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AN EXAMINATION AND SYNTHESIS OF THE CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOLOGICAL VIEWS ON THE CAUSATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

Being a thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Education, University of New Zealand:-

By D Jackson Inglis

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION.

Every year thousands of "Delinquent" children appear before the Juvenile Courts of the world ~~and here they are~~ to be judged and sentenced according to law. ~~However,~~ It is insufficient, however, to leave the matter at that juncture, for the root problem is not thereby solved. The course of justice must take effect, but the origin of the trouble usually remains.

There is so little agreement about the exact defn of delinquency ~~Divergent views are such~~ that some authorities classify as a delinquent ~~as~~ a problem child beyond parental control; others a socially maladjusted youth; while a third group would term him a youthful criminal. ~~In addition, there are many concepts of delinquency, depending upon whether it is viewed by~~ a sociologist, lawyer, psychologist ~~or~~ child guidance officer, and others who deal with delinquents.

In New Zealand, a delinquent child is defined as one "who between the

ages of eight and seventeen years, commits an offence against the law". Although seventeen years of age is taken as the upper limit, nevertheless for special reasons the magistrate may, at his discretion, refer back to the Children's Court those who are slightly older. Various offences, such as breaking the by-law, throwing stones, obscene language, and other minor misdemeanours are not of such a nature to classify the child as a delinquent for the purpose of this thesis.

What then is a delinquent child? Burt affirms: "A child is to be regarded as technically a delinquent when his anti-social tendencies appear so grave that he becomes, or ought to become, the object of official action."[1] Thus there may well be included a graded series of offences from mere naughtiness to crimes of major violence and significance. Surely, delinquency must include all thoughts, feelings, desires, strivings, and actions deviating from the moral, social and ethical principles of society. Therefore, are necessarily infringed. The delinquent act can only be meaningful when viewed as an action or deed performed by a certain individual in a certain specific background and history, living in a certain social atmosphere, and toiling under certain particular conflicts. Truly it is dissocial.

In 1816 the report of the Committee for investigating the causes of the alarming increase of Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis

1 Burt C: The Young Delinquent, London, 1931, p 15.

of London ~~gives~~ have the primary causes as the improper conduct of parents, the want of education, the lack of suitable employment, the violation of the Sabbath, and habits of gambling in the public streets. Other contributing causes were the severity of the criminal code, the defective state of the police, and the existing system of prison discipline.

~~Many~~ However, many other causes have been advanced. ~~In the past, many have advocated that the causation of delinquency is brought about through~~ Such as, the shape of the skull, heredity, insanity, alcoholism, and feeblemindedness. ~~However,~~ Within the last few decades these etiological factors have been a source of recurring conflicting discussion. Indeed ~~it~~ they have been a veritable battleground for sociologist, psychologist, psychiatrist and others so that even today, there is no peace nor reconciliation on this subject. Warfare rages, dogmatism increases and the conflict deepens and widens.

One school of thought zealously guards the environmental factors and carefully they watch the growth and development of the child. Stimulus and response determined by prior training affects character formation and society thus paves the way for the delinquent. Home circumstances, poverty, parental control and influence, child relationship, education, friends, leisure and the neighbourhood all play an important part here. It is noticeable that Healy and other United States educationionists stress this factor above all others.

The importance of subnormality or dullness is the main factor to be taken into account in another school of thought. The behaviour of the delinquent is due entirely to mental retardation or lack of intellectual capacity, and thus a child through not knowing nor understanding is led into delinquent behaviour. Here abilities - special and general - are also considered, verbal facility is weak, abstract reasoning is low and on the Simon-Binet scale the Intelligence Quotient is well below average. Goddard and Pearce are the main exponents of this group.

The dissocial or maladjusted youth, to a third group concentrating on the causation of delinquency, is characterised by a defect in personality. Through too lenient or even too strict discipline, through a broken home and other family disparagements the child does not receive the correct parent-child relationship, thus a personality defect is caused. In addition the emotions, and sentiments are not fully developed nor controlled, while temperament and character formation is also at fault. Under this category, hunger, sex, anger, acquisitiveness, fear and grief are the undeveloped parts of the delinquent's personality. The names of Capwell and Durea readily spring to mind in this field of thought.

Psycho-somatic conditions are the only causes of delinquency according to another school of thought. The disturbance of the endocrine balance ejecting ~~ejecting~~ into the blood stream either a deficiency or over supply of hormones makes a child socially mal-

adjusted. Height and weight, underdevelopment, nourishment, organic disabilities, climatic and seasonal variations and other technical medical factors are all fully discussed and found to be the reasons behind delinquency. Lippman and Levy with many others are the leading proponents here.

The Psycho-dynamic school under the capable guidance of such men as Bowlby, Dollard and others especially emphasize the motives and drives of the individual. They have a wider outlook and basis than the representatives of the Psycho-analytical School, whose technique was developed by Freud and is characterized by a dynamic view of all aspects of mental life, conscious and unconscious, and by an elaborate technique of investigation and treatment based on free association. Nervous disorders and mental cases of the delinquent are mainly cured. To this group the early years of infancy are largely susceptible to defects in the ego, super-ego and libido and that is the main cause attributable to delinquent behaviour. Freud, Aichhorn, Friedlander and Alexander are the names associated with the above methods.

Multiple causation is now held by a great number of those who are interested in the study of the delinquent child. Thus defects in some or all of the factors mentioned previously are the causes in delinquency and no one factor can be solely attributed to his dissocial behaviour. Burt of England, with other investigators hold this view.

It can be clearly seen, therefore, that those schools of thought are clearly determined by each individual proponent and each say that they are exclusive. However, overlapping must occur. The aim of this thesis is to take each of these schools of thought, critically examine them, and then try to reach some degree of synthesis in the aetiological battlefield of Juvenile delinquency.

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CHAPTER II.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS.

All delinquent behaviour, whatever form it may take, has the common denominator of ~~maladaption~~ maladaptation of the individual to the demands of the social order. Therefore, delinquency is not the name of an illness but one of the many concepts of the disorder of the social system. Thus, capitalism, to many, breeds crime.

Many books have been written on this aspect of delinquency alone, and to try and minutely examine every detail would be well nigh impossible here. It is necessary however to divide the sociological factors of delinquency into categories outside and inside of the home. The former group would consist of the cinema, radio, and press, alcoholism, work, the moral standard of the nation and the locality of the individual neighbourhood. The latter group would naturally include the family and relationships therein, broken homes, desertion, illegitimacy, poverty, and the socio-economic situation, leisure time, friends and associates.

Shaw and McKay point out in their book "Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas", that delinquency is highly correlated with social disorganization, changes of population, inadequate housing, and poverty. Sellin and Shaw and other sociologists would go still further and confidently affirm that delinquency is entirely due to the action on a variable number of external circumstances touching upon a normal

personality. Indeed Shaw affirms in his book "Social Factors of Delinquency" that a very high proportion of delinquency is due to social conditions in which the delinquents are brought up and the only remedy is to alleviate those conditions by the co-operation of the affected families through their own desire to improve themselves.

The neighbourhood tends to play an important role in the causation of delinquency too. Factors such as a down town area , slum conditions, industry, changing population, all tend to cause instability of the area concerned. In addition, the dearth of cultural and recreational facilities must be included in the main items concerned. It is here that statistics prove unreliable however. Healy, for example, places a very small emphasis on poverty and neighbourhood conditions and in his studies only five per cent of delinquency arises from this source. Brackenridge and Abbot, on the other hand, in their studies state that nine tenths of delinquent girls and three quarters of delinquent boys came from a poor neighbourhood. In the Cambridge Study of Youth the home areas of 'most delinquent' boys are not as a rule more unfavourable than those of 'less delinquent' boys. Even in New Zealand the same criteria does apply; as for instance in Wellington the number of delinquent acts in the more down town areas is only slightly higher than those in Seatoun - a more favourable suburban residential area - where the proportion of delinquency is similarly high.

To prove that neighbourhood conditions are some measure of criteria on the causation of delinquency Burt, Carr-Saunders, Mannheim, Rhodes and others have compared urban and country areas and find that a higher proportion of delinquent acts is in the urban areas. However, this percentage can be reduced considerably due to the fact of the exodus from the country to the town naturally giving more scope for delinquent behaviour and to the fact that in the country delinquent acts are less rarely discovered.

However, between sociologist and welfare officer and others, there is such a disparagement that the only valid conclusion seems to be that there is no definite criteria of measuring, for different scales of rating are used in different countries.

It seems as if no direct relationship between the degree of delinquency and the standard of living and neighbourhood conditions can be attributed. Thus there can be no direct correspondence between the seriousness and frequency of delinquent behaviour and the character of the neighbourhood. Burt wisely reports and gives as his valid conclusion that the relationship between material circumstances and social misconduct is far smaller than people suppose.

Undoubtedly, if neighbourhood conditions were the primary factor, then in new housing estates such as are seen in Britain, Germany and America today, then the delinquency rate would drop but the world trend remains fairly constant in spite of the improved social conditions and the increase of socio-economic levels. Indeed in some places there is a sharp rise in juvenile delinquency. In England and Wales the number of delinquents found guilty of indictable offences was 21,152 under fourteen years of age and 13,861 between - -

fourteen and seventeen years. Figures for 1948 reveal 26,715 under fourteen years and 16,991 between fourteen and seventeen years. Thus in a period of less than two years, the delinquent offences discovered and found guilty increased by 5,563 for those under fourteen years of age by 3,130 for those between the ages of fourteen and seventeen years. In a population whose nett reproductive rate is only slightly above 1. the figures are alarming.

It would be unwise to pass any particular comment on neighbourhood factors unless observation of the neighbourhood is made in more minute detail. The community can, and does play a great and important part in moulding the life of the individual and therefore marring factors can retard the individual's growth and personality. The main group, which to sociologists, seems to hold so much importance here is the cinema, radio, and press with alcoholism, work and moral standards included.

It is noticeable that at this stage there is no general agreement among workers of delinquents on the above causes. One of the reasons may be that nothing is really known about what harmful effects really take place for it is only thought that certain things occur and develop from them.

Certain films, for example are always dealt with in the way of abuse. Surely 'gangster' films and films of low sexual morality must influence the youth of today. True, they may be detrimental to young people but only in so far as the young person finds the method of delinquency - for the act was there prior to the film. To produce an immoral play, show a film of vice or violence predisposes a

child's intellect capable of understanding it and it is often seen that a child can be unmoved by immoral scenes whereas adults can be deeply shocked. This fact has been observed in such films as blood-thirsty sagas which make adult blood curdle, but usually engages the attention only of the child. Undoubtedly the film may give the technique and may stir the emotions to a greater degree but the act is there beforehand. Nevertheless the fantasy life of the child must be watched and guarded and here the films cannot be excused. Excessive passion is seen in only about seven per cent of boys who are delinquent according to Burt and more recently Bagot warns us not to lay too much emphasis on the factor of the cinema, amusement places, lack of club facilities and bad companionship. Some educators believe that vicarious adventure, escape, excitement, 'blood and thunder' are necessary and an important part in the life of most children, as outlets for their own emotions, particularly the feeling of aggression. To me the cause of delinquency cannot be attributed to the cinemas for even if a child mimics the film the cause is deeper and the most that can be said is that films may determine the type of delinquency but are not the cause of the delinquent act itself.

Similarly I feel the same about the press. In America, the literature that many read is not of a high intellectual standard. Many comics are avidly read, but these are not the cause of delinquency. Poor standard literature may hamper or even not allow for the growth of understanding and the development of the intellectual capacity, but that fact is not the one which causes delinquency. In England some of the newspapers which feature the sordid and unhealthy life of the community and which have the biggest circulation do not produce delinquent acts.

At the most it merely suggests and shows methods, techniques and ideas to a mind already thinking of such behaviour.

The radio, especially the serials are also blamed for the waywardness of youth. How this can be so is hard to understand. Most children like the programmes that are 'put across' and under careful parental supervision, no harm should occur. Even if the programmes were altered, it is doubtful if the rate of delinquency would alter greatly.

Undoubtedly the cinema, press and radio have a great youthful audience and occupy a considerable part of their time and can be helpful or otherwise to the development of their life and aesthetic taste but in the light of present knowledge it cannot be affirmed that these amusements have any real specific or major harmful influence on youthful morality or on delinquency.

Again it would not be correct to let these community amusements off lightly for they can arouse acute anxiety which with other contributing factors may bring about the delinquent act. If all the cinema theatres were closed or programmes placed on a higher level intellectually, if the press only published news of intellectual and aesthetic value and the wireless likewise, and if the community were cleaned up socially and morally, there still would be delinquency - reduced no doubt - but still there. Thus it can only be concluded that press, cinema and radio may show the criminal techniques to juveniles predisposed to learn them.

Alcoholism at this juncture must also be considered. Harmful results do occur, emotions are aroused, passions quickened and action slowed down and there is no doubt this has a disinhibiting effect facilitating impulsive delinquent behaviour. Even with continued alcoholism there may be permanent deterioration in the higher mental functions, which undoubtedly through time would lead to increasing social maladjustment. In Paris, alcoholic consumption is traceable in three out of every four Juvenile delinquents. But again this aspect of social life is not an important factor in juvenile delinquency. Need it be said that alcohol drinking in excess is usually one of the psychological difficulties of maladjustment in some other part of the life of the adolescent concerned. Although drunkenness is twice as common in delinquent homes as in non-delinquent homes, drunkenness is not a factor but a symptom.

The moral standards of the nation are often blamed for juvenile delinquency. Because there is laxity in this sphere of life the delinquent sees the prevailing standards and these become part and parcel of the mind and life of the adolescent. They take notice of such symptoms and feel they can get off with it and so have no compunction regarding a disregard for property or life. Sociologists, however, believe that this is not ultimately so for the lack of moral restraint in the life of the nation would not allow the delinquent to know the real difference between right and wrong, but delinquents in a great number of cases do know this difference.

Thus, if moral confusion were the causation of the act of delinquency the act would naturally be unwittingly done. This is not the case.

People give as evidence the fact that statistics prove that in time of war or wast national upheaval the rate of delinquency increases alarmingly. This is not due entirely to moral causes but to many environmental factors such as both parents working, lack of home facilities, less neighbourhood control, home life and other contributing causes.

Unemployment must come under our observation for when there is a great deal of unemployment due to depression the delinquent rate rises. This is natural however, for in order that people may live, there is less compunction and even none to take the necessities of life by whatsoever means available. If unemployment were the causation of delinquency then it would naturally follow that in time of war or national crises when all are employed, juvenile delinquency would be on the decline. The facts again do not prove this.

A great number of those in the environmental camp state that in building better homes, granting better wages, cleaning up slums and doing all that is needful to create an Utopia, that those means would bring about a rapidly diminishing delinquent rate. If environmental factors are the basic causes, then the importance of heredity in all its aspects would certainly be diminished.

Inside the home, it seems as if the differentiating condition is almost always the emotional factor of the home itself. It is stressed that broken homes and delinquency are highly correlated and if it is meant that broken homes are to be expressed in terms of the absence of one or both parents the contention cannot be fully substantiated. Dishonesty, conflict and unwise discipline either in its laxity or over strictness, may be more damaging or equally as harmful to the development of the mature personality, than the total absence of one or both of the parents. It is the home which is emotionally broken in an irreparable way which predisposes to crime. It is commonly reported that persistant delinquent acts generally develop after the neurotic defences against the home environment have broken down. Thus it can be seen that the more closely related the social and emotional ties of the home are, then in the security of the parents' affection the child finds one of its greatest needs. For example, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck in 966 studied cases, found that 48 per cent came from psychologically broken homes. Merrill found that 50.7 per cent of his cases were like-wise. It is important to notice also that of the 48 per cent of the broken homes in the Glueck's study, 44 per cent of them were broken before the child had reached the age of five years. In contention of this statement, Armstrong reported 29 per cent of his cases of six hundred runaway boys came from broken homes and the homes had been broken during the first four years of the child's life, while another 28 per cent were broken while the child was between four and six years of age.

In many homes in Britain during the last world war, when the delinquency rate rapidly increased, it was noticed that most of the delinquents had both parents working - thus many received uncooked meals, irregular hours, lack of discipline and tired parents. Strange as it may seem, it is noticeable that in a number of cases the delinquent is the only child in the family or if there are others, it is usually the eldest or there is a separation by a large age difference. Thus the average ~~child~~ family of a delinquent child is not closely knit together. The conclusion is certainly seen in that broken homes occur more often among delinquents than non-delinquents, and that there are more bad influences on the families of delinquent children than in families of non-delinquent neighbours.

The total picture would read that the proportion of delinquents who come from broken homes where parents are divorced, legally separated or living apart, and where matrimonial disharmony exists, is high. Most investigators in this field place the percentage between fifty and fifty-five per cent. The child is unhappy and insecure, and perhaps not wanted; his loyalties are divided and often rebellion is brought about.

Another aspect which must be touched upon is the parent-child relationship. It is commonly agreed that the delinquent has greater emotional deprivations than his non-delinquent neighbours. It is again commonly agreed upon by those competent to write on this subject that in all cases of delinquency there is a low proportion of delinquents living with their mothers and that they have a higher proportion

of parents separated, divoreed or never been married than non-delinquents. In some studies at least half of them came from homes broken by death and the above causes.

Sheldon Gluëk in 'Varieties of Human Physique' gives the impression that a delinquent is dependent upon affection and security and upon emotional support and much of that is lacking. Furthermore, Sheldon AND ELEANOR Gluëk in 'Juvenile Delinquent Grows Up' show that twenty two per cent of the parents are divorced or separated, sixteen per cent have imcompatible marital relationships and seventy per cent have criminality or delinquency in other brothers, sisters or parents.

When the character of the parents is studied it is noticed that many of the parents have poor intellect and are unreliable, in addition there is a poor example of honesty and self-restraint, the family horizons are limited and the educational background is not rich. In such countries as America where there is a great percentage of immigration it is found that eighty per cent of the parents were born in foreign countries and have a culture conflict. Parents of delinquents are more burdened with physical ailments, mental retardation or backwardness, emotional disturbanees, drunkenness and criminalism than in non-delinquent homes, ~~and here~~ it is estimated that parents of delinquents with court records exceed twenty per cent and parents who are heavily alcoholic exceed twenty-five per cent. The families are slightly more emotionally inadequate than non-delinquent families and live in a less refined, cultural atmosphere. They seem to be less self-respecting and ambitious

and the standard of conduct is generally poorer. Thus, it would appear that the environment is less conducive to wholesome rearing of healthy, happy, law-abiding children. It is also noticeable that delinquents have fewer bread-winners and more unskilled and lower per capita income and in normal times in the homes of delinquents there is twice as many instances where neither parent is employed than in other homes.

It is not, however, the material faults of the home environment that primarily or even materially affect the development of character and community standards for the personal relationship especially the mother-child is much more important.

Of a certainty, emotionally inadequate homes engender deep conflict in the child which is often expressed in neurotic disorder and delinquency. It is not the home, meaning the plumbing, sanitation, lack of recreational opportunities which engender delinquency - not if there is security in the home and wholesome expression.

Therefore
Poverty is not a cause alone, for over half of the delinquent cases appearing before the court come from homes where poverty is nowhere near. If poverty were the prime factor, why does it then operate differently in various people in similar areas, for out of one street of a down town area, there may only be one delinquent home. Again, precisely, how does poverty alone lead to delinquency? In 1926, the Home Secretary appointed a committee to consider this aspect of delinquency and the findings were that 24.22 per cent alone were below parity level. It may be that there is a proportion of delinquents from homes where conditions are unsatisfactory and overcrowded, inadequately furnished and neglected, where there is little or no privacy

and little home-life but it is still yet uncertain that poverty always shows a significant correlation with the incidence of delinquency. Sufficient is it to ~~say~~ state that the correlations vary with the group of delinquents examined and the place where it is undertaken.

Statistics do not prove that delinquent children live in homes where poverty dwells, but here in this case, statistics are not accurate either in measurement or in result. For example statistics of some sociologists vary considerably, so that delinquents living in:-

Comfortable Homes vary from 27-52 p.c.

Marginal Homes " " 42-35 p.c.

Dependent Homes " " 31-13 p.c.

Even if the first column was taken as being correct, the number of delinquents living in comfortable and marginal homes would reach 69 per cent, and if the second column was accurate, the percentage would be 87 per cent. Thus neighbourhood conditions may encourage the delinquent act, but are certainly not the contributing causes.

American investigators make seventy per cent of delinquent families just self-supporting, and of those sixty per cent live in homes which are unwholesome and over-crowded, disorderly amd ill-ventilated. The English sociologists on the other hand produce figures as low as forty per cent so that the yard-stick of measurement between those two countries differ considerably either due to the technique of measurement or to the criteria of the value of the standard of living.

Now touching upon discipline in the home life, it is seen in the case studies of the majority of welfare officers and others concerned, that there is no real self-control. The delinquent naturally dislikes any home control whatsoever. Discipline is either too strict, or too lax and leisure is plentiful and is not parentally watched, while it is spent mostly in the streets. It is estimated that twenty to thirty per cent do nothing but walk the streets, and in most cases, home-life has few claims upon the delinquent. Unless a reformed society or a new Utopia results in better parental attitudes delinquency will not be prevented. It is often stressed that if the community fostered well run clubs that delinquent children would join them and partake of a new spirit and thus commit less or no delinquent acts. To prove this, figures are given which show that seventy-five per cent of the delinquent cases in England and Wales have no leisure activity in any organized club. The question is not whether the delinquent would fare better in a club or not, for the answer brooks no alternative, but the question should be couched "would a delinquent enter such a club and be happy there?" Here the answer must be in the decided negative, as there seems to be many clubs where the delinquent could enter and the only valid conclusion can be that either some part of society does not desire them or that they themselves do not wish to use the existing facilities. It is unusual therefore for a delinquent to belong to or to be in a youth organization.

In addition to walking the streets, many frequent the fun-fairs, cafes, cinemas, dance halls, billiard saloons and other such like places to an excessive degree; many gamble fairly heavily and apparently look bored. "Companionship" says Healy and Bronner, "is the causative

factor in sixty-two per cent of three thousand studied cases". [1]

Burt, however, in his studies states that "companionship plays only a minor role"[2] and gives his estimation as only eighteen per cent in his cases studied. This difference is so significant that one can only assume that the standards judged are on different levels. Nevertheless, it is only fair to point out that statistics and case studies show that most delinquents have delinquent companions and that most affences are committed in a group and not alone. It appears that the group gives solidarity and a suggestion of the measure of corporate feeling. This gives rise to the view that a delinquent in most cases seems to be a product of group life.

In conclusion it would appear that character, to some degree, is moulded by the environment. It is significant that both Healy and Burt link the multitude of environmental factors such as broken homes, lack of discipline, bad companionship, lack of organization of leisure time and other economic factors with the aetiology of juvenile delinquency, but sociology has not yet solved the problem why the correlations vary with groups of delinquents examined and in the place where undertaken, nor can it solve the problem of siblings in the same environment where one is a delinquent and the other not. Thus both Burt and Healy allow for environmental factors but reason out that the emotional development is greater than those contributed by society.

(1) Healy and Bronner "Delinquents and Criminals in the making" - New York. 1926. 179.
(2) Burt, C. "Juvenile Delinquency" - New York. 1926. 125.

In a study of one hundred and thirty-three families which include one hundred and ninety-four children old enough to be delinquents, out of four hundred and sixty-one, Healy notices that only one-third enjoy adequate income, that one half exists on marginal resources and the remainder dependent on public aid and that forty four per cent of these homes are unduly crowded. On a similar pattern Burt uses co-efficients with non-delinquent children and gives the following figures:-

Poverty	.15
Defective Family Relationships	.33
Vicious Homes	.39
Defective Discipline	.55

The fact of a high incidence of delinquency in areas adjacent to industry or dilapidated houses, dirty streets, low rents, poverty, inadequate recreational facilities or from a low cultural area fails to furnish and is of little help in giving an explanation of the causation of delinquency. Much sociological reasoning on the causation of juvenile delinquency forgets and even ignores the fact that in society, there are individuals who will not confirm to type and that individuals differ in respect of many elements in a cultural socio-economic region.

It would seem as if environmental factors are not operative in an external area alone but in the mental life of the individual. These theories do not tell why a greater proportion of people in a delinquent area are not delinquents and in what ~~way~~ they differ from their NON-delinquent neighbours. Shaw in "The Natural History of the Delinquent Career" begins with the sociologic analysis but ends significantly with specific psychologic and psychiatric concepts such as a precocious personality, inferiority complex and personality adjustment problems.

The preceding facts in this chapter cannot fail to show us likewise.

CHAPTER III.

INTELLECTUAL SUBNORMALITY.

In earlier days it was commonly supposed that every criminal had inherited intellectual subnormality. Cesare Lombroso believd that crime was often the natural activity of persons destined frombirth to become briminal, but later on recognized this claim in onl two-fifths of all criminals. However, the idea of the born criminal is now exploded so that few today believe that crime is inherited. It is true to state that the hereditary constitution can only have an indirect effect upon the person concerned in the matter of criminality.

In the study of delinquency much discussion has centred around the intelligence of the offender and many have proclaimed that the delinquent is mentally retarded or backward, and have even classed him as mentally deficient.

In England the figures given where either one or both parents are dull or sub-normal are only ten per cent of the delinquent cases altogether. Of the father's occupation, forty seven per cent are skilled workers with fifty six per cent in steady employment. These facts alone, which are similar to those in America, do not suggest any

~~any~~ real mental retardation of ~~the~~ intellectual capacity of the parents. It is therefore necessary at this juncture to examine the Intelligence Quotient of the delinquents themselves, and the scale of measurement used is the generally accepted Simon-Binet one. Here Kvaraceus gives some illuminating figures which are as follows:-

I.Q. above 110 - 5.6 p.c. delinquents

90 -109 - 44.7 p.c. " "

70 - 89 - 39.3 p.c. " "

Feeble-minded - 2.8 p.c. " "

Morons - 7.6 p.c. " "

Furthermore, Bowlby, in his fourty four case studies finds that twenty three had an Intelligence Quotient between eighty-five and one hundred and fourteen. These figures then show that approximately half of the delinquent cases studied are just slightly below average or are average in intellectual ability. Approximately forty per cent are below average but are educable or backward only while very small percentage, not even amounting to ten per cent, are really intellectually sub-normal.

A different picture is gleaned when one reviews the figures of Goddard in his case studies of one hundred girls in the Girls' Industrial Home, Delaware, Ohio. His classification reads as follows:-

59 Feeble-minded, 14 border-line,

13 mentally retarded, and 14 normal.

In the Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster of the one hundred boys studied, the figures were:-

46 Feeble-minded, 26 border-line,

11 retarded and 17 normal.

The results here prove to this author that over fifty per cent were in reality mentally deficient. At a later date, of the one thousand and thirty four cases he examined thirty six and a half per cent were feeble-minded.

Burt of London in 1925, classified only eight per cent of his cases studied as febble-minded. The following year, Healy and Bronner gave their statistics as thirteen point five pr cent while in 1934 Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck gave a similar percentage, namely thirteen point one per cent. However, it is reasonable to expect that wherever delinquency occurs a number of mentally defectives will be found owing to mental instability and extreme suggestability.

Dr. Goring gives the impression that a defective intelligence is a vital mental constitutional factor in the aetiology of crime, while Healy would classify mental deficiency as the largest single cause of delinquency. Goddard would agree with the preceding statements,but not Burt, who, with only eight per cent of mental deficiency in his cases studied, would treat intellectual subnormality as only a minor factor. It is noticeable that the dullest Intelligence Quotient Delinquents are brought before the Court on such charges as wandering, cruelty, and destructive mischief, while those of slightly more intelligence steal and those with still higher Intelligence Quotients have nearly all sex offences to their discredit. Thus it would seem that the influence of an intellectual defect as a precondition of crime is a negative and not a positive one and the lack

of intelligence scarcely furnishes a motive for wrong doing.

Although Burt in his case studies classifies only eight per cent as mentally deficient, he nevertheless gives a warning that mentally deficients are found five times as much among delinquents than among the school population at large and therefore must be reckoned with as a factor in the production of crime. To this the consent of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck must also be added.

However, Stein, a psychiatrist to the Chicago Juvenile Court, would oppose these facts and in a yet unpublished (1951) study, reports that his findings show that in all probability the distribution of intelligence among juveniles labelled delinquents is the same as, if not higher than, for non-delinquents.

The difficulties which have to be overcome in the above investigations seem to be the one of the method of testing, and it looks as if the method is still unstandardized to some degree. However, the total picture in the correlation of delinquency and mental deficiency is weak. Healy and Bronner affirm that the intellectual level in general does not distinguish the delinquent from his nondelinquent sibling though it may have some importance.

It seems that a more thorough research technique is still yet necessary so that sources of error can be watched more carefully and that the method of selecting a cross section of delinquents is more accurate and control groups likewise. Furthermore, the emotions must be watched also while testing is taking place.

The arguments which ~~may~~ be used in order to prove that delinquents were of low intellectual standard, were that irrational acts lend themselves to intellectual sub-normality. In addition some of the facial features of the delinquent children look imbecilic and dispirited. However, now and again it may be that a delinquent is mentally retarded but the Intelligence Quotient figures tend to prove that this is an exception rather than a general rule. Thus the emphasis on intellectual deficiency as a primary cause of delinquency is unw arranted.

A question which must be asked is namely, "is a delinquent intellectually handicapped?" Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck in fifteen per cent of their case studies of nine hundred and thirty five adolescents showed beyond measure that there is no retardation and no evidence was forth-coming to show a substantial correspondence between intellectual capacity and the severity of frequency of delinquent behaviour. Undoubtedly the other eighty five per cent were intellectually backward and in normal schools would probably be misfits and problem pupils, but under correct educational supervision could be placed into society. In England eight per cent of a delinquent group examined were classified as mentally defective and twenty-eight per cent dull, while the remainder were normal. This means that the delinquent may have a lesser capacity to approach problems methodically and in an abstract manner, but they are not the only pupils to show this trait. The delinquent averages less in verbal imagery and has less power of observation than his non-delinquent brother and of a certainty shows less aptitude in vocabulary and -

and comprehension, but in a great percentage of cases the delinquents are superior in intellectual tasks where the approach is by direct physical relationships.

Pearce gives as his own opinion that the intellect of the average delinquent is considerably less than that of his non-delinquent neighbour. Goddard is even more dogmatic and goes as far as to consider that the presence of a mental defect will of itself explain the behaviour of a delinquent.

Truancy and delinquency go hand in hand and though it is remembered that truancy may lead to delinquency, but delinquency does not always cause truancy either. The delinquent has a distaste for formal learning due no doubt to the slightly below average intelligence, lack of fore-sight and grasping of abstract relationships. Furthermore, the fact of truancy can lead to further retardation in school work. Truancy can also be explained partly by the rapid movement from home to home and suburb to suburb of most delinquent families and partly to the emotional disruption in the home-life.

In summing up this chapter, Goddard's ideas that a large number of people are not responsible for their acts because of lack of sufficient intelligence is not completely accurate. Statistics and case studies prove that most delinquents are definitely dull and backward in intellectual attainments but the degree of difference is slight, indeed too slight to be regarded seriously in the majority of cases. It has now been proved that although intelligence is an inherited possession common to all, yet the amount of intelligence

is peculiar to the individual and that delinquents are not intellectually well below average. It cannot be disproved that some delinquents tell fantastic lies, are puerile and egotistical and feeble-minded, but it must also be remembered that not all feeble-minded people commit delinquent acts. The only thing that can be stated with unaminity of opinion is that most delinquents are slightly below average intelligence and although this may be a contributing factor in a delinquent act, and must of necessity be noted, nevertheless, intellectual subnormality is not the sole cause.

CHAPTER IV.

PERSONALITY, TEMPERAMENT AND CHARACTER.

Mainly through the objective testing of delinquents with such tests as the Rorsharch Personality tests, aptitude and personality tests, including the Pressey "x-o" and California tests, many facts are discovered and agreed upon in this field of study.

Freud, Janet, Adler, Aichhorn and Friedlander would all state that the delinquent has a psychological disturbance in the development of the personality. To them there is a qualitative defect in the Super-ego. This undevelopment of certain elements in this field leads to anti-social behaviour. Just as the formation of the ego can be disturbed by partial retardation of development, so may the development of the Super-ego be delayed; also the progress of the adolescent of child, therefore, can be hindered and an unfavourable or incomplete personality would exist either through this undevelopment or at other times through social conditions unfavourable to the formation and development of the Super-ego.

Other investigators would rather use such terms as the lack of growth, or partial retardation of development in the sensory, motor and intellectual realms. Thus, if the growth of one of these factors does not coincide with the growth of the others, instability results and normal development may be retarded. To this end the mother-child relationship is a determining factor in the later development

of the personality. Bowlby stresses the fact that an emotional disturbance in early infancy is one of the most specific factors, though naturally not the only one, in the causation of juvenile delinquency.

Thus, unfavourable circumstances, moral neglect, including the other ideas mentioned in the first chapter, can therefore have a lasting effect upon the personality, resulting in the emotional tie being not formed and the "pleasure-pain" principle not developed. Many case studies of this type are seen here either in foster homes or in 'badly brought up' children, and in homes where children and parents are separated. Sometimes this defect in personality adjustment may come about through retardation in the intellectual sphere and a feeling of social maladjustment may possibly ensue. This, in time, could quite easily lead to unfavourable conditions and become a factor in delinquent behaviour. Thus, delinquency could really be a mechanism of over-compensation for an inferiority feeling due to maladaptation or disability, either constitutional or acquired in the sensory or motor areas, physical growth, or in the intellectual sphere.

Through the study of the Rorsharch Tests (Ink Blots), on delinquents and non-delinquents, a markedly different result is noticed. It is seen that the delinquent is usually more assertive and defiant, more resentful of others and hostile in attitude, he is suspicious and destructive and has an impulsive and vivacious manner and in behaviour trends is usually an extrovert. Delinquents are also less

submissive to authority, less co-operative and have less dependence upon others. It is usual for a delinquent to be less conventional in ideas, feelings, and behaviour and suffer less than non-delinquents for with the fear of failure and defeat, little is attempted. Many delinquents are also suspicious and stubborn. It would therefore appear that the delinquent has really no sound personality development either in the home or in the world; he has no real character formation and is really never adequately socialized.

It is noticeable that a delinquent more often than a non-delinquent makes a promise but does not keep it nor ever had any intention of so doing. Lies are told without giving any impression of real insincerity. Furthermore, the delinquent is more easily disappointed than his non-delinquent neighbour. Life is lived for the sake of pleasure, and the "pleasure" principle instead of the "Reality principle, is dominant. Perhaps he could be termed 'emotionally infantile',and in many ways this lack of personality development shows itself in hostility to an older person and to society generally. Perhaps Aichhorn in the theme of his book "Agressive Youth" adequately assesses their personality structure in that they show an open hatred for authority, a disregard for property and a lack of consideration for others with a streak of cruelty in the delinquent's own life,

Nearly all the sociologists agree on this personality defect, and point out how the delinquent is governed solely by impulses which give him pleasure and unfortunately many of these impulses are anti-social.

Bowlby points out that in his case study of forty-four thieves, thirteen were over-active and fourteen had a lack of normal affection and no sense of responsibility whatsoever.

Thus a delinquent act is not a fortuitous act or episode in the life of a delinquent, but the outcome of many emotional cross currents. Burt calls this factor 'E' and stresses its importance, for the delinquent act can be an escape or an outlet from an emotional situation.

Sufficient is it to state that fifty-five per cent of many cases which I gleaned from the selected bibliography had mental, emotional, or personality distortations. This does not mean to say that every delinquent act is a psychological act and that psychological factors must be the primary determinant, but I am only reiterating that an act cannot take place - whether it comes from an intellectual or social source - without involving or harming the psyche. The ease or otherwise in which this act takes place depends on the previous condition of the personality of the delinquent, his constitution, experience of life, resistance and weakness.

The temperament of the delinquent which is now to be discussed. will include the topics of instincts, sentiments and emotions as well.

Burt, Healy and others would generally agree that the common acts of delinquency committed by the young mainly consist, in nearly every case, either of hereditary reactions which constitute the universal human instincts or else of slightly more modified reactions elaborated out of, but still of necessity, arising from the modes of response.

At this juncture it is necessary to state that in using the word instinct, I am not using it in the Freudian sense but in the more accepted definition of either Thouless or McDougall and of the corresponding schools of thought.

It seems as if delinquent children are much more inclined to impulsive and non-reflective expression for here again case studies seem to show that a higher percentage of delinquents display emotional tension arising either from a father-son or mother-son relationship. Thus in the home life especially through stress and the corresponding resulting emotion arising there - from there is extrovertive expression. Not only in the home, but in society is this condition seen. The delinquent in accepting a representation of the social value system becomes temporarily out of order by the impact of æ strong instinctual demands working through strong opposing forces.

The primary cause of emotional tension is the lack of fulfilment of the fundamental psychological needs and this usually starts at the onset of puberty. There is lack of affection, a feeling of dissatisfaction and a lack of a needed recognition. Again through the means of the Rorsharch Tests, the temperament and emotional conditions of the delinquent is easily codified. He is extrovert and vivacious, impulsive and aggressive, egocentric and more sensual than his non-delinquent friends. The delinquent is usually more dynamic and energetic and much more positively suggestible. Burt would give as his opinion that at least thirty-five per cent of delinquents are temperamentally unstable and among the innate

psychological characters of the delinquents, ~~emotionality~~ General emotionality is one of the most frequent and one of the most influential causes of the delinquent act.

Again taking the definition of the word instinct, from James Drever, Shand and McDougall it is observed that the hunger instinct is unfulfilled in nine per cent of causes contributing to delinquency. Of this percentage there are more boys than girls included. The instinct of anger accounts for slightly less than two per cent and therefore can be forgotten about in this study. Sixteen per cent of cases of juvenile delinquency arises from the sex instinct and of this total percentage only in two per cent of boys is it the sole cause, and in girls seven per cent. Although stealing takes place in eighty per cent of juvenile delinquent acts, yet in those cases, only one point six per cent seems to be derived directly from the inborn instinct of acquisitiveness.

Sentiments and complexes must now be examined and discussion shall mainly centre around the step-mother, authority and disgust, moral, sex and inferiority complex. It is generally agreed that repressed complexes are not so much the cause of delinquency but rather are a part in which other ulterior causes operate. Perhaps through the biologic structure of the female it is here noticeable that fifty seven per cent of complexes arising from a delinquent act are more frequently and more easily found in girls than in boys. Arising from the case studies and statistics found in the selected biography, the following figures appear significant. They are as follows:-

41 per cent have a parental type of complex and in
24 " " of the above cases there is a transference from the parent to some parental substitute.
34 per cent have an inferiority or superiority complex.
9 " " have a conflict of birth or parentage.
9 " " have an auto-erotic complex.
7 " " have other sexual complexes.

Eighty four per cent of the preceding figures show an emotional trauma towards parental authority or a hostile attitude to parents and towards society at large, while sixteen per cent - which is a comparitively small figure - is only of sexual origin.

As far as the moral sense is concerned, Tredgold would give as his considered opinion that the fundamental lack of moral sense which is inborn causes persons so affected to be absolutely irreformable. This statement has two objections to it, namely the assumption above presupposes an independent moral faculty which can function badly or not at all, and secondly that this moral sense could quite easily become congenitally atrophied. Most writers on this subject do not consider any criterea for a moral innate faculty but place emphasis on it to the parental upbringing and education of the child.

Furthermore Piaget affirms that the child at the age of seven or eight years tends to "reify" that is believes his conscious thoughts are independent objects outside of his intellectual self. The adult is therefore the repository of power and wisdom and adult instructions are inescapable and compulsory to his way of

living. Thus, reality to the child is adult coercion, interacting and working together to bring about a realistic moral sense. One has to be good and obey adult commands or be termed "bad" is disobeying them. In this way only the child knows right from wrong. Slowly however, his normal adult moral sense develops and given all the normal development of these factors social adaptation psychologically should take place.

From the facts gleaned above, it appears that the personality, character and temperament of the delinquent is different from that of his non-delinquent neighbour and that it is not properly developed and generally has no room for growth either. Thereby, a repression is caused and the outlet is the delinquent act.

The general trend of the thesis so far points to the fact that not one of the causes alone in the preceding chapters are significant by themselves, but the physical, environmental, temperamental, intellectual and behavioural segments are now interwoven to fit into a more meaningful pattern.

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CHAPTER V.

PSYCHO - SOMATIC FACTORS.

Delinquency is not the name of an illness nor is there one psychological or physical category for all delinquents. According to some members of the legal profession juvenile delinquency forms a well-defined group, but to a psychologist, a psychiatrist or an endocrinologist delinquency is but one of the many concepts of social maladjustment. The psychologist observes the fact that within any society at any given time there are some who follow and obey the rules commonly accepted but there are a few others who find it impossible. Thus there can be no homogenous group. Within this small group many reasons have been brought forward and given for the aetiology of juvenile delinquency. In the past one of the main contributing factors to the delinquent act was one of physical origin.

Many have stated that the delinquent is physically ill and to this end weight, height, body physique, endocrine glands, syphilis and other organic diseases have been blamed.

As already stated in an earlier chapter (intellectual sub-normality) there is now no implication of the Lombrosion hypothesis of a born criminal and although there may be bodily

illness this is not generally of a hereditary origin. Nevertheless it could be true to say that the tendency to weakness may be there.

Although there is no exact definition of a constitutional psycho-path nevertheless it is behaviour which is anti-social, egocentric and unable to profit by experience of life. A lack of feeling is also part of its content. Indeed the term psychopathic personality is generally applied to people with the preceding details and with the additional characteristics present namely, habitual delinquent behaviour, a marked lack of moral scruples, insensitivity to the rights of others and a generally erratic and purposeless way of living. It has been expressed as consisting of a variable number of behavioural patterns which are sufficiently unusual or unnecessary and disturbs the relationship, usually of a harmonious nature, between the individual and the environment. This leads to suffering within the individual and to the individual inflicting suffering on those around him. Thus a psycho-pathic personality has some of the preceding traits which are fundamental and are an integral part of his personality. Thus it appears there is no valid reason for refusing to admit at least the possibility that both constitutional and hereditary factors can so influence the formation and development of character as to predispose some individuals to delinquent behaviour. Lately the psycho-pathic characteristics of the child with mental suffering and instability with nervous, forgetful, disobedient, thieving, truant, lying, destructive and moody

characteristics are now open to question in the hereditary field. It seems impossible to differentiate with any assurance whatsoever the completely innate from any acquired characteristic weakness in the aetiology of juvenile delinquency. Such things as birth injuries and anomolies of embryologic development may quite easily be confused with inherited conditions and later on social inheritance may be mistaken for biologic weakness. Thus this field of study in the aetiology of juvenile delinquency is one of a delicate matter.

Freud in his biological and psychological approach to delinquency emphasises the importance of "somatic compliance" and through introspection confirms that in every individual there exists anti-social leanings and defences are built around them to prevent their appearing. Because of many reasons - among them physical - these defences can be overwhelmed resulting or ensuing in a continuous or tempory delinquent behaviour.

In earlier days the juvenile delinquent, as a group, was distinguishable from others because they were 'mesomorphic' in constitution. Their solidness and closely knit limbs and muscular frame suggested a delinquent child. Today this is not the case.

Prior to puberty it has been noticed that the delinquents are usually underdeveloped and there is a delayed growth spurt occuring in late puberty. To some this may represent the piling up of tensions resulting finally in an explosive discharge. It is significant to note that delinquency occurs most often

between the ages of ten and nineteen years of age and later around about twenty-seven to twenty-eight years with a rapidly decreasing tendency thereafter.

In the case study of four hundred and sixty delinquent patients in a London hospital a Doctor found two thousand and eighty-three physical defects there and one hundred and seventy-one cases of malnutrition. Underdevelopment was common and the delinquent was often physically overgrown. Bodily weakness and ill health amounted to seventy per cent but to offset this the delinquents came from the London slums so that no reliance can be placed on these figures.

Kvarceus gives the following figures regarding the physical condition of his cases studied as namely:-

60% have good physical condition
25% " fair " "
15% " poor " "

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck differ only slightly here by reducing the above 15 per cent of their case studies to 13 per cent and increasing 25 per cent to 27 per cent. Healy likewise gives 10 per cent as his figure for delinquents having poor physical condition. In the majority of cases backed by the above figures and with the opinions of such people as Slawson and Burt there seems that little significance should be placed on physical inadequacy.

Others in times past have stated that epilepsy, encephalitis, chorea, diabetes, lethargia and syphilis were the organic diseases

contributing to much delinquency. This has been disproved and Goddard states that the highest figure which can be placed regarding delinquents who are Syphiltic is eight per cent. In the study of one thousand and thirty-four cases this emphasis, especially on congenital syphilis as the contributing cause of delinquency, was partly brought into focus by the French School of Psychologists. Healy affirms that it is clear that when the central nervous system is much affected or where there is a sensory defect as the result of congenital syphilis, the relationship of the disease to delinquency may be close. There is no finding however to show that all delinquency is due to congenital syphilis. So far it appears that the pattern in the causal factors of juvenile delinquency is neither exclusively biologic or exclusively socio-cultural.

Turning now to another vast and specialized field it has been found recently that some endocrinologists have made claims for the exclusiveness or primacy of glandular dysfunction as the causal agency in delinquency. They state that the driving force of action is not the intellect, which is the controlling power, but the emotions. Their stability is determined by the condition of the endoc/rine glands and to this end the thyroid gland is more concerned with emotional 'Make-up' than any other of the glands. Here many hypo-thyroid infants show this emotional defectiveness. In girls many sexual offences at early puberty have definite symptoms of hyper-thyroidism. This study is too recent to give any definite criteria of judgment as

yet and only further study of cases will bring new light to the subject.

Further research work on the central or autonomic nervous system with recent results on the surgical operation of leucotomy with other psycho-surgical operations must be given consideration. The influence of organic disease on the central nervous system has a predisposition to delinquency which causes disorders of the emotional control and loss of mental inhibition. As yet no real objective study has been made so that results cannot be given and it is still too early yet to forecast any particular statement from remarks or judgments passed. It would therefore appear that in the future diseases such as epilepsy, syphilis-congenital and otherwise, and others must be included among the other organic diseases as well as the study of the glands so that full and accurate observations with scientific judgment may be made.

So far the comments suggest that organic disease including that of the glands are not among the most important causitive factors but are nevertheless there.

Some further modern studies in genetics make mention of the fact of clinical work carried out in pre-natal birth conditions and these causes are likely to affect the central nervoud system. Particularly, here, the studies of the Rheses factor, of Toxic foetal states and of the anatomical and physiological traumata at birth with all their selquelae must be noted. Many geneticists show that the constitutional factors are of importance in social ~~maladaption~~ maladaptation. At this juncture disagreement arises when the

geneticist is accused of stating that delinquent behaviour is itself inherited. This is not so for only the number of character tendencies which predisposes delinquent behaviour is inherited. People do not inherit ready made behaviour patterns but more or less marked general tendencies with some stronger than others. It is wrong therefore to speak of inherited delinquency.

Genetic studies concerning the inheritance of anti-social behaviour and character traits have been undertaken with groups of identical and fraternal twins. Handy and Rosanoff in their studies concerning the aetiology of child behaviour difficulties, juvenile delinquency and adult criminality with special reference to their occurence in twins give as their valid opinion that the incidence of delinquency is higher in identical twins than fraternal twins. Shaw likewise upholds this opinion. It seems natural that as soon as one's statement is made another is propounded to contradict it and in this case this has happened. Healy and Bronner definitely deny the validity of the above statement so that it can only be concluded that either the cross section of the case study groups was not really a cross section or that the method of measurement was so different. It appears from these facts and the varying facts of other writers that no conclusion can be yet drawn.

Furthermore there is no real reason to believe that a delinquent has a vast psycho-somatic difference to that of his non-delinquent neighbour. In addition he is not poorer in health to any great degree than his non-delinquent brother. In the field of endocrinology and genetics time will tell and prove the validity

or otherwise of the fact that the glands, especially the thyroid, is the causal determinant of juvenile delinquency.

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CHAPTER VI.

PSYCHO-DYNAMIC THEORIES.

Having exhausted most of the environmental, intellectual, personality and psycho-somatic factors either contributing to, or supposedly the origin of juvenile delinquency the thesis now turns to the psycho-dynamic and psycho-analytical theories in vogue. Here such names as Dollard, Bowly, Stott, Freud, Friedlander, Aichhorn, Smith and Alexander come to the fore and thus their theeries will be examined.

Dollard and others find the origin of delinquent acts in every case unquestionably represents the expression of desires and urges which are otherwise unsatisfied. The "Frustration Theory" of the aetiology of delinquency is its common name. The root causes therefore are two in number namely frustation and aggression but both are tied up together for aggression is always a consequence of frustration. More especially the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration. The form of aggression is always directed to the outside so that delinquents are always all aplastic.

The fact of frustration can be brought into being through many channels but more significantly through the home, and especially the mother-child relationship.

Another theory in vogue, especially in America, is the one termed the "Eclectic Theory". This was formed by the members of the New Jersey Juvenile Delinquency Commission who reported inter alia that when they (the children) transgress it is because they are confronted with situations which they lack judgment to solve in any other way or because they are expected to comply with adult rules which mean nothing to them in terms of their own understanding. This theory seems to have several weaknesses espedially the fact that all people - even adults - at some stage of their life or other are confronted with problems which they cannot solve and with which the tools of intellect and experience cannot fathom yet all people faced with this problem situation do not succumb to acts of delinquency. Then again it would not be an aid in developing the personality if adult rules were not obeyed by children even if they cannot significantly understand its depth of wisdom. Some things have to be complied with and to the person concerned it may mean nothing at all yet for the common good it is necessary. It seems as if this theory only scratches the surface of the question and as a theory is not of sufficient merit to warrant further discussion. Great advances have been made in child psychology and new lines of enquiry have been opened. The main theme in Bowlby's theory termed "the emotional traumatic condition of juvenile delinquency" is the mother-child relationship.

This signifies not only the conscious attitude but also the unconscious one. That is,at the centre of the trouble is the fact whether love is apparent or real. In addition death and illness, prolonged or continual separation mean much more to the child than the adult thinks. In forty-four cases which Bowlby studied four of the delinquents had one parent psychotic, two others had one grand parent psychotic and eleven others had neurotic parent or parents. The significance of forty per cent of delinquents with neurotic or psychotic parents proves a real problem here and this factor may be one which is the crux of the matter. Genetically because one parent is neurotic or psychotic the child need not be likewise but the fact of living in such conditions and not receiving love, care and attention which is badly needed shatters the life of the child. Bowlby would concur that where the child is separated from his mother or mother-substitute for long periods of his life then there is a psychological case. This fact stands foremost among the causes of character development and persistant misbehaviour. Forty per cent of his forty-four cases come under this category through such factors as illegitimacy, mother's death, illness or desertion. There really can be little doubt that prolonged mother-child separations are associated to a high degree with delinquency in general and certain types of chronic delinquency in particular. Thus the essential factor during the child's early life is the development of the child's object relation-ships. If he is removed and placed with strangers, unloved and undesired there is a grave difficulty in the formation

and in the development of new libidinal relationships. However this does not mean to say that the death of one or both of the parents will always result in such a difficult situation for usually the child is carefully looked after by foster people.

Throughout this thesis much of the background has suggested that the emotional tie of the home and the mother-child relationship is of prime importance, therefore it is now necessary to discuss this in greater detail.

In the chapter dealing with sociological factors the question was asked "why do the greater percentage of the population living, say, in a down town area not succumb to the influences of bad companionship, billiard saloons, cinema and so on?" The only answer was that it was due to the different response of the individual or in terms used by Reckless "The differential responses of persons". Carr-Saunders answers the same question but uses the term "susceptibility". Around this idea there has emerged in Britain a hypothesis regarding "Susceptibility". The fact that the manner in which a child makes the proper relationship with others about him and the effect of his moral conscience depends on the relationship with his parents - especially his mother- in his early life. This relationship depends on care and affection, joy and sorrow, nourishment, training and discipline and takes its final shape in the proper light in relationship with the community. Thus the origin of delinquency seems to be bound up closely with human feeling and the family. Burt, in 1925 made a similar point when he emphasized vicious homes, defective family

relationships and discipline as being of primary importance and conditions outside the home, such as poverty as of lesser importance. Aichhorn likewise finds that there is usually conflict between the child and his parents. Bowlby again shows how prolonged mother-child separation in the first five years of life bears a close relationship to persistant stealing and Bender, likewise, comes to the same conclusion. It appears then as if the concensus of opinions is centred around two factors, namely the prolonged separation of the child from his mother during the first five years of life and a feeling by the child of being more-or-less unwanted by the parents who in themselves are not stable or who in turn are defiant and even openly hostile and critical to the child.

These two factors above have come independently from the hands of Bowlby, Stott, Bender, Aichhorn and Healy and Bronner, As it shall be discussed in the next chapter these two factors are not the only ones operative but they are there in the majority of delinquent cases. It can be concluded, therefore, that the early home and social life is relative to a high degree to the understanding of later social behaviour and that hereditary factors will also play a significant role.

Stott, under the Carnegie Trust auspices lists five main motives in the aetiology of juvenile delinquency. In his studied cases he finds that some had only one of them and some more but all his cases contained some aspects of his five listed motives.

The first criteria is "avoidance-excitement" where a person finds a life of excitement to avoid or keep at bay the anxiety too poignant to be faced. Then again he sees the factor of "inferiority compensation" so that those socially, intellectually or physically inferior find compensation in delinquent acts. A third motive is termed "delinquent attention" whereby an adolescent or child is uncertain of the parents' interest and love and thus in desiring attention finds relief and attention from others and in himself in the delinquent act. "Retaliation" or resentment against parents is also another motive listed while the last is the situation whereby the delinquent is in "an emotionally intollerable situation" and trys to find relief. Behind all the cases were anxiety creating circumstances and these nearly always centre around the parents of the delinquent. It is significant and worthy of note that Stott who was at the beginning of his studies, critical of this mother-child or parent-child relationship should come to this conclusion. He discovered that his cases had been conditioned to an anxiety over parents or to an emotional dependence on them during the first five years of their lives. The causes of this anxiety seem to be due to illness in early life, prolonged and early separation from the mother and the character of the mother herself.

The conclusion of this chapter brooks no hesitation as it seems that the quality of the child(s social and emotional experience in early life within the family especially affects his later social relationships and his behaviour to others

and this is now too strong to be ignored.

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CHAPTER VII.

PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL METHODS.

A recent field of study into the research of the aetiology of juvenile delinquency has been along psycho-analytical lines. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the studies of Freud. Aichhorn, Friedlander, Smith and Alexander and try to discover whether this field of study is one whereby the conflicting facts of causation may be focussed and centred.

Some of this chapter may be repetitive, for in each of the proponents named some degree of similarity is found but the full study of each theory is necessary. The psycho-analytic approach is concentrated in the fact that the anti-social impulses which are unconscious in the law-abiding citizen lead to action in the delinquent.

The theory of Freud regarding the causation of the delinquent act is bound up in the fact that the child at birth is incomplete as the central nervous system is undeveloped. Because of the instinctive urges and biological needs there is a tension and an ensuing discomfort. There is also an increasing complexity of the ego along with a corresponding growth of the sensory mechanisms

and memory and an awareness of the child of his own whole personality. However the 'ego' still lives by the "pleasure-principle" but later becomes progressively affected by the 'reality' principle which is increasing in the physical and intellectual skills, in the emotional maturity and societary demands. Thus a great degree of social adaptation is needed and to meet this need other needs must also develop such as in the field of intellectual and emotional capacity. This must form inter-personal relations and initial respect, indeed in short, unselfish love. Here there comes about the concept termed the 'super-ego' which is therefore a product of assimilation and incorporation by the child of all the moral precepts given by others especially the parents.

Now, because there may result a conflict between the Id, Ego and Super-ego, a neurosis either obsessional or hysterical results and this is usually seen in early childhood. It would appear that the child's psychological environment interacts with the biological constitution and may result in an instinctual force being repressed and lead ultimately to fixation, partial or more extensive repressions, displacement of emotional ties and a poorly adapted mode of behaviour. This being so a delinquent act can easily occur. Healy and Bronner using their own terminology would agree with this fact also but couch it in such terms stating that the driving force of delinquency is the fundamental desire for the ego in effectual satisfactions. This can be found in the security of family relationships and in social

relationships. The pathogenic significance therefore for social maladjustment is one clue to a faulty ego and super-ego development. Freud would give the following reasons for this faulty development in the separation of the child from the parents, in prolonged absence, in death, in the loss of affection and loss of confidence in parents, in a change of foster homes and in institutional life. Through the study of many cases Freud has based this idea of faulty development on an early disturbance of 'object love' which is usually found at the beginning of the latency period. But Freud goes on to state that certain types of social maladjustment are not the consequence of the weakening of the 'object love' alone but have their origin also in the happenings within the realm of the child's normal emotional attachments. The first phase is usually brought about by projection or introjection while a further phase comes to the fore in the child's tendency to displace or transfer his object relationships. Extreme importance must be placed upon this period in a child's life for it is at this time that the "pleasure-reality" principle is completed and the qualities for normal behaviour in society should be in being. Failure here as already stated may cause isolated neurosis, phobias, feelings of inadequacy, failure and self-punishment and failure to make good in social relationships. The question now to be posed is "what correlation is there between psychoneurosis and other such-like symptoms with juvenile delinquency?". Freud gives as his considered opinion that it is not difficult to understand how some forms of psycno-neurosis

can quite easily predispose to delinquent behaviour. On account of this failure of the development of the Id, Ego and Super-ego the result is a severe ~~dis-adaptation~~ 'dis-adaptation' and a compulsive need to commit crimes and especially is this seen in forms of obsessional neurosis. Those isolated neurotic symptoms are often among the most important aetiological factors in a juvenile's social misadaptation but it must be remembered that although the form of psycho-neurosis is brought about in early childhood it is not generally revealed until after or during puberty. 'Dis-adaptation' takes the form of a feeling of being abandoned and is mainly seen in the case studies of delinquent children who wander from one home to another with continual deteriorating behaviour and feeling of insecurity. A feeling of the need for self-punishment is very real too at this stage along with many repressed wishes and desires which result in an emotional frustation at an oral level.

Turning now to the Freudian 'instinct' theory the study can be further continued. To Freud an instinct is a stimulus arising inside the body as distinct from and different to any stimulate which arrives at the organs of perception from outside. Thus the source of instinct is the bodily organ and with the instinctive urge an accompanying feeling termed emotion is felt. Freud in reducing the number of instincts to two clearly defined groups - namely self preservation and sex instinct or 'life and death' instinct - finds that delinquent behaviour springs from an incorrect fusion of these instincts.

Improper or imcomplete maturation of the instincts through the oral, anal-sadistic and phallic phases result in delinquent behaviour. Improper or incomplete maturation comes about through the mother-child relationship especially when the child needs food and security and later when the 'pleasure' principle does not become the 'reality' principle.

In the first group of instincts eleven point five per cent of delinquency can be classified here. Furthermore if a division is made between sthenic and asthenic types other significant details are forthcoming. The former type lends itself to delinquent acts where anger, acquisitiveness, assertiveness and sex are seen and in this group the figures of delinquent behaviour are higher than in the asthenic group where tenderness and submissiveness, grief and fear are commonly reported. The sthenic type of personality is more pronounced in the male while the latter group contains many more females. Thus Freed would further state that even within the two groups of instincts there is a sex difference which shows up also in the corresponding delinquent acts, Boys, for example, according to this classification go in for acts of violence, truancy and theft, while the female sex is more engulfed in acts of sex and untruth. Furthermore statistics show that at least fifteen per cent of juvenile delinquents have mild neurotic tendencies and those tendencies are ten times as common among girls than boys.

Perhaps to conclude Freed's theory the summary of the position will clarify the situation. To Freed the delinquent

act has its direct cause in the child's early relationship to his mother. This relationship can modify other instincts or at a later date bring about an Oedipus conflict and harm, thereby, the super-ego formation. The primary factors leading to anti-social behaviour are represented by the attitude of the parents to the child during the first five or six years of life. This attitude may be due partly to the structure of the personality of the child or mainly to the pressure of bad environment upon him and it is maintained therefore that without this character development later environmental influences will not lend themselves to the manifestation of social behaviour.

Aichhorn states that delinquent behaviour indicates that the psychic processes which determine behaviour are not functioning harmoniously. It is not caused by either heredity or environment singly for this predisposition to delinquency is not a finished product at birth but determined by emotional relationships and their compatability or otherwise in the development of the child's life. And Aichhorn like Freud applied the process of psycho-analysis to the study of delinquency.

It is necessary to trace the development of the child's life in order to discover in true perspective and in totality the picture which Aichhorn sets up as his thesis on this subject. Every child is at first an asocial being and has to be moulded by environment into a social animal. Freud and Aichhorn believed that this cannot be successfully accomplished unless the libidinal development follows a normal course. Through the unsuccessful development

of the process certain disturbances in the libido remains asocial or if it becomes social does not have actual or real demands of society placed upon it. This suppression of the instinctional wishes are brought about and this is called "Latent Delinquency". Now the change from "Latent Delinquency" to "Manifest Delinquency" can at a later stage be brought into the forefront on any provocation. Thus the symptoms of delinquency arise from a neurotic basis where the two forces of repression, namely the unconscious striving for gratification and the conscious fighting against it, strive with each other. From this compulsive nature much dissocial behaviour springs. Aichhorn believes, like Bowlby and Stott that delinquency can be a dynamic expression and an interplay of psychic forces. This means that the conception of behaviour, when it is dynamically determined, corrects the effect of making the common mistake that all delinquency is purely environmental. To a certain extent, as the various facts and figures have pointed out, this is true but there are many others who in the same or in a similar environment are left untouched. Thus it seems to show that there must be something in the 'make up' of the child which the environment brings to the surface in the form of a delinquent act. Aichhorn calls this a 'pre-disposition' to delinquency and it is this factor therefore which allows an environment unfavourably suited to the child to have power or control so that a delinquent act is committed.

The question which must now be asked is "Is this pre-disposition inherited?" If agreement is reached with Aichhorn,

at an earlier stage in this thesis, that "the child is not a finished product at birth" it must of necessity follow that this 'predisposition' is not a finished product either at that stage. Therefore emotional and social relationships must have some determining place in the scheme of events.

"Latent delinquency" is unexperienced bad behaviour while "Manifest delinquency" is overt and so it is now necessary to seek the causes which turn the latent act into the manifest one. With Freud, Aichhorn sees a great deal of the aetiology of Juvenile Delinquency in traumatic neurosis usually brought about by means of a shocking experience. Much of what follows in the work of Aichhorn now corresponds fairly closely to the Freudian analysis whereby there is a separation of the ego from the Id. Thus the Id (instinctive energy) and the Ego (the conscious act with it) are at variance with each other. This variance may occur with the Super-ego also which controls both instincts and actions. It appears to Aichhorn that the Ego, which is strengthened by intellectual growth and is a mechanism of defence against forbidden urges, wages war and is in conflict with the instinctive urges and through the process of time and educational development until the conscience is formed the Super-ego represents the demands and ways of the outside world. At this stage there can arise a tension of guilt between the Ego and the Super-ego and at a later stage in development the Ego is the mediator between the Id and the Super-ego. Through these undeveloped ways the delinquent act is brought to the surface.

This theory, therefore, takes account both of heredity and

environment and of the emotional relationship of the individual. It places particular stress, if not sole stress, on the emotional relationship of the individual and here unite or clash the instinctual and the environmental forces.

In the nineteenth century juvenile delinquency was either classed as a mental or physical illness or disease while the "normal" delinquent remained still unclassified. Mainly through the work of Healy and Burt and other investigators more extensive objective knowledge has been gained. Classifications at the present stage seem to be grouped according to intellectual psychoanalytical, emotional, environmental and other traits of the personality. Thus it is refreshing to see the work of two psychoanalysts, Smith and Alexander who classify delinquent behaviour not according to the forementioned ways but according to types of delinquent acts. Smith holds that there are four main groups which must be considered in the study of delinquency and gives the following data. The first group includes mental defectives and epileptics and within this classification of psychopaths many of the cases studied by the investigator have neurotic disturbances. Sexual offences are included in this list. Another special group is classified according to offences at puberty and adolescence while a third group consists of "constitutional inferiors". The last classes together alcoholism and other toxic poisons and conditions.

Alexander on much more casual lines than Smith bases his classification on the degree of "Ego participation" in the criminal act and has two well defined groups. The first he terms

"Chronic criminality" consisting of those people whose ego has been placed out of action by a toxic or organic disturbance or by a neurosis. The second group includes those whose super-ego is criminal as a result of upbringing. This second group is termed by him "accidental criminality" and this results from errors and crimes of situation where the ego is put out of action by a single upsurge of emotion.

These two names are mentioned here not because they advance the work concerning the causation of delinquency but mainly to confirm and reaffirm the work of Freud and Aichhorn by two other independent investigators working separately.

The greatest exponent of the psycho-analytical method and approach to juvenile delinquency is by Friedlander. In the past research was inclined to maintain definite differences between the delinquent and the non-delinquent and according to the trend in vogue the difference was either in the shape of the skull, or in hereditary factors or in the environmental situation. Insanity, alcoholism or feeblemindedness were also contributing factors. Today it is due to the disturbance of the Id, Ego and Super-ego. Later on in this thesis it will be pointed out how this is again further sub-divided into three smaller groups consisting of anti-social character development, organic illness and psychosis.

Friedlander indicates that it is exceptional for the criminal career to commence late in life. Statistics both in Britain and America show that the peak age, especially of delinquent behaviour, is between fifteen and seventeen years of age but it is usually apparent some considerable time before this. Indeed, the first

signs of anti-social behaviour are usually noticed between the years of seven to nine.

With Freud, Friedlander would concur fully with the "Instinct" theory and the idea of the maturation of instincts falling into three distinct phases. Like Aichhorn and Bowlby, Friedlander lays stress upon the mother-child/ relationship. At a very early age, probably between one to two years old there emerges two distinct feelings in the child's life. First of all there is a feeling of utter dependence upon the mother and a fear that the mother will leave or desert the child. If disturbances of the mother-child relationship do occur at this stage aggressive tendencies may be displayed either at that time or at a later date.

Further discussion on the subject of the modification of instincts is fully developed by this investigator. For example, the "pleasure-pain" principle and the displacement of the libido can easily come into conflict. The former especially can be easily displaced through the stopping of the weaning process. If this result does occur a reaction formation can quite easily be brought into focus. Furthermore other determining factors in the causation of juvenile delinquency are the lack of formation or incomplete formation of the conscience and a separation of the Ego from the Id.

Emphasis is placed by Friedlander on the Psycho-analytical methods here discussed but this does not mean that there is diminution in any way from the environmental factors. Much of the failure of social ~~adaption~~ adaptation is through anti-social character formation in contact with the home environment. Here because of defective early training, the harmful or weak personality of the mother, inconsistency

in education, the lack of feeling of guilt are all factors in hindering the development ofacorrect mother-child relationship.

It is interesting to note the classifications which Friedlander uses in her study of delinquency. Three groups are seen and the first group is termed anti-social character formation while the second group comprises organic disturbances and the third consists of the psychotic and Ego disturbances. The first classification includes such factors as anti-social character formation alone, anti-social, environmentAand emotional stress, anti- social and neurotic conflict and finally anti-social and neurotic conflict in "Acting out". The second group in which organic disturbances occur include toxic disturbances and in addition mental defectives, brain disease, and encephalalitis before puberty, mal-function of the nervous system including epilepsy and aggressive behaviour.

Much critism of the psycho-analytical method stresses the fact that the above school is warped in outlook placing completely psychic factors to the exclusion of others. Nevertheless Friedlander especially and Aichhorn and Freud to some degree also allow the existence of biological, environmentAand cultural forces in the genesis of maladjustment. It would appear, therefore, that this method used in moderation holds a great deal of truth in its essence. It stressed the fact of the emotional life and the character development and places an emphasis on those factors which in the past have been too easily neglected.

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CHAPTER V111.

PRE-DETERMINANTS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

Much of the details given in this chapter with regard to the prediction of juvenile delinquency is of such a recent origin that objectively no real scientific conclusion can be universally applied. This means, therefore, that only impressions are made here and the statistics which are given have been proved valid in only a small number of experiments.

A great deal of this work done in this field was carried out by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck and a great deal more is either still unpublished or in the laboratory stage. However certain facts and observations can now be given which time or further research will prove correct or otherwise.

In the past no one could predict whether a child would become delinquent or not during the course of his development. Thus the idea is here that there will be adapted a technique which will separate "the sheep from the goats", the delinquent from the non-delinquent, the law-abiding citizen from the law-breaker and the citizen of repute from the criminal. The essence of the method of technique which has now been evolved is one which will "spot" the

potential offender. Prediction or diagnostic tables are given to the child at the point of school entrance and on the results of these tables the investigators are able to predict whether a child has the tendency to become a potential criminal. Up to 1951 this piece of research work was carried out over a period of ten years under the auspices of the Harvard Law School. Social investigators, psychologists, physicians, psychiatrists and anthropologists were among the research workers.

Even with the detailed work of Healy and Bronner, Burt, Shaw, Slawson and others a need of further extensive research was felt. None of these investigators had given any real idea whether one could predict a potential offender and the feeling received on studying and reading their works is one of imcompleteness and lack of finality. Although these investigators had covered many aspects of the aetiology of juvenile delinquency and advanced the study, nevertheless exact objective research into the biological basis and character structure in the potential offender had not been carried out.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck based their research on five hundred delinquent boys and five hundred non-delinquent boys. Each one of the boys was given a standard medical examination, an Intelligence Quotient Test, Rorscharch and other personality tests and in addition the social history of the family of each boy was examined minutely. Now the basis of the prediction or diagnostic tables is one of objectified and tabulated experience on every one of the thousand case studies and the theory behind the prediction tables is the same as that which underlies any kind

of actuarial work. The tables are made up of five factors termed the "Five Factorial Analysis" and summed up in the term "A weighted failure score". Three of those tabled are constructed on marked differences in character structure, personality traits and family history.

It is necessary at this juncture to examine in more minute detail these three tables. The first table deals with character structure and to this end the Rorsharch Ink Blot Test is used. The results are tabulated in a five factor system or as termed in New Zealand a five point range. The five factors which comprise the character formation of the person tested are as follows:-

Assertiveness, defiance, suspiciousness,
destructiveness and emotional liability.

It seems inadequate that only one test is used to tabulate the following character traits but nevertheless results so far have proved correct judgment in nearly every case.

The method of discovering the personality trait is carried out by a skilled psychiatrist through means of interviews. Again the five factors range is used in this group and the underlying conclusions are based on the measurements and are thus:-

Adventurousness, extrovert action, suggestability,
Stubbornness and emotional instability.

The third table is constructed around the family history, social background and such other details as can be discovered by means of interviews. Some of the points raised deal with such facts as the discipline of the child by the father, the supervision by the mother, the affection of the father and mother for the child and

the cohesiveness of the family group. For example the five factor analysis of the discipline of the child by the father consists of the following words:-

Lax, over-strict, erratic,

firm and kindly.

The supervision of a boy by the mother can be summed up as either suitable, fair or unsuitable. Furthermore the affection for the child by the father and/or mother may be warm, indifferent or hostile. Finally the cohesiveness of the family or the "we-feeling" of the home may be seen as an integrated or disintegrated group.

By means of these prediction tables a question posed to Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck dealt with the percentage of correct results obtained. It is noticeable so the report stated that from tests carried out by means of the above tables for the idea of suitability or otherwise of two hundred men for the army, the results were as follows:-

85% were found "poor risks" for the army.

10% had satisfactory adjustment.

5% error by the tables.

Naturally there is a great deal of resistance to the prediction tables and two objections centre around the fact that first of all the tables have a lack of individualisation, for it is argued, surely no two human beings are alike. Secondly so much honesty is needed by the person being interviewed that if he has an idea that the stigma of being labelled a pre-delinquent is to be cast upon him his answers will surely be falsified.

On the other hand it must be remembered that the tables are not meant to be a substitute in any way whatsoever for judgment but are to be used only to aid the study and control and to help the prevention of delinquency. Suffice is it to state that any table which can predict a delinquent act even several years prior to the act itself in eighty-five cases out of every hundred must demand serious consideration from investigators. These tables and the use of them if proved successful may be an important measure in the fight against delinquency.

Prediction and diagnostic tables are mainly based on the idea of emotional and personality adjustments to society and thus the modern trend in vogue is proved not to be environmental, physical, intellectual but stress the defects in the personality and character structure. The psycho-dynamic and psycho-analytical schools also stress this fact and thus Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck by means of their prediction tables have confirmed the work of the investigators in the above schools.

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CHAPTER IX.

SYNTHESIS AND MULTIPLE CAUSATION.

From the study of the previous chapters it seems fairly conclusive that no sharp line of cleavage or no line of demarcation can be drawn between a delinquent and a non-delinquent. The problem is therefore one of degree only.

Juvenile delinquency is surely a social concept affecting a number of people usually between the ages of twelve to fifteen years. Of these only a very small percentage - no more than eight percent approximately - are illegitimate but nearly one quarter of the parents are divorced or separated and sixteen per cent have imcompatible marital relationships, while nearly three quarters of them have criminal records in the family. To this extent the home life is not conducive to wholesome behaviour but to offset this fact there are many more homes with similar records of court convictions where the children have not committed any delinquent act. The fact of poverty in the home either does not, of necessity, mean that any delinquent act is committed for that reason as only one quarter of delinquent children come from poor homes. Incorrect discipling moral behaviour,

environmental amusements and many other similar causes have been given as the reason of the delinquent act but as the first chapter readily sums up these are only contributing factors in the whole case for none of them by themselves are sufficient to be termed the sole factor in the determination of delinquency.

Intellectual subnormality either in terms of backwardness, retardation or even to the extent of being classed morons or feebleminded persons has been proved by statistics that it is not the cause of delinquency. Again it is seen and proved that only a little more than one quarter of the delinquents appearing before the courts have below average intellect.

Perhaps the answer is more acceptable when the conclusion seems to point out that crime is committed because there is a personality defect and that the environmental factors take advantage of this and the act is committed. In other words in a personality which is whole, sound and developed the poor environmental situation would not have so much effect upon the person concerned as it does when the character structure is unsound.

Stealing seems to be the main offence in boys with truancy allied closely to it but in girls the situation is different. Stealing again is the main crime committed by girls but following very closely are sexual offences. This is due, no doubt, to incomplete or wrong development physically, morally and psychologically and also to defective family discipline and relationship. Figures prove this to be true for in girls the fact of defective discipline occurs in at least sixty per cent of the cases studied. Most of the offences are committed in the

street because there is nothing to do and the street is the natural meeting place of the 'Gang'. Another reason would be that the person concerned does not desire to do anything for there are certainly many cultural and social clubs which can be joined. Even in the home a great number of offences are committed and it is noted that most of the offences occur either on a Saturday or Sunday when leisure time hangs heavily. Delinquent acts, in Britain at any rate, seem to be seasonal. The peak months are centred around June and December. The former perhaps because it is summer and the nights are long and conducive to such deeds and the latter because it is near Christmas and money is needed for the festive season.

Physical backwardness or underdevelopment or malnutrition cannot be blamed for delinquency either for in very few cases is physical retardation seen in the physique of the delinquent.

It would appear therefore that the only valid conclusion is that each delinquent child has a multiplicity of causes contributing to the delinquent act. No one cause alone is the sole determinant of the offence itself. These contributing factors have been named by Burt as the factors of "Multiple Causation".

From the Statistics given in the previous chapters it would be true to state that no more than one third of the offences could be blamed on hereditary factors while the remainder namely, two thirds are environmental in origin and Burt would affirm that ~~most~~ most of these would have more than one factor accounting for

the delinquent act and that not one of these alone is the sole factor in determining the causation of delinquency. To this end Burt lists a great number of conflicting causes and these include defective discipline, specific instincts, emotional instability, morbid emotional conditions, a family history of vice or crime, intelledtual disabilities, detrimental interests such as over-frequency at the cinema or other such like places, developmental conditions, a family history of intellectual weakness, defective family relationships, influences outside the home, a family history of physical weakness and poverty and physical weakness or infirmity. These causes he attributes as the contributing factors in the aetiology of juvenile delinquency.

It would thus appear that hereditary works not directly but indirectly along constitutional lines such as dull or deffective intellect and that the environmental factors outside of the home are far less important than those inside. In other words the home relationship or family relationship, especially the mother-child one, under the stress of the environment may either safe-guard the child or not. Poverty, recreational facilities, cultural amenities and other such-like environmental conditions are far less important than moral conditions and family relation-ships. This does not mean to say that these environmental factors can be forgotten or minimised for that is not the case, but they are secondary causes in this study. Without a faulty personality or defective character these conditions would have little room in which to work but needless to say the opposite ideas

hold some truth also, for if environmental factors did not hold so much stress on the personality the structure and development of the child might be normal. Perhaps it could be stated then that the psychological factors are supreme in number and strength and that intellectual factors are more serious in the causation of delinquency than physical ones and that emotional ones are more important than the intellectual factors. It is noticed also that at least in fifty per cent of delinquent cases four conditions are paramount. These conditions are namely, mental dullness, temperamental instability, family life and friendships outside the home. Most investigators would agree that to some little extent the first two conditions are there and that in a great degree family life, upbringing, discipline and relationship is the most important condition of all. Friendships outside the home as a cause of juvenile delinquency has no real merit whatsoever.

British and American investigators in this field of study would come together in a wide area of agreement regarding the multiple causation of juvenile delinquency. Few would disagree with Burt's ideas that as an average each delinquent child is a product of nine or ten circumstances at least with one as a rule predominating. Although some social workers are dogmatic that environmental factors are the sole causation and although other investigators would proclaim that either intellect, personality, character, temperament and physical conditions are the sole determinants nevertheless their theories do not adequately fulfil

every condition. Some may hold to the psycho-dynamic theories, some may agree to the theories of the psycho-analysts such as Freud, Aichhorn and Friedlander nevertheless these theories can be biased. It would appear, therefore, that only Burt's theory of multiple causation is the one which is of greatest value in the study of the causation of juvenile delinquency.

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CHAPTER X.

C O N C L U S I O N.

It has been the endeavour of this thesis to bring together all the existing strands om the subject of the aetiology of juvenile delinquency and having achieved this examine them and try to discover some means whereby a synthesis of all the root causes of this social evil may be found. To this end environmental, psychological, physical, intellectual and personality factors have been examined. In doing this many contrary and opposing facts have been collated, described and commented upon as well as various opinions and theories held. It is noticeable that in many fields of this subject there is a decided clash of opinion especially between British and American investigators and this is seen most clearly in the aspect of mental deficiency. This may be due partly to different social and environmental conditions and partly that different techniques and methods of measurement testing are used. It appears that the clash of opinion is a veritable battleground in which no quarter is given and none asked and in which no compromise can be achieved. Each investigator in his own field of study and in line with his own

theory held believes that his is the correct and complete answer tto the problem and that the others are experimenting in the wrong avenues.

In conclusion the act of delinquency may be caused partly by physical illness, infirmity, or incomplete development of the central nervous system. Again it may be due in some measure to the malfunctioning of the glands which create therefore an obstacle in the development of the Ego and this Ego maladjustment tends to lead towards a feeling of insecurity and social maladaption.

It may be that the delinquent child is unfavourably situated in some social or environmental conditions which are not conducive to hie development. Here the unfavourable conditions existing may be poverty, bad housing, bad residential areas, lack of finance, bad companions or any of the myriad causes in the environmental field. These factors may be the birth-place of insecurity also.

Weakness may be found in the emotional development, the personality may be under-developed, instincts may not be completely modified and family life may cause the character of the child to become warped and any or all of these causes may again lead to insecurity.

Insecurity and anxiety work closely together and relief has to be found. The outlet is the delinquent act.

Every study of delinquency must of necessity include nature and nuture, the segments and the complete mechanism of human nature, the partial and the complete personality and social activity and cultural outlets.

Indeed it would be only too true to state that delinquency is "a bio-psycho-social phenomenon".

Perhaps this thesis brings out only too clearly that delinquent behaviour in any given area and at any given time depends on a variety of factors so that no generalisation can be applied to any single factor in that it is the exclusive and sole cause of the delinquent act. Because there are no simple characters there is therefore no simple cause. However, like a beacon shining out in the darkness of the night the facts given seem to prove that all the causes are determined to some degree by the mother-child relationship and the emotional situation found in the home.

The multiplicity of contributing factors, seeing that no single universal one is the determinant alone, have their seat of action in the human personality disturbed or incompleted by faulty emotional and character development mainly through this mother-child relationship is the conclusion and the synthesis of the majority of investigators in the battle-ground of the aetiology of juvenile delinquency.

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