

A b s t r a c t:

~~A STUDY OF~~ THE DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION THEORY AS IT
AFFECTS PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR IN THE
DELINQUENT INDIVIDUAL

by

Joseph Power

This study investigates juvenile delinquent behavior and the effect gang associations and personality has on behavior once a delinquent has accepted or has been chosen for differential association. Edwin Sutherland's theory on differential association was used as a starting point and a guide throughout. It is an individual thesis divided into two separate parts; the main project was written as one part of a group study of the clients at a Welfare agency while the other project was an independent study of the clients at a Mental Health Clinic.

The active records of forty-nine male delinquents at the Department of Public Welfare in Halifax were the source of the data for the main project; thirty-six records of male delinquents from a special project completed for the years 1957-59 at the Halifax Mental Health Clinic for Children were the source of the data for the independent study. Data relevant to this individual thesis was extracted from the schedules and statistical tests of significant (Fisher's exact test of significance and Fisher's test for significance levels) carried out.

The hypothesis that the pattern of offenses in the delinquent individual should somewhat resemble the pattern of offenses of the individuals with whom he associates was found to be insignificant. The type of influence the gang has on the delinquent individual was found also not to be significant. The methodology proved faulty for two reasons---the lack of a control group of nondelinquents and the lack of personal interviewing of delinquents. It was concluded that social workers need to be made more aware of a group approach to delinquents and delinquent gangs and some recommendations were (offered in this regard.

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THE DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION THEORY AND
PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR IN THE
DELINQUENT INDIVIDUAL

A Study to Establish Whether the Delinquent Individual Learns
his Patterns of Behavior from the Delinquent Individuals with
whom he Associates.

A Thesis

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INTRODUCTION

Many theories have been advanced during the last two centuries concerning juvenile delinquency and all that it entails. Starting with Lombroso, who was the first to present a theory explaining criminal behavior, down to present-day theoreticians, juvenile delinquency has presented a very confusing picture. Part of the confusion is the difficulty in finding a workable definition of the term "juvenile delinquency".¹ According to the Juvenile Delinquent Act, a juvenile delinquent means:

Any child who while apparently or actually under the age of sixteen years, has violated any provision of the Criminal Code or any Dominion or Provincial Statute, or any by-law or ordinance of a municipality, or who is guilty of a sexual immorality or any similar form of vice, or who is liable by reason of any other to be committed to an industrial school or juvenile reformatory under the provisions of any Dominion or Provincial Statute.¹

For the purposes of this study a juvenile delinquent will further be defined as a child who has made one or more court appearances according to the records of the Department of Public Welfare and the Halifax Mental Health Clinic for Children.

¹/ Dominion of Canada Statutes, 1929, THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT ACT, c. 46, S/1.

✓ Although there have been many theories advanced attempting to explain delinquent behavior by a single casual factor, it is now generally accepted that there is no single cause of delinquent behavior. Although this confusion about casual factors is very prevalent most theories, however, are concentrating more on the preventive aspects of delinquency rather than on its punitive aspects. ✓

Sutherland's theory on differential delinquent association is offered as one of the sociological theories explaining this type of behavior. Its main contention is that criminal or delinquent behavior is learned within the context of close, intimate groups in a process of communication. Sutherland's theory and his first three hypotheses will be used as the basis for this study.

This study revolves around two different projects on juvenile delinquency. The first and main project is part of a larger one carried out by eight second-year students at the Maritime School of Social Work as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's Degree in Social Work. This study was conducted to help the student to obtain an understanding of the method of social work research.

The general topic is juvenile delinquency and this particular project deals with group association and personality as they reflect on patterns of behavior in the delinquent individual. The main project was carried out at the Department of Public Welfare in Halifax whose files were made available for this purpose. Forty-nine cases out of a possible two hundred and twenty-three cases made

available were chosen from a pre-arranged random sample. As many of the questions on the schedules involved value judgements it was decided by the group to take approximately one-third of the forty-nine cases to test the validity of the value judgements. These cross-references showed that the value judgements were valid in nearly ninety percent of the cases and that the ten percent difference would not in any way distort the data.

The second project was an independent study carried out at the Halifax Mental Health Clinic for Children on thirty-six delinquents who attended the clinic between the years 1957-59. As this is an independent study, the researcher was responsible for all aspects of this particular project. The questions asked of this data were somewhat better formulated and the information contained in the files was much more detailed especially around gang associations and group activity. It was felt that the data obtained in this study would yield much more significant results for the testing of the null hypothesis. Secondary data was obtained from other research studies done on juvenile delinquency and a companion thesis.

For the purposes of this study the terms "criminal behavior" and "delinquent behavior" will refer to the same type of behavior and will be used interchangeably; also the terms "group" and "gang" will have the same meaning.

In writing a thesis of this nature certain limitations were apparent. First of all, the records used in this study were not prepared for research purposes and in some cases much relevant

information was missing or was not available. Secondly, the short time allotted for the writing of this thesis did not allow for the personal interviewing of juvenile delinquents. This left much to be desired since some of the indicators concerned group associations and the involvement of value judgements. Other delinquents, outside the Metropolitan area, were not referred to and this created a bias along with the fact that only delinquent boys were used.

The aim of this study will be to show whether delinquency is a learned process which develops in early childhood and quite possibly persists throughout life. There will be an endeavour to show whether there is a relationship between the pattern of offenses in the delinquent individual and his associates in the delinquent gang and the effect, if any, the gang has on the delinquent's behavior. More specifically, there is one main hypothesis with two corollaries. The main hypothesis states that the specific pattern of offenses in the delinquent individual should somewhat resemble the type of offenses of the individuals with whom he associates. The second hypothesis states that the delinquent will learn his attitudes of hostility toward community agencies of social control from the delinquent gang which will endeavour to promote such attitudes. The third hypothesis is that the delinquent will engage in daring and skillful acts to gain prestige in the gang. The indicators used to test these hypothesis considered: 1) gang membership, 2) gang example, 3) gang leadership, 4) gang emulation, 5) degrees of hostility, 6) degrees of resourcefulness and daring, and 7) degrees of difficulty in relations with

authority figures.

This study is probative in nature and considers the relationships between the delinquent and his delinquent gang. It would seem to be quite relevant at this time because of the confusing picture concerning juvenile delinquency and it may also shed some light on more effective treatment and prevention of the juvenile delinquent and his delinquencies. Two statistical methods were used to test this data. They were Fisher's exact test of significance and Fisher's test using significance levels. Both tests make use of a 2 x 2 table employing one degree of freedom. For the purposes of this study a level of significance of .05 was chosen as being adequate before the null hypothesis might be rejected.

Although the study did not prove to be conclusive according to the methodology and its theoretical base, it did indicate that gang influence plays a great part in a delinquent's "acting out" in society.

CHAPTER I

THEORIES ON DELINQUENCY

The expression, or acting out, of impulses or conflicts in socially unacceptable behavior can and does occur at any age. It is probably most prevalent and alarming in adolescents ... whether the adolescent delinquent will strengthen his controls enough to prevent adult anti-social expression depends on both his personality structure and his relationships with people important to him during this period.^{1/}

According to Doctor Vedder,^{2/} no social problem has wrought deeper concern throughout the world than juvenile delinquency. The number of books, pamphlets, reports, journals and statistical analyses dealing with the subject of delinquency is prodigious. Certain elements within society have been greatly concerned with developing a better understanding of juvenile delinquency and in finding ways of coping with its problems. What makes the task all the more difficult, especially in juvenile delinquency research, is finding a workable definition of delinquency itself. Wide differences exist in defining not only the age limits of a person labelled a juvenile delinquent, but also, the kinds of

^{1/} C. Knight Aldrich, PSYCHIATRY FOR THE FAMILY PHYSICIAN; McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., New York, 1955, P. 134

^{2/} Clyde B. Vedder, Ph.D., THE JUVENILE OFFENDER; Doubleday and Company Inc., New York, 1954

behavior that are to be considered as law-violating.

Delinquency is a legal term for a social problem, it is a reflection of conflicts and pressures in an individual, in his home, and in his surroundings. According to the Gesell Institute of Child Development^{1/} the problem of delinquency seems to lie in the balance between a child's basic individuality and his environment. This individuality which consists of the genetic predispositions a child brings into the world with him, is shaped through growth and organized through experience into personality. The many forces that are brought or lumped together as environmental influences include both legitimate, intimate forces ... a child's family, with their wishes, feelings and methods of discipline ... and broader forces ... a child's neighbourhood and his associates, the community customs and laws.^{2/} For the most part, that which a child responds to will be selected by him out of his environment; in other words, each child will react to such forces in the environment according to his personality.

Though the child's behavior is normally influenced by the kind of home and environment in which he grows up, many of the changes which will take place in his behavior will be determined from within. In other words, a child's basic individuality is a determining factor,

^{1/} Francis Ilg and Louise Ames, THE GESELL INSTITUTE'S CHILD BEHAVIOR; Dell Publishing Company Inc., New York, 1958

^{2/} Ibid.

along with his home and his environment, in how he will actually behave. However, these changes do not mean that a child's basic personality and his environment are divorced from one another, It is generally believed that one is the result of the other and both factors combine to shape his personality. All during the adolescent years a child's personality is in a constant state of change; his behavior is readily outgoing and he looks for ways and means of expressing this behavior. Thus adolescence is a great period of change ... a time of transition from childhood to adulthood ... a crucial period of behavior adjustment.^{1/}

Since juvenile delinquency is such a pressing problem, elements within society have often attempted to explain and understand the underlying causes of the behavior that might lead to delinquent acts. Many of the sciences and the professions have been involved in arriving at the present-day knowledge concerning juvenile delinquency. Among these are included anthropology, economics, law, medicine, psychiatry, psychology and sociology.^{2/} Each of these, in turn, has made certain contributions to man's understanding of the delinquent problem. In doing this research into the problem of delinquency Shulman^{3/} has found that delinquent behavior is associated to

^{1/} Francis Ilg and Louise Ames, OP. CIT.

^{2/} Harry Shulman, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY, Harper Brothers, New York, 1961

^{3/} Ibid.

a greater or lesser degree with social and personal pathologies, such as poverty and bad housing. It has been the belief of many that delinquent behavior was usually due to some characteristic or trait of the personality and that this trait was in the nature of a general pathological condition which existed prior to the delinquent behavior and was the cause of it.^{1/} This whole question of why young people "act out" involves all the social sciences in discovering the answer. Because of the involvement of so many sciences there has arisen a wide divergence of opinion with regards to the causes and/or reasons for delinquency. The most prevalent among these causes include poverty, slums, depression, inflation, parental inadequacies and the like.^{2/} For some young people, any of these conditions could be 'the main cause' for their delinquent acts. However, other research studies on delinquency will show that for the majority of young people there is no single condition that could be considered the one and only cause for such acts.

Ever since the time Lombroso^{3/} shifted man's attention from the crime to the criminal, theories of crime and delinquency have arisen which have attempted to explain why such a person acted as he did. A more reasonable approach which has been suggested by Sutherland^{4/}

1/ Harry Shulman, OP. CIT. Chapter V ,

2/ Ibid. Chapter V

3/ Bernard Lander, TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY; Columbia University Press, New York, 1958

4/ Edwin Sutherland, PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY; J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1947

states that any attempt to explain delinquent behavior should be directed towards those factors that would differentiate delinquent behavior from nondelinquent behavior. It would seem that the analysis of the problem of juvenile delinquency would have to take into consideration the contributions of the social sciences and related professions since a problem like juvenile delinquency "... demands the broadest possible approach."^{1/}

Although it is now generally accepted that delinquent behavior is due to a multiplicity of causes it still has proven quite difficult to ascertain the reasons why some juvenile behavior is delinquent. Thorsten Sellin and Edwin Sutherland^{2/} were foremost in establishing the multiplicity of causes theory. However, even this theory proved to be not without criticism since it did not explain the existence of nondelinquents in the homes from which the majority of delinquents come. With such findings delinquency research became an inquiry into the combination of pathological factors that led to delinquent behavior ---- the differentiating of delinquents from nondelinquents. Noted in this field were William Healy and the Gluecks^{3/} who supported the thesis that juvenile delinquency was the product of environmental pathology in the family or community or of a combination of these influences.

^{1/} Harry Shulman, OP. CIT. Chapter V

^{2/} Ibid.

^{3/} Ibid.

Although the multiple-factor theory, as developed by Sellin and Sutherland^{1/} led to many significant findings, it still failed to expand on the detailed differences that exist between delinquents and nondelinquents. Due to the inherent inadequacies in the multiple-factor theory a more adequate framework of delinquency causation theory needed to be investigated. In looking for other approaches to this dilemma George H Mead^{2/} regarded social behavior as the outcome of a conversation of attitudes. This theory along with other related social theories, led, in turn, to alternate theories of differential social organization as developed by Park, Burgess, Shaw and Sutherland.^{3/}

Edwin Sutherland^{4/} refined this process even further by hypothesizing that delinquency was learned in a process of interaction through delinquent associations. He further says that "... the main problem seems to be one of explaining and differentiating delinquent from nondelinquent behavior"^{5/} Thus, instead of looking for causes in the factorial sense, an attempt was made to seek to achieve an understanding of the varieties of socialization. Since delinquent

1/ Harry Shulman, OP. CIT.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Ibid.

4/ Edwin Sutherland and Donald R Cressey, PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY; J. B. Lippincott Co., Chicago, 1955

5/ Ibid.

behavior is human behavior it should, according to Sutherland, come under a general theory of behavior. However, for the purposes of this study, only those aspects of human behavior that delineate delinquent behavior from nondelinquent behavior should be considered.

For purposes of understanding and controlling juvenile delinquency, definitive generalizations are needed regarding juvenile delinquency as a whole, with specifications of the general theory applied to particular juvenile delinquent acts. Since there are many causes for delinquent behavior it will be necessary and desirable to define the areas to which any theory applies. It is also highly unlikely that a general theory of delinquency can be sufficiently precise or specific to aid greatly in understanding or controlling all types of delinquency. As this seems to be the case, any study of delinquent behavior must look at the problem in a limited sphere of analysis. In keeping with this belief Sutherland states that "...causal analysis must be held at a particular level."^{1/} Thus, one level of analysis must be strictly adhered to, (as in differential delinquent association) without referring to other factors that might be involved in juvenile delinquent behavior. Again according to Sutherland^{2/} this is quite permissible since the analysis is only concerned with one aspect of the total situation. However, such a particular level of analysis must be maintained throughout the study

^{1/} Edwin Sutherland, OP. CIT. Chapter IV, P. 75

^{2/} Ibid.

in order to reduce the number of variables which must be considered in any theory.

Edwin Sutherland attempted to accomplish this end with his concept of differential delinquent association. This theory emphasizes that "...it is contact with delinquent behavior patterns which is the necessary condition for delinquency and that it is an excess of contacts of this kind which causes delinquency."^{1/} As far as the family is concerned these associations include those within and without the family. The most frequently used evidence to support Sutherland's theory is the large proportion of other members of the families of delinquents who are also known to be delinquent and criminal.

The Gluecks^{2/}, for example, reported that over eighty percent of their subjects were from families in which other members were violators of the law. Shulman's^{3/} studies point to the greater importance of the lateral, or peer group, transmission of delinquency in the family over vertical transmission, or parents to children. A general theory of delinquency such as Sutherland's is mainly concerned with those mechanisms and processes which are important to

^{1/} Donald Cressey, "Application and Verification of the Differential Association Theory" in JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE SCIENCE; V 43, 1952-53; P. 43

^{2/} Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, UNRAVELING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY; Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1950

^{3/} Harry Shulman, OP. CIT. Chapter V

delinquent and nondelinquent behavior. The differential association theory emphasizes the fact that "...it is contact with delinquency or criminal behavior patterns which is the necessary condition for delinquency and that it is an excess of contacts of this kind which causes delinquency."^{1/} Since a precise formula has not yet been developed stating the relationships between favourable and unfavourable definitions of law-violation, only certain segments of the theory can be tested. The main assumption in this theory, therefore, is that "...a delinquent act occurs when a situation appropriate for it, as defined by the person, is present."^{2/}

Sutherland states that delinquent behavior is learned in interaction with other persons, usually intimate personal groups, in a process of communication.^{3/} This social interaction Sutherland writes about is very important and it is usually carried on in the groups to which each individual belongs. The differential association theory explains how the learning process operates once an individual has chosen or has been selected for differential delinquent association. This theory is based on the premise that individuals interact in groups and that from such groups a child develops the necessary skills or qualities to be identified with his group and to conform to its rules and norms. The individual shows a common

1/ Edwin Sutherland, OP. CIT.

2/ Ibid. P. 77

3/ Ibid.

relationship with all other members of his particular group. In the case of differential delinquent association, the group's attitude towards delinquent behavior, whether it be favourable or unfavourable, would represent the norm for the group. Once an individual accepts such a standard all his actions will be related to what the group, as a whole, wants and desires.

Sutherland's theory of differential delinquent association has been chosen as a theoretical base for this study over all other theories on delinquency because it is considered by many to be "... the outstanding sociological formulation of a general theory of crime causation."^{1/} His theory also helps to explain the differential influence of peer and group associations. In approaching delinquent behavior in this way it can be assumed that such behavior is of the same nature as any other kind of behavior and arises through the same general process of socialization. In this way it will be possible to show how a youth becomes delinquent, regardless of personal traits or characteristics, if the proper circumstances and associations conducive to delinquent behavior are present. Thus the development of delinquent behavior involves somewhat the same learning processes as does the development of any other behavior.^{2/} The content of learning, not the process itself, is considered as the significant element determining whether one becomes a delinquent or not.

^{1/} Donald Cressey, OP. CIT. P. 43

^{2/} Edwin Sutherland, OP. CIT. Chapter IV

Chapter II

DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION AND METHODOLOGY

The community helps to shape the individual and the individual acting through his groups, is the only instrumentality through which the community may be made a constructive force in the development of personality.^{1/}

Through Sutherland's theory on delinquency it should be possible to investigate certain environmental aspects concerning behavior for some possible explanation of delinquent behavior. For according to Sutherland, delinquency is a learned process which develops in early childhood and quite possibly persists throughout life. Although he only addresses himself to how delinquency is learned, Sutherland was aware of why, in what appears to be the same situation, some people become delinquent while others do not. However, as was mentioned previously, Sutherland holds that it is not necessary to delineate all aspects of the total situation as long as one level of analysis is strictly adhered to in a general theory of behavior.^{2/} His theory also implies that an attempt is being made to

^{1/} Henry Thruston, CONCERNING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, Columbia University, New York, 1945 P. 197

^{2/} It is interesting to compare this statement with what the Gluecks have to say in their book, UNRAVELING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY; QP. CIT. P. 164, 168

understand a pattern of behavior and not merely one manifestation of behavior.

In formulating his theory of differential delinquent association, Sutherland set up nine hypotheses. They are as follows:

1. Criminal behavior is learned.
2. Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.
3. The principle part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups.
4. When criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes: a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes.
5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favourable and unfavourable.
6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law.
7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity.
8. The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.
9. While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since non-criminal behavior is an expression

of the same needs and values.^{1/}

According to Robuck and Johnson^{2/} nearly all delinquents show a pattern in their criminal activities. In its original form Sutherland's theory "... applied most cogently to those areas in which criminal behavior was learned, and as such, was viewed by Sutherland as operating within a 'closed system' --- one in which criminal patterns of behavior were systematically inculcated."^{3/} Sutherland's theory thus has very important significance for role formation.

The associations which a boy has depends on the area in which he lives and his number of contacts. Boys who become delinquents usually have backgrounds suggestive of relative isolation from the culture of the law-abiding groups, by reason of their residence, their parents' employment, their codes and their capacities. Thus the attitudes of the individual are largely a product of social contacts. The contacts that are of the greatest importance are those that are frequent and intimate, as in the family, the play-groups and the neighbourhood. As a consequence, the behavior, attitudes, beliefs, and values each individual has are all firmly grounded in the groups to which he belongs. The more attractive the group to the

^{1/} Edwin Sutherland, OP. CIT. P. 77-79

^{2/} Julian Robuck and Ronald Johnson, "Crime and Delinquency", in NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CRIME AND DELINQUENCY; V 8, April 1962.

^{3/} Ibid.

delinquent, the greater will be the influence that it might exert upon him.^{1/}

Group formations are a general phenomenon in adolescence.^{2/} The adolescent lives in a setting where opportunities for peer contacts are available and to which he turns to satisfy his desires and urges. Nearly everyone likes to belong, to count in the day-to-day scheme of things and to function without adult initiation or interference.

According to studies done by the Gluecks^{3/} nearly all delinquents "chum" largely with other delinquents. It was also shown in this study, as well as in others, that delinquencies are generally committed by two or more children working together. Behavior among adolescents who associate together with some regularity of their own choice "...are invariably patterned or structured in some degree."^{4/}

Children have strong desires to imitate the behavior exhibited by their friends. Much of a child's developing behavior and many of his attitudes result from conscious and unconscious imitation of the behavior or attitudes of adults and peer associates. For it is fundamental in the "growing up" process that a child needs to feel

^{1/} Edwin Sutherland, OP. CIT.

^{2/} Muzaffer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, REFERENCE GROUPS; Harper and Row, Publishers, New York, 1964

^{3/} Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, OP. CIT. P. 164

^{4/} Ibid.

secure in the affection and approval of others.^{1/}

A child learns delinquent behavior from other members of his primary group very much the same way as he learns other things. The potential reaction of the individual's primary group plays a major role in determining whether or not the individual will engage in deviant behavior. If the individual lacks primary groups which support adherence to the norms of society and identifies himself with others who place a positive value on violating the laws of society, the likelihood of crime increases.^{2/} According to Berelson and Steiner^{3/} juvenile delinquents are people who are not too closely tied to normal social groups or to the society as a whole on account of weak social controls and social disorganization.

Cohen^{4/} suggests that the delinquent feels that he has an inferior status to the wider community and meets others in a similar situation and that the delinquent group restores his standing while at the same time denying the values of the wider community. Cloward and Ohlin,^{5/} for example, contend that for the juvenile to join a delinquent gang he must be freed from commitment to a belief in the

^{1/} Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, OP. CIT.

^{2/} Graham Sykes, CRIME AND SOCIETY; Random House, New York, 1956

^{3/} Bernard Berelson and Gary Steiner, HUMAN BEHAVIOR: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc. New York, 1964 P. 625-26

^{4/} Albert Cohen, DELINQUENT BOYS; The Free Press, Glencoe, 1955

^{5/} Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, DELINQUENCY AND OPPORTUNITY; the Free Press, Glencoe, 1960

legitimacy of certain aspects of the existing organization of means.

Oftentimes respect in the group and hence self-respect depends upon some degree of prowess, or at least willingness to engage in acts defined as delinquent by outsiders.^{1/} In the age demarcation of the gang, internal group pressures and loyalties tend to compel the more youthful and less prestigious members to engage in behavior patterns established by the bolder and older leaders. The individuals in gangs usually dare each other and are constantly thinking of new methods of demonstrating prowess. The more resourceful in the group are looked up to and their example followed.

Sutherland^{2/} states that delinquent behavior occurs within all classes of society. Although this is basically true, children living in low economic areas, where the delinquent rates are usually high, are exposed to contradictory norms and standards of behavior.^{3/} Sometimes this means that a specified act may be considered right and proper in some groups and as immoral, improper and undesirable in other groups. A child growing up in this type of atmosphere will find it quite difficult to delineate with any consistency the conventional way to act in society. Thus a boy's attitudes and habits will reflect the group with which he mainly identifies.

The delinquent group, or gang, with which the individual

1/ Edwin Sutherland, OP. CIT.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Ibid.

associates himself, will influence him towards delinquency and crime in a number of ways.

It will promote attitudes of hostility toward community agencies of social control; it will teach him techniques of crime and a general pattern of destructiveness; it will enforce its system of assigning highest prestige to the most daring or skilled delinquents; and it will serve as a medium of contact between beginners, more experienced juvenile delinquents and older professional criminals.^{1/}

In formulating workable hypotheses for this study it is assumed that delinquents associate largely with other delinquents in delinquent gangs. This assumption is based on Sutherland's third hypothesis^{2/} and substantiated primarily from the studies done by the Gluecks.^{3/} If Sutherland's hypothesis is true, that anti-social behavior is learned in the context of close, intimate groups, then delinquents should show a history of membership in at least one delinquent group. However, at the same time, there is nothing to indicate that nondelinquents have such an experience. Some few people, even delinquents, cannot relate to any group because of some defect in their make-up or in their particular personalities. These would include the isolate, the schzoid, the loner and the non-conformist. Such people then will not ordinarily fall within the scope of this type of study.

^{1/} Bernard Berelson and Gary Steiner, OP. CIT. P. 626

^{2/} Edwin Sutherland, OP. CIT. P. 77-79

^{3/} Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, OP. CIT.

With these few thoughts in mind it should be possible to formulate the following hypotheses:

1. If the principle part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate, personal groups,^{1/} then it should follow that the specific pattern of offenses in the delinquent individual should somewhat resemble the pattern of offenses of the delinquent individuals with whom he associates. This hypothesis will be the primary concern of this study.

2. From this main hypothesis, it should also follow that the delinquent will learn his attitudes of hostility toward community agencies of social control from his particular delinquent gang(s) which will endeavour to promote such attitudes. In this study, community agencies of social control will refer to authority figures such as teachers, the police, probation officers, and the like. Of course, it is assumed that parents are the delinquent's first contact with authority figures.

3. Finally, it might also be hypothesized that the delinquent will engage in daring or skillful acts with some degree of prowess to gain prestige in the gang; that is, to achieve companionship, status, security and most important, acceptance.

In this study, the term "adolescent" will be used quite loosely and will refer to some pre-adolescents as well as adolescents. For the most part, the term will be used in reference to children in

^{1/} Edwin Sutherland, OP. CIT. P. 77-79

the ten-to-sixteen age range. Also the terms "group" and "gang" will be used interchangeably and will refer to children or youths who usually band together for anti-social reasons. As was mentioned previously most of the delinquent boys involved in this project will fall within the ten-to-sixteen age range. To most of these children, the most important part of their existence is being accepted as "one of the group". It is this basic desire in a society that stresses the importance of "getting along with people" that makes it easy for the youth of today to confuse "getting along" with being accepted at almost any cost. Children in this age range are either at or have entered a stage in life when they are starting to sever dependency relationships with parents.

In this particular study delinquent behavior will refer essentially to that behavior that is learned in groups, and more specifically as it is set out in the Juvenile Delinquent Act.

Together with seven other second-year students at the Maritime School of Social Work writing their theses on juvenile delinquency, a schedule of assessment of delinquents' files was prepared covering forty-five specific questions. This project was carried out at the Department of Public Welfare in Halifax whose files were made available for the purpose of this research undertaking. The group was responsible for making up the schedules and for collecting the data from the case history records of the delinquent boys. Each individual was responsible for ensuring that the questions needed to gather the data pertinent to his individual aspect of the study were included in the schedules. Each

individual was also expected to participate fully in the responsibilities pertinent to the study.

The study consisted of an examination of forty-nine cases which were chosen from a pre-arranged random sample. These files were taken from a total of two hundred and twenty-three still active cases. Since many of the questions on the schedules involved value judgements it was decided by the group to take a certain number of these cases as cross-references to check their validity. Fifteen of these forty-nine cases were chosen for this purpose and it was felt by the group that the cross-references showed that the value judgements were valid in nearly ninety percent of the cases. The slight differences encountered in the value judgements were felt to have little effect on the overall purpose of the study.

All the members in the group were concerned with a different aspect of juvenile delinquency. These included juvenile delinquency and 1) paternal deprivation; 2) social disorganization; 3) anomie; 4) maternal deprivation and paternal role; 5) family cohesiveness; 6) personality traits and characteristics; and 7) criminal activity in the family.

To test the hypotheses outlined in this study, seven questions were asked of the data. These included questions on associations and personality and in the schedules they included questions thirty-nine through forty-five. These seven indicators included questions on 1) gang membership; 2) gang leadership; 3) gang example; 4) leader emulation; 5) hostility; 6) resourcefulness or daring; and 7) delinquent difficulty with authority figures.

In any research undertaking there are certain limitations and limits; the limitations being inherent in the study itself and the limits being self-imposed. The main limitation in this study is one of reality. The time allotted for the writing of this thesis which is equal to one academic semester, is too short. Time did not permit the personal interviewing of delinquents which would have clarified their group associations. The records that were made available for the data collection were not prepared for the purposes of research, and therefore, in many cases, much relevant information was not available. Also, information pertaining to groups would be somewhat limited since social workers and welfare officers carry such a heavy caseload that their recordings are usually brief. The selection of only delinquent boys for study could be considered another limitation since the study only considers one part of the delinquent population. A further limitation might include Francis Nye's argument; that institutionalized populations are biased with disproportionate numbers of individuals from the lowest socio-economic levels. He states that as a result a social or psychological variable found more frequently among individuals in the lower social classes might erroneously be assumed to be related to delinquent behavior.^{1/}

The fact that only delinquent boys in the Halifax-Dartmouth Metropolitan area were chosen for this study is a limit placed on this study as the figure presented may not be a true indication of

^{1/} Francis Nye, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR; Wiley Press, New York, 1958

the population at large. Only a small random sample was used which further limits the study's reliability. Another limit lies in the value judgements, which although proven ninety percent correct, are still value judgements. Finally in choosing Sutherland's theory, a strict level of analysis must be adhered to and no account can be made of the psychological and other aspects involved in delinquent behavior.

Chapter III

STUDY DESIGN AND FINDINGS

For the sake of clarity in presentation this present chapter is divided into two parts. Part I is concerned with a description of the findings of the study undertaken at the Department of Public Welfare in Halifax. Part II is concerned with an independent study done at the Halifax Mental Health Clinic for Children in Halifax.

Part I DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE STUDY

This study was done on forty-nine male delinquents from the files of the Department of Public Welfare in Halifax. These files were chosen from a pre-arranged random sample out of a total population of two hundred and twenty-three delinquents, whose cases are still active. These cases included only male delinquents from the Halifax-Dartmouth Metropolitan area. The information necessary for the completion of this study was taken from these forty-nine files and recorded on schedules identical to the schedule contained in Appendix A.

Tables I through VII show the statistical tabulation of the questions asked on the schedules. This study deals with patterns of anti-social behavior in the delinquent individual and the influence the group has on this behavior. The study considers a delinquent's: 1) membership in delinquent gangs; 2) the example the gang sets; 3) emulation of the gang leader, if any; 4) degrees of hostility; 5)

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF FORTY-FIVE DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
AS TO GANG MEMBERSHIPS.

	Explicitly		Implicitly		Total
	Confirmed	Denied	Confirmed	Denied	
<u>Group I^b</u>	7	2	8	7	24
<u>Group II^c</u>	4	3	11	3	21
<u>Total</u>	11	5	19	10	45

a/ This table does not include four cases which were not indicated on the schedules.

b/ Group I represents number of cases showing membership in gangs.

c/ Group II represents number of cases showing no membership in gangs.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF THIRTY-NINE DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
AS TO GANG LEADERSHIP^a

	Explicitly		Implicitly		Total
	Confirmed	Denied	Confirmed	Denied	
<u>Group Ia/</u>	4	2	1	12	19
<u>Group IIa/</u>	1	1	4	14	20
<u>Total</u>	5	3	5	26	39

a/ This table does not include ten cases which were not indicated on the schedules.

b/ Group I represents number of cases showing gang leadership.

c/ Group II represents number of cases showing no gang leadership.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF THIRTY-TWO DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
AS TO GANG EXAMPLES

	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Occasionally	Rarely	Total
<u>Group Ia/</u>	1	10	4	0	0	15
<u>Group Ib/</u>	0	9	4	3	1	17
<u>Total</u>	1	19	8	3	1	32

a/ This table does not include seven cases which were uncertain, not applicable, or not indicated on the schedules.

b/ Group I represents number of cases showing gang example.

c/ Group II represents number of cases showing no gang example.

TABLE IV
 DISTRIBUTION OF EIGHTEEN DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
 OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
 AS TO LEADER EMULATION^{a/}

	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Occasionally	Rarely	Total
<u>Group Ib/</u>	0	4	4	0	0	8
<u>Group IIb/</u>	0	3	7	0	0	10
<u>Total</u>	0	7	11	0	0	18

- a/ This table does not include thirty-one cases which were uncertain, not applicable or not indicated on the schedules.
- b/ Group I represents number of cases showing leader emulation.
- c/ Group II represents number of cases showing no leader emulation.

Table V

DISTRIBUTION OF FORTY-TWO DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
AS TO HOSTILITY TO OTHERS

	very frequently	frequently	sometimes	rarely	very rarely	total
<u>Group I^b</u>	6	8	5	5	0	24
<u>Group II^c</u>	1	4	5	5	3	18
<u>Total</u>	7	12	10	10	3	42

a/ This table does not include seven cases which were uncertain or not indicated on the schedules.

b/ Group I represents number of cases showing hostility.

c/ Group II represents number of cases showing no hostility.

Table VI

DISTRIBUTION OF FORTY-SEVEN DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
AS TO DIFFICULTY WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES^{a/}

	very frequently	frequently	sometimes	rarely	very rarely	total
<u>Group I^{b/}</u>	4	16	3	2	1	26
<u>Group II^{c/}</u>	0	5	9	6	1	21
<u>Total =</u>	4	21	12	8	2	47

a/ This table does not include two cases which were uncertain from the schedules.

b/ Group I represents number of cases showing difficulty.

c/ Group II represents number of cases showing no difficulty.

Table VII

DISTRIBUTION OF THIRTY-TWO DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
AS TO RESOURCEFULNESS OR DARING^{a/}

	very frequently	frequently	sometimes	rarely	very rarely	total
<u>Group I^{b/}</u>	0	6	10	3	1	20
<u>Group II^{c/}</u>	0	1	7	3	1	12
<u>Total</u>	0	7	17	6	2	32

a/ This table does not include seventeen cases which were uncertain or were not indicated on the schedules.

b/ Group I represents number of cases showing resourcefulness or daring.

c/ Group II represents number of cases showing no resourcefulness or daring.

degrees of resourcefulness or daring; 6) leadership in gangs; and 7) degrees of difficulty in relations with authority figures.

In order to evaluate the significance of the data in this study, statistical inference will be used. Adhering to the requirement of scientific inquiry statistical validity will be sought by using the null hypothesis. The procedure used in this study is that outlined by Siegel^{1/} with some clarification by English and English.^{2/}

Applying the null hypothesis to the first hypothesis, this would read as follows: the specific pattern of offenses in the delinquent individual do not somewhat resemble the pattern of offenses of the delinquent individuals with whom he associates and that the values in Tables I, II, III and IV are the result of chance alone. Tables I through IV refer to the indicators used to gather the data to test the main hypothesis. According to Siegel^{3/} when the number of cases to be tested is less than twenty, then the Fisher test must be used. This is an exact test of significance for a 2 x 2 table. This test enables the calculation of exact probabilities and avoids the use of the continuous chi-square distribution to obtain approximate probabilities. It may be used appropriately where the expected cell frequencies

1/ Sidney Siegel, NON-PARAMETRIC STATISTICS FOR THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES; McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., New York, 1956

2/ Horace B. English and Eva Champney English, A COMPREHENSIVE DICTIONARY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOANALYTICAL TERMS; David McKay Co. Inc. New York, 1962 P. 350

3/ Ibid. P. 110

are small. In the first three tables, only those cases which stated an explicit answer were used to test the null hypothesis. Explicit answers were mainly used in order to get a more precise test for the null hypothesis. However, the fourth table yielded such a small number of explicit answers that the explicit and implicit answers were combined to test the null hypothesis. This was permissible since the cross-references showed that the value judgements were valid in nearly ninety percent of the cases.

Ferguson^{1/} says that with certain types of data it is common practice to combine frequencies. In order to apply the Fisher 2 x 2 test in Tables III and IV, this became a necessity. Thus the frequencies that fell under: always, usually and sometimes were combined under the one heading---usually. The frequencies that fell under: occasionally and rarely were combined under the one heading---occasionally. It was felt that these two groupings would not seriously distort the data. Also according to Ferguson^{2/} an exact test of significance such as the Fisher test may be applied with one degree of freedom where the expected frequencies are small. The number of degrees of freedom in a 2 x 2 or fourfold table is $(2-1)(2-1) = 1$.

The sample size has already been specified as being forty-nine cases. For purposes of this study a level of significance of .05 has

1/ George A. Ferguson, STATISTICAL ANALYSIS IN PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION; McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., New York 1959 P. 172

2/ Ibid. P. 172

been selected as being adequate before rejecting the null hypothesis. This means that five times in every hundred, the rejection of the hypothesis will be a mistake. In other words, the sample results will be due to chance. The calculation of the Fisher test is based on the figures shown in a) Table I, 16; b) Table II, 8; c) Table III, 7; d) Table IV, 17.

Since the Fisher test is an exact test, the level of significance is the .05 level, any figure greater than this does not allow the rejection of the null hypothesis. Before computing the values of the statistical tests a more detailed explanation of the Fisher test would be appropriate. In using this test it is only necessary to " ...calculate the probabilities associated with the observed table and those that represent more extreme departures from expectation in the same direction."^{1/} The formula for this test is:

$$P = \frac{(A + B)! (C + D)! (A + C)! (B + D)!}{N! A! B! C! D!}$$

The numerator is the product of factorials of the marginal totals. The denominator is N! times the product of the factorials of the cell frequencies. The factorial of any number say 5, is 5 x 4 x 3 x 2 x 1 = 120; also 0! = 1 ...The probability of obtaining a degree of association equal to or better than the one observed is obtained by summing the probabilities ...^{2/}

When the hypothesis was put to the test, the results were much

^{1/} George A. Ferguson, OP. CIT. P. 174

^{2/} Ibid.

greater than what is permitted at the .05 level; therefore the null hypothesis could not be rejected at this chosen level of significance. Therefore, the converse of the hypothesis of this study must be rejected. This means that the specific pattern of offenses in the delinquent individual resembling the pattern of offenses of the individuals with whom he associates is insignificant.

Applying the null hypothesis to the second hypothesis this would read as follows: The delinquent will not learn his attitudes of hostility toward community agencies of social control from the gang which will not endeavour to promote such attitudes and that the values in Tables V and VI are the result of chance alone. Tables V and VI refer to the indicators used to gather the data to test the second hypothesis. When this second hypothesis was put to the test it was also clearly shown that the null hypothesis could not be rejected at the chosen level of significance. Therefore, the converse of this hypothesis must be rejected. This means that the delinquent learning his attitudes of hostility toward community agencies of social control from the delinquent gang endeavouring to promote such attitudes is insignificant.

Applying the null hypothesis to the third hypothesis this would read as follows: The delinquent will not engage in any daring or skillful acts with any degree of prowess to gain prestige in the gang; that is, to achieve companionship, status, security and most important, acceptance and that the values in Table VII are the result

of chance alone. Table VII refers to the indicator used to gather the data to test the third hypothesis. The Fisher test clearly showed that the null hypothesis could not be rejected at the chosen level of significance. Therefore, the converse of this hypothesis must be rejected. This means that the delinquent engaging in daring or skillful acts to gain prestige in the gang is insignificant.

Part II HALIFAX MENTAL HEALTH CLINIC FOR CHILDREN STUDY

This was an independent study done on thirty-six male delinquents from the files at the Halifax Mental Health Clinic for Children. These files were part of a project carried out by the Clinic in conjunction with the Juvenile Court in Halifax. It was initiated in October, 1957 and carried on for approximately eighteen months.

After the data from the Department of Public Welfare files was collected and assembled it was felt that some of the questions asked on the schedules were somewhat ambiguous and the others in the group did not have that clear an indication of what was expected. By going to the files at the Halifax Mental Health Clinic for Children and rewording some of the questions better and more precise information might be obtained to corroborate the study done at the Department of Public Welfare. The information contained in the files at the Clinic was very detailed and provided much more knowledge and information about gang associations and activities. As this was an individual study done separately, the investigator was responsible

for all of its aspects. The main bias in this study is that these particular files were part of a special project and represent only a very small percentage of the delinquent population who attended the Halifax Mental Health Clinic for Children between the years 1957-59. The limitations and limits that were part of the group study were also applicable to this study.

The information necessary for the completion of this study was taken from these thirty-six files and recorded on schedules identical to the schedule contained in Appendix A.

Tables VIII through XI give a complete breakdown of the questions asked on the schedules. This particular study was undertaken to see if files that yielded more detailed information could produce data that would be more significant for the testing of the hypotheses. The sample size has already been specified as being thirty-six cases. Again .05 was chosen as the level of significance necessary before rejecting the null hypothesis. The formula used to test the null hypothesis in this study was Fisher's Test using significance levels. It eliminates the number of computations that were necessary in Tables I through VII. According to Siegel "... the researcher may determine directly the significance of an observed set of values in a 2 x 2 contingency table."^{1/} In order to justify its use the number of cases involved must be less than 30, (Table VII

^{1/} Sidney Siegel, OP. CIT. p. 99

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THIRTY-SIX DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE HALIFAX MENTAL HEALTH CLINIC
FOR CHILDREN AS TO GANG MEMBERSHIP

	Explicitly		Implicitly		Total
	Confirmed	Denied	Confirmed	Denied	
<u>Group Ia/</u>	14	1	3	4	22
<u>Group IIb/</u>	5	2	5	2	14
<u>Total</u>	19	3	8	6	36

a/ Group I represents number of cases showing gang membership.

b/ Group II represents number of cases showing no gang membership.

Table IX

DISTRIBUTION OF THIRTY-SIX DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE HALIFAX MENTAL HEALTH CLINIC FOR
CHILDREN AS TO GANG EXAMPLE

	very often	sometimes	seldom	no	total
<u>Group Ia/</u>	12	3	2	5	22
<u>Group IIb/</u>	4	4	2	4	14
<u>Total</u>	16	7	4	9	36

a/ Group I represents number of cases showing gang example.

b/ Group II represents number of cases showing no gang example.

Table X

DISTRIBUTION OF THIRTY-SIX DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE HALIFAX MENTAL HEALTH CLINIC FOR
CHILDREN AS TO HOSTILITY

	very often	sometimes	seldom	no	total
<u>Group Ia/</u>	8	6	4	4	22
<u>Group IIb/</u>	6	4	4	0	14
<u>Total</u>	14	10	8	4	36

a/ Group I represents number of cases showing hostility.

b/ Group II represents number of cases showing no hostility.

Table XI

DISTRIBUTION OF THIRTY-SIX DELINQUENTS FROM THE FILES
OF THE HALIFAX MENTAL HEALTH CLINIC FOR
CHILDREN AS TO DARING

	very often	sometimes	seldom	no	total
<u>Group Ia/</u>	8	5	6	3	22
<u>Group IIb/</u>	1	4	4	5	14
<u>Total</u>	9	9	10	8	36

a/ Group I represents number of cases showing daring.

b/ Group II represents number of cases showing no daring.

has 22 cases; Table IX, 23; Table X, 21; and Table XI, 15.)
and where " ...neither of the totals in the right-hand margin is
larger than 15; that is, neither $A \times B$ nor $C \times D$ may be larger than
15."^{1/} Siegel offers five steps for the use of the Fisher test
because of its difficulty.^{2/}

Although the data was much more specific in this study, the
findings were again inconclusive and the three hypotheses proved to
be insignificant. The reasons why both of these studies failed to
be significant will be explained in the last chapter.

^{1/} Sidney Siegel, OP. CIT.

^{2/} Ibid. P. 99, 256-269

Chapter IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Since the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, no statistical inference can be drawn from the data.^{1/} When a hypothesis proves not to have any significance this indicates one of three things: 1) that the theory is inadequate; 2) that the methodology is incorrect; or 3) that both the theory and methodology underlying the study are incorrect.

According to Cressey, the "...general contention of the differential association theory, that criminality is learned cannot be disputed."^{2/} The theory itself may have many defects because "... it does not precisely or adequately describe or integrate all the aspects of the process by which criminality is learned,^{3/} but insofar as this research project is concerned the differential association theory cannot be entirely faulted. However, there certainly has been a lot of criticism levelled at Sutherland's theory for these very reasons. Just the same it is believed that the fault more precisely lies in the methodology for two specific reasons. First of all,

1/ Horace B. English and Ava Champney English, OP. CIT. P. 350

2/ Donald Cressey, OP. CIT. P. 51

3/ Donald R. Cressey, " The Differential Association Theory and Compulsive Crime", in JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE CRIME; V. 45, 1954-55 P. 40

the personal interviewing of delinquent boys concerning group associations and gang affiliations might have yielded more significant results. However, the time element involved in personal interviewing coupled with the short time allotted for the writing of the thesis made personal interviewing an impossibility. As a result, the data did not reveal a very close correlation in the types of offenses in the delinquent individual and his associate delinquent group. Secondly, at the time the data was collected it was felt that a control group of nondelinquents would not be needed. However, it might now be assumed that the use of a control group of nondelinquents might have made the results of the study more meaningful. One reason for this is that it might have served to evaluate patterns of behavior between the two groups and those factors that differentiate delinquents from nondelinquents. In addition, much of the data collected was based on value judgements and even though they were proved to be ninety percent valid, for the most part, only explicit answers were used to test the null hypothesis. Because of this, the sample sizes were quite small. Arkin and Colton^{1/} have stated that in order for a sample size to be considered reliable it should include nearly half of the cases available for study. It could be considered another limitation of this study, then, that a large enough sample was not culled from those records that were made available.

^{1/} Herbert Arkin and Raymond Colton, TABLES FOR STATISTICIANS; Barnes and Noble Inc., New York, 1950 P. 20

Although the study proved to be statistically inconclusive some pertinent data was obtained. With further refinement of the indicators and a more definitive theory, some statistically significant results might occur. The study at the Department of Public Welfare showed a sixty-one percent membership in delinquent gangs while the Halifax Mental Health Clinic for Children study showed a seventy-five percent membership in delinquent gangs. Both studies showed that delinquents followed the example of their fellow delinquents about sixty-five percent of the time. Hostility towards authority figures showed up in sixty percent of the cases in both studies. As far as a delinquent's resourcefulness or daring was concerned there was quite a difference between the two studies. The Department of Public Welfare study showed only forty percent daring acts while the Halifax Mental Health Clinic for Children study showed that two out of every three delinquents did daring or skillful acts. These fairly high percentages indicate that another study along the lines defined might more clearly show how this pattern of delinquent behavior might develop. In a companion study^{1/} done at the Nova Scotia Shelburne School for Boys, out of a delinquent population of eighty-one boys, it was shown that seventy percent belonged to delinquent gangs and that eighty-four percent did most of the things their friends in the gang liked to do. Furthermore, in the study done at the Clinic the leader of the gang seemed to be closely emulated.

^{1/} David Brassat, DIFFERENTIAL SOCIABILITY PATTERNS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENTS; (unpublished Master's Thesis at the Maritime School of Social Work, 1966.

Out of this delinquent sample of thirty-six boys there were three recognized leaders; one with six followers, one with four followers and the third with three followers, all in this group of thirty-six delinquents. This accounted for nearly one-half of the sample in this study.

The differential association theory and related theories clearly showed that the delinquent finds it difficult to relate or to identify himself with his community groups. As this tends to happen, the delinquent loses the opportunity to integrate the positive values and attitudes that would accrue from being associated with law-abiding groups. The delinquent who does not find appeal in community groups as such gravitates then towards his delinquent peers for group association. It is here, in the delinquent gang, that the delinquent learns to create a society of his own because he cannot find one in the community to meet his needs. In order to compensate for this, society should attempt to provide the proper atmosphere for constructive experiences and the development of personalities. This might be provided through more recreational facilities, youth groups, church organizations and the like.

Since juvenile delinquents are naturally inclined to join gangs, there would seem to be a need for more awareness on the part of social workers and other professionals of the value of a group approach in the treatment of the juvenile delinquent offender. A means to the effective treatment of the delinquent might be through the use of the so-called "gang worker", "street corner group worker"

or "detached worker".^{1/}

Some reference should also be made to professional social work recording which appears to be the primary method for fact-finding. If the social history were set up to include the type of questions asked on the schedules in this thesis much valuable information would be obtained for diagnostic and treatment purposes.

Since delinquent behavior is social in nature a delinquent can only be properly treated if his relations with social groups are modified. For it could be said that delinquent behavior is only a left-handed form of human endeavour. According to Sutherland:

In the group-relations method, diagnosis is directed at analysis of the criminal's attitudes, motives and rationalizations regarding criminality, with recognition that the character of those behaviors depends upon the kinds of groups in which the individual has memberships, with which he identifies himself and to which he owes allegiance and loyalty. If the criminality of an individual depends upon such group relations, then the prescription for "treatment" must be a prescription for modification of group relations. These can be modified only by providing the criminal with new social relations or in some way changing the nature of the present group relations.^{2/}

Again, according to Sutherland this "...trend is toward a method of treatment which is based upon recognition of the importance of social relations to criminality."^{3/}

^{1/} David M. Austin, "Goals for Gang Workers" in SOCIAL WORK; II, IV, October 1957; P. 43

^{2/} Edwin Sutherland, OP. CIT. P324

^{3/} Ibid. P. 326-27

It is also recommended that social workers employ group work techniques in working with near-delinquents. These techniques should be useful in preventing delinquent behavior and could perhaps be used in re-directing the activities of a group of persons, all or nearly all of whom are delinquent or near-delinquent. A child's delinquency could be evaluated if answers to the following questions were known. To what extent do group pressures influence the child's behavior? How strong are the child's needs for peer-group status? In what terms does the child view adult authority? What is his leadership potential? What kinds of behavior does he exhibit --- is he responsive or is he sullen and withdrawn? Does he respond appropriately to the behavioral norms of the group situation?

In closing, it may be said that whether a delinquent changes or resists change depends greatly on the nature of the groups to which he belongs. Attempts to change the delinquent must be concerned with the dynamics of groups.

A P P E N D I X

MARITIME SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Thesis Research Project, 1965

Schedule for Assessment
of Delinquents' Files

nv65
p&o/cn

1. Schedule No _____ 2. Completed by _____ 3. Edited by _____
initials date initials

DELINQUENT

4. Date of birth _____ 5. Place of birth _____
mo & yr

6. Present home address:

7. Note here and on back any significant change of address, with dates in and out, and explain:

()
over

8. Year of birth and sex, in birth order, of children (include delinquent and circle; if foster or adopted siblings indicate with "F" or "A"):

9. Present offence or offences:

10. Previous offences, with month and year:

()
over

FAMILY STRUCTURE

11. When delinquent was born mother was (circle and show date under):

Single Married Cohabiting Deserted Separated Divorced Widow
() () () () () () ()

12. Mother's present status is (circle and show date under):

Single Married Cohabiting Deserted Separated Divorced Widow
() () () () () () ()

13. Note here and on back, with dates, any significant changes in status of mother, and explain:

()
over

14. If delinquent has not always made his home with his biological mother (as living with father only, with foster or adoptive parents, or other) explain here and on back, giving relevant dates:

()
over

15. If delinquent has been separated from either or both parents intermittently or permanently, explain here and on back, identifying absent parent and giving dates or periods of absence:

()
over

16. Note here and on back and references in record to physical or mental ill-health or hospitalization of either parent, identifying and giving dates:

()
over

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

17. Relationship between father and mother is

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very good good fair poor very poor

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

18. Relationship between father and delinquent is

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very good good fair poor very poor

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

19. Relationship between mother and delinquent is

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very good good fair poor very poor

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

20. The reputation of the family in the community is, or relations with neighbors are:

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very good good fair poor very poor

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

21. Discipline for the delinquent was

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
(a) very lax lax firm strict very strict

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
(b) very erratic erratic consistent very consistent

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very kindly kindly harsh very harsh

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

()
over

22. Check and report here and on back any reference in record to - 58 -

() constant quarrelling (identify family members, subjects, frequency)

() physical abuse (show of whom by whom, frequency, severity)

() drinking which affects family unity (show by whom, attitudes of other members, frequency, severity)

()
over

WORK, EARNINGS, ETC.

23. Father's occupation:

24. Earnings:

25. Is father employed () full-time or () part-time

:.....:.....:.....:.....:
almost always usually sometimes very rarely

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

26. Mother's occupation:

27. Earnings:

28. Is mother employed () full-time or () part-time

:.....:.....:.....:.....:
almost always usually sometimes very rarely

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

29. Note here and on back if mother has worked since delinquent's birth, indicating periods mother was in the home, and what provision was made for mother-substitute when she was not; give dates:

()
over

30. Do family consider their income to be

:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very adequate adequate inadequate very inadequate

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

31. Have the family received welfare assistance

:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very frequently frequently rarely very rarely

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

32. Report here and on back any reference to criminal behavior on part of either parent or of siblings, showing date, nature of offence, relationship of offender to delinquent:

()
over

FAMILY HOUSING

33. Is family housing

:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very good good fair poor very poor

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

34. Is overcrowding (more than one person per room, omitting bathroom) shown

() explicitly or () implicitly in the record

35. What rent (or equivalent) is paid for housing:

()
over

36. Is the neighborhood where the family lives

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:

 very good good fair poor very poor

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

37. Since delinquent's birth family has moved

() not at all () once () more than once

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

38. Explain here and on back if present housing and neighborhood are not typical for family since before delinquent's birth:

()
over

A S S O C I A T I O N S

39. Is it () explicitly or () implicitly either () confirmed or () denied in the record that delinquent was a member of a gang?

40. Is it () explicitly or () implicitly either () confirmed or () denied that delinquent was a leader of a gang?

41. Does the delinquent follow the example of the gang, and do what they like to do

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
always usually sometimes occasionally rarely

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

42. Does the delinquent, if he is not leader, emulate the leader

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
always usually sometimes occasionally rarely

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

P E R S O N A L I T Y

43. Does delinquent exhibit hostility to others

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very frequently frequently sometimes rarely very rarely

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

44. Does delinquent exhibit resourcefulness or daring

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very frequently frequently sometimes rarely very rarely

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

45. Does delinquent exhibit difficulty in relations with authority figures (parents, teachers, police, probation officers, etc)

:.....:.....:.....:.....:.....:
very frequently frequently sometimes rarely very rarely

() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from the record

MARITIME SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
THESIS RESEARCH PROJECT, 1965

Schedule for Assessment
of Delinquents' files.

1. Schedule No. _____

Associations:

2. Is the delinquent a recidivist or a nonrecidivist?

3. It is () explicitly or () implicitly either () confirmed or () denied in the record that the delinquent was a member of a delinquent gang?

4. If a member of a delinquent gang, does the delinquent follow the example of the gang and do what they do?

.....
very often sometimes seldom no
() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from record.

Personality:

5. Is the delinquent hostile or difficult with others especially with a) parents; b) teachers; c) police; d) authority figures in general.

.....
very often sometimes seldom no
() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from record.

6. Is the delinquent daring or skillful?

.....
very often sometimes seldom no
() explicitly or () implicitly or () uncertain from record.



COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING:

- (1) Age _____
- (2) Sex _____
- (3) Was your childhood spent in the (a) City _____
 (b) town _____
 (c) rural area _____
- (4) What academic grade are you in _____ ?
- (5) What is your parents occupation _____ ? Income _____ ?

ANSWER TRUE OR FALSE:

- (1) As far back as I can remember, I always has a close friend.
 true _____ false _____
- (2) Friends are so important to me. I cannot get along without them.
 true _____ false _____
- (3) I would rather go to a movie with a friend than alone.
 true _____ false _____
- (4) I have had at least one close friend for more than one year.
 true _____ false _____
- (5) I would rather have only friends than only money.
 true _____ false _____
- (6) I value the opinions of friends more than those of strangers.
 true _____ false _____
- (7) I can usually count on people in my class to like most of the things I like. true _____ false _____
- (8) Most people I like look up to me. true _____ false _____
- (9) Most people I know neither look up to me nor down to me.
 true _____ false _____

.....

UNDERLINE THE CORRECT STATEMENT:

- (1) At present I have more than 5 close friends.
- (2) At present I have more than 4 close friends.
- (3) At present I have more than 3 close friends.
- (4) At present I have more than 2 close friends.
- (5) At present I have more than 1 close friend.
- (6) At present I have only one close friend.
- (7) At present I have no close friends.

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE FORM II

Answer the following questions:

1. Name the person in your class or in the school whom you believe is best liked by most of the students. _____
- b. Name the second. _____
- c. Name the third. _____
2. Name the person in the school or in your group who is most comfortable in meeting strange people. For example adults. _____
- b. Name the second. _____
- c. Name the third. _____
3. Name the person in your class who you most like to be as your friend. _____
- b. Name the second. _____
- c. Name the third. _____
4. Name the person in the school whom you think is the most loyal to his close friends. _____
- b. Name the second. _____
- c. Name the third. _____

ANSWER TRUE OR FALSE:

- (1) In a group setting I am aware of most of the things people like and dislike.
True _____ False _____
- (2) I try and I am able to do most of the things my friends in "the gang" like to do.
True _____ False _____
- (3) A person should not suggest that his friends do something which he thinks they won't do.
True _____ False _____

ANSWER YES OR NO:

Do you feel at ease with members of the opposite sex, of your age?
Yes _____ No _____

Have you ever told someone you loved them? Yes _____ no _____

How old were you when you has your first date? _____

How much time, on an average, would you like the students in your class to study per day? _____

How much time do you study per day? _____

Write a brief account of your association with other people your age. Mention what things you like to do. Are you able to do what your friends like to do? How many are there in close friendship? (Answer the question on back of page.)

Do you belong to a gang at all? _____

Do you know who the leader of your gang is? _____

How close are you to the leader? _____

Describe in short how you are close to the leader, or in short how you are distant to the leader. Or describe why you are the leader, if you are.

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