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A REAPPRAISAL: JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE BROKEN HOME

by

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ABSTRACT

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The relation of delinquency to the different aspects of family structure has attracted more attention over a longer period of time in the field of Sociology and Criminology than other variables viz. social class, race, gender, impact of school experience on delinquency and so on. The main focus of this study centers around analyzing the relation between delinquency and broken homes, as it occurs in the United States, by presenting the analyses of the research findings of social scientists in the last three decades. These analyses are selected from the seven leading journals in the field of Sociology and Criminology and are reexamined by using the technique of content analysis.

The examination of the literature is based on the testing of the hypotheses related to: 1) The use of official data and legal definitions of the terms delinquency, delinquent behavior and broken homes. 2) The greater concentration of research studies in urban areas and the use of traditional theoretical perspectives, exhibiting the influence of the Chicago-school. The significant findings indicate that: 1) In the decade of the 1980's, family variables will continue to remain important in the explanation of the delinquency problem. 2) a. The use of official data and legal definitions seriously limit the scope and the extent of results, b. the majority of the studies have selected urban cities as the location of their studies, c. with a few exceptions, all the research efforts adhere to the Chicago school theoretical perspectives. This is

true of all three decades. 3) A few studies challenge the existing assumptions related to gang and non-gang youth, female-delinquency and the structure and culture of the Black family in its relationship to delinquency.

An attempt is made 1) to clarify some of the basic inconsistencies in conceptual orientations; 2) to suggest missing links and neglected areas; 3) to suggest guidelines for future research, which in turn will help to develop more effective preventive policies. On basis of careful evaluations of all the selected studies it is suggested that there appears to be a unique urgency for developing broader definitions of the terms delinquency, delinquent behavior and broken homes. There is also a need for successfully developing a theoretical perspective which can be made applicable to the present situation of the delinquency problem. It is showed, how, with certain modifications, the unique contributions of labeling approach can be made applicable to the present situation.

And finally, our research strongly demonstrates (with a few exceptions) that every investigation into this area affirms the unmistakable relationship between the broken home and juvenile delinquency. Therefore, research aimed at discovering all possible causal explanations whereby children move from innocence to delinquency, must emphasize the absolute importance of the family.

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USHADEVI DAVID TRIBHUVAN
1981

For my husband, wise and dedicated partner, Vijay, whose supreme understanding inspired me, whose fervour of devotion and love gives me the strength to realize that nothing is impossible and who stands firmly and fearlessly against my misfortunes. He shares my laughter and tears, leisures and struggles, safety and dangers, good fortune and calamity. This sweet sharing has fostered my little accomplishment.

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Intensive studies in humanities and science give us supreme understanding of what life is. Sociology is man's dialogue with society. Every subject in the realm of humanities or science is a passionate search for truth. This search and research leading to fulfillment is a stimulus, a persistent and constant endeavor towards something afar, though never known completely, yet striving hard to achieve. With all my sincerity, integrity and ingenuity, I owe my greatest debt of gratitude and respect to my dissertation director, Dr. Jon Karr who made this research successful. He has been an extremely brilliant and kind guide. Without his expert guidance and excellent ability to provide me with an accurate direction, this work would not have been fulfilled.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1) Statement of the Problem Under Investigation

A large number of research studies in the field of juvenile delinquency advanced by sociologists and criminologists in the 20th century have invariably touched in some way on the influence of the family on the development or prevention of delinquency. The relation of delinquency to different aspects of family structure and interaction has attracted more attention over a longer period of time. Much of the early research on family conditions contributing to delinquency based its definitions of family disruption on the assumption that the "typical" American family was a nuclear family, one in which both parents lived in one residence, with father as chief breadwinner, the mother as the source of emotional support for family members, and the children as the subjects of the parents' efforts to prepare them for socially acceptable adulthood.

Today, it is apparent that a "typical" American family no longer exists. The traditional functions of the family have undergone drastic changes and it is apparently

not effective in imparting training to children, who learn to respect and understand human values, ideas of right and wrong and develop personalities that produce a sense of fellowship with all human beings. The family had and has a social responsibility to the community in which they live. The reality is, there is an unbridgeable gap between precepts and practices, when one looks at the ways in which the family exercises its informal control over its young members.

Recent sociological research offers many competing and, at times, conflicting perspectives on the family. For instance, the growth of a counter-culture in 1960's and early 1970's both rejected and posed alternatives to traditional forms of family. Skolnick said the nuclear family was thought to be "alive but not well." (Skolnick, 1973) There is a contradictory viewpoint stated by Mary Jo Bane (Bane, 1976) who, while discussing the contemporary family, concluded that the demographic data she analyzed show surprising evidence of the persistence of commitments to family and that the family is "here to stay." Bane's viewpoints were shared by Nye about a decade ago. The intrinsic, instrumental and individual values that define family as good, were unquestionable, leading Nye to state, "There is little doubt that the institution of the family is 'here to stay' not because this basic unit of social structure is valuable per se, but because it is instrumental in maintaining life itself,

in shaping the infant into a person and providing for the security and affectional needs of people of all ages."

(Nye, 1967:248)

In today's society it becomes difficult for the family to satisfy structurally and normatively defined expectations, while adjusting to demands and pressures of contemporary life-styles. This is one of the reasons why the family is not well and contributes to delinquency among its young members. The family has been a very effective means of informal social control in any society. When it becomes a significant cause of juvenile misconduct of future generations of the society, one can ask: How does the family contribute to delinquent behavior among its young members? If one accepts that the family is 'here to stay' then, the questions are: Is it here to stay as a "broken home" creating delinquent behavior among its young members"; and, is it in a position to offer stability, emotional support and satisfaction to its members and prove adequate to prevent the occurrence of unaccepted behavior?

The present investigation is an attempt to apply an analysis which will address these questions by drawing upon the research findings of several delinquency researchers in the years since 1950 in delinquency research particularly related to delinquency and broken homes. The main aim of this research is to explore the importance of family as a social institution in current literature, and how researchers have located some of the structural mechanisms that have

shaped the problem of juvenile delinquency.

The literature of each decade may show changes in the approach of researchers, and these changes will be examined to see if the structural features and functional importance of family have changed over time. This may lead to answer one of our questions, "What sort of family structure is going to persist?" The focal concern is to combine into one place those research findings by using the technique of content analysis. This will help to identify the possible relationships between broken homes and delinquency by comparing the analyses and interpretations of several thinkers. These analyses are given in research articles in the following journals:

1. American Sociological Review
2. American Journal of Sociology
3. Social Problems
4. Social Forces
5. Crime and Delinquency
6. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency
7. Journal of Marriage and the Family

Such a compilation of findings and re-examination developed by several social thinkers in the field will improve our understanding of the importance of the family and stimulate additional research. It will also help us to construct speculations about contemporary family structures.

The above discussion has broadly outlined our research problem. This investigation should be viewed as an exploratory study that can be built upon later.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The family has typically been viewed as playing an exceptionally important role in determining the behavior patterns of the children, as it has utmost exclusive contact with the child during the period of greater dependency. Ogburn stated seven functions served by the family throughout history; (1) economic production, (2) status allocation, (3) education, (4) religious training, (5) recreation, (6) protection, and (7) provision of affection. (Ogburn, 1938:139-143)

The functional importance of family as a basic institution of society has become an archaic phenomena. In recent times the family is trying to adopt to rapid socio-cultural changes, yet remains the important instrument for the early socialization of children in American society. In early socialization children learn most of their ideas of right and wrong.

"Family experiences shape the way the child perceives and evaluates the world and determines his capacity to deal with social situations." (Cohen, 1955:77) The family satisfies a child's emotional need to be wanted, to have his

accomplishments recognized, and to attain a secure place in the world. The family prepares children to become full-fledged participants in the ongoing social order. By this the segments of the culture are transmitted to each new generation. "In rural America the family provided not only the initial social interaction, by which a child began to understand himself, but also much of the training to conform to his culture. Because community members customarily interacted on an intimate primary-group basis, there was no hesitancy in reinforcing corrective action for deviant cultural behavior. Such corrective action was not official. (Except in cases of serious offenses)." (Wilson, 1967:41-42)

In modern industrial, urban communities the scope and effectiveness of the family as a socializing agency has become less significant because, the "family is forced to surrender certain socialization activities and the important reasons being 1) high rate social spatial mobility, 2) economic specialization, 3) greater tolerance of family dissolution. The increase in divorce rate over the last half-century is symptomatic of that tolerance." (Wilson, 1967:43) These changes also make the family one of the important parts of the environment which causes delinquency. In order to have partial explanations of this complex phenomena, I would like to judge the centrality of the family in its relationship to delinquency theory and research.

The thirty years from 1950 to 1980 show evidence that relationships between broken homes and delinquency received due attention in all three decades. For example, Monahan, in his article "Family Status and the Delinquent Child: A Reappraisal of Some New Findings," (1957), concluded that, "All in all, the stability and continuity of family life stands out as a most important factor in the development of children. It would seem, therefore, that the place of the home in the genesis of normal delinquent patterns and delinquent behavior should receive greater practical recognition. The relationship is so strong, that if ways could be found to do it, a strengthening of, preserving of family life among the groups which need it most, could probably accomplish more in the amelioration or prevention of delinquency and other problems, than any other single program yet devised." (Monahan, 1957:250-258)

A few of the studies which share the conclusions of Monahan and which stress the various aspects of family structure related to delinquency are: Nye (1958), who finds a strong association between the reported marital happiness of parents and delinquent behavior; Hirschi (1969) who argues that an effective tie between parent and child is one of the strongest convention-inducing variable in delinquency research; Moynihan (1965), who states that white children without fathers at least perceive all about them, the pattern of men working whereas Negro children without fathers flounder

and fail. Research has also established that children who feel unwanted by their mothers are more likely to report involvement in delinquency. [For examples, Hirschi's study (1969) and Hindelang's study (1973)]. These are some of the examples which, from the 1950's until very recently, show how researchers tried to establish relationships of delinquency to various structural aspects of the family.

It is still true that "the American emphasis in family research is on microstudies of contemporary issues of marriage and divorce, family interaction and family transactions, with community and kinship networks dominating the total product, with less than 15% of the writing concerned with macro-studies of the family." (Aldous and Hill, 1967:p.7)

The underlying assumption of the Chicago School of Sociology (founded in 1894) was that, we understand both the family and the effects of urban and industrial developments; what we must do is solve the resulting problems and strengthen the family. A similar concern is expressed by Margaret Mead, that the "American family is at the center of American concern at the present time, its strength and weaknesses, its past and its future are being subjected to every kind of scrutiny, pessimistic and optimistic." (Mead, 1959:116)

The examples mentioned above make it clear that since the early years of the century until today, social thought was dominated in some way or the other by an urgent concern about the structural conditions of family in relation to social

problems. With this as a background, we thought it is important to make an explicit attempt to analyze several perspectives by researchers in the area of delinquency and the family. Family ties have deep significance in everyone's life. Today, basic urges of human nature are not fulfilled due to unsatisfactory family conditions. For instance, loss of one parent or denial of love and affection from parents are not a trifle or inconsequential event which leave no memory or effect behind, on the tender minds of children. It results in emptiness and misanthropy, which leads them at times to deviancy and delinquent behavior. We know about some such children through official statistics. A large number of them that are unknown to us, were forced by circumstances to divert their life energy from its socially acceptable course and use it for socially unacceptable life-styles.

This limited research will not be in a position to give a complete picture of the phenomenon on juvenile delinquency but at least the reader will have some ideas of the dynamics of the relationship between delinquency and the broken home. The fact is that escape from home is no escape for these delinquents. Judging from a review of existing studies in particular cities or regions, it appears that between 15 and 25 percent of juveniles in the United States will acquire a juvenile court record by age of eighteen, with males and blacks having much higher prevalence rates than females and whites respectively. (Gordon, 1976)

A few try to find solace in theft, a few in burglary and a few in assaults. The result is inside the court or outside in the society, there may be no escape from labeling and the result is just a shift from a delinquent adaptation during adolescence to some other kind of deviance during adulthood.

The possibility cannot be denied that, instead of creating substitute institutions for the family, the family can be modified so that a juvenile can be helped in the recovery of faith in the decency of life-style leading to social welfare. That is why we feel any study that could be useful for the analysis of delinquency should involve a thorough examination of the family over a period of time. It will not be out of place here to narrate one of our experiences.

An eleven year old girl of our neighbor eagerly waited in the evening for her mother to come back home as there was no one else in the family. We came to know each other in the evening, because the girl, afraid of being alone in the house, would come and sit with us. Many a time it so happened that it was as late as eleven o'clock and her mother didn't return. Out of concern for the girl, one day we managed to talk to her mother and were shocked to find out that the girl was her adopted daughter.

Experiencing motherhood without suffering the pain of becoming a mother and devising escapes to run away from the

responsibility, made that little girl suffer. The nature and extent of emotional stresses suffered by that girl, forced her to utter the words, "Please don't ask me to go, I have nowhere to go." Such emotional reactions demand explanation and attention.

MAJOR THEORETICAL MODELS

In the last three decades a wide variety of explanations have been advanced by social researchers to understand delinquency. Their efforts contributed to the construction of theories and to the development of prevention policies to control delinquency. One of the goals of our research is to focus attention on the theoretical contribution to the field of delinquency of each study selected. We are aware of the fact that there is no broad theory of delinquency which can cover all the variables and give more significant and greater insight into the processes that are related to delinquency-causation among the existing theories of juvenile delinquency.

It is hoped that the examination of theoretical contributions with reference to selected studies will help to identify 1) common or identical assumptions among the different theories, 2) agreements and contradictions in the given explanations, 3) identical assumptions not leading to the same results. "The task of theory is to seek to integrate

the contribution of each into a single powerful theory without sacrificing the logical unity and discipline" (Cohen, 1966:102). Cloward and Ohlin (1960), by linking concepts of anomie theory and differential association culture transmission theory, developed differential-opportunity theory and applied it to delinquency. Our research might be able to suggest such links to develop broader theoretical perspectives.

At this time, we introduce the predominant theories of delinquency by presenting a summary of major propositional statements of each theory. The major theoretical approaches related to delinquency can be understood on two levels:*

1) psychological and 2) sociological.

Psychological Theories of Delinquency:

1) Psycho-Biological Theories: (Biological Control Theory):

Delinquent behavior, according to this theory, is the result of poor or defective heredity. In other words heredity determines delinquency.

A major contribution to this line of thinking was made by Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909), the founding father of the biological positivist school. He is best known for his notion of the 'atavistic' criminal, the "born criminal type" (Lombroso, 1913).

*Please refer to notes to Chapter 1, reference 1.

The physical "stigmata," he felt, indicated that criminals were "atavistic" - a kind of genetic throwback to an earlier form of animal life. With emphasis on physical and biological characteristics of criminals, Lombroso also examined the social and environmental correlates of the crime.

Lombroso's conception of the born criminal was sharply criticized but it strongly influenced the work of numerous European and American research efforts. One of the best known and most recent American studies is that of Ernest Hooton (1939), a Harvard anthropologist. On the basis of comparison of criminals and non-criminals he concluded that criminals are organically inferior, low-grade human organisms and that criminality was the behavioral manifestation of such biological inadequacy. The elimination of crime can be effected only by the extirpation of the physically, mentally, and morally unfit, or by their complete segregation in a socially aseptic environment.

Another school of thought posited that 'body-types' were related to distinctive types of temperament and behavior. Pioneers in this field were Ernst Kretschmer (1921) and William Sheldon (1949). Building on Kretschmer's endeavors, Sheldon differentiated between three body types: 1) the endomorphic (soft and round), the mesomorphic (hard and round), and the ectomorphic (fragile and thin). He argued that a particular temperament corresponded to each type: 1) the endomorph being predominantly slow, comfort loving and

extraverted; 2) the mesomorph, aggressive and active; and 3) the ectomorph, self-restrained and introverted.

A statistically significant application of Sheldon's typology by the Gluecks (1956) found that there were twice as many mesomorphs and half as many ectomorphs among delinquents than could have occurred by chance.

In Germany, more recent work of this type was pursued by Klaus Conrad (1963), who calculated head to body length against age and found that on the average children were more mesomorphic and adults were more ectomorphic. His theory is close to that of Eysenck (1965), who also utilized the notion of body shape and quotes Conrad's results approvingly.

In sum, from a positivistic point of view, Cohen (1966) thinks this means that it would be incorrect to draw the conclusion that the case for biology has been refuted or that further research along this line would be fruitless.

2) Psychoanalytic Instinct Theories:

Psychoanalytic theory is not a single theory, but a variety of theories developed by numerous writers from the original work of Sigmund Freud.

The basic assumption of one kind of psychoanalytic theory starts from the conception of the personality as constituted of the Id*, the Ego* and the Superego.*

*1) Id: The Id is the abode of impulse life, the wants and wishes that press for gratification.

Psychoanalytic theory tends to attribute delinquency to any of the following causes: 1) Inability to control criminal drives because of a deficiency in ego or super-ego development. In most psychoanalytical writing based on Freud's theory the Id is treated as a 'bundle of instincts.' The individual who is dominated by his Id is consequently criminal (we are all, in this view, 'born criminals' or at least contain within ourselves a 'born criminal'). 2) Freud theorized that every child possesses a set of primitive and antisocial instincts which he called the Id (Freud, 1963:14). Antisocial character formation results from disturbed ego-development. The ego seeks to gain control over the Id and also seeks to manipulate the external world to the individual's advantage (Freud 1963:15). 3) The superego reflects the child's conscience, the moral rules cultivated in him by his parents, school and other social institutions. Controlling impulses (and correcting wrongdoings) depends on the degree to which the superego is developed. If the superego fails to control and direct basic instincts, the Id can become dominant and may contribute to delinquency.

Cont'd.

- 2) The Ego: The ego is the 'reality principle,' the capacity to take thought, to take into account the environment including probable reactions of others. It is one restraining force that helps to keep the Id subdued and harmless.
- 3) The Superego includes the development of a 'conscience' and an 'ego ideal.' The 'ego ideal' represents what we should do and the conscience gives us guilt feelings when we are wrong.

Freud overemphasized the determinism supposedly inherent in human development. Freud's thinking almost exclusively dealt with organic nature of human personality and the relation of child to its parents. Among later variations on the Freudian theme, for instance, Piaget's (1932) work is noteworthy. Piaget showed that at eighteen months of age a child is barely able to represent images, so the conceptual understanding is still years away. Jean Piaget was perhaps the first to link cognitive abilities to the development of morality. In The Moral Judgment of the Child (1965), Piaget discusses four levels. First in which young children (aged three, four and five) judge an act as bad in terms of physical consequences, older children root their judgments in intention. Second, young children are unaware of relativity in moral judgment; they also generally fail to admit others' views of right and wrong. Third, young children regard acts as bad because they will be punished; older children discuss bad acts in terms of rule-breaking or harm to others. Fourth, young children generally fail to use empathy in their judgments; still egocentric young children are unable to take the other's role and use it as a reason to consider others' attitudes or welfare. Thus Piaget showed that moral maturity is attained by going through a series of developmental stages and being no longer fixed at infantile level.

Freudians, neo-Freudians and other psychoanalytic schools attribute criminality to inner-conflicts, emotional problems, unconscious feelings of insecurity, inadequacy, and inferiority. They regard criminal or delinquent behavior as a result of these underlying emotional problems.

One of the central difficulties with this inner conflict or underlying emotional problem perspective is that it is almost impossible to validate it in a systematic way, since diagnosis of emotional problems continues to rest very heavily on the interpretations made by the analyst himself. Such terms as 'pre delinquency' and 'latent delinquency' do not provide enough basis for the prediction of delinquency. Though Freudian theory is criticized for its shortcomings, it still remains a prevalent construct among social workers and psychiatrist. Sociologists and criminologists focus more extensively on the institutions (such as school and peer groups) that a child enters in later childhood and adolescence and tend to emphasize social factors and social frameworks in their search for an understanding of causes of crime and delinquency.

3) Psychogenic Theories: The central hypothesis guiding psychogenic investigations is that the critical casual factors in delinquency are personality problems to which juvenile misbehavior is presumed to be a response.

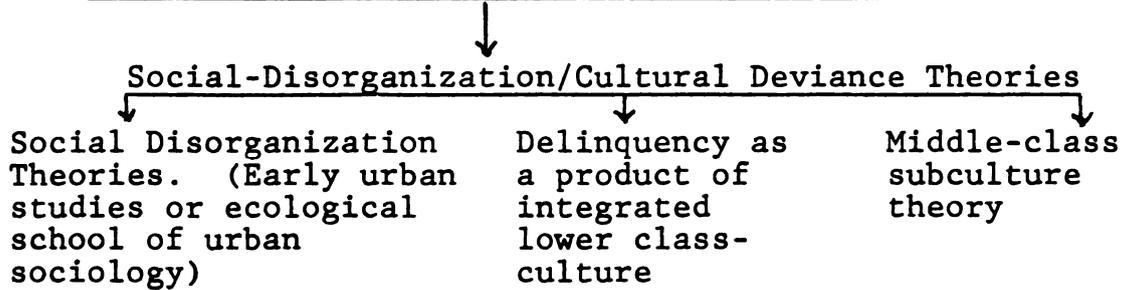
August Aichhorn (1955), a pioneering figure in the development of this argument, asserted that there must be

something in the child himself which the environment brings out in the form of delinquency. Delinquents behave as they do because they are in some way sick, maladjusted, or pathological.

The viewpoints of this perspective are incapable of empirical verification. Research shows that most delinquents are relatively normal youths in terms of personality structure and do not show any underlying psychological tensions or disturbances. Schuessler and Cressey (1950), showed that there is no necessary relationship however between personality traits and criminal behavior. (Schuessler and Cressey reviewed 113 known studies, up to 1950, which had compared the personality characteristics of delinquents and non-delinquents, criminals and non-criminals.)

The Sociological Theories of Delinquency

On the basis of early studies and current sociological theories, it can be stated that, in analyzing delinquency and crime, sociologists try to emphasize 1) how individuals become delinquents and 2) why systematic differences exist between the delinquent situations and rates found in different sectors of the social structure. The following discussion will address some of the important theoretical perspectives on delinquency and/or deviance.

A) Social Structural Aspects and DelinquencyB) Social Disorganization Theory: (Early urban studies or ecological school of urban sociology):

The main focus of early thought of this school was on the following processes.

Social Change → cultural-ecological transmission of values, norms, rules, etc.

Dissolution of group cohesion and social control

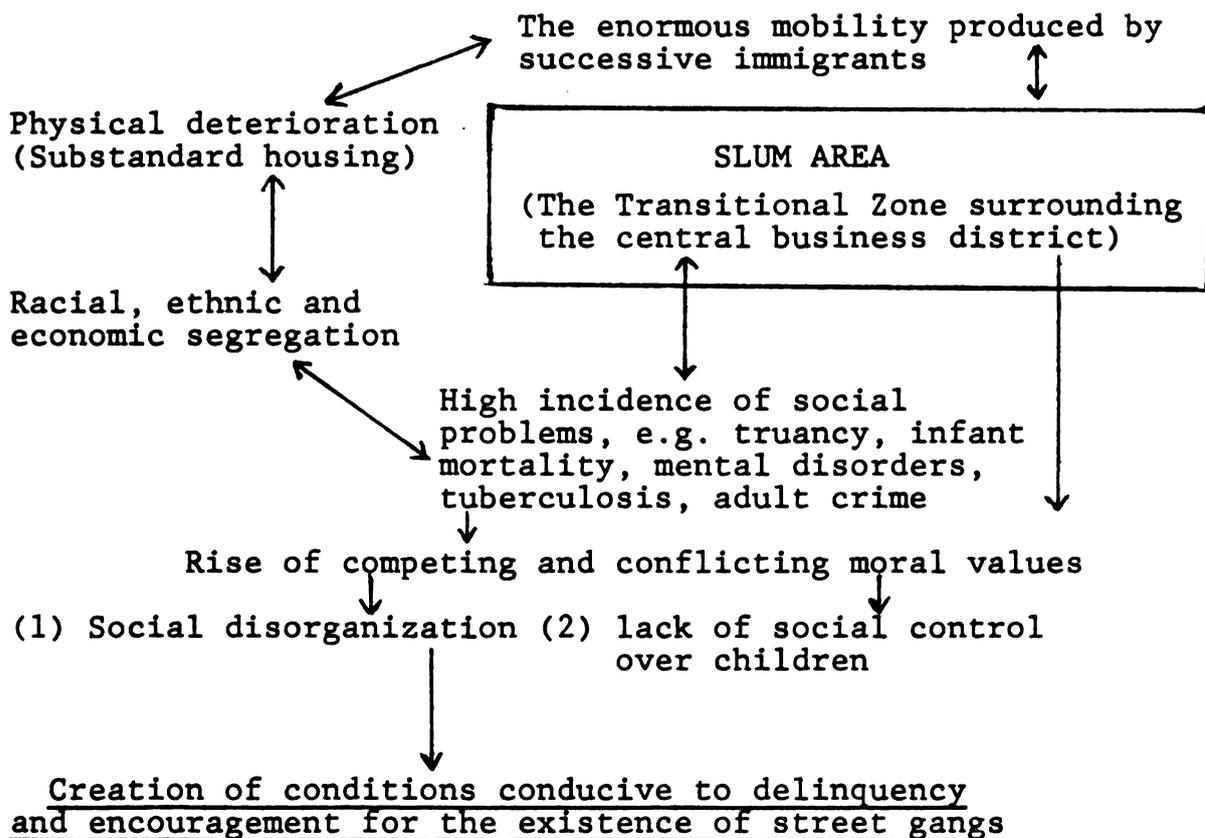
One of the results → Delinquency

The important body of work that emphasized social-disorganization in its relationship to delinquency are known as the first sociological studies of the ecology of criminality developed at the University of Chicago in the late 1920's. For examples, the work of Frederick Thrasher (1963), and Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay (1930, 1938, 1942) extensively documented the existence within the city of strikingly different "natural areas" -- each with its distinctive structural features, population composition, styles of life and social problems. These authors showed close relation between the social structure of the city and the patterns of behavior found within it.

The Chicago School of Ecology initially utilized what was, in the final analysis, a biological analogy. When the biological analogy in ecology was translated into social terms, we were presented with a view of 'organization' i.e. agreement of people over norms, values, behavioral regularities, internal cohesion and consensus about goals which leads to social organization (order). Rapid immigration, the heterogeneity of the population, industrialization and urban growth tended to disrupt stable, well-organized patterns of life. When consensus concerning values and norms is upset and traditional roles do not appear to apply any longer, conflict, social disorganization, delinquency and deviance are apt to rise. This was the basic assumption of social-disorganization theorists and they focused the attention on disorganizing aspects of urban life and on the rates of delinquency and deviance in larger cities.

Shaw and McKay were able to demonstrate that the highest rates of delinquency were in neighborhoods of rapid population change, poor housing, high rates of poverty, tuberculosis, adult crime and mental disorders. They regarded all of these correlates of delinquency as reflections of an underlying state of social disorganization. Shaw and McKay viewed areas of high delinquency as communities which were lacking in social stability, normative consensus, and social cohesion, which freed youngsters from the bind of social control and led them to engage in lawbreaking. They presented data to

account for the distribution of delinquency. The high rate areas in Chicago had remained constant over a thirty year period despite five ethnic groups numerically dominating the area at one time or another. The authors concluded that crime and delinquency had become a way of life in high rate areas. Shaw and McKay were among the first sociologists to offer a well-developed cultural deviance interpretation of delinquency, which can be demonstrated in the following schema:



In this way the area itself had a strong potential for the transmission of a "delinquent tradition" from one generation of boys to another, leading to high delinquency rates. The loss of social control over children, existence of street gangs and other characteristics of the area, just stated above, also affected the family. "Family fragmentation and broken homes, maternal-parental deprivation and a highly fragmented individual character structure serve to further unsettle those who live in an already disorganized environment." (Downes, 1966: 140)

Another important process, given attention in disorganizational theory by the ecological researchers was that of social change. Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) view disorganization common to all societies in periods of rapid change, especially when massive immigration occurs. Other noteworthy attempts were by Park, Burgess and McKenzie (1967) and Faris and Dunham (1965), who dealt with the effects of social change on traditional social control mechanisms and social order in urban areas.

Social-disorganization theory helped in examining such problems as delinquency, illegitimacy, crime, suicide and family disorganization, and will continue to help in giving partial solutions to the problems.

Shaw and McKay attributed "the development of delinquent traditions to the disintegration of community control.

Yet they offered no direct evidence that the residents of high income areas in the city engaged in collective problem-solving any more effectively than do residents in low income areas." (Kobrin, 1971:101-132) Shaw and McKay didn't provide any evidence related to the population in other areas as less heterogeneous than in the central city. Thus their basic assumption that inner city areas are more disorganized than other areas was not supported.

Shaw and McKay also have shown existence of a heavy concentration of official delinquents in slum areas. Thus their theory is not a complete explanation of official delinquency because the defining role of officials is not included and it is built on official data.

The finding that delinquent acts are committed in groups has remained more stable and has been supported by several researchers. The Gluecks (1950), Short (1957), Eynon and Reckless (1961), Erickson and Empey (1965), Hindelang (1971), and Erickson (1973), have confirmed the same findings.

2. Social Disorganization/Cultural Deviance Theory related to delinquency as a product of integrated lower class culture:

This perspective emphasized delinquency as a product of a united, and not a divided, lower class culture. "In the case of 'gang' delinquency, the cultural system which exerts the most direct influence on behavior is that of the lower class community itself -- a long established, distinctively patterned tradition with an integrity of its own -- rather than a so called 'delinquent subculture' which has arisen

through conflict with middle class culture and is oriented to the deliberate violation of middle class norms. These are Walter Miller's claims stating that delinquency grows out of the focal concerns widely shared by lower class citizens of American society. These six focal concerns are: "1) concern over 'trouble,' or avoidance of complications with official authorities or agencies of middle-class society; 2) 'toughness,' physical prowess, 'masculinity' and bravery; 3) 'smartness,' to avoid being outwitted; 4) a premium on 'excitement' to be sought through alcohol, sexual adventure, and gambling; 5) a concern over 'fate,' centered around the belief that life is ruled by a set of forces beyond the control of the individual; 6) 'autonomy,' or freedom from external constraint, independence, and freedom from superordinate authority." (Miller, 1958:5-19)

The basic assumptions of Walter Miller (1959) are "that the slums are organized by a distinctive lower-class culture, and that this lower class culture emphasizes membership in a one-sex peer group (i.e. the family is dominated by the female, children spend the first few years under her domination, and men do not play consistent and predictable roles). Thus, the family is not a close, intimate unit. In adolescence, girls continue to identify with their mothers, and boys become members of the street gangs. One-sex peer groups are organized by a unique set of focal concerns: adult status

for males is defined, less in terms of assumption of responsibility than in terms of certain symbols of adult status - a car, ready cash and in particular a perceived 'freedom' to drink, smoke and gamble as one wishes and to come and go as one wishes without external restrictions. The lower class street group is merely an adolescent expression of these adult focal concerns. Adherence to the lower class 'focal-concerns', produces delinquency.'" (Miller, 1958:17)

Thus Miller indicates that a delinquent tradition belongs to an entire lower class community. Delinquent behavior is a result of this tradition in which effective socialization by adults results in deviant values which everyone shares.

In Bordua's words, "What Miller tried to do is show an area that has received little attention -- the emergence of something like a stable American lower class". (Bordua, 1961:131) To accept the notion of the existence of something like a stable American lower class, one will have to show that lower class is a homogeneous group. For example as Miller states, there exists a common delinquent tradition which everyone shares. The lower class is not a homogeneous community but consists of many subgroups. In addition Miller's perspective also fails to take into account the influence of middle class values through school, law and other social institutions in varying degrees on these subgroups.

Rustin approves of Miller's claims as he has stated that blacks, poor, and uneducated members of American society are 'economic untouchables', implying that a permanent underclass has developed, as Miller does.

Miller's views have been disputed by control theorists. Talcott Parsons (1954) finds female-centered households in both the middle and lower classes. Cloward & Ohlin criticize Miller for failing to account for the origin of delinquent norms, for defining "delinquent gangs" so broadly that theory cannot account for delinquent behavior, and for exaggerating the cultural independence of the lower and middle class. (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960:69-76)

Miller states that lower class families can successfully tolerate pressures. Adolescents get into trouble because they remain faithful to cultural standards which are taught to them by their parents. This position has not been supported by some control theorists. For example, Dinitz et al. (1962), Hindelang (1973), Hirschi (1969) reported that the closer juveniles are to their parents, the less likely they are to commit delinquent acts. Hirschi (1969) states that those lower-class boys committing delinquent acts are not finding support for their actions from their parents or from their 'class-culture'.

In describing gang delinquency as a product of lower-class culture Miller talks about 'Toughness', i.e. physical strength, 'smartness', i.e. outsmarting the other guy,

'excitement' that involves taking risk. Possession of these qualities can have positive consequences too. Belief in 'fate' can act as a tension management mechanism. It would be rewarding to find out how far these focal concerns while helping lower class youth to stay out of trouble, lead to a socially acceptable way of life.

3) Social Disorganization/Cultural Deviance Theory: A Theory of Middle-Class Subculture.

A close examination of cultural deviance theories of middle class (subculture) show two distinct traditions in social science: 1) emphasis on teenage adolescence; 2) emphasis on delinquency.

The origin of the emergence of a youth culture can be traced back to a century or more ago, when youngsters were gradually removed from functional roles in the economy. Compulsory education, restrictive apprenticeship and withdrawal of children from agricultural activities resulted in creating ambiguity of youth-status due to lack of clear redefinition of new status. The outcome was contradictory expectations, e.g. youth is neither expected to engage in labor, nor encouraged to loaf.

Shortly after mid-century, the official data and self-reporting studies (e.g. Bloch & Neiderhoffer (1958), England (1960), Bohlke (1961), Scott & Vaz (1963),) suggested that middle class delinquency might be increasing. These findings led to research in the area to explain delinquent acts of youth belonging to middle class. Bloch & Neiderhoffer (1958)

suggested that certain attributes of adolescent life (tattooing, hazing, the adoption of nicknames), serve as latter-day rites of passage into adolescence to lessen the anxiety-producing absence of adult-sponsored rites. Other studies on the same line are of England (1960) dealing with inadequate parent-child relationship leading to delinquency, or Scott & Vaz (1963:210-213) dealing with status-deprivation and adolescent rebellion stemming from frustrations.

Though the theories started with two distinct concerns, adolescence and delinquency, they are not entirely independent of each other. Instead they are remarkably alike. Most of them can be seen as complementary to the youth culture argument, explicitly dealing with boys. The following discussion will be focused on the main theories of middle-class delinquency.

a) The Theory of Youth Culture:

A social pattern has grown up in the United States which fails to define the adolescent status of a middle class youth. Young people are kept away from adult work roles for a longer period of time than before. Their needs for status-affirmation are satisfied by teenage or youth culture. It means conditions are such that it becomes necessary for them to reject the influences from the adult world which threaten their world and accept only those influences giving the youth

culture its support. Middle-class delinquency is a manifestation of unchecked impulses, as the term "irresponsible hedonism" connotes. The implication is that immature and inexperienced youths try to extract from the adult world only those values which have strong hedonistic possibilities. This kind of delinquency is not very serious, but merely hedonistic pleasure-seeking within peer groups. For example, adult values which attract teenagers are the use of alcoholic beverages, or 'joyride' thievery of cars, neither of which involves much criminal motivation.

Application of youth culture notion can be found in Cohen's study: "Middle Class Delinquency and the Social Structure" (1963). In Cohen's view, changes in the labor market and educational system forced teenagers to be in school systems for a longer time. Youths are now guaranteed academic success in the school without having to devote much time or energy to educational efforts. Due to growing affluence, middle class juveniles can spend money as a leisure class, i.e. as higher class children do. Cohen (1963) states that these changes have resulted in a weakening of one of the principal insulators against delinquency. It becomes possible to be middle class in terms of aspirations, and at the same time to hang around the corner.

Cohen's views can be found in the studies of England (1963) and Scott & Vaz (1963). England has observed "that American youths have been removed from functional roles and have been placed in an ambiguous status, where they are neither children nor adults." (England, 1963:242-44)

Scott and Vaz pointed out that "in a limited, yet significant way the adult community creates structural opportunities for adolescents to engage in youth culture activities, that is 'wholesome recreation,' church, socials and athletic events reflect the structural link between the youth culture and the adult community, and reveal especially cherished values and expectations sustained by adults." (Scott and Vaz, 1963:220.)

Middle class theories fail to distinguish as carefully between "middle" and "upper" class youth as they do between those who are "middle" and "lower" class. The term "middle class" has been used too broadly. The class structure of a given society needs attention as a whole, to get the complete picture. The "youth culture" formulation is important from the point of view that it explains adult activities like drinking and smoking.

Other theories on middle-class delinquency:

b) Anxiety over masculine identity: The popular thesis related to this theoretical position is that middle-class boys become delinquent in order to prove to others and to themselves that they are tough, hard males. Car theft, drinking, and smoking are supposed to be daring acts done by a 'real man.' These compulsive demonstrations of manhood are a result of structural inadequacies in modern middle class American families. For instance, a boy never gets to observe his father in his work atmosphere, so he is unable to learn the ways of made-adulthood, resulting in psychological strain.

Parsons (1942), (1947) and Cohen (1955) both maintained that middle-class youth experienced masculine identity difficulties because of the nature of the family life, as described above.

One of the major weaknesses of this line of theorizing is that it may best apply to only a small portion of middle class delinquency. This theory cannot explain most delinquency because of its limited applicability.

c) Lack of commitment to delinquency: A sociological version of thinking can be explained in the following way:

1) "Academic failure - (lack of aspiration for success in school)

2) Disinterest in the conventional occupational roles (lack of interest in conformity.)

↓

Failure to develop commitment to adult roles and values →
 joining of gang (because lack of commitment is involved
 in the behavior of gang)." (Karacki & Toby, 1962:203-15)

Recent development of this hypothesis can be found in Hirschi's investigation in Richmond, California. Hirschi's (1969) version of social control theory known as Hirschi's bond theory, takes into account several dimensions along which social bonds or social controls vary.

Middle-class Delinquency Theories:

Social Control Theories

d) Hirschi's Bond Theory: The dimensions of Hirschi's bond theory are: 1) attachment, 2) commitment, 3) involvement

and 4) belief. Hirschi found out that middle-class delinquents lack commitment to non-delinquent behavior patterns as well as attachment to parents, school and school-teachers, peers and conventional activities. The offenders in Hirschi's study also exhibited less positive attitudes toward conformity.

Michael Hindelang (1973) partially confirmed Hirschi's results by finding that attachment to parents, teachers and the school, 'commitment' to and 'involvement' in conventional activities and beliefs were related to reported delinquent behavior. However Hirschi's findings, that attachment to parents and peers are positively related (to each other) and attachment to peers and reported delinquent involvement are negatively related were not replicated. Attachment to mother and peers were not substantially related, reported delinquent involvement and attachment to peers were found to be directly related.

Hirschi's version of social control theory (i.e. lack of commitment has great potential in explaining causes of delinquency) can be treated as an important contribution of middle-class delinquency theories. A large number of criminologists would share Empey's views that, "Hirschi's version of control theory has stood the test of empirical investigation better than any other version." (Empey, 1978:238)

Hirschi's theoretical framework didn't pay much attention to differences in school experiences, social class-related pressures, or social-structured differences, which

influence the nature of ties an individual has with family and groups. It is possible that negative school-experiences may affect the relation one has with the social order. The picture one gets from Hirschi's thinking is that there is single common value system, but his evidence doesn't support the same. Acceptance of this theory would be possible if it took into account structural variations among middle-classes itself leading to deviance. At this point one can conclude that it is a powerful explanation of the etiology of delinquency.

Middle-class Delinquency Theories:

e) Social-control theory: Containment and self-concept views

Walter C. Reckless' (1973) version of social control theory is known as "containment theory." The central thesis of this theory can be explained as follows:

Social-Control Mechanisms

<u>Outer Containment</u>	<u>Inner Containment</u>
1) Law, values, norms	1) Self-control
2) Social ties to others	2) Good self-concept
3) Evaluations of person made by others.	3) Ego strength
	4) Well-developed superego
	5) High frustration tolerance
Social Control	6) High resistance to diversions
Individual is restrained from law-breaking	7) High sense of responsibility
	8) Goal-orientation
	9) Ability to find substitute satisfactions
	10) Tension-reducing rationalizations

Reckless' Thesis: Inner containment is a powerful factor which can insulate persons from outer deviant pressure.

Containment theory grew out of a series of studies by Reckless and his associates (1956, 1957, 1962). Reckless' assumptions were: a good self concept is a product of favorable socialization, veering slum boys away from delinquency; a poor self-concept is a product of unfavorable socialization, which gives the slum boy no resistance to deviancy, delinquent companions and a delinquent-subculture. Reckless and his associates have reported similar findings to that of Hirschi. For example, regardless of class or racial status of the parents, the closer the boy's ties to them the less likely he is to commit delinquent acts. Also, delinquents may be less competent in school than non-delinquents.

One of the criticisms offered on this research is that of Jensen (1973) who explored the containment argument utilizing data collected in a California city and found that variations in inner control were only weakly related to delinquency involvement. Boys with positive self-concepts, but who had delinquent companions, were more involved in delinquent misconduct than those without delinquent friends. Youngsters from deficient family backgrounds (i.e. from broken homes) were also more often engaged in delinquency than were those from more supportive parental backgrounds. According to Reckless, youths who exhibit positive self-concepts should be able to resist the pressures that arise,

even when they live in adverse social circumstances, but Jensen's study didn't support this assumption when he tried to study the influence of delinquent companions and broken homes.

Middle-class Delinquency Theories:

f) Social Control Theory: Delinquency and Status-Inconsistency

This thesis has been advanced by Robert H. Bohlke (1967). His argument is that law-breaking is most common among persons who have recently acquired a comfortable income, but who have yet to assume the values of middle-class. He proposes that social mobility (that is change in economic position) may have a dislocating effect, often leading to delinquency.

The socially mobile person/family faces problems of adjustment, learning a new culture, a shift from economic scarcity to an elevation of income and residential mobility from city to suburb or working class to middle-class neighborhoods. The results are: failure to adapt to middle-class values, attitudes and behavior patterns; rejection by the youth of 'old middle class'; and creation of a state of marginality.

Bohlke's thesis lacks evidential support, but essentially is an important contribution to the field.

Middle class Delinquency Theories:

g) Social Control Theory: Lower Class Value Diffusion and Delinquency:

This theory of middle-class delinquency is proposed by William Kvaraceus and Walter Miller (1959, 1967).

The argument of the authors start with the differences between middle class and lower class concerns.

Middle-class concerns	Lower-class concerns
1) Inclination to defer gratification.	1) Immediate gratification from immediately
2) Bank-book symbolizes impulse control and long look at future family goals.	available objects and experiences.
3) Middle-class is dependent on maintenance of the difficult pattern of directed work, work efforts, deferment of immediate pleasures, responsibility, maintenance of the solidarity of the nuclear family, child-rearing, acquiring material goods, maintenance of property, education and improving of the mind.	2) Money is spent immediately. 3) Emphasis on trouble, toughness, smartness, fate and autonomy. Lower class adults can generally tolerate repetitive routine work for a long time which demands self-control, but this control isn't exercised when it comes to deferring present pleasures for anticipated future gains.

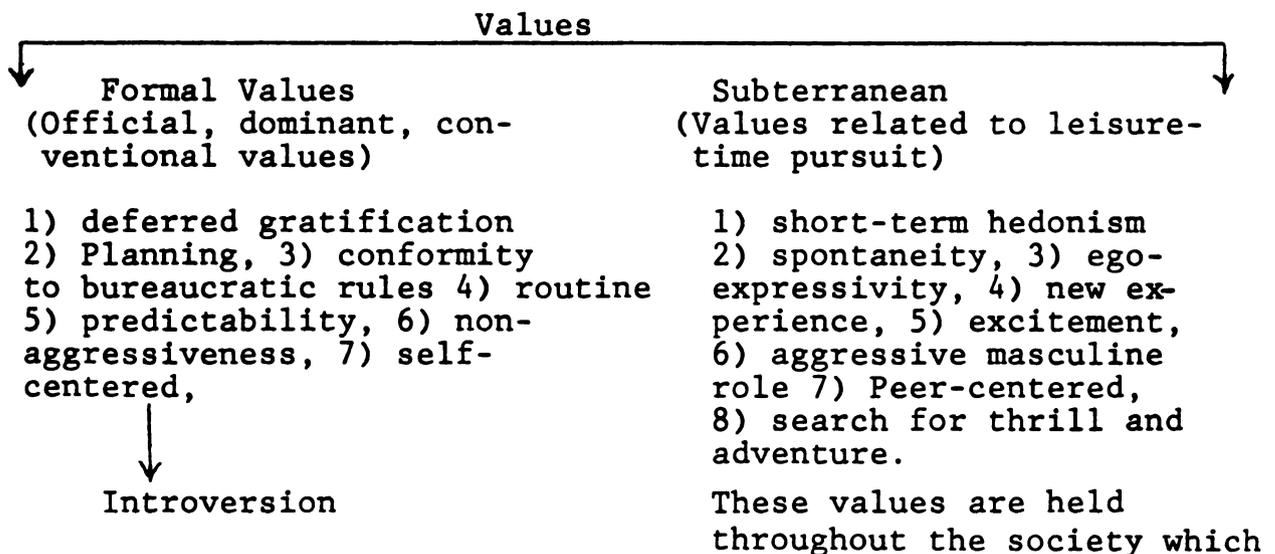
These concerns used to help middle-class parents to control youngsters from participating in law-violating behavior. For middle-classes this picture is changing. Some of the reasons are: 1) increase in installment plan financing as well as

"impulse" buying can be viewed as a phenomena approaching the "have-it now" pattern of lower-class culture; 2) compulsory education and continuous promotion policy tend to keep all youngsters in school regardless of effort, achievement of future goal. Due to this traditional middle-class ideals have been weakened. One of the results of these trends, according to Kvaraceus and Miller, is that lower class values have been diffused upward into middle-class society. These values emphasize hedonistic pursuit of short-run pleasures and draw middle-class youth to delinquency.

Middle-class Theories

h) Social Control Theory: Delinquency and Drift (Subterranean Values and Delinquency):

This line of thinking is based on the work of Matza and Sykes (1961). They contend that the values underlying much juvenile delinquency are far less deviant than commonly portrayed, due to prevailing oversimplification of middle-class values. The authors argue that two sets of values exist in a society.



do not interfere with
conventions (Extraversion)

Matza and Sykes state that a delinquent emphasizes a society's subterranean values but instead of relegating them to after-house activities- he makes them a way of life, a code of behavior. It appears that Matza and Sykes want us to understand delinquency as an extension of the adult-conforming world, rather than as discontinuous with it. One strength of this interpretation is that it allows for a single explanation of lower and middle-class delinquency avoiding the inconsistency in theories which relate socio-economic factors as causes of lower class delinquency and psychological factors as causes of middle-class delinquency. "This extraversion-introversion scale may, in fact in certain instances be accurately yet unwittingly gauging such value differences. However, crime is only related in certain instances to the subterranean values. The business criminal of the Mafia, the professional thief, the corporate criminal, the bank clerk embezzler, are hardly likely to embrace the same values as the ghetto Negro and the juvenile vandal. Thus the enterprise is doomed to failure; inconsistent results abound and 'significant' correlations where they occur merely result in false imputations of causality." (Taylor, Walton & Young, 1973: 57-58)

4) Social-Disorganization: Strain Theories: This perspective deals with relationship of delinquency to some type of stressful disorganization. This disorganization is due to American

emphasis on "success" and lack of conventional "opportunities" to attain it. Strain theories of deviance, criminality and delinquency all share a common theme that these phenomena are the results of adjustment problems experienced by the individuals due to social-structural conditions. The first attempt in this regard was that of Durkheim (1960) who used the concept of anomie, that was, according to him a condition of "normlessness" in a society. Robert Merton, Albert Cohen, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, have been specially prominent in the development of this theoretical perspective. The following discussion will focus on the viewpoints of these authors.

a. Robert Merton's Theory of Anomie: Merton's (1957) viewpoint is one of the influential "strain" viewpoints. He contended that various kinds of deviance, including criminality, are a response to the unavailability of conventional or socially-approved routes of material success. Merton has extended Durkheim's concept of anomie as a frame of reference for explaining systematically the social and cultural sources of deviant behavior.

The anomie situation develops as a result of the relationship between means and goals of the cultural system and the patterning of the social structure. Thus Merton's central hypothesis is that criminal and other deviant behavior can be regarded as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations. A fundamental

discrepancy is created because there are major differences in the availability of opportunities for "success" among members at various levels of social-class, ethnic and racial status. These patterned differentials in access to legitimate opportunities are coupled by weakening of norms that define acceptable means of achieving success, which, in turn, causes people to use illicit means of obtaining their goals. "Normlessness" exists because of the failure of the instrumental normative expectations.

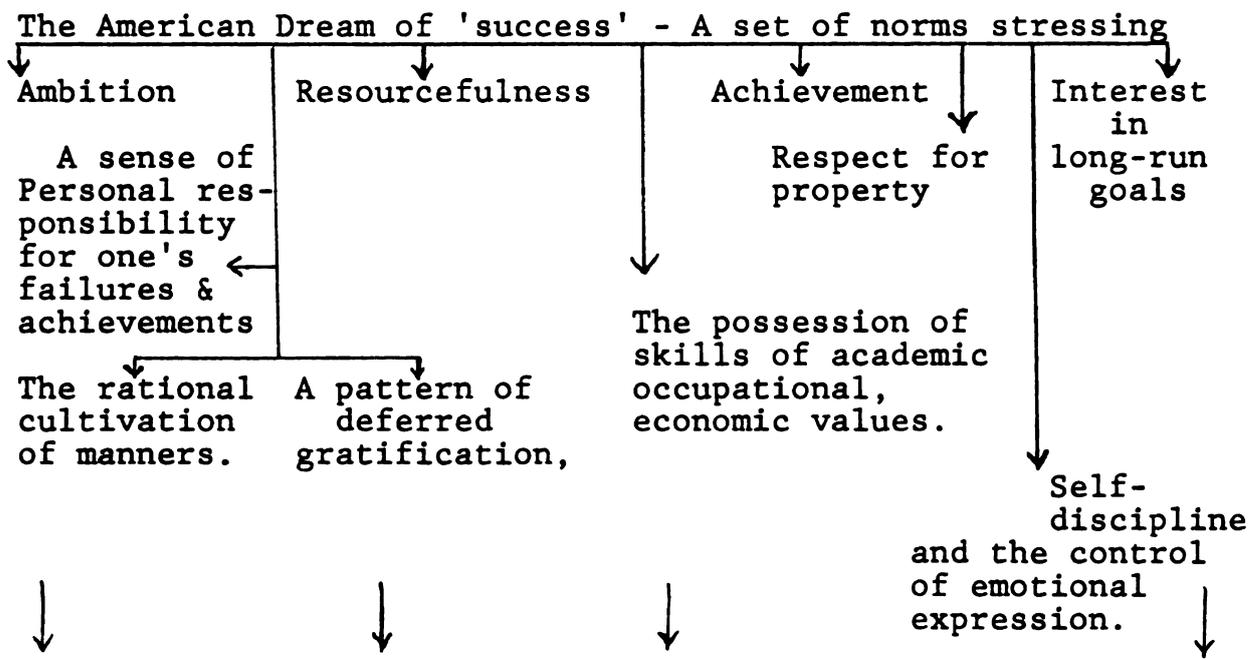
Merton viewed 'crime' and 'delinquency' as 'innovative' behavior that is most often structurally located among the lower socio-economic segments of a population. The most important type of malintegrated culture is focus of anomie theory.

Anomie theory increases the understanding of why the higher rates of deviancy are located in the lower socio-economic strata. At the same time the scope of the theory fails to take into account social control processes, social roles and complex interactions. It is ironic to note that while Merton is a leading architect of reference group theory, he fails to incorporate it in his writings of anomie theory.

b) Cohen's (1955) Theory of Delinquent-Subculture:

Albert Cohen's explanation of delinquency in his classic, well-known and most influential work 'Delinquent Boys' (1955), is strongly influenced by Merton's version of strain theory. His elaborate theory emphasizes that working class youth are drawn into participation in collective or

gang misconduct because involvement in these activities protects them from the sting of social rejection which they experience, particularly in high-school settings and other middle-class dominant institutions. The social rejection is due to the fact that in social interaction process the lower class youth accepts the American Dream which has been encouraged by democratic belief that every child should be free to compete with every other regardless of background. The central theme of Cohen's argument can be diagrammed as follows:



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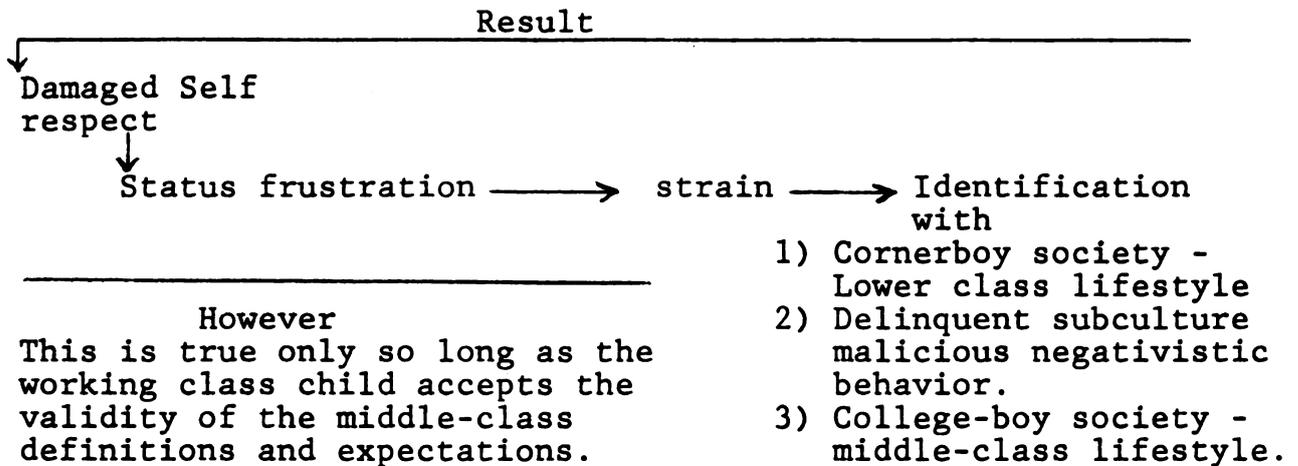
LOWER CLASS YOUTH ACCEPTS THIS DREAM.

BUT

Due to inadequate socialization of lower-class youth and due to illequipped home and school. →

The working class children are systematically disadvantaged in the competitive pursuits because they are constantly measured by →

"Middle-class Measuring Rod"



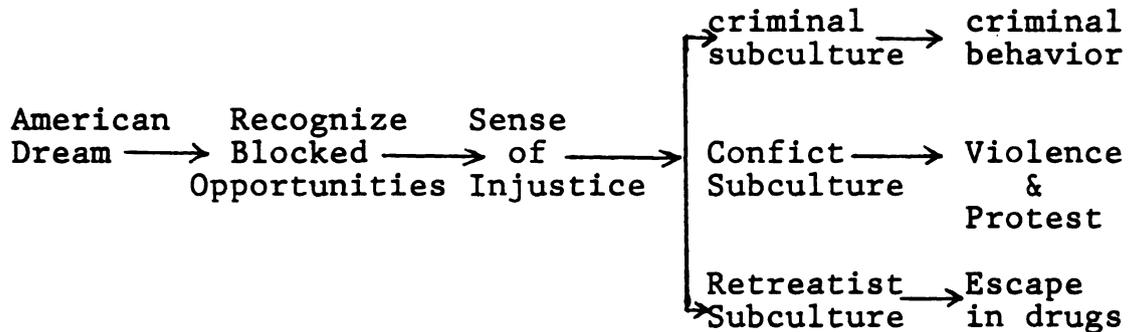
These delinquent individuals, says Cohen, who are in the same boat for the same reason tend to draw together and through their sympathetic interaction, develop a social system of their own, their own rules for the game, and criteria of status contrary to those emphasized in middle-class institutions. Thus Cohen viewed delinquent gangs as a contracultural phenomena i.e. a system of values that is opposite to dominant standards.

Cohen's substitute society of delinquents encouraged more research in the field. The major limitation is Cohen failed to explain why in response to strain some boys become delinquent while others select a conventional adjustment. The same is true for the research of Cloward and Ohlin.

c) Cloward and Ohlin (1960) version of strain theory

Cloward and Ohlin have suggested a somewhat parallel formulation to that of Cohen, that working-class boys engage in delinquency as a response to strain that grows out of their perceptions that they are being unjustly deprived of opportunities for success measured largely in material terms.

The main focus of their research can be expressed in the following figure given by Empey (1978).



Thus the major hypothesis focuses on the disparity between what lower class boys are led to want and what is actually available for them which results in source of major problem of adjustment.

Main strength of this perspective is that it gives basic guidelines to organize action programs for the prevention on the basis of opportunity-structure theory. Cloward & Ohlin fail to take into consideration the variations in lower class-family structures, racial & ethnic factors. Thus, complexity of American life and American social-structure cannot be explained completely by this theory as it is not elaborate enough to include all the varieties of life-experiences.

5) Social Disorganization: Radical Conflict or Marxist Theory

The major theme of this theory is that capitalism as a set of social relationships is conceptualized as the most highly developed form of exploitation because it prevents a more sophisticated set of social relationships developing

alongside. Marx (1964), in his theories of surplus values, explains the functionality of crime in sustaining capitalist social relationships and suggests a criminal produces crime, i.e. every kind of activity is productive. Marx's view of 'criminal-man' is like his view of man in general - in which man was both determined and determining. Whatever the form assumed by the division of labor for Marx, crime is an expression of the struggle of isolated individuals against the prevailing conditions and also being a struggle conditioned by those prevailing conditions.

Radical theorists argue that criminal laws including delinquency statutes have been developed in order to serve the interests of a monolithic ruling class, in order to continue the domination, oppression and repression of the masses which is fundamental for the survival of the political-economic systems of corporate capitalism.

Insofar as attention is paid by Marx to the question of causation and motivation, the picture is like what Gouldner (1968) has called "Man on his back" i.e. a man demoralized by the day-to-day experience of employment and unemployment under industrial capitalism, but a man still able to grasp at the necessities of life through theft and graft."

(Gouldner, 1968:103-16)

Marx's later work is concerned with the ways in which man's social nature and consciousness have been distorted, imprisoned or diverted by social arrangements developed over time.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>1) Man's struggle to master the conditions of scarcity.</p> <p>2) Man's struggle as a response to poverty.</p> | | <p>Production</p> <p>Emergence of criminal class (dangerous class) who were 'Lumpenproletariat' i.e. they were unproductive and therefore unorganized workers.</p> |
|---|--|--|

In this fashion, radical theorists differ from the mainstream arguments about social-structural factors behind law breaking activities. Mainstream arguments see the reduction of delinquency and crime in the replacement of existing order by some kind of socialist economic and political system.

Marxist theory offers us understanding of the ways in which social-conflict is generated, sustained and helps to shape the kind and amount of criminal and deviant activity. Marx's views of the constraints under which men operate is, in fact, much more developed than that of the positivists. Only thing he was unaware of the ways in which Edwin Lemert (1967) a contemporary theorist of deviance, has put his argument, i.e. social control can lead to deviation in the sense that relatively arbitrary decisions of the police or the state can lead to different criminal or non-criminal outcomes. Radical-conflict interpretations have been criticized since the discussion of the dangerous classes and crime is brief and Marx's position on crime is never fully spelled out.

There is not a systematic discussion of criminal law and criminal-activity under capitalism.

6) Social Structure and Social Processes: Becoming Delinquent:

a) Symbolic Interactionist Theory:

Symbolic interactionism, first takes into consideration the work of Charles H. Cooley (1902) who developed an interesting metaphor, "the looking glass self." We imagine how others perceive us - if reflections are favorable, we are pleased but if they are not, we try to change ourselves. To Cooley, human nature developed through social interaction, it was the imagination of oneself in response to the social mirror. This social mirror reflects an ever-changing image as one moves through stages of life-cycle. Like Cooley, George Herbert Mead (1974) also believed that human nature and self are not fixed entities, they are subject to change. It is somewhat unclear how plastic the human self is.

b) The Theory of Differential Association: Edwin H.

Sutherland applied these ideas to crime and delinquency and his theory was a direct reflection of the thinking of theorists like Cooley and Mead. Sutherland (1924, 1955) published a textbook on criminology in 1924 that includes his differential association theory. He summarized his theory in the statement: "A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law." (Sutherland and Cressey, 1978:80-83)

The differential association theory has regarded the frequency, duration, priority and intensity of criminal and anti-criminal associations as variables. According to him crime rates are functions of social organizations and the emphasis is on different goals around which people organize. Sutherland sought to promote personal and social level of analysis over two concepts that of 1) opportunity to commit crime and 2) the intensity of need. The arguments which he identified as the theory of differential association, is comprised of the following nine propositions.

- 1) Criminal behavior is learned.
- 2) Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.
- 3) The principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups.
- 4) When criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes
 - a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple;
 - b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes.
- 5) The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable.
- 6) A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law.
- 7) Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration,

priority and intensity.

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

9) While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by these general needs and values, since noncriminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values." (Sutherland and Cressey, 1978: 80-83). Sutherland's theory is relatively simple and straightforward.

Modifiers of this theory are many, for examples, Hans Eysenck (1970), Cressey (1978), and Glaser (1960, 1962). Crime is not a product of a lack of social training, as Hans Eysenck would have it - rather it is acquired in an identical fashion to non-criminal behavior. Cressey thinks this learning includes 1) techniques of committing crimes, 2) specific direction or motives or drives, rationalizations and attitudes. In complex industrial societies there are said to be heterogeneous conflicting norms all involving their own particular organization, oriented towards different ends and utilizing alternative means. Differential association seeks to understand the transmission of criminal norms. The work of Shaw, McKay and others of the Chicago School, complement Sutherland's efforts.

Sutherland's attempts at developing a general theory of criminal activity was unique in its efforts. Regarding

Sutherland's theory as an ordering device, Cressey argues that no replacement has been found. The principle of differential association makes better sense since it presents a strong case for sociological and social-psychological analysis of criminal and delinquent behavior. The contribution of this theory can be viewed as not only adding to the general body of knowledge about deviancy but also eliminating some false leads. Strong emphasis on the notion of learning deviancy, the rationale, the motivation, the techniques for engaging in such behavior is a major accomplishment.

This theory has more often been applied to adult criminality than to juvenile delinquency. However, Jensen (1972) found partial support in investigating delinquency areas. He shows evidence in a study employing self-report measures of delinquency that association with delinquent peers was related to involvement in lawbreaking but he also reported that lack of parental supervision and support was also an important factor in delinquency.

Major weaknesses of the theory are: 1) Sutherland's language failed to evoke a clearly recognizable behavioral image; 2) the phrase "excess of definitions" itself lacks clear denotation in human experience (this may be responsible for the limited acceptance of his theory); 3) this theory accounts for only one of several distinct types of criminality and he does not make the meaning of 'association' very clear; 4) the theory omits a notion of human purpose and meaning; 5) though Cressey gives a brilliant defense of the theory by

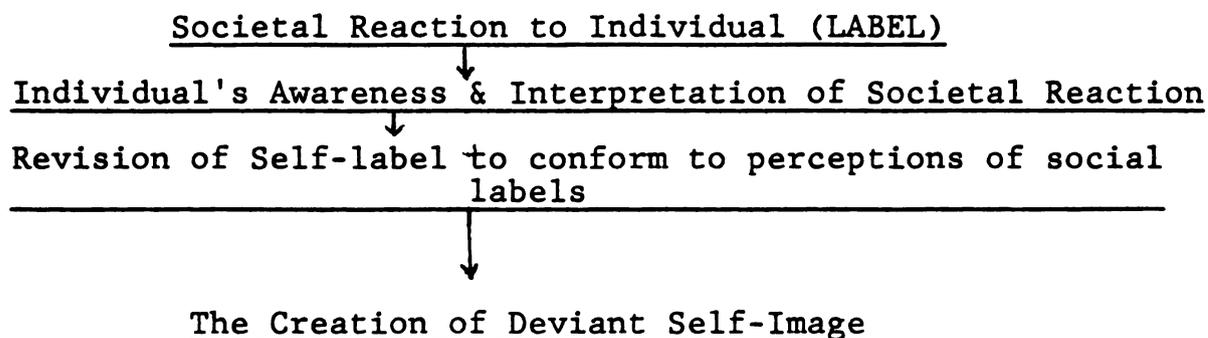
taking kleptomania as an example and attempts to show how his theoretical premises are valid, we feel he has taken one of the most extreme instances of such 'exceptions.'

6) Social-Structure and Social Processes (Cont'd):
Becoming Delinquent: Labeling Theory:

In recent years one of the most influential stands and relatively new approach to deviant behavior is alternately designated the 'labeling,' 'societal-reactions' or 'interactionist' approach. This approach focuses on the social audience's reaction to an individual performance and individual's behavior consistent to positive or negative label. From this point of view the labeling position is extremely relativistic in a sense that particular acts are not intrinsically 'deviant,' their deviant character emerges out of the interaction between offending individuals and social control agencies. This practice of labeling in operation, makes clearcut distinction between permissible and impermissible behavior and segregates the deviants from others. The result is there may be a tendency for people to become fixed in their deviance once they have become labeled. This process of creating a deviant person, role or character has been referred to by Schur as the "criminalization process," by Tannenbaum as the "dramatization of evil," and by Becker as the "creation of deviant careers."

The societal reactions orientation, helps us to see 'delinquent' as a consequence of one's own action and also as a result of action of others (e.g. Cooley's looking glass self concept).

The process can be illustrated as follows:



The basic assumptions of this theory are: 1) residual rule-violation is going on in the population more or less continuously, 2) people tend to act in accordance with the conceptions others have of them.

Labeling theorists are mostly interested in analyzing how a person goes from primary to secondary deviation, so it has been referred to as sequential, career or identity stabilizing model of deviance. To consider, divergent formulations put forth by sociological theoreticians concerning the labeling, we can mention that Lemert's (1951) work became a touchstone in labeling theory. He stressed the importance of biological, psychological and community patterns by placing his conceptual framework within a larger socio-political context. Reference can also be made to the works of Tannenbaum (1938), Erikson (1961), Becker (1963), Kitsue (1964), Matza (1964), who interpreted deviance from interactionist perspective.

- 1) Kitsuse's (1964) "Societal Reaction to Deviant Behavior: Problems of Theory of Method."
- 2) Erikson's (1964) "Notes on Sociology of Deviance" and
- 3) Kitsuse and Cicourel's (1963) "A Note on the Use of Official Statistics" - are the three papers, usually referred to as the source of labeling perspective. It seems that ideas of labeling took shape in Becker's writings that group creates deviance and that deviance is that what is so labeled (e.g. Becker's "outsiders").

Fundamentals of labeling theory: "The neo-Chicago school asserts, as a major tenet that deviance is an outcome of societal reaction or labeling by official control bodies." (Erikson, 1962:307) With this view the moral burden of control is shifted from the victims (the labeled) to the victimizers (control-agents). Deviance in this approach is an outcome of official decisions in a particular social context. We feel that Lemert's development of the concept of secondary deviance is the classic statement of the hypothesis that other's reaction to the subject, intensifies the subject's behavior. The stages of interaction leading to secondary deviance according to Lemert are as follows:

- 1) Primary deviation
- 2) Social Penalties
- 3) Further primary deviation
- 4) Stronger penalties and rejection
- 5) Further deviation with hostilities and resentment

- 6) Crisis expressed in formal actions
- 7) Strengthening of deviant conduct as a reaction to the stigmatizing and penalties.
- 8) Ultimate acceptance of deviant social status.

In this way labeling is the process that transforms one's conception of self (normal) into another (deviant). Labeling theorists argue that norms must be examined in terms of actual behavior and social meanings. Labeling analysts have thus focused on the reciprocal process between the self-other and actor-audience as this defines and shapes the deviant outcome. Negative labels and the punishments with them may intensify the behavior of the offender, labels may direct social activities and also produce subcultures. "Society creates categories as good and bad, in such situation a subculture may be an attractive solution to the problem of exclusion and "differentness." Membership in such a group is a final step in the creation of a "career-deviant." (Becker, 1963:37) The organizational imperatives in labeling rests on a conception of the organization as a monolithic entity. Accordingly, the socially rejected are often deprived of even the most ordinary social needs. The assumptions of labeling theorists about the institutional power, is that the application of stigmatizing social labels is highly responsible for pushing the rule-breakers into further deviant behavior. In this way the process of becoming deviant has an imprisoning effect which results in

maintaining the undesirable behavior and hindering reform and rehabilitation. The noteworthy attempts in this field are of Quinney, Kuhn, Gibbs, Bordua, Znaniecki, Blau, Selznick. The assumptions of all these authors represent comprehensive analysis of labeling theory. Major strengths of this perspective are: 1) the theoretical advance of this approach lies in its ability to demystify cruder structural approaches which lose sight of the importance of social control as an independent variable in the creation of deviance; 2) the unique features of this approach are: i) it defines deviance, e.g. Becker's "outsiders" or Erikson's "wayward Puritan," ii) it defines individuals as deviants, i.e. labeling people as deviants, e.g. Clark Vincent's "unmarried mothers" or Schur's "crimes without victims"; 3) it takes into consideration social processes like social control giving rise to deviation, it asks "deviant to whom?" or "deviant from what?" (Schur, 1973), 1979). Major weaknesses of this approach are: 1) it does not take into account the causal importance and explanatory value of personality variables. Causal importance of personality variables has not been taken into consideration. "The theory denies that a label may be properly applied to describe personality differences. This denial has unfortunate consequences for the prediction of individual behavior." (Nettler, 1978:301) 2) The causes of behavior implicit in labeling hypothesis are defective, i.e. when the causation implied by the labeling hypothesis is tested, it fails, e.g. when the

labeling hypothesis is applied to the explanation of serious crimes, its model of causation reduces its value for public policy. 3) With Lemert's views on secondary deviance, it appears that he attaches much greater significance to secondary deviance than to primary deviance. This distinction does not take into account any complete social explanation of behavior so "Lemert's 'law of effect' would not be applicable to all social or human behavior. Thus although he refers to the possibility of 'hedonistic' or 'calculative' deviance, actually contradicts his own law of effect by reserving it for secondary deviance." (Schur, 1971: p. 10)

4) Labeling analysts almost entirely were concerned about the negative effects of the labeling on future behavior. Their efforts failed to examine the possibility that labeling may have positive effects on behavior. 5) Labeling formulations overlook the structural features of the organizations such as status-hierarchies, norms, conflicting-ideologies, informed power structure, etc. 6) The major proposition in this analysis that social reaction which stigmatized deviants leads to an altered identity - has not been empirically demonstrated in an adequate fashion.

In recent years, the sociology of deviance and delinquent behavior shows a provocative shift in its concerns. We attempted to introduce the above stated theories because, one of the goals of this research is to give analysis of major theoretical contributions made by various social thinkers

over three decades. Recent studies at the practical level seem to have accepted new vision and are trying to transform theories into new ones accepting the weaknesses of some of the loosely articulated concepts of the old theories. Our analysis will be in a position to suggest to some extent if we require greater intricacy in conceptualization or in research methodology?

Ultimately one has to accept the view of Becker (1963) that the field of deviance is nothing special, just another kind of human activity to be studied and understood.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Our discussion of theories of delinquency is based on the excellent discussion by the following authors:

- a) Empey, Lamar T. 1978, American Delinquency: Its Meaning and Construction. The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois.
- b) Gibbons, Don C. 1981. Delinquent Behavior. Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- c) Cohen, Albert K. and Short, James F. Jr. 1972 "A Survey of Delinquency Theories," pp. 215-228, in Reed, John P. and Baali F. (ed), Faces of Delinquency. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- d) Taylor, Ian, Walton, Paul and Young, Jack. 1973 The New Criminology: For a Social Theory of Deviance. Harper and Row, New York.
- e) Haskell, Martin R. and Yablonsky, Lewis. 1970. Crime and Delinquency, Rand McNally and Co., Chicago.
- f) Schur, Edwin M. 1969. Our Criminal Society: The Social and Legal Sources of Crime in America. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The present study aims at analyzing the relation between delinquency and broken homes as it occurs in the United States by presenting the research findings of social researchers in last three decades (1950's, 1960's and 1970's). To state how this analysis will be made, we would like to present a brief account of methodology which will be used in this research.

CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION

1) Juvenile Delinquency and Delinquent Behavior: Arriving at a general definition of the term "Juvenile delinquency" is difficult, as there is no one definition applicable to all the cases and no definition is free from some criticism. For example: 1) it is difficult to define it in terms of non-conformity to cultural norms since norms vary from state to state, city to city and neighborhood to neighborhood. 2) In legal terms*, a juvenile delinquent is a youth who has been so adjusted by a juvenile court. The behavior that leads to a

*See Appendix 1.

judgment of juvenile delinquency is vaguely defined by the statutes and the procedures followed by the various courts are not uniform. Sussman (1959) has listed all the forms of conducts of delinquency in the order of their frequency and has shown for each state which ones are specified. They number thirty-four, varying from truancy, incorrigibility and running away from home to using tobacco in any form. As a matter of fact, some states classify as delinquency a condition which other states define as dependency or neglect. Under the influence of certain theories, delinquency is identified either with maladjustment or with forms of juvenile behavior which actually are more a reflection of poor living conditions or inadequate laws and regulations than a delinquent inclination. Thus disobedience, stubbornness, lack of respect, being incorrigible, smoking without permission and the like are considered juvenile delinquency. Very often these forms of delinquency are hidden in statistical data under the vague term "other offenses." More often than would be desirable, "these offenders are lumped together with real ones not only because services and institutions for them are not available but also because according to some policies and practices all of them considered 'maladjusted' and sent to the same institutions. The result is an artificial inflation of the juvenile delinquency problems and its forms."*

*Please refer to Notes to Chapter Two, Reference 1.

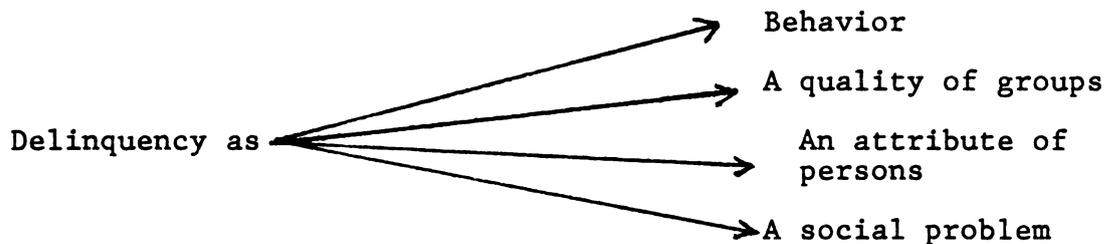
The need for a definition of delinquency is stressed by Tappan, who states, "Certainly there is no more central question in this study and probably none more difficult to answer.

Yet it is important to see the nature of delinquency as clearly as possible and to understand the problems that have impeded efforts at definition. . . , because on the interpretation of the term depend all those vital differences which set off the juvenile delinquent from the adult criminal at the one extreme and from the nonoffender at the other." (Tappan, 1949:3)

Ruth Cavan mentions the difficulties of applying a legal definition to juvenile delinquency. "On defining juvenile delinquency, laws are of little use. . . most of the behavior that gets a child into trouble with police and court comes under a much less definite part of the law on juvenile delinquency. Examples are easy to find. The Illinois law defines as delinquent a child who is incorrigible or who is growing up in idleness, one who wanders about the streets in the nighttime without being on any lawful business. New Mexico rests its definition on the word 'habitual'. . . In these laws there is no definition of such words or phrases as incorrigible, habitual, indecent conduct or in the night time. How much disobedience constitutes incorrigibility? How often may a child perform an act before it is considered habitual?"

(Cavan, 1961:243) Though all researchers of this field admit that a clear definition of a fundamental concept is a prime requisite for all research, this task often has been neglected. The maximum age for original jurisdiction, where delinquency

is charged, has been established by juvenile court legislation and that ranges between sixteen and twenty-one. The upper age limit varies in different states but the most commonly used upper limit is the 18th birthday. "In most states there is no lower age limit set for the adjudication of a child as delinquent. Mississippi and Texas place that limit at ten and New York at seven." (Sol, 1949:1-8) Thus data from different jurisdictions show how diversely "delinquency" and "delinquent" are defined in American statutes. Legal categories capture a limited aspect of social reality. The awareness of the following distinctions may help in linking appropriate operational definitions with the differential usages of the concept.



A good nonlegal definition in cultural terms is probably attributable to Robison. She viewed delinquency "as any behavior which a given community at a given time considers to be in conflict with its best interests, whether or not the offender has been brought to court." (Robison, 1960:11) No one of these perspectives can claim finality for the definition of deviance. The present investigation will help to 1) determine

how several social thinkers, over a thirty-year period have:

- 1) established the meaning of the term "juvenile-delinquency",
- 2) developed a system of classifying "delinquency" and "delinquent behavior."

2) Broken Homes: Sociologists have given considerable attention first at a theoretical level and then at the empirical level to the relationship between broken homes and juvenile delinquency. Virtually all studies of delinquents report a high incidence of broken homes and it has been treated as a major independent variable. Bossard and Boll state, "But however specific the situation of the incomplete family, in the great average of broken homes, the child loses more than he gains." (1943:163) A number of studies* have shown that defective family relationships are much more prevalent among families of delinquent children than among families of comparable children who do not become delinquent. Greater refinement was introduced into the question by Shaw and McKay when they compared boys against whom official delinquency petitions were filed in the juvenile court of Chicago in 1929 with other boys drawn from the public school population of the same city areas. Shaw & McKay found "that a rather high proportion (29%) of the school boys 10 to 17 years of age came from broken homes." (Shaw & McKay, 1932:514-524)

*Please see reference number 2, in Notes to Chapter Two.

Hirschi states "From an overall viewpoint it is well to remember that a large proportion of children from broken homes do not become delinquent, but this hardly refutes the inescapable fact that more children from broken homes as compared to those from unbroken homes become delinquent."

(Hirschi, 1937:66 & 79) Jaffe (1963) found that families characterized by a high level of disagreement within the family had concomitantly high scores on a delinquency-proneness scale. Such variables as family integration and cohesion as well as the nature of interaction between parents and children were considered by Reiss (1951), Nye (1958), Hirschi (1969) and Larson & Meyerhoff (1967). The definition of broken home emphasized in most of these studies is as follows:

"Broken home is a family where one or both parents are absent because of death, divorce, long-separation or desertion."

With the establishment of juvenile courts in the United States around 1900 and the compilation of social statistics on youth who were brought before these courts, observers were struck by the high proportion, 40 to 50 percent, of all delinquent children who came from broken homes."

(Mangold, 1930:406) Monahan's (1957) comprehensive review of the literature lists 14 studies published between 1903 and 1933, all of which reported an association between broken homes and juvenile delinquency. Karen Wilkinson (1974) has given a

systematic review of literature on the broken home and its relationship to delinquency and an intelligent account of reasons for the acceptance and rejection of broken home as a variable. She distinguishes the following three periods:

- 1) Period of acceptance (1900-1932)
- 2) Period of rejection (1900-1950)
- 3) Period of renewed interest (1950-1972)

According to her, cultural bias seems to have been influential in determining the significance of broken homes, and further research is needed to decide, if its rejection is justified.

In the 1950's, a number of studies (some of them mentioned above) were published which re-emphasized the significance of the broken home variable. Studies in the 1960's accept the significance of broken home as a causal factor of juvenile delinquency but we see the tendency of sociological theories of delinquency to emphasize the class-structure instead of the family. Recent studies state that, "the evidence is strong that juveniles from broken homes are more likely to be arrested, convicted and sentenced to a juvenile institution." (Schur, 1971: p. 12) Ronald J. Chilton and Gerald E. Markle (1972) emphasize the continuing effects of family disruption on the problem of delinquency. They note ". . . our study provides added empirical support for the conclusions of earlier investigators who have suggested that proportionately more children who come into contact with police-agencies and with juvenile courts on delinquency

charges, live in disrupted families than do children in general population. In addition, the study suggests that children charged with more serious misconduct often come from incomplete families than children charged with less serious delinquency." (Chilton & Markle, 1972:98) Moynihan's (1965) study advanced the thesis that black family had evolved a structure that was contributing to problem behavior and a 'tangle of pathology.'

Sociologists have regarded the influence of family as particularly crucial in understanding delinquency. From above stated studies, "A very common observation can be noted that juvenile delinquency is the product of a "broken" home and numerous studies have suggested that a broken home does indeed seriously disrupt the life of a child and severely hamper the socialization of children. In fact the belief in the deleterious effect of a broken home on children is so firmly entrenched in many quarters of the juvenile court system that it would be surprising not to find the system producing "facts" to support this assertion. The conviction that family disruption is a cause of delinquent conduct can act as a self-fulfilling prophecy: a juvenile from a broken home, who is trouble, may have a greater chance of juvenile court intervention than a similar case from an intact home." (Jensen & Rojeck, 1980:195) This is one of the important reasons for selecting the topic concentrating on the relationship of broken homes and juvenile delinquency. As Karen Wilkinson suggests,

further research is needed to decide if the rejection of "broken home" is justified, this research we hope would provide some guidelines to proceed from the premise that family is most important unit which decides if child is going to be a delinquent or not.

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

- 1) The Choice of Journals, Journal Articles and Time-Period.
 (The choice of sample-source, sample unit and time period)

Articles dealing with the relationship between delinquency and broken homes were selected from the following journals: 1) American Sociological Review, 1) American Journal of Sociology, 3) Social Problems, 4) Social Forces, 5) Crime and Delinquency, 6) Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 7) Journal of Marriage and the Family.

The important reasons for selecting these journals as sources are: 1) they are the leading journals in the field of sociology and criminology, 2) they are in wide circulation, particularly among the researchers and students of the field and are the best source for the exchange of ideas and knowledge.

In our judgment, articles from these journals related to the research topic are the best source of information because: 1) There can be found the greater amount of empirical data on delinquency in a condensed form which makes it readily available to the researcher; 2) some of these articles for example, (a) represent successful attempts to integrate and

extend current theoretical positions on delinquency and delinquent-behavior; (b) show limitations and biases inherent especially in police and court statistics as measures of delinquent behavior; (c) represent fundamental shift in the direction of theoretical development creating the base of research and data necessary for a next advance in the field of crime and delinquency.

Communications, especially textbooks and books, provide a rich source of data for investigating research questions. The exclusion of books might prove serious limitations of the present study and we are aware of it. About the questions: Why journal articles? Why not books? We can state that:

- 1) journal published research does in fact review the studies which are published in the books, in more systematic form.
- 2) Books and journal articles together might be repetitious.
- 3) In the content-analysis, documentary materials need to be skillfully combined with the findings of the researchers and with statistical data to give a factual base for the interpretation. The gathering of data from different journals over thirty years of period, is itself, a methodological contribution. So concise research-presentations in journal articles thought to be a more appropriate source for data. Of course research in journal articles is liable to possibilities of bias that are always inherent in studies related to human inquiries. There is no surer method of verification, so the

tendency to see in the data only those facts which fit into our assumptions will be avoided. It is a possibility that journal articles may present views and conclusions which might appear (a) too all-inclusive; (b) premature until future studies are conducted; (c) preliminary and tentative. Although these articles have obvious limitations, it cannot be denied that they are representative of the most significant research done, particularly in the area of "delinquency". We are aware of the limitations of this selection and shall try to identify as directly as possible the advantages and disadvantages of this selection.

Time Period: The time period covered is three decades, that is 1950's, 1960's and 1970's.

As stated above, sample units will be the available research articles over the period of thirty years from the above mentioned journals dealing with:

1) Structural characteristics of family, focusing on the broken homes in relation to delinquency in particular and delinquency in general.

2) Methods of Study: Considerable research is available dealing with various aspects of family structure and delinquency. This availability of research will allow (a) to take into consideration special nature of data related to broken homes and delinquency; (b) to verify a descriptive account of each decade which might show changing nature of the approaches used by several social thinkers; (c) to check

the importance of family against the research over time which might show sudden or steady decline in the importance of broken homes as a variable; (d) to identify and reveal the focus of attention or the objectives of social researchers over time which will in turn reflect their interests.

Since this investigation will be based exclusively on the analyses and interpretations of available research over thirty years, it suggests that content-analysis is an appropriate method. This method as a technique, has been widely used and has almost unlimited applicability in social research. Comparing the treatment given by different researchers to the same problem at different times becomes possible with the application of this method. Reasons related to the problem change over time due to changes in social conditions and analysis of these changes and conditions can be used to make practical decisions in the analysis of the problem. Study of past records and documents is essential if we are to explain why people as individual and as collectivities, currently think and act as they do. "Individuals singly and collectively define current environmental realities within cultural patterns and behave adaptively or maladaptively vis-a-vis those realities in terms of social patterns learned in interaction with past realities." (Turk, 1972:171-198)

There are major limitations of technique of content analysis. Its limited nature is the primary limitations.

Again there are problems involved in transforming past records into sociological data. Actually most of the material which is available as sociological data is not primary data in a strict sense. What was considered important in 1950's may not be considered important today. Each time-period reflects its own, unique perspective. So what we will be doing is with our own observations and understanding of both social and cultural facts, make the secondary analysis of collected data. We know, at this stage, the process of reducing uncertainty becomes increasingly complex and difficult in nature. As we must take into account the social and cultural realities of the past, we shall follow Becker's rule, i.e. ". . . to ignore whatever is not relevant for the purpose at hand." (Becker, 1950: 214-216) Materials produced for scientific consumption have its own limitations and we shall have to depend on the assumptions and investigations of researchers to know how the problem of broken home in relationship to delinquency was really like in those days, i.e. in 1950's and in 1960's. To increase the reliability of the data in this type of research we think there is no other way but patient experimentation in the analysis of available communication leading to refinement in classifying the data, and to more systematic scrutiny. We are aware that it is hardly possible to reconstruct the entire social structure through the analysis of past records but with this technique one is able to discover many clues for further research. To know particulars of any segment of social structure is the beginning of knowledge - scientific, limitedly scientific, or otherwise.

3. Data Collection Procedure:

As stated before, we will organize our presentation around certain structural characteristics of the family, focusing on the broken home in relationship to juvenile-delinquency. Each journal was first randomly examined to note the availability of necessary type of articles. Since this analysis is oriented to the content itself, the following are the heading and subheadings under which the pertinent literature will be reviewed:

I. Juvenile Delinquency; and Delinquent Behavior: What is delinquency and delinquent behavior?

The definition of delinquency, the nature of delinquent conduct and the legal status involved as seen by different researchers. Under these two categories, definition of delinquency and delinquent behavior will be classified and systematically summarized.

II. Delinquency Studies Related to Broken Homes:

Each article was carefully read, summarized and analyzed, looking at the relationship of these two variables. This will allow us to suggest that the increase/decrease in delinquency rates during the past three decades do or do not represent relation to the broken homes. Changes in the trends of literature can be studied.

Bringing together the data over three decades was thought to be helpful in having more specific understanding of the topic of investigation.

III. Delinquency studies in general:

In this section articles were selected under following headings:

- 1) The articles presenting review of literature of delinquency.
- 2) The articles related to
 - i) police contacts and delinquents
 - ii) impact of home, school, neighborhood conditions (here other aspects of home shall be considered other than broken home, e.g. parent-child adjustment problems related to delinquency.)
 - iii) Rural-urban community and their influences causing delinquency.
 - iv) Social-cultural context and delinquent children.
 - v) Less serious and more serious offenses related to social and other factors.
- 3) The articles applying theories and replicating the results.

This analysis was able to indicate the richness or poverty of delinquency literature at the same time revealing the areas which didn't receive enough attention or the ones which were totally neglected.

In this way, the data collection procedure will follow, the following scheme:

Delinquency Literature

Variables related to juvenile delinquency

Family variables

Broken Homes

Limitations of the Study: The present investigation will have limitations which are peculiar to this kind of study. The foremost and important among them is the method of data collection. Past findings present a very special type of data and its use permits new forms of insight into social processes. But the available evidence cannot be totally free from the influence of a social scientist's theoretical and personal bias, so findings will be limited to this technique of data collection. We will have to keep in mind, just the common assumption underlying the content analysis method for social research purpose, is that, it contains valid clues to the social phenomena and adding precision to insight or advancement of meaningful speculations for future can become possible. The scope of the research will be particularly limited to the studies related to a definite relationship between the broken homes and delinquency in the last three decades, as it occurs in the United States.

The use of the term 'delinquency' today, may encompass almost any type of youthful behavior. The extremely ambiguous use of the concept delinquency, creates confusion and difficulties in research studies. As Voss has rightly noted, "Unless differences regarding definitions are recognized, future research will continue to produce contradictory results." (Voss & Gold, 1967:120) According to Tappan (1949) the problem stems largely from the contrasting views of those who deal with delinquents. In addition, he discusses the compromises that are present in sociojudicial procedures of the children's court in relation to the general problem of definition and measurement. Sellin and Wolfgang (1964) state the broadness of the legal definition of delinquency and analyze the problem posed by lack of uniformity from one state to another with respect to juvenile court jurisdictions. Yet "self-report studies, and especially those employing statutory definitions of delinquency are still the most valid test of theories." (Johnson, 1979:10-11) The specific problems of reliability and validity of this methodology are widely discussed. For example, Hood and Sparks, (1970) who state any study of delinquency should begin with the meaning of the term, but the authors are severely limited by not having a clearer definition of this fundamental concept. The data on the amount and distribution of delinquency are neither complete nor known and this causes much misunderstanding and controversy. In cases which are dealt with before going to court or which

receive no investigation, children are the only source of some information. Accuracy and precision of the data are questionable, especially if one is interested in the details of family relationships. Among different elements of population the proportion and types of broken homes vary so greatly that one must be cautious in using particular kinds of data for comparing time periods or for other comparative purposes.

We are aware of all these limitations and also agree that there is enough available to give rough outline or to use Richard E. Johnson's phrase "a crude skeleton" of the phenomena and its theoretical formulations, but there is urgent need for more and better information. It is apparent that a series of related studies are needed in order to complete the picture of total phenomenon.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. The Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. (London, August 8-20, 1960). New Forms of Juvenile Delinquency: Their Origin, Prevention and Treatment. Report prepared by Secretariat A/Conf 17/7.

2. See for instance: 1) Slawson, John. 1923 "Marital relations of parents and juvenile delinquency," Journal of Delinquency, Vol. 8, Sept. - Nov. 1923, pp. 280-83. and The Delinquent Boy, Boston: Gorham Press, 1926.
2) Lumpkin, K. D. 1931 "Factors in the Commitment of Correctional School Girls in Wisconsin." American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 37, Sept. 1931, pp. 222-230.
3) Carr, Saunders, A. M., H. Mannheim and Rhodes E. Young. 1944. Offenders. New York: MacMillan Co., p. 70, and Needs of Neglected and Delinquent Children, 1946. Connecticut Public Welfare Council, Hartford, Connecticut.

CHAPTER III

A SYNOPSIS OF THE ARTICLES TREATING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DELINQUENCY AND BROKEN HOMES

Delinquency research related to broken homes has been under serious development chiefly during the last three decades because this period was thought to be the period of renewed interest re-emphasizing the significance of the broken home variables. The literature here under review makes one to see if the researchers had clear or ingenious visions of delinquency problem. Did they employ objective and scientific analysis resulting in insight, giving concrete and practical solutions?

Thirty years have witnessed many changes in social-structure, including changes in family institutions. Delinquency producing situations have changed, ways of handling and treating the problem have changed as well. But when one looks at the research done in the field related to our problem, one is forced to stop and ask questions; for example: when delinquency theorists realize and face the problems of inadequacy of legal definitions of delinquency, delinquent-behavior and broken homes boldy and in the most practical manner, why do they again start research based on the same inadequate legal definitions of the terms?

Our review of the literature shows that delinquency cannot be abolished; it can only be redistributed. Researchers accepted this fact, yet concentrated their research efforts mainly in urban localities, neglecting rural and other areas, distorting their constructions of the total picture of the phenomena. While examining theoretical contributions over three decades, one is struck by the use of the same traditional theoretical outlooks by the majority of theorists. The great impact of Chicago tradition,^{*} on most of the delinquency studies under consideration here make us formulate working hypotheses. This chapter shall begin with these hypotheses.

1) Knowing all the inadequacies and limitations of the terms delinquency, delinquent behavior and broken homes, researchers seeking objective information on the basic causal factors of delinquency start their research with official data and legal definitions.

2) Researchers realize that the variation in rates of delinquency reflects the organization of each community and its ways of handling the problem. Yet a majority of the research studies still have the dominant influence of the

* Discussion of major theoretical approaches given in Chapter I, elaborates on Chicago tradition extensively.

Chicago school and concentrate their studies: (a) in urban areas with inner-city emphasis, (b) studies have less concern with middle class suburbs and (c) studies are least concerned with rural areas; knowing that such selected areas with inner-city emphasis would not present the complete analysis of the whole delinquency problem.

3) The majority of contemporary sociological investigations of delinquency still continue to follow the central theoretical traditions of the Chicago school viz social disorganization theories/cultural-deviance theories/differential association theories/subcultural theories, basically implying social control assumptions.

These working hypotheses suggest that we must be very concerned with the contributions of researchers to see what has been written about delinquency and broken homes, shows us what the problems are and give us enough insight to understand how they may best be solved. The following discussion aims at giving a brief summary of each article particularly concerned with broken home variables. The analyses and examination of these articles in the following chapter may provide a sound basis for further research, theory and corrective actions.

- (1) Gang membership and juvenile misconduct by Wattenberg, William W. and James J. Balistrieri. American Sociological Review, Vol. 15, No. 6, December 1950, pp. 744-752.

This study dealt with the records of 5,878 boys (gang members — 2,737, nonmembers — 3,141) between the

ages of 10 and 16 inclusive, who were "interviewed on complaint" by Detroit police officers in 1946 and 1947. (Last five months of 1946 and all of 1947) Entire population is classified in the following way:

Boys with records only in 1946	Repeaters with records in 1946 and 1947	New offenders in 1947
1,462	670	3,746

The basic assumptions of the study were: 1) in large American cities, neighborhoods which have populations low in the socio-economic scale, generally have higher delinquency rates. In a group of boys all having police records, those belonging to gangs would show a higher proportion coming from poorly supervised homes and unfavorable socio-economic conditions. 2) Boys who are repeatedly in trouble can be considered more delinquent and home situations and neighborhood conditions for gang members would be sharper among seriously delinquent boys. 3) In a group of boys arrested for the first time and who belonged to gangs and showed evidence of coming from weak homes and bad neighborhoods, would be more likely to become repeaters.

The important findings of the study are: (1) The non-gang group shows evidence of (1) disturbed family relationships, (2) emotional tension in the homes, (3) high number of separated parents, (4) dislike for mothers, (5) receiving no money from parents and having less

recreational equipment than their friends. 2) Gang boys show family and socio-economic deprivation and low tension (easy going homes); 3) In predicting repeating by these boys, socio-economic indices had greater value in the case of gang members and family indices in the case of non-members.

2) Social correlates of psychological types of delinquency by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., American Sociological Review, Vol. 17, No. 6, December 1952, pp. 710-718.

This study is based on the official court records of 1,110 white male juvenile delinquent probationers of the Cook County juvenile court in 1943 and 1944. On the basis of reports of psychiatric social workers and psychiatrists of the Institute for Juvenile Research, three psychological types of delinquents were isolated: 1) the relatively integrated delinquent: adolescent with relatively integrated personal controls, 2) delinquents with relatively weak ego controls; highly insecure persons with low self-esteem or highly aggressive and hostile persons, 3) delinquents with markedly defective super-ego controls: those who have not internalized the social-conforming norms of middle-class society and experience little sense of guilt over their acts.

The major hypothesis related to family is that, it is the major institution structuring personal controls. Since primary social relations are characterized by family, the author examines the structural and affective character of the family for delinquents in each of the three psychological types stated above.

The major findings of this study related to family are:

1) Delinquents with defective superego controls significantly more often come from families where: a) the father is absent but other siblings present, b) that are broken by separation, desertion or divorce, c) with open conflict between parents as compared with delinquents with relatively integrated controls. But delinquents with relatively weak controls likewise come from such homes more frequently than do delinquents with relatively integrated controls.

3. Negro and white male institutionalized delinquents by Sidney Axelrad, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57, No. 6, May 1952, pp. 569-574.

The data presented in the study were drawn from case studies of 300 boys - 179 Negro and 121 white who had all been committed as delinquents to the State Training School for Boys, New York between 1933 and 1934. They were all under the age of sixteen and over the age of ten at the time of commitment. The study tried to answer two questions: 1) Did the children's court commit Negro and White children on different bases? 2) Are there significant differences in background, family relationship and family constellations between the two groups?

Some of the important findings of the study are:

1) Negro children committed to the state institution were (a) younger, (b) had fewer court appearances, (c) less previous institutionalization, and (d) for fewer

and less serious offenses than white children committed to the same institution. 2) 18 percent Negro and 46 percent of white delinquents lived exclusively with both parents. 3) Eighty-two percent of the Negro children came from broken homes; 54 percent of the white children. The difference is, of the 60 white broken homes, 50 percent of the separations were caused by death of one of the parents. Of the 139 Negro broken homes, 37 or 26 percent were caused by the death of one of the parents. Very clearly factors other than death are responsible for the proportion of broken homes among the Negro delinquent children. 4) The family constellations differed in the two groups. The white delinquents tended to have lived more with both biological parents; the Negro delinquents either with mother and stepfather, with mother only, with other relatives or in unrelated families. In 26 percent of the Negro families the mother was the only person employed. 5) In contrast to the white delinquents, the Negro children came from homes where there was more death or deprivation of a parent, desertion, neglect, rejection, separation and sexual promiscuity. Contrasted to the Negro delinquents, the white delinquents came from families where there was deficient discipline, language handicap, ethnic difference and religious difference. This shows that Negro children came from more unstable homes and from homes with a different kind of family pathology than the white delinquents.

- 4) Self-concept as an insulator against delinquency.
By Walter C. Rickless, Simon Dinitz, and Ellen Murray.
American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 6, December
1956, pp. 744-746.
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This study is concerned with 125 sixth grade white boys, who were nominated by their teachers as "good"* boys, from the schools located in the highest delinquency areas in Columbus, Ohio. Both the boy and mother were interviewed. The boys were given a series of four, self-administered scales to complete, viz. 1) the delinquency vulnerability scale, 2) social-responsibility scale, 3) occupational-preference instrument, 4) scale measuring the boy's conception of self, his family and other interpersonal relations.

The authors dealt with the following questions:

- 1) What insulated an early teenage boy against delinquency?
- 2) Is it possible to identify certain components that enable young adolescent boys to develop or maintain non-delinquent habits and patterns of behavior in the growing up process.

Major findings of the study are: 1) An analysis of the scores made by 125 nominees on the delinquency vulnerability (De) and social responsibility (Re) scales seemed to justify their selection as "good" boys (a) sixty percent thought they were stricter about right and wrong, (b) eighty-five percent tried to escape trouble at all costs, (c) eighty-one percent were concerned with reactions of significant

*"Good" boys: those who would not, in teacher's opinion, ever experience police or juvenile court record.

others to their behavior, (d) eighty-one percent stressed their obedience to their parents' wishes. 2) The nominees were remarkably high on the social-responsibility scale. 3) In response to the self-evaluation scale, all 125 portrayed themselves as law-abiding and obedient, 4) when asked 'what keeps boys out of trouble?', the respondents listed (a) parental direction (a good home); (b) non-deviant companions and (c) work.

The authors mention that the internalization of these non-deviant attitudes and conformity to the expectations of significant others played a significant role in the insulation of these boys.

5) The self-component in potential delinquency and potential non-delinquency. By Walter C. Reckless, Simon Dinitz and Barbara Kay. American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, No. 5, October 1957. pp. 566-570

This paper represents the second phase of the study mentioned above on insulation against and vulnerability for delinquency at age 12, the threshold age for American city-boys. In the present report sixth-grade White boys, in the highest delinquency areas in Columbus, Ohio, who were nominated by their teachers as headed for contact with the police and courts (101 boys nominated as potential delinquents) are compared with boys in the same classrooms who were previously nominated by the same teachers as most likely to stay clear of contact with the police and juvenile court (125 "good" boys). The names of the boys and their families

were screened through the police and juvenile court files for previous contact. All nominees and their mothers were then interviewed with a structured schedule. The basic instruments consisted of (a) delinquency vulnerability scale, (b) social responsibility scale, (c) occupational preferences scale were used with the four highly discriminating items which attempted to determine respondent's self-concept with regard to law-abiding behavior, his evaluations of family affectional patterns, and his friendship patterns and leisure activities. Except for the occupational preference items every question was also asked of his mother. The boys completed self-administered forms at the same time their mothers were interviewed separately.

The major findings of this research are: (1) On the whole, of all boys who had been before the court, students nominated as "good" boys (potentially insulated) appeared to have been involved in fewer and less serious offenses than had the potentially delinquent nominees. (2) Related to background characteristics on one important variable, the "insulated" and "prospective" delinquent subjects did differ significantly. Fewer of the "insulated" boys than of the "prospective delinquents" were members of broken homes (22% vs. 36%). (3) The mean delinquency vulnerability score of the 125 insulated boys was found to be lower than prospective delinquents and the mean social responsibility score was significantly higher than that of the 101 nominated potential

delinquents. (4) Potentially delinquent boys stated family situation as characterized by conflict, not much family participation in leisure, and other activities, and they did mention frequency and severity of punishment too.

(5) Results strongly suggest that one of the preconditions of law-abiding or delinquent conduct, is to be found in the concept of self and others that one has acquired in his primary group relationships. Because in the realities of social interactions "insulated" boys seem to define themselves and seem to be thought of as "good" boys by their parents and teachers to no less an extent than the potentially delinquent boys seem to define themselves and to be defined in an opposite manner.

6) The differential impact of family-disorganization by Jackson Toby. American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, No. 5, October 1957, pp. 505-512.

This paper is an attempt to present secondary analysis of the Shaw and McKay* data, as author thought it was susceptible of various interpretations. To many, the Shaw and McKay study seemed to imply that the family - an institution so important in the socialization process - was irrelevant to delinquency. Toby tries to show with the evidence, that Shaw and McKay themselves, did not rule out family disorganization as a factor in delinquency. For example, Shaw-McKay's

* Shaw, Clifford R. and Henry D. McKay. Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency, Washington National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement Report No. 13, Vol. II, 1931.

procedure emphasized the adolescent rather than pre-adolescent age bracket and the differences between the broken home rates of delinquents and school boys happened (in their data) to be less at the older ages. This places limitation on Shaw-McKay findings. We cannot legitimately infer that the broken home is an unimportant a factor in the delinquencies of pre-adolescent boys, because Shaw-McKay's data show considerable association between broken homes and delinquency for pre-adolescents. We can infer nothing about the relationship between broken homes and delinquency among girls because females were not included in their survey.

Toby says that if family disorganization has a greater delinquency-producing effect on girls and pre-adolescents than on adolescent boys, ecological or ethnic groups characterized by family disorganization, should have disproportionate number of female and preadolescent delinquents. He applied this principle to rural-urban and to Negro-White families. Using the special tabulation of New Jersey delinquency statistics made available by the Bureau of Community Services, Department of Institutions and Agencies; Annual Report of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations of Essex County 1953, p. 19; United States census of population 1950, General characteristics of New Jersey, Washington; U.S. G.P.O., 1952, pp. 109-112, juvenile court data from rural and urban countries are cross-tabulated by age, sex and color, and expressed as a function of the appropriate base population.

The data also show that, with degree of urbanization controlled, white delinquents have a comparatively smaller proportion of girls and pre-adolescents than Negro-delinquents. Based on Shaw and McKay's data re-examination and these comparisons, the major findings of the study are: (1) Girls and pre-adolescents from disorganized households are more exposed to criminogenic influences than girls and pre-adolescents from well-integrated households and this differential exposure may account for the positive relationship between broken homes and delinquency observed in these populations. (2) The differential impact of family disorganization depending on the age and sex of the child can account (a) for the seemingly slight relationship between broken homes and delinquency found by Shaw and McKay, (b) for the stronger relationship between broken homes and delinquency among girls of preadolescents and (c) for the disproportionate representation of girl and preadolescents among Negro and urban delinquents.

7) Family status and the delinquent child: A reappraisal and some new findings. By Thomas P. Monahan, *Social Forces*, Vol. 35, No. 3, March 1957, pp. 250-58.

This article is based on a review of the literature to show persistent efforts made, in the delinquency research to establish interrelationship between delinquency and broken homes. In order to throw some additional light upon the subject of broken homes, some special tabulations were made of all delinquency charges - 44,448 cases of which

24,811 were first offenders - disposed of in the Philadelphia municipal court in the period 1949-1954. Percentage distribution of juvenile delinquents in Philadelphia by type of family status, all cases, first offenders and Class 1 recidivists in the years 1949-1954 are presented in table form. As the interpretation of table the following results are presented: 1) the proportion of broken homes among Negroes is greater than among the whites, and girls in each group are more often from broken homes than boys. 2) The families of first offenders show a lesser degree of fragmentation, whereas Class I recidivists are from families particularly marked by a greater degree of orphanhood, illegitimacy, and social disruption. Including the children who are recidivists increases the proportion of broken homes in the whole. 3) The parents of Negro delinquents are less often legally separated and more often unmarried or living apart than the parents of white children.

Initial disorganization and informal social disorganization of family status is most characteristic of Negro delinquent children. 4) On all sex and color groups, children living with both parents are much less likely to appear again on charges of delinquency. 5) Although girls more often come from broken homes, to an observable degree, they are less likely to engage in repeated offenses, whatever the type of broken home.

The author also presents data showing percentage distribution of juvenile delinquents in Philadelphia from

broken homes among apprehended first offenders for total and major offenses, manner of referral and disposition (1949-1954) and population comparisons based on census data. The author feels that use of court arraignment and institutional statistics gives a rather distorted picture related to family status of delinquent children in general.

On the whole very little disagreement has been expressed over the probable harmful influence of the socially broken home on the child.

8) Differential impact of family disorganization on male adolescents by Charles J. Browning, Social Problems, Vol. 8, No. 1, Summer 1960, pp. 37-44.

This study attempted to separate families individually by means of sociometric scales and adjustment tests.

(1) Frequency of broken homes, (2) family solidarity. (3) marital adjustment and (4) boy's ratings of family relations were the indicators selected to ascertain the degree of integration or disorganization which existed in each family. Broken homes were defined as those in which a boy was not living with both of his natural parents. Two samples of delinquents from the Los Angeles County Juvenile Court and one sample of nondelinquents were selected. The first sample consisted of boys who had been adjudicated delinquent for truancy only within a period of twelve months. The second sample consisted of boys who had been adjudicated for behavior which had violated the penal code, auto theft. The nondelinquent population consisted of boys who had not missed a day of school for the entire year in which the

truancies and auto thefts had occurred. ("Perfect attenders") This sampling procedure yielded 60 sets of three boys each matched boy for boy in each set. The modal age for boys in each group was 15 years, the median age 15 in both of the delinquent groups; 14.5 in the nondelinquent group. The data were collected from probation records, school records and home interviews with mothers and stepmothers.

The main aim of the study was to see the impact of family organization and disorganization on adolescent boys. The hypotheses subjected to testing are: 1) that male adolescent delinquents are as likely to come from disorganized but structurally unbroken homes, as they are from broken homes. 2) That male adolescent delinquents are as likely to come from well integrated as from disorganized families. Some of the important findings of the study are: the families of perfect attenders scored consistently higher than families of truants and auto thieves in socioeconomic status, marital adjustment and family solidarity. 3) The separation of the families of auto thieves from the families of perfect attenders was less substantial. In both cases the indicator broken home made no significant difference in the degree of separation. Broken home does not appear to be a valid indicator of family disorganization. The hypothesis that delinquents are as likely to come from disorganized but structurally unbroken homes as they are from broken homes is supported. (4) The findings also suggest that overrepresentation of broken homes in court records may have more legal

than sociological or psychological importance. This interpretation is supported by the finding that the broken homes of delinquents appeared to be less integrated and adjusted than the broken homes of perfect attenders.

9) Towards a reference group theory of juvenile delinquency. By Martin R. Haskell, Social Problems, Vol. 8, No. 3, Winter 1961, pp. 220-230.

This study is based on case histories obtained prior to institutionalization, after care supervision during three years ending July 1, 1960 of 70 boys from Berkshire Farm for Boys, (a residential treatment school for adolescent delinquent boys, New York City). Observations, case histories and depth-interviews with parents, were conducted. The study is an attempt to formulate a reference group theory in an effort to answer the question: how does the individual become committed to delinquency? A tentative reference group theory is stated as a series of seven propositions.

1) Proposition 1 - The family is the first personal reference group of the child; 2) Proposition 2 - The family is a normative reference group. By normative the author means, one whose norms conform to those of larger society. 3) Proposition 3 - Prior to his participation in a delinquent act, a street group has become a personal reference group of the delinquent boys. 4) Proposition 4 - The street group that becomes the personal reference group of the lower class boy in New York City, has a delinquent subculture. 5) A boy for whom a street group is a personal reference group, is likely in

the dynamic assessment preceding a delinquent act, to decide in favor of delinquent act. 6) The individual tends as a member of a personal group to import into his context attitudes and ways of behaving which he is currently holding in socio-group life. 7) In a situation where the individual is a member of a normative personal reference group and of a delinquent personal reference group, satisfying relationships in normative socio groups, will exercise a decisive influence against participation in a delinquent act.

(1) 46 of the Berkshire Farm boys on after-care in New York City were living with their immediate family.

Family here considered normative personal reference group.

Out of 46, twenty-two were known to be members of gangs, street groups with delinquent subculture. These 22 are considered members of both delinquent personal reference groups and normative personal reference groups.

(2) Defining a failure as a boy who has been reinstitutionalized by a court, Berkshire Farm has ten failures in New York City during July 1957 to July 1960. Nine out of ten were members of both normative personal reference groups (families), and delinquent personal reference groups (gangs).

(3) 13 boys were non-failures. (4) Two cases are illustrated as the application of this theory.

A comparison of the functioning in some normative socio-groups of the nine gang boys who were failures with the thirteen who were not, shows that non-failures had more

satisfying relationships in work groups, expressed greater job satisfaction, had far better work records and participated more in school and church groups. No significant differences are found in race, age, intelligence, family-composition or offenses leading to institutionalization among nine failures and thirteen non-failures.

In conclusion the author states that those who choose conformity refuse to risk the loss of love, deprivation or denial that would accompany action disapproved of by their families. This one method of reversing the trend toward delinquency would be to increase the opportunities for satisfying response in the family group or to state this in the form of proposition of this theory, encouraging satisfying participation in normative socio-groups should reinforce the family as a normative personal reference group.

10) Attributes related to high social status: A comparison of the perceptions of delinquent and non-delinquent boys. By Edward Rothstein, Social Problems, Vol. 10, No. 1, Summer 1962, pp. 75-83.

The present study compares the way 163 delinquent¹ teen-aged boys perceive attributes related to high social status* with the way 439 non-delinquent² boys perceive

¹In this study a delinquent is one so classified by a juvenile court.

²A non-delinquent is one who has never come to the attention of juvenile court either on an official or on an unofficial basis.

*High social status designates a status position highly rated in terms of prestige, esteem or both.

these same attributes. These samples were predominantly white Protestant boys of multi-generation American families. Over half of the samples were drawn from Cumberland County Pennsylvania (Population 110,000), and area made up of small towns and rural areas. Somewhat under half from York, Pennsylvania, a city in the 50,000-100,000 range. Each boy completed a questionnaire. Two hypotheses were tested viz: 1) The attributes perceived by delinquent boys, as counting the most for high social status differ from those perceived by delinquent boys; 2) the attributes perceived by delinquent boys, as counting the least for high social status differ from those perceived by non-delinquent boys. Both these hypotheses are supported. Some of the important other results of the study are 3) the differences in perceptions of values related to high social status cannot be accounted for by differences in socio-economic status. 4) Both groups generally agreed on which attributes do or do not make for high social status - but there are differences in emphasis, e.g. more non-delinquents stress loyalty and trustworthiness as having great weight for high social status; more delinquents stress ancestry, toughness, popularity with girls, fearlessness, notoriety, power to get revenge, shrewdness, wealth and influential contacts. 5) Non-delinquent sample selected those attributes which are taught as socially approved ones for the "idealistic" culture. Most delinquents stressed those which could be regarded as valuable

in a world conceived of as highly competitive and hostile.

An important thing that can be noticed about the sample is that sixteen percent of the non-delinquents came from broken homes; forty-five percent of delinquents came from broken homes.

11) Delinquency vulnerability: A cross group and longitudinal analysis. By Simon Dinitz, Frank R. Scarpitti and Walter C. Rickless. Social Problems, Vol. 27, No. 4, August 1962, pp. 515-517.

This study is the terminal part of earlier studies, which we have mentioned before (Number 4 and 5). The research was concerned with the attempt to discover what insulates early adolescent boys in high delinquency areas against delinquency. This study deals with the assessments of a group of 70 white boys, currently 16 years of age, who were part of a cohort of 101 twelve year old white boys, nominated four years previously by their sixth-grade teachers in elementary schools of Columbus (Ohio) high delinquency areas as headed for trouble with the law. Out of 125 "good" boys, 103 were located for reassessment.

The results of the longitudinal comparison show that the authors have some tangible evidence that a good self-concept, undoubtedly a product of favorable socialization, veers slum boys away from delinquency, while a poor self-concept, a product of unfavorable socialization, gives the slum boy no resistance to deviancy, delinquent companions or delinquent subculture. For example, here in this research 70 "bad" boys showed a high degree of individual

stability in direction of poor socialization over time. These boys had a low percentage of favorable responses regarding concepts of self.

The authors feel that a good self-concept is indicative of a residual favorable socialization and a strong inner self which in turn steers the person away from bad companions, toward middle-class values and awareness of possibility of upward movement in the opportunity structure.

12) Female delinquency and relational problems. By Ruth R. Morris, *Social Forces*, Vol. 43, No. 1, October 1964, pp. 82-89.

This study was carried out in Flint, Michigan, an industrial urban community with a population of about 200,000. All white delinquent girls thirteen to sixteen with two or more police contacts were interviewed. Non-delinquent girls, delinquent boys and non-delinquent boys were carefully matched with these delinquent girls for social class, intelligence, age and grade in school. The final sample included:

1) Non-delinquent girls	56	These matched groups were studied to test a theory that the greater rate of male delinquency is due to different sex role-objectives
2) Delinquent girls	56	
3) Non-delinquent boys	56	
4) Delinquent boys	56	
<hr/> Total:		224

The hypotheses* of the study are:

1) For any group, factors which interfere with reaching culturally defined success goals by legitimate means are most likely to lead to deviancy. Therefore, obstacles to economic power status are most likely to lead to delinquency in boys, while obstacles to maintaining positive affective relationships are most likely to lead to delinquency in girls. 2) Legitimate means of reaching their culturally defined goals are more accessible to females than to males. 3) Females have less access to illegitimate means of reaching their culturally defined goals than do males for reaching theirs.

It was expected that all three types of problems would be more characteristic of delinquents than of non-delinquents but that delinquent girls would be most likely to (1) come from broken homes. (2) Come from families with many family tensions and (3) be rated low in personal appearance and in grooming skills.

The findings are entirely consistent with the prediction that delinquents, and especially delinquent girls would suffer more from relational problems than non-delinquents. The three relational handicaps found particularly prevalent among delinquent girls were broken homes, family tensions and poor grooming.

*The hypotheses of this study are based on Cloward's basic idea that a person is most likely to become delinquent when legitimate means of reaching social goals are closed to him and when illegitimate means are open to him.

- 13) Interacting factors in juvenile delinquency. By Erdman B. Palmore and Phillip E. Hammond. American Sociological Review, Vol. 29, No. 6, December 1964. pp. 848-854.

The analysis given in this article is guided by the question: What results would be expected if the theory in delinquency and opportunity* were adequate to the explanation of different rates of delinquent acts?

The study reported here investigated 319 youth in Greater New Haven born in 1942-44 whose supervising relative - most often mother - was on the rolls of Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) in 1950. The record of each youth was followed from his 6th birthday to his 19th. Data were taken from the welfare office records and from school and police records. For all cases socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhoods were derived from a 1950 study of New Haven** and neighborhood delinquency rates were calculated from recent statistics of the New Haven Police Youth Bureau.

The data have been used to illustrate an implication of Cloward and Ohlin's theory of delinquency gangs, that delinquency is proportional to barriers to legitimate opportunity times illegitimate opportunity. The authors have investigated the effect on delinquency of two variables:

* Richard A. Cloward and Lloyed E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity, Glencoe, Ill. The Free Press 1960. In brief Cloward and Ohlin's theoretical argument is that, discontent or alienation develops from restricted access to legitimate avenues; while the likelihood and direction of actual criminal behavior depend on access to illegitimate avenues.

** August B. Hollingshed and Frederich C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness, New York: John Wiley, 1958.

1) legitimate opportunity as indicated by race, sex and school success, and 2) illegitimate opportunity as indicated by family deviance and neighborhood deviance. A reasonable, if tentative, conclusion is that legitimate and illegitimate opportunities have an interacting effect on juvenile delinquency.

A very interesting aspect of the data which we have noted that records showed all but one of these ADC families were broken by death of a parent, divorce, separation or desertion.

14) The relative contribution of family status and economic status to juvenile delinquency. By Charles V. Willie, Social Problems, Vol. 14, No. 3, Winter 1967, pp. 326-35.

This investigation has two goals: 1) To determine whether or not earlier findings regarding the association between economic status and juvenile delinquency and family status and juvenile delinquency hold when populations of whites and non-whites are analyzed separately, and 2) to determine the joint effect, if any, of these two variables.

The study area was Washington, D.C. The basic unit of analysis was the census tract. Analysis of association, if any, between delinquency and family status was determined by computing Pearsonian correlation coefficients for 115 of the 125 census tracts in the city. The dependent variable was juvenile delinquency which was related to independent variables, socio-economic status and proportion of children in broken families (family status).

Data for the study are records of 6,269 youth referred to the District of Columbia Juvenile Court for reasons other than traffic offenses and dependency during 33 month period from 1959-1962. The 1960 Census population 10 through 17 years of age, was used as the base for computing rates. The base was limited to these particular age levels because less than 5% of court-referred youths were under 10 years. The total city population in 1960 was approximately 764,000 about 45% white and 55% nonwhite. The socio-economic status and family-status was measured by a composite index score for each census tract and the percent of broken home. Four area types with white populations were grouped as follows:

1) Area A: The affluent area characterized by few broken homes. 2) Area B: The affluent area characterized by many broken homes. 3) Area C: The poor area characterized by few broken homes and 4) Area D: The poor area characterized by many broken homes. The same procedure was followed for nonwhite areas. Classifying white and nonwhite populations into these four types of social areas made possible a comparative analysis controlled variation in socio-economic and family status. About 18% of the total population of delinquents was eliminated from that part of the study which compared white and nonwhite areas. The remaining 5,148 delinquents were divided in the following way:

- 1) 737 (14%) in the white area
- 2) 4,411 (86%) in the nonwhite area

The general hypothesis is that economic and family status make both joint and independent contributions to deviant behavior.

Some of the important findings are: 1) The delinquency rates tended to increase as the socio-economic status level of census tracts decreased and that juvenile delinquency rates tended to increase as the percent of broken homes in the census tracts increased. 2) Socio-economic and family status make independent as well as joint contributions to variations in the ecology of juvenile delinquency. 3) Delinquency rates are similar for members of white and non-white populations who live in the most disadvantaged environment characterized by many broken homes and low income.

- 15) Matriachy and lower class Negro male delinquency.
By Lawrence Rosen. Social Problems, Vol. 17, No. 2, Fall 1969, pp. 175-187.

This study is a secondary analysis of a larger survey research project known as the North Philadelphia Project,* which was primarily concerned with studying the problems of male youths residing within an approximately ten square mile area. The area by almost all standards is an

* This project was under the sponsorship of the Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement (PCCA), a non-profit action research agency receiving its major support from the Ford Foundation and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

economically depressed Negro slum with high delinquent rates. This research is an attempt to specify the matriarchy and lower class Negro male delinquency. To do this the factors of 1) absent father (or father substitute), 2) sex of main wage earner, 3) main decision-maker, and 4) most influential adult were investigated for the households of 921 Negro males, ages 13-15, resided in a lower-class Negro high delinquency area.

The results show that the factor of matriarchy is of little importance for lower class Negro male delinquency. The factor of matriarchy may be only one of numerous "original causes" which "push" a lower class Negro male into delinquency, thus accounting for the small association for matriarchy and delinquency.

16) Family and differential involvement with marijuana:
 A study of suburban teenagers by Nechama Tec. Journal of Marriage and the Family. Vol. 32, No. 4, Nov. 1970, pp. 656-664.

Empirical data for this study are based on a social survey conducted in February 1969 in a well-to-do Eastern suburban community (Norwalk-Connecticut). The sample consisted of 1704 (4 had contradictory responses) teenage (15-18) boys and girls all enrolled in high school. (52% females and 48% males) A self-administered questionnaire was handed out to students on the school premises, which was completed in the presence of a teacher.

This paper examines the relationship between some aspects of family life and differential involvement with marijuana. The hypotheses are: 1) that differential involvement with marijuana will vary with (a) availability of parental models for behavior, parental behaviors, controls and pressures, evaluations and attitudes, (b) subjectively derived satisfactions and meanings from the family as a unit. With the sample studied it was found 1) that there was a significantly higher proportion of marijuana users among those from broken families than among those from unbroken families. 2) The author tentatively concluded that children whose parents use legal drugs show a higher level of involvement with an illegal drug such as marijuana. 3) The more impossible parental demands, the greater the likelihood to use marijuana with regularity. 4) "Indifferent attitude of parents" category contained the highest percentage of regular marijuana users. 5) It was found that the more the subjects enjoyed being with the family, the less likely they were to indulge in marijuana use.

- 17) Family disruption, delinquent conduct and the effect of Subclassification. By Ronald J. Chilton and Gerald E. Markle, American Sociological Review, Vol. 37, Feb. 1972, pp. 93-99.
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Employing seriousness of offense as a measure of delinquency, this article re-examines the relationship between delinquency referral and family disruption. Data for the analysis were taken from reports provided by the Juvenile and

County Court of Florida, on a form developed by U.S. Children's Bureau. The authors compared the family situations of 5,376 (black-white, male and female) children with the situations of children in the U.S. population in 1968. The authors have hypothesized that "if delinquency referral is related to family situations, children charged with serious misconduct would come from broken homes more often than children charged with minor violations." Some of the major findings of the study are: 1) the proportion of girls referred on charges applicable to juveniles only who were not living with both parents is slightly higher than the boys' proportion. 2) In comparison with the proportion of black children in the general population not living in husband-wife families, the proportion of black children in the court population in similar situation is not high. 3) The proportion of younger children (Age 10-13) charged with delinquency who are not living with both parents, is much larger than the comparable proportion of children in the general population. 4) The white children and pre-adolescents are more vulnerable to the effects of family disruption than black or adolescent children. 5) Among children referred for the most serious offenses, more are reported as living in incomplete families than complete; among children referred for the least serious offenses the opposite is true.

The subclassifications of this study provided added empirical support for the conclusions of earlier investigations that proportionately more children who come into contact with police agencies and with juvenile courts on delinquency charges live in disrupted families than do children in general population.

- 18) Black families and the Moynihan Report: A research evaluation. By Alan S. Berger and William Simon, Social Problems, Vol. 22, No. 2, Dec. 1974, pp. 145-61.

This analysis has looked at a number of indicators of both positive and negative aspects of Moynihan's theoretical formulations.* The focus is on what Moynihan called "The Tangle of Pathology." The major hypothesis of the Moynihan Report states that the black family socializes children very differently from the way the white family does. Results are: more (1) antisocial behavior, (2) ineffective education, and (3) lower levels of occupational attainment.

The current study employs data collected from a random sample of the 14-18 year old population of Illinois (total 3,100) and examines the joint effects of race, gender,

* Moynihan's findings can be roughly summarized as follows:
 1) The history of blacks in the United States has been such that slavery has produced a matrifocal family pattern especially in lower class. 2) The matrifocal family, caused by low rates of employment and high rates of illegitimacy leads to unstable family mainly in lower class. 3) This unstable lower class black family is productive of a variety of socially undesirable behaviors (tangle of pathology) which is unique to the lower class black population.

social class and family organization, on a number of indicators of family interaction, antisocial behavior patterns, educational aspirations and gender role conceptions.

The findings of the study do not entirely support Moynihan's report and data provide no confirmation of the Moynihan theory. Some of the important findings are:

- 1) Black female adolescents from intact homes are more likely than those from broken homes to be seriously involved in theft or violence.
- 2) In all socio-economic status level the broken family is more common among black than among white adolescents; about a quarter of the adolescents in lower class but fully half among the non-whites came from broken homes.
- 3) In one subpopulation the traditional hypothesis of a broken home being productive of elevated rates of delinquency is verified among working class white males.
- 4) A major type of antisocial behavior viz drug abuse is fairly common among adolescents of this sample. The findings indicate that neither racial, gender, social class nor family structure differences is again indicative of the fact there is tangle of pathology, it affects all sectors equally.

This research had shown that the broken family is not, in general, the crucial causative factor in juvenile delinquency among black youth.

- 19) Race, daughters and father-loss: Does absence make the girl grow stronger? By Janet G. Hunt and Larry L. Hunt, *Social Problems*, Vol. 25, No. 1, October 1977, pp. 90-102.
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This research examines some of the consequences of father absence for female children within the existing framework of both sexual and racial stratification. The impact of father absence on dimensions of the identities, orientations and activities of white and black adolescent girls have been studied. The questions dealt with are:

1) whether there are some achievement implications as well as sex-role socialization effects attendant with father absence, and 2) whether effects in girls are more marked among whites than blacks, due to greater sex-role differentiation in the white world.

The data reported here are taken from a large scale investigation of self-images and perceptions of school children conducted by Morris Rosenberg and Roberts Simmons* (1972). From this original data base, female students enrolled in junior and senior high schools of Baltimore, Maryland N = 462, (282 Blacks) and (180 Whites) served as the sample of this study. The findings are: 1) that sex-role identification is slightly lower, but esteem is significantly higher among father-absent than father-present white girls. For black

*Rosenberg, Morris and Roberts G. Simmons. 1972. Black and white esteem: The urban school child, Washington, D.C. American Sociological Association.

girls father absence has no perceptible impact on sex-role identification but is associated with significantly lower esteem. 2) The distinctive esteem effects of father absence are most apparent in the working-class for both racial categories. 3) Among blacks, the effects of father absence are less dramatic but more uniformly negative.

20) Black-white adolescent drinking: The myth and the reality by Paul C. Higgins, Gary L. Albrecht and Maryann H. Albrecht. Social Problems, Vol. 25, No. 2. December 1977, pp. 215-224.

Inference from research on adult drinking, emphasis on the disorganization of the black family and public stereotypes suggest that black teenagers would be more involved than white teenagers in drinking behavior. Since little research has compared black-white drinking, this research is aimed at doing this comparison.

A stratified random sample of 1,383 students (10th grade) in six Atlanta high schools completed a lengthy questionnaire. Findings of the study are: 1) black teenagers (males and females) of all classes are more likely to drink at home with the family than are white teenagers, 2) black adolescents seem to drink less frequently, buy alcoholic beverages less often, and more likely to feel that they drink less often than their friends as compared to white adolescents. 3) There is some poly-drug use among both blacks and whites, there is no evidence to show that blacks are more likely than whites to substitute the use of other drugs for alcohol.

Concluding remark is that the black family has historically been characterized as pathological and disorganized even though there is evidence to the contrary.

Interesting results showing inconsistency with some of the common views of delinquency research:

It appears that ever since 1950, a number of careful analyses of the causal factors of delinquency tend to share and replicate some common views for example 1) broken families lead to delinquency, gang-membership; 2) more black children tend to come from incomplete families as compared to the white children; 3) delinquency is a product of lower-class culture, or 4) male adolescents or black youth usually get involved in serious offenses. While re-examining the articles, we almost thought that we have reached a conclusive point where we can state that the universe of sociologists and criminologists of delinquency research say that delinquency is a problem of broken homes, male children and black youth. But we came up with some fascinating studies showing absolute inconsistency with these common views.

This section shall briefly mention and caution the reader about the inadequacy and incompleteness of causal explanations of delinquency.

1) Those studies which are built around gang and non-gang boys, giving sociological analyses usually assume that delinquent gang membership is the result of inadequate family life, broken homes, weak supervision or discipline, surrounding

neighborhood having a high delinquency rate, poverty, poor education and so on. Out of twenty research studies referred here, one study shows results which are contrary to these results and that study is by Wattenberg and Balistrieri, "Gang membership and juvenile misconduct" (1950:744-752). The important finding of this study is:

1) the non-gang group shows evidence of (a) disturbed family relationships, (b) emotional tension in the homes, (c) high number of separated parents, (4) dislike for mothers, (5) receiving no money from parents and having less recreational equipments than their friends.

(2) "Until relatively recently, both popular wisdom as well as much scholarly thought had centered around . . . the opinion that women are rarely involved in criminality. Lawbreaking was seen as a man's world. . . Additionally the hypothesis that those females who engaged in transgressions of the law were biologically flawed or psychologically aberrant was often offered as an explanation for the rare instances of female criminality that were noted by observers. Finally, lawbreaking among juvenile women was often assumed to be restricted largely to sexual misconduct which in turn was a manifestation of parent-child tensions or flaws in "under-the-roof" culture." (Gibbon, 1981:220) Research done by Chilton and Markle (1972) show that the proportion of girls referred on charges applicable to juveniles only, who were not living

with both parents is slightly higher than the boys' proportion. Similarly Alan S. Berger and William Simon (1974) found that black female adolescents from intact homes are more likely than those from broken homes to be seriously involved in theft or violence. Berger and Simon's research effort provide no confirmation of Moynihan's tangle of pathology and also shows that the broken family is not in general the crucial causative factor in juvenile delinquency among black youth.

3) Research on adult-drinking, emphasis on disorganization of black-family structure and prejudices related to black culture, suggest that black teenagers would be more heavily involved in drinking than white teenagers. Research by Paul C. Higgins, Gary L. Albrecht and MaryAnn H. Albrecht (1977) indicates that 1) black teenagers (males and females) of all classes are more likely to drink at home with the family, drink less frequently, buy alcoholic beverages less often and more likely to feel that they drink less than their friends as compared to white adolescents.

It is certain that a mere setting down of the causal factors, claimed at one time or another to be important, isn't enough to understand the 'whys' of delinquency. Conscious efforts are needed to discover and describe the missing links and it is hoped that content analysis of the studies done, given in the following chapter will be in a position to offer the missing pieces of this complex jig-saw puzzle, named "delinquency."

Table 1: Studies of the Relationship Between Broken Homes and Juvenile Delinquency

Author(s)	Location of the Study	Sample - Size	Major Method	Major Findings	Theoretical Contributions
1. Wattenberg, W. W. and Balistrieri, J. J. 1950	Detroit	5,878 boys between the ages of 10 and 16, inclusive who were "interviewed on complaint" by Detroit police officers in 1946-47.	ordinal-comparison	Non-gang boys show disturbed families, separated parents, dislike for mothers, socioeconomic deprivation. Gang boys show family and socioeconomic deprivation yet low tension.	Psychogenic theory.
2. Reiss, Albert J. 1952	Cook-County	1,110 white male juvenile delinquent probationers of the Cook County Juvenile Court in 1943-44.	Historical-Documentation method. (Official court records, the report of psychiatric social workers and the psychiatrists of the Institute for Juvenile Research.)	Delinquents with defective super-ego control more often come from families 1) where the father is absent but other siblings present 2) broken by separation, desertion and divorce, 3) where there is open conflict between parents as compared with delinquents with relatively integrated controls.	social-control theory/ social-dis-organization (in the family).
3. Axelrad, Sidney 1952	New York. (State Training School for Boys New York.)	300 boys..(179 Negro, 121 White) who had all been committed to the Institute between 1933-34.	Case studies, Documentation-method.	1) Eighty two percent of the Negro children came from broken homes, 50% of the white children came from broken homes. (Here, of the 60 white broken homes, 50% of the separations were caused by death. Of the 139 Negro broken homes 37 or 26% were caused by death of one of the parents. 2) In contrast to the white delinquent children, the Negro children came from homes where there was more death or deprivation of a parent, desertion, neglect, rejection, separation and sexual promiscuity.	Labeling Theory.

Table 1: Studies of the Relationship Between Broken Homes and Juvenile Delinquency (Con't)

Author(s)	Location of the Study	Sample - Sizes	Major Method	Major Findings	Theoretical Contributions
4. Reckless, Walter C., Dinitz, Simon and Murray, Ellen. 1956	Columbus (Ohio) (High delinquency areas)	125 sixth grade white boys (who were nominated by their teachers as "good" boys, i.e. who would not ever experience police or juvenile court contact)	Interview method (with self-administered scales and open-ended schedules.)	The results of the analysis seem to justify the selection of respondents as "good" boys. 1) 60% thought they were stricter about right and wrong 2) 85% tried to escape trouble 3) majority felt parental direction (a good home) keeps one out of trouble, 4) in general "good" boys viewed their home life as pleasant and parents as understanding.	"Containment Theory" Walter C. Reckless's version of social-control theory. (Also contribute to Anomie and Differential opportunity theories.)
5. Reckless, W. C., Dinitz, Simon and Kay, Barbara 1957	Columbus (Ohio) (High-delinquency areas)	125 "good" white boys as nominated by teachers 101 boys nominated as potential delinquents by their teachers.	Interview	1) Related to background characteristics the "insulated" and "prospective" delinquent subjects did differ significantly. Fewer of the "insulated" boys than of the other group were members of the broken homes. (22 vs 36%). 2) Students nominated as "good" boys appeared to have been involved in fewer and less serious offenses than potentially delinquent boys.	"Containment-Theory" Walter C. Reckless's version of social-control theory. (Also contributes to Anomie and Differential opportunity theories.)
6. Toby, Jackson 1957	--	--	Secondary analysis of the data, especially the work of Shaw & McKay (1931).	Girls and pre-adolescents from disorganized households are more exposed to criminogenic influences than girls and pre-adolescents from well-integrated households and this differential exposure may account for the positive relationship between broken homes and delinquency observed in these populations.	Social-control theory. (Toby saw the family as a major source of both direct and indirect control.)

Table 1: Studies of the Relationship Between Broken Homes and Juvenile Delinquency (Con't)

Author(s)	Location of the Study	Sample - Sizes	Major Method	Major Findings	Theoretical Contributions
7. Monahan, Thomas P. 1957	Philadelphia (Municipal court record in the period 1949-1954).	44,448 cases	Documentation-Method. Nominal case-comparisons. (Special tabulations were made of all delinquency charges- 44,448 cases of which 24,811 were first offenders disposed of in the Philadelphia municipal court in the period 1949-54.	Monahan's review of other research and his own analysis led him to conclude that there is a definite relationship between the socially broken home and delinquency.	Socio-psychological control theory. May also be construed to apply to reference group theory.
8. Browning, Charles J. 1960	Los-Angeles County	180 (60 sets of 3 boys each).	Documentation and Interview. (The data were collected from probation records and home interviews with mothers and step-mothers.)	The broken homes of delinquents appeared to be less integrated and adjusted than the broken homes of the perfect attenders. (Perfect attenders consisted of boys who had not missed a day of school for the entire year in which the truancies and auto-thefts have occurred, and the delinquents were adjudicated for these offenses)	Social-psychological control theory/social-disorganization theory.
9. Haskell, Martin R. 1961	Berkshire Farm for Boys, New York City (A residential school for adolescent delinquent boys.)	70 boys. (who were given after care supervision for three years ending July 1, 1960.)	1) Observation method 2) Documentation (case-histories of these boys) 3) Depth-interviews with parents.	Less than 25% of the Berkshire Farm boys on after care in New York City were members of families which included a father.	Reference-Group theory/Anomie-social-disorganization theory.

Table 1: Studies of the Relationship Between Broken Homes and Juvenile Delinquency (Con't)

Author(s)	Location of the Study	Sample - Sizes	Major Method	Major Findings	Theoretical Contributions
10. Rothstein, Edward 1962	1) Cumberland County, Pennsylvania (An area made up of small towns and rural areas). 2) York-Pennsylvania - A city.	1) 163-teenaged (white) delinquent boys 2) 439-teenaged non-delinquent (white) boys.	Questionnaire-method (survey)	1) Sixteen percent of the non-delinquents came from broken homes, forty five percent of the delinquents came from broken homes.	Social-dis-organization -strain (Role-Strain) theory/Reference-Group theory/Anomie theory.
11. Dinitz, Simon, Scarpitti, Frank R. and Walter C. Reckless. 1962	Columbus (Ohio) (High delinquency areas.)	1) 103 "good" white boys as nominated by their teachers at 16 years of age. 2) 70 "bad" boys as nominated by their teachers at 16 years of age.	Survey-method (Interview)	1) A good self concept undoubtedly is a product of favorable socialization, veers slum boys away from delinquency, while a poor self-concept, a product of unfavorable socialization, gives the slum boys no resistance to deviancy, delinquent companions or delinquent sub-culture. 2) The insulated boys were remarkably high on social-responsibility scale and perceived their family inter-actions as favorable.	"Containment Theory" Walter C. Reckless's version of social control theory. (Also con-tributes to Anomie and Differential opportunity theories.)
12. Morris, Ruth R. 1964	Flint, Michigan (An industrial urban community)	4 groups of 56 each delinquent/non-delin-quent boys/girls.	Survey method (Interview)	1) Delinquent girls do come from broken homes more often than do non-delinquents. 2) Families of delinquent girls were not only most frequently disrupted, but were most likely to be disrupted because of family tensions. 3) Especially delinquent girls would suffer more from relational problems, than non-delinquents. 4) Obstacles to maintaining positive affective relationships are likely to lead to delinquency in girls, obstacles to economic power status are most likely to lead to delinquency in boys.	Social con-trol-theory/ social-dis-organization theory (Role strain)

Table 1: Studies of the Relationship Between Broken Homes and Juvenile Delinquency (Con't)

Author(s)	Location of the Study	Sample - Sizes	Major Method	Major Findings	Theoretical Contributions
13. Palmore, E. B. and Hammond, P.E. 1964	Greater New Haven (Connecticut)	319 youths white/negro/male/female	Historical-documentation method	1) Negroes were more likely to live in unstable or grossly deviant families (57% vs. 28% of whites). 2) Family deviance is related to delinquency (in the sample as a whole 41% from deviant families vs. 31% from non-deviant families were delinquents). 3) The surprising observation is that family deviance influences the delinquency of Negroes but not that of whites. This observation applies equally to males and females. 4) Family deviance influences Negroes performing badly in school but has much less effect on those doing well. 5) Legitimate and illegitimate opportunities have an interacting effect on juvenile delinquency.	Social Disorganization-Differential Opportunity theory (Strain theory).
14. Willie, Charles V. 1967	Washington D.C.	Records of 6,269 youths referred to the District of Columbia Juvenile Court. Final sample consisted of 5,148 youths. 1) 737 (14%) in the white area. 2) 4,411 (86%) in the non-white area.	Historical Documentation of Criminal Justice system data. (Secondary-Analysis)	The area of affluent socioeconomic status in which there were few broken homes tended to have the lowest delinquency rate in the city while the highest rate was found in the area that was characterized by low socio-economic status and many broken homes. These circumstances affect whites and non-whites in a similar way.	Social-Disorganization-Differential opportunity theory. (Emphasis on class and affluence). Also Radical theory.
15. Rosen, Lawrence 1969	This study is a secondary analysis of a large survey research project known as the <u>North Philadelphia project</u> .	921 male black youths.	1) Survey-method (Interview) 2) Documentation: a) use of census data b) use of court data 3) Secondary-Analysis of a larger survey research project known as the <u>North Philadelphia Project</u> .	Father-absence, sex of main wage-earner, main decision-maker, most influential adult-these variety of measures show small association between delinquency and these measures of patriarchy. In other words patriarchy makes little or no difference for involvement of male youth in delinquency.	Social-disorganization/Cultural deviance/social control theories (Anxiety over masculine identity, role-strain and lack of commitment to adult roles.

Table 1: Studies of the Relationship Between Broken Homes and Juvenile Delinquency (Con't)

Author(s)	Location of the Study	Sample - Sizes	Major Method	Major Findings	Theoretical Contributions
16. Tec, Nechama 1970	Norwalk (Connecticut) Well-to-do eastern suburban community	1700 boys and girls aged 15 to 18.	Survey (Self-administered questionnaires)	With the sample studied it was found youths who come from broken homes and/or do not live with both parents are more likely to use marijuana than youths who come from intact families. There was a significantly higher proportion of marijuana users among those from broken families than among those from unbroken families.	Psychoanalytic theory/ Social-control theory.
17. Chilton, R.J. and Markle, G. E. 1972	Florida (52/67 counties-96% of Florida population.)	5,376 Black-white male-female	Documentation method. 1) Report provided by the juvenile and county courts of Florida. 2) Use of census information (1968) 3) Use of official-statistics.	1) The proportion of younger children (10-13) charged with delinquency, who are not living with both parents is much larger than the comparable proportion of children in the general population. 2) White children and pre-adolescents are more vulnerable to the effects of family disruption than black or adolescent children. 3) Among children referred for most serious offenses more are reported as living in incomplete families than complete families, among the children referred for the least serious offenses the opposite is true.	Social-control/social disorganization- Differentiation opportunity theories.
18. Berger, Alan S. and William Simon 1974	Illinois (mostly non-Chicago population).	The 14-18 year old population of Illinois, a random sample of total 3,100 youths.	Survey (self-administered questionnaire and interviews of parents)	1) The black female adolescents in the lower class intact homes are more likely than those from broken homes to be seriously involved in theft or violence. 2) A broken home being predictive of elevated rates of delinquency is verified among working class white males.	Social control theory/ Strain theory (status deprivation/ Bond theory)

Table 1: Studies of the Relationship Between Broken Homes and Juvenile Delinquency (Con't)

Author(s)	Location of the Study	Sample - Sizes	Major Method	Major Findings	Theoretical Contributions
19. Hunt, Janet G. Hunt, Larry L. 1977	Baltimore (Maryland)	462 junior and senior high school students. 282 blacks)-females 180 white)	Survey method. (closed and open-ended questionnaire. Interviews.)	1) The distinctive esteem effects of father absence are most apparent in the working class for both racial cate- gories. 2. Among blacks the effect of father-absence is less drama- tic but more uniformly nega- tive.	Socio-psy- chological control theory/social disorganiza- tion-role conflict theory/ matriarchy theory in ethnic rela- tions.
20. Higgins, Paul C. Albrecht, and Albrecht, M.H. 1977	Atlanta (Georgia)	1383 black and white teenagers. (males and females).	Survey method. (questionnaire)	1) Black teenagers (males and females) of all classes are more likely to drink at home, with the family than white teenagers. 2) Black adolescents seem to drink less frequently, buy alcoholic beverages less often and more likely to feel that they drink less than their friends as compared to white adolescents.	Social con- trol theory/ social dis- organization theory.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARTICLES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

1. Introduction

All of the studies, selected for this research, mentioned in Chapter III, which have investigated broken homes related to delinquency, show that they have recognized it as an important area of intellectual inquiry. At the same time, it becomes necessary for us to work out the distinction between the assumptions and actual reality of their research findings for a better understanding of the importance of family in its relationship to delinquency. Because the results do not satisfy some of the major canons of their assumptions.

Like a "marginal man", in delinquent youth we see a "marginal youth" dissatisfied with family situations and at the same time unhappy with external groups like gangs, lacking security and approval of society. Daniel Bell's unusual Western answer to many problems doesn't seem to apply here: If the external world presents insurmountable contradictions, then we divide the 'self' in order to deal with these contradictions, leaving one'self' for each realm. We know it is not easy for a tender youth to do this division of

self that easily when the self is negatively labeled. So, it seemed to us, there was no relevant and challenging task for a sociology student than to explain, in the context of family, the reasons whereby children move from being harmless to becoming delinquent. Is it the family, which has particular capabilities to change children, so that they move from more an acceptable to a more unacceptable pole in their values and behavior? In order to explain that in this chapter, we shall discuss the contributions made by social thinkers, to show how far our working hypotheses, particularly that related to broken homes, mentioned in Chapter III, hold true. Main motive of the research, as stated in the introduction was to see how far the "strong" institution like family would contribute to problem of delinquency. In analyzing the results of various thinkers, we should be in a position to state how dominant the widespread assumption that broken homes lead to delinquency was or is, in the sociological or delinquency research. To weigh this dominance appropriately we shall also state the limitations of these studies stated by the author/s and our evaluations which may contribute 1) to understanding the importance of family institution in delinquency research, 2) to clarify some of the basic inconsistencies in conceptual orientations, 3) to suggest missing links and neglected areas, 4) to suggest guidelines to formulate more effective preventive policy to speed up the welfare of the new generation.

Table 2: Showing Definitions of Juvenile Delinquency, Delinquent Behavior and Broken Homes

Author(s)	Juvenile Delinquency	Delinquent Behavior	Broken-Homes
1. Wattenberg, William W. and Balistreri, James J. 1950	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had <u>police-records</u> .	Membership of a neighborhood gang	Homes with <u>separated parents</u>
2. Reiss, Albert J., Jr. 1952	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had 1) official court records 2) reports of the psychiatrists at the Institute for Juvenile Research 3) reports of psychiatric social workers.	Identification with an adolescent delinquent peer culture which rejects middle class controls. Non-conformity to social-values.	Families where <u>father is absent</u> .
3. Axelrad, Sidney 1952	Juvenile delinquent is the one 1) who had been committed by children's court as delinquent; 2) who has been institutionalized without previous probationary period, who have had probation before institutionalization, who have had two probationary periods.	1) Committed one or all the three offenses: 1) Burglary 2) Larceny and 3) Truancy.	Homes with more death or deprivation of parent, desertion, neglect, rejection, <u>separation and sexual promiscuity</u> .
4. Reckless, Walter C., Dinitz, Simon and Ellen Murray. 1956	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had contact with <u>police and Juvenile Court</u> .	Problem behavior, participation in the activities like stealing.	Family which is unstable maritally, residentially and economically.
5. Reckless, Walter C., Simon Dinitz and Barbara Kay. 1957	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had contact with <u>police and Juvenile Court, who had previous offense record</u> .	Misconduct e.g., malicious destruction of property through incorrigibility, some form of theft, committing of as many as five previous offenses.	Family which is unstable maritally, residentially and economically.
6. Toby Jackson. 1957	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had been referred to <u>Juvenile Court</u> .	"Incorrigibility", "running away," antisocial behavior.	Family in which one or both parents are <u>absent owing to death, desertion, separation or divorce or commitment to an institution</u> .

Table 2: Showing Definitions of Juvenile Delinquency, Delinquent Behavior and Broken Homes (Con't)

Author(s)	Juvenile delinquency	Delinquent Behavior	Broken Homes
7. Monahan, Thomas P. 1957.	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had court record, police record, placed on probation, committed to institution for delinquents and who had been adjudged "delinquent".	Tendency towards misconduct, repetition of infractions of the law (recidivism), developing a career of criminality in adulthood.	Family in which one or both parents are absent owing to death, desertion, separation or divorce.
8. Browning, Charles J. 1960.	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had been adjudicated for truancy and the one who has violated the penal code (auto-theft). In other words, the ones who had police-records and juvenile court records.	Behavior like truancy Behavior which had violated penal code (auto theft).	Broken home is the one in which a boy was not living with both of his natural parents.
9. Haskell, Martin R. 1961.	Juvenile delinquent is one who had been institutionalized.	Peer group relationships to street groups. Truancy, poor school record, repeatedly running away from home, staying out late at night, stealing, negativism, core-membership of the gang.	One-parent families in the lower class because there are more unmarried mothers, more divorces and more separations. Often mother is head, who goes to work and the families are for large parts of the day "no-parent" families.
10. Rothstein, Edward 1962.	Juvenile delinquent is one so classified by a juvenile court, and the one who is institutionalized in correctional institution.	--	Family in which one or both parents are absent owing to death, desertion, separation or divorce.
11. Dinitz, Simon, Scarpitti, Frank R. and Reckless, Walter C. 1962.	Juvenile delinquent is the one who is headed for trouble with the law ("bad" boys). The ones who had serious and frequent contacts with the court involving complaints for delinquency.	Misconduct.	Family which is unstable maritaly, residentially and economically.

Table 2: Showing Definitions of Juvenile Delinquency, Delinquent Behavior and Broken Homes (Con't)

Author (s)	Juvenile delinquency	Delinquent Behavior	Broken Homes
12. Morris, Ruth R. 1964.	The delinquent is the one who has two or more police contacts.	Theft, sex-connected offenses (illicit sexual relationships.)	Broken homes: homes broken because of death, divorce, and separation. (Completely shattered home: home so thoroughly disintegrated that respondents no longer lived with a parent figure at all, not even a step-parent).
13. Palmore, E. B. and Hammond, P.E. 1964.	Juvenile delinquent is the one who has welfare office records or police records.	Acts typically engaged in by gangs (illegitimate behavior).	Family broken by death, divorce, desertion or separation of a parent.
14. Willie, Charles V. 1967.	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had been referred to the juvenile court and the one who had police-contacts.		One parent absent from the home due to death, divorce or desertion.
15. Rosen, Lawrence 1969	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had presence of official record due to contact by the police, or the one who had been institutionalized. (Institution = special school for delinquents assigned there by the juvenile court or a school for "special" discipline problems under the jurisdiction of Board of Education. (In this research juvenile court appearance is not the measure of delinquency being used by simply contact by the police and presence of an official record).	1) Crime against the person - rape, robbery or assault and battery; 2) offenses other than crime against person, e.g. burglary, larceny and truancy.	Broken home due to absence of father.
16. Tec, Nechama 1970.	--	Illegal use of marijuana	Broken home is the family of one parent. (Family of adopted child and his/her adoptive parents.)

Table 2: Showing Definitions of Juvenile Delinquency, Delinquent Behavior and Broken Homes (Con't)

Author(s)	Juvenile delinquency	Delinquent Behavior	Broken Homes
17. Chilton, Ronald J. and Markle, Gerald E. 1972	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had been referred to juvenile courts on <u>delinquency charges</u> .	1) Serious offenses: Aggravated assault, robbery, rape, homicide; 2) Less serious offenses: Larceny, burglary, auto-theft, shoplifting, simple assault, purse-snatching, unauthorized use; 3) Least serious offenses: drunkenness, disorderly conduct, sex offenses, vandalism, drug law violations, weapons offenses.	Broken home is described as 1) Family with mother only; 2) Family with father only; 3) Family with neither parent.
18. Berger, Alan S. and Simon, William (1974)	Juvenile delinquent is the one who had records with law enforcement agencies.	1) Theft: damaging property, stealing etc.; 2) Violence: gang fights, carrying of weapon, using a weapon, strong armed robbery; 3) Drugs: use of marijuana, LSD, heroin, downers and speed	(These categories are based on legal definition of broken home because the author's use court and census data for the comparison of family situation Broken family due to death, divorce, desertion or separation of one parent.
19. Hunt, Janet G and Hunt, Larry L. 1977	--	--	<u>Father-absent families.</u>
20. Higgins, Paul C. Albrecht, Gary L. Albrecht, Mary Ann H. 1977.	--	Drinking Alcohol (illegal behavior)	<u>Family with: 1) mothers only; 2) with neither mother, nor father.</u>

In doing this we shall mention the trends of delinquency research in the past and in the present. ". . . perhaps the best approach to criminal and antisocial behavior is not through the community and society, but through the family where it is engendered." (Schreiber and Herman, 1965:20)

II. Testing of Working Hypotheses:

1) Working hypothesis related to the terms of delinquency, delinquent behavior and broken homes: In spite of all inadequacies and limitations of the terms delinquency, delinquent behavior and broken homes, social thinkers seeking objective information on the basic causal factors of delinquency problems, start their research with official data and legal definitions.

Definitions used by several thinkers given in Table 2 significantly support our working hypothesis.

i) Juvenile Delinquency: Legal statutes, give very broad definitions of the term delinquency. Even the recent Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968, provide two definitions which are broad enough to make virtually all youngsters delinquents. "1) Delinquent youth refers to any youth who has been found to be a delinquent by a court. 2) Youth in danger of becoming delinquent refers to any youth whose behavioral patterns or environmental or situational influences are likely to bring him to the

attention of law enforcement agencies and courts."* "Rough estimates by the Children's Bureau, supported by independent studies indicate that one in every nine youths - one in every six male youths will be referred to juvenile court in connection with a delinquent act (excluding traffic offenses) before his 18th birthday." (Voss, 1970:13) In spite of the broadness of definitions and rough estimates where it appears that enormous number of young people are involved in delinquent acts, "the only juvenile statistics regularly gathered over the years on a national scale, are the FBI's uniform crime reports, based on arrest statistics and the juvenile court statistics of the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, based on referrals of juveniles from a variety of agencies to a sample of juvenile courts. These reports can tell us nothing about the vast number of unsolved offenses, or about the many cases in which delinquents are dealt with informally instead of being arrested or referred to court." (Voss, 1970:12)

The process of children coming to the attention of law enforcement agencies and juvenile courts consists of the following steps:

*From the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, "Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime," in *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1967, pp. 55-57.

- 1) Police-contact (the study defining delinquency in these terms has broad bases for the selection of the respondents.)
- 2) Police recorded: Here cases may be handled within the department and released.
- 3) Referred to juvenile court jurisdiction.
- 4) Referred to welfare agency.
- 5) Referred to other police agency.
- 6) Referred to criminal or adult court.
- 7) Adjudicated and institutionalized.

When one makes an attempt to know the facts about delinquency, one realizes that the delinquency research is still confronted with tremendous problems. For example, if the researcher like Monahan (1957), defines delinquent as the one who has a court record, police-record, placed on probation, committed to institution for delinquents, and who had been adjudged 'delinquent', it extremely limits the bases for selection of the respondents.

If stated in the context of this research, for thirty years researchers have been trying to know how many youths are involved in delinquency? What types of the offenses do they commit? How many are arrested by police and referred to court? How many have been institutionalized? and several other relevant questions. But we realize how seriously limited we are when we try to learn a few facts from the investigation of this type. Out of twenty studies, we have

covered, eighteen (90%) studies have used the legal definition of the term delinquency. Out of eighteen only one study (Wattenberg and Balistrieri (1950)), have used the broad basis for the selection of the respondents by defining delinquent as the one who had police records. Remaining studies use official court records, census data, probation records, reports of the psychiatric social workers, reports of the psychiatrists and supplement it with surveys (questionnaire and interview). The use of official data based on legal definitions, has its limitations. It is biased and not representative since all delinquent acts are not recorded and racial prejudices make some policemen discriminative in arresting children, making arrest rates partially unreliable.

Social researchers do give much thought to research design by deciding how many cases can help to provide a certain degree of confidence in the reliability of research evidence. But if the subsampling is based on biased sample, carefully designed research project will have results with serious limitations. To mention a few examples from our research, the respondents of Wattenberg's study were "interviewed on complaint" by Detroit police officers in 1946-1947. Explaining of the phenomena depends on its definition. In this light, we think the given definition can be considered as the strength of this article, because of its broad bases. The data shows that only about ten percent of the group boys

were referred to the juvenile court. The boys covered in this study did belong to gangs and did engage in misconduct but not to an extreme degree. Also they were a more representative sample than boys who go before juvenile court or are sent for clinic treatment.

Here again the representativeness of the sample is a matter of degree. Wattenberg and Balistrieri state, "It must be emphasized that the basic data in this study are mass statistics and the findings deal with differences between gang and non-gang groups in which there is a considerable overlap. Therefore, it would be widely inaccurate to assume that dynamic patterns (such as gang boys as easy going and non-gang boys as reverse of this type) typify all gang boys or all non-gang boys." (Wattenberg and Balistrieri, 1950:751)

The main limitation of the study of Reiss (1952) is that the data are restricted to 1,110 white, male juvenile delinquent probationers of the Cook County Juvenile Court in 1943 and 1944, so the findings are limited to this group of subjects.

Sidney Axelrad (1952) another thinker mentioned in our investigation, states that the court figures show such a disproportion of Negro^{*} children, that many factors must be taken into consideration in evaluating court and other agency

*Greater proportion of Negro children are referred to the court.

records and data relating to delinquency. The sample of Axelrad's study, 300 cases (179 Negro-males; 121 white-males) constituted about 90% of the institutional population under study at the time. Aside from the racial ratio, the only other selective factor was the adequacy of case records. Because only the better studied cases were selected, the sample is possibly biased in the direction of including only the more serious problems.

Axelrad's (1952) study, we think, makes it clear that the way police and court process juveniles, is discriminatory. The dispositional decisions discriminate against minority (Negroes) juveniles. This study was confined to one state institution. The researcher states that only better studied cases were studied (p. 570). Here the question is, what is meant by a better studied case? The results are limited to the sample chosen from this institution (state training school for boys New York), because court-decisions vary from place to place. Representativeness of the sample becomes questionable since no one knows the amount of undetected delinquency and crime there is among those who have appeared in the court more than once.

The studies of Walter C. Reckless and his associates (1956, 1957, 1962) based on white boys, nominated by their teachers as "good" or "bad" in schools located in the highest delinquency areas in Columbus, have limitation that sample is non-representative.

The study of Charles Browning (1960) selects the sample of white boys and their families. The data were collected from probation records, school records and home interviews with mothers and stepmothers, so the findings are limited and cannot be generalized because important variables such as race and sex are excluded.

In Haskell's (1961) study, 70 boys given after-care supervision of the Berkshire Farm For Boys (an institution in the New York City) are studied so the findings are limited to 70 cases of this institute.

Edward Rothstein (1962) studies the samples who are predominantly white protestant boys of many generation American families. A delinquent is the one so classified by a juvenile court and nondelinquent is the one who has never come to the attention of a juvenile court either on an official or unofficial basis. Thus study starts with limitations, the study is restricted to one segment of the population viz. native born white protestant boys, naturally comes up with findings having its own limitations.

The study reported by Palmore and Hammond (1964) investigated every youth in Greater New Haven, born in 1942-44, whose supervising relative most often was the mother and was on the rolls of Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) in 1950. Data were taken from welfare office records, police records and from school. The aim was to test the adequacy of Cloward and Ohlin's theoretical position related to delinquency and opportunity.

These data taken entirely from records compiled for other purposes, cannot adequately confirm the theoretical implications. Investigation will require sharper measures of avenues to opportunity structures, both legitimate and illegitimate. It would also benefit for instance, from measures of frustration, resentment, thus providing the social-psychological links between opportunity and delinquency, that necessarily cannot be provided here. Because to explain away unconfirmed predictions by claiming that they have been tested with impure measures, is to admit that the propositions that were upheld are open to question.

Information from juvenile and county courts of Florida provided Chilton and Markle (1972) with uniform delinquency data for 8,944 children. The authors could study only 5,376 children, that is approximately 60% of the total since the information on living situation of 40% of children referred to the court, was not available. So the data are seriously limited. One of the conclusions of this study is that white children and preadolescents are more vulnerable to the effects of family disruption than black and adolescent children. Unfortunately, census information which would permit similar comparisons for subclassifications based on rural-urban residence and income, is not available.

These examples make it very clear that for evaluating size of delinquency problem and trends over a period of time, legal definition and official statistics are not adequate measures. Studies based on incomplete and fragmentary

statistical data, will not be in a position to give us complete picture of delinquency.

ii) Delinquent Behavior: It is widely known that an enormous amount of literature is written on delinquency, but very little systematic research deals with the problem of delinquent behavior. By legal definition delinquent behavior refers to offensive behavior of delinquents, whether or not it is noticed by legal and other authorities.

Typical delinquent acts are broadly classified as:

- 1) Status offenses: For example, drinking, smoking, curfew violations, liquor offenses, tobacco offenses, and "in-corrigibility." The term 'incorrigibility' includes wide range of status offenses like disobeying parents, running away from home and school, injuring and endangering the morals or health or welfare of himself and others.
- 2) Criminal offenses: For example property oriented crimes (robbery), offenses against persons (murder or forcible rape), major personal offenses and auto theft.

The offenses that can lead to adjudication of a juvenile vary from state to state. The list of offenses has been often criticized for the lack of precision. Each police department individually, decides the course of action to be taken against some minor offenses, and whether to fill out the report blanks sent to them by Federal Bureau of Investigation. Of course, the statistics on rate of arrests in urban, suburban, and rural areas, according to the types

of offenses committed by males and females of different age groups, makes us aware if the delinquency is increasing or decreasing. Although the statistical records showing the nature of delinquent behavior has some serious limitations, the study of delinquent behavior is a valuable avenue for realization of seriousness of delinquency problem. Exclusion of studies of delinquent behavior is like limiting the ways of knowing complete phenomenon of delinquency and of suggesting alternate correctional treatments. The possibility cannot be denied that careful research efforts in studying delinquent behavior may bring about drastic changes in our entire conception of 'juvenile delinquency', and help us to come up with more adequate definition of who is "the delinquent." To understand how far the research studies address 'delinquent behavior', the following discussion will focus on some examples from our study. This will help to know how frequently and how seriously the researchers have made an attempt to include analyses of delinquent behavior in their research projects.

Reiss (1952) in his study 'Social Correlates of Psychological Types of Delinquency' states that 1) delinquents with defective super-ego controls are significantly more often truant from school than are the relatively integrated type. 2) Delinquents with weak ego controls more frequently engage in offenses which are destructive of property and more frequently are judged "incorrigible" or show marked hostility

toward authority than do the other types of delinquents. But delinquents with defective super-ego controls engage in acts of burglary more frequently than delinquents with weak ego controls. This supports the idea that the defective super-ego type engages in delinquent acts shown to be characteristic of members of organized delinquent groups. Reiss's findings are no doubt very important findings related to group controls, but the research design employed isolating the correlates cannot be assumed to offer a satisfactory test of the hypotheses.* Rather a research design which employs an intensive analysis of each individual case to show how the social milieu structures the personal controls of the delinquent and how social situations exercise social control over the behavior of the delinquents, appear essential to a further test of the hypotheses. The three psychological types of delinquency were decided on the basis of data in the

*The hypotheses here are author's assumptions related to three psychological types of delinquency: 1) An adolescent with relatively integrated personal controls in all probability will become a mature independent adult. 2) Delinquents with relatively weak ego controls will usually experience great deal of internal conflict and exhibit marked anxiety. 3) Delinquents with markedly defective super-ego controls do not conform to social controls and experience little sense of guilt over their delinquent acts. Typically they identify with adolescent delinquent peer culture which rejects these norms.

reports of the psychiatrists of the Institute for Juvenile Research and the reports of psychiatric social workers. Reiss states that it seems equally reasonable to assume in some instances that the psychiatrists may have isolated the several types by using the social correlates as a basis of judgement or that the social environment and the personality structure, explain the observed differences among the personality types. The conclusions drawn in this study are therefore tentative.

Sidney Axelrad (1952) studied Negro and white male institutionalized delinquents. The hypothesis was that the courts commit on a differential basis. Seriousness of offenses was one of the variables. In both groups most boys were committed as a result of more than one offense, but differential treatment is still evident, e.g. 38 percent of the Negro boys were committed on the basis of one charge, as against 28 percent of the white boys. Although of the major offenses, white children were committed for more serious offenses. Since the study was confined to one state

Offenses of Delinquents^{*}

Offense	Percent Negro	Percent White	Critical Ratio
Burglary	29	48	3.3
Larceny	24	40	4.5
Truancy	18	38	3.8

* Table 4 in Axelrad's article, p. 571. These figures are computed on a total base of 296, Negro = 179, White = 117.

institution, and only to children who had been committed by the Children's Court as delinquent, differences resulting from local conditions and legal and judicial variations are excluded, so the generalizations are narrowed to institution that draws almost entirely from one city and from one court system.

Reckless (1957) and his associates compared two groups of white boys from the schools located in highest delinquency area of Columbus (Ohio). These two groups were "potentially insulated" and "potentially delinquent" nominees by their teachers ("good" boys). The ("bad" boys) records revealed that 16 of the 192 "good" boys (8.3%) were on the file of misconduct of police and juvenile court files. Out of 108 students nominated as "bad" boys, 23% had had some type of law enforcement contact. Many of those on record in both groups had been cited several times and a few had committed as many as five previous offenses, ranging from malicious destruction of property (generally in the case of the "good" boys) through incorrigibility and some form of theft for the prospective delinquents. The authors do not try to make special analysis of type of offense related to other background characteristics (e.g. occupation of boys' fathers, 2) mothers' employment, 3) the length of residence in the community, etc.) They conclude that on the whole of all the boys who had been before the court, "good" boys appeared to have been involved in fewer and less serious offenses than had the potentially delinquent nominees. The limitation here is nonrepresentatives of

the sample and use of police and court records.

Monahan (1957), shows the relationship between family structure and first offenders and Class I recidivists. Monahan does talk about the types of offenses, but states his findings as the families of the first offenders showing a lesser degree of fragmentation, whereas families of Class I recidivists are particularly marked by a greater degree of orphanhood, illegitimacy and social disruption.

The type of delinquent behavior and its proportion to male/female, black/white juvenile offenders, are known to vary greatly. Breckenridge and Abbott (1912) state as one proceeds from first offenders to the recidivists, from those dismissed to those adjudged delinquent, and from probationary types to those which require institutionalization, it may be expected that one will find an increasing proportion of broken homes. Unfortunately, very little attention has been given to the correspondence between the degree of broken homes and the type of data being studied. On the same line, we can state that very little attention has been given to the association between broken homes and types of offenses committed.

Charles Browning (1960) indicates that families of perfect attenders* scored consistently higher than the

* Perfect attenders: Nondelinquent boys who had not missed a day of school for the entire year in which the truancies and auto thefts occurred.

families of truants and auto thieves in socioeconomic status, marital adjustment and family solidarity. These findings were obtained when broken and unbroken homes were analyzed separately. The other finding that the auto theft group scored consistently higher than the truancy group on all the family-life variables (socioeconomic status, marital adjustment and family solidarity), confirming Nye's (1958) and Wattenbergs (1952) findings, suggest that insofar as these factors are related to the development of delinquent career truancy is not a stage in the natural history of delinquent careers, which later results in auto theft. While stating this finding one cannot overlook the author's statement concerning the selection of samples because court made no consistent distinction, "joy riders" were not separated from the allegedly more serious offenders in the auto theft category. In this light the finding that the auto theft group scored consistently higher becomes difficult to assess. Auto theft is a very important part of total delinquency statistics among male adolescents. If the statistics related to auto theft is not based on clear definition of 'what auto theft means' then the reliability and validity of the results become questionable and limited.

Rosen Lawrence (1969) tried to study the relationship between matriarchy and lower class Negro male delinquency. Each delinquent was placed into one of two categories, depending upon the most serious offense listed in his record.

1) those whose most serious offense was a crime against person (in the present sample: rape, robbery or assault and battery), and 2) those whose most serious offense was other than a crime against the person, e.g. burglary, larceny, truancy. There was no significant differences for the total sample of delinquents in rates of person-crimes between female or male households, for all three measures of matriarchy viz. main decision-maker, main wage earner, main influential adult.

Although the author tries to relate serious offense categories to measures of matriarchy, the usefulness of this study is seriously limited. Rosen states that 1) since the definition of delinquency is imprecise and the measure of dominance of family is unclear, the results are limited. 2) The area covered was almost by all standards an economically depressed Negro slum area. So the nature of problems of young male youth would differ. 3) The inclusion of the institutional group insured that all eligible boys, who lived in the canvassed households and who were residing at the former institution (youths were selected from two schools 1) a "special school" for delinquents assigned there by the juvenile court. 2) A school for "special discipline problems" (not necessarily having an official police record)) were included in the sample. However, this does not exhaust all sources of institutionalization either for delinquency or other reasons, e.g. hospitalization. Evidence is lacking

concerning the possible error that this would produce; and allowance should be made for the possibility of underreporting the institutionalized population. 4) The inclusion of added sample introduces non-random consideration which means that the total sample cannot be utilized for purposes of population estimation, only the original 997 "area sample" youths were used. 5) Out of original 997 "area sample", 921 Negro males ages 13-15 who resided in a lower class Negro high delinquency area served as a final sample. 6) There is a possibility of the effect of race and social class on police disposition of black youths. 7) Several bits of information were not collected, e.g. reason for absence of father, in case of a dead parent, if the death occurred after or before leaving the household. 8) There was no systematic attempt to determine if the parent or parents listed were step-parents.

If the author indicates so many limitations of the study, then what we would basically think that what is needed is more research, the more we know about the delinquency problem, the better we can control it.

Nechama Tec (1970) has made the differential involvement with marijuana of suburban teenagers in relationship to family structure, as the topic of research. This is the first research attempt we came across, since 1950, which has concentrated on 'delinquent behavior' concept. The present analysis is confined to differential involvement with illegal

use of marijuana by 1700 teenage boys and girls all enrolled in high school. The study is based on a social survey conducted in February, 1969, in a well-to-do Eastern suburban community. This confinement to so many factors itself conveys the limitations of the study.

Drug addiction and drug use are social problems of our society, causing damage to morality and to younger generation of society. To understand if marijuana use has any direct causal relationship to delinquent behavior, we need many more studies relating it to other important social factors, e.g. marijuana use among youngsters of city and rural areas, marijuana use and socioeconomic status, effect of marijuana on intelligence and concentration. (Effects of marijuana generally are depression, sleep, mental confusion).

There is not enough evidence to show if marijuana use can cause addiction leading one to use more dangerous drugs like heroin, or it can be positively related to criminal/delinquent behavior. On legal grounds, of course, it is associated with illegal acts. "Under the federal law of the United States, to give or to sell marijuana is a felony which is a serious crime. . . . If a person over 18 sells to a minor under 18 years of age, he is subject to a fine of up to \$20,000 and/or ten to 40 years in prison for the first offense, with no suspension of sentence, probation or parole." (Nowlis, 1969:33) The severity of punishments indicate the dangerous

effects the marijuana use has. As mentioned earlier, studies on delinquent behavior are not very many, since youngsters are often arrested for the marijuana use, the study related to all possible aspects of it may prove very rewarding. "Many teenagers and young people arrested in this context, are legally defined 'narcotic' offenders." This charge goes on to their records and they are lumped together with the users of the far more serious drugs of addiction. This distinction is seen in the alleged increase in narcotics users in the United States. For example in California, from 1962-1966, non-marijuana arrests for narcotics and other dangerous drugs remained about the same," (Bell, 1971:203-204) "but marijuana arrests for adults increased from 3,291 to 14,293 and for juveniles from 284 to 3,869. These enormous increases are not spread equally throughout the population, but are concentrated among the young and the white." (Carey 1968:44) These statements show the questionable nature of police records as well as need to find out how far it is true that the population of marijuana users is concentrated among the youth and the white. We have some very good studies analyzing the subcultures that develop among illegal drug users. For example, Becker's (1963) "Outsiders" or Short's (1968) "Gang Delinquency and Delinquent Subcultures". In Becker's book we get complete discussion on 'Becoming a marijuana user' but Short suggests that drug use may be a part of delinquent subcultures.

Thus it appears that marijuana use as a subcultural pattern does overlap with other subcultures. Since drug-problem has become so important, maybe we need to have more studies as "Drug subcultures", which will include marijuana users.

Chilton Ronald J. and Gerald E. Markle (1972), employing seriousness of offense as a measure of delinquency, reexamine the relationship between delinquency referral and family disruption. Three categories of offenses used are as follows:

- 1) Most serious: Aggravated assault, robbery, rape, homicide.
- 2) Less serious: Larceny, burglary, auto theft, shoplifting, simple assault, purse snatching, unauthorized use.
- 3) Least serious: Drunkenness, disorderly conduct, sex offenses, vandalism, drug law violations, weapons offenses.

The authors have hypothesized that, "if delinquency referral is related to family situation, children charged with serious misconduct would come from broken homes more often than children charged with minor violations."

The results show that children referred for more serious delinquency are more likely to come from incomplete families than juveniles charged with minor offenses. We felt that this research is a very good example, giving evidence that there is direct causal relationship between broken homes and some types of delinquent behavior. At the same time it is true that the picture of American delinquent behavior based on the data provided by the Juvenile and County Courts of

Florida, is definitely going to vary with the examples of studies done in other parts of the United States.

Berger and Simon (1974) examine the major hypothesis of the Moynihan Report that the black family socializes children differently. Thus their research is an empirical verification of the Moynihan hypotheses (We do summarize Moynihan's position in Chapter III, in the summary of Berger and Simon's article). Turning to normal deviance (e.g. liquor offenses, drug experiences, etc.) and to more serious anti-social behavior, e.g. property crimes, the results show that tangle of pathology argument does not apply anymore to blacks than to whites and in addition, indicate that the broken home in any class, race, or gender grouping, is not highly productive of this form of behavior. This research has shown that Moynihan's implications of great racial differences, in family experiences, do not get supported. Similarly the data here fail to support older notions of social class differences. Recent studies are trying to explore into similar causal processes throughout the social class structure. For example, Matza and Sykes (1961) have stated that, "it seems worthwhile to pursue the idea that some forms of juvenile delinquency - and possibly most frequent - have a common sociological basis, regardless of the class level at which they appear." (Matza & Sykes, 1961:712-719) Bloch (1958), Miller (1970), Gold (1963), Polk (1971) have supported this contention.

The Berger and Simon data fail to support older notions of social class differences. There is empirical evidence of the similar observation, precisely 22 years ago. Bloch and Niederhoffer observed in 1958, that "the accepted distinctions between the two classes (lower and middle by father's occupation) are breaking down." (Bloch and Niederhoff 1958:177-178) This reveals the fact that social class concept is of little utility in the explanation of juvenile delinquency, yet it has not been excluded completely from the causal explanations of the delinquency.

Higgins and his associates (1977) made an attempt to challenge certain conceptions built into conventional thinking about blacks. Most of the studies present a stereotyped portrait of the black adolescent, i.e. blackness is a symbol of evil, fear, inferiority and many other highly negative connotations the term has, including the notion that black teenagers would be more involved in drinking than their white counterpart. This analysis suggests that black teenagers are less likely to drink and when they do, drink less frequently than white teenagers. We are aware that to come out of slave personality, black people had to develop their own distinctive culture with some elements from the old and some from the new. In the process of many innovative adaptations, white majority groups became their reference groups. When we come across studies like Higgins, we realize

that black teenager doesn't embrace white role models completely, and doesn't accept subordinate social role in all the fields. We need to reframe our beliefs and find out reasons for this reverse trend. Maybe black child's identity is not damaged so severely as we always thought. Maybe playing a black role doesn't always create conflicts with the majority world. We need more research. These differences in drinking behavior between black and white youth become less clear for Baptists. "These findings suggest that future research must differentiate among types of Protestantism when examining the influence of religion on drinking."

(Skolnick, 1958:452-470) Skolnick expected future research in the area of religion and drinking in 1958: In our research we came across just one article, that of Higgins and his associates, measuring religiosity by church attendance, comparing black and white teenage drinking. However, when the authors single out Baptists, their largest religious subsample, and again compare black and white teenager drinking behaviors, the results are different and less clear. This research indicated that problem drinking among adults may not be clearly related to the drinking behavior of teenagers. While black adults seem to have higher rate of problem drinking than do whites, black teenagers drink less frequently than white teenagers and are more likely to drink with the family; What accounts for the shift in problem

drinking from adolescents to adulthood? This phenomena requires more investigation. The authors think that adult problem drinkers may be those that did not learn to drink at home. Adult male black, problem drinking might be a result of high perceived stress as adults and not due to drinking patterns learned as adolescents. Does labelling by white treatment and law enforcement agencies produce problem drinking? Are these results true for other minority groups as well? These questions suggest that an elaboration of the relationship between learned drinking patterns, structural conditions faced by minority groups and problem drinking would be very fruitful. Alcohol treatment programs which focus on blacks are ignoring other adolescents who drink. Further emphasis in theory or policy on defects of the black family deflects attention from structural conditions in society which may be related to drinking problems among whites as well as blacks. While these results are based on self-report data, it seems unlikely that the results are artifactual. Therefore, further research could profitably be directed at the relationship between the structural conditions in society and black-white drinking patterns as they develop from adolescence to adulthood.

As authors have stated the impact of race on drinking has not received full attention. In Larkins (1965) view, historically much speculation suggests that in comparison to whites, blacks drink excessively. The major finding of this

research is that black teenagers drink less frequently than white teenagers. If self-report data are gathered, differences seem to diminish and then one needs to find out how then does one account for these contrasting sets of findings? It is clear that images about black teenagers and assumptions about black family structure are biased, and may prove misleading since this ideological bias related to racism and discrimination, does affect official records too. The studies of this kind would be much more useful and fruitful if they consider all these factors in treating the limitations of self report studies and will be in a position to give us more clear picture of the reality.

Thus out of the selected research studies, about 60% do take into consideration the concept of 'delinquent behavior', so it essentially is not a neglected question. The problems of the researchers all over the three decades are the same. For example, 1) no precise definition of the term, 2) use of official data which seriously limits the nature of results and 3) non-representativeness of the samples. It leads many authors to state that conclusions of their study are tentative or generalizations are limited.

We thought that some of the unique findings of these decades are the ones which have challenged the stereotyped assumptions and more studies in those areas would change some of our notions of the direction of the research. These findings are as follows: 1) Axelrad (1952), came up with

the finding that white children were committed for more serious offenses such as burglary, larceny and truancy. (Widespread assumption is since blacks mostly suffer more economic handicaps, black youngsters tend to commit more serious offenses.) 2) Reckless and his associates (1957) base their series of investigations on white boys and state some of the white boys had committed as many as five previous offenses. 3) Rosen (1969) did not find any association between matriarchal system among blacks and seriousness of offenses committed by black youths (social and behavioral scientists usually treated 'female-headed' households among blacks as cause of problems since they thought children from such households are socially "inferior" and many times deviants instead of normal and superior, culturally disadvantaged instead of advantaged.) 4) Berger and Simon (1974) could not support Moynihan's 'tangle of pathology' with reference to blacks, and 5) Higgins (1977) and his associates found that black teenagers drink less frequently than white teenagers.

These findings do provide sufficient indications that we need to change, instead of confining ourselves to old, traditional conceptions and assumptions. (While suggesting this we are aware of the fact that our research is based on the articles from a few journals.)

iii) Broken Homes: As stated in the introduction, one of the main purposes of this research is to explore the importance of family as a social institution and how social thinkers have located some of its structural aspects that have contributed to the problem of juvenile delinquency. In order to determine this we have concentrated on relationships between broken homes and juvenile delinquency. Since we hear so much about broken homes, we were expecting to find a great deal of research in this area. The following discussion aims at finding out the reality in this context.

(a) Definition of Broken Homes: Most studies emphasize the legal definition of the term: It is the family where one or both parents are absent because of death, divorce, long separation, or desertion. From the Table 2, it becomes clear that to all these factors, some add related factors like neglect, rejection, sexual promiscuity, family with neither mother nor father. The studies of Reckless and his associates imply that broken home is a family which is unstable maritally, residentially and economically. Toby Jackson (1957) adds commitment to an institution as one of the characteristics. Haskell Martin (1961) considers mother-headed families of lower classes where mother goes to work and the families are for large part of the day "no-parent" families. Morris (1964) talks about broken homes in above stated terms and also talks about completely shattered home: i.e. home so thoroughly disintegrated that respondents

no longer lived with a parent figure at all, not even a step-parent.

The extensive use of narrowly focused legal definition in all these studies over 30 years has impressively documented the fact it excludes a variety of homes which can be called broken homes, e.g. homes of single parents (i.e. the ones who have children without wedlock or the ones who adopt children without experiencing natural parenthood) families of unmarried mothers or families of prostitutes. The classification of data depends on well-defined concepts. For the purpose of a valid research, the definition should be exclusive, exhaustive and unitary. The legal definition of the concept broken home is lacking completeness and so is unable to establish any definitive explanations of the total phenomena.

Many scientists, instead of using the term broken home, use the following terms to convey the same meaning. For instance, "A physically inadequate home", "an incomplete home", "socially disrupted home", "socially disorganized home", "A deviant family". Thus we realize that language is too much "sociologese", fancy, elaborated and conveys just jargon of words. Though we prove our working hypothesis that majority of the studies use legal definition, it is surprising to note that in 30 years, no one could come up with more satisfactory and broad definition of the term 'broken home'.

b) The Place of Broken-Home in the Causal Scheme of Delinquency: Since family is a deeply rooted and basic unit in the United States and in any society, we were expecting a greater emphasis on structural aspects of family which cause delinquency and many research articles, particularly devoted to the topic. Our research shows evidence contrary to our assumption.

Out of 20 articles 12 (60%) articles are the studies which treat broken home as one of the variables, e.g. Axelrad (1952) studied a group of Negro and a group of white delinquents and compared them to see if courts use differential basis for commitment. Variables were, age, number and seriousness of offenses, previous institutionalization and family pattern (i.e. broken home due to death and other reasons.) All the three studies of Reckless and his associates (1956, 1957 and 1962) treat family instability as one of the variables. Other studies which treat broken home as one of the variables are Haskell (1961), Rothstein (1962), Morris (1964), Palmore and Hammond (1964), Willie (1967), Rosen (1969), Chilton and Markle (1972), Berger and Simon (1974). Out of 24 (20%) articles deal with structural aspects of family specially emphasizing broken homes (disorganized families), and other affective characteristics of family, e.g. Wattenberg and Balistrieri (1950) emphasized inadequacy of home situation, disturbed families, separated parents, general lack of

supervision. They called these houses as physically inadequate houses. Albert J. Reiss (1952), thought that the major institution structuring personal control is the one characterized by primary social relations, particularly family. Reiss examines the structural and affective character of the family for delinquents. Toby Jackson (1957) takes into consideration, disorganized households, e.g. the instability of the Negro family. Toby's research is a secondary analysis of, especially the work of Shaw and McKay. Monahan (1957) treats family status of delinquent and non-delinquent children with significant importance. In Higgin's (1957) study family refers to the group of individuals with whom the respondents lived, the majority or all of the school year period. Higgin's study does not treat broken home as one of the variables, but the sample consists of a greater percentage of blacks than whites who lived with mother only, and with neither mother nor father.

Despite frequent mention of broken homes in the literature, in 30 years, in seven leading journals, we were able to find only three research articles primarily dealing with broken homes in its relationship to delinquency, e.g. Browning (1960), Tec (1970), Hunt and Hunt (1977).

With a few exceptions i.e. Wattenberg and Balistrieri, (1950), reported that non-gang boys show disturbed families, separated parents, dislike for mothers and socioeconomic

deprivation. 2) Rosen (1969) shows that matriarchy makes little or no difference for involvement of male youth in delinquency; all* studies indicate that broken home is crucial variable in causal scheme of delinquency, implying the importance of stable, integrated family for the protection of children from antisocial influences. At the same time it is true that "even though there has been a renewal of interest in the relationship of the broken home to juvenile delinquency, it still tends to be an inadequately researched variable". (Wilkinson 1974:73)

To understand how broken home is an inadequately researched variable, we shall deal with the limitations of these studies and give our suggestions and remarks. This review and reexamination no doubt, is incomplete since it does not include all the literature available on this topic. The time span covered and the number of studies we could locate, demonstrate just one aspect of the poverty of literature in this area. The following discussion showing limitations of the studies, would reveal other aspects of this poverty, recognizing the need for further research, providing clues to stimulate inquiries and to come up with more conclusive answers.

* Table 1, in Chapter III, particularly focused on important findings related to broken home variable.

1) Wattenberg and Balistrieri (1950) state that the family picture of the gang boys is less like neglect and more like low-tension or easy-goingness. The authors think before finding the question which must be settled, and upon which the data cannot throw light is whether or not this picture is objective truth on the one hand, or is merely the manifestation of some defense mechanism or both. It is possible that the boys who had won emancipation would not be aware of the family tensions. These undefined hidden segments of personality structure need further investigation.

We have noticed that the authors do not give any additional information about the nature and seriousness of delinquent acts committed by gang members. It is possible that the social reality as a response to the seriousness of acts is tension-producing to such an extent that as compared to these tensions, family tensions are too easy to overcome for the gang members. If the hypotheses of this study are tested in this light, the results will suggest more accurate predictions. The research findings of this article suggest there are factors other than family tensions which need attention for further research, as well as to provide clue to treatment strategies. Instead of concentrating more on early family history, why not supplement it with the impact of other environmental factors

2) Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (1952). This study does show some relationship between delinquency and family size. The finding is that a greater proportion of

children coming from large families had poor super-ego controls. The significant variable here is not family size, but other pressures characteristic of many large families: poverty, poor educational, economic and social opportunities. Another finding is delinquents with weak ego controls are significantly younger than either relatively integrated or delinquents with defective super-ego. Because the weak-ego delinquents are younger than other types and because of the known correlates of this age, Reiss states that one would expect to find in relation to family, that 1) more would have parents who are living together, 2) more would come from large families, 3) fewer would have delinquent siblings. "The point here is that an antecedent variable known to be related to the dependent variable and almost certainly related to many of the independent variables, has been left free to vary. Unless this variable is held relatively constant, one cannot know whether the "social correlates of psychological types of delinquency" that Reiss discovered, are causally related to the delinquent types or whether these relations are causally spurious. The observed differences may be simply a result of differences in age among the three groups. . . unless relations are examined within categories of antecedent variable accounts for an observed difference or in fact the relation is genuine or spurious. . . the effects of antecedent variables that stem from the research procedures themselves, rather than from the nature of the phenomena being investigated, are called

"contamination". Recognizing possible contamination in his study may have led Reiss to conclude that he could not justify a causal analysis, e.g. "the research is not designed to discover the direction of causation since experimental controls were not introduced in making the psychiatric judgements. It seems reasonable to assume in some instances, that the psychiatrists may have isolated the several types by using the social correlates as a basis of judgement." To the extent that the last statement is true causal analysis would be meaningless. Reiss would be examining a relation between two measures of the same thing." (Hirschi, 1967:75-77)

3) Sidney Axelrad (1952): The evidence in this study suggests that along with prior record and seriousness of offense, social disadvantage and family neglect also play important role. Juveniles who appear to require removal from their homes for these reasons are often sentenced to correctional facilities. Prior record, seriousness of offenses and institutionalization, all these factors make the sample studied a special one, and limit the scope of results to this group only. The author states the sample of the study, 300 cases constituted about 90% of the institutional population at the time of study. Results of the study show that 82 percent of the Negro children come from broken homes; 50 percent of the white children. But here again there is a difference: of the 60 white broken homes, 50 percent of the separations were caused by death; of the 139

Negro broken homes, 37 or 26 percent were caused by death of one parent. Very clearly research is needed to find out the reasons for these differences. In case of Negro delinquents factors other than death are responsible for the proportion of broken homes. We know some reasons and general tendency was to seek explanations with the help of Moynihan's tangle of pathology perspectives. But when we come across studies like Alan S. Berger and William Simon, which provides no confirmation of the Moynihan report and data, we realize the complexity of the question and need for more research.

4) Walter C. Reckless, Simon Dinitz and Ellen Murray (1956):

In this study when authors tested the home background variables (22 in number) - ranging from the percentage of boys from broken homes to parental favoritism - home was found to be significantly related to the delinquency proneness scores. One of the important reasons of this result was that of the nonrepresentativeness of the sample group and the relatively small amount of variation in the family settings. (125 sixth grade "good" white boys evaluated by their teachers as being "insulated" against delinquency in the highest delinquency areas in Columbus, Ohio). This limitation is true in case of the follow-up studies by Reckless, Dinitz and Barbara Kay (1957) and Dinitz, Scarpitti and Reckless (1962). The first study of "good" boys, did not include a control or comparison group, but the follow-up studies did include a group of "bad" boys, i.e. boys who were nominated by their teachers as likely to

have police and juvenile court records. Along with non-representativeness of the sample groups here, Reckless and his associates do not mention anything about respondents' knowledge of the expectations of his significant others, which we think is a most important part of self-evaluation. Anything a person says can be related to 'self' and thus Reckless's concept of 'self' and its treatment does not show clarity. Teachers' and mothers' evaluation regarding "bad" boys as likely to get into trouble can be biased too. We think that these studies are important from the point of view that they take into consideration the inner personal forces, e.g. ideas about right and wrong, obedience to parents and so on that helps "good" boys not to commit delinquent acts. At the same time an important factor is neglected that the strength of self-definitions given to an 11 or 12-year-old boy (the threshold age group for entry into legal and social delinquency) by significant others, e.g. by parents, depends on healthy and consistent relationship between mother and father and conflict-free environment at home. Boys' judgement how others will evaluate him also depends greatly on his family experiences. Reckless and his associates' extension of self-theory is intended to apply to the "normal" or "modal" goodness or badness. We think that "good" self concept is in large part, a reflection of the images others and especially significant others like parents, have of him. This kind of study would prove more rewarding if scope of the research is broadened which takes

into consideration an examination of the importance of stable family and family relationships that shape respondents' motivation and personality to be a "good" boy. The authors have some tangible evidence that a "good" self concept, undoubtedly a product of favorable socialization, veers slum boys away from delinquency. Since the authors do not explain this favorable socialization process clearly, research studies in this direction are needed. The use of "self-concept", in these articles, is broad and ambiguous. Yet their findings are consistent with the work of Nye (1958), Hirschi (1969) and suggest that attachment to parents may have a direct effect on delinquency. This shows that many of the items used by the authors to measure self-concept might more appropriately be considered measures of attachment to parents and stake in conformity. Attachment to parents depends on intact home and a variety of other factors, e.g. positive emotional experiences, parents providing opportunities for achievements, recognition of needs and fulfillment of them. Of course, many personality needs are too subtle to discover or measure to the maximum by the techniques we have in sociology or psychology. Each one can modify his own self-conception in order to better help himself and others. Parents are the first agents who slowly realize the needs of children and bring them into the open and redefine them when needed. These articles are to a great extent, tried to show that there are important differences in self-concept between potential delinquents

and non-delinquents. We think that the study of type of family and family relations, in relation to self-concept, certainly would explain these differences. Maybe we will find answers to questions: "Why a person with a poor self-concept should be more vulnerable to delinquency? Does poor self-concept leave one vulnerable to delinquency only where delinquent alternatives to conformity are available?" (Tangri and Schwartz, 1967:182-190) We think that youngsters think of alternatives, if they are not satisfied or are not happy with their existing situation and home makes a major part of that situation.

7) Toby Jackson (1957): Major finding of Toby's research is that girls and preadolescents from disorganized households are more exposed to criminogenic influences than girls, and preadolescents from well integrated households and this differential exposure may account for the positive relationship between broken homes and delinquency observed in these populations. "According to Toby, there are two links in the chain between family disorganization and delinquency: supervision and exposure to criminogenic influences. A test of Toby's interpretation would require examination of the relation between family disorganization and delinquency with either supervision or exposure to criminogenic influences held more nearly constant, (e.g. if the causal structure is as hypothesized $A \longrightarrow B \longrightarrow C \longrightarrow D$, the original two variable relation

of A and D will vanish when either B or C is held constant.) Data on such variables are seldom available for the kind of large area Toby was studying, so he was unable to test his suggested interpretation." (Hirschi and Selvin, 1967:75-77) Unfortunately delinquency research does not attempt to explain and interpret the connection between the dependent and independent variables. With the right kind of intervening variable, it is possible to examine if one's speculations do, in fact, connect the independent and dependent variables. Interpretation becomes impossible because data on intervening variables are often not available.

To understand the family disorganization among Negro-white and rural-urban families, Toby examined New Jersey 1950 census data. The data showed that in cities with 100,000 population or more 92.5 percent of the white families with one or more children under 18, contained both a husband and wife as compared with 71.4 percent non-white families; among rural farm families, 95.7 percent of the white families contained both a husband and wife, as compared with 81.7 percent of the non-white families. With the help of these data Toby tried to see whether juvenile delinquents from rural areas of New Jersey have a smaller proportion of girls and pre-adolescents than delinquents from urban areas, whether white delinquents have a smaller proportion of girls and pre-adolescent than Negro delinquents. The limitations of census data as an index of family disorganization are worth noting. The Census Bureau does not insist upon either biological or legal parenthood.

Adopted children, illegitimate children, and step-children are not distinguished. Moreover, since family is defined in the 1950 Census as a group of two or more persons related by blood, marriage or adoption and living together, it was not possible to distinguish between children under 18 living with their own parents, children under 18 living with other relatives, e.g. grandparents and children under 18 living with their own parents but in households headed by some other relative. Toby states that, for large population these misclassifications tend to cancel out. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that family integration is greater among whites than among Negroes and greater in rural than urban areas. What seems reasonable to Toby may sound very unreasonable for many social researchers. The question is, for how long are we going to accept tentative conclusions? There is need to aim at perfection.

8) Monahan, Thomas P. (1957). Monahan's study shows that in this field, persistent efforts have been made to establish interrelationship between delinquency and broken home. One of the important findings of this study is proportion of delinquents is greater among Negroes than among white children. This kind of finding can become more meaningful if we can compare them with control groups. Nye (1958) states that "the efforts to link delinquency with broken homes is probably a blind alley. There is a considerable amount of evidence that juveniles from broken homes are more likely to be arrested, convicted and sentenced to juvenile institutions." (Nye, 1958:43-48)

If one has to draw convincing as well as scientific conclusions about the relationship between juvenile delinquency and broken homes, there are many factors which need to be taken into consideration. For example, we also have contradictory viewpoints. "The broken home does not always cause delinquency; how and when the home was broken and effect upon family relationships and attitudes of the children, make a great difference." (Taft, 1978:487-504). High rate of divorce, high rate of temporary separations, and influences of television, street gangs and the facts alike, make it clear that there certainly are many families which are broken in one way or another, and other factors also can be very significant in causing delinquency. More careful and systematic research efforts are needed with broader scope. We still do not have evidence if all children from broken homes become delinquents or not? Same question can be asked to intact homes? Instead of concentrating all efforts on delinquent children from broken families, we can also study delinquent children from intact, integrated families and find out the reasons. Delinquency and intact homes is a considerably neglected area of research. The most common type of broken home is a home of mother and child, we need more studies on the home of father and child. We do not know much about the role of father when family breaks or influence of step-parents (either mother or father) in the reconstituted homes. Another question needs to be investigated in mother-child homes, does sex and race make difference? e.g. does mother-child homes

include higher percentage of delinquent boys than girls, and what is picture of this difference in black families and white families. Monahan's research indicates that we have variety of broken homes and we think that any researcher dealing with broken homes should be very sensitive to these variations. The table on the next page, based on Monahan's article, will give an idea about the diversification of types of broken homes.

9) Browning (1960): As mentioned earlier, this study was primarily concerned with the impact of family organization and disorganization on adolescent white boys. This study is a great challenge to existing stereotyped research assumptions since the findings of the study support the hypothesis, that delinquents are as likely to come from disorganized but structurally unbroken homes as they are from broken homes (family disorganization reflects tensions and conflicts in structurally unbroken homes). This study suggests that broken home, as legally defined, may not be an accurate indicator of family disorganization, because it is in such widespread use and conjures stereotypes pertaining to delinquency that it should either be abandoned or redefined. The research studies under investigation here are proof of the fact that, it is not going to be easy for thinkers to abandon the concept of broken home completely. What we need is a new definition which includes all the homes which are socially and psychologically broken, including reconstituted homes. The author

* Family status of delinquent first offenders disposed of in municipal (juvenile) court, Philadelphia 1949-1954

(Percentage Distribution)				
A. With whom child lived	Whites		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1) Both of own parents	72.4	48.4	47.2	27.3
2) Mother only	15.5	26.1	35.2	46.7
3) Mother & stepfather	4.2	7.0	2.8	2.7
4) Father only	2.6	4.6	3.8	5.2
5) Father & stepmother	1.3	3.1	1.4	2.0
6) Adoptive parents	0.1	0.3	*	0.1
7) + institution	(0.4)	(0.9)	(0.1)	(0.1)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	11,236	1,984	8,706	2,736
8) Marital status of parents				
1) Own parents living together	73.1	49.7	47.8	27.9
2) Parents unmarried	1.6	4.1	10.7	20.3
3) Mother dead	2.9	6.3	4.8	7.5
4) Father dead	7.7	11.0	9.8	10.4
5) Both parents dead	0.5	1.6	1.7	2.1
6) Father deserted mother	0.7	1.7	2.3	3.6
7) Mother deserted father	0.2	1.8	0.2	0.3
8) Both parents deserted	0.1	0.1	0.2	*
9) Parents living apart	7.9	14.0	20.1	25.4
10) Parents divorced	5.3	10.7	2.4	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	11,244	1,906	8,643	2,717

* Less than 0.05 percent

† Not included in 100 percent.

** Based on the data given in the article Monahan, Thomas P. "Family Status and the Delinquent Child: A Reappraisal and Some New Findings," Social Forces, 35:3 (March 1957): 250-258.

thinks that broken homes are overrepresented in court records. The reason is, maybe court officials are becoming more sensitive to family disorganization. Most studies in this area, as we have noticed based on official data and legal definitions, suffer the limitations these data have and that is why they have been more sensitive to these limitations in the design stage and research, than in the actual research and analyses. This may be one of the valid reasons why we should be more aware of these limits, as suggested by Charles Browning, as he makes us aware of the serious need of the redefinition of the concept of broken home. When one really starts thinking about misunderstood, ill-treated boys and girls, sometimes just because they are blacks, or live in slum areas or are members of broken homes, the question needs to be asked is there anything uniform in either nature or causes of delinquency? We are in urgent need of precise definitions, precise treatments, no one treatment can be applied to all delinquents and we do not know much about how the prejudices, broken homes, lower-class status and other negative influences, affecting non-delinquents.

10) Haskell (1961): This is the first study we came across, among our selected articles, which is an attempt to formulate a reference group theory in an effort to answer the question: how does an individual become committed to delinquency. The explanations of the study are based on the importance of

the family in the life of an individual. The family here has been treated as first personal reference group and a normative reference group, i.e. whose norms conform to those of the larger society. The parents function as agents of society in transmitting the culture to the child. Even in families with criminal parents, the child is likely to be encouraged by parents to conform to the norms of the society and to be punished for deviation. Thus the family is almost universally opposed to a boy's affiliation with a street group. How then does a boy who is a member of a normative personal reference group - his family, become a member of a delinquent personal reference group, a street group a delinquent subculture? This article answers the question. The following constitutes an attempt to explain the phenomena: 1) the lower class boy, in school system, usually before the age of ten becomes aware that by applying the standards of educational system, his parents are failures. Their occupations have low status, education is considered poor, residence depreciated, and habits of eating, dress, and personal cleanliness, portrayed as subnormal. The boy's resentment towards his parents grows. 2) In school he perceives himself as unlikely to succeed leading to confirmation of feeling of inferiority and inadequacy. 3) Each boy knows that he can become a worker of some sort. 4) He views himself as disfavored by family because he consumes without contributing. 5) The boy, whether in a lower or middle-class family, is objectively inferior to the adults in earnings, skills and prestige. As a result he tends to perceive himself

as generally inferior. 6) The boy, lower or middle-class, who fails to acquire feelings of social competence in the family and does not derive satisfactions in normative social groups such as school or work groups, gravitates to the street for a great deal of his social life. 7) On the street he finds others like him or if a street group is already in existence, he tries to join it. If the group has a delinquent subculture he becomes a member of delinquent personal reference group.

The author thinks that this trend can be reversed. Those who choose conformity refuse to risk the loss of love, the deprivation or denial by their families. Thus one method of reversing the trend toward delinquency would be to increase the opportunities for satisfying response in the family group. Encouraging satisfying participation in normative socio-groups should reinforce the family as a normative personal reference group, e.g. if a boy could earn money by part-time employment, he would win greater approval in the family by carrying into the home normative patterns of behavior acquired in normative socio-groups. The author provides a partial answer to the question of why some boys exposed to delinquent norms, participate in delinquent acts and others do not. The findings are limited to the study of 70 boys from Berkshire Farm For Boys, New York City. The author himself mentions the tentativeness of the proposed theory, so we cannot conclude that it would explain all delinquent behavior patterns. The study based on a larger sample of black and white males and females applying

this theory, would be more fruitful in establishing some conclusions that would refine the theory and add to knowledge of understanding the delinquency more clearly. The article also suggests that if the family, as a personal reference group, is sufficiently satisfying, it will prevent a boy from going elsewhere.

11) Rothstein, Edward (1962): This study compares the way delinquent teen-aged boys perceive attributes related to high social status with the way non-delinquent boys perceive these same attributes. Sixteen percent of the non-delinquents came from broken homes, 45 percent of the delinquents came from broken homes. The definition of the broken home is not given, so we assume that the author implies legal definition.* The samples studied here are predominantly white Protestants of many generation American families. The differences in perception of high social status may depend on background characteristics, as for instance family status. This study does not take into consideration the family variable at all. As the author states, these data in any case, strongly indicate the need for additional investigation.

12) Morris, Ruth R. (1964): In this article matched groups of male and female delinquents and non-delinquents are studied to test a theory that the greater rate of male delinquency is due to the different sex role objectives for boys and girls. The important finding of the study is that female delinquency is more likely than male delinquency to reflect problems at

*"Broken home is a family where one or both parents are absent because of death, divorce, long separation or desertion."

home. This finding cannot be generalized because all white delinquent girls were interviewed to collect the data. Some studies might support this finding. For example, Austin has indicated "that female delinquency is related to family disorganization, may be true only among whites." (Austin, 1978: 487-504) To accept this novel finding we need much more evidence. Martin Gold (1970) in his study of youths in Flint, Michigan concluded that family conditions appear to be more important among girls than boys, but further research must measure parent-child relations among girls and boys in order to measure more thoroughly their association with delinquent behavior. We think that the speculations of the author are based on what we know about sex differences in relation to delinquency. Theorists have speculated that girls are delinquents for different reasons than boys. Official data about narrower range of offenses committed by girls makes one think that girls' delinquency is more closely related to families. The author's findings are significant, but are restricted to white girls. Attempts to replicate these assumptions with other groups will help us to know more about female delinquency. One of the main contributions of this study is through a comprehensive theory about sex role and delinquency, the areas of broken homes and family tensions were linked to a prediction about a previously unexplored relational handicap: poor grooming. No attempt was made to show the differences among delinquent boys and girls in relational handicap. It was predicted that interviewers would rate delinquents lower than

non-delinquents in personal appearance and in grooming. These differences should be particularly marked for girls. The results are as predicted. It is interesting to note that despite these ratings, delinquents of both sexes report more frequent dating than do non-delinquents.

13) Palmore and Hammond (1964): The description of broken home given by these authors, is related to the degree to which these broken homes are deviant. Broken homes are units deviating grossly from societal norms: one or both parents are in prison or mental hospital, or the parent has had a series of marriages, separations, multiple illegitimate births, and a series of illegitimate affairs. Any person whose family displayed one or more of these gross deviations is characterized as being from a 'deviant family'. In the sample 57% Negroes were from deviant families and 28% Whites were from deviant families. The surprising observation is that family deviance influences the delinquency of Negroes but not that of whites. One of the explanations is given by the authors, that family deviance on Negro delinquency is concentrated among those failing in school, but has much less effect on those doing well in the school. Thus school success seems to play a compensating role protecting black persons from the impact of a surrounding force that otherwise encourages delinquency. This pattern does not emerge among whites. More research is needed to explain why this pattern does not exist among whites. Thus

investigation of the effect of illegitimate opportunity as indicated by family deviance on juvenile delinquency, demands sharper measures of avenues to opportunity structure because these data taken entirely from records compiled for other purposes, cannot adequately confirm the theoretical implications of Cloward & Ohlin by which this study was guided (i.e. what results would be expected if the theory of delinquency and opportunity were adequate to the explanation of different rates of delinquent acts?) That is the reason why the authors conclude, a reasonable, if tentative conclusion, is that legitimate and illegitimate opportunities have interacting effect on delinquency. (Legitimate opportunity as indicated by the effects of race, sex, and school success on delinquency and illegitimate opportunity as indicated by the effect of family deviance and neighborhood deviance on delinquency among the respondents.)

14) Willie (1967): This study had two goals. 1) to determine the association between economic status and delinquency, and family status and delinquency, by analyzing white and non-white populations separately and 2) to determine joint effect if any, of these two variables. In the light of the analysis of this study, it was hypothesized that non-whites may be able to deal with the family instability factor related to delinquency only after they achieve greater economic security. The hypothesis is advanced on the basis of the findings of this study, particularly the findings pertaining to the white population, who have passed beyond the stage of economic security. The

longitudinal unfolding of life in the social system needs to be studied in much more refined way. Because the author classified non-white and white populations into four types of areas (1) Area A - the affluent area with few broken homes, 2) Area B - the affluent area characterized by many broken homes, 3) Area C - the poor area characterized by few broken homes, 4) Area D - the poor area characterized by many broken homes.) The conditions of the populations in each of these areas were not identical because of the crude technique of dichotomizing the economic and family status variables above and below the city-wide average. The important finding of this study is there is definite relationship between juvenile delinquency and broken homes. The author advocates that economic affluence might help to prevent delinquency. However, we know that in spite of having economic affluence, non-whites do not get the same social environment to interact with others. So we have no way of knowing how many non-white children live in economically intact or affluent homes, but socially broken environment. This research is based on census data and the study area is limited to Washington, D.C., where more than four out of every five youth referred to court are Negro. The same may not be true with other cities or rural areas, so the findings are limited to census data and to the selected area. The author mentions that poverty was no longer an overwhelming problem for most white people, so this basis of comparison of white and non-whites becomes questionable.

15) Rosen, Lawrence (1969): This article studies the relationship between matriarchy and lower-class Negro male delinquency. The author states that developing measures for matriarchy independent of the presence or absence of a father is a more difficult problem. Youths of this study were asked the following questions to insure the dominance of mother or father in the household: 1) Who is the main wage earner? 2) Who makes the most family decisions? 3) What adult living with you influences you the most? The youth's assessments of these functions cannot be considered "objective". In any case this was the only information available in the study which could be considered related to the issue of matriarchy. One should keep in mind potential inadequacies in these measures when reviewing the findings. It could also be argued that the absence of an adult male is too crude a measure of matriarchy. (There are many different males, brothers, uncles, cousins, etc. could be included with varying degrees of authority, stability, and influence.)

We think that the safest conclusion of this study is, matriarchy makes little or no difference for involvement in delinquency. "Dominance of black family by the female and absence of a father from the home, have been viewed as sources of 'compulsive masculinity' that is ultimately reflected in a high rate of conflict with the law." (Hannerz, 1969:112-21) Parsons (1947) felt "that boys in female-headed households have a real problem in establishing a 'masculine' identity

and react by becoming compulsively masculine." (Parsons, 1947: 167-181) However research findings of Rosen do not provide a great deal of support for the compulsive masculinity as cause of delinquency argument.

16) Tec, Nechama (1970): As mentioned earlier, this article primarily deals with the relationship between some aspects of family life and differential involvement with marijuana. In the study, it has been emphasized that the data collected about parental controls, pressures and evaluations, as well as the respondents' satisfaction with and meaning of the family, are all based on subjective reports. The extent to which these reports reflect reality cannot be ascertained. In a sense then, the data at hand represents reality as perceived by the subjects of this study. The author states that the strategic variable affecting adolescent behavior is the amount and type of control or pressure applied by parents. Although this variable is thought to be of significance, very little about its specific direction is known. Because one could argue that parental control is conducive to conformist as well as deviant behavior. The variable is complex and requires a great deal of refinement. The assumption that a positive association may exist between parental involvement with legal drugs and their children's involvement with illegal drugs, can only be partially tested with the present data. Respondents were asked to place check marks next to those behaviors which applied to their fathers or

mothers separately, e.g. use of tranquilizers, sleeping pills, and hard liquor. The last refers to 'drinking more than just cocktails'. Unfortunately, those who failed to check any answer might have been those whose parents do not engage in any of the behaviors or those who simply refused to answer. For no provisions were made for the distinction between "no answer" and "does not apply". Clearly this is a methodological shortcoming. Focusing on the answers it was tentatively concluded that children whose parents use legal drugs show a higher level of involvement with an illegal drug such as marijuana. Turning to the sample studied, it was found that there was significantly higher proportion of marijuana users among those from broken families than among those from unbroken families. The 19 adoptive youths (one percent of the total sample) who live with both adoptive parents are not included in the table showing living arrangement by degree of involvement with marijuana. The reason given for not including them, is that they are small in number. Among them there were 16 percent regular marijuana users and 64 percent nonusers. The question of accepting the findings related to broken homes and marijuana use becomes problematic. We realize the need for studying the problems of adopted adolescents as well as inadequacy of the definition of broken home. If one decides to accept what Tec means by broken home, then family of a child living with both adoptive parents becomes the additional factor of the definition of a broken home.

17) Chilton and Markle (1972): Employing seriousness of offense as a measure of delinquency, this article reexamines the relationship between delinquency referral and family disruption. One of the conclusions is that white children and preadolescents are more vulnerable to effects of family disruption than black or adolescent children. Unfortunately, census information which would permit similar comparisons for subclassifications, based on rural-urban residence and income, is not available so the finding is limited. The authors got data on family situation and family income from Florida Court data. Since they lack the information on living situation of 40% of the children referred to the court, the authors studied 60% of the total sample, so the data are seriously limited from this point of view. This analysis suggests that economic position of the families is more closely related to referral to the juvenile court than are family living arrangement, sex or age. The economic position clue may prove useful. Social forces which control or encourage delinquent behavior, their effects vary according to economic position of childrens' family.

18) Berger and Simon (1974): This research has shown that the broken family is not, in general, the crucial causative factor in juvenile delinquency, that it often is taken to be. Social science will apparently have to seek another 'cause' for the problems of the black community though the authors

doubt that any single factor will provide an adequate explanation. The present study examines the major arguments of Moynihan to which Moynihan referred as "Tangle of Pathology". In general, the data do not support Moynihan's report. For example, one of the major findings of the study is the major effect of the intact or broken character of the family in the lower-class, is that black female adolescents from intact homes are more likely than those from broken homes, to be seriously involved in theft or violence. The authors have no ready systematic explanation for this finding, but suggest that a broken family may result in a higher level of adolescent female involvement in managing the family - an increased likelihood of an early cooptation into the world of women. Clearly, further research on this topic is required. Another argument of the author which we thought needs research, is that coming from a broken home in social environment where it is an infrequent experience, may be more conducive to delinquency than in environments in which broken homes are very common. Their overall findings do not support the conclusions advanced by Moynihan, namely that the black family is drastically different from the white family in the way it treats its children, and the results it produces. These findings are consistent with the findings of Hirschi (1969), Gold (1970) and Rosen (1969).

Berger & Simon characterize low-class by father's unemployment, and consistently low education and occupation

levels - admitted less delinquency than the higher working classes in all race/sex subcategories. Thus it appears that father's occupation or socioeconomic position is of little utility in the explanation of delinquency. Chilton and Markle's study just mentioned above found economic position as most important variable. Such contradictory evidences just make us realize that the concept of social class should not be discarded, or treated as less important without further examination. In the extension of the present analysis the authors observed that black adolescents who have a highly positive relationship with their mothers, are considerably less likely than those who have a negative relationship with their mothers, to be classified as high on the violence measure. This is not true among white adolescents. To confirm this we need more research in this direction. Looking at the black culture, we see black youths sharing the twin burden of being a black and an adolescent. In front of them is a social environment with

- 1) Limited range of available roles due to their ascribed status.
- 2) Their reliance upon those cultural symbols which inevitably place black youths at odds with the reality associated with the blackness.
- 3) Struggle for self-acceptance.

Results



- 1) Identification with own group (is it due to positive evaluation or conscious recognition of such membership has to be decided with more research).
- 2) Attachment with family members.

It thus appears that instead of looking at black family as source of pathology, as Moynihan did, we need to find out how far black subculture and black family provides best substitute in the form of societal patterns of identity which prevent black youth from getting involved in the antisocial behavior. Berger and Simon gave unique direction for the further research and we thought this was the best contribution they made by reexamining Moynihan's report. What we need is an alternative model which sees black family as a bulwark against the pathologies, which does exist in society, but we need to find it out. Maybe it is time that sociologists have to accept the role of bringing center closer to the periphery to strengthen the structural and cultural formation in the process of nation-building.

19) Hunt and Hunt (1977): This research examined some of the consequences of father absence for female children. Race differences in the meaning of father absence for boys are increasingly noted in the research literature. Largely unexamined, however, is the question of how racial inequality may interact with sex roles in shaping the experience of girls. This research has tried to shed some light on this unexamined

question and from that point it is noteworthy. A very interesting and important observation noted here is that, when black men face structurally imposed "failure" and cannot fulfill the role of family provider, there is a measure of escape and redemption offered by the street corner society of lower-class black males. But in case of black women, they are left to cope with the problems of both nurturing and providing for their families without the requisite resources. Because females inherit this responsibility for the disrupted families (father-absence) while it may lower the visibility of structurally conditioned adult destinies for boys, probably raises the visibility of these destinies for girls. The authors think their data alone are not sufficient for this inference. The present research explores the impact of father absence on some dimensions of the identities, orientations and activities of white and black adolescent girls. While the results are inconclusive and the conclusions are tentative, they point to the potential import of both racial and sexual inequality in conditioning the consequences of family-structure.

20) Higgins, Albrecht and Albrecht (1977): This article deals with the examination of black-white adolescent drinking. In the sample a greater percentage of blacks than whites, lived with mothers only. Important finding is that black adolescents seem to drink less frequently, buy alcoholic beverages less often and more likely to feel that they drink less than their friends as compared to white adolescents.

Berger and Simon's (1974) observation just stated above that black adolescents with a highly positive relationship with mother, are less likely to engage in violent behavior, gets support by the observation of Higgins and his associates. It is a possibility that some internal dynamics, though not the structural characteristics, play important role in keeping youths away from delinquency. Something positive about the internal dynamics of the black family need to be investigated.

2) Working hypothesis related to location and delinquency

Social thinkers do realize that the variation in the rates of delinquency reflects the organization of each community, and its ways of handling the problem; yet the majority of the research studies still have the dominant influence of Chicago school and concentrate their studies (a) in urban areas with inner-city emphasis, (b) studies have less concern with middle-class suburbs and (c) studies are least concerned with rural areas; knowing that such selected areas with inner city emphasis, would not present the complete analysis of the whole delinquency problem. The locations of the study presented in Table 3, demonstrates that the trend among social thinkers all along has been to concentrate on urban areas. In 1960's and 1970's we find a few dealing also with suburban communities and only one taking into account rural areas. These data strongly supports our working hypothesis.

TABLE 3. Location of the study with reference to articles particularly related to relationship between delinquency and broken homes: 1950-1980

Author (s)	Location of the study
1) Wattenberg, William W. and Balistrieri, J.J. (1950)	Detroit, city or urban areas
2) Reiss, Albert J. (1952)	Cook County - urban area
3) Axelrad, Sidney (1952)	New York - urban area
4) Reckless, Walter C. et al. (1956)	Columbus, Ohio - urban area
5) Reckless, W.C. et al. (1957)	Columbus, Ohio - urban area
6) Toby Jackson (1957)	Secondary analysis of the work of 1) Shaw & McKay, 2) <u>New Jersey</u> delinquency statistics, 3) Annual report of the juvenile and domestic relation Court of Essex County, 4) Census (1950), 5) General characteristics of <u>New Jersey</u> .
7) Monahan, Thomas P. (1957)	Philadelphia (court record)
8) Browning, Charles J. (1960)	Los Angeles County
<u>In 1950-60, all eight studies (100%) concentrate on urban areas or records and studies related to urban areas.</u>	
9) Haskell, Martin R. (1961)	New York
10) Rothstein, Edward (1962)	1) Cumberland County, Pennsylvania An area made up of small towns and rural areas. 2) York, Pennsylvania - a city
11) Dinitz, Simon et al. (1962)	Columbus, Ohio

TABLE 3 (Continued . . .)

Author (s)	Location of the study
12) Morris, Ruth R. (1964)	Flint (Michigan) urban area
13) Palmore, E.B. and Hammond, P.E.	Greater New Haven (Connecticut) urban and suburbs.
14) Willie, Charles V. (1967)	Washington, D.C. Inner city - urban
15) Rosen, Lawrence (1969)	Secondary analysis of a larger survey project known as North Philadelphia Project.
16) Tec, Nechama (1970)	Norwalk-Connecticut (well-to-do eastern suburban community).

In 1961-70 except one, all studies concentrate on urban areas. Out of these seven two take into consideration small towns, suburbs and rural areas, one deals exclusively with suburban area.

17) Chilton, R.J. and Markle, G.E. (1972)	Florida
18) Berger, Alan and William Simon (1974)	Illinois (Non-Chicago population). Medium and large size cities and suburbs.
19) Hunt, Janet G. and Hunt, L.L. (1977)	Baltimore (Maryland)
20) Higgins, Paul C. Albrecht, G.L. & Albrecht, M.H. (1977)	Atlanta (Georgia)

In 1971-80 all studies concentrate on urban areas including one which takes into consideration suburbs too.

Early studies describing urban-rural communities, always portrayed rural communities as simple, having minimum emphasis on individualism and maximum emphasis on close kinship ties and informal social relations. In relation to community influence on delinquency, we recall a monumental study conducted by Thomas and Zaniecki (1918), who showed clearly that 'juvenile delinquency was rare in peasant villages, moderate in Polish cities and high in Chicago.' Robert E. Park who joined the Department of Sociology, at the University of Chicago in 1914, that was the time when ecological school of urban sociology developed in this university (in the late 1920's). Before joining the University, Park had spent twenty-five years as a journalist, specifically interested in collecting information on social conditions in the city, housing issues and urban problems. In the following twenty years after Park joined the University of Chicago, he and his associates conducted research studies in the cities. One of the major findings from this body of research was that various forms of problem-behaviors including delinquency, were heavily concentrated in certain areas of cities. Shaw and McKay (1942) who were to be the most eminent researchers and writers of this school, state "year after year, decade after decade, large cities - and especially certain areas in large cities - send to the courts an undiminished line of juvenile offenders. . . likewise society continues to construct new agencies or institutions designed to reduce the number

of these offenders and to rehabilitate those who have already offended against the law. Perhaps the unsatisfactory results of these treatment and prevention efforts have been due, in part at least, to the fact that our attention has been focused too much upon the individual delinquent and not enough upon the settings in which delinquency arises."

(Shaw & McKay, 1942:440-44) By 'settings', as we understand Shaw and McKay, must have meant all the settings (urban, rural, suburban, and folk communities). With this awareness on the part of Shaw and McKay, we find their efforts for instance, reporting the highest concentration of offenders' residences in the transitional zone surrounding the central business district of Chicago, making special studies of juvenile delinquency in Chicago. In other words, concentrating on urban areas. The work of Chicago school by no means less important. A handful of sociologists had established a new area of specialty within the sociology. Their new and growing field definitely had more answers to some of the social problems than the past. This may be one of the reasons why in the three decades since 1950, social thinkers are still influenced by classic studies of the Chicago school and are trying to maintain the tradition by concentrating their research efforts in cities.

Forty years later McKay (1967) reported that there had been a rather dramatic decline in delinquency rates in areas where the population had remained sufficiently stable to make

an adjustment to urban life. (In the 1930's, the same areas had shown the highest rates of delinquency). The point we are trying to emphasize is that distribution of offenses may change as the conditions change, and redistribute themselves in different areas. "For all (juvenile) courts, reporting in 1971, there were 42 delinquency cases per 1,000 disposed of by juvenile court in urban jurisdictions, as compared to 38 in semi-urban courts and 21 in rural jurisdictions. However, the differences between rural jurisdictions and large cities seem to be declining. In 1967 the robbery rate was 30 times greater in SMSAs (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) than in rural jurisdictions, as compared to 12 times greater in 1977. Overall the rate of growth of 'crimes known to the police' is greater in rural and suburban areas than in cities." (Jensen and Rojek, 1980:65) Polk and his associates have found that, in the days when the United States was primarily a country of farms and small towns, it was generally believed that teenage delinquency was almost entirely confined to cities. Even today many people think that teenage boys who live outside metropolitan areas get into substantially less trouble than their city cousins, and that when they do, their scrapes are usually minor.

Perhaps surprisingly, studies made in recent years, e.g. Polk (1974), have shown that there is no basis for this common assumption - non-metropolitan youth have just about as many run-ins with the law as metropolitan youths and the

causes of these confrontations are often of roughly equal seriousness in both towns and cities. Polk's findings are an example that rural or suburban communities have no longer remained the ones with a little delinquency. At the same time we do not have enough evidence to know if the delinquency has recently become a major problem in these areas. "Becoming delinquent" for a youth from underprivileged, industrialized, urban center is definitely going to be different from a youth of rural or suburban community, which is gradually changing, industrializing and old norms, values, traditions are slowly disappearing. To know more about the reasons of delinquency in these areas, we need more research. Comparative studies of rural-suburban or rural-urban areas are going to help to provide more explicit and complete picture of the delinquency problem. Findings will be more definitive than they are now. (In our research we came across many thinkers who had to come up with tentative conclusions.) Research attempts covering a broader universe will definitely be helpful for planning of programs for juvenile delinquency prevention.

3) Working hypothesis related to theoretical contributions

It appears that the base of majority of contemporary sociological investigations of delinquency, still continue to follow central theoretical traditions of the Chicago school viz. social disorganization theories/cultural-deviance theories/differential association theories/subcultural theories

Table 4: Showing Theoretical Contributions

Articles Dealing with Definite Relationship between Delinquency and Broken-Homes.

1950-1960

Author(s)

Theoretical Contributions

1. Wattenberg, William S. and Balistrieri, J. J. 1950
 Psychogenic Theory/ Socio-psychological theory
 2. Reiss, Albert J. Jr. 1952
 Social Control Theory/ Social-Disorganization theory
 3. Axelrad, Sidney 1952
 Labeling theory
 4. Reckless, Walter C., Dinitz, Simon, Murray Ellen. 1956
 "Containment Theory" Walter C. Reckless's version of Social-Control Theory. Also contributes to Anomie and Differential opportunity theories.
 5. Reckless, W. C., Dinitz, Simon, and Kay, Barbara. 1957
 "Containment Theory" Walter C. Reckless's version of Social-Control Theory Also contributes to Anomie and Differential-opportunity theories.
 6. Toby, Jackson. 1957
 Social-control theory.
 7. Monahan, Thomas P. 1957
 Socio-psychological control theory/ social disorganization theory
 8. Browning, Charles J. 1960
 Socio-psychological control theory/ social disorganization theory
- In 1950-60 out of eight, six studies are based on Social-Control/Socio-Psychological Control/Social Disorganization Theories. (Greater impact of Chicago School)

1961-1970

9. Haskell, Martin R. 1961
 Reference group theory/ Anomie (disorganization) theory.
10. Rothstein, Edward. 1962
 Social-disorganization Strain (Anomie) theory/ Reference group theory.
11. Dinitz, Simon, Scarpitti R. and W. C. Reckless. 1962
 "Containment Theory" Walter C. Reckless's version of Social-Control Theory. Also contributes to Anomie and Differential-Opportunity theories.
12. Morris, Ruth R. 1964
 Social-Disorganization/ Social Control theories. (Role-Strain)
13. Palmore, E. B. and Hammond, P. E. 1964
 Social-Disorganization - Differential Opportunity Theory (Strain Theory)
14. Willie, Charles V. 1967
 Social Disorganization - Differential Opportunity Theory (Strain-Theory)

Table 4: Showing Theoretical Contributions

Articles Dealing with Definite Relationship between Delinquency and Broken-Homes (Con't)

Author(s)

Theoretical Contributions

1961-1970 (Con't)

15. Rosen, Lawrence. 1969 Social Disorganization/ Cultural Deviance/ Social Control Theories. (Anxiety over masculine identity and role-strain lack of commitment to adult role)
16. Tec, Nechama. 1970 Psychoanalytic theory/ Social Control theory
 In 1961-70, all eight (100%) studies are mainly based on Social Control/Social Disorganization perspective. (Still under the impact of Chicago-tradition).

1971-1980

17. Chilton, R. J. and Markle, G. E. 1972 Social Control/Social Disorganization - Differential opportunity theory.
18. Berger, Alan S. and William Simon. 1974 Social-Control theory.
19. Hunt, Janet G. and Hunt, Larry L. 1977 Socio-psychological Control Theory/ Social-Disorganization - Strain Theory (Role-conflict) Matriarchy Theory in ethnic relations.
20. Higgins, Paul C., Albrecht, Gary L., and Albrecht, M. H. 1977 Social Control/ Social-Disorganization theory.

In 1971-80, all four (100%) studies are based on Social Control/Social-Disorganization Perspective. (Impact of Chicago tradition continues and maybe will continue.) During three decades (1950-1980) eighteen out of twenty studies (90%) show the influence of Chicago-tradition.

General Reference Articles in Delinquency Research

1950-1960

1. Barron, Milton L. 1951 Social Control/Differential Opportunity theory.
2. Kobrin, Solomon. 1951 Social Control/Cultural Deviance-Social Disorganization - Strain Theory.
3. Nye, Ivan. 1952 Anomie/Social-Disorganization-Strain Theory/Social Control Theory.

Table 4: Showing Theoretical Contributions (Con't)

General Reference Articles in Delinquency Research (Con't)	Author(s)	Theoretical Contributions
		<u>1950-1960 (Con't)</u>
4. Watterberg, William W. 1953		<u>Social Control theory.</u>
In 1950-60, all four (100%) studies are based on Social Control/Disorganization Perspective (Greater impact of Chicago school).		
		<u>1961-1970</u>
5. Bohlke, Robert H. 1961		<u>Social Control theory</u>
6. Clark, John P. and Wenninger, E. P. 1963		<u>Social Control/Social-Disorganization - Differential Opportunity/Drift theory.</u>
7. Burchinal, Lee G. 1964		<u>Social-Disorganization theory.</u>
8. Segal, Bernard E. 1964		<u>Differential Opportunity (Strain) theory/ Social-Disorganization - Subcultural theory</u>
9. Stanfield, Robert Everett 1966		<u>Social Control theory/ Differential Opportunity theory</u>
10. Craig, M. M. and Budd, L. A. 1967		<u>Social Disorganization/ Subcultural theory/ Differential Association theory</u>
11. Lerman, Paul 1967		<u>Social Disorganization-Strain Theory/ Subcultural Theory/ Differential Association theory</u>
12. Allan, D. E. and Sandhu Harjit S. 1967		<u>Social Control theory/ Strain theory (Status Deprivation)/ Bond theory (Hirschi)</u>
13. Hildbrand, James A. 1968		<u>Social Control theory/ Social Disorganization theory</u>
14. Grogan, Hiram J. 1968		<u>Social Control theory/ Social Disorganization-Strain theory</u>
15. Voss, Harwin L. 1969		<u>Social Control - Containment theory/ Differential Association theory</u>
In 1961-70 all 11 studies (100%) are based on Chicago-School perspectives.		

Table 4: Showing Theoretical Contributions (Con't)

<u>General Reference Articles in Delinquency Research (Con't)</u>	Author(s)	1971-1980	Theoretical Contributions
16. Kaplan, H. B. and Pokorny, A. D.	1971	<u>Socio-psychological theory/ Social-Control theory.</u>	
17. Schoenfeld, C. G.	1971	<u>Psychoanalytic theory/ Social Control theory.</u>	
18. Jensen, Gary F.	1972	<u>Social-Control (Inner) Containment theory/ Social Disorganization theory.</u>	
19. Severy, Lawrence J.	1972	<u>Social-Disorganization theory</u>	
20. Hindelang, M. J.	1973	<u>Social-Control theory</u>	
21. Silverman, Robert A.	1975	<u>Social-Control theory/ Differential Opportunity theory.</u>	
22. Garrett, Marcia	1975	<u>Social Control theory/ Differential opportunity theory/ Labeling theory.</u>	
23. Breznitz, Tamar	1975	<u>Social-Disorganization - Subcultural theory/ Social-psychological theory.</u>	
24. Datesman, S. K.; Scarpitti, F. R., Stephenson, R. M.	1975	<u>Differential opportunity theory/ Self-concept theory</u>	
25. Conway, Allan.	1977	<u>Labeling theory/ Radical theory</u>	
26. Schlesinger, S. E.	1978	<u>Psychogenic theory/ Social-Disorganization theory.</u>	
27. Aigner, S. M., Simons, Ronald L., Miller, M. G.	1980	<u>Anomie/ Labeling/ Social Control/ Differential Association theory.</u>	

In 1971-80, out of 12 studies, 11 studies are based on Chicago-school theoretical traditions.

Table 5: Showing Abstract and Theoretical Contribution of General Reference Articles

Reference of the article	Abstract	Theoretical Contribution
<p>1. Barron, Milton L. Juvenile Delinquency and American Values. American Sociological Review, vol. 16, No. 2, April 1951, pp. 208-214.</p>	<p>This article presents a review of literature of American values and delinquency. The author stresses conceptual, theoretical and methodological needs for theory building in the research of social problems. He mentioned the current research which has been conducted on the value systems of college students at Cornell University, in order to analyze mobilization of values in specific conflict situations. The emotional strains and tensions concurrent with goal striving and possible dissatisfactions at failure to achieve value-goals may sometimes be expressed through delinquency.</p>	<p>Differential opportunity/Social control theory.</p>
<p>2. Kobrin, Solomon. The Conflict of Values in Delinquency Areas. American Sociological Review, vol. 16, No. 5, October 1951, pp. 653-661.</p>	<p>The present paper has attempted to provide a demonstration of the inadequacies of statistics with respect to the extent of delinquent behavior in the urban slum areas, e.g. 1) specific information about actual cases of non-delinquents living in urban slum areas might well be expected, would offer the soundest basis for accurate comparisons, but there is a minimum of such information available; 2) the author also finds that there is actually much more delinquency in delinquency areas than the official records show. Conclusions based on such official records are not reliable.</p>	<p>Social control/cultural-deviance/strain/social-disorganization.</p>
<p>3. Nye, Ivan. Adolescent-Parent Adjustment: Age, Sex, Sibling Number, Broken Homes and Employed mothers as variables. Marriage and family living (now Journal of Marriage and the Family) Vol. XIV, No. 4, Nov. 1952, pp. 327-332.</p>	<p>The present study developed from the hypothesis that the differences in the adjustment of adolescents to parents are largely the product of differences in the significant social environment. Number of siblings, employment of mother and whether home is broken or unbroken are variables in social environment which affect the adjustment of adolescents to parents.</p>	<p>Anomie/social disorganization/social control/strain theory.</p>
<p>4. Wattenberg, William W. Juvenile Repeaters from Two Viewpoints. American Sociological Review, vol. 18, No. 6, Dec. 1953, pp. 631-635.</p>	<p>Based on two series of data, this study shows that a comparison between repeaters and non-repeaters based on first contact and a retrospective study of the same phenomena indicated that home and neighborhood conditions alter only slightly, but school, police and peer-group relations become worse (the records of boys were observed in 1946, 1947 and 1948).</p>	<p>Social-control theory</p>

Table 5: Showing Abstract and Theoretical Contribution of General Reference Articles (Con't)

Reference of the article	Abstract	Theoretical Contribution
5. Bohlke, Robert H. Social Mobility, Stratification Inconsistency and Middle-Class Delinquency. <i>Social Problems</i> , Vol. 8, No. 4, Spring 1961, pp. 351-361.	The most part of the paper concerns itself with the overlooked speculation about an increase in middle class delinquency. The author states that lawbreaking is most common among the people who have recently acquired a comfortable income but who have yet to assume the values of middle-class society.	Social-control theory
6. Clark, John P. and Wenninger, Eugene P. Goal Orientations and Illegal Behavior Among Juveniles. <i>Social Forces</i> Vol. 42, No. 1, October 1963, pp. 49-59.	This study of goal orientations among juveniles in four types of communities, 1) rural-farm, 2) upper-urban, 3) lower-urban, 4) industrial city - examines two conflicting theories about illegal behavior: 1) that it is due largely to the pursuit of goals peculiar to the lower class and 2) that it is provoked by unequal chances of attaining goals which are essentially similar to all classes. The findings indicate among other things that both viewpoints have merit, i.e. major goal orientations are rather similar in nature throughout society but significant differences in their distribution are found in various communities.	Social-control/social-Disorganization/Drift/Differential opportunity theory.
7. Burchinal, Lee G. Characteristics of Adolescents from Unbroken, Broken and Reconstituted Families. <i>Journal of Marriage and the Family</i> , Vol. 26, No. 1, Feb. 1964, pp. 44-51.	This study investigates the possible effects of divorce upon the behavior of adolescent children. A large sample of parents (N=1,566) completed usable questionnaires, the sample was then divided into the independent variables of family type and social class and the dependent variables of adolescent characteristics and school social relationships. Nonsignificant differences were found for the majority of relationships tested pertaining to the detrimental effects of divorce upon the children.	Social disorganization theory (in the family).
8. Segal, Bernard E. Racial Group Membership and Juvenile Delinquency <i>Social Forces</i> , Vol. 43, No. 1, October 1964, pp. 70-81.	This study is based on the interviews of sixty Negro and forty white delinquent boys, while they were residents of a state training school. Interviews provided materials for a comparative analysis of relationships between racial membership and delinquency. The Negro boys tended to derive from lower-status families more than the white, and they were also more likely to have been sent to training school for having committed more serious offenses. Among the whites racial attitudes were associated with types of offenses, with more serious offenders showing more antipathy toward Negroes. Negro boys' racial attitude varied less by offense category, but there was a strong tendency for those who committed less serious offenses to show more self-hatred than those whose offenses were more serious. The findings are interpreted in terms of social-structural theories of delinquency, notably those of Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin.	Differential-opportunity/subcultural-theory/strain theory.

Table 5: Showing Abstract and Theoretical Contribution of General Reference Articles (Con't)

Reference of the article	Abstract	Theoretical Contribution
<p>9. Stanfield, Robert Everett. The Interaction of Family Variables and Gang Variables in the Aetiology of Delinquency, Social Problems, Vol. 13, No. 4, Spring 1966, pp. 411-417.</p>	<p>This study is an attempt to investigate the relationship between the family and the gang in the causation of delinquency. Some of the important findings are: 1) Delinquent behavior is the consequence of learning a pattern of culture that supports the violation of law; 2) Culture specifies the conditions under which family and gang experiences have a delinquency producing impact; 3) socioeconomic status intensifies the relationship of delinquency to parental rejection and discipline at lower status level; 4) lack of parental supervision increases the influence of companions on the street.</p>	<p>Differential opportunity theory/social control theory.</p>
<p>10. Craig, M. M. and Budd, L.A. The Juvenile Offender: Recidivism and Companions. Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 1967, pp. 344-351.</p>	<p>This study of "serious" and the "less serious" juvenile offender brings into focus various developmental factors and companionship, the mechanism by which juvenile delinquency is perpetuated and increased. The 102 boys analyzed, had before reaching 16 committed 276 offenses reported by the New York City police department. Property theft, the most serious and the most prevalent among these offenses, was also most frequently committed by the recidivist over 13 who had companions with him while performing the offense. The less serious offenses were more frequently committed without companions by youngsters under 14 who were not recidivists. The conclusion is that any preventive treatment or managerial program must be guided by knowledge of the differential character of the two types of juveniles.</p>	<p>Differential-Association/Subcultural theory.</p>
<p>11. Lerman, Paul. Gangs, Networks and Subcultural Delinquency. The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 73, No. 1, July 1967, pp. 63-72.</p>	<p>Major theorists have tended to equate peer-based delinquency and gang-delinquency. Acceptance of this assumption hinders theoretical and empirical understanding of deviant and youth cultures. Subcultural delinquency involves shared symbols, such as deviant values and speech as well as behavior that is potentially noticeable by officials. Through the utilization of separate measures of shared symbolic deviance and interaction patterns, evidence is presented to support the contention that the cultural and social boundaries of a deviant youth culture have distinct referents and that the social unit of a subculture is most accurately described as a network of pairs, triads, groups with names and groups without names.</p>	<p>Subcultural theory/Differential Association theory/Strain theory.</p>

Table 5: Showing Abstract and Theoretical Contribution of General Reference Articles (Con't)

Reference of the article	Abstract	Theoretical Contribution
<p>12. Allen, Donald E. and Sandhu Harjit S. A Comparative Study of Delinquents and Non-Delinquents: Family Affect, Religion and Personal Income, <i>Social Forces</i>, Vol. 46, No. 2, Dec. 1967, pp. 263-269.</p>	<p>In a comparative study of delinquents and controls, strength of religious feelings proved a significant differentiation, or, while the religious category of church attendance did not relate significantly with delinquency. Delinquents' weak religiosity contributed to high alienation, high hedonism flow life vision. Unemployment manifested different effects for the delinquents, leading to delinquency and alienation, but not for the controls. When the two groups were dichotomized into higher and lower delinquency ratings, the low family affect was a common contributor but church and family income had a reverse influence. White delinquents and controls are both more hedonistic than Negro delinquents and Negro controls, otherwise there are no significant differences attributable to race.</p>	<p>Social Control theory/ Strain-theory.</p>
<p>13. Hildbrand, James A. Reasons for Runaways. <i>Crime and Delinquency</i>, Vol. 14, No. 1, January 1968, pp. 42-48.</p>	<p>This investigation examines the runaway problem in two New York City precincts, one a low-income and high crime area, the other a middle-income section. Attitude toward education emerges as a pivotal factor. Parents in the high-crime area were apathetic toward education; some did not even know the name and location of the school the runaway supposedly attended. School problems also influenced the runaway from the middle income section. Statistics on the rise in delinquency are compared with the accompanying increase in number of runaways. The latter may be reliable indicators of delinquency trends. Intensive study of the runaways may provide us with valuable information on the etiology of the juvenile delinquent.</p>	<p>Social-control theory/ social disorganization theory.</p>
<p>14. Grogan, Hiram J. The Criminogenic Family: Does Chronic Tension Trigger Delinquency, Vol. 14, No. 3, July 1958. pp. 220-225.</p>	<p>This study is primarily concerned with the effect of chronic family conflict and tension upon children. The major conclusions of the study are: significant conflict and tension in a family, disrupts the atmosphere conducive to wholesome personality development of the child. As an inadequate socialized child grows older, he may turn away from family and seek comfort from peer-group, many a times almost eagerly accepting all the values of that group, including the antisocial and delinquent ones.</p>	<p>Social disorganization/ social control/Strain theory.</p>

Table 5: Showing Abstract and Theoretical Contribution of General Reference Articles (Con't)

Reference of the article	Abstract	Theoretical Contribution
<p>15. Voss, Harwin L. Differential Association and Containment Theory: A Theoretical Convergence. Social Forces, Vol. 47, No. 4, July 1969, pp. 381-91.</p>	<p>In this paper the analysis of data obtained in Honolulu are presented to support the argument that the work of Reckless and Dinitz offers the basis for a test of the theory of differential association. An attempt is made to combine the differential association and analysis of socialization of law-abiding and delinquent boys which also constitutes a test of Sutherland's formulation. In the analysis, it was found that the joint effects of the measures of differential association and socialization proposed, respectively by Short and Reckless and Dinitz account for delinquent behavior more fully than does the separate effect of either measure. While they overlap considerably, the use of both measures accounts for delinquent behavior according to official and unofficial criteria, more fully than does either measure singly.</p>	<p>Differential Association/Containment theory-social control theory.</p>
<p>16. Kaplan, H.B. and Pokorny, A. D. Self-Derogation and Childhood Broken Home Journal of Marriage and The Family, Vol. 33, No. 2, May 1971, pp. 328-337.</p>	<p>In this paper the findings are reported regarding the relationship between the level of self-derogation of adult subjects and the prior experience of a broken home during childhood. Data were collected by Survey research methods from a sample (N=500) of the adult population of Harris County (including the city of Houston, Texas.) The data were analyzed to determine the particular characteristics of the broken home situation (those relating to resultant living arrangements, causes of broken home, subject's age at the time of broken home, parental remarriage and subject's age at time of parental remarriage) which were associated with high self-derogation scores relative to subjects from intact families. The results indicated that high self-derogation was a function of the complex interaction of broken home and subject-characteristics (race, sex, and social class of the subject).</p>	<p>Psycho-Social/Social Control theory.</p>

Table 5: Showing Abstract and Theoretical Contribution of General Reference Articles (Con't)

Reference of the article	Abstract	Theoretical Contribution
17. Schoenfeld, C. G. A Psychoanalytic Theory of Juvenile Delinquency, Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 17, No. 4, October 1971, pp. 469-480.	The essential purpose of this paper has been to present a psychoanalytic theory related to delinquency. The essence of theory is delinquency often reflects an inner struggle between a person's moral faculty--his superego--and the oral, and phallic impulses of early childhood that are revived in him just before puberty. Delinquency may result as a result of too strict superego or too weak, defective superego of an individual.	Psychoanalytic theory/ Social control theory.
18. Jensen, Gary F. Delinquency and Adolescent Self-Concepts: A Study of the Personal Relevance of Infraction. Social Problems, Vol. 20, No. 1, Summer 1972. pp. 84-103.	This study deals with the "Personal relevance of infraction" in variable socio-cultural contexts by examining the association between delinquency and adolescent self-conceptions among junior and senior high school students differentiated on the basis of race and status. Using questionnaire data and official police records, delinquent evaluations and personal delinquent evaluations were found to be positively related. However, the strength of the relationship was found to vary between blacks and whites, by status among whites and by attachment to law among both blacks and whites. While delinquents tend to be lower in self-esteem than non-delinquents, this relationship was found to vary as well. Attachment to parents conditioned the relationship at each status level.	Containment theory- Social control/ Social-Disorganization theory.
19. Severy, Lawrence J. Exposure to Deviance Committed by Valued Peer Group and Family Members. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 10, No. 1, January 1973, pp. 35-46.	Longitudinal self-report and official police delinquency data were collected on a sample of 296 Anglo and Mexican-American males and females. Data were also gathered on the deviance rates of the subjects' families and peer-groups. This research was an attempt to analyze exposure to deviance and its effect upon the subject's delinquency. Distinctions were made to modify the exposure measure based on the interest the actor held for the subject. Results indicate that value did not modify exposure but operated directly on the development of deviant potentials. Low original exposure groups tended to increase their deviance with increasing exposure. While high original exposure groups increased deviance by virtue of decreasing levels of exposure. Last, regardless of the original level of exposure, there was a slight tendency for both increasing exposure and increasing delinquency potentials to lead to increased deviant performance.	Differential-Association Theory.

Table 5: Showing Abstract and Theoretical Contribution of General Reference Articles (Con't)

Reference of the article	Abstract	Theoretical Contribution
<p>20. Hindelang, M. J. Causes of Delinquency: A Partial Replication and Extension. Social Problems, Vol. 20, No. 4, Spring 1973, pp. 471-487.</p>	<p>Focusing primarily on urban males, Hirschi (1969) presents research findings which are generally consistent with the propositions of his control theory. In an effort to examine the extent to which Hirschi's basic research results can be replicated, groups of rural male and female students in grades 6 through 12 of one school were asked to respond to a self-report delinquency questionnaire and series of items which Hirschi used. Attachment to parents, teachers and the school; "commitment" to and "involvement" in conventional activities and "belief" items produce results very similar to those produced by Hirschi, i.e. they were found to be related to reported delinquent involvement. However, his findings that attachment to parents and peers are positively related (to each other) and attachment to peers and reported delinquent involvement are negatively related were not replicated. Attachment to mother and peers were not substantially related, reported delinquent involvement and attachment to peers were found to be directly related.</p>	<p>Social-Control theory</p>
<p>21. Silverman, Robert A. Victim-Offender Relationships in Face-to-Face Delinquent Acts. Social Problems, Vol. 22, No. 3, February 1975, pp. 383-393.</p>	<p>An exploratory study of the interpersonal relationships of 168 juvenile offenders and their victims was undertaken. Relying on previous research for guidance the variables of race, sex, age, income status and interpersonal relations were examined. Some of the findings are: 1) victim-offender racial relationships seem to be clearly crime-specific; 2) male were the most likely victims of delinquency and the most serious crime; 3) adults were the most likely victims of delinquency, regardless of offense type; 4) offenders, no matter the income status of their place of residence were likely to attack victims who dwell in economically similar areas. It is suggested that a new emerging pattern of victimization may provide an explanation for the observed inconsistencies.</p>	<p>Differential opportunity theory/Social control theory.</p>

Table 5: Showing Abstract and Theoretical Contribution of General Reference Articles (Con't)

Reference of the article	Abstract	Theoretical Contribution
<p>22. Garrett, Marcia and Short, James F., Jr. Social Class and Delinquency: Predictions of Outcomes of Police-Juvenile Encounters. Social Problems, Vol. 22, No. 3, Feb. 1975, pp. 368-383.</p>	<p>This article is an attempt to study police-images of delinquents and their estimates of the likelihood of delinquent behavior by youngsters from different social class backgrounds. Police in widely different settings base their judgements on "street" experience and similar theories of delinquency causation linking social class background, parental neglect and delinquent behavior. They see lower class boys as more likely to be involved in delinquent conduct. These views are closely matched by official contacts, though patterns vary in each of the cities studied. Officer's predictions for individual boys prove to be inaccurate, measured by official contact records over six-year period.</p>	<p>Differential opportunity theory/ Labeling theory/ Social control theory.</p>
<p>23. Breznitz, Tamar. Juvenile Delinquent's Perceptions of Own and Others' Commitment to Delinquency. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 12, No. 2, July 1975, pp. 124-132.</p>	<p>This article studied juvenile delinquents' conception of their own and others' commitment to delinquency by using a questionnaire consisting of stories describing youngsters confronted with a situation calling for delinquent act. Results show that delinquents gave more "delinquent" answers than did non-delinquents and that they gave more answers which asserted that their friends were more committed to delinquency than they themselves were.</p>	<p>Subcultural theory/ Socio-psychological theory.</p>
<p>24. Datesman, S. K., Scarpitti, F. R., Stephenson, R. M. Female Delinquency: An Application of Self and Opportunity Theories. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 12, No. 2, July 1975, pp. 107-124.</p>	<p>The aim of the analysis presented in this paper is to assess the operational utility of applying to females two theories of delinquency previously limited to males; viz. 1) self-concept and 2) opportunity theory. The data show that delinquency and self-concept are related for black females but unrelated for white females. Weak empirical support is found for the contention that repeated delinquency among females is not buttressed by sub-cultural support. It is found that both black and white female delinquents regard their opportunities less positively than do non-delinquent females.</p>	<p>Differential opportunity theory.</p>

Table 5: Showing Abstract and Theoretical Contribution of General Reference Articles (Con't)

Reference of the article	Abstract	Theoretical Contribution
<p>25. Conway, Allan. Sexual Delinquency: The Persistence of a Double Standard, Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 23, No. 2, April 1977, pp. 130-135.</p>	<p>A ten-year comparison of New York State Family Court records examines the differences in the way courts adjudicate adolescent delinquents according to sex and offense. A brief historical analysis of female offenders statutes is included to provide background for speculative discussion of court biases regarding the noncriminal category of sexual misconduct.</p>	<p>Radical Sociologists' approach/ Labeling theory (Social-structural explanations.)</p>
<p>26. Schlesinger, Stephen E. The Prediction of Dangerousness in Juveniles: A Repliation. Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 24, No. 1, January 1978, pp. 40-48.</p>	<p>This study investigates the application of predictor variables identified by nine previous studies and by staff members of a family court and its psychiatric clinic to clinical predictions of dangerousness. The records of 122 juveniles evaluated by the clinic during a six-month period were studied for the presence or absence of the variables. No significant relationships were found in comparisons among predictor variables, clinic recommendations to the court and subsequent dangerous behaviors. (The predictor variables identified by previous research for example: 1) Extremely unfavourable home conditions; 2) Truancy; 3) Alcoholism; 4) Drug-dependence; 5) Inability to get along with others, etc.).</p>	<p>Psychogenic theory</p>
<p>27. Aigner, S. M., Simons, Ronald L., Miller, M. G. Contemporary Theories of Deviance and Female-Delinquency: An Empirical Test. Journal of Research of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 17, No. 1, January 1980, pp. 42-53.</p>	<p>A statewide sample of Iowa teenagers was used to test two hypotheses: 1) The strength of the relationship between the independent variables of traditional theories (e.g., educational opportunity, occupational opportunity, parental rejection, alienation from norms etc.) of criminal deviance and self-reported delinquency would be approximately the same for both males and females and 2) the differences between the sexes in terms of self-reported delinquency could be accounted for by females' less adverse location in relation to these various independent variables. An attempt was made to operationalize key variables from anomie, labeling, control and differential association theories. The two hypotheses were largely supported, i.e. contemporary theories of criminal deviance do not appear to be merely theories of male deviance. Separate theories are not needed to explain the delinquency of females.</p>	<p>Anomie/Labeling/Social-Control/Differential association.</p>

basically implying social-control assumptions.

We prove our working hypothesis related to theoretical contributions. As depicted in Table 4, all the articles dealing with the definite relationship between broken homes and juvenile delinquency, during the decades 1960's, and 1970's are influenced by theoretical perspectives of the Chicago school. In the decade of 1950 out of eight, only two articles used psychogenic and labeling theory. In order to further examine our working hypothesis we dealt with other articles from the same seven journals we have selected, covering other issues related to delinquency (excluding review articles). In Table 4, under the title General Reference Articles^{*}, we give a list of 27 articles with their theoretical contributions. It was a dramatic surprise to us that in 30 years we found just one article which dealt with labeling and radical theories. Remaining research attempts adhere to Chicago tradition. At any event it appears that Chicago school had much to offer - with certain limitations, but highly suggestive and thought compelling. In the introduction chapter we have presented predominant theories of deviance and delinquency. In the following discussion we shall briefly state the basic propositions of major theoretical positions (mainly shared by Chicago tradition) and which authors have based their studies on.

^{*}Please find abstract of each article in Table 5.

We shall also mention some examples of those attempts which base their research on perspectives other than that of Chicago tradition and the ones which we felt were unique. 1) Social control theory: basic question underlying this theory is why do individuals not commit delinquent/deviant acts? A basic assumption is that deviant impulses are experienced by all and not only by the deviant. Some of the major social thinkers who contributed to this thinking are Toby (1957), Nye (1958), Matza (1964), Reckless (1973), Hirschi (1969). Toby saw the family as a major institution of social control. Nye talks about (a) direct control-imposed by punishment, discipline, restriction; (b) indirect control based on love, affection of parents; (c) internalized control exercised through conscience; and (4) availability of alternative means to goals and values. Nye thought that the family had capacity to exercise all four types of controls. Matza talks about formal values (dominant, conventional) and subterranean values related to leisure time pursuit and how delinquents make subterranean values as their way of life. Reckless's version of social control theory revolves around outer containment and inner containment and the thesis advanced is, that inner containment is a powerful factor that can insulate a person from outer deviant pressures. Hirschi's bond theory is related to the concepts of attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. He

argued that attachment binds a child to parents and in turn, to social norms of the society. In summary, the stronger the attachment of person to conventional persons and groups, specifically the family, the less are the chances of an individual to get involved in delinquent/deviant behavior.

2) Social-disorganization theory: This theory deals with relationship of delinquency to some type of stressful disorganization. For instance, this disorganization can be due to American emphasis on success and lack of conventional opportunities to attain it. All strain theorists share the assumption that criminality and delinquency are the result of adjustment problems experienced by an individual due to disorganized conditions, e.g. of family (that is broken home), parental deprivation and so on. Early Chicago school studies related to ecology, emphasized the view that 'organization' of community depends on agreement of people over conventional norms. Immigration, urban growth, industrialization, tend to disrupt this order and the results were problems, conflict, disorganization, delinquency and deviance. Lack of social stability, social cohesion, social control, normative consensus, led to deviance. Social disorganization also caused cultural deviance and thus delinquency was studied as a product of lower-class culture and also middle-class subculture.

3) Differential association theory: The emphasis of this perspective is also on law-abiding values and attachment to family. If a person gets the opportunity to commit a crime, it

depends on intensity of need to commit crime. Sutherland (1924) proposed that criminal behavior is learned because of excess of definitions favorable to the violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law. In other words, association with criminal patterns makes one learn that pattern. Studies conducted with the emphasis on this perspective dealt with the issues like association with delinquent peers leading to law breaking; or lack of parental supervision and support resulting in delinquency.

These are the main perspectives which the majority of the social thinkers mentioned in Table 4, emphasize in their studies. Not all mention theoretical positions, but examination of these articles gives us the impression that they contribute to certain theories. To make our statement clear we shall present some examples from our study: 1) Reiss (1952): Reiss stated that theoretically delinquent behavior may be viewed as a function of the nature and strength of both personal and social controls. The social environment then gives both structure to the personal controls and exercises social control over the child in social situations. Reiss also tried to identify the failure of the family as a primary group to provide reinforcement for non-delinquent roles and values, as a crucial variable in the explanation of delinquency. Thus we got the impression that Reiss was trying to base his arguments on social control and social disorganization perspectives. 2) Axelrad (1952): Axelrad's study does not adhere

to the Chicago tradition. From his study, it appears that official label or stigmatizing of children as delinquents by the court does not protect a child from possible harm of labeling, e.g. if the court gives differential treatment (which Axelrad tries to prove) to black children and makes them appear to be seriously delinquent in the eyes of the public, they are bound to suffer more. Though the author does not mention his theoretical approach, the results of the study make one think about the serious effects of labeling. 3) Reckless and his associates (1956, 1957 and 1962): Reckless's version of social control theory, is his "containment theory", which is offered as an overarching perspective for the explanation of criminality and delinquency. We thought this effort needs special mention because it is a contribution to our existing theoretical knowledge. The central thesis is that individuals are restrained from lawbreaking, partly by outer containment such as social ties to others, and consistency of evaluations of the person made by other. Inner containment in the form of a prosocial self-concept, is of major significance in keeping persons from wandering into law breaking. Reckless indicated that "inner containment consists mainly of self-components such as self-control, good self-concept, ego-strength, well-developed superego, high frustration tolerance, high resistance to diversions, high sense of responsibility, goal orientation, ability to find substitute satisfactions, tension reducing rationalizations." (Reckless, 1973:65)

This description makes it clear why lack of inner containment or outer containment can cause anomie or result in differential opportunity. 4) Haskell (1961): As we notice, this is the first study which tried to formulate a theory of reference group to answer the question: how does an individual become committed to delinquency? Haskell views reference group (maybe a family or it can be a street group) performing normative functions that the group which provides standards and perspectives for people to adopt as action guidelines. It is made clear that the normative patterns of the gang establish the link between socially disorganized situations and delinquent responses. We think that it is relative deprivation that creates normlessness or anomie on the part of lower-class boys who feel inferior, inadequate and join street groups. Reference group processes have been viewed as performing two functions:

Comparative

Related to relative socio-economic position and subjective feelings of deprivation.

Normative

Provision of standards and perspectives for people to adopt them as action guidelines.

If theorists can utilize these functions as translating their roles in explaining social-disorganization leading to delinquency, then the theory will be able to give successful analysis of the distribution of delinquency. In this article Haskell was successful in establishing relationship

related to the process of how lower-class youth becomes committed to delinquent subculture, this account establishes the empirical pattern of distribution. It will be more rewarding if this theory is used to study delinquents other than that of lower classes. Introduction of structural variations on the class level may help us to know more about delinquency.

The author has based his arguments on Merton's 'anomie' thinking. So the limitations of anomie theory are applicable here too. "Anomie theory increases the understanding of why the higher rates of deviancy are located in the lower socioeconomic stratum. Yet, it conceptually ignores the social processes generated by disjunction between culture and social structures. Anomie theory fails to examine how varying adjustments to these processes are made. The theory glosses over particular problems and remains an incomplete explanation." (McIntosh, 1974:116)

5) Tec (1970): This article reveals the assumptions of psychoanalytic theory, particularly related to the relationship between parental affection, type of discipline and delinquency. These findings are also consistent with social control theory since informal control exercised by the family is central to the discussion of the article. Of course, the data do not support some of the assumptions, such as "the assumption that man is born antisocial, or that superego development is linked to Freud's psychosexual stages."

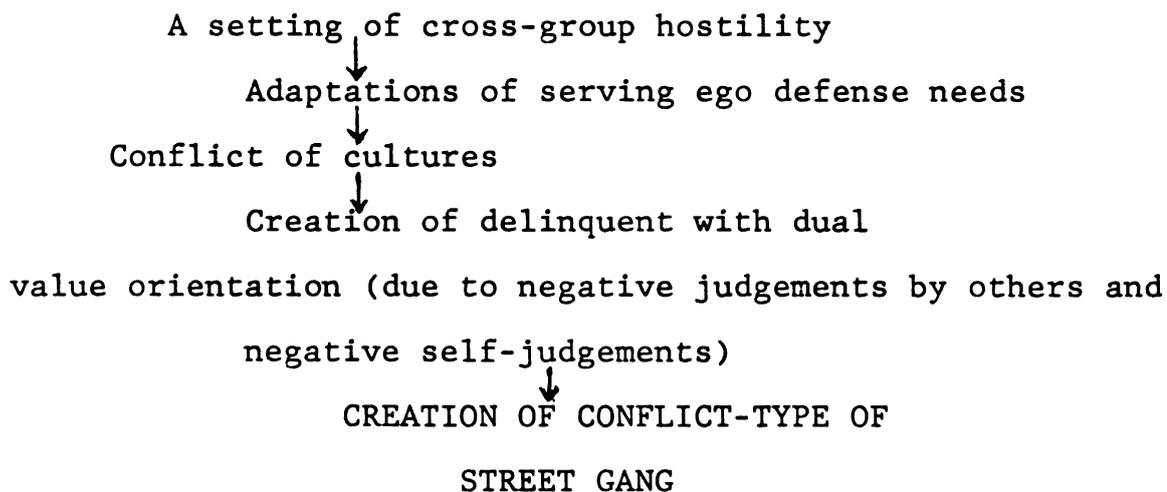
(Schoenfeld, 1971:470-80) Here we think social control explanations are more applicable than the psychoanalytic assumptions.

6) Higgins, Albrecht, and Albrecht (1977): The authors do not clearly indicate their theoretical assumptions while studying black-white adolescent drinking. From the important findings it appears that the basic assumptions of this study relate to social control theory, e.g. when black teenagers do drink, they are more likely than the white teenagers to drink within the family. This suggests that black parents supervise the drinking of their children more closely than do white parents. Toby (1957), Nye (1958) saw the family as a major source of both direct and indirect control and findings of this study support the thinking of Nye and Toby. Toby maintained that "the more integrated the family is, the more it will be to exercise control and insulate its children from antisocial influences." (Toby, 1957:505-512) The authors of this article state that the black family has historically been characterized as disorganized though there is evidence to the contrary.

Example From Reference Articles:

1) Kobrin, Solomon (1951): Control theory/cultural-deviant theory/strain theory/psycho-social theory/socio-disorganization theory - if all applied in the study of deteriorated areas, the common process is as follows: Deteriorated areas
 —→ social disorganization —→ loss of control over

children —→ creation of the conditions conducive for the existence of street gangs. Most studies either show the dominance of conventional culture or dominance of deviant culture, e.g. lower class culture, authors either talk about presence of legitimate and illegitimate opportunity, or absence of it. The theoretical position of Kobrin here suggests that in slum areas where there is an absence of both illegitimate and legitimate opportunities, the conflict-type of street gang comes into existence. This gang includes those boys who are frustrated in their aspiration and who have no effective access to illegitimate opportunities. Thus lower-class youth are exposed to antilegal values. Kobrin thinks that this "conflict of values" or "duality of conduct norms", applies to some extent in all social sectors. He also talks about simultaneous existence of two value schemes in delinquency areas, the ones approving delinquency and the other approving social-conformity to law-abiding behavior. Although Kobrin does not explain fully why a person accepts conventional or antilegal values. We thought that Kobrin's 'conflict-type of street gang', is a new aspect and more studies of this aspect will enrich the knowledge about gangs. We think that theoretical notions we have are not applicable here totally, and we shall have to make new theories. Because the process that leads to gang formation is not exactly like otherwise acceptable notions, it is as follows:



Kobrin writes that devaluation and rejection by conventional society does not affect delinquents much since their criteria of worthiness diverge sharply from those of conventional society. For example, like Kennedy's (1908) observation, criminal-castes of India who are relatively impervious to the negative judgements of conventional persons, and do not ordinarily resort to the kind of behavior described. We think this area needs more research.

Kobrin's research and many other studies we reexamined suggest that there are several other areas where theorizing and research is needed. Dominance of Chicago tradition makes one think about the reasons. One simple explanation is that Chicago school asks peculiar questions in a peculiar way. If researcher is trained in research methodology in social-psychology, his findings will closely resemble the main theoretical conceptions of Chicago school. The Chicago school is not just the ecological tradition. Among the important and eminent sociologists who worked between World War I and the

Depression Cooley, Park, Burgess, Ellsworth, Faris, W. I. Thomas and George Herbert Mead were from Chicago School. Robert Park and the work of his colleagues has been known as the excellent example of determined and systematic empirical research. "The Chicago researchers extensively documented the existence within the city of strikingly different natural areas - each with its distinctive structural features, population composition, styles of life, and social problems. And they showed through a variety of techniques (including careful mapping to depict graphically the spatial distribution of social conditions and of different kinds of behaviors, as well as collection of revealing life histories and other kinds of qualitative evidence), the close relation between the social structure of the city and the patterns of behavior found within it." (Schur, 1964:103) Park's conception of natural area is very explicit, he argues that, "every community has something of the character of an organic unit. It has a more or less definite structure, and it has a life history in which juveniles, adults and senile phases, can be observed." (Park, 1936:4) Shaw and McKay's studies provided sound ground for the pioneering attempts of Albert K. Cohen, Cloward, and Ohlin and Miller. In the Chicago School studies it is possible that other social researchers found guidelines for further research. Evidence of high concentration of delinquents in urban areas from official sources, might have influenced the researchers that they tended to concentrate their studies

in cities, and their findings supported Chicago School's theoretical perspectives. No doubt the Chicago School was successful in providing the useful insights and the main value of their work lies in the fact that their systematic efforts to explain causes of crimes and delinquency (though greatly limited to urban areas), made us aware of the complexity of the problem. At a base the Chicago ecological perspective is an example of what Harold and Margaret Sprout have called (in another context) "free will environmentalism." (Sprout and Sprout, 1965:71) Those who follow the footsteps of Chicago thinkers, "all of them have in common a simple and essentially positivistic view of the relationship between man and society: the external constraints are 'influences' on social action and yet men somehow assert an ambiguous free will (e.g. to become criminal or not.)" (Sprout and Sprout, 1965:83) In the reexamination of this literature, we noticed that social researchers do not display utter and total lack of awareness of practical understanding about the actual limitations of delinquency-research. We are happy that we need not say "people perish where there is no vision", as Abraham Lincoln did. But intellectual liberty in this field has no full-fledged meaning without the liberty from limitations of existing paradigms. Every thinker is seeking and yearning for innovation, admits the need of new, more complete paradigms, yet does not want to dispense with all these narrow boundaries. We must not discard these valuable

contributions, but try to exercise independent or free will in unfolding the problems of delinquents of the broader universe. We really are in need of qualitative change in the nature of the research and research efforts have to be extensively and increasingly harnessed for the betterment of tortured and stormy world of the delinquents. Otherwise, as Dr. Karr states, "if everybody is a paradigm-bridger, then there are no paradigms."

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

I) Introduction: The structure of control that regulates the conduct of the members of a society or a social group was visualized by Simmel (1950) as occurring on three levels: 1) the societal, as embodied in the law, 2) the group, as embodied in custom and 3) the individual, as embodied in morality. We thought that one can make an assumption that all these three levels of social control can be exercised through family because a person learns the fundamentals of culture, society and group in the family. In describing Hindu social order, Weber stated that "Indian society depended to a much larger extent than any other society upon the principle of 'familial charisma' or 'charisma' attributed to kinship" (Bendix, 1977:174). By familial charisma Weber means how Indians had their distinctive set of dominant sentiments related to family system, belief system, and caste system. These dominant systems did produce stresses, tensions and conflicts. But they did develop ways to manage these tensions. For example, the rise of Buddhism and Jainism were the

ways to manage the tension which was a result of rigid nature of Hindu religious practices. As Buddhism stressed inner detachment and Jainism was a type of asceticism. Bendix writes, ". . . most Hindu sects are characterized by some kind of compromise in which orthodox beliefs and practices are combined with religious ideas that appealed to the masses. . . . Attachment to family solidarity, life regulated by the caste rule and power of a priestly caste, made Hindu blind to the personal gain and economic relations." (Bendix, 1977:337) A regulated economic life based on rational organization, did not come into existence in India for a long time. Coming from the Indian background made us look for the existence of "familial charisma," in this society, because when Weber said Indian social order depended to a much larger extent than any other society upon the principle of "familial charisma," it implied that, it does exist in other societies to some extent. The efforts here are not to glorify Indian family system, but just to make the reader aware of our background, so that they know why we were in search of an understanding as to how effective the family institution is in the United States, in controlling anti-social behavior of children. In order to know that the issue of broken homes was examined in relationship to delinquency. We tried to experience the glimpses of the delinquent world behind the flow of research efforts of several thinkers. Now at the end the task remains of presenting our reactions

on what we discovered about the delinquent world in relationship to family, which we apprehended not only with the senses, but also with the mind. Through the examination of empirical experiences of the thinkers referred to in this study we have reached a stage, at which we can claim that we have some practical understanding of the reality. The following discussion will aim at presenting this reality.

2) Changing impact of family on delinquency:

All social researchers as a rule test every principle of social life by logical reasoning and penetrating perception and thereby determine the validity of these principles. In the process of investigation, the methods employed may be less sophisticated or more up-to-date. The ultimate result expected is some conclusive predictions, some preventive measures and not tentative conclusions. All social scientists believe in the universality of family and its importance, but do not conclude that family is the alpha and omega of this society, and at the same time research efforts we have investigated made us believe that researchers insist that it is fundamentally wrong to conclude that we do not need family in the explanations of delinquency. The family variable has been emphasized in one way or other and in the decade of 1980's (on the basis of the treatment given to family variables in last 30 years) we can positively state that researchers will continue to organize their research around certain aspects of family. The focus may not be the broken homes,

but it will relate to some other aspects, e.g. parent-child relationship, type of parental control, difference between the impact of substitute family units and natural family groups on the behavior of children and so on. Karen Wilkinson described 1950-1972 as the period of renewed interest, in the broken home factor as a variable in explaining delinquency. The reasons she gives are, "First there was a realization that even though the methodologies of past studies of the broken home and juvenile delinquency were deficient, the theory itself may have significance. Secondly, since non-familial theories of juvenile delinquency were not proving particularly productive, there was a return to examining familial variables along with other previously discarded concepts." (Wilkinson, 1974:734) On the same line future researchers will have to depend on past knowledge. If the social thinkers do possess the creative personality, then as Weber described "the process of deliberation and choice characterizes the freedom of will. The temporal endpoint in such a choice process is a decision, representing a conscious choice among different, available alternatives." (Weber, 1968:90) (This is exactly what we see in Wilkinson's explanations). And we are sure that family (in some form) will remain one of the available alternatives to explain delinquency. All the research attempts considered in this project show that the family did not remain the central unit. "In a changing society, the high degree of unity of

values, the careful assignment of functions, and the synchronization of activities lack coordination. . . some institutions revamp themselves to fit new conditions. . . more often, however, a process of reorganization accompanies the process of disintegration." (Cavan, 1963:512) In the case of the family the structural disintegration resulted in broken homes. Basic functions of the family were taken over by more formal institutions like school and church. "The family seemed at odds with other institutions, unaided it could neither uphold societal values, nor perform expected traditional functions." (Cavan, 1963:513-514) [The basis of family was a sense of belonging experienced by the members, this motivated considerations of interests of others and resulted in the process of integration. Modern nuclear urban family, the product of capitalist era, is caught up in the process of rationalization, forced to subdivide its functions due to demand of society. The more organized and rational the society is the more each of us is 'condemned' as Weber states or alienated as Marx states. Thus in a highly industrialized society in trying to get used to its new roles family disintegrated and became the cause of delinquency along with many other problems.] In the light of family in relationship to delinquency, we see Marx's ideas of alienation taking a very serious form. According to Langslet (1963) in the capitalist society, the process of objectification leads to the 'humanization of nature'. This humanization of nature, by the attempts to transform its

objects into means of need-satisfaction, is prevented by the development of alienation. Alienation occurs under the condition viz exterioration, i.e. idea that work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature, therefore the worker feels at home only during leisure time, whereas at work he feels homeless. In case of family in many ways it is happening that though children are its products, they have to exist outside itself (in school with T.V., with day-care centers) parents become alien to their own children and at times to each other due to their different work schedules. Marx's worker at least feels at home in his leisure hours, but parents do not feel at home even at home, and children of this era are homeless even in homes. Haskell's study is one of the research studies we examined described that "in one parent family of a lower-class (where mother is head), the mother goes to work. Children are with an aged grandparent, other relatives, and neighbors. The families are for large parts of the day 'no parent' families." (Haskell, 1961:221) The reason why this is happening is we still emphasize functional importance of family as isolated farm based "ideal type" or "conventional-traditional type" family. But in reality today, what we have as a nuclear, modern, urban family, is a house (not home, sweet home), with adults who with their children dwell in the nights and spend time together (if possible) over weekends and vacations. Now,

children residing with these adults can be adopted children too. The Bureau of Census (interested in statistical compilation) defines family as a group of two or more persons related by blood, marriage or adoption and residing together. Thus today's nuclear family is very close to kibbutz or communes.

Social scientists interested in explaining delinquency in relationship to family base their studies on legal definition of broken homes, which seriously limits the scope of research and extent of results. Some of the important aspects are missing from majority of the studies. How can we get the satisfactory explanation of the problems if we continuously ignore them. We think the reason for dilemma is: In a structurally broken family or intact family the nature of expectations of children from natural parents is still traditional. Here one needs to make distinction between:

- 1) Liabilities and responsibilities of natural parent/parents and nature of expectations of children.
 - 2) Liabilities and responsibilities of substitute family-institutions or groups and nature of expectations of children.
- For example, in a lower-class family, if natural father is unable to provide the basic necessities of life, naturally can't afford to provide gifts and luxury items "child from this family joins school and becomes aware of the fact that according to societal standards, his parents are failures. The

boy's resentment towards his parents grows, he perceives of himself as unlikely to succeed in school. This confirms his feeling of inferiority and inadequacy. The boy who fails to acquire feeling of social competence in the family, is attracted to a street group." (Haskell, 1961:226)

We think Haskell's findings are partly due to failure of family in fulfilling its traditional expectations for children. From natural parents, the expectations of children are usually greater. Children think it is their right to demand and it is the duty of parents to give. Even to know if a child is living with natural parent/parents, we need a specific definition. The legal definition of broken home is too general, yet for 30 years most of the studies have used it and we think it is needed, that we should have a broader definition to study neglected aspects of family in relationship to delinquency.

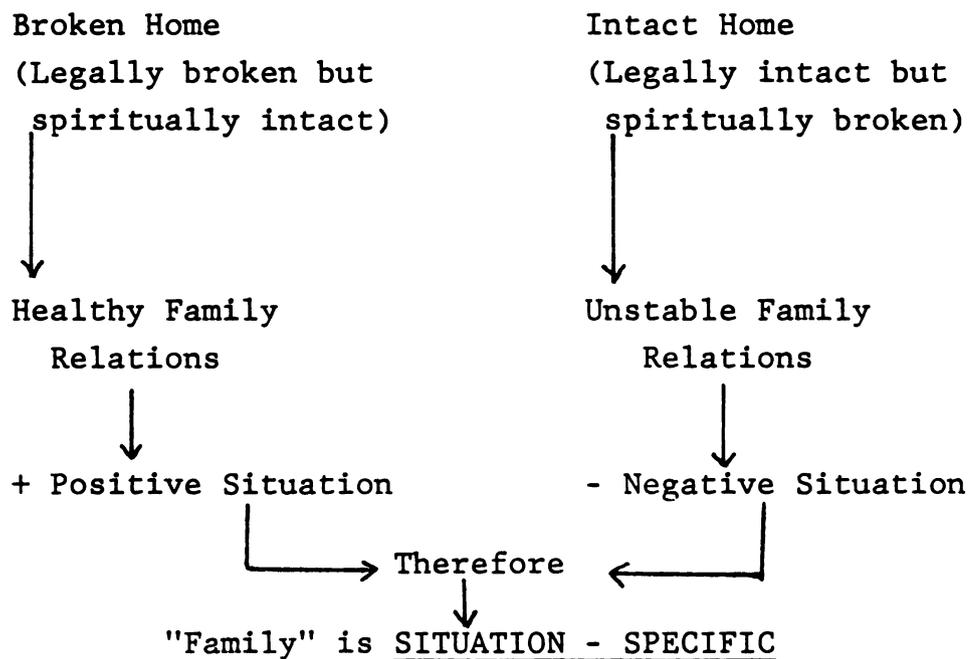
When liabilities and responsibilities are fulfilled by substitute members, e.g. grandparents, neighbor, babysitter, or substitute institutions, e.g. school, church or day-care center, the nature of expectations of children immediately changes. The reason why, we think, these institutions could successfully take over some of the important functions of the family is - children do not have expectations with similar intensity from these institutions, as they would have from their natural parents. Moreover, they would feel more obliged to these formal institutions and

magnify their efforts because it is socially and culturally expected from a "good" boy. These formal controls of formal institutions are accepted as a social obligation. We can explain this type of control on social level. These associations and family associations are not of the same nature. For instance, Tec studied relationship between some aspects of family life and differential involvement with marijuana of suburban teenagers. In this study "the association in the family is seen as typically of an intimate and personally satisfactory nature. Rigid control in such situations might be less tolerated than within a less intimate and more formal environment. Also the age of the sample (teenagers) implies a certain resistance and even resentment toward parental control. To what extent this association would have appeared in other units, is hard to determine. Many studies in the field of formal organization have shown that the level of personal satisfaction as experienced by its members, rather than right controls, is indeed positively associated with a high level of conformity. The findings, e.g. the groups whose families are 'demanding and cold' and those whose families are 'indifferent' contain higher proportion of marijuana users. (The difference, however, does not seem to be related to presence or absence of demands, but rather to presence or absence of "warmth".) The higher proportion of marijuana users were from broken homes should therefore, be viewed as a beginning in what promises to be a complicated

but fascinating task." (Tec, 1970:656-664)

In other words, what Tec suggests is that we really do not know very much. The meaning of the city now becomes diversity, subdivision of functions of the institutions, achieved individualism. Cooley's primary group concept does not apply to the family units with reference to studies considered in our project. Family is no more a place of rest and recreation where one can restore the energy and then go out to face the competitive battle. If this is the social reality, then why Tec instead of emphasizing the presence and absence of demands, talks about presence and absence of warmth - emphasizing the psychological character of the relationship between parents and children. Social thinkers have to realize this value problem which creates a critique of modern society (in a way which is essentially a conservative critique). 'Modern' has to be understood as destroying the traditional family forms and the stability and at the same time not (really) replacing it with new systems. To explain social organization is possible with the study of factually observable phenomena, but can we become indifferent towards hidden essences of human relationships? Functions of any institution are to a great extent observable, but can we measure how successful they are without taking into consideration the nature of relationships of interacting individuals? Unless we have clear knowledge of what modern nuclear family is essentially like, we won't be able to explain completely its relationship to any social problem.

The research studies examined in this investigation suggest the need to attribute the 'intactness' of the family or the 'brokenness' of the family to the specific social situations. For instance, the legally broken home may have the ability to provide an environment which exerts a positive influence on the growth and development of its children. While this is so it is possible for the intact family to be spiritually broken. This means that the family has a disruptive and unstable atmosphere as a result of disintegrating marital relationships between parents. The tensions this creates in the family inevitably makes unhappy as well the parent-child relationship. This situation may greatly contribute to delinquency.



Society becomes possible due to interactions. Simmel (1950) argues that sociology can become a science, if it becomes the study of form of social interactions and not the study of content of social interactions. The question is, are we in a position to differentiate between the form and the content of social interactions? Obviously, we are not, otherwise our conclusions would have been scientific instead of tentative.

3) Use of official definitions: Is it a broadened perspective of delinquency research? "A quarter of a century ago, the objectives of most scholars in the field of crime and delinquency were to characterize the personalities, life histories, physiognomies or genetic endowments of the criminals or delinquents." (Kohn, 1976:97) "With a widening of research perspectives has come a renewed interest in defining, indexing, and interpreting the social and legal processes that result in the official labeling of a 'criminal' act."* Official labeling or legal approach to an understanding of delinquency is definitely an advancement in research as compared to the focus of research, 25 years ago. In Chapter IV, we gave examples of inadequacy of legal definitions of delinquency and delinquent behavior. "Many writers refer to delinquency as a "blanket concept" or as an "umbrella

* See Notes to Chapter V, References 1 and 2.

term", i.e. the term is an all-encompassing one or a catchall term. Examination of the statutory definition reveals that "juvenile delinquency" is a term encompassing (1) violation of the criminal law committed by a person below a certain chronological age, which varies from state to state, and (2) acts (delinquent behavior) or course of action which are forbidden to juveniles but not to adults. . . in several jurisdictions the precise nature of the offenses constituting delinquency is not stated."*

Because behavior that is designated delinquent by law and because statistics available to use as a baseline data, it does not mean that researcher should not think of the more sound, substitute definition. By continuing to relate the definition of delinquency or delinquent behavior to the legal processes, we emphasize the antisocial behavior and not the delinquent children. We can understand that 30 or 40 years ago legal definitions were accepted for the better explanations since psychic or biological explanations were proving inadequate. The support services available today to law enforcement agencies, are far more sophisticated than they were 50 years ago. For example, the police communications centers are having the phones, radio, the computer, the automobiles, the helicopter patrol, internal investigation intelligence, community relations, research and planning. The complexity of the technology and the infinite variety

* See Notes to Chapter V, References 1 and 2.

of its applications improved the quality of information available about delinquents and other criminals to a greater extent. There are several reporting systems that are used quite effectively by police organizations. For efficient modern patrol administrators, the administrative control involves integrity, accuracy, legibility and effective reporting. The patrol administrator is asked to consider the following factors: "1) Record all citizen complaints or calls for police service on some type of radio-complaint card. This recording should include any action taken by officers in an 'on view' situation. 2) Establish a procedure whereby the patrol supervisor must review the reports of patrol officers and approve them as written or cause corrections or improvements to take place. The review should also insure that the proper uniform crime-reporting classification was given to the incident. 3) Provide an effective system for storage and retrieval of all information." (Shanahan, 1975:278-80)

The identification division of police administration takes "the central responsibility for: 1) the maintenance of criminal records, fingerprints, photographs modus operandi descriptions, etc. 2) the creation of special fields such as property markings, juvenile delinquents, gang files, etc. 3) The compilation and maintenance of accident reports, crime complaint records, youth records, and information on aided cases, etc." (Bouza, 1978:132-133) The effectiveness of the organization depends on its internal functioning. The

above information makes it clear that it can prove a potential source for developing an adequate definition. Sellin found that "legal definition of crime (and also delinquency) especially vulnerable to variability in time and place, because the legal norms depend on the character and interests of the groups with the political power to influence the enactment of criminal laws to safeguard the social values they measure. As the values of the dominant groups are modified. . . the conduct norms embodied in the criminal law lose their congruence with the moral ideas of the day. This variability, Sellin argues, renders legal norms unsuitable for research. Instead he recommends the selection and classification of data independently of their legal form." (Sellin, 1938:40-45)

Sellin expressed the unsuitability of legal definitions in 1938 and his concern can become accepted if time period is taken into account. We think with modern techniques introduced in legal agencies, social scientists are provided with enough alternatives to select appropriate elements to coin new definitions. Administrators usually are not trained to know the sociological terminology so the definitions framed by sociologists with the help of law enforcement officials, would be more adequate. Total acceptance of Sellin's position today would lead us to part with the importance of official labels in explaining delinquency. Both legal and social definitions need to be changed as reference of the time and culture changes. The realities of social life

in 1950's are not the same as the realities of social life of 1980. Our studies need not be limited to legal definitions and official data. What we need are the definitions of delinquency and delinquent behavior developed through interdisciplinary efforts combining study of deviance and societal reactions to deviance and using legal norms within the context of all norms of the society. We observed that the researcher prefers to use the definitions depending on the study topic. The result is every research is unique in itself. Even after using the same legal criteria of delinquency, the uniqueness remains to be true because, e.g. one study deals with white boys between the ages of ten and 16 another with 179 Negro and 121 white boys committed to the institution and another with 6,269 youths referred to the juvenile court. Coordinating the findings to show some definite pattern of delinquency becomes impossible. The decision to include or exclude this uniqueness depends on the researcher, but if we need to bring order to the mass of literature, we felt that special attention needs to be given to this aspect too. As George W. Wilbur says, "however, the real question is not whether the legal conception is good, but whether it is good enough." (Wilbur, 1949:40-45) On the same line, it can be said that the real question is not whether the uniqueness of every research attempt (because publishers accept it) is good, but whether it is good enough in understanding the problem and

organizing our research efforts in meaningful fashion. Along with unique contribution each research has its unique errors too, and they are partly due to use of official data. For example, a study by Wattenberg and Balistrieri (1950) using the four-member group as a definition of 'gang', found that only 47 percent of male youth population interviewed on complaint by the police of Detroit, could be clearly classified as gang members. "There is then, a lack of explicit empirical evidence to support the assumption that gang boundaries of membership tend to coincide with the boundaries of symbolic participation in a delinquent subculture. The reason for this is samples have not been drawn from a cross-section of a lower-class community, but have consisted of segments from rather special populations: cases known on complaint to the police, adjudicated delinquents, institutionalized boys, or groups of concern to social agencies and demonstration projects." (Lerman, 1967:63-65) This suggests the need of using more appropriate sampling techniques to avoid errors. At the same time we need to develop a theoretical formulation that will help us in studying the groups called "gangs". We do not know whether to accept Yablonsky's (1959) near-group engaged in conflict activities as gang or Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) slum youths having delinquent subculture roles as gangs or Kobrin's (1971) an organization of delinquents whose norms happen to be delinquent according to the standards of the larger society. Lerman (1967) argues that 'subculture'

and 'gang' are not synonymous. We need explicit criteria to describe and define what is 'gang'.

Axelrad (1952) in the study of Negro and White male institutionalized delinquents, states that the sample, of the study, 300 cases, constituted about 90% of the institutional population at that time. Aside from racial ratio, the only other selective factor was the adequacy of case records. Because only the better studied (the author never explained what he meant by better studied cases) cases were selected, the sample is possibly biased in the direction of including only the more serious problems. Charles Browning (1960) studied differential impact of family disorganization on male delinquents. About the selection of the sample the author writes, because the court made no consistent distinction, "joy riders" were not separated from the allegedly more serious offenders in the auto theft category. In this light the findings that the auto theft group scored consistently higher becomes difficult to assess.

Berger and Simon (1974) tried to evaluate Moynihan's report on the basis of a random sample of the 14-18 year old population of Illinois, examining the joint effects of race, gender, social class and family organization on a number of indicators of family interaction, antisocial behavior patterns, educational aspiration and gender role conceptions. Merton's

proposal that basic cultural goals or aspirations are universal throughout the social structure, does not seem to find support in this study. The authors report differences in the aspirations of lower-class and middle-class adolescents.

The difficulty in evaluating these data is that it is not clear whether the authors are studying the theoretically relevant underclass or are they studying blue collar and white collar earners? The sad fact is that systematic data on the goals and aspirations of persons at the bottom of the class-structure, persons at the poverty level, are virtually nonexistent. Another difficulty is related to the validity of responses, e.g. when lower class or underclass adolescents express their lower aspirations related to education and occupation, do they really mean what they say? Is it that their asking for less is a result of differential socialization? Does the reality of life force them not to dream what they really wish? The range of social status reported in this study is very limited, so it can just be said that these authors fail to find a greater aspiration minus expectation discrepancy in the lower class. (Rushing, 1970:378)

One could argue that these errors may be odd cases. Some of the examples stated above and in Chapter IV show that we really have enough odd cases. Thus cumulative error just does not remain a mathematical problem, but also becomes a conceptual and qualitative problem. As stated earlier, it is not possible to quantitatively summarize these findings and even though all studies share a common legal definition, there are enough variations in the way they are used and in the context they are used. Each study has to be viewed individually as a unique case. The reason, we can think of, is that our attention is not yet focused to the search for

commonalities of conditions underlying the problems we study. For the conceptual advancement we need growing awareness towards interconnectedness of research objectives. The serious effect of the cumulative error is, it distracts the entire picture of problem under investigation. It must be acknowledged that the breadth of perspectives is growing, e.g. Berger and Simon (1974) successfully challenged the widely accepted Moynihan's 'tangle of pathology' and gave an entirely new approach to study the problems of black youth, black culture and black family. We realized that methodological shortcomings resulted from conceptual limitations and use of the data collected for the purposes other than research. We need to overcome these problems in order to solve the problems of measurement, accuracy, validity and reliability.

4) Juvenile delinquency in the boundaries of urban cities:

The majority of the studies we have considered, selected urban cities as location for their research. This selection did not surprise us, since about all studies use juvenile court data and court data show higher concentration of delinquents in the urban areas. We get partial answer of one question, i.e. how urban social structure contributes to the problem of delinquency. But what we know about rural and suburban social structure is not adequate enough.

Edward Rothstein (1962) examined the values teen-aged boys, both delinquent and non-delinquent, use in evaluating

high social status. Although the samples were selected from urban, suburban and rural areas, attempts are not made to explain the differences due to residing in a particular area. The author states two samples are highly similar in that each consists of almost 90 percent, third generation or more, native-born white Protestants. No significant difference in age distributions. The two samples do differ significantly on I.Q., socioeconomic statuses and in the proportions coming from broken homes. By two samples the author means delinquent and non-delinquent sample. Thus, the author fails to take into consideration the importance of structural variations. We think that any researcher who would take the two groups of delinquents occupying similar labels in entirely dissimilar social structures, will have to match these groups by maximizing the number of common characteristics while minimizing the important differences. Rothstein's both delinquent and non-delinquent samples were selected from the same population, over half of delinquents from small town and rural areas and somewhat under half from York, Pennsylvania, a city. The non-delinquent sample is from both the areas. It is possible that since Rothstein was interested in knowing the perceptions of delinquents and non-delinquents towards high status, he did not take into consideration the area differences. From examining several studies, we realized that delinquency research suffers from methodological shortcomings and cross-structural research

has not been paid much attention. Conclusions of the majority of the research studies are limited to urban areas. This limitation is crucial because what accounts for delinquency and delinquent behavior in an urban area, is not just the same in rural or suburban area. Social and cultural conditions differ, economic setting and educational opportunities differ and preventive mechanisms differ. A researcher must be cautious about conceptual equivalence. The legal context of the definition of delinquency, differs from state to state and we have no precise knowledge of how the same type of offenses are treated by the rural and urban police departments of the same state. We think that the way out is the researcher should use definition by reducing legal specificity (since legal definition limits the scope of the research), which is possible by raising the level of abstraction, by not violating the situations or events, the researcher wishes to compare. The researcher will have to come up with a single list of concepts with established and equivalent meanings applicable to urban, rural and suburban respondents by giving clear explanation and understanding of the theoretical and analytical rationale, because conceptual and operational equivalence is very important in this type of research. To make groups comparable framing questions by properly selecting the variables or attributes that can be used to characterize two groups is essential. The relation among the groups will become the substance of comparison. While considering the

differences among the communities, the important ones are on the level of social and economic development, degree of modernization, urbanization, advancement in technology, industrialization, affluence and so on. Educational and income standards, patterns of interactions and independence, opportunities for mobility differ to a great extent for a rural child as compared to the urban child. In sum, in spite of these differences, in some sense, delinquents from these areas will have the same relative position, but different life circumstances. The differences between two communities on absolute level should make the researcher aware of becoming very sensitive to both absolute and relative positions of delinquents in their respective communities. It is a possibility that one might find them quite similar in their relative 'police record' position related to certain offenses, still they may show a significant difference in terms of existence of gangs, as the absolute level of gang-existence in large cities is much higher. In two groups the degree of social exclusion, the degree of labeling, and its effects, traditional basis of their delinquent status, the nature of peoples' evaluation of their misconduct differ. We need to make an attempt to spell out clearly the linkages between these differences and variations. Such an analysis will give deeper understanding of the social processes that contribute to delinquency on a national level. This type of research is valuable as Olsen (1974) thought for discovering whether

social-structural effects occur for the same reasons in different cultures, economic or political contexts. Cross-structural research, "offers fruitful possibilities for extending the breadth and scope of theories about social-structural effects." (Olsen, 1974:1395-1417) Albert Cohen commenting on crime and delinquency research in ten years (1965-1975) states, "the last 10 years or so, delinquency and crime research deals with what I call social-psychological processes, e.g. socialization: how people learn their values and attitudes. How prostitutes, thieves learn from their reference world. Another aspect studied is societal reactions (labeling). This is well and good. But there are certain stable properties of crime and delinquency in the United States that are different in other countries - Great Britain, Sweden, the under-developed societies and so forth. What is different about the United States, its political economy, its culture and history that accounts for this? What is it about the structure and culture of American society that generates this phenomena?" (Cohen, 1976:80-81) We will have answers to Cohen's questions if our target populations of study are not restricted to only urban areas. There are a few studies, e.g. Polk (1974) reported that rural and suburban communities are no more communities with little delinquency. We are sure all the research efforts though with some limitations, are sound examples of research because they definitely provided new illuminations, new insights

to delinquency research.

5) Theoretical contributions and delinquency research:

With a few exceptions, e.g. Axelrad, Sidney (1952), contributed to labeling theory, Haskell, Martin R. (1961) formulated reference group theory and Willie, Charles (1967) contributed to radical theory, all* research articles we examined, adhere to the Chicago School theoretical perspectives. Important reason for this may be that most of the studies selected urban areas as location of the studies. Another reason is we selected literature dealing with broken homes, so the structural-disintegration of the family automatically identified itself with social control, social disorganization, social strain and cultural deviance assumptions. The research topics all over the 30 years are stereotyped such as race and broken homes, lower-class and broken homes, institutionalized children and higher evidence of broken homes, poor self-concept as a product of unfavorable socialization, father absent, mother-headed families and delinquency. These topics move along with Chicago tradition ignoring the development of theories or explaining the phenomena by applying other theories, and ignoring the fact that society no longer functions in quite the same way as it used to be when Chicago tradition was influentially studying the urban areas.

*Please refer to Table 4 in Chapter IV, for the details.

After careful evaluation of all these studies, there appears to be a unique urgency of successfully developing a theoretical perspective which can be made applicable to the present situation. From the social-control point of view three aspects of societal organization need to be taken into consideration, viz. 1) organizational structure and processes 2) interorganizational relationships, and 3) intra- and inter-domain relationships. Because organizational rules transform cultural values and the processes of conforming to these values or deviating from them, decide one's status as 'law-abiding' or 'deviant' person. These "conventional" constraints and analysis of interorganizational relationships, for instance between informal institutions like family or formal agency like police and social organization, introduces us to social realities of all the phenomena including delinquency. The tensions and conflicts between the deviants and control agents and the analysis of its consequences gives better understanding of the self as a social object and for instance, groups like family or gang, can be comprehended by examining their settings in the process of social interaction. Examination of social setting is the examination of collective rule-making processes which are shaped by prejudices, stereotypes, norms and public attitudes toward right or wrong behavior of the people, as well as physical characteristics of that particular setting. As we have definitions of what is socially approved behavior, we also need precise definition of what is antisocial

behavior. Finally, we try to find out the answers to the questions 1) Do deviant acts make a delinquent? 2) Do families, social groups, peer groups or other causes are responsible for the delinquent behavior? 3) Do social control agencies produce delinquent careers or delinquents are the reasons for the emergence of social control agencies?

We do have a theoretical approach which takes into consideration organizational complexities, details of interactional processes and its consequences, and all the basic questions stated above, and this theoretical approach is the labeling approach. The unique contributions of this approach is it defines deviance, it takes into consideration social processes like social controls creating delinquent careers. "The neo-Chicago School asserts, as a major tenet, that deviance is an outcome of societal reaction, or labeling by official control bodies." (Erikson, 1962:307) With this view the moral burden of social control is shifted from the victims (the labeled) to the victimizers (control agents). Among other contributions of this approach Lemert's (1967) development of 'secondary deviance' is a classic example of adding new insight to the problem. This perspective has its limitations, but we think that its assumptions are broad enough that if they are modified, this approach can serve as a meaningful explanation of deviant/delinquent phenomena in the present situation. In order to make it clear

how it can be modified we shall state its limitations first. The basic assumptions of this perspective are discussed in the introductory chapter.

Labeling - Analysis: Criticisms: These criticisms are based on assumptions and presuppositions related to the utility of the labeling perspective. The societal reaction school* has been criticized for the following reasons: 1) The causal importance and explanatory value of personality variables have not been considered. In other words, it does not take into account the differences in behavior explained by the labels which decreases our ability to predict individual behavior. 2) Overconcentrated efforts on the application of labels. The same action can be treated as deviant or non-deviant depending upon the label applied to it and upon socio-cultural context in which it occurs. 3) Much greater significance is attached to secondary deviance. Lemert's distinction between primary and secondary deviance does not take into account at all, any complete social explanation of behavior. The result is "these distinctions do not prove workable in theory and cannot be proven in practice." So Lemert's 'law of effect' would not be applicable to all social or human behaviors. Thus although he refers at points

*To have this orientation, we were benefitted from the New Criminology For Social Theory of Deviance by Ian Taylor, Paul Walton and Jack Young, 1973, Harper & Row, N.Y.

to the possibility of 'hedonistic' or 'calculative' deviance, actually contradicts his own 'law of effect' by reserving it for secondary deviance." (Schur, 1971:10) 4) Labeling analysts were entirely concerned with negative effects of labeling. 5) There is an ahistorical quality to the majority of the analyses of labeling theory. 6) Focus is on the labeling and the persons it seeks to label, at the same time they overlook the structural features of the organizations. 7) The major proposition that social reaction which stigmatizes deviants, leads to an altered identity - has not been adequately demonstrated empirically. 8) Only a partial view of complex problem is provided when labeling theorists claim that the reactive processes of society constitute the only causal factor in deviance.

How labeling theory can be made applicable to the present situation:

- 1) In labeling analysis one can notice much concern with deviant categories, along with the attention should be given to the exchange processes between groups and actors.
- 2) Organizational variables and functions of deviance seem to be neglected on account of overemphasis on cultural and behavioral aspects. Proper attention to small social systems, larger society, actor in the social context may lead a researcher in the development of adequate hypotheses testing. More insightful observation is needed in this direction.
- 3) N. J. Davis's observation is worth mentioning here.

". . . problem resides in the conception of labeling. . . Deviance is defined as acts that provoke negative official response, but labeling theorists contradict this definition by giving analytical recognition to non-typed deviance. The chief problem is a semantic one, two levels of discourse, one dealing with the process of becoming deviant and other with specific deviant acts are merged. A consistent analytic separation of these two levels would clarify empirical efforts." (Davis, 1972:459)

3) Closer attention to historical dynamics will broaden the perspective and will introduce a concern with describing the particulars of the given event, group and time. Introduction to constraints will reduce to some degree, the tendency of sociologists to simplify and reduce human action to a set of concepts or rules.

4) If organizational imperatives as analyzed by labeling formulators are taken into consideration, one can notice that, the very idea can serve as bias for investigation. It is not necessary that individuals who have deviant experience or move into a deviant lifestyle, will have a permanent deviant identity. If these processes are treated independently deviant labels may prove highly effective in normalizing deviant behavior.

5) The labeling analysis consists of extreme relativism which may not be applicable when we take into consideration the law-enforcement nature of the today's industrialized society. Theoretical modification is necessary to develop an alternative model.

6) The definition of deviant behavior

given by labeling theorists has been accepted and regarded by many sociologists as significant and original. In over-emphasizing the deviant label it greatly ignores the importance of behavior as determinant of deviance. A precise definition of deviant behavior is not available, so an ambiguous definition has been used to represent it. We need to modify the definition. One finds that the studies on deviants like prostitutes, homosexuals or juvenile delinquents are all studies of oppressed, powerless individuals. This shows that in this context at least, the sociologists have paid very little attention to study the powerful persons "who break laws, fix laws, violate ethical and moral standards, harm individuals and groups, etc., but who either are able to hide their actions, or when known can deflect criticisms, labeling and punishment." (Alexander, 1972:109) It is also necessary to focus attention on the deviant activities of more powerful members of the society to reduce several glaring weaknesses of earlier views. 7) Labeling others as deviant can create positive consequences for individuals, groups or communities that apply the label. In the modified model of labeling with the negative consequences of labeling positive results should also be given attention. "The major positive consequence is the preservation and consolidation of social order and social stability. This appears true because of two significant factors: (1) The labelers represent

the more powerful forces of society, while the labeled are such powerless individuals as rapists, delinquents, prostitutes, and other so-called common criminals. (2) By recruiting and punishing these powerless deviants, the more powerful, conventional members and law-enforcing agents of the society become champions of law and order, so that they themselves would not commit robbery, murder, rape and other crimes commonly perpetrated by powerless people. Thus the labeling theory is correct, insofar as labeling some powerless people as criminals may ensure social order and thereby deter the more powerful people and their law-enforcing agents, from committing those dangerous crimes." (Thio, 1978:62)

8) Efforts need to be devoted to delabeling processes, i.e. public reacceptance processes and its consequences for the labeled individuals. This in turn shall help in their rehabilitation in the society. Under what type of social processing, stigmatized label is replaced by the one that is socially acceptable can become an important avenue for research.

We are aware that theoretical formulations must be extended to practical level, i.e. with empirical basis we must try to find out the reality of social phenomena. This scientific path of knowing the universal truth, we think has to be followed in Weberian way, because we deal with the man and the mankind. In sociological science, as Weber (1944) states universal truth can be attained by following the subjectively conditioned frame of reference, i.e. by procedures

of universal validity. This procedure begins by establishing causal relations, showing close association between historical and social causality in terms of probability. Weber thinks that degree of probability of this relation varies with circumstances. Weber explains causal relations of sociology as partial or probable, i.e. another fragment of reality can be made probable by given fragment of reality. The same is applicable for modifying the theories because they are going to prove purely experimental procedures which social thinkers will have to evolve according to need of their investigations. We can just make an attempt to refine our knowledge because, "In science, each of us knows that what he has accomplished will be antiquated in ten, twenty, fifty years. . . every scientific 'fulfillment' raises new questions, it asks to be 'surpassed' and 'outdated' whoever wishes to serve science has to resign himself to this fact." (Weber, 1946:138)

In sum, all the theoretical contributions basically focus on the individual and related social conditions leading to clarify socially conditioned delinquent phenomena. We are aware of the significance of all the views and know that each one can be improved and modified as we suggested in case of labeling perspective. Each modified version will have certain limitations because,

Our philosophic consciousness is so arranged that only the image of man that it conceives appears to it, as the real man but this barb of wisdom is never pointed inward. (Marx, 1904:203)

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. See for example:
 - a) Erikson, Kai T. 1962. "Notes on the sociology of deviance," Social Problems, 9; Spring 1962.
 - b) Lemert, Edwin M. 1967. Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control, New York: Prentice Hall.
 - c) Schur, Edwin M. 1969. "Reactions to Deviance: A Critical Assessment." American Journal of Sociology 75:309-22.
2. From the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, "Juvenile Justice and Youth Crime," in The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, pp. 55-57.

APPENDIX I

Legal Definition of Juvenile Delinquency

"Juvenile delinquency cases are those referred to courts for acts defined in the statutes of the state as the violation of a state law or municipal ordinance by children or youth of juvenile court age or for conduct so seriously antisocial as to interfere with the rights of others or to menace the welfare of the delinquent himself or of the community."*

In decreasing order of frequency of occurrence in the laws of the United States these are the conditions included in the statutory description of delinquency:

1. Violates any law or ordinance. 2. Habitually truants.
3. Associates with thieves, vicious or immoral persons.
4. Incurable. 5. Beyond control of parent or guardian.
6. Growing up in idleness or crime. 7. So deports self as to injure self or others. 8. Absents self from home without consent. 9. Immoral or indecent conduct. 10. (Habitually) uses vile, obscene or vulgar language (in public place).
11. (Knowingly) enters, visits policy shop (A policy shop = a place of illegal gambling). 12. Patronizes, visits policy shops or gaming place. 13. Habitually wanders about railroad yards

* Source: Juvenile Court Statistic, 1971, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. DHEW: Publication No. (SRS). 73-03452, Washington, D.C. 1972, p. 7.

APPENDIX I (Continued . . .)

or tracts. 14. Jumps train or enters car or engine without authority. 15. Patronizes saloon or dram house where intoxicating liquor is sold. 16. Wanders streets at night, not on lawful business. 17. Patronizes public poolroom or bucket shop. 18. Immoral conduct around school (or in public place). 19. Engages in illegal occupation. 20. Smokes cigarettes. 21. Addicted to drugs. 22. Disorderly. 23. Begging. 24. Makes indecent proposal. 25. Loiters, sleeps in alleys, vagrant. 26. Runs away from state or charity institution. 27. Found on premises occupied or used for illegal purpose. 28. Operates motor vehicle dangerously while under influence of liquor. 29. Attempts to marry without consent in violation of law. 30. Given to sexual irregularities.*

*List compiled by Sussman, Frederick B. 1950. Law of Juvenile Delinquency. Oceana Publications, New York, p. 20, Note that six and the nine offenses listed above were specifically mentioned by the 1899 Illinois Statute.

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