranking, status, or prestige process occurs in isolation from the criteria that are given by the conventional society. The status and prestige that are conferred upon the individual member is that which is given by the gang in reward for an individual's adherence to gang beliefs and dictates. Those individuals who are most capable of violent behavior are those who are most highly valued by the gang and are thusly given the highest degrees of prestige and status by the gang.

"Duke" was the name given to the sociopathic leader of the "Balkans" by Yablonsky. The Balkans were one of the

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gangs that consolidated with others and who killed Michale Farmer and seriously injured Roger McShane. This consolidation of the Balkans with a number of other gangs did not happen just by chance, but was rationally planned and thought out by the leaders or core members of the Balkans. This was not the first time that this group had been engaged in an all-out gang war. Previously, the Balkans were having trouble with the "Villains."

The Balkans and the Villains were about to have their rumble, Duke describes his emotional situation as a combination of the "japs" by the Villains and the personal troubles that he was having. In this sense we can see the tie between belief and sentiment as contributing factors in arousing the emotional fervor within Duke. In a statement by Duke, we can see the convergence of belief and sentiment:

The Villains always came down to steal money--they always picked on small kids. I've been beaten up and robbed by them twice for no reason . . . No, I wouldn't have fought them if my grandfather hadn't died. He always used to give me advice. When he died I sort of went to pieces and I figured that I just had to get even for something. I had nobody to turn to then. I couldn't talk to my father, so that's when I decided that the Villains would have to pay for what they had done.²¹

Two elements of Duke's emotional makeup are obvious. First, there were the continued attacks upon Duke's neighborhood by

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the Villains. Second, and most important, is the fact that Duke's grandfather had died. There is no logical connection between the attacks by the Villains and the death of Duke's grandfather. From the above statement it is clear that Duke was able to talk to his grandfather about his feelings and his thoughts. When his grandfather died, there was no one who could take his place. It seems as though the grandfather was a sounding board upon which Duke could take out his personal problems; with the death of his grandfather Duke had no one who could serve him in the same capacity. Because of the emotional state which Duke was in, he unconsciously blamed the Villains for the death of his grandfather. Consciously, this feeling was manifested by the desire to pay the Villains back for what they had done. There was a belief on the part of Duke that "his problem could be solved in an all-out gang war to 'teach everyone a lesson once and for all.'"²²

A most interesting belief is manifested by one of the core members at the time when a name for the club was being chosen. Jay, according to Duke, kept insisting that the name of the club be the Balkans. Yablonsky relates that in later interviews Jay revealed that he had been studying the Balkan states in European History. "He claimed, in his own fashion, that their gang was in an embattled military position similar

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to that of the European Balkan states at a particular time in history, 'locked in by enemies.'"²³ This belief can characterize the entire gang at the time before the rumble with the Villains.

The most important relationship is that between belief and the size of the gang. At a time before the rumble, there was a meeting between Duke and a gang leader from the Harlem Syndicate. In their discussion, the mutual distortion of the belief of gang size that transpired is obvious. Duke claimed that at the time of the trouble he would have control over 2,000 boys. Turk, from the Harlem Syndicate, exceeded Duke's estimate by over 3,000.²⁴ "Each supported the other's gang size and seemed to get satisfaction and security from hearing all about the powerful alliance which had apparently been further cemented by this conference."²⁵ Don't call my bluff and I won't call yours, was the overriding tempo of the meeting. "In Duke's world others were always attacking and he and the Balkans were fighting defensive battles. Duke's dreams of glory and defense were somewhat exaggerated conceptions of what most Balkans thought and felt."²⁶

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Cognitive Mapping and Validation as Process:
Albert Cohen, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Our authors are not directly nor specifically concerned with cognitive mapping and validation as process. Neither Cohen nor Cloward and Ohlin are concerned with the process by which belief is generated, rather they are concerned with the function that belief performs for the insulation of the delinquent response, once it has occurred. What seems to be in close approximation to these processes is the creation of the delinquent subculture and its concomitant normative and value structural changes. Cohen gives us a hint at this process in his discussion of the "negative polarity" of the delinquent norms with those of the middle class.

. . . the delinquent subculture takes its norms from the larger culture but turns them upside down. The delinquent's conduct is right, by the standards of his subculture, precisely because it is wrong by the norms of the larger culture.²⁷

As we will see later, communication is a crucial process for this development. Therefore, what can be implied to be the processes of cognitive mapping and validation will be more specifically dealt with under the master process of communication. Suffice it here to say that through the "conversation of gestures" and following interpersonal communication,

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the different individuals are able to come together and facilitate each others methods for problem reduction. This is the creation of the delinquent subculture. Although our authors stress different points in the process of this development, they agree that the delinquent subculture is a mechanism for problem-solving. It is a problem which the individual cannot solve alone. The delinquent subculture is an attempt at joint problem-solving behavior.

Cognitive Mapping and Validation as Process: Lewis Yablonsky

The process of cognitive mapping is not specifically dealt with by Yablonsky at any place within the text. The only place where this process can even be inferred is in the relationship between belief and power. "Gang members want to believe, and thus do believe, that their leaders control vast networks of gang relationships . . ." ²⁸ Like belief, the process of cognitive mapping seems to be closely tied to the psychic needs of the members of the gang. It seems that whatever a member needs to feel or believe in order to feel secure and powerful is infused with the power of belief and, because a member wants to believe, he does believe. Whether the belief is right or wrong as compared to the facts seems to be of little importance to either the gang leader or to

the gang members for, as Yablonsky states, the "assumptions are not valid."²⁹ Cognitive mapping is used to reinforce the beliefs which reinforce the needs for power and prestige that the gang members feel. These vast networks of gang and syndicate alliances are "conjured up to fulfill their (the leader's) own needs and those of their members for power."³⁰ Be it true or not, if something is believed as true or false, it is defined as true or false.

Feeling

Sentiment as an Element: Albert Cohen

Cohen deals with the concept of sentiment as defined in the PAS Model only by implication. In the delineation of the content of the delinquent subculture, Cohen states that the gang is characterized by non-utilitarian, malicious, negativistic, and short-run hedonic behavior.³¹ It seems as though each characteristic is a definite reaction to the delinquent's perception and conception of the world as they conceive it.

The malicious behavior is seen as "an enjoyment in the discomfort of others, a delight in the defiance of taboos . . ."³² Toughness, hostility and aggression are

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displayed to everyone who is not in some way connected with the gang. "There is a keen delight in terrorizing 'good' children, in driving them from playgrounds and gyms for which the gang itself may have little use . . . " In the school situation, this malicious content is perhaps the most evident.

The teacher and her rules are not merely something onerous to be evaded; they are flouted. There is an element of active spite and malice, contempt and ridicule, challenge and defiance . . . symbolized by defecating on the teacher's desk.

This malicious content seems to suggest the negativistic content of the gang. The subculture is not simply a set of rules and beliefs that are in ways different from the norms of the conventional society, rather they are both qualitatively and quantitatively different. "It would appear at least plausible that it (the delinquent subculture) is defined by its negative polarity to these (middle class) norms" ³³

Cohen believes that "every society is internally differentiated into numerous sub-groups, each with ways of thinking and doing that in some respects peculiarly its own" ³⁴ It is one of Cohen's basic themes that the problems to which the working class boy has to adjust to are problems which are characteristically problems of the class to which he belongs. It is this class membership and the

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corresponding frames of reference, types of aspirations, and opportunities available which determine whether or not he will become delinquent. The problem to which he responds is that of status problems resulting in status discontent and frustration.

Cohen uses the concept of sentiment in a most basic sense. Cohen's thesis is that delinquency is a response to a frustrating situation in which the working class boy has failed in his status aspirations. In a society such as America, the culture demands that all strive for success. The youth are given for comparison the widest possible status universe. Against this universe, the youth is to measure himself; the working child, as all others, must "measure himself and seek status against all comers."³⁵ It is the structural imperative that the working class boy will fail in his status aspirations, and suffer what is termed status discontent or status frustration. Cohen suggests that it is this problem for which the delinquent subculture serves as a vehicle for solution, by creating a status universe against which the working class boy can achieve status in his own eyes and in those of his fellows; the delinquent subculture puts status aspirations within realistic bounds. The delinquent subculture serves to help the youth repudiate the

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morality of the middle class and ascribe legitimacy to the norms of the delinquent group. The "delinquent subculture . . . permits no ambiguity of the status of the delinquent relative to anyone else."³⁶ In terms of the negative polarity to the middle class norms, nonconformity to the expectations of these norms, confers status upon the delinquent.

Choice or commitment to the norms of the middle class is withdrawn, raises a question. "May we assume that when the delinquent seeks to obtain unequivocal status by repudiating . . . the norms of the college-boy culture, these norms undergo total extinction? Or do they . . . linger on . . . repressed . . . but an everpresent threat to the adjustment which has been achieved at no small cost."³⁷ In this context, Cohen makes the assumption that the corner-boy has not completely repudiated the norms of the middle class. Because of his partial commitment to two confusing sets of norms, the corner-boy is overtly manifesting the norms of the delinquent subculture; but at the same time, the conventional norms are continually pressing for recognition. The result of this situation is anxiety, which is handled or kept within limits by the process of reaction formation.³⁸ This has the function of securing the actor against an inner threat to his defenses as well as "the function of meeting an external

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The full-fledged corner-boy culture temporizes with middle class morality; the delinquent subculture does not It is precisely here . . . in the refusal to temporize, that the delinquent subculture holds its appeal.⁴⁰

Sentiment as an Element:
Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin deal explicitly and to great lengths with sentiment. Sentiment, as an element, is dealt with on both the societal and the sub-system level. In their discussion of the basic differences between the official and the delinquent norms, the delinquent is characterized by exhibiting "behavior that violates the basic norms of the society, and, when officially known, it evokes a judgment by agents of criminal justice that such norms have been violated."⁴¹ In making a decision as to whether or not the norm violation is permissible or not, agents of criminal justice take sentiments on the part of the delinquent heavily into account. These agents look into the relationship between the attitude or sentiment and the act of norm violation. A delinquent act may be committed because of ignorance, carelessness or by accident; the individual may be willing to fully support the existing rules and see them as binding on his conduct.⁴²

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Legitimacy

A delinquent act that is supported by delinquent attitudes is a different story. "When delinquent behavior is supported by delinquent attitudes, the offender challenges the authority of the social expectations which he has violated; his sentiment and behavior are not in conflict but reinforce one another."⁴³ The delinquent act that is committed by carelessness, ignorance, or by accident is viewed by Cloward and Ohlin not to be as serious as a delinquent act committed and reinforced by a pattern of delinquent attitudes.

In the latter case, the attribute of legitimacy is still invested upon the conventional norms of conduct; in the former case, the attribute of legitimacy has been withdrawn from the conventional norms and divested upon norms supported by the delinquent subculture.

This attempt to identify the attitude underlying the act reflects an interest in establishing the existing and degree of the offender's commitment to a set of norms in opposition to those of the official system. The delinquent act that springs from a well-organized set of delinquent norms to which the offender fully subscribes is generally viewed as more serious by the agents of criminal justice than a careless or unwitting law violation.⁴⁴

The question of the normative structure to which the delinquent and the conventional individual is committed brings us to another important use of the element of sentiment. Legitimacy can be seen in relation to normative structures as

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an individual characteristic of attributing a rightness or moral validity to the prescriptions. Cloward and Ohlin state that "a person attributes legitimacy to a system of rules and corresponding models of behavior when he accepts them as binding on his conduct."⁴⁵ Behavioral compliance is not enough to create legitimacy of a normative structure. Behavioral compliance must be combined with a corresponding attitude of acceptance before we can say that the norms are invested with an attitude of legitimacy. The defining characteristic of legitimacy is, then, the incorporation of behavioral compliance with an attitude of legitimacy, moral validity, or acceptance with respect to norms. Sentiment and behavior must be allied in a given course of action before that course is seen, from the individual's standpoint, as legitimate.

Sentiment is also very closely connected with the delinquent subculture as it relates itself to the normative structure of society. "The delinquent subculture calls for the withdrawal of sentiments supporting official norms and the tendering of allegiance to competing norms."⁴⁶ Members of the delinquent subculture have withdrawn their sentiments or attitudes of legitimacy from the official norms and have transferred the sentiments to the norms of the delinquent subculture.

Sentiment is used by the delinquent as an effective technique for neutralizing the regulatory effect of conventional norms.⁴⁷ This process will become more evident in the section on status-role performance, because sentiment as used in this way is characteristic of three different subcultural types. It would be appropriate to illustrate the different ways in which sentiment is used in these different subcultures.⁴⁸ In the criminal subculture, sentiment is used most specifically as a technique of neutralization. The delinquent sees successful people in the conventional world as having a "racket." He regards members of the conventional world as "suckers," and exhibits hostility and distrust toward them.⁴⁹ In the conflict pattern, sentiment is manifested in what might be called the ideal-image: "great stress on courage, the defense of his group, and the maintenance of honor."⁵⁰ In the retreatist pattern, the individual, by the use of narcotic drugs, "seeks an almost spiritual and mystical knowledge that is experienced when one comes to know 'it' at the height of one's kick."⁵¹

Sentiment is also manifested in relationship to the value placed on educational attainment in the working class. In discussing the concept of barriers to legitimate opportunity, Cloward and Ohlin identify the lack of educational attainment

on the part of the working class as a structural barrier to legitimate opportunity structures. In the literature it is commonly believed that the working class places no emphasis on educational attainment; Cloward and Ohlin take a different point of view. "For any member of the lower class struggling to maintain a minimum level of subsistence, the goal of advanced education must seem remote indeed."⁵² The reason for the lack of educational attainment in the working classes is not that they do not have an attitude favorable to education, but because of the pressures of living, combined with the structural differentials in the availability of educational opportunities, the members of the working class cannot increase their educational levels. Hence, the means available to some members of the social structure are denied other members by virtue of their position in the class structure.

Cloward and Ohlin use the concept of sentiment as a basic tool in their explanation of the dynamics of working class aspirations and feelings of failure. Since discrepancies between aspirations and opportunity are likely to be experienced more intensely at some social positions than at others, persons in status locations where the discrepancy is most acute "may develop a common perception and sense of indignation about their disadvantages as contrasted with the advantages

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of others."⁵³ In this connection, the commitment of an individual or group to any given normative structure is based on two factors: (1) The moral validity of the norms, and (2) the rational expediency of the norms.⁵⁴ "When the individual defines his commitment to the dominant system of norms on the basis of expediency . . . his sentiments may become attached to some competing set of norms more to his advantage."⁵⁵

"To understand the growth of the delinquent subcultures, we must identify more explicitly the social conditions under which alienation from established norms and the acceptance of illegitimate models of behavior occurs." Cloward and Ohlin discuss the concept of alienation, defined as "a process of withdrawal of attributions of legitimacy from established norms," as a result of the experienced failure of the working class in their aspirations. The basic question is: where is the cause of the failure located, within the individual or within the social order (as viewed by the actor)? The answer to that question has a determining effect on the creation of delinquency.⁵⁶

In attributing the cause of failure, one can blame either himself or the social order. It is Cloward and Ohlin's thesis that the attribution of failure to oneself,

rather than to the social order, signals an attitude of acceptance or legitimacy toward the social order. Conversely, if one attributes the cause of failure to the social order, the situation is ripe for the withdrawal of sentiment from the norms and the divestment of legitimacy on delinquent norms. "Those who appraise themselves as better equipped than their fellows according to the formal criteria of advancement are inclined to blame the system rather than themselves when their expectations of achievement are not met."⁵⁷ It makes no difference whether the individual is or is not to blame, it is the individual's perception of the situation that is all important.

Failure under conditions such as these leads the individual to feel unjustly deprived and attribute the cause of failure to the social order. "A sense of being unjustly deprived of access to opportunity to which one is entitled is common among those who become participants in delinquent sub-cultures."⁵⁸ The sense of unjust deprivation can play a significant role in the withdrawal of legitimacy from official norms.⁵⁹ A sense of relative injustice encourages the individual to withdraw sentiment of legitimacy from the social order and to search for a more efficient means to achieve his aspirations. According to this position, the

withdrawal of sentiment from the existing institutional arrangements and their displacement onto delinquent norms is the sufficient cause of the creation and emergence of the delinquent subculture.

Sentiment as an Element: Lewis Yablonsky

Perhaps one of the most important ways in which we can see the element of sentiment is in the reasons given by most of the boys for the creation of the gang. "The usual overt rationale given by gang boys for the origin of the gang is related to their felt needs for defense and protection."⁶⁰ This sentiment or feeling about the relation of the individual or the gang to the surrounding environment has been seen before in the statement by Jay that the gang lay in a relationship to its surroundings as "locked in by enemies."⁶¹

As will be dealt with under the master process of socialization, it is Yablonsky's contention that the core member or the leaders of the violent gang are personalities. Given a certain type of neighborhood, it is not enough to simply describe it for this does not explain why some boys join the violent gang and others the social and delinquent gangs, and it does not explain why some are not involved in delinquent or violent behavior while others are. In order to explain certain of these facts, one must analyze the individual

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on the psychological or the social psychological level of analysis. As such Yablonsky concerns himself with the personality dynamics of the violent youths.

"Many gang leaders manifest paranoid delusions of persecution and grandeur." Yablonsky never states, but very heavily implies that these paranoid delusions stem from the violent gang members' feeling of insecurity and the acting out of powerful roles that were not available in their youth or that they were not able to play. "In some cases they are attempting to compensate and adjust serious personality disorders through acting in the role of powerful but pseudoleaders." It must be realized that these delusions are not completely individualized adaptations to a stressful situation for there is some element of foundation in reality. "There is some anchorage of reality to their distortions of the world around them." They do not live in a complete fantasy world, since their pseudocommunity is "shared by many others in the world of the gang and the 'legitimate' larger society."⁶²

The development of the feeling of security seems to be most important to the boys in the violent gang. As we have already seen under the element of belief, there are various attempts on the part of the leaders to create either real or imagined alliances with brother gangs that can be

called up in the time of a war. "Brother gangs are used as artificial weapons to impress gang enemies and to give the gang members themselves a feeling of security."⁶³ These alliances and gang contracts are most often mutual distortion associations used to instill fear in one's enemies and at the same time to give both the leader and the members a sense of power and security respectively. On occasion, these alliances and affiliations are actually produced for a gang war; however, when they appear, it is generally a spontaneously generated action rather than something deliberately and consciously planned.

The clearest manifestation of sentiment is evident in the gang war. Yablonsky states "gang warfare has no clear purpose or consensus of definition for all participants."⁶⁴ The gang war is an opportunity to gain status and reputation within the gang plus the fact that the war gives them the opportunity to channel "aggression and hostilities they have about other personal matters" onto a scapegoat, i.e., the rival gang. Because of the latent functions that the gang war performs for the members, the war will occur at times when it is most needed by the members. For this reason, "picayune reasons are exaggerated and spread through gang networks in distorted ways to inflame many gang members into battle."⁶⁵

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The gang members' emotions and sentiments are fanned through interactions and produce a group contagion. From such reasons as territory, a bad look, talking to a certain girl, a war can be generated which will turn into a major battle. The gang war is clearly the overt manifestation of an underlying emotion that must be displaced upon some object other than the self to be acted out. Gang warfare serves the function of "legitimizing" the aggressive impulses underlying the dominant personality type in the violent gang.

In the community of the violent gang there is a split between the generations of the youth and his parents. "The breakdown of a meaningful relationship between violent gang youths and the only adults who have even a minimal interest in them is affirmed by considerable evidence." Yablonsky relates a series of conversations between himself and a number of violent gang youths in which the sentiment of disdain or even hatred for their parents was manifested by the youths. Statements such as: "Why should I talk to them? There's nothing to talk about. They can't help me." Arising from these feelings toward their parents, is the youth's feeling toward society as a whole. "This negative attitude displaced onto all adults, partly as a result of specific experiences and conclusions derived from primary relationships with their

own parents, often takes on aggressive or violent forms." The violent attacks, in groups or gangs or as individuals, often take the form of a displaced attack upon the parents. One youth who enjoyed mugging and purse snatching from old ladies stated that most of the women he selected "looked like my old lady." Seemingly, the breakdown of meaningful relationship between the youth and his parents or between the youth and society is manifested by complete negative reactions of hostility, aggressiveness, and violence on the part of the youth.⁶⁶

There is also a negative feeling toward the youths on the part of the parents. "In reverse of the gang youth's feeling about adults, the adults' generalized perception of the gang youth is often emotional and stereotyped. To many adults any youth becomes a disturbing representation of their own parental neglect." The parent of the gang youth who is accosted with the problems of employment and adjustment to the new environment reacts to "his own guilt toward this failure by a type of hysterical or quick aggression toward the child." It seems logical to assume that this aggressive response on the part of the parent toward his child is the result of projected guilt feelings for not having adequately socialized the child or "not having assumed a more adequate parental role."⁶⁷ Because of the aggressiveness on the part

of their parents, the schism between the youths and their parents grows wider and the parents lose what little control they have over the child. As a result of this situation, the violent gang behavior on the part of the child is crystallized and solidified.

This sense of guilt on the part of the parent is manifested in another way. "In an unconscious recognition of their own deficiency as parents, many adults tend to blame youths other than their own for the delinquencies and gang activities of their children." He runs with bad company is one of the most popular reasons which is attempted by the parent to take the blame off his children and thus off himself. Comments such as the above often reflect a projection of blame to the friends of the youth and a shifting of responsibility from the parent onto boys other than his own. As is obvious from the above, the adult-youth schism which is characteristic of the disorganized slum "can be an important determinant of violent gang activity and organization."⁶⁸

Another characteristic in addition to the adult youth schism which is found in the disorganized slum and which contributes to violent gang organization is community prejudice and discrimination. Yablonsky sees prejudice first operating in the community to force the family of the minority

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group gang members into the disorganized slum. Indirectly this results from an economic blockade against minority groups that prevents their entrance into certain higher paying occupational positions. Because of this economic block, the minority family is forced to live in the disorganized slum neighborhood. On another level, Negro and Puerto Rican families are simply barred from living in certain neighborhoods regardless of financial ability to pay the rent regularly.

Victims of prejudice react at various levels and with a variety of patterns to feelings of prejudice. Yablonsky, quoting Powdermaker, describes the various range of Negro reactions that individuals can manifest to discrimination and prejudice:

- 1) There is direct aggression against its true object.
- 2) Substituting a colored object for the white object of aggression
- 3) Retreating to an Ivory tower and attempt to remain unaffected by the interracial situation.⁶⁹

It is the first and second reaction that will be of importance in the violent gang organization.

Yablonsky sees prejudice and discrimination operating on one clear cut level as gang violence involving one or all of the same racial or religious gang doing battle with another.⁷⁰ Yablonsky sees this type of warfare or ganging as characteristic of the oldest form of gang rivalry. Within the modern

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gang, prejudice tends "to be almost a playful part of the general sounding hostility."

The bigotry label is simply tacked on partially because it is fashionable in the rationale of the larger society where such terms are more "logical" terms of antagonism. In the violent gang they are almost playful terms of affection and have a different meaning to the gang boy than they do in the larger society.⁷¹

The situation is quite different when the relationships between gangs are examined where a constantly felt prejudice is the reason for much gang violence. "Some individual victims of prejudice use the gang vehicle as a direct weapon for getting even."⁷² The gang is a mechanism for the acting out of various personal problems that the youths are troubled by at the time. To a number of individuals the gang is a mechanism to act out the hurt and aggression created by prejudice. "The gang was an opportunity to retaliate against felt discrimination. Paradoxically, this gang dynamic involves the discriminatory victim fighting alongside and against representatives of the group he believes is discriminating against him."⁷³

Yablonsky sees a relationship between the degree of personality pathology and the degree of involvement in the violent gang. "The gang boy's degree of emotional involvement in the gang is indicated by his level of participation which

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may either be core or marginal. The more sociopathic youth tends to be a core member, and the less pathological youth tends to be somewhat more marginal."⁷⁴ The reason for the high degree of involvement in the violent gang of the sociopathic youth is perhaps "because it may be the only type of human organization whose demands are minimal enough for his sociopathic ability to participate."⁷⁵ Illustrative of the high degree of sociopathic involvement is the tremendous personal commitment that is given to the gang by the core member. The gang leader deprived of his gang appears as a pathetic figure. "The loss of the gang leaves the leader almost physically shaken."⁷⁶ It seems that the reason for this tremendous commitment to the gang by the sociopath is that, without the gang, the individual feels powerless and insecure. "Despite the overt appearance of bravado displayed before the gang, the gang leader when alone expresses deep feelings of inadequacy."⁷⁷ His senseless violence can be seen as a mechanism to release the leader from both internal and external fears and "in part as an effort continually to prove to himself and the boys around him that 'he isn't afraid and he isn't yellow.'"⁷⁸

Many of the violent gang leaders suffered from paranoid delusion of grandeur and persecution. These two delusions are

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mutually reinforcing. The powerful individual is hated by his enemies and is thereby persecuted by them. Because of the various feelings of persecution the leader of the violent gang comes to feel that he is more powerful than his enemies. Underlying the fantasies of power lie deep feelings of inferiority and persecution. These delusions are useful in two ways. "The paranoids' delusions of power and persecution are useful in fooling themselves that they are powerful and at the same time blaming their social inability upon a world that unfairly persecutes them."⁷⁹ He becomes prejudiced with regard to his social environment, his responses tend to select reactions from his surroundings that fit into such an interpretation and then to reshape things that seemed innocent enough when they occurred in such a way that they support the trend of his suspicions. "He is unable to get relevant responses from others to counteract the developing reaction formation, which finally hardens into what . . . (is) termed a 'paranoid pseudocommunity.'"⁸⁰ The sociopath feels powerful in relation to his environment and blames his social inability upon a persecuting environment. Incidents that occur are reshaped and recast until they are consonant with his feelings about the world. Because of his inability to receive any responses from others, these feelings finally harden into what is called the paranoid pseudocommunity. "The sociopathic

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youth growing up in the disorganized slum has a personality syndrome that easily interlocks with the paranoid pseudo-community of the violent gang."⁸¹ The violent gang appears as a mechanism reinforcing an artistic need to consolidate one's view of the world.

Tension Management as a Process: Albert Cohen

In Cohen's work, the process of tension management is not explicit, but can be imputed to the gang the process of reaction formation.

As we have seen, Cohen believes that the function of the delinquent subculture is the creation of an atmosphere in which the youth can realistically aspire by drastically limiting his status universe. The American culture demands of all individuals the drive for success as defined by the norms of the middle class. As the working class boy follows the cultural mandate and strives for success, he is compared against the widest possible status universe. The delinquent gang limits this status universe to those with whom the boy can realistically compare himself. In the delinquent gang, the youth knows no ambiguity as to his status aspirations; the gang serves the youth as a vehicle for the realistic achievement of status. As such, the gang serves as a mechanism of tension management.

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The process of reaction formation serves the youth in the management of tensions. When the youth, as compared to all comers, comes out a failure, there is expressed a great deal of hostility and aggression against the normative structure that has demanded both conformity and certain success-goals but has, at the same time, ill equipped him in his status race. As a result of his failure, the youth withdraws his sentiments of legitimacy from the middle class norms and displaces legitimacy on the norms of the delinquent subculture.

The question is, however, is it possible to completely repudiate the norms of the middle class or are they become repressed, continually pressing for recognition? It is Cohen's contention that repression is the likely answer. Because of the continual tension created by the middle class norms competing with the delinquent norms, the individual will experience this competition as anxiety. Reaction-formation, as an ego defense, has the function of minimizing the tension created by ambivalence or conflict in norms.⁸² Reaction-formation destroys the regulatory power of the middle class normative structure.

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Tension Management as a Process:
Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin see tension arousing as a condition of certain structural arrangements. The basic condition for the arousal of tension is the perceived disparity between culturally given goals and socially given means; this condition occurs most frequently in the working class. The disparity between means and ends is common at one social position more than at another. "Discrepancies between aspiration and opportunity are likely to be experienced more intensely at some social position than at others."⁸³ Because of the fact that an individual is working class, there will be socially structured barriers to his legitimate aspirational achievements. Under such conditions, deviance is the probable response. "If goal-orientated behavior occurs under conditions in which there are socially structured obstacles to the satisfaction of these drives by legitimate means, the resulting pressures . . . might lead to deviance."⁸⁴

The likely response is the substitution of illegitimate means for the structurally blocked legitimate means. It is in this sense that the illegitimate opportunity structures operate as tension management devices. Briefly

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stated, the hypothesis of differential opportunity states that given a condition of socially structured barriers to achievement by legitimate means, the individual will substitute illegitimate means as avenues to conventional success-goals.

Given limited access to success-goals by legitimate means, the nature of the delinquent response will vary according to the availability of various illegitimate means.⁸⁵

It is only when a system of cultural values extols certain common success-goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population, that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale.⁸⁶

As a response to the differential distribution of both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures is the creation of the criminal subculture and the conflict and retreatist patterns, respectively.

In our discussion of the attribution of failure to either the individual or to the institutional arrangements, it was seen that a feeling of unjust deprivation was the essential operational condition for the attribution of failure to the social order. It seems logical to assume that this feeling of unjust deprivation is a mechanism of tension management. It is not a comfortable feeling to know

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that one is not on an equal level when compared with all others. When a situation is faced in which one has been compared and has failed, it would be likely to expect and increase in tension. In order to manage the tension, one could rationalize the situation by saying and feeling that one was unjustly deprived. For an explicit discussion of unjust deprivation in relation to delinquent behavior, refer to the element sentiment.

Tension Management as a Process: Lewis Yablonsky

In the violent gang there is no constant mechanism by which the process of tension management is accomplished. Indeed, it is one of the defining characteristics of the sociopath that there is the free and uninhibited expression of emotion.

Above we discovered that in the disorganized slum area there has been a breakdown of meaningful relationships between the youths and their parents. Yablonsky has stated that these relationships, when and where they do partially exist, "often take an aggressive or violent form." In addition, there are attacks upon adults by the youths which also exhibit the underlying theme of violence. The "violent gang's attacks upon adult strangers are a displacement of aggression toward the youth's own parents."⁸⁷

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This last statement may alert us to a possible mechanism of tension management; however, it seems more to be a latent consequence rather than one planned or intended. It would be possible to assume that if the youth attacked his parents he would be characterized by feelings of guilt or remorse. So, by attacking violently other adult strangers, this possible source of tension is bypassed. However, it is Yablonsky's contention that such is not the case since we are dealing with the sociopathic personality which is characterized by an absence of guilt feelings. Because of this absence of guilt feelings or simply because of the lack of any capacity for empathy, mechanisms of tension management are not needed by the core member of the violent gang. It would be reasonable to conclude that the marginal members would need different mechanisms of tension management because they are not, to the same degree, sociopathic personalities. However, since Yablonsky's concentration is on the core member it is not possible for us to extrapolate to the marginal members.

We have also seen that in gang warfare that there is a paradoxical situation. "This type of gang dynamics (fighting in response to felt prejudice) involves the discriminatory victim fighting alongside and against

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representatives of the group he believes is discriminating against him."⁸⁸ In order to manage the interpersonal tension that would interfere with goal behavior, the paranoid pseudo-community could be seen to operate, in this context, as a mechanism of tension management. The purpose of this psychological state is to reshape and recast information so that it will be consonant with the delusions that characterize the individual. The individual's perception of his own gang will be distorted to the extent that his gang does not fit his stereotypes and delusions. This distortion of reality will serve the gang to facilitate goal attainment.

In a sense, we can see how belief operates within the Balkans as a mechanism of tension management. It would be realistic to assume that before a rumble is to be "turned on," sentiments and tensions are running quite high. In order to combat these sentiments and tensions, the leaders of the gang will brag about the power and the alliances and syndicates which the gang can bring into play in time of trouble. The belief that a gang has command over a vast number of brother gangs, increasing the feelings of power on both the part of the leaders and the followers, manages the tension that is being created. We can see a relationship between gang size, belief, sentiment, and the mechanisms of

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tension management. In another sense, belief can operate as a mechanism of tension management by defining gang war behavior as "right" under the existing social conditions or the immediate psychic needs of the leader and/or members of the gang.

Communication of Sentiment as a Process: Albert Cohen

As we will see in the category of ends, Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin conceive the delinquent subculture to be the response to a particular problem of adjustment. We all realize that this response does not just spontaneously arise; there must be some forethought to its creation. Cohen believes that the conditions necessary for the emergence of the subculture are mediated by the process of communication. "The crucial condition for the emergence of new cultural forms is the existence, in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment."⁸⁹ These problems of adjustment arise as a result of status discontent or status frustration. The communication resulting from this problem can be logically inferred to be the communication of sentiment. Since the basic process is that of communication, the discussion of communication of sentiment will be deferred until the master process of communication is discussed.

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Communication of Sentiment as a Process:
Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

In the discussion of sentiment as used by Cloward and Ohlin, we have already inferred the process of communication of sentiment. These authors state that "interaction among those sharing the same problem may provide encouragement for the withdrawal of sentiments in support of the established system of norms."⁹⁰ It is not possible for an individual, except in the case of the solitary delinquent, to feel the need for the subcultural adaptation without concomitant social support. Once the individual has attributed the actual cause for his behavior to the institutional arrangements of the social order, it is necessary for him to communicate these feelings to his peers who have been undergoing the same sources of frustration and discontent. The result of this mutual interstimulation will be the creation of the delinquent subculture in the place of the middle class norms.

Communication of Sentiment as a Process: Lewis Yablonsky

Implicitly, we have dealt with this process under sentiment when we discussed the reasons for the creation of the feelings that would be fanned into open conflict. Reasons

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such as "territory, a bad look, or talking to a certain girl, or a nasty remark may be the basis for stirring up a large collection of youths into gang warfare action."⁹¹ The process of sentiment communication is operative between the instigation of the reasons and the actual conflict. "These picayune reasons are exaggerated and spread through gang networks in distorted ways to inflame many gang members into battle; the gang member's emotions are fanned through interaction and produce a group contagion."⁹² Although it is not specifically stated, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the process by which sentiments are communicated are those operative in a crowd situation, i.e., rumor and its concomitant process. The event that, when it occurred, was indeed harmless is distorted and sharpened until it has been exaggerated completely out of shape. Underlying this communication seems to be a need for the manifestation of power drives and psychological cathexis.

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End, Goal, or Objective as an Element: Albert Cohen

To understand any cultural pattern that exists in and over time and space while generations of participants come and go, "it is necessary to seek common problems and

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common ground for joint participation in a common solution."⁹³

The problems of the working class boy are primarily problems of status as he is compared to the widest possible status universe, and for which comparison he is ill equipped.

Certain children are denied status in the respectable society because they cannot meet the criteria of the respectable status system. The delinquent subculture deals with these problems by providing criteria of status which these children can meet.⁹⁴

In these comparisons, we see that originally the goal was status and positive evaluation in terms of middle class criteria. However, because of his working class background, the youth is denied status in middle class terms. The delinquent subculture functions as a mechanism by which the youth can strive for status which is realistically available and possible. The delinquent subculture is the result of problem-solving activity on the part of a number of individuals similarly effected. Because of the rejection of the working class boy by the middle class, reaction-formation develops and as a result status and evaluation are sought in terms of the delinquent subculture. "Individuals sharing similar problems of adjustment gravitate toward one another and jointly establish new norms, new criteria of status which define as meritorious the characteristics they do possess, the kinds of conduct of which they are capable."⁹⁵

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End, Goal, or Objective as an Element:
Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin state that "deviance ordinarily represents a search for solutions to problems of adjustment."⁹⁶ Although the function of the delinquent subculture is the same for both authors, the reasons for its creation are not quite the same. Cloward and Ohlin, following Merton, state that "it is only when a system of cultural values extols certain common success-goals for the population at large while the social structure restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale."⁹⁷

The reasons for the creation of the subculture is a dislocation between cultural goals and social means of legitimately achieving. The delinquent subculture arises as a result of the differential illegitimate opportunity structures which arise as a result of the socially structured blocks to legitimate goal achievement on the part of the working class youth. Again, the end of action is success in terms of the criteria of the middle class. With the creation of the subcultures, the end becomes transferred from the social system to that of the delinquent system, where status and success

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are defined in terms of the norms around which the group is organized. Cohen sees the problem of adjustment to be created by the relation of the cultural structure to the social structure, where Cloward and Ohlin see the problem of adjustment to have its etiology in the relations between the social and the cultural structures.

It is Cloward's contention that the concept of differential opportunity structure permits the researcher to unite the theory of anomie, which recognizes the concept of differentials in access to legitimate means, and the "Chicago tradition" or the subcultural tradition in which the concept of differentials in access to illegitimate means is implicit. With such being the case it is possible to look at the individual as he stands in relationship to both a system of legitimate means and also a system of illegitimate means.

Cloward sees the anomie tradition as essential divided up into three different and progressively specified elaborations of the concept of anomie.⁹⁸ In phase one, anomie is conceived of as a state of de-regulation of the traditional rules of a collective order. Durkheim divides the needs of man into either physical or moral. By nature of man being a biological animal, the physical needs tend to be automatically regulated by the biological constitution of

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the human. However, nothing in man's organic structure was capable of regulating the demands of the moral needs for they were incapable of satisfaction. Since man, in and of himself, has no way of regulating these moral needs, some force external to the acting individual must regulate the desires and the demands of the moral needs; the external coercive force was the collective order. If this collective order became disrupted, man's aspirations would rise knowing no realistic boundaries. The traditional rules would be divested of their authority, and the state of de-regulation would become chronic and heightened by passions which instead of being more tightly regulated, were devoid of all regulation. Pressure toward deviant behavior would develop when aspirations are no longer matched by realistic possibilities of fulfillment. It is the nature of the goals to be seemingly obtainable, because of the breakdown of all regulatory functions of the social or collective order. But the realistic appraisal of the situation is that the goals are infinite and receding, and it is the pressure to strive for such goals that generates a breakdown in the regulatory norms and hence to deviance.⁹⁹

In phase two, the relation of the collective order to the individual is further specified; this phase is

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characterized by Robert Merton. It is Merton's contention that goals and norms can vary independently of each other which leads to the development of what is termed malintegrated states. In one type of malintegrated state there is an exclusive stress upon the value of certain goals without a corresponding stress upon the socially approved modes of attaining this goal. In contradistinction, another type of malintegrated state is when the goal has virtually been lost sight of with a corresponding stress upon the means. Both of these cultures can be considered to be in a state of anomie.

Merton's basic hypothesis is that deviant behavior is symptomatic of a dislocation of attenuation between the cultural structure (goals and norms) and the social structure (institutionalized modes of striving or means). Anomie is thusly considered as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring when there is an acute disjuncture between cultural norms and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them. Anomie is the result when the social structure becomes dislocated from the cultural structure and by the nature of this disjuncture puts pressure upon the cultural structure.¹⁰⁰

In phase three, Cloward can be taken as our representative. As one examines Merton's conception of the

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concept anomie in its relation to deviant behavior, he is struck with the realization that Merton is concerned with the process by which socially acceptable modes of achievement are differentially distributed according to an individual's location within the social structure, i.e., Merton's concern is with socially patterned differentials in the availability of legitimate means. Anomie theory assumes that conceptional means are differentially distributed, that some individuals because of social position, enjoy advantages denied others.

It is Cloward's contention that not only are the legitimate means differentially distributed by virtue of one's social position, illegitimate means are also differentially distributed according to social position. "Both systems of opportunity are limited and differentially available depending on the location of persons in the social structure."¹⁰¹ In agreement, with the analysis of Merton, Cloward feels that Merton has not gone far enough. It is only one step from the postulation of differentials in legitimate opportunity (means) to that of the postulation of differentials in illegitimate opportunity (means). Since both of these differentials are socially patterned or structured, they are called differential legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures.

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In the subcultural or Chicago tradition, attention is focused upon the various social processes by which the individual is recruited into criminal learning environments and ultimately inducted into criminal roles.¹⁰² Their problem is to account for the acquisition of the criminal roles and to describe the social process behind the incorporation of criminalistic definitions. Cloward contends that underlying this approach is an implicit assumption of "variation in access to success-goals by illegitimate means."¹⁰³ If such is found to be the case, the theoretical tie between the subculture and the anomie tradition is complete.

Shaw and McKay in their studies of the individual and the gang have postulated that delinquency or crime areas are peculiar to geographically given areas of the city (natural or delinquency areas), and the delinquent behavior characteristic of these areas persists despite demographic changes in population composition.¹⁰⁴ As a mechanism which facilitated the rise of the youth into the criminal hierarchy was the skill with which he applied his trade, which could only be learned in connection with those of the criminal world.

Shaw and McKay were describing deviant learning structures -- alternative routes by which people seek access to goals which society holds as worthwhile. They might have pointed out that in areas where such learning structures are unavailable, it

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is probably difficult to secure access to stable criminal careers. Access to stable criminal roles depends on the availability of learning structures.¹⁰⁵

When we discuss the concept means we imply both a learning and performance structure; if only one of these structures are absent from the environment the criminal skill cannot be either learned or practiced, both of which are essential to appropriate behavior.

The differential availability of the learning and performance structures can be interpreted as the differentials in the availability of illegitimate opportunity or means structures. If one realizes the theoretical background of the approach, it is not difficult to understand why the illegitimate opportunity structure was missed theoretically. One of the basic concepts of the subcultural tradition was that the area of transition, the delinquency or crime area, or the interstitial area was characterized by social disorganization. Social disorganization as Sutherland came to see was not the appropriate designation for it viewed from the point of view of the actor the interstitial area was highly organized. It is Cloward's belief that the interstitial area was characterized as socially disorganized by Shaw and McKay because "the values transmitted were criminal rather than conventional."¹⁰⁶ If these authors had realized that

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the slum was not socially disorganized, the differentials in the availability of illegitimate means would have been apparent to them. "Social disorganization tended to obscure the stable interaction patterns among carriers of criminal values."¹⁰⁷ These stable interaction patterns between the carriers of criminal values and definition and the youth of the area, constitute a illegitimate opportunity structure for those youths disposed to this type of adaptation.

Kobrin, another illustration of the subcultural tradition, suggests that slum areas vary with respect to the degree to which the carriers of conventional and illegitimate values are integrated with each other. A stable slum is one in which the carriers of these two value systems are integrated and articulated. "In a stable slum area there is not merely structural integration between carriers of the two value systems, but reciprocal participation by each in the value system of the other."¹⁰⁸ In the disorganized slum, the articulation and accommodation between the carriers of the two value systems is absent.

In the disorganized slum, there is a tendency for the relationship between carriers of deviant and conventional values to break down. The bearers of the conventional culture and its value system are without the customary institutional machinery and therefore partially demobilized with reference to the diffusion of their value system. At the same time, the criminal

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value system remains implicit since the disorganized area is characterized principally by the absence of systematic and organized adult activity in violation of law.¹⁰⁹

Since both value systems in the disorganized slum are implicit, there is no opportunity for the effective articulation between the two.

A stable integrated area constitutes a learning ground for the acquisition of stable criminal roles, skills, and definitions. In such an area the illegitimate learning structures are present. In the unintegrated or disorganized area, the "lack of articulation of either conventional or criminal values suggest that the appropriate learning structures -- principally the integration of different age level of offenders -- are not available."¹¹⁰ In the unintegrated area, Kobrin suggests that the adult violative activity is very severely limited and disorganized and unskilled.

Kobrin concludes that illegal opportunity structures tend to emerge in lower class areas only when stable patterns of accomodation and integration arise between carriers of conventional and deviant values; when these values remain unorganized or implicit or where the carriers are in open conflict, opportunities for stable criminal role performance are limited.¹¹¹

Korbin is forced to postulate the differential availability of illegitimate means dependent upon the presence or absence

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of stable learning and performance structures. Cloward contends that the anomie tradition and the subcultural tradition are "oriented to different aspects of the same problem; differentials in access to opportunity."¹¹²

End, Goal, or Objective as an Element: Lewis Yablonsky

Yablonsky sees the gang neighborhood as characterized by the social gang, the delinquent gang, and the violent gang.

The delinquent gang is dominated by delinquent patterns of activities characterized by such direct illegal behavior as stealing or assault with material profit as the essential objective; the violent gang's activity is dominated by sociopathic themes of spontaneous prestige-seeking violence with psychic gratification (kicks) as the goal; the social gang is a social group comprised of tough youths who band together because they believe and find their individual goals of a socially constructive nature can most adequately be achieved through their gang pattern.¹¹³

The goal of the delinquent gang is material profit; the goal of the violent gang is violence which is rewarded by prestige; the goal of the social gang is constructive. The delinquent gang accepts the materialistic success goals of the society but rejects the normative ways of achievement. "Violence may be employed as a means toward the end of acquiring material and financial rewards."¹¹⁴ Violence may not be substituted for the end of action, in the delinquent gang violence is a means.

"Gang warfare usually has no clear purpose or consensus of definition for all participants."¹¹⁵ This is simply to say that the youths that enter into the gang war do so for different reasons. There is no clearly defined purpose or end which is universal among the participants except for the release of tension, aggression, and hostility. In another sense, the gang is used as a vehicle to act out feelings of prejudice and discrimination. "Some individuals use the gang as a vehicle of violence as a direct weapon for getting even."¹¹⁶ There are many reasons for participation in gangs and gang warfare as there are individuals participating. It is probably because of the lack of social demands that the violent gangs ask that it is possible for the sociopathic youth to participate. "They belong essentially because it is an easily accessible social structure in which they can operate with some level of acceptance and adequacy."¹¹⁷ "The youth with this type of personality (sociopathic) structure is most adaptable to participation in the violent gang because of his particular need-disposition and lack of personal competence for participation in more demanding deviant or social groups."¹¹⁸

The sociopathic youth gets involved in the sweep of a culture dominated by drives for success and achievement.

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"In American society all youths are provoked by the mass media to desire a great variety of cultural goals they can seldom obtain through legitimate means."¹¹⁹ The youth feels that a great many positions of status are potentially available to all who aspire. The reasons that all who aspire do not achieve lie in the differential distribution of the socially acceptable modes of striving for success and achievement.

"The possibility and means for acquiring many highly valued social statuses and objectives are slight for a majority of American youths -- in particular, those who come from a lower-class background or a minority group."¹²⁰

"Given these varied forces, the more susceptible sociopathic youth is pushed harder into devious methods, outside the normal bounds of society, to achieve goals not attainable through socially prescribed patterns of behavior."¹²¹ Among the alternatives that are socially structured in his favor in his search for success and achievement are deviant patterns such as illegal behavior opportunities, illusion and fantasy techniques, and contemporary thrill-seeking kicks based on assault and violence. Within this framework of anomic social forces, the more adjusted youth better trained in delinquent values is most likely to seek status and prestige within the delinquent gang. Because of the sociopath's

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lesser degree of personal resources and self-organization, his is a more bizarre and psychically oriented route toward success in the violent gang. Violence in the gang is a reasonable and convenient means for acquiring status and prestige among one's fellows.

Goal Attaining Activity as a Process: Albert Cohen

One of the characteristics of the delinquent gang, as conceived by Cohen, is short-run hedonism.

There is little interest in long-run goals, in planning activities and budgeting time, or in activities involving knowledge and skills to be acquired only through practice, deliberation and study.¹²²

Short-run hedonism combined with the other characteristics of the gang, i.e., non-utilitarianism, maliciousness, negativism, versatility, and group autonomy, serve the delinquent as subculturally defined behaviors aimed at attaining status in the eyes of their subcultural peers. Viewed from the point of view of the middle class, the behavior of the delinquent subculture do not seem to facilitate goal attainment; but from the point of view of the boy, his behavior facilitates the achievement of status in the eyes of his fellows.

Cohen sees all behavior, no matter what the stimulus or the goal, as problem-solving in nature. The universal characteristic of all problems is that until they are solved,

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The goal attainment in action that Cohen most concerned with is that of the working class boy as he strives for status in the eyes of the middle class. In the race for middle class status, the working class boy is, in terms of the same evaluative criteria, "compared against all comers."¹²⁴ Since the criteria of comparison are universally those of the middle class, the working class boy is faced with a disadvantage and with a problem. Is he to strive for status in terms of the middle class where there is little, if any, hope of achievement: should he become a college boy? Or should he strive for status in terms that are realistically achievable: should he become a delinquent?

If the college-boy adaptation is chosen, the working class boy is to be compared against all comers. "The ability to achieve in terms of middle class criteria is distributed without regard to family background or social class."¹²⁵ When the cultural success-goals extol striving universally, failure will be taken hard. Where opportunities for "achievement are class-linked, status discontent will be generated . . . to the degree that the status universe is maximized."¹²⁷ In a society such as ours, where opportunity

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for achievement are class-linked, the sentiment resulting from failure will be frustration, hostility and aggression, perfect conditions for the communication of gestures prerequisite for the emergence of the delinquent subculture.

Goal Attaining Activity as a Process:

Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

In concerning themselves with the working class, these authors address themselves to the problem of the differential distribution of means for legitimately achieving the culturally given goals.

It is hypothesized that the members of the working class are "exposed to greater discrepancies between aspiration and opportunity than are persons located elsewhere in the social structure."¹²⁸ A large proportion of persons in the working class aspire beyond their means of realistic achievement. Because of the lack of means for legitimate achievement, illegitimate means are substituted. Cloward and Ohlin conclude that "youngsters who participate in delinquent subcultures may experience serious discontent with their position in the social structure."¹²⁹ This discontent does not arise from the delinquent's participation in the subculture, but is rather the reason for his participation in the subculture. People who are discontent with their status-

role and can see no way of legitimately changing will resort to the incorporation of illegitimate means.

In discussing the types of aspirations that are available to working class boys, Cloward and Ohlin described William F. Whyte's typology.¹³⁰ These two types of orientation are differentiated in terms of aspirations. The college-boy is primarily interested in social advancement, and the corner-boy is primarily orientated to the local community.¹³¹ In terms of norms, the college-boy is guided by the structure of the middle class, while the corner-boy is conforming to the norms of the middle class by temporizing with them, but his primary orientation is to the lower class. The delinquent subculture is derived from the corner-boys when they can no longer temporize with middle class morality.

Cloward and Ohlin note the importance of goal attainment in the situation of socially structured obstacles to goal attainment. "If goal-orientated behavior occurs under conditions in which there are socially structured obstacles to the satisfaction of these drives by legitimate means, the resulting pressures might lead to deviance."¹³² The way in which these structural problems are resolved may be dependent upon the kind of support for one illegitimate activity over another at different points in the social structure. If one

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aspires and is blocked by socially structured obstacles to legitimate achievement, he will innovate by substituting illegitimate means in the place of the legitimate means. The three ideal types of subcultural differentiation are seen by the authors as three different types of adaptation to the problems of the working class youth.

Goal Attaining Activity as a Process: Lewis Yablonsky

The goal of the violent gang can be classified as self-seeking psychic gratification. The more personal involvement an individual has within the violent gang the more sociopathic he tends to be. Exemplifying both the sociopathic tendencies and a given pattern of goal attainment is the sexual pattern of the gang.

To the violent gang member "sex is an itch that is scratched when the opportunity arises without any compassion or identification with the impact on his 'sexual object.'"¹³³ There tends to be no empathy for the young lady who is, in this sense, used as a means to an end. There is no emotional relatedness between the gang member and his sexual object. Sex is seen on a completely introspected level with no attempt at reaching out to encompass another.

There are three sexual patterns in the gang that can be ideally isolated:

- (1) the gang bang,
- (2) idolatrous love, and
- (3) overt disdain for girls combined with homosexual overtones.

"In the gang bang, pattern of sexual activity, a promiscuous female is lined up and often as many as fifteen or twenty boys will indulge themselves with her in some form of sexual act." The young lady that is so used is often a mental defective or a severely disturbed girl. There is no emotional relatedness between the boys and the girl; the girl is seen as a sexual object that will be useful in the attainment of ends. In the idolatrous love patterns a gang boy will fall in love and fantasize the perfect female objectified in his girl. The illusion by someone, either of his gang or an outsider, that his girl is prone to promiscuous relations "produces an explosive response." The gang boy attempts to maintain the illusion of virginity and perfection about his girl "that is usually in conflict with the facts." In idolatrous love, the gang boy relates on what seems to be an unfeeling fantasy level, not on the level of significant human interaction. The last pattern (overt disdain and homosexuality) is seemingly quite closely related to the first.

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In this pattern, "girls are viewed as objects to be manipulated or used for 'rep' making and ego gratification."¹³⁴ As such, the girls become targets of physical brutality and cruelty and hostility. There is absent in all three ideal types of relationships, a warm, loving, human heterosexual relationship. In each case, the relationship between the gang boy and the girl is simply a means to the boy's end of psychic self-gratification. Yablonsky sees this sociopathic pattern as the result of "a fear of responsibility and emotional isolation." This fear of responsibility and emotional isolation that separates the gang boy from girls will tend to drive him in the direction of other boys for his sexual pleasures. "The gang is a kind of homosexual community." Yablonsky sees that most gang leaders manifest homosexual attitudes and tendencies in their ridicule, exploitation of females and their closer feelings about members of their male peer group. These tendencies are not carried into overt behavior in relationships with members of this peer group, rather the gang boys become passive recipients of advances from active homosexuals. Of course, this is not always the case, for sometimes the initially "passive homosexual gang youth becomes an overt active homosexual."¹³⁵

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From these statements concerning the sexual relationship of the gang youth we can see that the sociopathic personality is clearly manifested. There is a complete lack of self to other identifications; the relationship, when there is one, is simply viewed by the boy as a means to his end of self-gratification. The tendency to manipulate another for egocentric gratification is an apparent trait of the sociopathic youth in his sexual activity and hence a general character trait of the violent gang.

Violence is the primary means by which the goal of psychic self-gratification is attained. Realizing that the sociopathic youth is the major personality type in the violent gang, it is not difficult to understand why violence is accorded such high priority. Violent behavior "requires limited training, personal ability, or even physical strength."¹³⁶ Because of the condition of the boy character, these are conditions that the sociopathic youth has in abundance, "limited social ability and training, considerable resentment and aggression, and a motivation to retaliate against others. Violence, then, serves as a quick and relatively sure means for upward social mobility within the violent gang and, to a limited extent, in the over-all society."¹³⁷ In a society that values and demands success and notoriety, the sociopathic

youth may attempt to achieve it by any means, one of which is violent behavior.

Concomitant Latent Activity as a Process: Albert Cohen

We have seen that the subculture is definable by certain given characteristics. Once the delinquent subculture becomes established and manifests behavior in line with these characteristics, it serves to legitimize aggression.¹³⁸ Through the legitimization of aggression, the hostility felt toward the middle class society can be acted out. Though the legitimization of aggression may not be completely unrecognized by the actors, it is unlikely that the gang is formed for this reason. The gang or the subculture is the response to a problem situation in which the working class youth has been denied status by the respectable society. The delinquent subculture provides a means of securing status by demanding behavior and beliefs that the youth can manifest. The legitimization of aggression is not an intended function of organization, but arise in the process of delinquent catharsis.

In the realm of aspirations, Cohen believes that there are two possible choices, the college-boy or the corner-boy. The corner-boy response has the unintended

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function of preparing the youth for the adoption of the delinquent response by facilitating the process of reaction-formation. The manifest function of this response is to aid in the "acceptance of a way of life and an effort to make the best of a situation; however, it does not resolve the dilemmas inherent in the working class culture."¹³⁹

Concomitant Latent Activity as a Process:
Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Each type of subculture is a reaction to the presence or absence of an illegitimate opportunity structure. Each type serves its members in different ways, according to the structural conditions under which they arise. Suffice it to say that the manifest function of the criminal, conflict, and retreatist subcultures is to give the youth illegitimate means of achievement. Within these subcultures the latent functions would seem to be an individualized affair. The subculture performs no given latent function for all members; those latent functions are on a decidedly individualistic basis.

Concomitant Latent Activity as a Process: Lewis Yablonsky

The most important use of this process by Yablonsky is in its relation to violent gang activity and prejudice. Prejudice is only one of the many and various reasons that the

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gang boys give when they are asked their reasons for violent gang participation. Yablonsky believes that there is a personality dynamic more basic in the violent syndrome than simply prejudice; this element, on a deeper level, is feelings of aggression. "Overt prejudice in the violent gang is often used as a cover-up for deeper personal problems. Some gang boys use prejudice to work out aggression related to personal problems."¹⁴⁰ This type of personality dynamic is nothing new to anyone; this is simply the process of scapegoating. These boys have an inhibition about admitting to themselves or anyone else that they are fighting simply because they are mad at the world. This world has to be objectified in some physical object toward which aggression is possible and consensually validated. By saying that the neighborhood should be clear of "niggers" is a convenient means by which underlying hostilities and aggression can be acted out for an emotional catharsis.

The fear of attack by rival gangs or rival syndicates serves the gang leaders and the members of the gang to channel emotions and aggressions from other problems to those which, through violence, they can handle. "The fear of attack by a mass gang syndicate, which they cannot concretely identify, also gives the gang leader an enemy or

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problem that may serve as a convenient excuse for not facing immediate responsibilities of school, work, or duty to his family."¹⁴¹ The displacement of aggression and hostility onto non-identifiable enemies serves the gang leader by taking him away from the problems of everyday life and transposing him to a world of fantasy and dream where he can out out the power roles that he was not able to act or that were not available to him in his youth.

One of the latent functions of the leader of the violent gang is to "serve as a symbol of idealized violence."¹⁴² In his role as leader of the gang, he will swing a bat, pull a knife, or pull a trigger without any fear or, most important, regret. "As a prototype of the violent gang, the leader is an ideal model. Free-floating violence, pure and unencumbered by social restrictions, conscience, or regret is the goal."¹⁴³ The leader, by manifesting these behaviors or by being invested with these behaviors by the belief of the members, performs the function of role-model for the members of the violent gang.

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NormingNorm as an Element: Albert Cohen

For Cohen, the category of norm is explicitly and emphatically covered, for it is by a comparison with the middle class norms that the delinquent subculture is defined. "The hallmark of the delinquent subculture is the explicit and wholesale repudiation of middle class standards and the adoption of their very antithesis."¹⁴⁴

Cohen asserts one of the behavioral characteristics of the subculture to be negativism. The subculture is defined by the negative polarity of the norms as compared to those of the middle class. "The delinquent subculture takes its norms from the larger culture but turns them upside down. The delinquent's conduct is right simply because it is wrong by the norms of the larger culture."¹⁴⁵ The norms of the middle class and the delinquent subculture are polar extremes.

Cohen believes that the reason for the creation of the delinquent subculture is the status anxiety and frustration resulting from discrepancies between the means-ends relationship in the working class and those of the middle class; hence, the different evaluation that is connected with behavior in each status-group. The middle class normative

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structure is that which guides the behaviors and expectations of the population; they are "manifestations of the dominant American value system and even working class children must come to terms with them."¹⁴⁶ Whether these norms are applied to working class children or not, these children cannot afford to be indifferent to them. They are the "norms of the people who run things."¹⁴⁷ Patterning one's behavior and expectations after the mandates of the middle class norms will facilitate social mobility and the achievement of status in the eyes of the respectable society.

Cohen's description of the middle class norms represents them as a tempered version of the Protestant ethic. It is Cohen's contention that because of status failure or status discontent on the part of his parents, the working class boy is likely "to find the middle class ethic much attenuated in the lives of his parents and the parents of his neighborhood peers."¹⁴⁹ The middle class norms are not adhered to in the behaviors and expectations of working class parents and therefore in their children.

This brings us back to a point previously referred to: which system is dominant? In the delinquent, Cohen hypothesizes, the delinquent code has ascendance over the conventional, but the conventional lingers on repressed and

creating anxiety. There is no one-to-one correspondence between social class and value system; "it is probable that nearly every child has incorporated both (value systems) and the degree to which the one or the other set of values is dominant varies from individual to individual."¹⁵⁰ Delinquency can be seen as the result of the competition and conflict that exist between two sets of value systems of normative structures. "This resolution may represent the triumph of one value system over a weaker but nonetheless serious competitor."¹⁵¹ We often internalized more than one set of norms each of which may lead us in conflicting directions; the resulting action is the effect of the interplay between the forces created by the different normative structures.

This is exemplified by Cohen's use of the college-boy and corner-boy. The former takes the norms of the middle class, the latter takes the norms of the working class. The corner-boy internalizes the norms of the middle class to a sufficient degree to create a fundamental ambivalence toward their own corner-boy behavior.¹⁵² This lingering ambivalence of the corner-boy is met by reaction-formation. The delinquent subculture is a response to status problems created by the middle class value system. "The problems of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture is a response are determined,

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in part, by those very values which respectable society holds most sacred."¹⁵³

Cohen defines deviant behavior as that "behavior which violates institutionalized expectations, i.e., expectations which are shared and recognized as legitimate within a social system."¹⁵⁴ The sociology of deviant behavior is basically concerned with the relationship between action and the personality structure of the individual actor. This, by no means, implies that the study of personality and its malfunctions is irrelevant to sociology. Quite the contrary for what transpires in any social system is dependent upon the personalities it has to work and cope with, even if these personalities do not, as such, constitute the system. "In order to build up a sociology of deviant behavior, we must keep as our conceptual referent deviant behavior, not kinds of people."¹⁵⁵ The proper concern of the sociology of deviant behavior is upon behavior which is in violation of the normative expectations and demands of any given social order at some particular point in time. "The sociology of deviant behavior is concerned with explaining the departures of behavior from institutionalized expectations"¹⁵⁶ Deviant behavior is culturally relative and normatively defined.

Norm as an Element: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin use norm extensively. The delinquent act, as a category of deviant acts, is normatively defined.

Every deviant act involves the violation of social rules that regulate the behavior of participants in a social system. The delinquent act is defined as behavior that violates the basic norms of the society"157

In the creation of the subculture, the interplay between norms and beliefs are crucial in the continuance and maintenance of the adaptation. It was previously seen that those individuals, who are in communication or interaction about a solution to a problem, need the knowledge that social support is not lacking. This support comes to the individual in the form of descriptions and prescriptions about the world and in time acquire the force of belief. These beliefs are in turn, focused back upon the subculture in the form of norms. "The beliefs and values that the subculture provides are in turn mobilized to support its prescriptions, which become elaborated as a set of norms for directing and controlling the behavior of its members."158 It is this integration of belief and values with norms that provides the stability "essential for the activities of the subculture."159

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The use of norm is essential in the attribution of the seriousness of the delinquent act.

The delinquent act that springs from a well-organized set of delinquent norms to which the offender fully subscribes is generally more serious than careless or unwitting law violation.¹⁶⁰

The most central and basic use of norm is the delineation of the subcultural differentiation. Each type of subculture is orientated around a different set of norms and values. "These shorthand terms (criminal, conflict, and retreatists) simply denote the principal orientation of each form of adaptation from the perspective of the social order that is dominant."¹⁶¹ The criminal subculture is organized primarily for the pursuit of material gain by such illegal means as extortion. In the conflict subculture, the norms of organization is that of violence; its members pursue status through the manipulation of violence or the threat of force. In the retreatist subculture, the emphasis is on the consumption of drugs; these individuals have been alienated from the conventional role required in the family or the occupational world.¹⁶² The criminal, conflict, and retreatist subcultures are seldom found in pure form; they are ideal types.

Cloward and Ohlin see the cultural structure as consisting of goals and norms and the social structure existing of the means for the legitimate attainment of the goals. In countries such as ours, the cultural structure extols that all members of the population must strive for success which can be visualized in terms of money and material possessions. While the demands of the cultural structure are universal, the social structure is not universal. The means are differentially distributed according to one's position in the social structure. Those in the lower strata will receive less means, hence opportunity, for legitimate goal attainment. When an individual perceives that he has been deprived unjustly, because of his social position, he will innovate by the substitution of illegitimate means for the attainment of cultural goals. The means are not socially sanctioned, but are individualistic and expedient.

The illegitimate means are also differentially distributed according to the structural conditions of the environment. It is this that sets the condition for the differentiation of subcultures. The subcultures serve as mechanisms by which different normative structure can be adopted in which the individual can resolve his problems of adjustment.

Norm as an Element: Lewis Yablonsky

Yablonsky classifies boys' gangs as delinquent, violent, and social. Each type of gang is defined by two elements, one of which is the end of action to which they are striving toward. Yablonsky sees the defining characteristic of the types of gangs the normative structure to which they pattern their behavior. In the delinquent gang, behavior is patterned after the norms of "direct illegal behavior as stealing or assault with material profit as the essential objective." The violent gang's "activity is dominated by sociopathic themes of spontaneous prestige-seeking violence with psychic gratifications as the goal." In the social gang, behavior is grouped because the individual members feel that they can achieve their ends most effectively through their gang pattern. These groups are set up as ideal types, and therefore they seldom appear in pure form. These groups "have a central characteristic that distinguishes them and most of their behavior revolves around this central theme." This central theme is the norms of the different group.¹⁶³ The norms of the violent and the delinquent are obvious by virtue of their ends. The violent gang is "organized" around the norms of violent self-seeking gratification;

their underlying theme is an attempt to prove one's self and to disprove and disparage others. The delinquent gang accepts the materialistic success goals of society but rejects the institutionalized means of achievement. The norms of the social gang would have to be assumed to approximate those of conventional society.

In addition to the breakdown of social control and the adult youth schism, the disorganized slum is characterized by a rural-urban transition. "A dominant theme of the current disorganized slum is that it is heavy with formerly rural populations that have flowed into the large urban area in pursuit of greater social and economic opportunities." One result of this move is that those families in the slum that can afford to move gravitate toward the suburbs. "The result is a diverse population of newly arrived individuals ill-equipped to cope with the many faceted problems and new values of city living in the disorganized slum; this new urban situation is called 'city-shock.'"¹⁶⁴

These newly arrived populations bring with them norms and values and patterns of behavior that are often inconsistent with the expectations and demands of the new society. The children caught in such a situation are exposed to a crossfire of norms and values, not knowing which pattern

to follow, they follow none and create their own normative patterns. Conflicts arise between the different norms supported by family and the environment, and the result is a normative withdrawal and the adoption of a unique set of behavioral standards.

Yablonsky's statement of the relationship between norms and the patterning of groups deserves full statement:

Normal groups are constellations of roles and norms defining prescribed ways in which members may interact effectively and harmoniously. The normal group may be viewed partially as a projected model for behavior toward the accomplishment of the mutually agreed-upon goals for its members. A dominant characteristic of such a group is the fact that most members are in consensual agreement about the important norms and reciprocal expectations that regulated and determine each group member's behavior. Thus an essential element in a normal group is that its members agree upon and are able to fulfill certain prescribed norms

A group makes certain demands upon the individual, and in the normative pattern of life the individual gives of himself to group demands On the daily level of group interaction, relevant others validate the individual's group participation at a minimal level of social expectation.¹⁶⁵

A condition such as the one described above is not characteristic of the sociopathic violent gang youth. There are certain circumstances that arise from the socialization process that produce socially ineffectual individuals who fail progressively to maintain a level of social interaction with the

result that they become "socially disarticulated and very often have to be set aside from the rest of their community to live under artificially simplified conditions." The violent gang "serves as a simplified withdrawal for the sociopathic youth from the more demanding community."¹⁶⁶

Since it is obvious that the violent gang cannot be characterized as a group because of the preponderance of sociopathic youths in the membership, the problem arises as to what the organization of the violent gang can be termed. There is organization to such an extent that the gang cannot be called a mob, but on the other hand, there is not organization to the degree that normative patterns have behavioral control over the youths who are members; therefore the gang cannot be called a group in the conventional sense of the word. Yablonsky has termed this situation of being neither a mob nor a social group as being a "near-group."¹⁶⁷ The explicit discussion of the dimensions of a near-group will be deferred until their discussion under the master process of institutionalization.

Evaluation as a Process: Albert Cohen

Cohen does not see this process as of the utmost importance. In this delineation of the negativistic character

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of delinquent conduct, Cohen states that "the delinquent's conduct is right, by the standards of his subculture, precisely because it is wrong by the norms of the larger culture."¹⁶⁸ The evaluation of the delinquent is based upon the negative polarity to the behavioral expectations of the middle class.

Cohen states that the middle class criteria is the measuring rod of our children regardless of the class of origin.¹⁶⁹ All cultural artifacts and possessions are to be judged and evaluated by the standards of the middle class, and it is for this reason that the working class boy suffers status discontent and frustration.

Deviant behavior has variously been defined as a solution to a problem of adjustment or as a response to strain, i.e., ambivalence relative to the expectations of the institutional order. Ambivalence occurs wherever conformity to the institutionalized expectations is positively motivated and, at the same time, somehow frustration or anxiety provoking. All members of any given social system are subject to strains in varying degrees and intensities, however, most of the members of a social system conform to its demands and expectations. Deviant behavior is not the sole response to strain, to override the pressures to develop a delinquent solution, there must be powerful ties to the institutional

order. "Social systems must be so organized that deviant behavior tends to produce tension greater than those produced by conformity."¹⁷⁰ An individual that is undergoing a stressful situation and is tempted to adopt a deviant solution must be made to realize that, by the nature of the structure of the social system, the tension created by his adoption of a deviant solution will be greater than those he undergoes in conforming behavior.

Regardless of the tension that is generated by adopting a deviant solution, there will come times when conforming behavior is by no means satisfactory. Because of the pressure generated by a deviant solution plus the fact that the conforming behavior presently engaged in is not satisfactory, the actor must change his behavior in the direction of a more satisfactory solution to his problem. Satisfactory solutions will have two basic characteristics, One, the solution "must be one in which the person can square with his own moral standards and which is symbolically consistent with the roles in terms of which he defines himself."¹⁷¹ Second, the adequacy of any given solution will depend upon the reference group which the person identifies as normative.¹⁷²

Normative reference groups will be participants in the demands and expectations of the institutional order, to

the extent that this is so. "We cannot indulge in behavior that violates their expectations without moral uncertainty, guilt, or ambivalence."¹⁷³ On the other side of the coin, to the extent that the normative reference groups that we define as authoritarian are not participants in the institutional order (the delinquent group) they will sanction behavior that is in violation of the demands and expectations of the institutional order. The role symbolism operative in normative reference groups will usually be consistent with the self-conceptions that the actor is trying to fulfill.

Faced with a strain and a problem of adjustment, the actor is faced with the pressure toward deviant behavior and the need to come to terms with the demands of his normative reference groups operating within the institutional order. The actor has a problem to which present solutions are not appropriate; because of this inappropriateness, the actor feels pressure to adopt a deviant solution. Tension is increased to the extent that the normative reference groups which he sees as authoritarian are operative within the institutional order. There are three logically possible solutions to this problem.

First, the individual can continue to conform to the institutional expectations regardless of the continued

frustration and anxiety. This solution is chosen because conformity to expectations and demands is the only alternative that is morally and symbolically validated by his normative reference groups. Conformity is chosen because the tension and frustration thereby created and/or maintained is easier to handle than is the moral uncertainty of a deviant solution.

Second, it would be possible to break the ties with the normative reference group and establish and acknowledge ties with other reference groups whose norms legitimize deviant solutions and attribute favorable role symbolism to them. This solution involves the withdrawal of legitimacy from the norms and expectations of one normative reference group and the attribution of this legitimacy to another whose demands are more in accord with the deviant solution that we wish to enact.

Third, it would be logically possible to go it alone, violating the institutionalized expectations without the corresponding legitimatization and validation of any normative reference group. This solution is the most costly and hence the most improbable solution.¹⁷⁴ It is the second solution that is characteristic of the delinquent subculture as identified in Delinquent Boys.

In deciding which of these solutions is the best fit to the solution of his problem of adjustment, the actor must consider the extent to which the choice is satisfying to his needs. The actor's needs do not exist in some pure or disembodied form but are articulated and intertwined with particular environmental objects or classes of objects. Satisfaction basically consists of acquiring, using or establishing some sort of relationship to these objects.

When one considers the social-emotional needs of the actor, the social objects to which he needs to establish relationships are other persons or collectives. Those with whom we value such relationships have been called status reference groups; status signifying the whole class of gratifying emotional responses from others. To the degree that one's status reference groups are integrated within the institutional order, the satisfaction and gratification of the actor's social-emotional needs is dependent upon the degree to which his behaviors match the institutional expectations. Conversely, to the degree that the actor can break relations with the conventional status reference groups and establish relationship with those operating outside of the pales of the institutional order, conformity is possible. This is assuming that the relationship with the deviant status

reference group is at least as satisfying as was the relationship with the reference group operative within the institutional order.¹⁷⁵

Evaluation as a Process: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Evaluations play seemingly a minor part in the work of Cloward and Ohlin. We see it used in the description of the emergence of the delinquent normative structure. "Descriptions, evaluations and prescriptions are provided by the subculture and shared as common property by its members."¹⁷⁶ In order to insulate the delinquent subculture from the outside world and its conflicting norms, values, beliefs, and sentiments, the delinquent subculture demands the creation of evaluations, descriptions and prescriptions to reinforce their behavior and expectations. These evaluations and concomitant processes serve the subculture to reinforce its deviant structure and role-demands. By evaluating the outside world in a certain way, and thereby defining certain patterns of action toward this world, the delinquent subculture creates an atmosphere in which the middle class society is viewed as hostile.

Evaluation of individual experiences is normatively regulated in the subculture and "each subculture is characterized

by distinctive evaluations of individual's actions."¹⁷⁷ In the criminal subculture the value is on patterns of behavior facilitating the illegal acquisition of material goods; the conflict subculture values and places and emphasis on violence and the manipulation of force; and the retreatist subculture places a premium on esoteric kicks.¹⁷⁸ These patterns of behavior are not only that which is evaluated, but also that which confers status upon the individual, and that which forms the normative pattern around which behavior is organized.

Evaluation as a Process: Lewis Yablonsky

Evaluation as a process of systemic action is not specifically dealt with by Yablonsky. Following the trend in the literature, evaluation would parallel the norms of the group. Those objects, facilities, actors, or collectivities would be positively evaluated if they facilitated the actors' ends or if they were in accordance with the norms of the evaluating group. Negative evaluation would be accorded to whatsoever hindered goal attainment or went contrary to the expectations of the groups norms. The violent gang is not seen to have any specific characterization of its norms, so the most that can be said is that whatever facilitates the attainment of self-gratification will be positively evaluated; whatever hinders the attainment of this goal will be negatively evaluated.

Dividing the Functions

Status-role as an Element: Albert Cohen

Status-role as an element of a social system refers to both a position and the behavior as a virtue of that position. Cohen sees and utilizes both of these concepts, but not in the combined form of the PAS Model.

Cohen states that "human problems are not distributed in a random way among the roles that make up a social system."¹⁷⁹ People have become equipped by their society with frames of reference and confronted by their society with situations which are not equally characteristic of other positions in the social hierarchy. The social structure generates, at each point within the system, "characteristic combinations of personality and situation and therefore characteristic problems of adjustment."¹⁸⁰ The problems that are characteristic of the working class are those to which the delinquent subculture is the appropriate response.

The position of the family in the social structure determines the experiences and the problems of the members that the family will encounter in dealing with the world outside the family.¹⁸¹

The delinquent subculture is the response of the working class youth to characteristic problems that are solved by a joint solution. These characteristic problems

are status problems. The delinquent subculture represents the creation of a new status system in which the youth has realistic possibilities of social advancement; in the subculture, "there is a redefinition of the status criteria."¹⁸² The gain in status in the delinquent group is concomitant with a respective loss in status in the middle class society. To the extent that the esteem of outsiders is a value to the members of the group, a new problem of adjustment is engendered.

Delinquency is most efficiently conceptualized as a social role as contrasted to defining delinquency as basically a legal category. There seem to be merits on both sides of this problem, however, definitions of delinquency as a social role uncover more of the dynamics of the adjustment. "The category delinquent as a social role of everyday life is not identical with delinquent as a legal category. The social role of the delinquent entails consequences over and above those provided by law."¹⁸³ Being invested with the role of delinquent, i.e., being adjudicated by the official criminal agencies as a delinquent, may curtail the opportunities for reward and gratification in non-delinquent society. The investment of the role of the delinquent may strengthen the youth's tendency to emit behavior that is delinquent in the legal sense.

Although being a "delinquent child" and having the social role of delinquent are not the same thing, if one has been legally declared a "delinquent child" and the fact is known, he is likely to be invested with the role. Merely being processed by the courts may be enough to have this far-reaching effect.¹⁸⁴

The self is considered by Cohen to be a set of beliefs and attitudes. Rather than conceptualizing the components of roles in terms of the interaction characterizing the interrelationships between actors, Cohen defines role as "socially organized ways of categorizing persons."¹⁸⁵ It is Cohen's contention that the set of beliefs and values called the self is largely defined in terms of the social roles which an individual acts. People classify themselves and these different labels evoke socially standardized expectations that are termed role demands. The role demands define for the individual the full-fledged and adequate expectations that others have of him as he acts out the role; the role demands define for alter the adequate role behaviors that can be expected of the role incumbent.

How we judge a person and how we respond to him, does not depend upon how he looks or upon how he acts, but rather, how these attributes of the person square with the role demands that we assign to him. Self demands consist largely of a set of roles with which the actor identifies or to which he

aspires and the sets of corresponding role demands. How an individual acts in any given situation will depend upon how he defines his role and the role to which he is assigned or to which he assigns himself. One of the unintended consequences of the legal processing might be the fostering of delinquent self-conceptions and the consequent reinforcement of tendencies to delinquent behavior.¹⁸⁶

The self is built upon the interaction of the self as it is and the self as it should be, i.e., the interaction between the self-image and the self-expectations. Since the self is largely defined in terms of role-demands that an individual plays, the labeling of an individual as a delinquent will have far-reaching consequences. Because of the delinquent self-definitions that become internalized, the individual will tend to emit behaviors that are consonant with these definitions. Defining one's role as that of a delinquent will internalize expectations resulting in behavior appropriate to the internalized definitions. There is a reciprocal relationship between role-self-behavior.

Not only does the individual have an opinion of himself, depending upon the interrelations between the self-image and the self-expectations, others also have opinions of us depending upon the degree to which we measure up to their

images of us and the standards which they use to judge us.

"The counterpart of self-acceptance and self-respect is acceptance and respect from others which is called status."¹⁸⁷

A problem arises when we realize that individuals do not value status or respect from all sources. Those groups from whom we value status are termed status reference groups. Within the context of delinquency, the status reference group of the youth would be the delinquent gang or subculture rather than the larger framework of society. These delinquent groups set down different conditions for the granting of status than does the society. Delinquency, is essentially a group phenomena; delinquency, as a social role and its appropriate behaviors, is demanded by the role expectations of the delinquent group. To the extent that the individuals perceive the delinquent group as their status reference groups, they will act in accord with its demands. A delinquent group will reward behaviors to the extent that they are defined as consonant with the role demands of the group; to the extent that an individual perceives the delinquent group as his status reference group, he will act in accord with its demands, i.e., the individual will act according to delinquent self-definitions.

Status-role as an Element: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

In defining the delinquent subculture as a generic type, Cloward and Ohlin invoke status-role as an element, but not as specified in the PAS Model.

"A delinquent subculture is one in which certain forms of delinquent activity are essential requirements for the performance of the dominant roles supported by the subculture."¹⁸⁸ A group which tolerated delinquent behaviors on the part of its members, but which did not formulate their behaviors and organization around the performance of this role, could not be defined as delinquent in the sense that they belonged to a subculture.¹⁸⁹ It is the central position accorded to specifically delinquent behavior that distinguishes the delinquent subculture from other deviant groups.¹⁹⁰ We must not define as delinquent a group that tolerated or practiced deviant behaviors unless they were the central activities around which the group was organized, although we would call such a group deviant.

In exact correspondence with Cohen's basic thesis is the following observation of Cloward and Ohlin.

. . . youngsters who participate in delinquent subcultures may experience serious discontent with their position in the social structure (prior to sub-cultural involvement).¹⁹¹

Both agree that status and evaluated worth are closely identical with status and that discontent and frustration prevail in the lower reaches of the social order as a result of position discontent.

Status-role as an Element: Lewis Yablonsky

Yablonsky uses the category of status-role in the delineation of the characteristics and types of violent gang membership and in the description of violent gang leaders and leadership.

According to Yablonsky, the main criterion for membership in the violent gang organization is a "proclivity toward violent behavior."¹⁹² The actual process of becoming a member is just as simple as is approaching the leader of the gang and asking to become a member. The gang leader almost always accepts the aspirant since a large membership helps to strengthen him and his gang's prestige. There is a mythology built around the gang's initiation rites that the youth must commit some violent act; however, this is rarely expected and seldom accomplished because such rigid specifications are not in tune with the sociopathic nature of the gang youth.

Another method of membership recruitment involves "assault upon a youth combined with the threat join up or else."

The youth becomes a member by simple virtue of the fact that he adheres to the demands at the time. This type of membership recruitment performs the function for the leader of playing a powerful role. It strengthens his belief as to the size of his gang. The youth that was recruited by such a method can resign by his own volition through simply keeping clear of the leaders of the gang.¹⁹³

As can be seen from the above, "membership in the gang has little permanent character." A member can be thrown out of the gang at the whim of one of the leaders without being informed that he no longer belongs. These non-defined characteristics of membership reflect the degree of responsibility and lack of clarity of the gang member's role in the violent gang. There seems to be little precise definition of the status-roles that the individual is to play as part of the gang. This is essentially because "most members would be unable to participate (if there were these status-role demands) since they usually lack the social ability to relate to another."¹⁹⁴ Violent gangs thus have limited membership integration and cohesion outside the few sociopathic core members of the gang. When pressure is exerted on the gang, it would be the less committed marginal members that would resign rather than the more committed sociopathic core members.

"Sociopathic youths join violent gangs for a variety of individualized, personal reasons."¹⁹⁵ Each youth has his own special and personal motive for joining the violent gang; this motive and the intensity of its can be directly related to the intensity of his gang affiliation. "The gang boy's degree of emotional involvement in the gang is indicated by his level of participation, which may be either core or marginal. The more sociopathic youth tends to be a core member, the less pathological youth tends to be somewhat more marginal."¹⁹⁶ Unlike participation in the more normal social group which has defined membership expectations and demands, the violent gang's amorphous quality of expectations provides the sociopathic youth with the possibility of projecting his own needs and dispositions upon the environment and adjusting and utilizing it for a variety of individual problems.

The core members of the violent gang are the more sociopathic youths; this category of membership is the most dedicated and involved in the behaviors of the gang. "These central members know each other in face-to-face relationships, live in the same block, hang around the same corner, play together, fight among themselves, and plan gang strategy together."¹⁹⁷ The core membership of the violent gang is Gemeinschaft in nature and thereby more integrated and cohesive than is the marginal members. The core member can be defined by his almost total commitment and personal involvement

in the affairs and activities of the gang; such preoccupation with the gang is not the case in the marginal member.

According to Yablonsky, the marginal member can be divided into three types:

- (1) the sociopathic youth with immediate emotional problems,
- (2) the sociopathic youth violence-dominated who is seeking his kicks through violence, and
- (3) the "mythical member."¹⁹⁸

The first type of marginal member joins the gang to solve immediate personal problems and does not identify with the gang or know most of the other gang members. This type of member does not identify closely with any gang concern except when these concerns parallel his own personal concerns and reasons for membership. "This type of marginal member appears at gang-war discussions and battles at those times when he has a temporary need for violent behavior that he believes may be satisfied through gang activity."¹⁹⁹ The second type of violent gang member is ready to fight with almost any gang. "They are not necessarily members of any particular gang yet are in some respects members of all. They join gangs because for them it is a convenient and easily accessible opportunity for violence."²⁰⁰ The third category of violent gang member is the "mythical member." Such members have no personal involvement in the activities of the gang and do not have any

personal awareness of their membership. "His essential membership qualifications are to be identified as such by a core member."²⁰¹ The isolation of this category of marginal members signals us to the fact that the mythical members "were identified essentially to satisfy the leaders' needs to 'possess' a large membership. The leaders were not consciously lying; the imagined membership was part of their fantasy world."²⁰² The leaders want to believe that they control vast gang networks of alliance and brother gangs and therefore do believe it.

A category of marginal involvement in the violent gang is called the miscellaneous gang member. In contradistinction to the mythical member who is identified as a gang member by the leader with no personal knowledge of his membership, the miscellaneous gang member calls himself a member of the gang without any knowledge on the part of the leader. The difference between this membership and those categorized is the element of their recognition as members of the gang by the leader. In the case of the miscellaneous member, violence and membership in the violent gang is "both his syndrome and his rationale for violence."²⁰³

In contradistinction to the pattern of leaders and leadership in the social and the delinquent gangs, leaders

and leadership in the violent gang are seen to be more pathological. The core socio is usually the leader. The gang leader usually appears as a socially ineffectual youth incapable of transferring leadership ability and functioning to more demanding social groups.²⁰⁴

A youth with sociopathic tendencies to such a degree that he cannot relate effectively in society can join the violent gang and gain the status that he is denied in the larger society. "In the violent gang, a sociopathic youth with limited social ability can become a gang president, or war lord, control vast domains, and generally act out a powerful, although fantasized, success image."²⁰⁵ The criteria of status are redefined to suit the behavior that the sociopathic boy is capable of emitting, i.e., violence.

Status-role Performance as a Process: Albert Cohen

Cohen believes that the problems to which the working class youth must react are "chiefly status problems: certain children are denied status in the respectable society because they cannot meet the criteria of the respectable status system. The delinquent subculture deals with these problems by providing criteria of status which these children can meet."²⁰⁶ Cohen sees the performance of the working class boy in

response to those status problems as basically one of the redefinition of the criteria of status into terms with which he can deal and achieve.²⁰⁷ This is the reaction only after the boy has tried and failed to achieve in terms of the middle class.

Taking the role of the working class boy, there are two adaptations which can be taken, the college-boy or the corner-boy. For our purposes here the most important element of the corner-boy choice is in relation to the middle class norms. "The corner-boy choice temporizes with middle class morality; the full-fledged delinquent subculture does not."²⁰⁸ The corner-boy response is not inherently delinquent. Because of the relationship that the corner-boy assumes with the middle class, there is ambivalence present. He has internalized both the norms of the middle class and those of the working class. His temporizing with the norms of the middle class creates problems of adjustment. The delinquent response "permits no ambiguity of the status of the delinquent relative to that of anybody else. The delinquent does not cling to a version of the middle class culture."²⁰⁹ The performance of the subculture clearly separates them from the standards and evaluation of the middle class. It is in the refusal to temporize with the middle class culture that the distinctive appeal of the subculture arises.²¹⁰

Cohen states that the problems of adjustment to which the working class boy must adjust are those created by his aspirations to middle class status and his subsequent status frustrations and anxiety. With regard to the sex of the delinquent there are different motivations and underlying causes of the delinquent adaptation.

In the American culture, "people do not simply want to excel; they want to excel as a man or as a woman, that is to say, in those respects which, in their culture, are symbolic of their respective sex roles."²¹¹ In most cultures the world over, there are certain behaviors which tend to be culturally defined as appropriate to the male sex role and gain certain behaviors that are uniquely characteristic to female sex role. When problems of adjustment arise, delinquent behavior may be the result; when it is, the behavior will vary according to sex role and in such a manner that the sex-role identification will not be jeopardized.

In seeking solutions to their problems of adjustment, they seek solutions that will not endanger their identification as essentially male or female. Even when they adopt behavior which is considered disreputable by conventional standards, the tendency is to be disreputable in ways that are characteristically masculine and feminine.²¹²

Both the respectable middle class pattern of behavior and the delinquent response are characteristically masculine.

The delinquent response, wrong though it may be, is well within the range of responses that do not threaten his identification of himself as a male.

The situation of the female is quite different from that of the male. The status and respect paid to the males are due to the success that they achieve. In contradistinction, the status and respect paid to the female is not contingent upon any personal achievement that may have come her way; rather it is "dependent to a much greater degree on the kinds of relationships she establishes with members of the opposite sex."²¹³ Realizing that the status of the family cannot be raised substantially beyond the limits set for it by the male parent, the female sets aspirations that are characteristic of the female role.

A female's status security, response and the acceptability of her self-image as a woman or a girl depend upon the establishment of satisfactory relationships with the other sex. To this end sexuality, variously employed, is the most versatile and sovereign single means.²¹⁴

The female equivalent of the "college-boy" pattern must subject herself to the long-run goal of social mobility. If the young lady is to enjoy a good marriage and further movement up the status scale, she must be quite sure that the attention paid to her by the opposite sex is not based on her dispensation of sexual favors. The young lady must cultivate the style of

life which is characteristic of the social class level to which she aspires. The young lady must, of course, be attractive to members of the opposite sex to attract their attention and favors. However, "sexual attractiveness must not, of course, be confused with sexual accessibility."²¹⁵

Because of the socialization that the girl of the working class experiences she is not equipped to meet the demands of the middle class culture as characteristic of her sex role, for "an important criterion of marriageability and of acceptability as a social equal in respectable society is chastity."²¹⁶ Cohen believes that the training in the husbandry and management of sexual resources is an important part of middle class socialization of the young girl. However, in the working class such is not the case. "With respect to sexuality it is not repression which is required of her but something perhaps more difficult; the development of skills in the management and husbandry of her sexual resources."²¹⁷

Realizing in time that she is not able to attract the attentions of the male of the middle class culture, she turns to the working class male to seek reassurance of her adequacy as a female. This is accomplished by abandoning her reputation of chastity, which has proven an unrewarding virtue,

and by substituting sexual accessibility in its place. By virtue of this change, the girl gains attentions and favors albeit with transitory and unstable relationships. As a result of this substitution, the girl's position in the marriage market is further lowered.

Basically, then, female delinquency has its etiology in the desire of the working class female for marriage to a male which will elevate her social status. The method by which this is done is to attract the honorable attentions of male members of the middle class culture by cultivating the arts and graces, predominately the virtue of chastity. Because of the socialization that the girl has experienced, she is not capable of manifesting the ability to manage her sexual resources. Her socialization experience hinders her ability to manifest the most valued virtue of the class to which aspires: virtue. Sensing a feeling of anxiety as to her adequacy as a female, she looks to the male members of her class to reassure herself that as a female she is adequate; that is to say, that she substitutes sexual accessibility for sexual attractiveness. And this substitution further lowers her value in the marriage market.

The kind of delinquency we have described under the rubric of the delinquent subculture is not appropriate to the problems of adjustment and the social expectations of the female role; and that sex delinquency is one kind of meaningful response to the most characteristic, most central and most ego-involved problems of the female role: the establishment of satisfactory relationships with the opposite sex.²¹⁸

The most essential tasks in the explanation of the delinquent subculture is that of basic description; description of the facts that any theory of delinquent subcultures must fit. One of the most obvious facts that must be explained in the almost unlimited variability of subcultural patterns. The subcultures that are isolated are to be considered as ideal types, because the range of variation cannot be possibly encompassed by any empirical typology. The different types of subculture are not to be regarded as having a concrete representative for they shade off into each other. The rationale behind their isolation is that they are subcultures "that stand out in the literature as conspicuously different strands or on theoretical grounds seem most likely to represent etiologically different entities."²¹⁹

The original subculture that has been isolated for empirical study is termed by Cohen as the parent male subculture. This is essentially the subculture that was dealt with in Delinquent Boys. This subcultural type is referred to as the parent because it is the most common variety of

this country and because its characteristics seem to constitute a common core shared by the other important variants.²²⁰

The second subcultural pattern is the conflict oriented subculture. In this type of ganging pattern one consistently finds large gangs with a relatively elaborate organization including differentiated role. The gang becomes identified with a certain territory, name, and develops a strong sense of corporate identity. The status of the gang and its members is determined by its toughness and willingness to engage in physical conflict with other gangs and its prowess in intergang rumbles.

Although actual fighting occupies but a small portion of the gang's time, Heart is the most highly prized virtue and the most important determinant of gang members' status within the gang as well as that of the relation between rival gangs. Intragang fighting is regulated by a "code" of fairness, however, members are relatively unconstrained by any concept of chivalry in intergang conflicts.

Contrary to common opinion, there exists a basic ambivalence within the violent or conflict oriented gang boy about fighting; it is not a matter of simple catharsis of accumulated aggressions and hostilities. Members of the fighting gangs are afraid of rumbles and are frequently

relieved when police intervene, however, the ethics of the gang require suppression of squeamishness; the role that is demanded is that of an outward toughness and a readiness to defend turf and rep with violence and brutality.²²¹

A third type of subculture is identified by Cohen as the drug-addict subculture. Cohen sees a very close tie between the drug-addict subculture and delinquency in general, for addiction arises in areas where delinquency is already endemic; prior to their addiction, most addicts were delinquents. Addicts adopt a quite utilitarian approach for they eschew the more violent forms of delinquency and prefer income producing forms of delinquency which are essential to the support of their habit.

In the beginning most addicts were members of delinquent gangs and share the philosophy of these gangs. After the onset of addiction, their participation in the more violent and disorderly activities of the gang is reduced and they tend to cluster in cliques on the periphery. There is little moral disapproval of drug use on the part of the gang members but it is usually discouraged and the status of the addict is lowered on the particle grounds that addiction lowers the value of the addict to the group.

In sharp contrast to the thrill the conflict oriented individual from violence, the drug subculture has as its central feature the "kick." The kick is any act that is tabooed by the conventional society and that heightens and intensifies the present moment of experience and differentiates it as much as possible from the routine of daily life.²²²

A fourth type of subcultural variation is that of semi-professional theft. The earliest stages of the subculture can be variously located in the parent male subculture. In the parent male subculture most participants drop out or taper-off around fifteen or sixteen. After this period a minority begins to differentiate themselves from their fellows and to move in the direction of more utilitarian, systematic and pecuniary crime.

Cohen feels that this subculture is not to be identified on the same level as are those which have been already discussed. The semi-professional theft subculture appears to be more of a differentiation of emphasis within a more diversified climate of delinquency than an autonomous subculture independently organized. This type commonly participate in the non-utilitarian types of delinquency as well as in that which has at its base the profit motive; they belong to gangs the majority of whose members engage in predominately non-utilitarian delinquency.

Semi-professional thieves constitute cliques within larger gangs and are differentiated from other delinquents in the same gang with respect to other characteristics than patterns of stealing alone. To the degree that stealing becomes rational, systematic, deliberate, planned, and pursued as a primary source of income, it becomes incompatible with anarchic, impulsive, mischievous and malicious characteristics of non-utilitarian delinquent subcultures. Its practitioners tend to segregate themselves into more professionally oriented and seriously minded groups.²²³

Both the drug addict and the semi-professional thief subcultures have quite a few elements in common. Both of them are conceived by Cohen to be organized on a clique basis on the fringe of the conflict oriented subculture. Both subcultures seem to have behavioral patterns that are totally inconsistent with the role demands and expectations of the conflict subculture. Neither of them seem to be autonomous groupings, but seem to have their genesis in the conflict subculture and progressively develop concerns at variance with those of the conflict subculture. And perhaps most basically, neither the drug addict nor the semi-professional subcultures are conceived in isolation from the conflict subculture from which they seem to evolve.

The fifth and final male subculture that is isolated is identified by Cohen to be the middle class subculture. This pattern is, according to Cohen, distinguished theoretically rather than empirically. Cohen makes no attempt to delineate any definite or characteristic patterns in this subculture. What he notes however, is that the middle class subculture cannot be analyzed as is the working class subculture. This is basically because the problems of adjustment to which the working class subculture seems to constitute plausible and intelligent responses appear linked with sufficient frequency to middle class status, the assumption is made that middle class delinquent subcultures arise in response to problems of adjustment which are characteristic problems of middle class life situations and socialization.²²⁴

These five subcultures, the parent, the conflict, the drug-addict, the semi-professional, and the middle class are all universal to the male sex. Cohen isolates only one characteristic delinquent pattern on the part of girls and that is labeled the drug subculture. This subculture is characterized essentially along the line that female delinquency was described in Delinquent Boys.

The female drug subculture has its genesis in the difficulty of young girls in establishing satisfactory

relations with young men. Isolated from the main stream of boy-girl relationships, lonely and depressed and yearning for marriage with a stable responsible and respectable man, these girls turn to the boys of the working class to regain a sense of their female adequacy. Failing to establish a relationship that has any characteristics of stability, they turn to drugs. Because of a pathetic yearning for marriage, they will believe almost anything a man tells them and when the man departs, the girl's dependency upon the drug is heightened. There is a vicious cycle of difficulty in boy-girl relationships, a sense of depression and loneliness, the creation of addiction, repeated failure in sexual relationships, an increased need for and dependency upon the drug.

Status-role Performance as a Process:
Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin see the concept of status-role performance as important and use it heavily. It seems as though their purpose in its use is the explanation of the typical patterns of behavior in the different subcultures.

When a social system generates severe problems of adjustment for occupants of a particular social status, it is possible that a collective challenge to the legitimacy of the established rules of conduct will emerge. Given

limited access to success-goals by legitimate means, the nature of the delinquent response will vary according to the availability of various illegitimate means. It must be remembered that the "principal function of the delinquent subculture is to provide alternative channels of opportunity."²²⁵ The availability of legitimate and illegitimate opportunities as opposed to no opportunity structure at all, are the determining factors in which subcultural patterns will be chosen.

In the criminal pattern, delinquent and criminal behavior is accepted as a means of achieving conventional success-goals. Prestige is allocated to those who achieve material gain and power through avenues defined as illegitimate by the conventional society. The delinquent episodes help the youth to acquire mastery of the techniques and orientations of the criminal world and to learn how to cooperate successfully with others in criminal enterprises. The youth sees the successful people of the conventional world as having a racket; this attitude successfully neutralizes the controlling effect of the feeling of guilt and the conventional norms. The best way of securing success is to develop systemic linkages with holders of conventional and non-conventional status-roles, i.e., the fix.²²⁶ Through connections the aspiring criminal validates and assures his freedom of movement in a world made safe for crime.

In the conflict pattern, status is gained by displaying the characteristics of the successful warrior. The youth's performance must reveal a willingness to defend his personal integrity and the honor of the gang. Their immediate aim is to secure a reputation for toughness and destructive violence, which is accomplished by the manipulation of violence, force, or the threat of force. The youth views the adult world as indifferent and himself as isolated and alienated from this world. Confronted by such a situation of indifference and insecurity, the bopper seeks to win by coercion the attention and opportunities he lacks and cannot otherwise attract.²²⁷

Retreatism is more of an individualistic adaptation than were either the criminal or the conflict patterns. These subcultural drug-users perceive themselves as culturally and socially detached from the life-style and preoccupations of members of the conventional world. In extreme form, the retreatist seeks an almost spiritual and mystical knowledge that is experienced when one comes to know "it" at the height of the kick. The past and the future recede in the time perspective, since complete awareness is in the present, i.e., in the experience of the kick and the hustle. The member strives for status and deference within the subculture by the cultivation of the kick and the hustle.²²⁸

Cloward sees the case of retreatism as very closely tied to the differential availability of both legitimate and illegitimate systems of means. On the means-ends paradigm, Merton was the originator of the specifications of the dynamics of the retreatist adaptation. In view of the different adaptations from the point of view of either acceptance or rejection of the cultural norms and the institutionalized means, retreatism is a rejection of both elements.

Retreatism arises from continued failure to near the goal by legitimate measures and from an inability to use the illegitimate route because of internalized prohibitions, this process occurring while the supreme value of the success-goal has not yet been renounced. The conflict is resolved by abandoning both precipitating elements (goals and means). The escape is complete, the conflict is eliminated, and the person is asocialized.²²⁹

For Merton, the crucial element in the retreatist adaptation is the failure or the inability, because of internalized prohibitions, to use the illegitimate opportunity structure. Cloward however feels that the failure of the inability to use the illegitimate opportunity structure is not essential in retreatism. By the introduction of socially structured differentials in availability of illegitimate means it is possible to retreat even in the case of an absence of internalized prohibitions.

Cloward agrees with Merton that his original specification of retreatism is quite possible, but he does not agree that it would be the only possible method by which an individual can reject both the success-goals and the means of legitimate achievement. Now the crucial question is what the resultant reaction is when the individual fails in the use of both systems of means, or when the illegitimate system is not available. The question of whether or not one becomes a retreatist is dependent upon the relative accessibility of illegitimate means and upon one's success in their use. Retreatism may rise as a result of differentials in access to the illegitimate opportunity structure and the success of their use, i.e., the double failure.

Status-role Performance as a Process: Lewis Yablonsky

Yablonsky disagrees with the characterization of the criminal and the retreatist elements as subcultural. "Based on my direct appraisal of over one hundred gangs, their (Cloward and Ohlin's) description of the 'criminal' and 'retreatist' gangs conflicts with the live evidence."²³⁰

Yablonsky's criticism of the characterization of the criminal subculture is based essentially on a criticism of the Chicago School approach to delinquency and crime.

This criticism is based on two propositions: first, the criminal delinquent aspires to join the rank of the adult criminal world and, second, that there is opportunity to graduate into such a criminal hierarchy. In response to the first point, Yablonsky states that "the current delinquent gang youth operates in the here and now. He has a limited concern with rising into any adult criminal gang, and his delinquent acts in association with others have the limited goal of a 'quick score' for profit."²³¹ In response to the second proposition, Yablonsky states that "current delinquents, with the exceptions of a few minority groups, have no opportunity to graduate into any criminal gang hierarchy. What was true in the old Chicago School of gangdom no longer seems to apply in the current 'disorganized slum.'"²³²

Yablonsky's criticism of the retreatist subculture revolves about the question of whether or not the retreatist adaptation can legitimately be called a group let alone a subculture. "The retreatist subculture of the addict is simply not a gang in any sense."²³³ Drug addiction is a highly individualized activity with few group implications. Most drug addicts are isolates and their human relations have limited group characteristics. Yablonsky believes that drug addicts are generally not interested in joining a gang,

despite the fact that the gang does not want him because the addicted personality is unpredictable and unreliable and may hinder rather than help in the attainment of ends. Nor is the addict interested in the violent gang, since it is through drugs that he is finding his kicks. Drug addicts, as social isolates, may be in some physical proximity to each other, but their lack of ability to relate even minimally makes a social group almost impossible. The retreatist subculture can thus not be rationally regarded as a category of gang.

Yablonsky's characterization of the social gang is only in places at variance with what might be called a legitimate social group. The social gang is a relatively permanent organization that centers around a specific location such as a candy store; all members of the gang are intimately known to each other and there is a sense of comradeship. The activities of the gang are highly socially dominated and require a high degree of responsible social interaction in the group. Membership is not based upon self-protection or athletic prowess but upon a feeling of mutual attraction. This type of gang seldom, if ever, participates in delinquent or violent behavior except under very unusual circumstances. The social gang is closely

associated with and acts in terms of the values of the larger society.²³⁴

The delinquent gang is primarily organized around the norm of illegal activity. It is generally a tight clique for it would lose its cohesive quality and the intimate cooperation required to be successful in illegal ventures if it became too large. Membership is not easily achieved and is generally approved by all gang members. The structure of these gangs have some duration and lasting structure, for members that are arrested or otherwise removed are replaced. The leader is usually the most effective thief, the best organizer and planner of activities. Delinquent gang members are emotionally stable youths; their delinquency is more a reflection of being socialized into accepting delinquent patterns for behavior, rather than a reflection of emotional disturbance. Violence may be employed as a means toward the end of acquiring material and financial rewards; however, it is rarely an end in itself.²³⁵

The violent gang is primarily organized for emotional gratification and violence is the theme around which all activities center. The violent gang's organization and membership are constantly shifting in accord with the emotional needs of its members. Membership size is exaggerated as a

psychological weapon for influencing other gangs and self-aggrandizement. Membership characteristics are unclear in the gang's structure; there is little precise definition of role behavior in the gang. If qualifications for membership were more precise and definite, most gang members would be unable to participate since they usually lack the social ability to relate to one another. Leadership and leaders are characterized by megalomania, strong needs to control, and an emotionally distorted picture of the gang's organization. The image of the leader is often exaggerated and glorified by the gang members⁸ to enhance their own self-concept. The underlying theme of the social relations is to disprove and disparage others and to enhance their self-concepts; in most discussions the underlying theme is one of hostility and aggression.²³⁶

Gang leaders are essentially self-appointed and are the most permanent and core members of the gang because they are its originators and are at the center of its organization. The leaders are often glorified by gang members as a reflection of their members own desired aspirations, and are invested with many attributes the members do not possess but wish they did. Leaders conjure up vast networks of gang alliances to fulfill their own needs and those of their gang's members for

power. Many gang leaders manifest paranoid delusions of persecution and grandeur; in many cases they are attempting to compensate and adjust serious personality disorders through acting in the role of powerful but pseudoleaders. There is some anchorage in reality; they do not live in a complete fantasy world. Many gang leaders appear involved in an attempt to relive earlier years when they were disturbed, insecure and unhappy youths in their contemporary role of gang leader. They regress to an earlier life period to act out the powerful role they could not achieve when they were younger. They have limited social ability; the requirements for assuming any responsibility to another person in a legitimate relationship are essentially lacking.²³⁷

Leadership in the violent gang is based not on leadership ability but upon the need for the individual to assume the role of a leader. Leadership is virtually an individualistic affair, it is self-appointed usually dictatorial and authoritarian. Many if not most of the members of the gang assume some form of leadership and, except on specific occasions, no one will argue with this self-defined role. The basic ingredient of leadership quality in the violent gang is the emotional needs of the individual. If the individual interprets his situation as needing some device

for manipulating power over others, even if this power and control is entire in fantasy, the individual will define himself as a leader of the gang.

This need for power and control is illustrated by the functions that the process of drafting has for the leader and the followers. Drafting, as a pattern of acquiring new members, is basically a pattern of coercion and becomes so important to the leader or the follower that it becomes an end in itself. The gang boy is not truly concerned about acquiring new members or enlarging the membership, since membership definitions are vague at best. The process of drafting becomes the end rather than a means and the individual, by acting in the role of the drafter, can act out power roles to satisfy the momentary needs of his being.

Status-role performance in the organization of the violent gang has a very minimal degree of patterning; the youth who joins the violent gang can do so for many and varied reasons; reasons which can change as the youth experiences his career in the gang. "There appears to be no clear consensus of role expectation in violent gang membership, and this conveniently enables each gang boy to project his own definition onto the meaning of his membership.²³⁸ Membership in the violent gang may be seen by the gang boy as the

mechanism by which personal problems in the family can be solved. In another vein, gang membership can be used to act out aggression and hostilities. This chameleon nature of the gang is a necessary condition for the participation of the sociopath, for, as Yablonsky states, "if qualifications for membership were more exact, most members, especially the more sociopathic leaders, would be unable to participate, for they lack the ability to assume the social responsibilities required for more structured normal organizations."²³⁹ The violent gang is thus a human collectivity where even the most socially deprived youth, is able to sufficiently play some membership role.

Ranking

Rank as an Element: Albert Cohen

Cohen does not deal with rank as an element in his treatment of the relationship between the social system and the delinquent subculture. Cohen is most concerned with the status problems that give rise to the delinquent subculture. It is the relationship between these systems that holds his attention and not the relationship of the actor to the system. It can be inferred that as an element rank would be conferred upon an individual to the degree that he facilitates the

transfer of legitimacy from the norms of the middle class to those of the delinquent subculture and to the extent that one strives for status in terms of these norms. To the extent that an individual conforms to the norms of the delinquent subculture, rank and high evaluation will be bestowed upon him. Cohen has shown that the norms of the delinquent group are polar opposites of those of the middle class value system. An individual will gain high rank to the degree that he adopts the behavior consonant with the expectations of the delinquent norms, i.e., to the degree that he loses status and rank in the respectable society.

Rank as an Element: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin deal more explicitly with rank as an element, although it is not afforded a central focus. These authors state that "in the delinquent subculture, habitual delinquent behavior is defined as a prerequisite for acceptance and status in the group."²⁴⁰ The delinquent behavior that is valued differs as one goes from subculture to subculture. In the criminal subculture, "prestige is allocated to those who achieve material gain and power through avenues defined as illegitimate by the larger society."²⁴¹ In the conflict pattern, a mark of prestige is the degree to

which an individual is able to effectively manipulate force and violence.²⁴² In the retreatist pattern, status and deference are attained by the ability "to cultivate and maintain the expressive, sensual, or consumatory experiences" ²⁴³ Status or rank is conferred upon the individual to the degree that he subscribes to the normative pattern around which the subculture is organized.

In the relative positions of prestige that exist between gangs within the conflict subculture, the advent of the street gang worker signifies the gang's toughness in relation to the other gangs in the area. "The street gang workers symbolize recognition by conventional society of the gang's toughness but also a concession of opportunities that had been denied; this is transformed into a mark of prestige between gangs."²⁴⁴

Rank as an Element: Lewis Yablonsky

In his discussion of the classification of the three types of gangs, Yablonsky isolates an ideal pattern which he calls the violent gang. This gang is characterized by "sociopathic themes of prestige-seeking violence with psychic gratification as the goal."²⁴⁵ In the violent gang, prestige or status is allocated to the extent that behavior

is violence dominated. One element of the violent gang would seem to mitigate against this conclusion. We have seen already that within the core organization of the violent gang there is relative stability but within the marginal categories there is relatively little stability of organization and integration.²⁴⁶ Ranking of individuals in the violent gang would most likely occur within the core organization and not within the marginal categories because of the relative instability and the different reasons for participation in the marginal categories. Because the core members are relatively stable in association and integrated, their relationships will persist over time.

Taking the element of rank on the level of the social system or society, Yablonsky shows us the operation of ranking in the minds of the individual gang members. The Negro seems to have greatly improved his social status and has become upwardly mobile. Such a mobile situation is not the characteristic of the Puerto Rican. Within the community, and also upon the individual level, the issue of whether the Negro or the Puerto Rican has the highest status or rank is a question to which there is no clear answer. This situation is complicated by the fact that "many individuals from Puerto Rican backgrounds are dark skinned, many Negroes are light-

skinned, and many whites are dark skinned."²⁴⁷ As one can easily see, such a situation raises the problem of ethnic identification: is one to consider himself a Negro or a Puerto Rican? The question is not so much the self-identification, Am I Puerto Rican or Negro?, but will I be better off as a Puerto Rican or a Negro? Which self-identification has higher status? This situation takes on interesting patterns when a Negro who identifies himself as a Puerto Rican drafts youths in the neighborhood to rid the block of the "niggers." The choice of whether to be Negro or Puerto Rican seems to be based upon which identification has the higher rank.

"Gang violence or homicide is a readily available means for sociopathic youths to achieve a notoriety and fame impossible to attain in any other way."²⁴⁸ Violence is chosen because it requires characteristics which gang boys have in abundance, limited social ability and training, considerable resentment and aggression, and a motivation to retaliate against others. Legitimately it would be impossible for them to become known to anyone outside of their immediate circle because of the nature of the sociopathic personality. Exhibiting violent behavior will bring them to the attention of the agencies of legal justice and control and thus to the

attention of society at large. "(Violence) serves as a quick and sure means for upward social mobility within the violent gang and, to a limited extent, in the over-all society."²⁴⁹ Within the gang, the youths "acquire prestige and status"²⁵⁰ that they could not acquire without the confines of the gang. Through gang membership and the violent behavior as a result of their personalities, the youths acquire prestige and status within the gang.

Evaluation of Actors as a Process: Albert Cohen

Cohen sees this process as central in the creation of the status problems which form the core of the delinquent subculture. It is the negative evaluation given to the youth by the middle class culture that make the youth seek status on his own terms.

The youth needs to feel that he is positively evaluated by his peers; when he feels this not to be the case, he will manifest action in the attempt to rearrange the situation so that his actions will become status-giving. Our ability to achieve status depends on the criteria of status applied, on the standards or norms used in evaluation.²⁵¹ If the individual is not being evaluated positively he will either change his behavior or change the criterion by which

his behavior is being evaluated. It is the second type of change that is characteristically delinquent. "One solution is for individuals who share such problems to gravitate toward one another and jointly establish new norms, new criteria of status which define as meritorious the characteristics they do possess, the kinds of conduct of which they are capable."²⁵² Cohen's concept of negative polarity implies that the new criteria may deviate so far from the middle class norms as to make nonconformity with the expectations of the middle class a positive criterion of status within the subculture.

The evaluation of actors forms the basis of the status problems of the working class boy. In America, the child is "evaluated as an individual."²⁵³ The culture demands that all individuals, regardless of social class, must strive for success in terms of the middle class goals. This compels the working class boy to take as his status universe all comers. When the working class child is compared with those from the middle and upper class, "in terms of the same criteria,"²⁵⁴ failure will be the reward for the working class boy. Because he has incorporated the normative structure of the middle class into his personality and has also been denied status in terms of this normative

structure, the working class boy will suffer status discontent and status frustration. In an effort to maintain the anxiety created by this status refusal, the working class boy adopts the norms of the delinquent subculture. Since it is not possible for a normative structure once introjected to be completely repressed, the middle class normative structure continually presses for recognition. Reaction-formation is the containment mechanism.

At the basis of this process of increasing alienation from the middle class is the evaluation based on middle class standards. The delinquent subculture creates status criteria against which the working class boy can effectively achieve. "The sting of status inferiority is thereby mitigated; one measures himself only against those of like social position."²⁵⁵

Evaluation of Actors as a Process:
Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin feel that the "process of alienation has its roots in the discrepancy between the formal criteria of evaluation and the operative criteria." The individual feels that he has the ability to meet the formally stated criteria, but the way that things realistically operate, the individual feels that he cannot meet the demands.

This dislocation creates feelings of hostility and aggression toward the dominant social order which are acted out in the form of the creation of illegitimate opportunity structures in the place of the legitimate opportunity structures.

"He perceives his failure to gain access to opportunities as an injustice in the system rather than as a deficiency in himself." The individual has thusly withdrawn his attribution of legitimacy from the norms of the legitimate order and is "free to join with others in a delinquent solution to his problems without great concern about the moral validity of his action."²⁵⁶

Controlling

Power as an Element: Albert Cohen

In the discussion of the comparison between the middle class norms and those of the working class, Cohen notes that these are the norms of the people who run things.²⁵⁷ This statement implies the use of power by the middle class.

Cohen notes the middle class's concern with property as a characteristic norm.²⁵⁸ At one further point, Cohen brings in power in its relation to property, "people of status tend to be people of power and property"²⁵⁹ Cohen is referring to power as the capacity to separate the working

class boy and his status aspirations. People of power and property, thusly people of status, have the "means to make certain that their children will obtain respect and other rewards which have status significance even where title in terms of deserving middle class conduct is dubious."²⁶⁰

Power as an Element: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Delinquent acts challenge the existing institutional arrangements of the society, thereby challenging the existing power or interest groupings in the society. The delinquent subculture represents a threat to the normative structure of the social system. "Systems of rules regulate the interaction of participants in social enterprises which represent investments of varying importance to the dominant power groups in the society."²⁶¹ The acts of deviance, and the delinquent subculture, are acts of defiance toward the norms of the middle class society and especially toward the major power or interest groups within the society, since they have a vested interest in its maintenance.

Power as an Element: Lewis Yablonsky

Power as an element of action is dealt with quite heavily in connection with the sociopathic core member of the violent gang. In the violent gang, "leaders . . . are

characterized by megalomania, strong needs to control."

These needs to control the actions and behavior of others is not by any means confined to the leaders of the gang, but is evident in the membership. "The image of the leader is often exaggerated and glorified by gang members to enhance their own self-concept. There are strong power drives in the violent gang." As we have seen the violent gang is characterized by sociopathic youths who are basically ineffective in their social relationships. The sociopathic personality joins the violent gang because its structure and organization is malleable enough to permit his membership by not demanding adherence to normative patterns characteristic of a normal social group. Because of this, the gang serves as a vehicle for adjusting the gang boys' personal problems and feelings of inadequacy, which cannot be solved outside the context of the gang. Being able to solve these problems within the gang invests the gang with an attribute of power which is not available to the gang boys outside the gang. "The gang helps to provide a sense of power, especially for the gang leader."²⁶²

Power as an element of action is important to the gang leader in both his relations to his members and to other gangs. "Gang leaders conjure up vast networks of gang

alliances to fulfill their own needs and those of their gang's members for power."²⁶³ In many cases these power needs on the part of leaders and members is but a manifestation of their paranoid delusions of persecution and grandeur. The individual comes to believe that the reason that the world is persecuting him is because he holds the ability to command and control vast networks of gang alliances. "In some cases they are attempting to compensate and adjust serious personality disorders through acting in the role of powerful but pseudoleaders."²⁶⁴ In playing the role of the powerful leader, the violent gang leaders "will regress to an earlier life period to act out the 'powerful' role they could not achieve (or were not able to fulfill) when they were young."²⁶⁵ The relationships between the leaders of different gangs can aptly be characterized by the mutual distortion and manipulation of their respective powers. "Gang boys can mutually expand the degree of their shared and highly valued success by reinforcing each other's fantasies of power."²⁶⁶

Drafting is one means by which the violent gang acquires members. In drafting, the leader or the members approach a youth and demand that he become a member of the gang on the threat of bodily harm. "The drafting procedure is essentially a pattern of coercion. Getting another youth

to 'join' or 'belong' becomes an end in itself rather than a means to an end."²⁶⁷ Drafting seems to satisfy many emotional needs of the leader or the member involved, the most important of which seems to be the justification of the power needs on the part of the individual.

Decision-making and Initiation of Action as a Process:
Albert Cohen

Consistent with his emphasis on the interaction between the social system and the delinquent system, Cohen makes no mention of the decision-making or the initiation of action. The only possible exception to this would be in the initial processes of the creation of the delinquent subculture. Since the basic process is that of communication, within which both decision-making and initiation of action are implied, the discussion of Cohen's treatment will be deferred until the discussion of the master process of communication.

Decision-making and Initiation of Action as a Process:
Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin mention decision-making only in the delineation of the delinquent act. They state that it is customary for officials, in making decisions, to distinguish between the behavior of the delinquent and his sentiment in

relation to the system of social rules which he has violated.²⁶⁸ The delinquent act is viewed to be more serious if the sentiments are supporting the action rather than in conflict with it. Also as part of the definitional statement of the delinquent act is the following: " . . . (the delinquent act) evokes a judgement by agents of criminal justice that such norms (the basic norms of society) has been violated."²⁶⁹

In two other minor areas, the concept of decision-making as a process is evident. In both Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin, we recognize a basic assumption to the effect that every group develops criteria of excellence around its basic norms to which the group members are encouraged to refer in framing judgement or in making decisions. In what might be a more central sense, Cloward and Ohlin refer to the process of decision-making in reference to the substitution of the illegitimate opportunity structure for the legitimate. "Having decided that he cannot make it legitimately, he simply cannot choose among an array of illegitimate means, all equally available to him."²⁷⁰

Decision-making and Initiation of Action as a Process:
Lewis Yablonsky

The examination of these two processes would entail the examination of the violent gang in much more extensive level than is attempted by Yablonsky. Yablonsky is more concerned with the spontaneous emergence of the violent gang rather than with the process on an intrasystem level. Concern is directed toward the sociopathic youth and how the violent gang is a malleable structure that is suitable to his needs rather than to the internal dynamics of the violent gang.

Sanctioning

Sanction as an Element and Application of Sanctions as a Process: Albert Cohen

In the discussion of the behavioral content of the delinquent subculture, Cohen identifies the characteristic of group autonomy.²⁷¹ This is a condition to be identified after the subculture emerges from the many individual lines of action and is not to be attributed to the individual in isolation from the group. The characteristic of group autonomy is the "intolerance of restraint except from the informal pressure within the group itself."²⁷² The delinquent sees as legitimate only the delinquent group and does not yield

to restraints or sanctions imposed upon either him or his group from the outside.

It seems to be a truism that any group that runs counter to the normative structure of a larger entity of which, structurally, it is a primary part, will encounter punitive sanctions on the part of the larger system. "Any solution that runs counter to the strong interests or moral sentiments of those around invites punishment or the forfeiture of satisfactions which may be more distressing than the problem with which it was designed to cope."²⁷³

To the extent that the delinquent subculture member still needs the satisfaction and rewards of the social system, another problem of adjustment is engendered. "Our dependence upon our social milieu provides us with a strong incentive to select our solutions from among those already established and known to be congenial to our fellows."²⁷⁴ Sanctions are invoked to the extent that an individual seeks solutions to his problems outside the pale of the socially acceptable; there are powerful incentives not to deviate from the ways established in our groups.

Sanction as an Element and Application of Sanctions as a Process: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin state that the norms "which are challenged by the acts of delinquency are basic to the society and are backed by official sanction. To define delinquency, one must discover the criteria that control decisions to invoke these sanctions."²⁷⁵ "Sanctions are invoked by the agencies of criminal justice when, in their opinion, the interests of the community and of the child compel legal intervention."²⁷⁶

The normative structure of the delinquent subculture acts as a sanction. In their differentiation from the larger society, the subculture has created different beliefs, attitudes, norms, and values which distinguish it from the larger society. Once these elements have become established and have created a peculiar world-view, they are turned back upon the group in the form of norms which "direct and control the behavior of the members."²⁷⁷ The violation of the normative structure of the group will invite the application of sanctions correspondent with the degree of deviance from the norms.

Sanctions need not be viewed in a completely negative sense; it is possible to view rewards and opportunities as

sanctions in a positive sense. All types of societies are "characterized by a limited supply of rewards and opportunities."²⁷⁸ In response to the socially structured situation which results from this fact the individual adopts illegitimate means for the satisfaction of the culturally demanded success-goals.

Facilitating

Facility as an Element and Utilization of Facilities as a Process: Albert Cohen

Defining facility as a "means used within the system to attain the member's ends,"²⁷⁹ it would be possible to concern ourselves with either the material or the nonmaterial aspects of facility or both. If we confine ourselves to the nonmaterial aspect of facility we can see Cohen's interest does not take us explicitly in this direction; in like manner, if we concern ourselves with the material aspect, Cohen does not delineate either their existence or their use. Therefore, what we will do is to imply from a number of statements how certain social objects are used in a manner so as to achieve the actor's ends within a system of social action.

From the point of view of the delinquent system, as it looks at the social system of society, there is a perceived

relationship between status, power, and property. "People of status tend to be people of power and property." This is one of the major dimensions in the delinquent's perceived status problems as he compares himself with his peers in the middle class. " . . . (the parents) have the means to make certain that their children will obtain respect and other rewards which have status significance," would seem to be an adequate characterization of the middle class.²⁸⁰ In comparison, the parents of the working class child have no such means at their disposal. Cohen makes no explicit mention of how these means might be utilized, except possible inferences from the above that the means are status with its concomitants of power and property.

Implied, also, is money.

Parents of good standing in the class system can usually provide their children with money . . . and other material amenities which not only confer status but which also serve as means to activities and relationships that confer status.²⁸¹

The end toward which the actors in both the middle and in the working classes are orientated upon is the attainment of status in the eyes of the middle class. In this sense, status is achieved by the element which status brings with it. Those who have status have the means available to increase their status, while those who do not have status, to the

same degree, do not have the means available to attain status within the system.

From the point of view of the social system, one of the main facilities is the school. The school is one of the main agencies of both social control and socialization into the value structure, belief, and normative patterns characteristic of the dominant social class.

A major function of the schools is to 'promote, encourage, motivate, stimulate,' in brief, reward middle class ambition and conformity to middle class expectations.²⁸²

The culture extols that all strive for the values and goals that the society deems important. The school is one of the major mechanisms by which this cultural mandate is impressed upon the developing child. It is Cohen's belief that the school by the nature of its functional organization is compelled to exhibit and reinforce the value structure of the middle class.²⁸³

From the point of view of the delinquent as he exists in relation to both the subculture and the social system of society, the delinquent subculture can be viewed as a facility in the attainment of his end, status attainment. "The delinquent subculture is a way of dealing with the problems of adjustment."²⁸⁴ The delinquent subculture represents a collective problem solving effort aimed at the attainment of

status. It helps the delinquent to increase his status by redefining the status system in terms of behaviors and expectations of which he is capable. In addition, the subculture aids in the process of alienation from the middle class by aiding in the delinquent catharsis, i.e., the acting out of hostile and aggressive impulses toward the middle class society.

For the child who breaks clean with middle class morality, there are no moral inhibitions on the free expression of aggression against the agents of frustration A subculture owes its existence to the fact that it provides a solution to certain problems of adjustment shared among a community of actors.²⁸⁵

The delinquent subculture represents a facility in the actor's desire to break with middle class morality and achieve status.

Delinquent subcultures are systems of values and beliefs peculiar to the gang world or those segments of the social order in which the gangs are located and that are at variance with the values and beliefs of the larger society.

Within the context of the delinquent subculture, Cohen identifies the "gang" as the embodiment in any specific instance of the beliefs and values of the delinquent subculture. "A gang is a group of young people whose activities are in some way in conflict with the norms and institutions of society." A gang is the specific instance of the delinquent subculture and as such performs for the individual members

many functions which are essential in the insulation of the individual from the society as a whole:

- (1) The gang provides organization and the consequent pooling of efforts in gang activities,
- (2) The gang provides a division of labor for carrying on the conflict with the larger society, and
- (3) The gang provides protection and security for its members by rewarding those who conform to the subculture with loyal friends and recognition.

The functions performed by the gang for its members are not restricted to the delinquent gang, for they are characteristic of all ganging; however, these functions become essentially important because of the conflictual relationship between the delinquent gang and the larger society.²⁸⁶

Facility as an Element and Utilization of Facilities as a Process: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

In connection with the delineation of the criminal subcultural pattern, Cloward and Ohlin state that "one of the best ways of assuring success in the criminal world is to achieve appropriate connections."²⁸⁷ Through their inter-relations with the "right guys" and the "fence" the criminal delinquent develops the appropriate skills, attitudes, beliefs, and values for his successful performance and his absorption into the adult criminal world.

Intermediaries encourage and protect the young delinquent in a criminal way of life by giving him a jaundiced perspective on the private morality of many functionaries in conventional society Through connections

the aspiring criminal validates and assures his freedom of movement in a world made safe for crime.²⁸⁸

What seems to be the most nearly akin to facility as used by the PAS Model are the drugs used by the retreatist subculture. It is through the use of narcotic drugs that the retreatist gains his "expressive, sensual, or consummatory experiences."²⁸⁹

Education has become the principal avenue for upward mobility in most industrial nations. The lack of educational opportunities is one of the basic causes for the lack of social advancement of the working class youth. Because of his lack of educational attainment, a barrier to legitimate opportunity is created. To the extent that the youth perceives this barrier as a function of unjust deprivation imposed upon him by structural conditions, the situation is ripe for the delinquent adaptation. Education is thusly seen as a facility enhancing the actor's chances for the attainment of social advancement. The working class youth perceives that this facility is not available for his use because of his structural position in the social hierarchy.

The delinquent subcultures are conceived by Cloward and Ohlin as facility. In the event that the individual is not able to achieve the cultural success-goals by legitimate means and perceives this failure to be the fault of the

social order, rather than himself, the individual will substitute illegitimate means for the attainment of these goals. One of the major ways in which this illegitimate structure is acquired is through the withdrawal of sentiment from the middle class society.

Facility as an Element and Utilization of Facilities as a Process: Lewis Yablonsky

Yablonsky states that in the violent gang "small arsenals of weapons are discussed and whenever possible accumulated. These caches include switchblades and hunting knives, homemade zip guns, standard guns, pipes, blackjacks, and discarded World War II bayonets and machetes."²⁹⁰ In the social gang and in the delinquent gang goal attainment seems to be dependent upon the internal capacities and capabilities of the individual actors. In the violent gang, we have seen that the sociopath is the characteristic personality type. These youths have a proclivity toward violence and, without their gang, the leaders "appear as a pathetic figure; the loss of their gang leaves the leader almost physically shaken."²⁹¹ The leader of the violent gang is attempting to play out a powerful role that he was either not able to or capable of playing when he was younger. The

facilities used by the gang and its leader are used to fulfill their need for the manipulation of violence and power.

What seems to be the most important facility is, of course, the gang itself. "The gang serves as a vehicle for adjusting the gang boy's personal problems and feelings of inadequacy. The gang helps to provide a sense of power, especially for the gang leader."²⁹² The gang also provides a channel for expression of the aggression related to other emotions and difficulties such as a response to discrimination or an acting out of racial prejudice itself.²⁹³ The gang serves the sociopath as a means to act out his aggressions and hostilities; within the gang, the sentiments can be acted out with a degree of consensual validation. The sociopathic youth who seems to enjoy fighting and violence for its own sake under any conditions uses the violent gang as a vehicle for violent expressions. The violent gang seems to originate in order for the sociopath to adjust individual emotional problems, for reasons of self-protection and defense for channeling aggression, in response to prejudice, because of the peculiar motivations of disturbed leaders or because of a combination of these factors mixed with special external stresses produced by enemy gangs.

There are as many reasons for participation in the violent gang as there are members. Therefore, there are as many uses of the gang as there are reasons for participation. Yablonsky, however, seems to see the gang as a facility in primary connection with the feelings of prejudice and discrimination. In this connection, violent gang activity often provides an outlet for the prejudice condition. Prejudice is seen as one of many negative social forces operative in the disorganized slum. Prejudice first appears in the community to force the family of the minority group members into the disorganized slum. As these groups successively move into the disorganized slum, those groups who already live there and can afford to move do so. These immigrant groups are forced to live in the disorganized slum by virtue of prejudice and discrimination.

Some individual victims of prejudice use the gang vehicle of violence as a direct weapon for getting even. The gang enables youths to use an understandable, socially acceptable pattern (gang warfare) for acting out aggressions that are related to other hostilities and personal difficulties. The gang provides a vehicle through which some youths who are almost paranoid about being victims of prejudice can react to their constant feeling of being discriminated against.²⁹⁴

In another sense, the gang is used as a facility in relationship to the prejudice condition. As we saw under the category of rank, a Negro or a Puerto Rican has a choice of which group he wishes to identify with. The choice is not which group is he actually a member of, rather, which of the two groups will yield the individual the higher status. Yablonsky illustrates this type of facility utilization of a Negro who identifies himself as a Puerto Rican. "The drafter, who was Negro, was trying to dissociate himself from his Negro background by intimating he was a Puerto Rican who hated Negroes. The gang was his vehicle for getting out of a discriminatory 'box' in which society had placed him."²⁹⁵

The gang is used by the sociopath as a means to vent his aggression and hostilities by nature of the fact that it is the only human association to which he can functionally belong. "The violent gang can serve as a social narcotic, a device enabling sociopathic youth to move into unreality and to avoid the anxieties of the normal social responsibilities which they feel ill-equipped to meet."²⁹⁶ The violent gang is a mechanism by which the sociopathic youth can move out of the demands and role expectations of normal social groupings. The sociopathic youth may be suffering from paranoid delusions of persecution and grandeur which have an underlying dynamism

of a need for power or megalomania. "The amorphous quality of violent gang organization provides the possibility for the sociopathic member to perceive the gang, especially its size, in his own particular way and to utilize it for adjusting a variety of individual problems."²⁹⁷ As the sociopathic adaptation becomes hardened the paranoid pseudo-community serves the violent gang member as a means to alleviate his personal inadequacies and emotional problems.

The Comprehensive or Master Processes

Communication: Albert Cohen

Without communication, the creation and the maintenance of the subculture would be doubtful if not impossible.

. . . a subculture owes its existence to the fact that it provides a solution to a certain problem(s) of adjustment shared among a community of individuals.²⁹⁸

The essential element in this statement is not the fact that many individuals have a problem of adjustment; what is central is that these problems are shared. How do these problems become shared?

It is the basic thesis of Cohen's work that the creation of new subcultures presupposes the existence of a communicative relationship between a number of individuals with similar problems of adjustment. "The crucial condition

for the emergence of new cultural forms is the existence, in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment."²⁹⁹ This thesis gives us a clue as to the nature of the problem of status discontent. Cohen does not see status discontent as characterized by the same dimensions within every delinquent individual; the actual content of the problem can be different but only different to the degree that the problem can be solved by the same solution. The essential condition is that the problem be similar enough so that the frustration engendered can be the subject of interpersonal communication. This leads us to assume that "status problems" may be an ideal construction.

The process of communication is not simply a matter of communicating to another that one has status problems and does not think the system just. Such a statement to one who has no such status problem would result in the invocation of punitive sanction. The problem is, how does one communicate discontent with the existing system and at the same time to be careful to whom this communication is directed?

In what seems to be essentially a symbolic interactionist position, Cohen asks the question:

how does one know whether a gesture toward innovation will strike a responsive and sympathetic chord in others or whether it will elicit hostility, ridicule, and punishment?³⁰⁰

Potential concurrence is always "problematical" and innovation or the impulse to innovate a stimulus for anxiety. Cohen's statements in this respect are so cogent that they will be quoted in length.

The paradox (between the need for innovation and the fear of sanctions) is resolved when the innovation is broached in such a manner as to elicit from others reactions suggesting their receptivity; and when, at the same time, the innovation occurs by increments so small, tentative and ambiguous as to permit the actor to retreat, if the signs are unfavorable, without having become committed and identified with an unpopular position. Perhaps all social actions have, in addition to their instrumental, communicative and expressive functions this quality of being exploratory gestures

Each response of the other to what the actor says and does is a clue to the directions in which change may proceed further in a way congenial to the other and to the direction in which change will lack social support. And if the probing gesture is motivated by tensions common to other participants it is likely to initiate a process of mutual exploration and joint elaboration of a new problem . . . The final product is a compromise formation of all the participants to what we may call a cultural process, a formation perhaps unanticipated by any of them The product cannot be ascribed to any one of the participants; it is a real emergent on a group level We may think of this process as one of mutual conversion The acceptability of an idea to oneself depends upon its acceptability to others.³⁰¹

Clearly, Cohen sees the creation of the delinquent subculture as a process of incipient communication resulting in a conservation of gestures by which mutual convergence is achieved. It is in this process by which the group standard is changed in the direction which the actors "possessions" will have

status ascribing characters. "The emergence of these group standards of this shared frame of reference is the emergence of a new subculture."³⁰² The delinquent subculture is a joint creation shared by a multiplicity of actors. The process seems to be parallel to the "autokinetic effect" studied by Sherif.

Both deviance and conformity have at least one element in common; they both emerge in the process of human interaction. In stating that deviant or delinquent behavior is a response to a problem of adjustment or an attempt to reduce a strain, this does not mean to say that the actor conceptualizes a number of different alternatives as a solution to his problem or his strain and then makes a rational decision between them. Cohen sees the break with the normative routine not to be on a conscious and rational basis, but rather on a basis of gestures which are half-conscious, tentative, and groping. The gestures are motivated by normative ambivalence created by the problem of adjustment and strain. The gestures are tentative and noncommittal. Ego wishes to explore with a number of alters, the possibilities of a new solution to certain common strains and problems of adjustment. Whether or not deviant behavior is checked at its inception by punishing gestures on the part of alter, or is facilitated by

rewarding response of alter, the resultant pattern is as much the result of alter's behavior as it is that of ego. The outcome is a cumulative and collective product and the history of the deviant act is the history of an interactional system. The stimulus value of any event depends upon the perspective in which the event is housed; the perspective of the participants in a system change with their experience in that system. "We cannot say that certain events or circumstances are pressure for deviance or against deviance without reference to the stage of the interaction process."³⁰³

Communication: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Very similar to Cohen are Cloward and Ohlin who state that "successful communication and sharing of discontent with others who are similarly situated furnishes social support for and lends stability to whatever pattern of deviant conduct develops."³⁰⁴ It is essential in this process to realize that the establishment of the blame for the experienced failure in the social system of society is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for the creation of subcultural differentiation. The sufficient condition is the "extent to which the actors have successfully communicated to one another the extent of their alienation from established norms and their interest in finding an alternative

collective solution" ³⁰⁵ The position of Cloward and Ohlin is the same as Cohen's. In fact, essential to the presentation of their position is Cohen. ³⁰⁶

Communication: Lewis Yablonsky

Communication as a process is implicit in the structure of the gang war. Yablonsky has stated that gang wars can arise because of such small and insignificant reasons as territory, a bad look, an argument over a girl, or a nasty remark. In and of themselves, these reasons are by no means sufficient to start an all-out battle which may result in homicide; there must be some process occurring between the incident and the gang war event which inflames the emotions of the members to the degree to which they will organize to fight. The sociopathic personality has little social responsibility and little capacity for empathy, so the incident that has happened to another must in some way solve or be the occasion for the individual to vent aggression and hostility. To the sociopath, what happens to another is of little consequence except as it affects himself. The mechanisms by which this information is spread and those by which the member's emotions are fanned are not set forth by Yablonsky. However, implicit in his treatment of the gang war event is the process

of communication. "The gang member's emotions are fanned through interaction and produce a group contagion."³⁰⁷

Although the actual communicative process is not explicitly spelled out, the process is akin to that operative in the collective formation of spontaneous human groupings. "When the group arrived at the store they were greeted by a number of other gang youths who had heard about the evening's expedition through the rumor mill."³⁰⁸ "The rumor mill and a series of assaults and threats demanding that local youths join the Dragons produced a hysterical condition in the neighborhood."³⁰⁹

Boundary Maintenance: Albert Cohen

Cohen alludes to the process of boundary maintenance in the explication of the subcultural characteristic of group autonomy. Cohen cautions us, "it is not the individual delinquent but the gang that is autonomous."³¹⁰ The gang displays hostility toward non-gang peers as well as adults. "Relations with other groups appear to be indifferent, hostile or rebellious."³¹¹ The gang, as an irresistible focus of attraction, loyalty, and solidarity, demands of the gang members the attitudes of in-group solidarity and loyalty and out-group hostility and hatred. This out-group hostility is basically

visited upon the conventional society to which the subculture is a reaction. This out-group attitude effectively insulates the group from pressures or restraint "except from the informal pressures of the group."³¹²

As a result of the out-group hostility generated by the subculture, the natural reaction on the part of society is hostility directed toward the subculture. This vicious circle serves to further heighten the boundary maintenance of the subculture. "To the extent that the new subculture invites the hostility of outsiders, the members of the subculture are motivated to look to one another for those goods and services, those relationships of cooperation and exchange which they once enjoyed with the world outside the group and which have now been withdrawn."³¹³ The hostility of the out-group toward the subculture, serves as a mechanism to validate the adaptation by protecting the 'in-group' from mixed feelings about its way of life.³¹⁴ It seems to be evident that Cohen sees the process of boundary maintenance augmented by the out-group hostility on the part of both the subculture and the social system. "The acquisition of status within the group is accompanied by a loss of status outside the group."³¹⁵

Boundary Maintenance: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin also see the process of boundary maintenance as essential in the study of the delinquent subcultures. In the delineation of beliefs, norms and values, boundary maintenance enters in as the end of action to which these beliefs, norms and values address themselves.

The beliefs and values that the subculture provides are in turn mobilized to support its prescriptions, which become elaborated as a set of norms for directing and controlling the behavior of its members. Descriptions, evaluations, and prescriptions, then, are provided by the subculture and shared as common property by its members.³¹⁶

These elements serve the subculture by creating a sense of "we" feeling among the members. A feeling that those who are not members are in some manner different in attitude, belief, norms, value, and sentiment from the gang. The elements serve a boundary maintenance function.

"Relationships between the bopping (conflict) gang members and the adult world are severely attenuated."³¹⁷

"Subcultural drug-users perceive themselves as culturally and socially isolated from the style of life and everyday preoccupations of members of the conventional world."³¹⁸

In the criminal adaptation there is an intricate link between the subcultural group and the adult criminal world and to the conventional society; these links serve to maintain the

solidarity of the group by providing a situation within which it can exist. "Cool" also best describes the sense of apartness and detachment which the retreatist experiences in his relationships with the conventional world.

As the individual attributes the blame for his failure in aspiration upon the social order rather than himself, he seeks in communication with his fellows a path by which he can achieve what has been denied him. These illegitimate opportunity structures arise in response to this felt need for illegitimate means for achievement. This process of progressive detachment from the social order, is alienation. As this process of alienation is accelerated, the chasm between the offender and those who would control and reform him grow wider and deeper. Alienation is thusly seen to have boundary maintaining effects of isolating the delinquent subculture from the conventional society. As this process of alienation increases concomitant is the increase in group solidarity and the sense of mutual dependence. They learn to define more closely those who are friendly or hostile to their activities.³¹⁹

Boundary Maintenance: Lewis Yablonsky

Boundary maintenance can be seen as operative in the relationships between the delinquent gang and the violent gang and their relationships to the drug addict. Yablonsky believes that most drug addicts are social isolates and "their human relations have limited group characteristics."³²⁰ The drug addict, with rare exception, is concerned with the kicks from the last shot and with the acquisition of the money for the next shot. His relationships with the delinquent gang are severely attenuated because the addicted personality "is unreliable and may hinder rather than help in 'pulling a job.'" The relationships with the violent gang are severely strained because through drugs he is getting his kicks in a new fashion. The only relationship that exists between the violent gang and the addict is that many youths become addicts when "the violent gang is no longer available or suitable to them as a compensatory vehicle." It seems that the flux characteristic of the addict's life condition allows for no stability of group formation. "Drug addicts, as social isolates, may be in some physical proximity to each other, but their lack of ability to relate even minimally makes a social group almost impossible."³²¹

Yablonsky, in his discussion of the change from community to the disorganized slum, states that one of the characteristics concomitant with this shift was the creation of an adult youth schism. This schism is characterized by "the breakdown of a meaningful relationship between violent gang youths and the only adults who have even a minimal interest in them." The underlying cause for this situation is basically because the youth and the adult live in two entirely different worlds. When the behavior of children is incomprehensible to adults and when adults are not able to make what they do or what they think comprehensible to children, conflict and stresses are created within the family. In both personal relationships and in communicative understanding, the relationship between the adults and the youth is severed and the emotions and understandings of the two groups serve to keep them separate. "This negative attitude displaced onto all adults, partly as a result of specific experiences and conclusions derived from primary relationships with their own parents, often takes an aggressive or violent form." "In reverse of the gang youth's feeling about adults, the adult's generalized perception of the gang youth is often emotional and stereotyped. To many adults any youth becomes a disturbing representation of

their own parental neglect."³²² This schism is important in the organization of the violent gang.

The adult youth schism is relevant in our consideration in the generation of the violent gang structure. Because of this dislocation between the adult and the youth a function gap is produced in the social structure. The individual who spends most of his time with the gang and his peers has no opportunity to learn the normative structure which is demanded by the over-all adult society.

Systemic Linkage: Albert Cohen

"No group can live entirely unto itself. To some extent the group may be compelled to improvise an arrangement for obtaining services from the outside world." The type of behavior constellations that the subculture exhibits, the services that it requires from the outside world are those of protection for its criminalistic activities. "The fix arises to provide for the underworld that protection which is afforded to legitimate business by the formal legal system" ³²³

Systemic Linkage: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin see the process of systemic linkage as central in their conceptualization of the criminal

subculture. Without the integration of age levels of offenders and the integration of values between the carriers of criminal and conventional roles, the criminal subculture could not arise.

"Criminal behavior presupposes patterned sets of relationships through which the requisite values and skills are communicated or transmitted from one age-level to another."³²⁴ This integration of age levels serves the delinquent in two ways, (1) it establishes criminal role models after which the criminalistic delinquent can pattern his behavior, and (2) the integration of age levels establishes environments for the learning and performance of the criminal role.

In the integrated area, those adults who have achieved success by illegitimate means not only are highly visible to young people but often are willing to establish intimate relationships with these youths. As we have previously seen, success-goals are not equally available to persons in different positions in the social structure. To the extent that social strata, conventional success-models are not salient or available for the working class youth. The successful criminal may be an intimate, personal friend and figure in the social fabric of the working class life. This integration between the successful criminal and the youth in the working class

area creates an illegitimate opportunity structure for the attainment of legitimate cultural success-goals.³²⁵

The central process in the learning process is the integration of different age levels of offenders. Learning alone does not assure that the individual can or will perform the role for which he has been prepared. The social structure must also support the actual performance of the role. In the integrated area, the child has an opportunity to actually perform illegitimate roles because such activity finds support in the immediate social environment. Learning, to be effective, must be accompanied by both social support and the possibilities for role enactment.³²⁶

In accordance with most criminological theory, Cloward and Ohlin state their belief as to the essential linkage between the conventional and the illegitimate worlds in the creation and maintenance of the criminal role.

. . . unless the carriers of criminal and conventional values are closely bound to one another, stable a criminal roles cannot develop. The criminal must establish relationships with all categories of persons, all of whom contribute in one way or another to the successful performance of criminal activity.³²⁷

As the youth develops skills and dexterity in the role performance, we would expect him to develop ever-widening contacts with the carriers of criminalistic values and semi-legitimate values.

Basically, the process of systemic linkage between the working class youth and the adult criminal world and the adult semi-legitimate world is mandatory for the criminal subculture to be created. "The type of environment that encourages a criminal orientation among delinquents is characterized by close integration of the carriers of conventional and illegitimate values."³²⁸ To this is added the integration of various age levels of offenders and the availability of criminalistic learning and performance structures.

The degree of articulation between age levels, learning and performance structures, and the carriers of legitimate and illegitimate values characterizes the criminalistic environment. When such systemic linkage is not possible in the environment, the conflict subculture will emerge. This is the "socially unorganized" area or the un-integrated slum.³²⁹ When the individual has failed to secure success-goals by legitimate means and has failed in this attempt by illegitimate means also, either because of the lack of an integrated area or because of internalized definitions inhibiting the use of illegitimate means, the resultant adaptation is the retreatist.³³⁰ Systemic linkage, as a characteristic defining whether an area is integrated or not, is a basic determinant in the type of delinquent adaptation chosen.

Another example of systemic linkage is illustrated by the retreatist subculture. Retreatism is often assumed to be an isolated adaptation, characterized by a breakdown in social relationships with others. To the degree that such is the case, it is properly discussed under boundary maintenance. Cloward and Ohlin, however, see the retreatist as more appropriately characterized by affiliation with others in order to attain the drugs for consumption. "The drug user must become affiliated with others, if only to secure access to a steady supply of drugs."³³¹ This need is alleviated by the linkage between the criminal and the retreatist in the function of supplier and consumer. This will be further dealt with under the socialization of the drug user.

Systemic linkage between the subcultures is the determining factor in the relative stability and resistance to change of the various subcultures.

The criminal subculture typically exhibits the greatest resistance to change, since it is integrated with one other delinquent subculture and is characterized internally by considerable integration of different age levels of participant. The retreatist subculture is moderately resistant to change, for it is integrated internally and with the criminal subculture. The conflict subculture appears to be integrated in neither of these respects and therefore is the most susceptible to outside influences for change.³³²

The resistance to change is determined by the degree of integration of the subculture and of age grades and values within the subculture. This integration is determined by the degree of systemic linkage of the area.

Systemic Linkage: Lewis Yablonsky

In the social gang, the relationships with society are quite closely intertwined. The social gang operates essentially within the normative structure of the larger society. "The social gang is closely associated with and acts in terms of the values of the larger society." These youths are concerned with the community and perhaps are even members in local community activities and organizations. "These youths are most closely influenced and involved with norms and values of the more inclusive society; the social gang is in the form least dissociated from the over-all society."³³³

In the delinquent gang, the systemic linkage between them and society is by no means as close as it is in the social gang. In the delinquent gang, membership in other gangs is viewed only as a sideline; sometimes these youths are members of violent gangs but the delinquent gang holds their basic allegiance. "Participation in other gangs is more of a sideline, since their basic allegiance and life

direction is hinged to acting out within the delinquent gang for profit-making objectives."³³⁴ The delinquent gang is a highly boundary maintaining entity.

In the violent gang, relationships with the larger society are severely attenuated. The only relationship that the violent gang has with other entities is with brother gangs. "Affiliations are made with brother gangs who are allies one day and enemies the next, according to the whims of the disturbed gang members and leaders."³³⁵ Sometimes this alliance with brother gangs is true in reality but oftener these interrelationships are conjured up in the minds of the gang leaders to fulfill their own needs and those of their gang members for power and a sense of security. These brother gangs are used as means to impress enemies and to give the members themselves a sense of security. These alliances are usually fantasies derived from the sense of power underlying the leaders' paranoid delusions of grandeur and persecution.

Institutionalization: Albert Cohen

Normally, we consider things such as delinquency, dope addiction, and prostitution as symptoms of a pathological personality disturbance, however, Cohen believes that they

must be considered as an integral aspect of the structure of social systems.³³⁶ Deviant behavior is not in and of itself, disorganized.

According to Cohen, the game is to be taken as the paradigm of an ongoing activity in an interactive or communicative system. The game consists of a designated set of events which are perceived by the actors as belonging together and jointly constituting one thing. To determine whether or not a game of a particular kind is in progress, we must enter the actor's point of view and use his criteria for defining when that particular kind of game is in progress. These game criteria are all given by the rules of the game, which designate certain classes of events and state the standards of assigning events to these classes. All actions which can be similarly classified on the basis of the game criteria are considered to be game events and may include both actions of the actors and events in the situation. Rules specified a certain order among game events and for the game to be considered in progress, the events must conform to this order. If the constitutive order of events has been interrupted the game is disorganized; the constitutive order has been breached. The rules of the game have been violated.

The rules of the game can be aptly considered as definitional statements, i.e., the rules tell us whether what

we are doing is part of a given game. Violation of these rules or institutionalized expectations if they are covered by the rules of the game need not necessarily be considered a breach in the constitutive order; they are still game events.

Deviant behavior is not definable by the same rules of the game that define game events and therefore must not be considered part of the constitutive order of game events. Since deviant behavior is not definable by the same rules that define game events, it cannot be considered part of the game and hence cannot be considered as disorganized relative to the game in question.

What has been herein stated for games can be considered valid for nongame events also; however, in nongame activities the constitutive rules are not so explicit and clearly defined and may not command the same degree of personal involvement and commitment. Any activity consists of a number of elements which have rules and constitutive order and is subject to disorganization on its own terms. Disorganization of one of these elements does not inevitably spell disorganization of the constitutive order that defines the more inclusive activity. In a perfectly organized and integrated society, all activities would be so organized that every

event in one activity would be a possible event in all other or would help to create the conditions necessary for the continuity of the other activities. In every viable social system, there must be some approximation to this state of affairs.

Social disorganization is definable as the disruption or the threatening of the constitutive order of ongoing activity. Disorganization is a breach of the constitutive rules that define those activities that are part of the ongoing set of affairs. Therefore, disorganization arises when the situation that the participants confront cannot be defined as a system of events or when there is no clear definition of the constitutive possibilities of action. Disorganization also arises when the actors are not motivated to play, when their values, interest, and aims are not integrated with the requirements for continuity of the interaction system.

Deviant behavior that exists outside of a constitutive order and that is not definable or controllable by the rules of that order cannot be considered to constitute disorganized activity. Deviant activity that is operative within the constitutive order and that constitutes a breach in the order of ongoing events constitutes social disorganization.³³⁷

Institutionalization: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin do not specifically or implicitly deal with this master process. However, it is obvious the way in which it could be used would be agreeable with both positions. Delinquency can be seen, from the point of view of the social system, as the attempt to break with the institutionalized social order. It is deviance from the institutionalized manner in which behavioral enactment is expected of alter by ego as a result of his position in the social order. From the point of view of the delinquent system, the creation of the delinquent subculture is the process of alienating oneself from a frustrating situation and institutionalizing new definitions of criteria by which to be judged. From the former's point of view, delinquency is the break with tradition to such a degree so as to be adjudicated a threat to the social order. From the latter's point of view, delinquency is a means by which new criteria of comparison can be institutionalized.

Institutionalization: Lewis Yablonsky

In reacting to Cloward and Ohlin's retreatist subculture, Yablonsky is essentially discussing the process of institutionalization. His criticism is directed toward the

fact that the "retreatist subculture of the addict is simply not a gang in any sense; the retreatist subculture is not institutionalized. According to Yablonsky the culture of the addict "is highly individualized with few group implications." The addict is not interested in participation in any type of gang; his concern is directed toward the kicks from his last shot and the accumulation of the money for his next. "Drug addicts, as social isolates, may be in some physical proximity to each other, but their lack of ability to relate even minimally makes a social group almost impossible."³³⁸ The institutionalization of the addict culture is not possible because of his individualized concern and his inability to relate to others even on a minimal human level.

In the social gang, institutionalization is seen to be quite important and a central characteristic of the gang. "The social gang has considerable permanence. Its members often grow up together on the same block and develop permanent lifelong friendships that continue when they leave the 'corner' and move into adult-life patterns."³³⁹ The social gang seems to be the type of gang that most middle class youths are exposed to. The social gang persists through both time and space and hence exhibits a high degree of institutionalization.

The delinquent gang is institutionalized but not as highly as is the social gang. In this type of gang institutionalization is illustrated by the "tight primary group structure." These gangs have some degree of duration and lasting structure; members which are arrested or removed by various reasons are often replaced.³⁴⁰ The institutionalization of this type of gang is not based upon comradeship as is the social gang; the delinquent gang seems to be institutionalized around skill in illegal profit making activities.

Of the three gangs considered by Yablonsky, the violent gang is the least institutionalized. The nature and the organization of the violent gang "shifts with the needs of its members and is always in a state of flux." The gang is a facility for acting out the many and varied personalized problems of each of the members. This use of the gang is made possible by the nature of this organization; if the violent gang were more highly structured and organized, the sociopathic youth would not be able to become a member and would not be able to project his personal difficulties into gang concerns. "Violent gangs appear to emerge spontaneously, without any special plan. There is seldom a systematic development of the gang's organization."³⁴¹

Because of the means by which the gang is used by the violent gang boys, Yablonsky asserts that the violent gang can be described as neither a mob nor as an organized and institutionalized social group. It is his belief that the violent gang is most adequately described as a near group. The near group conception of the violent gang is based on a continuum of human collectives ranging from "an organized, cohesive collective of persons interacting around shared functions and goals for some period of time" (a normal social group) to "a collection of individuals generally characterized by anonymity, spontaneous leadership, motivated and ruled by momentary emotion" (a mob or a crowd). "Because no existing 'group' conceptions seem suitable for describing the violent gang, the following formulation is constructed to delineate its organization; this sociological category will be referred to as a near group."³⁴²

The near group stands midway on the mob-group (organized-unorganized) continuum. It is differentiated from other collectivities that are temporarily midway because it has some degree of permanence or homeostatis as a near group. A cohesive group may be partially disorganized for a period of time but it is in a state of 'becoming' either organized or disorganized. The violent gang as a near group consistently maintains its partial state of organization.

The violent gang as an ideal-type near group structure involves most of the following characteristics:

- 1) Participants are usually sociopathic personalities
- 2) The gang is a compensatory paranoid pseudocommunity, and serves as a more socially desirable adjustment pattern than other pathological syndromes available in the community
- 3) Individualized roles fit the emotional needs of the members
- 4) Definition of membership is diffuse
- 5) Behavior is emotionally motivated
- 6) Group cohesiveness decreases as one moves from the center to the periphery
- 7) Limited responsibility and social ability are required for membership
- 8) Leadership is self-appointed and sociopathic
- 9) There is a limited consensus among participants in the collectivity as to its functions or goals
- 10) There is a shifting and personalized stratification system
- 11) Membership is in flux
- 12) Fantasy membership is included in the size of the collectivity
- 13) There is a limited consensus of normative expectations
- 14) Norms and behavior patterns are often in conflict with the inclusive social system's prescriptions
- 15) Interaction within the collectivity and toward³⁴³ the outer community is hostile and aggressive.

There is a paucity of available theory, based on empirical evidence, concerning the structure and function of the gang. Reviewing the available concepts available for the description and analyzation of different types of groups, Yablonsky states that his "research revealed that these collectivity constructs (groups, mobs, and crowds) were not adequate to describe and properly abstract the underlying structural characteristics of the delinquent gang."³⁴⁴

In the sociological literature, however, most of the gang studies start out with the tacit assumption that the delinquent gang can be adequately characterized as exhibiting group properties; sociological theory suffers from the distortion that occurs when group properties and group structure are visited upon a collectivity that is not a group. The violent gang is neither a "cohesive integrated group nor a disturbed malfunctioning mob."³⁴⁵ Yablonsky coins the term "near group" to describe this collective structure.

This projection of the properties and structures of a group upon the violent gang can be illustrated in the case of the detached gang worker. In the detached gang worker programs, a professional, usually a sociologist, psychologists, or a social worker, attempts to contact a gang in their milieu and direct their delinquent patterns into more socially constructive channels. These workers approach the gang with the assumption that its structure approximates that of various other groups. This attitude or method of attack of projecting group structure onto a group will tend to inject the gang with elements of group structure.

Detached gang workers deal with gang collectivities as if they were organized like other groups and social organizations. By projecting these group properties onto the gang gives the gang structure and functions which it does not have. However, these expectations often result in a self-fulfilling prophecy.³⁴⁶

Socialization: Albert Cohen

In contradistinction to the positions that take the existence of the delinquent subculture as a datum, as something that already exists in the environment of the child, Cohen takes as his purpose to account for the delinquent subculture itself, irrespective of the ways it is taken over by the child, i.e., irrespective of the process of indoctrination or socialization. But as we will see he is logically compelled to deal with socialization.

"To some degree, the position of the family in the social structure, particularly its status vis-a-vis other families, determines the experiences and the problems which all members of the family will encounter in their dealings with the world outside the family."³⁴⁷ Through the process of socialization, the family has its effect on the resultant personality structure of the individual and concomitantly, the frame of reference through which the individual views his social world.

Conformity comes easily when the child has internalized these norms (the middle class norms) because he has grown up in a world in which example, precept and reward have always emphasized them and when training has equipped him with the necessary skills and habits. It comes hard when his world of adult intimates does not so consistently exemplify these values or include the necessary skills. The middle class home is more likely than is the working class home, to train the child to compete successfully for status³⁴⁸

The social classes are "training grounds" for the acquisition of skills and behaviors that will enable one to successfully compete against all comers for status. The middle class prepares its members more effectively than do the working class for this comparison. This preparation is accomplished by the process of socialization.

Socialization is another determinant of one's ability to come out ahead in the search for status. Because the standards of comparison are those of the middle class, it is natural for them to come out ahead for it is to these norms that they have been socialized. The working class has been socialized in an environment where the middle class standard has become severely attenuated.

The basic thesis of Cohen's major work is that the working class boy has been frustrated in his status aspirations; this failure to attain status in the eyes of the middle class culture presents the working class boy with a genuine problem of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture is a response. However, to the extent that middle class delinquency also is subcultural and fits the description of working class delinquency, it throws into question the basic thesis of the book.

The explanation we have offered assumes that the delinquent subculture is the outgrowth of conditions which are typically working class. If it should turn out that the same phenomena can flourish independently of those conditions, it would strongly suggest that those conditions are not necessary even in the working class.³⁴⁹

Cohen states two possible solutions to the problem of whether subcultural delinquency is a result of conditions peculiar to the working class. First, it would be possible to find the circumstances, which according to the theory, give rise to the delinquent subculture in families that from the standpoint of purely economic criteria would be considered middle class. Cohen, reminds us that it is not the economic position of the family concerned that will determine whether or not there will be a delinquent response, the determining variable is the socialization experiences which the child experiences. In families that are socially defined as working class, it is entirely possible for them to be middle class in terms of the culture and the socialization experiences they give their children. Conversely, families who are middle class in terms of income and occupation may be decidedly working class in terms of the experiences that they provide their children. Second, it is also possible that the delinquent subculture arises in both the working and middle class in response to functionally equivalent set of conditions.

This is the view that life in the middle class can generate pressure, strains, or problems of adjustment which are different from those of the working class but to which the delinquent subculture offers solutions which are appropriate. "We do not regard this a probable because it is one of the lessons of modern social contexts; seldom does a pattern, "tailor-made" to fit the characteristic life-problems of one group, fit, without alteration, the problems of another." The theoretical expectation would be that middle class delinquency would be a qualitatively different response to qualitatively different phenomena arising in different contexts.³⁵⁰

Talcott Parsons offers us another possibility as to the solution of the question of middle class delinquency. Parsons' theory is intended to explain delinquency in general, however, Cohen sees Parsons' theory as a possible "key to the understanding of middle class delinquency, (for) it seems that the circumstances to which he attributes delinquency are most marked in the middle class."³⁵¹

Parsons sees delinquency as a function of the relative access to which the child has to enter into relationships with the like sexed parent. However, in American homes the mother is the most important agent for socialization and the transmission of the traditional normative structure.

Because of the father's preoccupation with a job of which the child is likely to have little awareness or understanding and because the father spends long hours in its pursuit, the child is likely to perceive the mother as the sole source of morality, discipline, and as the only available object of identification. This condition is true for both sexes, however, its repercussions are different. For the girl this situation is just as it should be for the girl is expected to grow up and pattern their behavior after their mothers; for the boy the situation is a difficult one, because the expectations of his role define his behaviors as manly. Both children have developed under a predominately feminine model upon which to identify. For the girl, this situation is consonant with later expectations and demands; for the boy the situation is highly dissonant with later expectations and demands. The boy has not been able to develop the self-concept that he is a representative and recognizable specimen of his sex. The boy rebel against all impulses to be anything like his mother or which could be possibly identified with the feminine sex and to exaggerate all those traits which set him apart from the other sex.

Cohen cites two reasons why the masculine role identification is not as difficult for the working class child

as it is for the middle class child.³⁵² First of all, the probability that the child has an opportunity to see his father in his occupational role and that the role will be understandable and meaningful to him is higher in the working class than in the middle class. The time that the working class father spends at home is likely to be relatively greater than his middle class counterpart and the activities that he engages in are likely to be visibly masculine which sharply contrast to those of the mother. In addition, the neighborhood of the working class child is likely to be a mixture of residential-industrial-commercial in which the child has the opportunity to see the men at their occupations and thereby build up definitions of masculinity. The working class child is more likely than is the middle class child to have his sex role and distinctive patterns of behavior that go with it clearly defined for him. The parents of the working class boy consistently reward him for assuming characteristically masculine behavior. It could be assumed that the working class boy will assume an earlier sex role identification and to have a lesser degree of anxiety concerning his masculinity. The working class boy is less likely to "resort to badness" simply as a device to prove to himself and the world that he is really masculine.³⁵³

Cohen suggests another problem which for the middle class youth will create additional sources of sex role confusion, this is the problem of the prolonged dependence of the youth upon the parents in the middle class. For the middle class youngster, the period between adolescence and independence is much briefer than is characteristic in the middle class. If the working class youth acquires a job and contributes to the family income, he is looked upon in the same light as in the father; he is also a breadwinner. Such would not be the case in the middle class where the child's earnings are not regarded as essential but rather as aspects of his training. Not only must the child in the middle class overcome an early feminine identification and prove his maleness; even the opportunities to assume the legitimate signs of maleness are denied him.³⁵⁴

Our society provides no well defined roles for adolescence, a period where establishing personal identity becomes crucial. With the weakening of the deferred gratification pattern, the choice among alternatives as the boy seeks to fill his status void is more likely to become a delinquent choice. Denied respectable, responsible, adult status, he tends to symbolize his adulthood by irresponsible hedonically oriented behavior.³⁵⁵

In response to a criticism by Wilensky and Lebeaux that the anxiety about male identity is greater in the lower class, the delinquent subculture is determined both by status anxiety and sex role anxiety while the middle class

subculture is determined by anxiety about being a man, Cohen suggests that "as a result of changes in the structure of our economy, labor market, and school system, the traditional deferred gratification pattern of the middle class is breaking down."³⁵⁶ To the extent that such is the case, it would throw doubt upon the masculine protest of the middle class boy as a variable in the creation of delinquency.

Socialization: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin view the process of socialization from the point of view of the subculture while Cohen dealt with socialization essentially from the point of view of the social system. Since, as we have seen, the delinquent subculture is normatively defined, it follows that those individuals who become members must undergo some semblance of the process of socialization. These authors believe that socialization is essential to the process by which the individual takes over the subculture's beliefs, values, and sentiments.

While being inducted into the subculture, the new member encounters and learns ways of describing the world about him which equips him to engage in prescribed activities, enabling him to understand, discriminate, predict, and interpret the actions of others in relation to himself as a member of the subculture. These characteristic descriptions acquire the force of belief which are passed on as part of the subcultural tradition and shared as common property by its members³⁵⁷

Because of the extreme efficiency with which this process is accomplished, the member exhibits an "intractable and apparently consciousnessless behavior; the absence of guilt feelings and a stubborn resistance to correction have earned such offenders the label of psychopath."³⁵⁸

In relation to subcultural differentiation, we find other evidences of the process of socialization. Remembering back to the section on systemic linkage, it was seen that the criminal subculture required for its maintenance and stability, the integration of age levels of offenders, integration of the carriers of conventional or semi-conventional roles with carriers of criminal roles, and the existence of criminal learning and performance environments. All these factors can be seen as mechanisms whereby the process of criminalistic socialization takes place. These elements help in the creation, maintenance, and stability of the criminal adaptation.

In regard to the retreatist subculture, again we see the necessity of socialization. "In order for a person to begin marihuana use, he must begin participation in some group through which these sources of supply become available to him." As the individual proceeds, he is defined as more trustworthy and reliable and hence becomes linked with the

sources of supply. The drug user must be understood "not only in terms of his personality and social structure, which create a readiness to engage in drug use, but also in terms of the new patterns of association and values to which he is exposed as he seeks access to drugs."³⁵⁹

Socialization: Lewis Yablonsky

The sociopathic personality is seen as the result of a defective process of socialization. "The youth most susceptible to violent gang membership emerges from a social milieu that trains him inadequately for assuming constructive social roles."³⁶⁰ The sociopath lacks a social conscience toward all others to whom he relates. He lacks the ability to apply the moral standards of society to his behavior. Basically, the sociopath lacks the social self that characterizes the social human beings in his social relationships.

This adequate social self is "developed from a consistent pattern of interaction with another in a normative socialization process."³⁶¹ The other is usually a parent or an adequate adult-role model from whom the youth can learn social feelings of compassion and sympathy. Such others necessary for adequate socialization are absent from the social environment of youths growing up in the disorganized slum. Because of the lack of significant adult role models, the

youth becomes "unable to experience the pain of the violence he may inflict on another since he does not have the ability to identify or empathize with any other."³⁶² Because of the lack of an adequate socialization process, the youth is capable of committing spontaneous acts of violence without feeling concern or guilt.

Socialization as a process is also discussed in connection with the delinquent gang. Yablonsky states that the behavior characteristics of the delinquent gang is due to the fact that the normative structure to which they adhere is at variance with the norms of the larger society. The basic factor underlying which of the two normative structures, legitimate and illegitimate, one adheres to is seen to be the adequacy of the socialization process. "Their delinquency is more a reflection of being socialized into accepting delinquent patterns for behavior, rather than a reflection of emotional disturbance."³⁶³

Socialization is also considered in its relationship to the disorganized slum. "The nature of the disorganized slum, with its vacuum of social control and expectations, is a breeding group for the development of the sociopathic youth who finds the malleable, shifting violent gang a convenient pattern for adjustment." Yablonsky finds that the

breakdown of the adequate functioning of socialization and control is largely the result of the demise of parental control. Because of the lack of adequate parental control in the disorganized slum, the personality type of the youth that emerges from this area is due to the deficient nature of the socialization process. The youth is insufficiently trained in the assumption of and the playing of adequate social roles. There are many reasons behind this lack of adequate parental control. Yablonsky states that the problems which face the parents of gang youth occupy most of their time, leaving them with little time to socialize their children. "The parents of any gang youth beset with the problems of trying to find his way in a new, transient, and difficult world have little time to properly socialize the child."³⁶⁴ As a result of this situation in their environment, there is created a functional gap in the social structure between the adults and the youth. "The gang youth who spends most of his time with his peers has no relevant means for learning the normative adult behavior patterns dictated and expected by the over-all society."³⁶⁵

Yablonsky, in his discussion of the relationship between socialization, the sociopathic personality and the violent gang, sees a process of increasing alienation and

and separation from the legitimate community. This process begins with the social conditions in the disorganized slum that lead to the functional gap between the adult and the youth. This break in meaningful relationships increases the deficiency of the socialization process. As this inefficiency in socialization increases, the sociopathic youth feels progressively alienated and disassociated from the ongoing process of societal function. Two paranoid patterns of self protection develop in reaction to the world around them. These patterns become functional in shifting the responsibility of guilt from themselves to those around them. "Indications of being persecuted are seized upon and enable the sociopathic youth to shift the responsibility from himself to society."³⁶⁶ As this process continues and the adaptation hardens, the paranoid pseudocommunity of the violent gang is formed. In the violent gang, the perceptions and sentiments directed toward the world become functional in alleviating personal inadequacies and problems.

Social Control: Albert Cohen

Cohen believes that the solution to the problem of delinquency lies in the structural characteristics of the situation. But the question arises as to which "of the

features and circumstances of the social system are involved in the production of the delinquent subculture, which are subject to deliberate control?" The basic question implied in the above is, how can we enable the working class male to strive for status more effectively in terms of the middle class standards of evaluation? The answer to such a question calls for "reasoned and disciplined inquiry into the causes, and a sensitivity to the diverse values which may be at stake."³⁶⁷

Social Control: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin identify the process of social control as it exists in the criminal subculture. In his functional relationship to the youth, the fence is a crucial element in the illegitimate opportunity structure. In his relationship to the youth, as middleman, "he may exert controls leading the young to orient their stealing in the most lucrative and least risky directions."³⁶⁸ In a sense, the fence performs both a function for himself and for the child. For himself, his control of the behavior of the youth will lead to the enrichment of his financial position. For the child, the fence performs the function of teaching the ways and the definitions of crime and provides him with stable performance structures that are not liable to legal intervention.

In another sense, social control is visited upon the delinquent. Because of the youth's desire to be accepted into the adult criminal world, he displays behaviors that seem, from the point of view of the adult criminal world, to be over-dramatized and over-conformed. These behaviors function for the youth to demonstrate his eligibility for inclusion. "Once the delinquent has successfully demonstrated his eligibility for acceptance by persons higher in the criminal structure, social controls are exerted to suppress undisciplined, expressive behavior; there is no place in organized crime for the impulsive, unpredictable individual."³⁶⁹

Social control is alleged to in the discussion of the emergence of the illegitimate opportunity structure. As the individual ties his commitment to and tries to succeed by legitimate means and fails, and attributes this failure to the social system rather than to himself, a situation of anxiety and frustration is created. "Precisely when frustrations are maximized, social controls are weakened; social controls and channels to success-goals are generally positively correlated."³⁷⁰ Where opportunity exists so too do social controls; where opportunities are non-existent, social controls will also tend to be lacking. The absence of social controls facilitates the adoption of the illegitimate opportunities.

One of the few times that the process of social control is mentioned specifically with reference to the gang itself in its relations to its members is in connection with either criminal or conflict gangs vis-a-vis the retreatist. "Adolescent gangs usually devalue drug use and impose negative sanction upon those who become 'hocked.'"³⁷¹

Social Control: Lewis Yablonsky

The breakdown in social controls is characteristic of the disorganized slum. One of the circumstances which negatively affects the proper socialization of the child in the disorganized slum is the breakdown of the old social controls without adequate substitution of other social forces that would tend to curb deviance. The devices of social control "are the basic devices for maintaining human behavior within expected social boundaries and are of special significance for controlling the behavior of relatively unsocialized youths."³⁷² With the absence of parental control in the disorganized slum, the elements of social control are those societal forces containing the behavior of individuals within socially acceptable limits.

Yablonsky sees the underlying causes of this breakdown of social control to be (1) the parents of the violent gang youth do not measure up adequately to the 'idealized' parental images projected to the youth by the media of mass

communication, and (2) the breakdown of the feeling of family honor on the part of the youth.³⁷³ A youth whose parents do not measure up adequately with those of the mass media may be expected to manifest a dissatisfaction with the performance of their parents. "The parents will seldom equal the idealized images created in the ads, the movies or television plays. The youth exposed to the new models of parents may on a covert level be dissatisfied in his new situation with parents who might have appeared adequate to him in the former community." In this situation, the youth may confront the parents with disenchantment or indifference because of their inability to fulfill the parental role as the child conceptualizes it. Another factor of social control that diminishes in the new urban condition is the force of family honor. In the older community, the family name may have had a distinction or prestige; in the new urban condition, the prestige of the family name is absent or associated with low social prestige. "The youth who formerly took pride in his family name and its honor is deprived of another possible social control."³⁷⁴

The absence of element of social control helps provide a fertile milieu for producing the type of asocial individual who gravitates toward violent gang structures.

The youth can commit a crime of violence in one block and disappear into another block where no one knows him or cares what he has done. The demands of the violent gang are minimal; this plus the nature of the disorganized slum, with its "vacuum of social control and expectation, is a breeding ground for the development of the sociopathic youth who finds the violent gang a convenient pattern of adjustment."³⁷⁵

Conditions of Social Action

Territoriality: Albert Cohen

Other than implicitly realizing that the action of the delinquent gang must take place in space, there is no specific mention of territoriality made by Cohen.

Territoriality: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin also make little use of this condition. If these two authors were concentrating on the relationship between gangs rather than between the subculture and the social system, there would be a use of territoriality that is extremely important. "Turf" is used by the delinquent gang as a facility for prestige allocation for both individuals and for the gang who holds the "turf."

Territoriality: Lewis Yablonsky

The most important use of the condition of territoriality by Yablonsky is in the discussion of the physical area from which the violent gang and its members come. In this context, Yablonsky states that in the consideration of slum areas there are two possible "ideal types" that can be isolated, the stable and the disorganized slum.

In the stable slum there is a sense of community. The territory occupied and controlled by the gang is not simply a thin rationale for a fight as it is today for the violent gang; it meant something to a youth and his gang, his neighborhood was not only important to him, it was part of his identity. This slum area is a community with some type and degree of community and cohesion. The types of gangs that emerge from this community are the social and the delinquent gangs. "The rate of delinquency seems to be affected by the movement from the stable slum to the disorganized slum."³⁷⁶

The disorganized slum is most aptly characterized as a community of strangers. The people live in unbearably close physical contact in a vacuum of meaningful human relationships. "The violent gang emerging from this type of asocial community forms a bizarre replica of the community that spawned it."³⁷⁷ The social forces operative in the disorganized

slum are such as to create conditions fertile for the emergence of the sociopathic personality. These forces are the rural-urban transition, the adult-youth schism, and the breakdown of social controls.

Size: Albert Cohen, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Again there is no specific mention of this condition by the authors. But we can assume if it were used it would be as a means of prestige; the larger the gang in terms of both size and the amount of territory it commands would be directly related to the amount of prestige bestowed upon the gang by the relevant social structure.

Size: Lewis Yablonsky

In his discussion of the delinquent gang, Yablonsky states that this gang is usually a "tight clique."³⁷⁸ Because of the cohesive nature of this entity, which is demanded for its illegal pursuits, it must be a small mobile gang that can steal with maximum effectiveness. Therefore, the size of this gang must be kept small so that maximum effectiveness can be maintained. The small and cohesive nature of the delinquent gang is necessary if it is to remain successful in its activities.

Size as a condition of social action is utilized by the actors in the violent gang to compensate for the feelings of inadequacy and personal inferiority. "gang members and leaders project and perpetuate a myth of vast networks of gang affiliations in part to compensate for their insecure feelings and low self-concepts."³⁷⁹ By exaggerating the actual size of the gang and its affiliations the leaders attempt to convince each other and themselves of their respective powers. "Gang leaders conjure up vast networks of gang alliances to fulfill their own needs and those of their gang's members for power."³⁸⁰ The sociopathic gang member utilizes the gang, especially its size, in his own peculiar way and uses it for adjusting a variety of individual problems. The need for power and the ability to control others is acted out by the gang leaders in their fantasies of the sizes of the gangs. "Alliances of brother gangs are psychological weapons that give the leader and his gang some feeling of security and a readily available threat he can use on adversaries, real or imagined."³⁸¹

In the violent gang, the size of the grouping is elaborated in almost direct relation to the lack of membership clarity. Usually, the second and third level members are modified numerically with greater ease than the core members. Size, rather than being determined by the actual

physical count of those who claim membership, is determined by the emotional needs of its members at any given point in time.³⁸² Size therefore is not an accurate measure of actual membership, for the size of the grouping may, for most core members, exist entirely on the thought level. When an individual is secure, gang size is reduced to only those known on a gemeinschaft basis; when the same individual is insecure, size will be exaggerated enormously. Empirical research has revealed that, unlike the characteristics of a normal group, the violent gang membership cannot accurately determine the number or size of its membership at any particular point in time. The emotional dependence of the youth upon the violent gang is illustrated in the following excerpt where the boy changed the size of the gang as his needs demanded.

In one interview, a gang leader distorted the size and affiliations of the gang as his emotional state shifted. In an hour interview, size varied from 100-4,000, from five brother gangs to 50, from about ten square blocks of territorial control to include jurisdiction over the five boroughs of New York, New Jersey, and part of Philadelphia.³⁸³

Time: Albert Cohen

The only use of time that receives attention by Cohen is in relation to the differences in class attitudes. The basic conclusion in Delinquent Boys is that the middle

class is more concerned with the utilization of time to its best advantage, whereas the working class sees time as a condition, as exemplified in the past and the future, as something totally foreign to the situation of action. Behavior is concentrated on the present condition with not much attention paid to the past or the future.³⁸⁴

As we have seen, Cohen postulates that delinquency in the middle class is due basically to problems and anxieties in the area of sex role identification. This position has been recently questioned by Wilensky and Lebeaux who state that anxiety about male identity is greater in the lower than in the middle class. The working class subculture is determined by both status anxiety and sex role ambiguity, and the middle class delinquent subculture is determined in large measure by concerns and anxieties about being a man.

In response to this Cohen makes a number of statements that give us an indication as to the condition of time. Cohen suggests that as a result of changes in the structure of American economy, labor market and the school system, the traditional deferred gratification of the middle class family is breaking down.³⁸⁵ In our society, there is no functional role provided or well defined for the adolescent, a period

in which the process of establishing a feeling of personal identity is essential. "With the weakening of the deferred gratification pattern, the choice that will be made to fill the status void is likely to be a delinquent one. Denied respectable and responsible adult status the adolescent tends to symbolize his adulthood by irresponsible, hedonistically oriented behavior."³⁸⁶ The weakening of the deferred gratification pattern of socialization without appropriate shifts in the roles and expectations demanded of adolescents, a delinquent solution will be found to fill the status gap left by one's adolescent status.

Time: Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin state that "access to success-goals by illegitimate means diminishes as the working class adolescent approaches adulthood." It seems logical to assume that these new limitations on success create pressures toward withdrawal or retreatist reactions. Also late adolescence is crucial in the realm of the criminal for this is when "the selection of able candidates for stable adult criminal roles takes place."³⁸⁷

The typology of the delinquent subcultures is an ideal type and therefore some variability is expected. But variability with which these authors are concerned is the variability from one time to another in a given neighborhood. It is their contention that these changes over time reflect "various changes in the social organization (integration) of the slum." 388

Time: Lewis Yablonsky

In Yablonsky's discussion of the criminal subculture of Cloward and Ohlin, the condition of time is presented. Cloward and Ohlin believe that it is possible for the criminal delinquent to graduate into the hierarchy of the criminal gang. Yablonsky sees this type of formulation to be based on the outmoded conception of the Chicago school: "what was true in the old Chicago school of gangdom no longer seems to apply in the disorganized slum."³⁸⁹ Time for the delinquent gang youth has no past or future, his concern is limited to the concerns of the present. "The current delinquent gang youth operates in the here and now. He has a limited concern with rising into any adult criminal gang and his delinquent acts in association with others have the limited goal of a quick score for profit."³⁹⁰

The delinquent gang member is restricted to present orientated delinquent success. The only criminal career he may look forward to is the possibility of learning a good criminal trade. The delinquent gang member from a disorganized slum is present oriented and does not concern himself with his future criminal life.³⁹¹

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER II

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⁴⁰Ibid., p. 130.

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⁴⁶Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁷Gresham M. Sykes and David Matza, "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency," American Sociological Review, 22 (December, 1957), pp. 644-670.

⁴⁸Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit., pp. 23-27; 161-187.

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⁵²Ibid., p. 102.

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- ⁸⁴Ibid., p. 150.
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- ⁸⁶Ibid., p. 105.
- ⁸⁷Yablonsky, op. cit., p. 179.
- ⁸⁸Ibid., p. 190.
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- ⁹¹Yablonsky, op. cit., p. 157.
- ⁹²Ibid.
- ⁹³Cohen, op. cit., p. 74.
- ⁹⁴Ibid., p. 121.
- ⁹⁵Ibid., p. 66.
- ⁹⁶Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit., p. 38.

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CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL CONVERGENCES AND CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

Our major objective in this chapter will be two-fold: first to set forth a number of theoretical points wherein there is some convergence between the positions of Albert Cohen, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin and Lewis Yablonsky. These points of similarity will be presented in a series of propositions; in the core of each of these propositions, citations will refer the reader to the appropriate sections of the previous chapter wherein the PAS Model is employed in the analysis of these writers. Second, our purpose will be to critically appraise the anomie tradition as represented by the above authors, seeing whether and in what areas this tradition has been accepted into or rejected from the main stream of sociological theory on delinquent subcultures.

Theoretical Convergences

The first proposition deals broadly with the conditions under which the delinquent subculture is created and

and the reasons for its generation and can be stated:

Delinquency is basically a response or a solution to a problem or problems of adjustment which are created by a perceived discrepancy between culturally universal success-goals and institutionalized means.¹

According to the basic postulates of the anomie tradition in delinquent theory, the ideal type of society, one in which deviant behavior would be a rarity, would be characterized by no discrepancy between the dominant and universally given success goals and the availability of the means of legitimate achievement. In such an ideal society, the opportunities for and one's relative accessibility to the legitimate means for achievement are dependent upon the inherent capacity of the individual and not upon one's social position in the class hierarchy. It is the basic assumption here that a discrepancy in the means-ends relationship leads to the formulation of problems of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture is one possible solution.

The ideal is seldom the case; cultural goals are seldom in exact correspondence with the institutionalized means of legitimate achievement. Everyone in the society is enticed to strive for the attainment of given common

success-goals, while the social structure limits the availability of the legitimate means of achievement by the fact of one's social position in the class structure. The problem to which adjustment is necessary is created because this socially structured discrepancy is not anticipated by that segment of the population to which access to the socially legitimate means is possible. For this segment of the population, there are success-goals which are demanded that are common to all sectors of the society, but the means of achieving these common success-goals is denied the actors by virtue of their class position. As a result of this perceived discrepancy between the means and ends, tension, anxiety, and/or frustration is created and which, in some way, must be managed. The individual has aspirations that, within the available conditions, are not possible to attain. They see this failure in their goal attaining activities to be no fault of their own but rather of socially structured differentials in the availability of legitimate means. To the degree that the individual perceives the discrepancy in the means-ends relationship, they are pushed into the development of the delinquent subculture as a solution to their problem of adjustment created by the relationship between the means and the ends.

Cohen's position is in the framework of means-ends discrepancy. The working class boy, who has been unrealistically and insufficiently prepared by his socialization experiences, strives for status in terms of the middle class criteria. In this status race he will be compared with all comers; his status universal is at its maximum. In this status race, the working class boy will be compared with members of the middle and the upper classes and his reward for following the cultural mandate will be failure in his aspiration. Because he has incorporated the norms and the values of the middle class into his personality and has been denied status in terms of these criteria, the working class boy will suffer status discontent or status frustration. In an effort to handle the anxiety and tension created by his status failure, the working class boy adopts the norms and values of the delinquent subculture. Within this subculture, the status criteria of the middle class is redefined so that the attributes that are possessed by the boy become status increasing. The delinquent subculture creates and maintains status criteria against which the working class boy can realistically achieve and attain goals that have been denied him by the larger society by virtue of his social position in the class structure.

In like manner are Cloward and Ohlin who feel that the process of alienation has its roots in the discrepancy between the formally stated criteria of evaluation and the operative criteria. The individual perceives a discrepancy between the culturally universal mandate and the legitimate opportunity structure. The individual feels that he has the ability to meet the formal criteria of evaluation, but the way in which things realistically operate, the individual feels that he cannot meet the demands. This discrepancy creates feelings of hostility and aggression toward the dominant social order which are acted out in the form of the creation of illegitimate opportunity structures which arise in the place of the legitimate opportunity structures. He perceives his failure to gain access to opportunities as an injustice in the system rather than as a deficiency in himself. The individual has thusly withdrawn his attribution of legitimacy from the norms of the legitimate order and is free to join with others in a delinquent solution to his problems with great concern about the moral validity of his action. The reason for the creation of the subculture is as a result of the discrepancy between cultural ends and social means of legitimately achieving cultural goals. The delinquent subculture arises as a result of the differential

illegitimate opportunity structure which arises as a result of the socially structured blocks to legitimate goal achievement on the part of the working class youth.

In like manner, Yablonsky believes that the sociopathic member of the violent gets caught in the sweep of a culture dominated by drives for success and achievement. What seems to be the most important element in this complex is that the youth feels that a great many positions of status are potentially available to him and all who aspire. The reasons for failure lie in the differential distribution of the socially acceptable modes of striving for success and achievement.

Our second proposition has to do with the distribution of the delinquent subculture. Our authors are in agreement that notwithstanding the existence of delinquent behavior in the American middle and upper classes that: Subcultural delinquency is basically and most extensively confined to the lower or the working class sectors of society.²

It is a basic postulate of the anomie tradition that deviant behavior is the result of the discrepancy between cultural goals and social means. It is further assumed that those positions in the social order that usually feel this discrepancy the most acutest are the lower sectors. Because

of the relative severity of the discrepancy between means and ends which is felt in the working class sectors of our society, it is this population segment which feels the pressures to adopt a deviant solution the most acute.

According to Cohen, the delinquent subculture is not a universal characteristic of the entire population; the subculture is "concentrated in the male, working sector of the juvenile population."³ Cohen agrees that this may be the result of differential treatment of the working and the middle class youth on the part of the police and the courts. But basic and underlying is the assumption that juvenile delinquency is a subcultural phenomena concentrated in the working class sectors of society. A theory of delinquency must differentiate between lower and middle class delinquency in the attempt to delineate the causes of each. It must be remembered that if middle class delinquency is of the subcultural variety, the postulates and assumptions of lower class delinquency must be radically revised. If a cause or series of causes which is attributed to be the underlying factor in lower class delinquency is absent in the phenomena of middle class delinquency, assuming that for the moment middle class delinquency is subcultural, "it would strongly suggest that those conditions are not necessary even in the working class."⁴

In another context, Cohen postulates the possibility of the existence of middle class delinquency as a subcultural phenomena.⁵ But, as he states, the facts on middle class delinquency are suppositional and highly contradictory. Therefore, until there is more and better empirical and theoretical evidence as to subcultural middle class delinquency, we will and must assume the position of Cohen in Delinquent Boys to have remained relatively unchanged.

Cloward and Ohlin surmise that, "if . . . delinquent subcultures are concentrated among lower class male adolescents then the problem of adjustment that accounts for the emergence of these subcultural differentiations must also occur among lower class male adolescents."⁶ We can obviously see the assumption that subcultural delinquency is basically a working class phenomena. Addressing themselves to the problem of the distribution of delinquency in the class structure will require that they identify certain intervening variables and show how they tend to channel adjustment difficulties into one or another mode of adaptation. One must search for variables within the given structural arrangements of the situation that will tend to lead the individual and the group in the direction of one adjustment pattern.

A basic conclusion of Cloward and Ohlin's study of subcultural differentiation is that the three variants of delinquent subcultures exhibit differential structural and personal arrangements. In the criminal subculture, the essential factor in determining whether or not this adaptation will be chosen depends upon the nature of the organization of the community. If the community is characterized by an integration of different age levels of offenders, an integration of criminal and conventional values, and integration of the carriers of criminal roles with those of the conventional and semi-conventional society, and the existence of learning and performance structures, the criminal adaptation will be available. In the criminal subculture, the problem of adjustment is still present but because of the structural conditions of the community the illegitimate opportunity structure of the criminal subculture is not available to the working class youth. In lieu of the illegitimate opportunity structure of the criminal subculture, youths in the disorganized slum create the illegitimate opportunity structure of the criminal subculture. The last type of subculture identified, the retreatist, Cloward and Ohlin state that it is the result of the double failure, i.e., the failure in the use of both the legitimate and the illegitimate opportunity structures.

Cloward identifies another condition that may have a determining effect upon whether the retreatist adaptation is chosen. This condition is the relative accessibility of illegitimate means; not all communities can be characterized as having the same degree of availability of both the legitimate and the illegitimate opportunity structures.⁷ The assumption common to the entire formulation is that delinquent represents a problem of adjustment to the individual to which the delinquent subculture represents a potential solution. The basic preconditions of this problem of adjustment is the discrepancy between the means and the ends which is characteristic of the working class sectors of our society.

Yablonsky believes that this socially deprived segment of the population is not fully blocked from the legitimate means of goal achievement available to other segments; however, it is his contention that the degree of availability is not equal when one compares across classes.* Given these varied forces, the sociopathic youth is pushed harder into devious

* In comparison with the middle class, the working class can be seen as relatively deprived of the institutional means of legitimate achievement.

methods outside the normal bounds of society to achieve goals not attainable through socially prescribed patterns of behavior. Within this framework of anomic social forces, the more adjusted youth better trained in delinquent values is most likely to seek status and prestige within the delinquent gang. However, because of the sociopath's lesser degree of personal resources and self-organization, he is more physically oriented toward success in the violent gang; violence in the gang is a reasonable and convenient means for acquiring status and prestige among one's fellows. The delinquent and violent gangs, both part of the delinquent subculture, serve the individuals as a means to solve the problems of adjustment which are created by virtue of their position in the class hierarchy.

The social structural position that an individual occupies relative to others in the social structure is a determining factor in goal attainment. The success-goals of the society are universally given or demanded of the general populace, low aim not failure is the crime. The legitimate means of attainment of these success-goals are distributed differentially according to one's relative position in the social structure. For those individuals who are structurally denied access to legitimate opportunity structures, the

delinquent subculture constitutes one possible solution to the problem of adjustment which is created by the discrepancy in the means-ends relationship. The delinquent subculture constitutes an illegitimate opportunity structure.

The third proposition concerns itself with the functions that the delinquent subculture serves for the individual. We may take it as a given that the problem to which the individual in the working class must adjust is aptly characterized by dissatisfaction or a frustration as the result of one's relative position in the social structure. Because of this position the individual is handicapped in availability of generate means to socially sanctioned goals. The delinquent subculture is a solution to the problem of adjustment created by the means-ends discrepancy in as much as it provides a source of status. This proposition can be stated as: The delinquent subculture is a means of attaining goals that are denied members of a society by virtue of their position in the social structure; the subculture is viewed as a means in the attainment of ends.⁸

The normative structure of the delinquent subculture is typically at variance with the normative structure of the society as a whole. The creation and the maintenance and the creation of the delinquent subculture presuppose that the

sentiments favoring adherence to the norms of the middle classes have been withdrawn and are in what might be aptly termed a free-floating state. The withdrawal of the sentiments of legitimacy from the normative structure of the middle class society is a necessary precondition to the establishment of the delinquent subculture. These sentiments of legitimacy are then divested and projected upon the normative allegiance to the normative structure of the delinquent subculture, his behavior would be characterized as ambivalent because of his allegiance to two normative structures which are at variance with each other.

This withdrawal of legitimacy from the conventional normative structure is accomplished by the attribution of the causes of failure to the social order rather than to oneself. It is a necessary precondition that the cause of failure be located in the structure of societal arrangements rather than in one's own incapacity to the formal criteria. If the cause of failure is located in his own incapacity and not in social structured arrangements, the legitimacy of the social order is reaffirmed. On the other hand, if the cause of failure is attributed to lie not in one's incapacity, but rather in the nature of socially structured arrangements, the attribution of legitimacy to the collective order is withdrawn and is

projected onto the norms of the delinquent subculture. This attribution of legitimacy to the normative structure of the delinquent subculture prevents sentiments from getting out of hand and makes it possible to behaviorally adhere to delinquent role demands.

To the degree that a number of individuals attribute legitimacy to the role demands and expectations of the delinquent subculture and from it obtain rules by which their behavior can be guided, the delinquent subculture can be considered to be a normative reference group for the individual. To the degree that status is sought in the direction of delinquent expectations and demands, the delinquent group constitutes a status reference group for the individual. Behavior is defined as right to the degree that it conforms to the expectations of our normative and/or status reference groups. Habitual behavior in accord with the expectations and the demands of the group is a prerequisite for membership and status in the group, and since status is the goal which is sought after, and since status is not given to those who are not members of the group, the individual will manifest those behaviors which define him as members of the delinquent group or subculture.

The delinquent subculture most logically can be seen as reaction against the formal criteria of status that are typically middle class in nature. The youths either have attempted in some degree to attain status or prestige in terms of the criteria of the middle class and have failed or feel that any effort is doomed. One of the basic rationales behind the creation of the delinquent subculture is to provide the working class youth with an atmosphere in which he can realistically aspire to goals that are within reach. Within the context of the delinquent subculture, the formal criteria of status of the middle class becomes redefined so that the attributes naturally possessed by the working class youth are those which are status or prestige giving.

Cohen's position is that the working class youth has suffered status frustration or status anxiety as a result of striving in terms of the criteria of the middle class. Frustrated in their attempts to attain or achieve status in terms of the middle class criteria, the working class youth experiences a great amount of tension and anxiety that is maintained by the ego defense of reaction formation. The norms of the middle class are no longer adhered to for allegiance has been divested onto the normative structure of the delinquent subculture. Cohen contends that a complete rejection of the

middle class ethics is not possible for these are the norms in terms of which youths have been socialized; moreover, these are the norms of those people who run things. In the college-boy adaptation there is no ambivalence for the middle class norms are being followed. In the corner-boy adaptation there is ambivalence for he attempts to temporize with the norms of the middle class. In the delinquent adaptation, there is still some ambivalence but it is handled by the mechanism of reaction formation and the "complete rejection" of the standards of the middle class. In the delinquent subculture, the status criteria have become redefined in terms of the behavioral attributes that the working class youth possesses; the norms of the delinquent subculture are the norms of the middle class culture only turned upside down. What is right in the delinquent subculture is right simply because such behavior would be defined as wrong in the larger context of society.

Cloward and Ohlin feel that it is entirely possible for the working class youth to feel position or status discontent before the onset of delinquency. The criteria of achievement are the middle class norms and their concern lies in the nature by which the behavioral control of the middle class norms are broken. Cloward and Ohlin postulate that

the determining factor in whether or not the attribute of legitimacy will be withdrawn from the conventional (middle class) normative structure is the degree to which the individual places the blame for his aspirational failures onto himself or onto the nature and the structure of the collective order. If the first course of action is taken the legitimacy is reaffirmed in the essential rightness of the existing nature of the social order. If the second course of action is taken, the attribution of legitimacy is withdrawn from the existing institutionalized conditions and is displaced onto the normative structure of the delinquent subculture.

Cohen believes that from the point of view of the individual, the delinquent subculture can be viewed as a means in the attainment of his end, status attainment. The delinquent subculture is a way of dealing with the problems of adjustment. The delinquent subculture represents a collective problem solving effort aimed at the attainment of status. It helps the delinquent to increase his status by redefining the status system in terms of behaviors and expectations of which he is capable of fulfilling. The subculture aids in the process of alienation from the middle class culture by aiding in the acting out of hostile and aggressive impulses toward the middle class society. The delinquent subculture

serves to legitimize aggression and hostility as it is directly aimed at middle class society.

Cloward and Ohlin conceive the subculture along the same lines. In the event that the individual is not able to achieve the cultural success-goals by legitimate means and perceives this failure to be the fault of the social order rather than himself, the individual will substitute illegitimate means for the attainment of these goals. One of the major ways in which this illegitimate structure is acquired is through the withdrawal of sentiment from the middle class norms.

Yablonsky fails to explicitly formulate the violent gang as a solution to a problem of adjustment. The use of the violent gang by the various sociopathic youths testifies to the fact that the gang is used as a means of adjusting by acting out the various hostilities and aggressions that the individual may be suffering from at the time. The gang serves as a vehicle for adjusting the gang boy's personal problems and feelings of inadequacy, helps to provide a sense of power especially for the sociopathic leader, provides a channel by which the various sentiments can be acted out, and a context in which the gang members and especially the leader can act out power roles that either they had not been able to

act out before or that previously had not been available. Yablonsky gives particular attention to the gang as a vehicle which provides the sociopathic youth with a context in which he can act out aggression and hostilities with the feeling of a degree of consensual validation and, as shown above, which seems to originate in order for the sociopath to adjust personal emotional problems.

Our fourth proposition rests upon the assumption that there are a number of individuals that have perceived the discrepancy between the cultural success-goals and the institutionalized means of achieving these success-goals. A delinquent subculture owes its existence to the fact that it provides a solution to problems of adjustment shared among a community of interacting individuals. What is essential in this formulation is not the fact that individuals have problems to which the subculture is a solution but rather that the problems of the individuals are shared in interaction. The essential question then becomes, by what means do the problems of adjustment become shared? This proposition can be stated as: An essential precondition for the establishment of the delinquent subculture is the interaction and communication of a number of individuals with similar problems of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture can be a possible solution. ⁹

The positions of Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin on the essential nature of communication as a precondition for the creation of the delinquent subculture are the same. The creation of a new delinquent subculture presupposes the existence of an interactive and communicative relationship between a number of individuals with similar problems of adjustment. This process of communication involves quite a bit more than the simple fact of communication to another that one has been frustrated by a discrepancy in the relationship between means and ends and that since the system is at fault and is not just it might be an excellent idea to establish a subculture in which status criteria would make achievement in the eyes of one's fellow realistically possible. A statement to this effect to an individual who has not suffered status frustration and anxiety would result on the invocation of punitive sanctions on the part of the communicatee. So the essential problem to which the working class youth must address himself in his state of discontent is to communicate to others his discontent in such a way that he can withdraw from his position without the invocation of punitive sanctions. One must communicate his discontent of the existing conditions to one's fellows who are in a similar condition, but being careful to whom the communication is directed.

Stated very briefly, Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin see the creation of the subculture to be the result of a process of incipient communication resulting in a conversation of gestures by which mutual convergence is achieved. In this process the group standard of normative structure is changed in the direction which the actor's capabilities will have status-ascribing characters. The emergence of these new normative structures or this shared frame of reference is the emergence of the new subculture. The delinquent subculture is a joint creation shared by a multiplicity of actors. The sufficient condition for the establishment of the subculture is the extent to which the actors have successfully communicated to one another the extent of their alienation from established norms and their interest in finding an alternative collective solution.

Yablonsky deals with the process of communication only as a condition for the rise of the sociopathic personality and only after the subculture of the violent gang has formed. The process of communication is seen as operative in the functional gap between the youth and his parents, and in relation to the collective spread of sentiment prior to the gang war. Communication is not seen to be of any importance prior to the formation of the subculture.

Our fifth proposition is concerned with the relationship between the individual's ability to achieve and the socialization experiences that he encounters as a member of a specific social class. We have seen previously that delinquency is conceived as the solution on a collective level to similar problems of adjustment that are shared by a number of interacting individuals. Socialization is seen as an essential determining factor of the problem of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture is a response. Our proposition can be stated as: The socialization experiences that a child encounters as a member of a certain social class have a great effect upon the problem of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture is a solution; the problems of adjustment are, in part, determined by the nature of the socialization experiences of the child.¹⁰

It is Cohen's contention that the relative position of one's family vis-a-vis other families in the social structure determine the experiences and the problems which all members of the family will encounter in their dealings with the world outside the family circle. Through the experiences that the family endows the child with through the process of socialization, the family has an important effect on the resultant personality structure of the individual and the

frame of reference through which the individual views his social world.

Social classes are thereby conceived as training grounds where the youths can possibly gain those skills and behaviors that will enable one to successfully compete against all comers in the race for middle class status. In comparison with the experiences that the working class child receives by virtue of his socialization, Cohen believes the middle class child to be better equipped to successfully succeed in the status race. Socialization experiences are a determinant of one's ability to come out ahead in the search for status. Because the standards of comparison are those of the middle class, it is natural for the middle class youth to come out ahead for it is to these norms that they have been socialized. The working class child has been socialized in an environment where the middle class standard has become severely attenuated. The failure of the working class child to gain status in the terms of the middle class is basically due to the socialization experiences that he has had that have not trained him adequately so that he may successfully compete for status in terms of the middle class. Miller takes a similar point of view by stating that the focal concerns of the working class are different from those of the middle

class and by simple adherence to these focal concerns the working youth violates middle class norms.¹¹ The problem of adjustment (status anxiety) is created not because of any inherent incapacity on the part of the individual, but rather because of the differential socialization experiences that the working class child has undergone has not sufficiently prepared him for the status race in terms of the middle class criteria. Because the youth has not been prepared to attain status according to middle class criteria, the youth suffers status frustration and anxiety. Recently Cohen has changed his position by postulating that the deferred gratification pattern of middle class socialization is tending to break down.¹² To the degree that there is a convergence between working class and middle class norms, the status frustration hypothesis must be revised.

Taking the sociopathic personality as the model personality type in the violent gang, Yablonsky sees the process of socialization as central. The sociopathic personality is seen to be the result of a defective process of socialization. The sociopathic personality lacks a social conscience toward all others to whom he relates, he lacks the ability to apply the moral standards of society to his behavior, he lacks the social self that characterizes the social human beings in his

social relations, and the sociopathic personality lacks the ability to adhere to the normative expectations of any group whatsoever. This characterization of the sociopathic personality can be all subsumed under the trait of a lack of a social self.

This socially adequate social self is commonly developed from a consistent pattern of interaction with another in a normative socialization process. The other to whom the individual will relate is most commonly a parent or an adequate adult role model from whom the youth can learn social feelings and gain the capacity to empathize with another. In the environment of the child in the disorganized slum, such adequate adult role models are absent. Because of the absence of adequate adult role models, the youth in the disorganized slum is unable to experience the pain of the violent behavior that he inflicts.

The relationship between the sociopathic youth and the process of socialization clues us to the dynamics of the processes of alienation and separation from the legitimate community. This process begins with the social conditions in the disorganized slum community which lead to the functional gap in the social structure between the parents and the youth. This break in the relationships between the parents and their children has obvious implications for the further ineffectuality

of the socialization process. As this inefficiency in the socialization process continues, the sociopathic youth feels progressively alienated and disassociated from the ongoing processes of society. Developing paranoid patterns of persecution and grandeur becomes hardened and functional in shifting the responsibility of guilt from themselves to those around them. As this process of alienation and separation from normal societal functioning increases, the paranoid pseudo-community of the violent gang is formed.

The violent gang functions as a means for the expression and the justification of the personality dynamics of the sociopathic personality. In the context of the violent gang, the sociopathic youth can act out and discharge all tension, anxieties, hostilities, aggressions, and reactions to prejudice that happen to be troubling him at the time. Within the violent gang, the sociopathic youth is able to act out power roles which, at an earlier time, were either not available to him or which he was not capable of playing.

In sum, both Cohen and Yablonsky agree that the process of socialization is a significant precondition to the establishment of the delinquent subculture by contributing to the problem of adjustment to which the subculture is a solution. Cohen believes that because of the standards by

which the working class boy is socialized he is not prepared to meet the formal operative criteria for status in the middle class culture. His reaction to this status frustration and anxiety is the repudiation of the middle class culture and the adoption of its antithesis -- the delinquent subculture. Yablonsky sees the sociopathic youth as the result of a defective process of socialization in the disorganized slum community where there are no adequate adult role models for the child to pattern his behavior after. As a result of this defective socialization process, the child has an inability to relate to other individuals even on a minimally social basis, i.e., the child has a defective social self. As the sociopathic personality hardens into a paranoid psychosis, the pseudocommunity of the violent gang is formed within which the sociopathic youth can solve his emotional problems of adjustment. Within the context of the violent gang, the sociopathic youth can act out any personal problems that happen to be troubling him at the time. The problems of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture is a solution are, in large measure, created by the different experiences that an individual experiences during the process of socialization.

Our sixth proposition concerns itself with the essential nature of the delinquent subculture. All three of

our authors would agree to the statement that delinquent subcultures are composed of intricate and interrelated elements which can be differentiated on the basis of several normative foci. For example, if the behaviors of individuals are organized and patterned around a criminalistic norm the element is called criminal. If the behavior is organized around a norm of conflict the element is isolated as conflictual. If the behavior is organized around the norms of the addict the element is identified as a retreatist. The authors here dealt with disagreement with each other only slightly on the essential characteristics operative within the subculture and on the question of whether or not the retreatist element can be properly classified as subcultural because of its individualized and personalized nature. However, the essential core of meaning in this area can be summed under the proposition as: The content of delinquent subculture in modern American society is not uniform, it can be better understood as consisting of a criminal, a conflict, a retreatist and foci.¹³

Cloward and Ohlin and Yablonsky are in essential agreement as to the characterization of the social structural conditions of the neighborhood-community from which the criminal subculture or the delinquent gang emerges. The reader is referred to the discussion of Cloward and Ohlin's discussion

of the structural characteristics of the neighborhood of the criminal subculture under the process of systemic linkage and to the condition of territoriality for Yablonsky's discussion of the organized or stable slum.

Basically, these neighborhoods are characterized by an integration of different age levels of offenders. The aspiring young member of the criminal subculture is able to see the adult criminal as a significant other in his immediate environment. The adult criminal can serve the youth as a behavioral role model after which to pattern his behavior. Because of the nature of the criminal adaptation, there is necessarily an integration of conventional and criminal values and between carriers of conventional and criminal values, i.e., the fix. For crime to flourish, the collusion between conventional and nonconventional elements is mandatory. Both learning and performance structure are necessary. It is one thing to learn the appropriate behaviors and expectations demanded by the criminal role, but it is another thing to have the opportunity to practice them. In this type of neighborhood the social control of the family and the official societal agencies have perhaps broken down, but the social control upon the aspiring youth in the criminal subculture is quite evident in the relationships between the youth and the

fence. In this neighborhood there is some degree of cohesion and the feeling of community.

The characterization of the community from which the conflict and the violent gangs spring from can be taken as the antithesis of the characterization of the neighborhood of the criminal subculture.

The basic similarity between the positions of Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin and Yablonsky has been discussed under the process of status-role performance and for specific details the reader is there unto referred. In this section the characterizations of the different subcultures which constitute the delinquent subculture are discussed.

In summary, the anomie tradition of theory in the area of juvenile gang delinquency is at places variant, but there is an essential core area of agreement which can be expressed in the following propositions:

- 1) Delinquency is basically a response or a solution to a problem or problems of adjustment which are created by a perceived discrepancy between culturally universal success-goals and institutionalized means.
- 2) Subcultural delinquency is basically and most extensively confined to the lower or working class sectors of society.
- 3) The delinquent subculture is a means of attaining goals that are denied members of a society by virtue of their position in the social structure; the subculture is viewed as a means in the attainment of ends.

- 4) An essential condition for the establishment of the delinquent subculture is the interaction and communication of a number of individuals with similar problems of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture can be a possible solution.
- 5) The socialization experiences that a child encounters as a member of a certain social class have a great influence upon the problem of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture is a solution; the problems of adjustment are, in part, determined by the nature of the socialization experiences of the child.
- 6) The content of the delinquent subculture is not uniform, and can be better understood as consisting of a criminal, a conflict, and a retreatist foci.

Regardless of the essential similarities of the authors, there are areas in which further theoretical formulations and empirical research are sorely needed. The following section will present a critical assessment of selected aspects of the different positions examined in this study. This assessment is intended to illustrate the stage of development of this tradition of delinquent theory and research and will be used to suggest where there is need for theoretical clarification and development plus area ripe for further empirical research.

Critical Assessment

In this section a number of points will be raised for critical assessment of the positions of Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin, and Yablonsky. With an eye to brevity and logical

consistency these criticisms have been grouped under the following headings: (1) socialization experiences, (2) problems of adjustment, (3) reaction formation and ambivalence, (4) communication of gestures, (5) delinquent subculture, (6) opportunity structures, (7) relationship to the middle class, their norms, and delinquency, (8) sociopathic personality, (9) near-group structure, and (10) additional problems.

Under these headings various questions will be presented that have occurred to the author during the course of this study and those that have been encountered in the literature dealing with our authors. These points are not intended to be all-inclusive or definitive. Their purpose is to alert the reader to the various methodological and theoretical difficulties with the anomie tradition of delinquent theory, and specifically to opportunities for theoretical clarification and empirical research which would increase the yield of this approach to our knowledge.

Socialization Experiences of the Child.¹⁴

Yablonsky fails to make a clear distinction between the motivations underlying participation in the social and delinquent gangs as opposed to the violent gang. It is Yablonsky's contention that the basic and underlying condition

behind the formation of the near-group of the violent gang is the socialization experiences that the child undergoes as a concomitant of his growth in the urban unstable slum. As a result of a defective and inefficient socialization process in the urban community characterized by a parent-youth schism, a rural-urban transition, a breakdown of social controls, and a dominant sentiment of prejudice in the community, the youth develops into the sociopathic personality who, because of his basic inability to relate on a meaningful level with other human beings, is forced into violent gang membership. The sociopathic youth turns to the violent gang as a mechanism to act out aggressions and hostilities or whatever problems may be troubling the youth at the time. Underlying the motivation for violent gang participation and membership are the community conditions under which the youth lives and the sociopathic personality that develops out of a defective socialization process in this type of unstable urban slum area.

Yablonsky pays relatively little attention to the motivations and the neighborhood conditions that give rise to the social and the delinquent gangs. It is implicit in Yablonsky's approach that the motivations behind the adoption of these additional two types of gangs would lie in the

socialization experiences that the child receives plus the neighborhood conditions under which the child lives and matures. A clarification of the relationship between the type of gang pattern chosen and the socialization experiences undergone with a given slum area would lead to a greater understanding of the relationship between socialization and delinquency patterns.

This criticism leads us logically to our next criticism: the relationship between neighborhood and type of gang is hazy. Yablonsky has clearly stated that the violent gang and the sociopathic youth emerge out of a process of interaction in the "unstable slum." The polar opposite of the unstable slum is that of the stable slum; are we led to believe that the social gang and the delinquent gang are products of this type of urban slum? If the answer to this question is yes, we must specify the conditions or the intervening variables between the type of adaptation chosen. Two youths being brought up and socialized in the stable slum; what makes one of the two become a member of a semi-conventional social gang and the other become a member of the delinquent gang? If the answer to this question is no, what are the conditions behind the adoption of a particular type of gang pattern, given the variable of community type.

These two criticisms lead us to the conclusion that the relationship between socialization experiences, the community pattern, and the type of gang must be clarified and their interrelationships specified. The socialization experiences that a child has is modified and/or intensified by the type of community within which action takes place. As a result of the interplay of the socialization practices and experience with the type of community, one or another of the types of gang is joined. The interrelationships between these three variables must be clarified so that we can determine under what conditions the social, the delinquent, and the violent gang is joined.

Problems of Adjustment to Which Delinquency is a Solution¹⁵

All of our authors are deficient in the explication of the relationships between the problems to which delinquency is a possible solution and the conditions of social action. When the conditions of social action are dealt with, they are dealt with in a very superficial and limited manner; there is no relationship drawn between these conditions and the problem of adjustment to which delinquent subcultures are the postulated solutions. Delinquency is an interactional pattern in response to problems of adjustment. As a pattern of interaction,

the delinquent subculture must operate in place, time, size. A relationship must be specified between the conditions of social action, the delinquent subculture, and the problem of adjustment. Within a given type of neighborhood, the conditions of social action may vary to such a degree that different types of solutions to problems will emerge that may be accounted for erroneously by examining intragroup conditions. The variation in gang structure and function may be due to different relationships to the conditions of social action rather than to different problems of adjustment.

Cohen may be justifiably criticized for limiting the problem of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture is a response to a single and unitary problem; status frustration. In this context, Yablonsky's formulation of the violent gang seems to be more appropriate; the violent gang serves to act out the aggressions and hostilities that the individual may be suffering with at the moment. Cohen assumes that the delinquent subculture is based and dependent upon the status frustration of middle class aspirations of working class youths. Is it not possible that the delinquent subculture is a realistic response on the part of the working class youth to various problems to which he must adjust. Must the delinquent subculture be conceived as a structural response to only status frustration.

Part of the confusion that is generated by the unitary conception of the problem to which the subculture is a response is increased by the ambiguity of Cohen's terminology of adjustment problem. Cohen leads us to believe that as a working class boy becomes oriented toward the middle class in his aspirations and thusly takes the widest possible status universe with which to be compared, he inevitably suffers failure and defeat. As a response to this status failure and the ensuing status void, a problem of adjustment is created to which the delinquent subculture is a possible solution. The author agrees that a condition such as this is very likely to lead the individual to adopt a delinquent solution. However, is a delinquent solution necessarily the case of a response to status frustration and only status frustration. Is it not possible that a delinquent solution could and would occur as a response to other sources of frustration that are structurally induced? Cohen makes no implication as to problems other than those that are created by the frustration of working class status aspirations. It is possible for the delinquent subculture to be a response to problems of adjustment that are socially structured frustrations that are not status frustrations. It is not necessarily the case that the delinquent subculture solves only problems of status frustration

but conceivably could solve many different problems. Cohen's later reformation of the delinquent subculture as conceived in Delinquent Boys into the parent male subculture and the addition of four other varieties of male subcultures, possibly alerts us to the fact that Cohen himself has changed his position and sees the "delinquent subculture" as a solution not to a problem of adjustment but rather to problems of adjustment.¹⁶

The next question that can be directed at Cohen is regarding the extent to which the members of the subculture share the problem of adjustment to which the subculture is a solution. Must the entire gang share the problem or is it sufficient for just the core of members to share it. Cohen states that delinquency is variously motivated and that from different viewpoints the same pattern does not even look the same, because of the range and the diversity of the content.¹⁷ According to Bordua, "it is sufficient that a core of members share the problem (of adjustment)."¹⁸ It is not Cohen's point that the delinquent subcultures solve all possible problems of adjustment, but only a limited amount of these problems. The essential condition for the establishment of the subculture "is the existence, in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems

of adjustment."¹⁹ Cohen does not postulate that the delinquent subcultural variations will solve all possible problems to which adjustment is necessary rather the subcultures will solve only a limited variety of adjustment problems. Referring back to our question, it is necessary for all members of the subculture to share problems to which a single type of adjustment will solve. The problems must be similar in nature to the degree that a retreatist pattern, a semi-professional pattern, a conflict pattern may be adopted. To the degree that an individual has a problem of adjustment to which the subculture with which he is identified with is not effectual, he will seek another solution. It is sufficient that the core members of the subculture share the problem of adjustment provided the fact that those members in the periphery share in effective communication with themselves and with the core members' similar problems of adjustment to which the same subculture can be an effectual solution.

An assumption that is clearest in Cohen, but that is also very heavily implied in both Cloward and Ohlin and Yablonsky, is that an individual suffering from a problem of adjustment will inevitably seek a collective solution to his problem. With this assumption, Cohen postulates the inevitability of the delinquent subculture. When an individual is

suffering under a problem of adjustment he will seek a collective solution. This type of occurrence has the highest probability; however, it is possible to conceive of the possibility of the individual who is suffering under a given problem of adjustment which is similar to problems shared by a subculture but who is not a member of that subculture. This is a logical impossibility in Cohen's scheme. The essential element that is lacking is the communicative relationship between the boy and the members of the subculture. Communication of shared concerns is a necessary precondition for the boy's entrance into the subculture.

All three authors have a tendency to neglect the individualized, solidarity and perhaps intrapunitive delinquent. It is commonly assumed in the literature that the only delinquency with which we should be concerned is that which occurs on the level of a subculture. Cohen makes the point that "criminal or delinquent behavior of the youth who is overwhelmed by personal frustration and rebels is a personal problem. It is quite different from the antisocial behavior which arises out of the interaction of a group of adolescents, for this latter is a social problem."²⁰ The gang patterns of delinquency are social problems rather than personal problems because the resulting behavior may be reprehensive from the

point of view of society, but from the point of view, i.e., the values and standards, of the subculture and its members the behavior is morally sanctioned and positively rewarded. This individualized, solidary, and intrapunitive delinquent is perhaps more important from the standpoint of understanding the process of alienation from the conventional world, because he lacks any consensual validation and that this type of delinquent may be the future member of the delinquent subculture. Delinquent theory and research should not neglect the problem of the individualized delinquent for its understanding may yield light on the process by which each of the members of the subculture has become alienated. Perhaps the only difference between these two types of delinquents is that the former needs no degree of companionship or social validation while the latter needs the feelings of group acceptance and sanction.

All four of our authors make the assumption that delinquency is a collective solution to problems of adjustment which are similar and which can be symbolically communicated. Neither of these authors conceive of the possibility of a non-delinquent solution to the problem of adjustment. Cohen assumes that given the occurrence of status frustration and anxiety, the individual will gravitate toward the establishment

of a subculture which redefines the status criteria so that the behavior that he is capable of manifesting is status giving. Cloward and Ohlin assume that given the structural inconsistency of the means-ends relationship and varying neighborhood conditions of access to both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures, the individuals so affected will adopt either a criminal, a conflict, or a retreatist pattern. Yablonsky assumes that the sociopathic youth is the model personality type of the violent gang and has its etiology in the social processes of the unstable slum. None of these positions makes a non-delinquent solution to problems of adjustment a logical possibility. However, technically or physically impossible a non-delinquent solution may be, the logical possibility of this non-delinquent solution must be taken account of. Neither of these authors concern themselves with the factors which might lead to non-delinquent collective or individualized responses to the problem of adjustment.

Essentially, this section has brought to light the question of the relationship between the problem of adjustment and delinquency. The common assumption is that delinquent behavior is a collective solution to a problem of adjustment. However, there are areas that need further specification and clarification. Is delinquency the only possible solution to

the problem of adjustment? The relationship between delinquency and problems of adjustment must be studied further to clarify the role of alternative solutions, the nature of the problems that create a pressure for deviance, the extent to which the problem must be shared and capable of being communicated, and the inevitability of a delinquent solution.

Reaction-Formation and Ambivalence²¹

Cohen describes the corner-boy as characterized by ambivalence which is created as the result of his attempt to temporize with the norms of the middle class. There is a conflict within the corner-boy as to which set of norms should he take as his behavioral guideline, those of the class by which he has been socialized or those of the class to which he aspires. Cohen hypothesizes that it is here, in the refusal to temporize with the norms of the middle class, that the delinquent subculture has its appeal. This dualistic orientation to both the lower or working class and also to the middle class is experienced by the working class boy as a sense of ambivalence. In an effort to cope with the anxiety and frustration created by this ambivalence, the corner-boy experiences reaction-formation; and it is this ambivalence and ensuing reaction-formation that explains the characteristic qualities of the delinquent subculture.

In this connection, Cohen raises an interesting question of the degree to which the norms of the college-boy or middle class culture can be repudiated. "May we assume that when the delinquent seeks to obtain unequivocal status by repudiating . . . the norms of the college-boy culture, these norms undergo total extinction? Or do they . . . linger on . . . repressed . . . but everpresent threat to the adjustment which has been achieved at no small cost."²² Cohen makes the assumption that the corner-boy has not totally repudiated the norms of the middle class. Because of the partial commitment to two conflicting sets of norms, the corner-boy is overtly manifesting the norms of the delinquent subculture; at the same time, the norms of the conventional society are continually pressing for recognition. The ambivalence is created by the normative conflict between the working and the middle class norms, and as a result of this situation anxiety is aroused. This anxiety can be handled by the rejection on an overt level by the rejection of one of the sets of norms that are in competition with one another. Reaction-formation sets in and has the effect of handling the frustration and anxiety by rejecting the norms of the middle class, and the dynamics of this rejection account for the characteristic quality of the delinquent subculture.

The point of criticism to be made is that Cohen postulates ambivalence for the working class boy because he is abiding by one set of norms, working class, and is troubled by the constant press of a repressed but yet powerful set of conflicting norms, those of the middle class. It is not possible for the college-boy pattern to be characterized by ambivalence at least to the same degree that the corner-boy and the delinquent-boy is? The college-boy is ordered to orient himself toward the norms of the middle, to do this, he must undergo a process of relearning in which the norms of the middle class become dominant and those of the working class become repressed. Applying the same logical pattern to the college-boy as that of the corner-boy pattern, we must assume that the norms of the working class are a constant and strong competitor to the norms of the middle class. Because of the conflict underlying the relationship between the set of manifest and latent norms, ambivalence must be created. Since the college-boy has to change his past learning to adopt the middle class norms. In an effort to handle the tension created by the normative conflict, the college-boy will strongly reject his past and orient himself to the middle class. In this case, reaction-formation will probably take the form of an extreme over-conformity to the expectations of

the middle class in order to prove the individual's suitability for membership.²³

Is reaction formation as the ego defensive mechanism intervening between the ambivalence and the formulation of the delinquent subculture necessarily an all-inclusive term that effectively covers the psychodynamics that are occurring? It is the contention here that for a complete and clear understanding of the process of the transference of the sentiments of legitimacy from the traditional order to that of the delinquent subculture, reaction-formation must be complemented by compensation. Reaction-formation explains the behavioral content that is occurring but compensation explains the desired end that is sought. Compensation alerts us to the fact that a given end has not been attained and a substitute goal has been adopted.

The question must be raised as to why the delinquent subculture is chosen as the solution to the problem of adjustment that is created by status frustration, anxiety, and ambivalence. Cohen would answer this question by stating that the delinquent subculture refused to temporize with the norms of the middle class and thereby reduced the frustration and the ambivalence. With this formulation the author must agree, but the fact remains that there are other possible

solutions to this given problem of adjustment. The reason that the delinquent subculture is chosen over other possible courses of action is because the subculture redefines the status criteria of the middle class so that the working class boy can effectively and realistically strive for status on equal terms with his peers. By membership in the delinquent subculture, the individual can attain goals that he was striving for in the middle class society. The delinquent subculture serves the individual members as an effective mechanism of compensation. Because the delinquent subculture effectively redefines the status criteria in terms of which the individual can obtain those goals that were denied to him by the middle class, the delinquent subculture acts as an effective compensating mechanism.

Cohen's use of the concept of reaction-formation is valid as far as it goes. However, the relationship between the mechanism of reaction-formation and ambivalence and that of the different adaptations must be further specified and clarified. The corner-boy and the delinquent-boy are not the only adaptations that are aptly characterized by ambivalence and reaction-formation, this complex must be logically extended to embrace the college-boy.

In this same context, Cohen assumes that there are three modes of adaptation in relation to the norms of the

middle class. These modes are the college-boy, the corner-boy, and the delinquent-boy. Each of these adaptations is populated by members of the working class. Though Cohen goes into great detail to explain the psychodynamics of these adaptations, the explicit conditions under which each of these adaptations occur is conspicuously absent. These adaptations are taken as theoretical givens rather than as empirical problems. The conditions under which a working class boy will orient his behavior to the norms of the middle class, the norms of the working class, or the norms of the delinquent subculture must be further clarified by empirical research.

Communication of Gestures²⁴

The symbolic interactionist position of communication by gestures is invoked by Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin as the mechanism by which the creation of the subculture is explained. This is basically the position that the problem of adjustment to which the delinquent subculture is a solution must be shared with others in the context of effective communication. The problem that this creates is of the possible universe of individuals with which communication is possible, who are those to whom the expression of discontent with existing conditions would be positively received and those who would

receive this communication negatively and sanction the communicator? Communication in this context consists of a series of noncommittal symbolic gestures. The final product is a cultural product and the resultant of the process of conversion.

It is the contention that this process of mutual conversion by means of symbolic gestures is sufficient to establish the conditions under which the subculture is effectively created. However, the fact remains that once created, the subculture requires maintenance. Is this same process of communication by gestures responsible for subculture maintenance? This is not a matter which can be easily solved here; that the process of communication by gestures is a process that effectively explains the creation, but not the maintenance of the subculture. It is not a logical impossibility that the communication of gestures can be responsible for the persistence and maintenance of the subculture; however, before we can come to any definite conclusion on this question, the conditions of communication under which the subculture thrives must be clearly specified.

It is posited by both Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin that through this process of communication the attributions of legitimacy are divested from the conventional normative

structure of society and displaced upon the normative structure of the delinquent subculture. This is very likely the case, but one important element that needs to be clarified is the exact nature of the process of this transference concomitant with the creation of the subculture. It is not the last word to say that the final product will be a conversion of individual lines of action or discontent. The exact nature of this transference must be specified.

In summary, this section has brought to light the theoretical and empirical difficulties in the conception of the communication of gestures. The relationships between the process of communication and the persistence of the subculture and between communication and the transference of the sentiments of legitimacy from the conventional order to that of the delinquent subculture must be clarified.

The Delinquent Subculture ²⁵

A criticism that has been directed against Cohen that has been dealt with before but which can again be retouched upon here is the relationship between motivation and the delinquent subculture. In Delinquent Boys Cohen seems to assume that the motivation underlying the creation of the delinquent subculture stems basically from the problem to

which the subculture is a collective solution: status frustration. Kitsue has aptly and correctly criticized Cohen for this formulation by stating that "once a subculture is established individuals may persist in the gang with a diverse range of different motivations rather than just one single type."²⁶ With further respecification and reformulation Cohen has identified the delinquent subculture in Delinquent Boys as the parent male delinquent subculture, which is hypothesized to be the basic form from which all varieties spring.²⁷ This alerts us to the change in Cohen's thinking from a uni-motivational approach to a multi-motivational approach to a multi-motivational one.

Stykes brings to mind an interesting question as to the relationship between the subculture and the possibility of ambivalence. As we remember, the member of the delinquent subculture is characterized as ambivalent which creates tensions that are handled by the defense mechanism of reaction-formation. Stykes poses the question of the possibility of ambivalence in a subculture where illegal actions, as far as society is concerned, are normatively and morally sanctioned. Can an individual feel guilt in the context where actions that are socially unacceptable are socially validated? Stykes basic point is that in the delinquent

subculture there is no ambivalence because the individual members of the subculture have a number of "techniques of neutralization" which effectively insulate the individual from feelings of guilt and shame. If such is actually the case, the ambivalence that the corner-boy has is further specified. If in the delinquent subculture, the norms of the middle class were completely repressed, or suppressed as the author prefers, there would be no sense of guilt. Because of the existence of the various techniques of neutralization, we are alerted to the presence of an underlying sense of guilt, and the existence of the middle class norm in an unconscious or preconscious form.²⁸

Cohen postulates the existence of a semi-professional theft and a drug addict subculture. However, the most extensive formulation of these two subcultures is at the hands of Cloward and Ohlin. However, doubt is thrown upon these formulations by James Short who through empirical research had difficulty in locating the existence of both a criminal and a retreatist factor. This difficulty throws possible doubt as to their existence as subcultural phenomena. Short's research shows that because of the difficulty in their isolation and the fact that a criminal and retreatist factor

constantly ran through the factors isolated lends credence to the statement that the criminal and the retreatist patterns are not subcultural by nature.²⁹ This finding by Short lends support to Yablonsky's position who denies the existence of a criminal and a retreatist subcultural pattern. This is probably the most significant contribution of Yablonsky, i.e., the postulation of the subculture as an empirical problem rather than as a theoretical given.

Cloward and Ohlin's basic hypothesis is that the delinquent subcultures that are isolated are a function of the legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures that exist in the locale of the youth. If the youth has failed in the use of the legitimate opportunity structure and if the necessary environmental conditions are present and the youth has the motivation for the adoption of a delinquent solution, the youth will adopt a criminalistic pattern. If the environmental conditions are not present and the individual has the motivation for a delinquent solution, the individual will adopt a conflict pattern. If the individual fails in the use of both the illegitimate and the legitimate opportunity structures and/or if the individual fails in the use of legitimate means and has internalized prohibitions against the use of illegitimate means, the resulting adaptation is the retreatist pattern.

The basic theoretical difficulty that Cloward and Ohlin have is accounting for the creation and the persistence of subcultures in the presence of opportunity structures that do exist.³¹ If this is truly the case, it throws doubts upon the entire theoretical formulation, for Cloward and Ohlin stand or fall upon the empirical validity of the opportunity structure both legitimate and illegitimate. If these two structures stand vis-a-vis each other, the theoretical expectation is that the legitimate opportunity structure will be chosen. If such is not the empirical case, a drastic reformulation of Cloward and Ohlin's position is necessary. This is the matter for empirical research which must take into account those gangs that are created in the face of existing opportunities and those that exist in the face of existing opportunities.

Cloward and Ohlin assume that the underlying precondition for the creation of the delinquent subcultural patterns is the withdrawal of the sentiments of legitimacy of the existing order. This withdrawal of sentiments of legitimacy is accomplished by blaming the system for the failure that one has suffered. If an individual fails in his aspirations and places the blame for his failure upon his own inadequacy, he is reaffirming his sentiment of legitimacy

to the constitutive order. If, on the other hand, the individual placed the blame for his failure upon the constructive order rather than upon himself, he would be withdrawing his sentiments of legitimacy from the existing system, leaving them free to be transferred to the delinquent subculture.

The question that is to be raised here is the extent to which an individual that has been socialized within a given context can reject that context by placing the blame for failure upon the system rather than upon oneself. Is the subculture formed as a result of withdrawing sentiments from the system and hence the moral validity or rather would the creation of the subculture have the purpose of mitigating the sense of internal blame.³¹ The socialization experiences that most children undergo function to give the system under which action takes place moral validity and a binding power and control over our behavior. It seems difficult to conceive the circumstances that an individual could blame the system rather than himself for his failure. Because this latter possibility does exist, this is an empirical problem, i.e., to find the degree to which the delinquent group has withdrawn their sentiments of legitimacy from the constitutive order prior to their becoming delinquent.

This section brings to the foreground the empirical possibility of a delinquent subculture in contradistinction

to the normative structure of the conventional society. There is essential agreement that delinquency in the working class sectors is subcultural, disagreement arises as to what this subculture entails. The relation between subcultural membership and guilt, the degree to which the retreatist adoption is subcultural and the amount and kinds of division must be clarified by field and empirical research.

The Legitimate and Illegitimate Opportunity Structures³²

Implicit within the positions of Cohen and Yablonsky is the concept of legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structure which is a central nexus in the position of Cloward and Ohlin. These theories postulate that the neighborhood of the criminal subculture is characterized by the existence of an illegitimate opportunity structure which is characterized by an integration of different age levels of offenders, appropriate learning and performance environments, and the integration of values between carriers of legitimate and illegitimate roles. Cloward and Ohlin's position is that when these illegitimate opportunities are available the youth in such an area will take advantage of them, i.e., those that have failed in the use of legitimate means or those to which the legitimate means are not available will become involved

in the criminal subculture. When the illegitimate opportunity structure is absent or when there is failure in its use, the youth will adopt a pattern of behavior consistent with the conflict subculture. When the individual has failed in the use of both the legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structure or has internalized prohibitions against the use of the illegitimate opportunity structure a retreatist adaptation is maintained.

The point that the authors wish to bring to light is the degree to which the opportunity structures are perceived as available by the individual. To the extent that an individual does not perceive an opportunity structure, either legitimate or illegitimate, to be either present or absent, to that degree he will adopt behavior consonant with this perception. This is possible even in the face of the fact that in reality the opportunity structure does exist. Is it necessary for the opportunity structure to exist? The most important element is the degree to which the individual perceives the opportunity structure to exist or to be absent. It matters little whether or not an opportunity structure does in reality exist, the essential element is the degree to which the individual perceives the availability of access to the utilization of the subculture.

A basic and quite a difficult question can be put to Cloward and Ohlin. Is it because of the lack of opportunities for success that the gang is joined or rather is it because of gang participation that opportunities become closed? Cloward and Ohlin would throw their weight behind the first option, but a very convincing case can be made for the latter option. To the degree that Cloward and Ohlin are in error on this point, their theoretical perspective falls. This cannot be cleared up here but is rather a matter for empirical research to solve.

There might be a tendency to confuse level of aspiration with opportunity structure. The basic difference between these two concepts seems to be the level of theoretical conceptualization. The opportunity structure is a sociological concept that is conceptualized from the structural point of view. The level of aspiration is a social psychological concept. The former concept denotes the relationship of the social order to the individual and the latter denotes the relationship between individual actors. The opportunity structure is structural and the level of aspiration is functional.

The basic fact that this section has pointed out is that it is not the empirical presence but rather the perceived presence of opportunity structures that is of basic importance.

Research must clarify the relationship between perceived opportunity structures and one's chances to perform in them. Does the individual need illegitimate opportunities because legitimate opportunities are closed or are the legitimate opportunities closed because of his participation in the delinquent subculture? The temporary sequence between perceived illegitimate opportunity structure and perceived legitimate must be clarified.

Relationships Between the Middle Class and the Working (Lower) Class ³³

Cohen isolates a number of middle class norms in relationship to which the working class child is socialized. Because of the socialization practices and experiences of the working class, the youth are not adequately prepared to meet the status criteria of the middle class. Because of the differentials in the norms to which both classes adhere, the working class child is structurally denied access to success goals which he has internalized. Shulman has stated that the norms isolated by Cohen are undergoing significant change.³⁴ The point to which Shulman does not address himself is the direct of his postulated change. Are the norms of the middle class changing in the direction of the norms of the working class or rather are they becoming more rigidly

specified in terms of the middle class? The answer to this question will have a great bearing on the degree to which the working class child suffers status frustration and anxiety. If the norms of the middle class are changing in the direction of the working class, theoretically more youths from the working class will succeed in their status aspirations than at the present time. If the latter is the case, the college-boy adaptation will become less and less available. In this context, Cohen suggests that the deferred gratification pattern of the middle class is breaking down.³⁵ The degree to which this is true is a matter for empirical research and will have heavy implications for Cohen's subcultural theory.

Cohen makes an unwarranted assumption concerning the status aspirations of the working class youth. This assumption can be briefly stated thusly: the working class youth is oriented to status success in terms of the middle class. This assumption is implicit in the postulation of reaction-formation which handles the tension generated by the conflicting relationship between the norms of the working and the middle class. If the youth was not oriented toward success in terms of middle class criteria, the problem to which adjustment is necessary (status frustration) would not occur. If this assumption was not made, there would be no postulation

of the college-boy adaptation. "The use of reaction formation assumes that the youth be oriented toward the middle class," because of the necessity of ambivalence.³⁶ This orientation should be taken as problematical rather than as a theoretical given. Rothstein states the problem in a different way, "Is class consciousness as posited by Cohen acceptable, do teenagers perceive their position in the status structure?"³⁷ The problem that has been generated by Cohen's postulation of a working class orientation toward the middle class can be aptly summed up in the question of what is the working class youth concerned with, status or mobility. If the child is concerned with status, he can orient himself to his working class peers in comparison with whom he can achieve status. If the child is oriented toward mobility, the working class child must orient their behavior toward the expectations of the middle class. One must strive for success, we take this as a given, but what is problematical is whose criteria is success, to be judged by?

Cohen's explanation of middle class delinquent behavior has drawn criticism from various sources. Summarizing his position on middle class delinquency, Cohen states that:

Because of the structure of the modern family and the nature of our occupational system, children of both sexes tend to form early feminine identifications. The boy, however, unlike the girl, comes later under strong social pressure to establish his masculinity, his difference from female figures. Because his mother is the object of the feminine identification which he feels is the threat to his status as a male, he tends to react negativistically to those conduct norms which have been associated with mother and therefore have acquired feminine significance. Since mother has been the principal agent of indoctrination of 'good' respectable behavior, 'goodness' comes to symbolize femininity, and engaging in 'bad' behavior acquires the function of denying his femininity and therefore asserting his masculinity. This is the motivation to juvenile delinquency.³⁸ [Author's emphasis]

Middle class delinquency, as conceived by Cohen seems to be done so in a uni-dimensional light. A child brought up in the atmosphere in which the father is not constantly present and whose activities are not obvious to the child, will become delinquent because 'good' behavior is identified with the feminine role, a role from which he is seeking escape. As such, masculinity is identified with badness. As is the trouble with the term status problems, the problem to which the middle class boy must adjust is conceived on a unitary basis. An additional problem generated is that Cohen makes no attempt to show the degree to which the problem which masculine identification leads is capable of being communicated and shared.³⁹ Also, Cohen must show the relationship between the problem of adjustment which masculine identification

leads to and the emergence of delinquent norms and the delinquent subculture.⁴⁰ However, what seems to be the most perplexing problem of this orientation is that it does not explain why some youths, who are exposed to the same influences, do not become delinquent.

Cohen can be criticized in relation to the extent to which he shows the working class to be influenced by the middle class. Cohen takes this as a categorical given as he takes the working class boys' orientation toward the middle class. If the working class are socialized under the norms of the working class, would not they orient their strivings toward the working class. Cohen would answer this question by stating that the middle class ethic is all pervasive. However, Cohen does not make the manner and the process by which this influence is exerted a matter of explicit statement. It is possible that the middle class dominated educational system would have a great effect, but Cohen makes relatively little mention of it.

Cloward and Ohlin's belief is that the working class boy does not necessarily strive for status in terms of the middle class rather they strive for recognition and prestige in the eyes of their fellows. However, the middle class effects the lives of the working class boy through the educational

system. Cloward and Ohlin's treatment of the educational system's effects on the individual stop at this point for they make the statement that the lack of educational attainment on the part of the working class individuals is not always because of failure or lack of interest, many times the lack of educational attainment is the result of economic pressures. For an individual who is concerned about living from day to day, advanced education must seem remote indeed. The effects of the middle class system upon the lives and concerns of the working class must not be taken as categorical given, but rather as problematical for empirical research.'

The difficulty with Yablonsky's position as regards the middle class is that his treatment of the violent gang must be confined to the working class sectors of society. Yablonsky's basic postulate is that the violent gang is characterized by sociopathic participation which arises as a result of the social and environmental conditions in the unstable slum area. Is it not possible for the sociopathic personality to be generated in the middle and upper class sectors of society. To the extent that this is true and that these individuals do not "group" into a violent gang, Yablonsky's position will become doubtful. The modal personality type of the violent gang is the sociopathic personality,

by what logical reasoning can we state that a working class sociopath is more prone to violent gang participation than is a middle or upper class sociopath? The relationship between sociopathic personality, social class, and violent gang participation must be researched empirically.

This point emerging from this discussion can be seen to be the hypothesized relation of the working class boy to the middle class. It is assumed that the working class is oriented toward the normative structure of the middle class. This class which serves as a status and/or normative reference group for the working class child is not to be taken as a given but must be established by empirical research.

The Sociopathic Personality and Gang Involvement⁴¹

Yablonsky postulates that the most common personality type found in the violent gang is the sociopath who has his generation in the social and environmental conditions of the unstable slum area. From Yablonsky's description of the relationship between the unstable slum and the sociopath, it seems to be impossible for a normal youth to be brought up in this urban area. The possible occurrence of a normal youth in the disorganized or unstable slum is precluded. There must be a specification of the causes of the sociopathic

personality in the unstable slum vis-a-vis the normal adjusted personality that presumably can emerge from the same area. By what pressures can the strains toward the sociopathic personality be diverted into other socially acceptable channels in the unstable slum?

Another trouble with the relationship between the sociopathic personality and gang involvement revolves around the degree of normal involvement in the violent gang. Yablonsky states that the essential criterion for violent gang membership is simply a proclivity toward violence. Is it necessarily the case that only the sociopathic individual can be so characterized? By Yablonsky's delineation of the categories of marginal members, it seems as though the sociopathic personality is a sufficient condition for gang involvement. It seems that there are other conditions that must be taken into account for the explanation of the violent gang in addition to the sociopathic personality.

This leads us to what seems to be a basic criticism of Yablonsky's position. It does not seem that the all prevasiveness and the role of the modal personality can be always given to the sociopathic personality. This is a matter that cannot be cleared up here, but it seems as though personality or psychodynamic maladjustment is necessary for violent or conflict gang membership. It is possible that

the violent gang is a special category of the conflict orientation of Cloward and Ohlin; this however is yet to be established. The sociopathic personality need not be either the sole or even the modal personality type for the violent gang to function. Other personality maladjustments can just as efficiently explain the ensuing behavioral patterns.

The Near-Group Structure⁴²

James Short believes that Yablonsky's formation of the near-group structure is basically correct, but he is overstating his case.⁴³ The formulation of the near-group is so recent that an extensive discussion of the degree to which Yablonsky may be overstating its case is impossible. However, in this context, Pfautz believes that rather than the formulation of a new term, the functions of the violent gang can be aptly summed up in the postulation of the violent gang as an expressive social movement.⁴⁴ However, it is the author's contention that the formulation of the near-group structure of the violent gang as that of an expressive social movement denies the basic point that Yablonsky is making: the near-group is at the midpoint of a behavioral continuum and will stay at this point. The near-group may at times be closer to a mob or to a group than at others; but there are

essential characteristics that defy its characterization as either a structural phenomena (a group) or as an emerging collective phenomena (a mob).

Yablonsky believes that one of the most dangerous consequences of the street gang worker (detached worker programs) is that they will project group properties onto the "structure" of the violent gang, and by their presence, there is the possibility that the violent gang may become solidified and function as a group.⁴⁵ Myerhoff disagrees with Yablonsky that this consequence is dangerous for it is by this method that the activities of the violent gang can be diverted into socially acceptable channels.⁴⁶ This sublimation of the gang's activities may be possible, but it seems that if failure is likely, this is a dangerous method to attempt to deal with the violent gang.

Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin postulate that the nature of the relationships within the gang are relatively intense and of the primary nature; Yablonsky states that the nature of the gang relationship is short-lived and secondary. This problem must be solved by empirical research. It is possible that the nature of the confusion is that Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin, and Yablonsky are addressing themselves to qualitatively different gangs.

Yablonsky's postulation of the violent gang as a near-group has not received the research attention that is due. The explicit reformulations and clarifications to sharpen the edge of the concept are dependent upon this research. Until accomplished the exact nature of the relationship between the violent gang and the structure of the near-group remains obscure, and requires specifications.

Additional Problems

Cohen expressly deals with the creation rather than the maintenance of the subculture. This creates the methodological difficulty that propositions date back to the psychological characteristics of past populations; the explanation of the emergence of the subculture requires historical data that are not available.⁴⁷ Cohen postulates that the subculture arise because of the status frustration that the working class youth experiences. Before this can be validated we need information on the psychological makeup of these individuals and this data simply is not available. This also implies a closely related problem: is the creation and the maintenance of the subculture due to the same cultural dislocation?

Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin conceive of alienation

from the existing social order to be an all-or-none affair; is it not more realistic to conceive of this alienation to be a matter of degree of increasing intensity rather than an either-or affair? Alienation proceeds in steps rather than all at once.

In this section we have critically synthesized the anomie tradition of theory and research in the area of juvenile gang delinquency.

In this section a number of critical points central to the positions of Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin, and Yablonsky have been raised to illustrate the stage of development of the anomie tradition of delinquent theory and to point to future theoretical and research needs. In summary, these points indicate that:

- (1) The relationship between the socialization experiences, the community pattern, and the type of gang must be clarified and their interrelationships specified.
- (2) The relationship between delinquency and problems of adjustment must be studied further to determine the role of alternative solutions, the nature of the problems that create pressures for deviance, the extent to which the problems must be shared and communicated, and the inevitability of the delinquent solution.
- (3) The relationship between the mechanism of reaction-formation and ambivalence and that of the different adaptations, i.e., the college-boy, the corner-boy and the delinquent-boy, must be further specified.

- (4) The relationship between the process of communication and the persistence of the subculture and between communication and the transference of the sentiments of legitimacy from the conventional order to that of the delinquent subculture must be clarified.
- (5) Field and empirical research are needed to clarify the relationship between delinquent subcultural membership and one's sense of failure.
- (6) The extent of subcultural types and the exact subcultural nature of the retreatist focus must be further specified.
- (7) The temporal sequence between perceived illegitimate and legitimate opportunity structures must be clarified.
- (8) The validity of treating the class which serves as a status and/or a normative reference group for the working class child as a theoretical given needs to be critically assessed in terms of research.
- (9) The extent to which the sociopathic personality is the characteristic personality of the violent gang needs to be explored.
- (10) The exact nature of the relationship between the violent gang and the structure of the near-group remains obscure and requires specification.

Concluding Thoughts

The anomie tradition of theory and research in juvenile gang delinquency assumes that one possible response to a problem of adjustment occasioned by a structural discrepancy between cultural goals and institutionalized means is the delinquent subculture. This structural discrepancy is basically

and most extensively confined to the lower or working class sectors of our modern urban areas. The delinquent subculture is the creation, on an implicit level, of an illegitimate opportunity structure within which the youths can attain goals that have been denied them by virtue of their relative position in the social structure. This subculture is established by the communication of discontent of those youths who have become alienated from the social order and who seek a collective solution to their problems of adjustment. The socialization experiences that a child encounters as a member of a certain social class have a great effect upon the problem of adjustment to which the subculture is a collective response. In American society, juvenile gang delinquency takes on different focal concerns; thus for example, the literature speaks of criminal, conflict, and retreatist subcultures.

Since its inception as a sociological concept, anomie has traveled a long and arduous road in the process of its constant reformulation and clarification. As it stands at present, the anomie tradition of delinquent theory has specified conditions which give rise to the delinquent act, and has implied conditions for the non-delinquent or conforming act. What remains ahead for this tradition, is the further specification of its concept and the delineation of the operations

inherent within them. What, in actuality, constitutes status frustration? Must the opportunity structures be social structural realities or may they be on a more abstract perceptual level? What are the basic types of the delinquent subcultures? Is the retreatist focus subcultural in nature? In responding to these and other related questions, it can be anticipated that those within the anomie tradition will bring greater theoretical clarity to its efforts and make increasing empirical contributions to the understanding of the delinquent subculture.

This thesis has addressed itself to an explication and clarification of this tradition as exemplified by the work of Albert K. Cohen, Richard A. Cloward, Lloyd E. Ohlin, and Lewis Yablonsky. These theorists take as their theoretical starting point the basic discrepancy between the means and the ends in American society. Their positions are analyzed according to the Processually Articulated Structural Model (PAS Model). Propositions are derived from this analysis which expresses an essential core of meaning that pervades all the authors that are considered. This is followed by a critical synthesis which explicates these areas in which further theoretical formulations and/or empirical research is needed.

The anomie tradition has formed the theoretical basis

for one approach to the study of juvenile gang delinquency. Although the concept of anomie is by no means new, the development of its implications as the basis for an explanation of gang delinquency is. This thesis has been an excursion into this tradition to see where it has traveled in its relatively short life and in what directions it will most profitably move in the future.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER III

¹See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Sentiment as an element, End, Goal, or Objective as an element, Goal-Attaining Activity as a process, Latent Activity as a process, Norm as an element

²See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: End, Goal, or Objective as an element, Goal-Attaining Activity as a process, Norm as an element.

³Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), p. 37.

⁴Ibid., p. 158.

⁵Albert K. Cohen and James F. Short, "Research in Delinquent Subcultures," Journal of Social Issues, 14 (#3, 1958), p. 28.

⁶Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), p. 39.

⁷Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1959), pp. 167-169.

⁸See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: End, Goal, or Objective as an element, Latent Activity as a process, Evaluation as a process, Facility as an element and Utilization of Facilities as a process.

⁹See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Communication.

¹⁰See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Socialization.

¹¹William C. Kvaraceus and Walter B. Miller, Delinquent Behavior: Culture and the Individual (Washington, D. C., National Educational Association of the United States, 1959), pp. 62-87.

¹²Cohen and Short, op. cit., p. 32.

¹³See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Goal-Attaining Activity as a process, Status-Role performance as a process.

¹⁴See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Socialization.

¹⁵See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Sentiment as an element, End, Goal, or Objective as an element, Goal-Attaining Activity as a process, Latent Activity as a process.

¹⁶Cohen and Short, op. cit., pp. 24-28.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 28-29.

¹⁸David J. Bordua, "Delinquent Subcultures: Sociological Interpretations of Gang Delinquency," Annals, 338 (November, 1961), pp. 127-128.

¹⁹Cohen, op. cit., p. 59.

²⁰Sophia Robison, Juvenile Delinquency: Its Nature and Control (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 143.

²¹See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Sentiment as an element, Tension Management as a process, Latent Activity as a process.

²²Cohen, op. cit., p. 132.

²³John I. Kitsue and David C. Dietrick, "Delinquent Boys: A Critique," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1959), p. 211.

²⁴See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Communication.

²⁵See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Sentiment as an element, End, Goal, or Objective as an element, Goal-Attaining activity as a process, Latent Activity as a process, Norm as an element, Facility as an element and Utilization of Facilities as a process.

²⁶Kitsue and Dietrick, op. cit., pp. 212-213.

²⁷Cohen and Short, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

²⁸Gresham M. Sykes and David Matza, "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency," American Sociological Review, 22 (December, 1957), pp. 664-670.

²⁹James F. Short, et. al., "Behavioral Dimensions of Gang Delinquency," American Sociological Review, 28 (June, 1958), pp. 411-429.

³⁰Bordua, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

³¹Ibid., pp. 133-134.

³²See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Systematic Linkage.

³³See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: End, Goal, or Objective as an element, Goal-Attaining Activity as a process, Norm as an element.

³⁴Harry Shulman, *Juvenile Delinquency in American Society* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), pp. 175-176.

³⁵Cohen and Short, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

³⁶Kitsue and Dietrick, op. cit., p. 211. See also Shulman, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

³⁷Edward Rothstein, "Attributes Related to High Social Status: A Comparison of Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Boys," Social Problems, 10 (Summer, 1962), p. 81.

³⁸Cohen, op. cit., p. 164.

³⁹Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 42.

⁴¹See Chapter II, PAS Model categories: Sentiment as an element, Tension Management as a process, Institutionalization.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Howard L. Myerhoff and Barbara G. Myerhoff, "Field Observations of Middle Class 'Gangs'," Social Forces, 42 (March, 1964), p. 329.

⁴⁴Harold W. Pfautz, "Near-Group Theory and Collective Behavior: A Critical Reformulation," Social Problems, 9 (Fall, 1961), pp. 167-174.

⁴⁵Lewis Yablonsky, "The Delinquent Gang as a Near-Group," Social Problems, 7 (Fall, 1959), pp. 108-117.

⁴⁶Myerhoff and Myerhoff, op. cit., p. 334.

⁴⁷Kitsue and Dietrick, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

APPENDIX I

FIGURE 1

ELEMENTS, PROCESSES AND CONDITIONS OF ACTION OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
THE PROCESSUALLY ARTICULATED STRUCTURAL MODEL (PAS MODEL)

Processes (Elemental)	Structural- Functional Categories	Elements
1. Cognitive mapping and validation	Knowing	Belief (know- ledge)
2. a) Tension management and b) Communication of sentiment	Feeling	Sentiment
3. a) Goal attaining activi- ty and b) Concomitant "latent" activity as process	Achieving	End, Goal or Objective
4. Evaluation	Norming Stand- ardizing, Pattern- ing	Norm
5. Status-role performance	Dividing the functions	Status-role (position)

6. a) Evaluation of actors and b) Allocation of status-roles	Ranking	Rank
7. a) Decision making and b) Initiation of action	Controlling	Power
8. Application of sanctions	Sanctioning	Sanction
9. Utilization of facilities	Facilitating	Facility
Comprehensive or Master Processes		
1. Communication	3. Systemic linkage	5. Social- ization
2. Boundary Maintenance	4. Institutional- ization	6. Social Control
Conditions of Social Action		
1. Territoriality	2. Size	3. Time

APPENDIX I

Underlying the formulation of the PAS Model is the sociological concern with three basic variables, social structure, society, and social system.¹ The PAS Model is an attempt to articulate the structural and processural relationships between these concepts in a logically consistent whole. The logic that runs through the formulation of the model is the concept of human interaction.

Interaction according to Loomis is the core datum of sociological theory and research and has been defined as any event by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other. Interaction is the concept which is basic to the PAS Model for it is the connecting link between the three main variables aforementioned.

Interaction tends to develop certain uniformities over time, some of which tend to persist. As they are orderly and systematic, they can be recognized as social systems. Because the social system is composed of identifiable and interdependent parts it is said to possess social structure. Society is constituted of reciprocal activity which is structured and differentiated into a variable number of systems. . . . All (these systems) are interlinked in such a manner that one sees different systems according to the perspective taken.

Whatever system one is viewing, the elements that constitute it as a social system and the processes that articulate it remain the same. [Author's italics]²

Regardless of the level of analysis taken, be it the master system called society or one of the various subsystems which articulate to form the master system, the elements and the processes that combine to form the structure of the system remain the same.

Since a social system is an analytical concept and cannot be empirically isolated for testing, any division of the whole into its constituent parts is a process of analytical abstractions. The elements of the PAS Model are viewed in the same fashion as are the molecules or the atoms in their relationship to the chemical compound. "An element, then, is the unit of analysis employed in explaining interaction from the point of view of a given discipline."³ A social system is not a static but a dynamic whole and cannot realistically be broken into its constituent elements. However, for the processes of understanding and analysis such a division is necessary. The elements of the PAS Model are a means by which various social systems can be analyzed at any given point in the process of development and change.⁴

"The elements that stand in a given relation to each other at a given moment do not remain in that relation (except

by abstraction) for any length of time. The processes . . . are the tools through which the social system may be understood as a dynamic functioning continuity -- a 'going concern.'"⁵ At any point in time, the analysis of a social system by means of the constitutive elements alone would result in a completely distorted picture of the whole, because a social system by the very nature of its being a system must be conceived in dynamic rather than in static terms. It is the processes rather than the elements that give social systems their orderliness over time.

In his consideration of the processes of social action, Loomis makes what seems to be a very important distinction between two types of processes: elemental and master or comprehensive.⁶ The elemental processes are conceived to be those that articulate separate elements, on the other hand, the master or comprehensive processes may involve one or articulate several or all of the elements.

In line with his Conception of the ultimate unity of social systems, Loomis states that the purpose of the PAS Model is "an effort to break through some of the difficulties imposed by the static aspects of the equilibrium model in the analysis of social change" ⁷ Within this context, the PAS Model will be used solely as a means by which the three different authors representing the anomie tradition can be analytically compared and theoretical similarities discovered.⁸

APPENDIX II

DEFINITIONS OF THE ELEMENTS, PROCESSES, COMPREHENSIVE
OR MASTER PROCESSES, AND THE CONDITIONS OF
SOCIAL ACTION AS USED IN THE PAS MODEL⁹

1. Belief as an element: A belief is any proposition about the universe which is thought to be true.
2. Cognitive mapping and validation as a process: The activity by which knowledge, or what is considered true and what false, is developed.
3. Sentiment as an element: Whereas beliefs embody thoughts, sentiments embody feelings about the world.
4. Tension management as process: The process by which the elements of the social system are articulated in such a manner as to (1) prevent sentiments from obstructing goal-directed activity and (2) avail the system of their motivating force in achieving goals.
5. Communication of sentiment as process: The process by which members of a social system may be motivated to achieve goals, to conform to norms, and to carry out systematic action through transfer of feeling by symbols.
6. End, goal, or objective as an element: The change (or in some cases the retention of the status quo) that members of a social system expect to accomplish through appropriate interaction.
7. Goal-attaining activity as a process: The method of interaction that are prerequisite to achieve the given social end.
8. Latent activity as a process: Latent activities are those whose consequences are unintended and unrecognized.
9. Norm as an element: The rules which prescribe what is acceptable or unacceptable.
10. Evaluation as a process: The process through which positive and negative priorities or values are assigned to concepts, objects, actors, or collectivities, or to events and activities, either past, present or future.
11. Status-role as a unit incorporating both element and process: Status-role incorporates both the concept of status, a structural concept implying position and the concept of role, a functional process.
12. Rank as an element: Rank or standing represents the value an actor has for the system in which the rank is accorded.

13. Evaluation of actors and allocation of status-roles as process: No explicit definition is given.
14. Power as an element: The capacity to control others.
15. Decision-making and its initiation into action as a process: The process by which the alternative available to the members are reduced.
16. Sanction as an element: The rewards and penalties used to attain conformity to ends and norms.
17. Application of sanctions as a process: No explicit definition is given.
18. Facility as an element: A means used within the system to attain the members ends.
19. Utilization of facilities as process: No explicit definition is given.
20. Communication: The process by which information, decisions, and directives pass through the system and by which knowledge is transmitted and sentiment is formed or modified.
21. Institutionalization: Process by which human behavior is made predictable and patterned social systems are given the elements of structure and the processes of function.
22. Socialization: The process whereby the social and cultural heritage is transmitted.
23. Social control: Process by which deviancy is counteracted.
24. Territoriality: The setting of the social system in space.
25. Size: No explicit definition is given.
26. Time: No explicit definition is given.

FOOTNOTES FOR APPENDIX I & II

¹Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems: Essays on their Persistence and Change (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 8-40.

²Ibid., pp. 3-5.

³Ibid., p. 5.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

⁶Ibid., p. 7.

⁷Ibid., p. 10.

⁸For illustrations of the ways in which the PAS Model has been used for theoretical clarification see Charles P. Loomis and Zonak Loomis, Modern Social Theories (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1961).

⁹Loomis and Loomis, op. cit., pp. 6-17. See also, Loomis, op. cit., pp. 11-40.

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