Chapter III
THEORIES OF CAUSATION OF DELINQUENCY

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THEORIES OF CAUSATION OF DELINQUENCY

Every child born on the Earth requires four basic needs - need for security, response, recognition and development. Children have a desire to feel wanted, loved and understood. As they begin to grow, they expect their parents - mother and father - and all the members of the family and others also to care for and love them. Their growing inquisitiveness and imagination require to be satisfied. These factors can thus be said to constitute the growth and development of the children. The lack of these four basic needs or the hostility of parents and other family members lead to a disaster which is harmful both to the children and society.

Various theories about the causation of delinquency were established and then dislodged. There were some which were suggested and soon questioned and are still in the process of being propounded.

A theory of delinquency may be roughly defined as any generalization used to interpret or explain such deviancy. The better the theory, the wider is the range of behaviour that can be explained. At the same time, if the theory is acceptable, then, more easily can it be
interpreted in empirical (operational) terms and tested for scientific validity.

There are several theories of delinquency causation that are not supported by substantial evidence of their validity. In some cases, they are not even phrased or presented in a manner that can be scientifically tested. Inspite of such theories, studies have been undertaken by every society at any given stage in its history to search constantly to prove or refute the existing theories and frame improved theories. These theories can be applied, tested, accepted, modified or rejected.

There are various causes of delinquency among children and youth. Some of the main factors are social, cultural, religious, economic, bodily related and the emotional pressures, (family-centered and individual-centered).

3.1 DEFECTS IN SOCIETY

Theories that point out in the lager social structure, causes of individual delinquent behaviour often postulate that some defects exist in the social and cultural systems of societies. It is these defective systems that result in high delinquency rates.
The sociological study of delinquency and crime is not novel. It has been studied for a long time. It was Adolphe Quetelet, the first social criminologist, who observed, in 1736 that 'society prepares the crime and the guilty is only the instrument by which it is accomplished. In Europe, the International Association of Criminal Law (1889-1913) led by Von Liszt Van Hamel and Prins, felt the need to study the sociological causes of crime as a reaction to the ideas of the then widely influential Biological School founded by Lombrose. It was only in the twentieth-century that the study of crime as a social phenomenon spread from the United States of America to the other developed and developing countries.

The study of juvenile delinquency and social problems has been a major concern in both the developed and developing countries. The immediate need to curb delinquency in the developing nations has been felt, as the more rapid a society undergoes social and technological change under the impact of industrialization and urbanization, the more there is the increase in juvenile misconduct. With very little

exception, such changes, which break-down the tight social controls formerly exercised by the family, clan and local community, are followed by marked increases in crime and delinquency. Hence there is a great demand and need to understand juvenile delinquency on the home front and the society's role in such deviation. It has been pointed out by John Martin as follows: 'The importance of exploration of the correction between juvenile delinquency and the existing society, must not be overlooked. To do so is simply to avoid a basic dimension in the study of delinquency.' While dealing with the social structure in psychological and socio-psychological studies of deviant and non-deviant social behaviour. To overcome this bias, Robert K. Merton has emphasized that in the study of juvenile delinquency, 'observation of the milieu is theoretically essential, but it is not sufficient. It is essential because the pressures of the larger social structure are mediated through the intervening structure. But useful as it is,


the tendency to focus on the immediate milieu (the patterns of interpersonal relations in which individuals are directly involved) has led to relative neglect of larger structure.

Theories regarding the relationship of delinquency and general society can be categorised into four:

Theories that cite the general culture, the influences of mass media, various types of culture conflict and socially induced stress.

3.1.1 THEORIES CITING GENERAL CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS:

These theories are direct and encompass the description and analyses of total cultural systems, without stress on any particular traits of delinquents. Delinquents are not described in particular, but only the basic similarities between the cultural traits of delinquents and the overall main cultural order are discussed.

Many sociologists had explained the relationship between crime and delinquency and life in society. Milton Barron had written a book about the Juvenile Delinquent society. In essence, he takes the position that the impelling forces to delinquency inhere deeply in the culture of the American people. Similar views were also held by other sociologists.

Donals Taft had mentioned that the American culture still extols the frontier values of extreme individualism assertiveness and outright violence. The crime producing features of this culture is dynamic and complex.

It has been said that bringing up children abiding by law in a country, where the adults disobey and do not follow any law, is most difficult. An American criminologist, well-versed in crime on a cross-cultural basis, has said, "Although comparative statistics are not available, the American criminologists and sociologists generally concede that the United States has a very large

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amount of adult crime and delinquency, perhaps the highest volume of crime and delinquency of any advanced country in the world."

Now-a-days, crime and juvenile delinquency are on the increase in all countries, developed and developing. Every year it is said that the rate of crime and delinquency is doubled. But when one goes through the official statistics, an understatement of the extent of these problems is found. These statistics are based on the reported incidents of criminal and delinquent behaviour. Much of the crime and delinquent deeds are concealed for some reason or the other.

While analysing how one behaves and acts in life, there are two sets of values that are maintained. First is the public or external life and, secondly, the private or inner circle in life. In Gunnar Myrdal's "American Dilemma" finds the difference in the standards of behaviour that are applied in criminal law and our actual behaviour. In other words, our behaviour does not coincide with our ideas.

Apart from one's actual behaviour that is deviated from one's ideal, there are some motivated 'subterranean values which, according to David Matza and Gresham Sykes, are values which are in conflict or in competition with other deeply held values but which are still recognised and accepted by many.' Examples of such values are 'smartness,' 'huckstering,' disdain for work, and a search for 'kicks' and other forms of hedonism, as opposed to our publicly counted values of sincerity, honesty, fairness, hardwork and fidelity. There are some subterranean values which do not develop a set of 'techniques of neutralization' by which one's feelings of guilt are reduced.

Matze and Sykes have felt by using both concepts of subterranean values of techniques of neutralization with regard to an adult society, particularly middle class, the delinquent behaviour exhibited by children and youth is a reflection of the actual world of their parents and other adults.


3.1.2 **THEORIES CITING MASS MEDIA**

Mass media movies, television, comic books and pornographic literature have been amazingly found to be a major cause of delinquency. Parental responsibility appears to be the only redeeming role of mass media. Other forms of violence, deviancy and sexual offences have created a negative impact on the growing minds of the younger generations.' Extreme claims have been made for and against this interpretation of delinquency, but very little evidence has been forthcoming to support either position. It is said by some others that only some emotionally disturbed and delinquency prone children may be adversely influenced by mass media, but there is not much scientific evidence to prove the same.

It was observed that boys are more prone to delinquency due to the suggestive influences of violence and pornography. Girls, on the other hand, get led away by movies and television. They begin to emulate the

actors and actresses and thus their life becomes an illusion and dream.

Frederic Thrasher, on the other hand, felt that there was no acceptable evidence that television, movies, pornographic literature and comic books could lead to delinquent behaviour. All one could think of is to continue the research in a scientific manner to find out the relationship between mass media and delinquency.

3.1.3 THEORIES OF CULTURE CONFLICT

There are three types of theories of cultural conflict which can be considered to be causes of delinquency. They are:

- Those that emphasize ethnic conflict especially as it is found in pluralistic and heterogeneous societies, with its recurrent pattern of immigration, internal migration, ethnic succession and assimilation;

- Those that cite conflict among the value systems, life styles and reality interests of different social classes in given societies;

- Those that stress conflict on an age grade basis between youth and their way life, on the one hand, and adults with their own particular culture and interests on the other.

A common feature in all three types is the conflict or clash between cultural systems. Individual personalities and various social groups, though they attempt to relate to each other, act as carriers of different and opposing cultures. Conflict of culture refers to conflict between different people of different cultural background. Since it involves people, culture conflict is often internalized by them so that it works its way deeply into the heart of their personality structures. This is especially true of the so-called 'marginal men' — individuals who are suspended between two cultures and the worlds they represent, belonging to neither. In the society, most minority group members

are marginal men. They share in the dominant culture too and in its aspirations, but they are prevented from full participation. Thus these marginal men are referred to as Fringe types as they are caught between two cultures. They often become victims of the various forms of prejudice too. It is these elements of prejudice and bias that add to the discomfort, frustration and lack of individuality.

These Fringe types of men can be grouped within all the three frames of ethnic cultural conflict, social class and age-grade conflict. These men exhibit signs of happiness, success and accumulation of creature comforts.

3.1.4 THEORIES CITING SOCIA LLY INDUCED STRESS

All the theories of delinquency relating to socially induced stress have been developed after 1955. These theories relate the cause of delinquency to status frustration, group reinforcement and cultural innovation, which are all nothing but the invention of new life.

styles. Residents of high and low delinquency areas were found to have different moral and social values. Those neighbourhoods with low rates of juvenile offences tended to be supportive of conventional values. There was a consistency and uniformity of attitudes and beliefs about how children should be cared for and the importance of conformity to the law. In contrasts, the high-delinquency areas were found to harbour a variety of moral values that were often competing and conflicting. The values of different groups within the area ranged from strictly conventional to overtly criminal. Illegal economic activity was often found as a viable means of financial gain and prestige.

3.1.4.1 **ANOMIC THEORY**

The social structure has a great influence on deviant behaviour. This effect was outlined by Emile Durkheim in his description of the social phenomenon of anomic. It is used to describe the state of society when old forms of order have broken down and a state of lawlessness or disorder exists.

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Solidarity or cohesion of the social order was considered by Durkheim as determining a society's legal and moral value systems. A primitive society with homogeneous members was held together by 'mechanical solidarity.' This resulted in repressive laws, which punish members for committing acts that were found to be harmful to their society as a whole. When once the society became more complex, its members became more heterogeneous and numerous. It was then seen that mechanical solidarity could no longer work in such a society. As a consequence, another type of solidarity called 'organic solidarity' came into being. Organic solidarity is a form of cohesion based on similarities. The division of labour within a society facilitated the increase in the strength of organic solidarity as specialization of tasks led to interdependence among its members. For instance, a farmer becomes dependent on owners of the market to sell his goods. As a result of organic solidarity, laws became restitutive. In other words, it implies laws that govern the interrelationships among members of society, such as civil and commercial law. It was not as strong as mechanical solidarity due to diversity and heterogeneity of the population.
Organic solidarity can be disturbed due to economic crisis and social change. Hence there may be a sense of isolation among people who live in a highly differentiated social order. The outcome of such problems would be a state of anomie, which leads to an erosion of conforming behaviour and an increase in deviant behaviour, such as suicide or crime.

Durkheim believed that crime or delinquency, apart from anomie, is a normal occurrence in society. When deviance is found in a society, it leads to flexibility and the possibility of social change. It may also serve to strengthen the collective conscience of society by reinforcing its value systems. The deviant may provide an opportunity for people to reaffirm their shared definition of appropriate behaviour.

3.1.4.2 **SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND DEVIANCE**

Robert K. Merton expanded on Durkheim’s ideas of deviance. He stressed the role of social structure in the etiology of deviance. Goals are communicated by

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society for its members to attempt to achieve. For example, in America, material possession (a new car or house) may be considered as indicitors of success. Simultaneously, when goals are communicated by society, the appropriate means of attaining these goals are also stressed. Hard work, responsibility and long term planning were the socially accepted means of acquiring goods. During the course of goal attainment, some strain and frustration may be involved for some members in society. Deviant behaviour then becomes the means to achieve their goals. What matters is not just "winning the game" but "winning the game under the rules of the game." The poor and lower class people thus fall into the trap of deviant behaviour. Thus high rates of delinquency in poverty areas should be expected since it was these people who have the least access to legitimate means of success.

3.1.4.3 OPPORTUNITY THEORY:

Cloward and Ohlin’s theory is an extension of Merton’s scheme of socially structured anomie. They

stress the delinquent behaviour found in lower class urban neighbourhoods. This behaviour is due to the lack of access to legitimate avenues of success for the poor. Hence they indulge in delinquent misconduct as a means of obtaining status, prestige or wealth.

Industrial societies defined goals as acceptable to everyone, so that motivation for success became widespread. In reality the access to the means of achieving the goals was narrow for some. The cultural and structural barriers that existed in our society were more prevalent among the poor. Thus, a lower class adolescent would find more obstacles, like ignorance of middle class manners and values and lack of educational achievement, which prevent him from reaching up to his aspirations. As a result, these opportunities force him to adopt alternative responses that are deviant. Thus these adolescents join gangs who are more destructive than constructive in their approach.

CRITICISMS OF ANOMIE AND OPPORTUNITY THEORIES:

Merton’s Anomie theory was criticised as it is not exhaustive enough to account for forms of deviance that occur among people who do have access to legitimate
means, but choose illegitimate means. An example would be middle class delinquency.

Secondly, both these theories are criticised as they do not consider non-utilitarian acts, like acts for fun or adventure.

3.1.4.4 SUBCULTURE AND DEVIANCE:

Cohen had explored the importance of ‘subcultures’ in the etiology of delinquent behaviour. He defined subculture as ‘culture within cultures’ that exist throughout society. These subgroups include specific "ways of thinking and doing that are in some respects peculiarly (their) own." The role of a delinquent subculture in juvenile offense patterns would then be one of encouragement, children exposed to delinquent subcultures would learn values, norms and behaviour that were conducive to delinquent acts.

Cohen found that delinquency was not restricted only working class or lower class phenomenon, but was found


\[20\] Ibid., p.12.
among adolescents at all levels in society. The gang affiliated delinquent was found chiefly in the lower class and was found to be the most serious and frequent offender. Cohen terms such behaviour as subculture, unlike thrasher who refers to as juvenile gang behaviour in his classic, The Gang, in 1927. Cohen mentions that such behaviour can best be accounted in terms of the socially induced stress which our social system inflicts on such boys. These boys develop hostility towards middle class values, such as ambition, courtesy, opposition to physical violence and respect for property. According to Cohen, working class boys resent such dominant values as they are not treated on par with the middle class. Their resentment is further increased, when they are looked down by people like school teachers, social workers, police officers and other middle class representatives. Thus Cohen argues, that delinquent gangs, found mostly in the working class or a natural result of boys this class coming together because of shared hostilities to create a social and cultural vehicle within which they can achieve status, while at the same time, striking back, in a way that is most

meaningful to them, at the middle class community which
has so deeply offended them. "What the working class
gang boy does," according to Cohen, "is not merely right
by his standards. It is right because it is wrong by
conventional standards."

Cohen's theory was criticised on many aspects. First, it assumes the dubious thesis that there is a
sharp break between the value systems of the middle and
working classes. Secondly, it assumes a homogeneity in
the behaviour, function and type of lower-class
delinquent groups that other research does not support.
Thirdly, it uses a kind of cultural inversion to explain
the formation of the delinquent subculture without
answering the question as to why inversion occurs, rather
than withdrawal or some ways of coping with the
rejection by middle class upon which the theory
revolves. Inspite of these loopholes, Cohen's theory
remains one of the most stimulating and promising
theories which help in relating the general social
conditions to delinquent behaviour.

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Herbert Booch and Arthur Niederhoffer also viewed gang not as a phenomenon rooted in inter-class tension and or blocked opportunities, but as a device that arises to meet the sociological and psychological needs faced by adolescents.

Thus the society’s defects can lead to crime and delinquent behaviour.

3.1.5 DEFECTS IN THE OPERATING MILIEU

Theories regarding defects in the operating milieu range from poverty and poor housing to the presence of subculture in high delinquency areas. There are three sub-types of these theories. They are:

- theories which maintain that poverty, poor housing and similar deprivations are the causes of delinquency.

- theories which view delinquency as socially learned behaviour rooted in deviant neighbourhood traditions and in the functioning of neighbourhood traditions.

Ibid., p.17.
and in the functioning of neighbourhood peer groups and

- theories which hold that delinquency occurs in life situations where legitimate social controls are absent or greatly reduced.

These theories of the general type have been in existence for centuries.

3.1.5.1 THEORIES CITING DEPRIVATION

The statement that most official delinquents belong to the lower class in society has been found to be valid. Their deviant behaviour is due to poverty, poor housing and other related conditions. But there are also others who come from fairly well-to-do families.

The relationship between delinquency and poverty has been described by many social reformers since the 1900s and earlier. Martin Neumeyer mentions that social reformers have been inclined to over estimate the significance of poverty, housing and related variables. Some have assumed that, by abolishing these conditions, delinquency can be reduced. Slum clearance greatly aids
in reducing certain forms of social disorganization but, by itself, it is not sufficient to control a problem that has many phase and is deeply rooted.

Providing better facilities to the poor would not be sufficient to reduce the rate of delinquency. Bernard Lander suggested in his ecological study of delinquency in Baltimore, that delinquency is related to anomic or social instability, not basically to poverty and poor housing.

3.1.5.2 THEORIES CITING DEViant NEIGHBOURHOOD AND PEER GROUPS TRADITIONS

There have been a number of studies on the variations in the amount of crime and delinquency, which have drawn the attention of the criminologists in various parts of the world. There are wide differences in country, religion, urban-rural distinctions, and in terms of neighbourhoods on an intracity basis. Some studies


have highlighted the difference in the amount of crime and delinquency on the basis of the "social disorganisation" or 'anomie', which is characteristic of delinquency prone localities. Others have mentioned the cultural differences characteristic of such areas. A question always exists as to why all the people in these areas are not criminals or delinquents, when deviancy is so common there.

Several answers have been cited to explain the above perplexing question of all not becoming criminals and delinquents in an area. Some are of the opinion that not all of them are caught during the same year when the official statistics are computed.

Another answer to the differential response in high crime areas relate to the issue of power and organization and the ability of some who gave good contacts with the law enforcement officers either to prevent an arrest or short-circuit an arrest after it has been made. It has been observed that only wealthy and influential people can avert such arrest. This prevention of arrests is also done just as effectively, by residents of slums, particularly, if they are organized slums.

There is another possibility of some high-delinquency areas being differentially organized, both in terms of their social structure and in terms of their culture. One part is organized along legitimate lines, while the other along illegitimate lines. Both exist alongside with each other in the same area. In fact, there is considerable evidence to support this division, which alone would go for in accounting for the presence of 'differential response.'

In 1939 Edwin Sutherland formulated a theory of differential association. According to Sutherland, all behaviour was learned, whether deviant or non-deviant. Criminal values or actions were communicated through a process of interaction with other persons. Most of this communication occurred within 'intimate personal groups', as a result, the family members or close associates might have a great impact on the origin of deviant behaviours. People learned actual techniques for committing crimes and also the method of rationalize the behaviour. Deviant behaviour was not frequently resulting in neighbourhoods and environments where there is an "excess

of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law." Hence delinquent acts and non-delinquent acts co-existed in the same area of a city or urban area as some youngsters were exposed to an excess of pro-delinquent values and actions. Others, on the other hand, had role models (parents or friends) who presented them with non-delinquent values. Sutherland's theory of 'differential association' was later modified by Daniel Gloseer to 'differential identification'. Here it is explained that law violation is socially learned behaviour. This behaviour is learned through intensive association or identification with other offenders as they may be both psychologically and actually available in the operating milieu (life space) of given individuals.

Very often when one gossips or labels a particular child as a bad boy or a young man as hoodlum, it has a telling effect on the psyche of the child and man. He thinks he is dependent on the impression that others have of him. At the same time, the minds of the parents,

31 Ibid., p. 84.
teachers, friends, local shopkeepers and policemen are biased and they treat him according to some status and role. Once the status-role of bad boy, delinquent or hoodlum has been assigned, and, perhaps, reinforced by an arrest or two and possibly even a trip to a juvenile court and a few months at the local training school or reformatory, the dramatization of evil, that is, tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious, is nearly complete. A young person is a hood; others think he is a hood, he thinks he is a hood. Hence other exclude him from several legitimate roles in school, work, friendships and even the armed forces. He may be permitted only menial or illegitimate roles if his offence is minor. Otherwise he would be treated as an outlaw. As a result of such definition, isolation and restriction, the individual may face a set-back in his future. He may, for example, by this process be forever relegated to a marginal lower-class life, and in turn, his children may face the same disadvantages. This


inter-generational shock may be of considerable help in explaining the existence of the residual working-class found among third and fourth generation immigrants, where both children and adults continue to get into trouble. Although the problem here is obviously compounded by the American colour-caste system, those processes may especially fit the case of the law-violating sections of the American Negro lower class, many of whose members have been in this country for longer than three or four generations.

Delinquent behaviour, like human behaviour, in general includes a large number of variables. It involves several inter-related personal, social, cultural variables and a variety of situational, accidental and idiosyncratic conditions. Thus no single interpretation of delinquent behaviour is possible, although generalizations and the integration of generalizations upto certain levels of abstraction are both highly desirable and necessary.

Many studies on juvenile delinquency have led to the fact that peer group or gangs lead to delinquency. The oldest of the studies is 'The Gang' by Thrasher, first published in 1927 and later revised. One of the most recent, and in many ways the most provocative, is Yablonsky's 'The Violent Gang', which supplies a much needed socio-psychological (small group) frame of reference for understanding gang behaviour.

The study undertaken by Thrasher in Chicago brought to light the processes by which gangs are formed, the conditions under which they occur, the ways by which some of the gangs become delinquent and the way of life that is adopted by the gangs. Thrasher's study differed from the recent theoreticians like Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin, Bloch and Neiderloffer and Yablonsky in that gang behaviour was rational behaviour engaged in for fun, excitement, adventure, defence, profit, glory and other reasons. The others believed that gang behaviour is largely the irrational response of deprived and driven

boys with status problems, blocked opportunities or psycho-pathologies.

Thrasher viewed the gang as the different stages of the children’s development right from the growth, conduct development and gradual disappearance or consolidation into adult crime of the gang. Initially the gang starts off as a play group to meet the needs of the slum child for fun, companionships, adventure and excitement. Standards of behaviour are developed by the group itself that oppose the official value system of society. This part of the society is represented and enforced by parents, teachers, and police with whom children necessary come into control. When the play groups become older, they from cliques and grow more cohesive. Their activities widen and bring them into conflict with other adolescent groups as well as adults. These conflicts lead to form a hard core gang. By the time the children reach their mid-adolescence, the gang is a distinct entity, which is self-sufficient. It is characterised by high morale and team spirit. They may have a special name,

jacket, language and well organized technique of self-support and defence, which involves predatory behaviour and fighting. Thrasher mentions an example of how stealing gradually becomes more serious in a gang supported by buyers for stolen goods. The positive side of stealing in a gang is for sustaining of food, clothing and shelter for its members. A number of reasons like marriage after adolescence and politics make the members break away from the gang. In circumstances where the countervailing conventional forces are not strong enough, these gang members gradually become criminals, both organized and unorganized.

‘Delinquent subculture’ was explained by Thrasher as a way of life, naturally and rationally developed by groups of slum children to meet the needs they share in common. He felt that the gang is a tough and seasoned entity where the members are able to fend for themselves.

Yeblonsky in the Violent Gang deals with the gangs which are similar to the ‘conflict gang’ described by Cloward and Ohlin. According to Yeblonsky, the violent gang (of New York) is a group characterized by a loose,
fluid, changing membership. It periodically expands and contracts in terms of numbers. These groups lack continuity, except for few who become hardcore, but they also exhibit erratic and unstable relationship to each other and to outsiders. These groups are led by their 'sick' leaders who nurture rumours to generate crises and thus lead the members to commit violent assaults or street-murders.

The leaders in violent gangs are termed as 'sociopaths' or 'psychopaths', as they are special products of their particular disorganized, disturbed and tension-ridden milieu. Solomon Kabrin, on the other hand, felt that the violent behaviour could be explained on a collective approach in society rather than on a psychological aspect alone. Muzaffer and Carolyn Sherif, in their study of adolescent reference groups as found in various social classes follow neither the psychological line of analysis laid down by Yablonsky nor the collective behaviour approach as suggested by Kabrin. The Sherifs use a more potent and productive approach.

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After observing adolescent peer groups of various social-economic levels, they related three sets of influences to youth behaviour. These influences were psychological data on individual experience and behaviour, sociological data on group organization and functioning, and data concerning the settings in which these occur (ecological, physical, economic and cultural). The Sherifs were of the view that the adolescent certainty do have a conscious and guilt feelings, but these concepts are meaningful only in terms of the value system set forth by the individuals reference groups which consist of tightly known groups of peers. Adolescent misbehaviour in terms of this socio-psychological theory, does not result from intrapsychic conflicts or from "weak superegos."

Thus misbehaviour among adolescents is both motivated and goal directed activity which is in conformity with the prevailing social standards of particular peer groups which the youngster uses as his main reference groups. In other words, the peer groups are those which he closely identifies and which are so essential in guiding and directing his behaviour.

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Ibid., p.129.
3.1.5.3 THEORIES CITING THE ABSENCE OF SOCIAL CONTROLS

Delinquency, in general, may be said to be caused by the inability of the family, school, church, police and other adult managed groups. They fail to teach children and adolescents to behave according to the official values and norms in society. These adolescents fail to behave as they ought to behave. When this occurs, it is felt that the planned and unplanned processes of social control (teaching, persuasion, restraint and compulsion) have been unable to assure the conformity of children and youth to the ideals of the adult world. Vital among the processes of social control is socialization, the process of building group values into the individual.

There are some difficulties which exist when analysing the relationship of social control to delinquency and other forms of deviancy. Society has certain consensus of what ought to be and what is good. According to the social-control explanations of delinquency, it is the idea that the process of social control has failed to achieve conformity to these set standards and values. In reality, no such consenus exists.

The conflicts based on social class, social-ethnic characteristics and age differences represent differences in values, attitudes and modes of behaviour. In studying the relationship of socialization to delinquency, a distinction has to be made between the two value systems in society. First there are the official values to which dominant group members publicly subscribe and next come the unofficial values which govern the way in which dominant group members actually behave. A question then arises as to which set of values should children adhere whether they should learn hardwork, thrift and self-discipline or the easy job, credit buying and continuous search for fun and pleasure. Hence values in society should be clarified to determine the direction in which children must be guided.

It has been observed that both planned and unplanned processes serve to secure the conformity of children and adolescents. This, in other words, means that there are two kinds of social-control mechanisms — informal and formal. Informal mechanisms are frequently used though unconsciously, like gossip, ridicule, ostracism and related sanctions which act to regulate the behaviour of people, especially those who are living in intimate,
close, primary-group situations. These controls are characteristic of various primitive societies and many contemporary rural societies. Gans has described this sort of informal control among the more organized working classes or peer-group society in the urban areas. This society comprises primary groups of people of the same age, sex, ethnic and life-cycle statuses. They are those who hail from the ranks of an extended family system or from other sectors of the same operating milieu. As Gans described an Italian working-class enclave, peer groups are formed in early childhood among the ranks of a particular age-set. It is this primary group society with which the individual associates, and to which he looks for fulfillment and approval during the rest of his life span, escaping only by psychological or social isolation, withdrawal or mobility, or inevitably, by death.

Studies of city life have emphasized the pressures of urbanization work in destroying the efficiency of informal social-control mechanisms. The size, density and heterogeneity of the population, apart from the

anonymity, mobility and impermanence have greatly weakened informal mechanisms of control in society. The quality of human life in society changes. The gap is gradually filled by formal devices. The rule of law and official regulations replace the rule of custom and intimacy. As a result, trade, industrial production, affluence and individualism are gained and conformity is lost. When such circumstances occur among juveniles, this nonconformity is often termed juvenile delinquency.

Among the more formal mechanisms of social control that operate at the neighbourhood level and which traditionally have been viewed as prime sources of socialization and restraint in child rearing are the church and the school.

Religion plays a great role in social control. Some disagree stating that religion goes far beyond the function of social control. According to these people, religion is essentially a profound personal experience involving man's relationship to God. But even when it is considered as a factor in social control, there is dispute as to whether religion transcends society, and

thus defines what the ultimate values of society are, or whether it is simply the projection into the plane of the absolute and the sacred of the society itself. In both the cases, religion is closely linked with ultimate values of a society. It considers these values with a sacred quality and associates reward with their violation. Thus it becomes the ultimate sanction for conformity.

After realising the effective role that religion serves as an instrument of social control, it may be said that delinquency can best be curbed or cured by more effective motivation and sanction. It is felt that if religion expresses the ultimate values of a society, and the society is organised to achieve these values, then faith reinforces social institutions and social institutions reinforce faith. Integration is thus set up emphasizing the effective role of religion in social control.

In reality, integration can never be perfect. This situation arises because of a few reasons. First, the

values of a society may be contrary to the values of a religious faith. In such a case, a person can become deviant due to religious faith. For example, the faith of early Christians in Rome is that they refuse to pay divine honour to the Emperor.

Secondly, circumstances may arise wherein the actual behaviour of people (including their expected behaviour) may be out of conformity with both the stated ideals of a society and its stated religious values. In this case, religion requires that a person resist the actual behaviour, refuse to conform, so that he may live up to the stated ideas of his society. Sermons on family life today regularly call attention to the falling away of American family life from religious ideals.

Finally, a controversy often arises about which social ideals or social practices are in conformity with religious values. The fight for segregation among the White people in South America is due to the belief that it is God's will. The religious leaders, on the other hand, oppose and assert that segregation is immoral.

Thus motivations and sanctions of religion support two totally distinct set of social values.

It is difficult to determine the kind of behaviour that is in conformity with a person’s religious values. One often wonders about the evidence of children and adults who practice no religion, attend no church or temple, yet do not become delinquent, while there are many delinquents who attend religious services regularly and come from families which profess to be religious. This evidence indicates that the emphasis for these non-religious is on the development of other means of social control.

Besides religion, another agency of social control is the school. The school has a potential part in child-rearing and socialization. It can be praised and condemned for its effective or ineffective functioning. Very often, the school is blamed for breeding and fostering delinquency as it fails to perform its activity properly. It fails to develop the young intellectually and also to teach them to gain or socialize along with

the customs and traditions of conventional society. Progressive education, discipline, corporal punishment and intellectual achievement has been criticized. Otherwise educational issues are publicity ventilated, discussed and debated.

A great attack on the education of the poor children in big city slums where caste, creed and ethnic minorities abound was made recently by James B. Conant in Slums and Suburbs.

Although professional educators and others differ with Conant on some of his recommendations, no one can deny the basic truth and crucial importance of his main charge: in metropolitan slums where educational problems are the most difficult and children are most in need of the best education, there, society is spending the least money and managing the worst schools. It is only in the suburbs, that better schools are found which reach out only to the rich.

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Thus our society which traditionally emphasizes the value and merit of education and considers the education of every child as a public responsibility has denied this opportunity to the slum child. The children from poor families in big cities only do not face problems. In smaller areas where there may be only one high and smaller communities, often the selection of student is based on social class, power and other biases. A fairly well-off child may be admitted because of its parents' power and influence in the community, while the poor deserving working-class child may be totally ignored. Now-a-days, due to poor and biased selection, most adolescents devalue education.

In the recent years, the child guidance movement has been gaining importance in the field of education. The principal aim of this movement, which goes under various names, such as vocational guidance, psychiatric service and school social work, is the adjustment, both personal and social, of out-of-phase children who have special problems. There are also allied therapeutic efforts as

special day schools for emotionally disturbed children and for those poor children who cannot obtain admission in ordinary schools. A few training centers have now been established to provide vocational training for low-prestige, non-academically inclined children and adolescents.

Thus, schools which create in each child a great interest in the nation's cultural and social heritage are found to be on the decline due to many reasons like disinterest of staff, interference by politicians, overpopulation and other factors. If they work well, both the child and society stand to gain. If not, everyone in society will be at a loss.

There are other agents of social control that influence behaviour in neighbourhoods where delinquents are found. They are policemen, psychiatrists, department of welfare workers, various kinds of social workers, settlement house staff and others who work directly on the streets with juvenile gangs, court probation officers and the like. Gans in his Boston study calls these people who in today's world are mostly professionals, external caretakers. He includes schools, hospitals,
public libraries and other organizations and their employees under external caretakers. The internal caretakers, on the other hand, are the relatives, peers, neighbours, local clergymen, store owners, bartenders and politicians, who also provide certain kinds of care and services, but who are of the same culture both psychologically and socially, as local residents.

The function of the caretakers is to look after the blind, the sick the handicapped the mentally ill, the criminal and the delinquent, the lost, abandoned and helpless. They are, most often, motivated by the spirit of charity and love. Sometimes they are fulfilling their professional obligation or doing a job for which they are paid. They act as psychological and cultural representatives, irrespective of motivation, technique or personal competence of the dominant, entire society. Their duties are to help, manage, treat or control poor people in trouble or prevent those who are likely to get into peril.

The caretakers face many problems while carrying out their jobs. In the first place, these external

caretakers like school superintendents, judges, district attorneys, child guidance, psychiatrists, state hospital staff workers, prison wardens and others never see or experience the neighbourhoods that these clients, pupils or inmates come from. Hence they treat them only from afar. In some cases, this lack of familiarity and experience with the areas of these inmates may be attributed to the busy schedules, geographic distance or other reasons. Most of the authorities are of the opinion that delinquent behaviour stems only from defective family life and not about the general societal conditions under which such people dwell.

Gans believes what most caretakers fail to recognise is that the neighbourhoods from which their clients or charges come have social systems and cultures of their own. These systems breed their own particular needs, perspectives and satisfactions. These and other conditions seriously impede the rendering of help and assistance, and work to offset and restrain the frequently drastic changes which so often appeal to the missionary zeal of external caretakers.

51 Ibid., p.139.
The external agents of social control often do not realize that life in many of the delinquents or criminal areas are quite different from life in middle class society. In these high-delinquency areas, everyone including the police force are not in effective and full control. The people in those disorganized areas face the problem of survival, and easy access to the assistance of the police, the courts, the political power structures and the privileges of the middle and upper class people. When these resources are not accessible, then the poor people begin to revolt. This leads to delinquency and other criminal acts.

3.2 FAMILY-CENTERED THEORIES OF DELINQUENCY CAUSATION

Over the years there has been much research combining psychiatry and social work with social science. There were famous psychiatrists and sociologists such as William Alanson White, Harry Stack Sullivan, Karen Horney, Frederic Le Play and others who stressed the importance of society and culture in the study of personality systems and their functioning and malfunctioning. During the past decade or so theory and empirical research have moved more rapidly towards the
integration of clinical and sociological views of human behaviour.

A few clinicians, in the course of time, have been writing about delinquency. They have called attention to a number of juvenile offenders who, otherwise "normal are socialized according to deviant in-group standards and norms. They have moved from the stress on sub-cultural terms to explain deviancy in terms of socially induced personality stress. Most psychiatrists especially those who are strongly psychoanalytically oriented, and most social caseworkers remain convinced, for example, that delinquent behaviour must be explained in terms of the emotional maladjustments of delinquents and that the genesis of such maladjustments of delinquents and that the genesis of such maladjustments need be traced no further than early family experiences. There are many people who agree that the child's emotional instability or disturbance is deeply rooted within his family experience.


Till the nineteenth century, delinquency and crime were considered to be the result of the moral failure of the individual. The influence of the family was not taken into account. Later on in 1882, a French mining engineer-turned-sociologist, Frédéric Le Play studied the systematic central roles of a family to obtain a great knowledge of the entire society. The economics or budget of the family would provide a total knowledge of the family and the community. His concern for the preservation of the family and family values, through political and social action aimed as strengthening the family could clearly be found in his famous writings, 'Les Ouvriers Européens' (1885) and 'La Réforme Sociale en France' (1886). His firm conviction of the family importance led him to be critic of the establishment of charitable homes like the orphanages, homes for the aged and the like. He insisted that problems of families must be sorted out and solved by themselves. In this way ties and bonds of the family members will be strengthened. The establishment of such organizations and institutions

like the Old Age Homes would only relieve the families and the community of their responsibility towards these obligations.

Nevertheless, despite Le Play's theories, the social upheavals of the early industrial period and the problems of growing industrial and commercial cities, precipitated the development of charitable institutions. These charitable institutions focused their attention towards the care of destitute families, of orphan and vagrant children, who have been abandoned by death of their parents or deserted due to poor living conditions.

In many cases, either the poor mother would be working and hence neglect the children or the entire family would be working together and hence spend less time on the upbringing of their children. From various studies on neglected and delinquent children, two aspects are considered: first, when the predominantly economic problems of poverty was eased, everyone began to realise that most of the problems of children in relation to families were not only results of economic destitution.

The main problem was the development of the child under the influence of the home. The next aspect has been the increasing influence of the psychology of personality development. These theories were postulated by Sigmund Freud, a renowned psychologist. These theories continued to develop in a number of directions during the past century and located in family relationships the source of personality maladjustment. The rise of professional social work and these influences of psychology led to the concentration on the home and the family. There are some theories that place more thrust directly on the home and on the pattern of family relationships and others that give importance to the psychology of the individual. The following are some of the theories that focus on:

- types of structural problems of family organization, such as broken families or families of mothers who are employed outside the home;

- types of functional problems in families, like patterns of family relationships which fail to socialize the child adequately.
families which socialize the child into a tradition of crime or delinquency. In other words, it is known as 'under-the-roof' delinquent culture.

Delinquency, to a great extent, stems from adverse home fronts. Sheldon and Eleanor had concluded that the character of the family situation had vitally to do with creating delinquency. The presence of unfavourable factors in discipline by the father, supervision by the mother, affection by both parents for the child and the cohesiveness of the family group account for greater chances of delinquency.

A normal family should be able to provide structural completeness, economic security, moral conformity, physical and psychological normality and functional adequacy. The family should be in a position to meet the physical, social and psychological needs of the child. They should share common practices, ideas, attitudes and values and provide an atmosphere of emotional security.

3.2.1 STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY:

3.2.1.1 BROKEN HOMES

Broken homes and working mothers are the two structural situations usually mentioned in relation to delinquency. A broken home is one in which a significant adult member, usually a parent is found to be missing, because of death, desertion or divorce. Immoral homes are where the child has been actively corrupted by criminal parents, poor and indulgent homes and homes marked by chronic inebriety and indifference to the child’s welfare. Since the family is the primary agent of socialization, there is a tendency to search for defects in the home as soon as defects appear in the children. The problem of delinquency is often said to be due to the fact that something has gone wrong with the home, and it is the parents who are most criticised and blamed for their child’s misbehavior. Furthermore, family problems so consistently crop up in the case histories of delinquents that professionals who deal with them develop a strong conviction that a mixed-up family

is largely at fault. The causative factor of delinquency, the broken home can never be considered to be single. There is always the problem that both the broken family and delinquency may have been caused by some third variable or set of variables which could be of cultural nature. For instance, broken homes and truancy are most common in slum families.

Thomas Monohan in his study had mentioned a decisive position with reference to the influence of the broken home on delinquency. His study in Philadelphis highlighted that broken homes is more frequently evident in the cases of Negroes, girls and recidivists than in those of Whites, boys, and first offenders. Monohan infers from his evidence that "The place of the home in the genesis of normal or delinquent patterns of behaviour should receive greater practical recognition", and that "even more importance to the child than the nature of the break is the fact of a break in his home". He thus concluded that strengthening of family life constitutes

the most important single programme in preventing delinquency.

Shaw and Mckay in 1929 were unable to identify the influence of the broken home on delinquent behaviour. They hypothesized that the actual separation of the life of the child as the emotional conflicts which have resulted in the break in family relationships.

Shulman felt that the evidence on broken homes and delinquency "does not necessarily provide a casual relation, but it strongly suggests one". Sophia Robinson is of the opinion that middle-class norms of family organization are applied to a subculture in which they do not apply. She suggests that if the subculture was viewed within the framework of its own values and norms, it is common that the people of that subculture neither view the behaviour of the children as delinquent nor their own family life as broken or disorganised.

According to Mack, these rough families, who contribute their share of delinquents, are not an observation or defective form of the model prescribed by society; they are sub-generis. To quote Robinson Sophia:

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"how complacently unaware they are of being delinquent or falling short in any way. They may be a defective form of something, but this something is certainly not the modern family unit as we know it". In whatever way, the ministers, teachers, probation officers and youth workers try to change the way of the families, they fail to recognise it.

Thus while studying delinquency, great attention must be given to understand the broken family in subcultures where they are concentrated.

3.2.1.2 WORKING MOTHERS

Another structural situation which may contribute to delinquency is the working mothers. It is often interpreted that as soon as a mother leaves the home to work for her family, she neglects the home and her family responsibilities. What one fails to understand is that the mother works to supplement her family income. This is often, common among the families either due to poverty, alcoholic or indifferent husbands, wife beaters

and separated cases. Most women work either full time or part time.

Dorothy Dohen, in her sociological analysis of the roles of women in the United States, reviews all the literature on the reasons why mothers work. They may be supporting a ailing, husband; supplementing his meagre income, seeking companionship, contributing a much-needed skill or escaping from problems in the home. Hence the fact of working in the case of the mother is not as important as the reason why she works. In some cases, sometimes the family is financially better-off and much happier because the mother spends a few hours outside the home.

3.2.1.3 INADEQUATE SOCIALIZATION

Inadequate socialization refers to the failure of family function. It deals with the interaction that occurs in the family, particularly between parent and child. Very often, parents who are engrossed in work and in the race to compete with others, fail to socialise the child adequately. They neglect teaching the child

properly to adopt, adjust and fill in the roles that he has to take as in society. The emphasis of studies has been not on the child whose personality has been affected, but on the child who has never been taught what to do or who has been taught to do wrong things. Glueck in his studies, 'Unrevealing Juvenile Delinquency' mentions the poor functioning family. Such families are characterized by physical handicaps of parents, particularly father; poor work habits of the father, unemployment and general inadequacy. In most of these families there exists confusion and disorganization. The child is confused with his family set-up and hence never learns what to do.

According to a study of delinquency in children and inadequacy of parents, in California, the following family situations were classified. They were the anxiety-ridden families, the parentally irresponsible families, the socially unstable families and the non conforming hostile families.

In the anxiety-ridden families, children were beset by emotional problems. The parentally irresponsible families had unsocialized children where the parents were socially conforming and economically adequate. These parents exploit the child emotionally, and overprotect him or project difficulties on outsiders such as teachers. This leads the child to misbehave and become aggressive towards other children. Their misbehaviour may range from truancy to school drop-out and even sexually deviant behaviour. In the socially unstable families, the parents would like too have conformed, but could not and hence follow a hedonistic or 'live it up' policy. Here, parental behaviour was not antisocial but unstable. Their children were delinquent due to running away, begging and truancy. The non-conforming hostile family had children whose delinquency appeared to be adaptive behaviour. In other words, the parents had an aggressive disregard for the norms of society. Adult behaviour was characterised by exploitation of others, exbezlement, larceny, burglary and incest. Among the children stealing and promiscuity were common. Psychoses were frequent among parents and children.
careers and the history of criminality in the family. This led Gleucks and Shulman to consider something like a 'criminal class.' Hence correction attention must be directed to the entire family tradition and its cultural roots in the family.

3.3 INDIVIDUAL-CENTERED THEORIES OR PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

The development of a child requires not only the physical needs—food, shelter, clothes, but also factors which help in the mental make-up or psyche of the child. Individual centered theories seek to explain crime and delinquency by heredity, malfunctioning or endocrine glands, glucose, deficiency, mental retardation, organic and functional mental disease and a variety of other individual traits. In other words, these theories explain that criminal and delinquent behaviour results as defects of offenders themselves in their biological and mental make-up. Under the individual centered theories, two major types can be studied. They are explanations

that cite biological defects and mental retardation and explanations that cite functional or psychogenic defects of personality.

3.3.1 BIOLOGICAL DEFECTS AND MENTAL RETARDATION

There are several explanations, right from the ancient times to the mid-twentieth century, which emphasize the aspect of body chemistry in criminal behaviour.

The 'Father of modern criminology' is an Italian Physician, Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). While other European Scholars were busily engaged in studying the geographic, economic and sociological aspects of crime, Lombroso and his fellow positivists, Garofalo and Ferri succeeded in focusing the attention of scientific criminology upon the characteristics of the individual offender. According to them, a delinquent or criminal was born. This 'born criminal' had characteristics of certain physical stigmata such as protruding ears, large evolutionary ancestors. They also mentioned that mental

illness and environment plays a role in the etiology of criminal behaviour.

Gabriel Tarde, a Frenchman and Charles B. Goring, an English physician (1870-1919) both refuted Lombroso’s concept of ‘born criminal’. Trade changed his stress from the biological to the social psychological view of crime as socially learned behaviour. His theory become the forerunner of later sociological theory which accept crime and delinquency as socially learned behaviour. Goring on the other hand, criticized Lombroso’s and said that there are no specific physical stigma that characterize a criminal.

Apart from the biological approach to criminal behaviour, the ‘Italian School and its critics, other scientists and laymen also felt that heredity and mental retardation, both play a role in criminal and delinquent behaviour. Studies of identical and fraternal twins, in which one or both of the pairs studied were criminal, have been used to support the claim that criminality is inherited. For example the famous novel ‘The Bad Seed’

had expounded the idea that propensities to murder can be inherited. 'The Juke' (1877) and the Kallikaks (1912) contributed that mental retardation found among delinquents and criminals was biologically inherited.

There were other studies that disapproved the role of heredity and mental retardation in criminal and delinquent behaviour. The chief difficulty with the mental retardation is applied to delinquents and non-delinquents selected from same social and economic backgrounds, the number of offenders who appear to be retarded does not seem to be excessive. It is now evident that much mental retardation is not inherited at all, but is caused in utero or is the result of early injury or illness. This qualification is necessary because of the past belief, often put into practice, their sterilization was needed to hold down the number of defective misfits in the population. Gleuck had reported that there were slight qualitative differences

In intelligence between delinquents and non-delinquents. The delinquents tend to be more direct and concrete and less symbolic, abstract and methodical in their reasoning.

The science of ductless glands known as 'endocrinology' was considered by some to be the most important sphere that could explain criminal and delinquent behaviour. Schlapp and Smith had declared "most crimes come about through disturbances of the ductless glands in the criminal and through mental defects caused by endocrine troubles in the criminal mother. Criminal actions are in reality reactions caused by the disturbed internal chemistry of the body."

Most recent studies using the techniques of physical anthropology, have focused attention on the possible link between physique or body build and criminal and delinquent behaviour. There were other attempts to show that criminals are not physically inferior, but also to demonstrate a special proclivity to given types of crimes by particular races and subraces.

The main criticism leveled against this general biological approach is that body build and race do not appear to be directly related to personality types and hence, to crime and delinquency.

The discipline of psychiatry cites the role of organic mental illness in criminal and delinquent behaviour. Epileptic disorders, encephalitic infection and other illness can drastically affect the behaviour of children. But more than these, organic mental diseases, the "psychopathic personality" has been considered more significant in the study of crime causation among youthful offenders and habitual criminals. The inter-related qualities of psychopathic personality are as follows: A lack of conscience or ‘superego’. Hence they lack ordinary guilt feelings about ones derelictions. Secondly, they exhibit deficient attachment to or affection for others. They do not regard or respect other people and are hence ruthless and exploit others. Next, being unable to suppress their selfish motives,

they become rebellious, aggressive and violent. Finally, they possess an infantile level of response, seeking immediate satisfactions, often in primitive forms of behaviour, sexual and otherwise.

Thus, more than physical and hereditary influences, the peculiarities of personality of an individual counts in the study of personality of an individual counts in the study of crime and delinquency.

3.3.2 Psychogenic Defects

These theories stress the functional aspects of mental illness and personality maladjustment which is believed to be characteristic of delinquents. The functional disorders do not show any clear organic involvement in their development.

Among the various functional psychoses, schizophrenia among some youth is an important aspect in delinquency. The schizophrenics tend to be reserved, withdrawn socially and are disorganized in their social, intellectual and emotional functioning. They are generally unable to maintain their personal relationships. Due to their reduced self-control, they
may commit various delinquent acts. The other forms of functional psychoses which occur mainly among adult offenders are manic depressive psychoses and paranoia. These forms are sometimes found in their incipient stages in adolescents.

While dealing with psychogenic theories of delinquency causation, one must understand the distinction between psychiatry and psychoanalysis. Psychiatry is a basic branch of the general field of medicines that deal with the psyche of an individual. Psychoanalysis, on the other hand, is a sub-division within psychiatry which represents a theory of behaviour and a technique that treats the psyche.

The personalities and behaviour pattern of children are often explained taking into account the early experiences within the family. Many psychologists have stressed those formative relationships as the crucial determinant of later behaviour, as interactions with parents and siblings dominate the first years of a child's life. The system of values, control of one's

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impulse and a concern for the opinion of other people are usually learned during this phase.

Among the various explanations of the psychoanalysis theory is that of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). This theory explains the way in which all people function psychologically. It focuses upon the structure of the personality and the wishes, desires and motives behind behaviour. These desires and wishes are not apparent to a person. They are instead often unconscious. It is these drives or wishes that constitute the personality that Freud called the Id.

The psychoanalytical theory may be classified into two sub-types - The psychoanalytical instinct theories and the psychodynamic problem solving theories.

3.3.2. Instinct Theories

The instinct theories begin with the view that personality is composed of the Id, the Ego and the Superego. The Id represents wishes or drives that are primitive, aggressive and unorganised. It is mostly seen in child and demands instant gratification.

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The ego is the executive of the personality which acts as a mediator between the values of the superego, the desires of the Id and the demands of the external world. It embodies the reality principle which is the capacity to think and ponder, to control and delay the expression of impulses because of environmental conditions, including the predicted reaction of others, in order to maximise later gratification.

The superego is the child's internalized parent. It consists of concepts of 'right' and 'wrong' which are inherited and learnt from others in the child's environment. It is the child's monitor and control over his impulsive id.

Under ideal family conditions, each part of the personality would develop normally and thus the child would exhibit acceptable behaviour in most situations. This is illustrated in diagram 3.1.

Personality Structures

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<th>ID (Drives)</th>
<th>EGO (Mediator)</th>
<th>SUPERECHO (Values)</th>
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All of us are impulsive and it is only through the process of socialization which is the control and direction of one's wishes and drives, that one does not become a delinquent or criminal. Thus, all children are criminals unless they learn to be otherwise. According to such theories, the delinquent deed is the expression of an antisocial impulse which goes unchecked. This occurs in children who have had too little love and affection or those who have had too much of smoothing love. As a result, these children become indifferent to the feelings, rights and property of others.

In other cases, delinquency and other acts of hostility and violence occur when individuals without well-developed superegos and egos meet unfavourable environmental conditions which aggravate antisocial behaviour.

3.3.2.2 Problem Solving Theories

According to the problem solving theories, the delinquent act is not the expression of an inborn delinquent impulse that has not been controlled by the ego and superego. It, instead, is a form of behaviour that is unconsciously contrived by the personality as a
means of dealing with some problems of psychic adjustment
which arises out of conflicts among the Id, Ego and
Superego.

Various investigators have interpreted different
sources of conflict in the psyche of the delinquent. For
example, some may find feminine tendencies or unconscious
homosexual wishes in conflict with a masculine ego-ideal,
while others may find unconscious hostility towards a
parent or siblings which is restrained by fear or guilt.

After finding out the specific source of conflict in
the psyche, the scientists go in for the "psychodynamic
mechanism" that enables the delinquent act to be of
service in solving the personality problems of the
delinquencial. For instance, a delinquent may physically
assault a stranger to get over his hated father symbol.
This act may be to ease the feelings of guilt that he has
for hating his father.

William Healy and Augusta Bronner had conducted a
study on the problem solving psychoanalytical theories on
delinquents. They found that most of them were
emotionally disturbed. These delinquents found an
alternative to satisfy their psychic needs by aggression
or escape behaviour which are looked down by society as immoral or illegal.

Thorpe and his associates had described delinquents as individuals who are basically hostile, antisocial and aggressive in attitudes and behaviour. The anti-social behaviour is rooted in personality troubles which arise from the conflict and frustrations of early childhood. These add on to the extra stresses and problems during the adolescent period and lead to delinquency. The antisocial child's behaviour is an attempt to reduce inner tension, to maintain a psychological balance.

Researches on juvenile delinquents by medical psychiatrists and psychologists have brought to light the various feelings and attitudes in their behaviour and approach to life.

Feelings of insecurity or anxiety play a role in every neurotic and normal person. It may be described

as a feeling of having no hold or insufficient hold on life, in general or in any specific sphere of life which may be important to the particular individual. Enhanced insecurity or anxiety designates a state in which these feelings play a stronger role in the personality, either quantitatively or qualitatively, than is usual in the average person.

The feeling of not being wanted or loved or of even repressed, may unconsciously lead to an exaggerated need for affection, recognition and success. It is the feeling that one is not accepted, not included or even that one is rejected by others. It is the feeling of a lack of positive human relationship to a particular person. This feeling is of importance especially to one's own family and early childhood.

Overprotective attitude, however, leads the child to feel that he is wanted and loved, not as a person in his own right, but only on condition of being the property of the parents. These parents fail to accept the individual as he really is.

The feeling of not being taken care of concerns the absence of active interest or help on a situation in
which the individual feels entitled to such interest, especially in a child-parent situation.

The feeling of not being counted or taken seriously indicates that one's own person, one's own interests, ideas and wishes are not acknowledged. They are not treated as something that deserves respect and consideration of their own sake. This ultimately leads to helplessness and powerlessness.

The feeling of not being recognised implies that one's qualities, gifts, intentions and achievements are sufficiently recognised or appreciated.

Often a feeling of helplessness creeps into the minds of delinquents. This unconscious kind of insecurity feeling indicates that whatever the individual wants, he cannot do or change or influence anything especially with regard to the course of his/her own life.

Failure is another feeling which abounds in persons with an overcompetitive attitude. It may lead either to a greater effect or the recoiling from competition.
Resentment and resignation also occur as feelings in the lives of delinquents. Resentment is the feeling of frustration, envy or dissatisfaction with particular emphasis not on the positive attempt or hope to better one's own situation, but on the negative wish that others should be denied the satisfaction or enjoyment that one feels in lacking or withheld from oneself. On the other hand, resignation is a feeling that life does not hold any promise or any use. There is no great chance of removing the causes of dissatisfaction.

Depressive trends which are not always manifested are a common feature among delinquents. It implies frustration and inferiority trend.

The delinquents are unable to maintain surface contact with others. They do not like to work in cooperation with others. They possess a tendency to destroy, to hurt and thus are negativistic in their approach to life. They have the feeling of being alone and not sufficiently capable of giving and receiving affection. An unwarranted defensive attitude is found

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Ibid., p.9.
among delinquents. The means of defending oneself are varied. It can consist of a shell-like attitude of warding off every approach and erecting a wall around oneself or take a more aggressive form. In a majority of the cases on delinquency it is found that the delinquents are either emotionally dependent on others or are self-reliant, independent and secure. They openly rebuke anyone in authority.

The instinctual and problem solving types of psychoanalytical theory can be criticised on various grounds. First, their concepts cannot be scientifically tested as they are not defined in concrete and empirical terms. Secondly most psychoanalysts believe that delinquency is the result of personality disturbance and do not pay proper attention to social and cultural interpretations of behaviour. Thirdly, they never mention the form, in terms of why a particular type of delinquent act has occurred or not. Finally, the analysts always define problems of psychic conflict only and not situational or other factors.

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3.4 LABELLING THEORY

Apart from psychiatrists and sociologists explaining delinquent behaviour in terms of psyche and childhood, another perspective which has received attention in recent years is the labelling theory. This theory is criticized by the juvenile justice process.

It attempts to evaluate the impact of the social control process on the etiology or causes of delinquent behaviour. In broader sense, it is concerned with the total process through which a child becomes officially labelled as a juvenile delinquent and how this process affects the individual who experiences it. This includes a consideration of how and why specific behaviour become defined as necessitating intervention by a government agency. Labelling theory also takes into account the way in which these definitions are applied. It also considers the effects of such labels on the individuals self-concept and subsequent behaviour. Labellists define offenders as poor members of minority groups. They also examine the policies, attitudes and assumptions of those who apply the labels to the delinquents. Labelling theory is not so much concerned with the social control
agents but more with the manner in which the system of social control works and the effects it has on the juveniles who pass through it. They are interested in the process by which an offender becomes an official delinquent after the primary deviation has been detected.

By labelling an individual or child as delinquent, it creates a sort of stigma due to which everyone in society consider it to be negative. Goffman defines 'stigma' as 'an attribute that is deeply discrediting'. His teachers, school mates and neighbours begin to view him as 'bad' or 'incorrigible'. They look down upon him and prevent their children mixing with him. They may even be excluded from school functions and may be deserted by their friends.

According to the labelling theory, the stigma of the label has a profound effect on the delinquent. When once the child has been labelled by an authority - the juvenile court as a deviant, he or she begins to recognise the changes in the attitudes of others. Hence the child finds it hard to reform itself and accepts the

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stigmatized role as deviant. Delinquent behaviour then begins to occur with greater frequency.

This increase in deviance, is termed by Lemert as 'secondary deviation'. He or she is now denied access to non delinquent activities. Thus the child goes through a traumatic experience from the time he/she has been caught by a police officer to juvenile court, to the school and later on once they have been released. The illustration of the labelling process is provided in Appendix I.

Labelling does have an impact on the levies and self-concepts of many youngsters. The problem lies in determining which of the youngsters are most affected, the strength of the impact and its long-term effects. Labelling may elicit minimum response from some youngsters and have a profound impact on others. It may increase deviance or prevent future deviant behaviour. Some juveniles on contact with police or the court may actually inhibit future delinquent acts. Appendix II presents the effects of labelling on the juvenile delinquent.

Labellists believe that juveniles should be diverted into other community agencies or organisations. They
should be educated or given vocational training in certified or approved schools. Their recreation should be properly utilised. Counselling and guidance should be given to these juveniles at every stage, whenever necessary. Finally, steps should be undertaken to educate their families and the society to accept him/her as an individual with no attached stigma at all.

3.5 THE NEED FOR AN INTEGRATED THEORY

The various theories, especially those that emphasize the personal traits of delinquents - family interaction and relationship should be confined to realistic limits. There is a need to develop, realign and integrate these theories which should enlist the co-operation of the psychiatric establishment and make valid use of the family-centered and individual-centered theories. In this way, the ultimate goal of understanding the cause of delinquency and providing effective treatment could be established for the delinquent and society, as a whole.