TRENDS IN
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

T. C. N. GIBBENS

Senior Lecturer in Forensic Psychiatry,
Institute of Psychiatry, University of London

Consultant to the World Health Organization

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

GENEVA

1961
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The interpretation of statistics</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatric aspects of delinquency</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present trends in delinquency</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social changes</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes in family life</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes in the individual delinquent</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special property offences</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual offences</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayward girls</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent offences</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholism and drug addiction</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooliganism</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present trends in prevention</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prediction studies</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiments in prevention</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preventive policies</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment at liberty</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional treatment</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The World Health Organization has for some years taken an active interest in the problem of juvenile delinquency. In 1949, at the request of the United Nations, WHO carried out a study of the psychiatric aspects of the origin, prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency as a contribution to the United Nations programme for the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders, appointing the late Dr Lucien Bovet as consultant. Since the publication of Dr Bovet's report\(^1\) in 1951, representatives of WHO have taken part in many conferences and have regularly attended meetings of the United Nations' Consultative Group on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders; and WHO itself has, through its Regional Office for Europe in Copenhagen, organized a seminar on the psychiatric treatment of offenders. In 1959, again at the request of the United Nations, another study was carried out by a psychiatric consultant—Dr T. C. N. Gibbens—appointed by WHO to complement Dr Bovet's work with a review of current trends in juvenile delinquency, based on his own personal experience, the recent literature and first-hand information obtained during visits to a number of countries—Austria, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Lebanon, Poland, Sweden and Yugoslavia.

This consultant's report, which was submitted to the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, held in London in 1960, is presented here, with some minor amendments introduced as a result of the subsequent publication of three reports: Juvenile Delinquency in Post-War Europe, prepared by the Council of Europe's European Committee on Crime Problems; the report of the United Nations Secretariat\(^2\) to the Congress in London; and a report entitled "New Forms of Juvenile Delinquency"\(^3\) which was submitted to the Congress by a United Nations consultant—Judge Wolf Middendorff.

---
\(^1\) Bovet, L. (1951) Psychiatric aspects of juvenile delinquency, Geneva (World Health Organization Monograph Series, No. 1).
\(^2\) A/Conf. 17/7.
\(^3\) A/Conf. 17/6.
INTRODUCTION

The new forms or manifestations of juvenile delinquency which are at present discussed in the various countries of the world consist partly of delinquent acts which are a consequence of new opportunities for crime, but which do not differ in their essential character from more traditional forms, and partly of offences which appear to reveal a more fundamental change in behaviour, or the participation of sections of the community which have not previously been involved in crime. Since even the traditional forms of juvenile delinquency continue to provide serious problems for the research worker, it is hardly to be expected that the causes or even the extent of new forms can be traced in any detail; and their origin, prevention and treatment involve many factors which apply to the traditional forms. The following discussion will therefore deal at times with the wider issues or general trends in the origin, prevention and treatment of delinquency which are inseparably bound up with the emergence of new types of offence.
THE INTERPRETATION OF STATISTICS

The identification of the trends in juvenile delinquency depends in the first instance on examination of statistics. It has to be stressed, especially perhaps for the benefit of the layman, that the interpretation of fluctuations in statistics depends on a large number of factors. Twenty years ago, Dr Hermann Mannheim (1940) gave a clear account of the factors which may produce statistical changes, even though the total amount of delinquency remained constant. These consisted of changes in the method of detection, arrest and charging by the police, changes in the law, changes in the action of the courts and changes due to the effect of the statistics themselves.

The possible effects of these factors upon the contemporary scene remain the same. The extent to which delinquent acts are reported to the police or observed by them depends on a number of social factors. Cases of shop-lifting, for example, which have apparently increased in some countries, are closely linked with the employment of store detectives or with the alertness of staff, which itself varies with sales efficiency or perhaps with anxiety about the success of new methods of selling, such as the self-service stores.

Police policy with regard to making charges against delinquents varies widely and is undergoing continual change. In the USA, it is reported that about three-quarters of the children who are dealt with by the police for misbehaviour are not referred to juvenile courts but are handled by the police. This procedure is being actively extended in many countries.

The action of courts themselves can profoundly affect the incidence of delinquency. Placing large numbers of offenders at liberty or under supervision or on probation may, of course, lead to a real increase in delinquent acts. But in other instances, court action may conceal the true facts. In some countries, juries which are composed of people of the same social class as motorists are reluctant to convict motorists of driving under the influence of drink. It is safe to predict that measures
now being taken to correct this situation will result in an increase in convictions for drunken driving, even if the actual amount of it does not change. A Norwegian investigator showed that 41% of 125 unconvicted university law students admitted having at some time driven a car when drunk according to the relatively strict standards of Norwegian law (Andenas et al., 1960).

The effect of statistics themselves upon the level of detected delinquency is an important feature which is often overlooked. The police, who are responsible in the first instance for the collection of statistics and who are also first to suffer from ill-judged criticism as a result, are those who are most vividly aware of this effect. Increased awareness of a problem leads to increased recognition of examples of it. One may well anticipate that a future increase in drunken driving convictions will produce a state of public anxiety, which will stimulate a more intensive search for this offence, whether intentionally or otherwise. Many instances are available in which public criticism of the police for alleged excess of zeal has led to reduced activity against certain classes of offenders, notably in the field of offences against public morality. Conversely, it was reported to me in one country that, following a particularly sensational rape-murder of a child recently, there was a threefold increase in reported cases of indecent assault in the course of the next few months. Increased anxiety by the parents probably stimulated closer questioning of their children about their activities or reasons for being late home. It is significant that two of the forms of crime which are attracting increased attention—sex crimes and crimes of violence—are among those which are believed to show an especially high discrepancy between occurrence and detection. If, as Radzinowicz (1957) has stated, "at most, five per cent. of sex offenders are reported or detected", one must ask to what extent a slight alteration in case-reporting merely taps a larger proportion of this reservoir.

These considerations on case-finding and case-identification, which are very familiar to criminologists, may seem far removed from any discussion of the psychology of delinquency. They are mentioned for three reasons.

There is still a widespread view, shared by many who are concerned with the treatment of delinquents, and even in a generation which has produced the atom bomb, that statistics are fundamentally suspect and can be "made to prove anything". This is not the view here. It is often said that figures are good servants but poor masters. Properly collected and used, they mean what they say they mean and not something else. The available statistics of the trend in delinquency no doubt give a painfully accurate picture of the problems which any administration has to face in providing services and facilities, and are mainly collected
for this purpose. But when used for a discussion about trends in delinquent behaviour or its possible etiology, they need to be supplemented by special investigations which are in general only carried out by trained criminologists.

Secondly, the psychologist or psychiatrist owes his position as an expert to the fact that his views have a sound scientific foundation. One of the most encouraging trends in recent years has been increasing collaboration between the branches of science concerned with the study of delinquency: psychiatry, psychology, sociology, anthropology and criminology. However, each discipline must make its own measurements and supply its own statistical computations within a wider framework.

Thirdly, although many new and special investigations are needed, in all countries a great deal of reliable information about delinquents is already systematically collected. Only a small proportion of it is analysed or published, usually for the more practical purposes of administration. Yet a real understanding of developments can come only from a careful selection and combination of this information. This is becoming increasingly possible with the establishment of new institutes or departments of criminology, as, for instance, those in Cambridge, Copenhagen, Jerusalem and Stockholm, to name only the most recent. Close collaboration between psychiatry and other disciplines offers much hope for the future.

Perhaps the most important changes affecting the statistics of prevalence are the trends in definition of delinquency. In many countries new legislation is in preparation and an explanation of present procedures is followed by an account of what will be done "when the new law is passed". These differences make it impossible to compare the statistics of various countries. In the attempt which is now being made to compare the prevalence of delinquency in three Scandinavian countries which have many cultural and legal similarities, much preliminary work on definitions is being found necessary. Yet it is safe to assume that a social movement goes on for some time before it is established in the form of law, and the effect of these changes on the apparent prevalence of delinquency, even in one country, cannot be assessed.

These considerations, for example, affect a question of considerable psychological importance—the age incidence of delinquent or closely equivalent behaviour. Delinquency is defined in various countries as beginning at either 8, 13, 14 or 15 years. Where later ages apply, there is often no information about the number of children appearing before the welfare boards or equivalent authorities dealing with disturbed children, and it requires special research to establish how many have come to the notice of the police for behaviour which would be classed as criminal in adults. Where the higher age applies, the maximum incidence
occurs immediately after the age of responsibility; where the lower age applies, the maximum incidence per population of that age tends to be at about 13. In Norway, for example, special research has shown that, although the maximum incidence closely follows the age of responsibility at 14, there has also been a marked increase in equivalent behaviour in the age-group 10-13. In other countries, anxiety is felt as to whether the age of onset of such behaviour is not steadily decreasing. It may be that the ages of those committing acts which come to the notice of the police as offences are in fact very similar in all countries, but that this is masked by legal definitions, and that what appears to be a trend is only a permanent feature revealed for the first time. From the psychological point of view, knowledge of the age of onset of stealing—often in early years—and of the form which maladjusted behaviour first takes and how it evolves is, of course, essential to the understanding of a child’s personality, however this behaviour is legally defined. In those countries in which the age of criminal responsibility is high, a consideration of the causes of any new trend would need to include not only parental relationships, but also all the educational and social measures taken before the child reached this age.

It is not suggested that studying trends in national statistics, especially when supported by the day-to-day impressions of all those actively engaged in work with delinquents, does not reveal a real increase in the relevant behaviour, but awareness of the sources of error helps to suggest the right sort of questions to ask when trying to account for these changes.
In 1951, an account of the psychiatric aspects of delinquency was prepared by Dr Bovet for the World Health Organization. This remains a lucid and universally admired statement of the state of psychiatric knowledge. The last ten years have produced only minor extensions of these views.

Delinquency, as Bovet stressed, is a bio-psycho-social phenomenon; any full discussion would include contributions from members of the social, educational, religious and psychiatric professions. Discussion here is limited to those developments which have psychological and psychiatric importance.

It has long been known that those convicted of delinquency come mainly from the lower classes of the community and that they are largely concentrated in certain areas of cities. (How much delinquent behaviour there is in other sections of the community which does not lead to conviction but is dealt with by other forms of control than the police has also been the subject of investigation.) In such an area with its own "subculture" which is not part of the wider community, it has been possible for sociologists to maintain with some cogency that delinquency was "for the most part a reversible accident of the person's social experience", "the product of the simple and direct process of social learning" and "represents the efforts of the person to find and vindicate his status as a human being, rather than an abdication of his humanity or an intrinsic incapacity to experience human sentiments" (Kobrin, 1959); and it was claimed that the "differential association with other delinquents and avoidance of non-delinquents could account for the greatest part of delinquency, rather than regarding it as a manifestation of pathology or malfunction of personality" (Kobrin, 1959). It was no accident that such views originated from Chicago, where there was a large population of immigrant parents who occupied the least desirable status in the economic, political and social hierarchy, and in many ways showed an acute awareness of this fact, who had been unable "to adapt
their social institutions to the urban industrial order" and were unable
to preserve their authority in the eyes of the rising generation.

Authorities in Israel are aware of being presented with a large-scale
problem of the same kind today, though the tendency to rapid urbaniza-
tion in nearly all countries produces similar local situations.

In contrast, psychiatrists can point to the fact that in the vast majority
of individual delinquents maladjustment and "malfunctions of personal-
ity" are readily observed, and that, even in the delinquent areas, the
majority of children do not come before the courts; as Bernard Gluek
has said, "... a factor must become a motive if it is to be a cause" and
the final causes must be looked for in the individual.

For twenty years these opposing views struggled for supremacy, then
entered on a period of peaceful co-existence. The main trend in the
last ten years has undoubtedly been towards full co-operation. This
is not shown merely by the fact that a distinguished psychoanalyst, who
has done much research into the emotional disorders of delinquent
children, finds it necessary to distinguish the individual and the "sociologic
delinquent" (Johnson, 1959), and that a sociologist excepts certain
mentally disturbed children from his formulation of the effects of a
particular delinquent subculture (Morris, 1957), but there has been a
gradual approximation of working hypotheses, and through the medium
of social psychology attention has been given to groups of all sizes,
from the family to the nation. Perhaps the most convincing proof is
that the main novelty in psychological treatment has been the introduction
of group psychotherapy and group counselling.

In one of the most complete statements of the findings of sociology
and social psychology, Cohen (1956) maintains that it is not enough to
account for the delinquent subculture in negative terms, as due to social
disorganization or even to culture conflict. There are very few parents
who actively teach their children to steal (although rather more may
imply an unconventional system of priorities in what is wrong, or
suggest that the social class which enforces these standards is in some
respects alien). The belief that dishonesty or hooliganism is wrong is
usually quite widely and firmly adhered to by the parents of delinquents
and apparently by most other sections of the community. It becomes
necessary to explain how the delinquent subculture originates, what
purpose it serves, what preserves it and transmits it to new members.
Cohen suggests that the delinquent feels he has an inferior status to the
wider community and meets others in a similar situation, and that the
delinquent group restores its standing while at the same time denying
the values of the wider community. These views cannot be elaborated
here, but an essential condition is that such influences depend upon the
formation of gangs and groups. Delinquency is usually at its maximum
at 13 to 15 years of age, at a time when the child is particularly concerned with relations with his contemporaries. Sveri (1959) has shown that, for Norway at least, the majority of offences are committed in company with two to three companions until between 15 and 16, when the solitary offenders begin to predominate.

The work of the social psychologist which impinges most closely upon that of the psychiatrist is concerned with social differences in child-rearing practices. In a study of North African Jewish children, commissioned with characteristic thoroughness by the Youth Aliyah Organization of Israel, in order to anticipate the problems which immigration would bring, Rey & Jeannet (1957) describe the characteristic patterns of home life and its effect on the intellectual and emotional development in the Mellaabs of North Africa. The child is warmly cared for by the mother, who nevertheless soon has to transfer attention to a new child; very early he takes responsibility for younger children, and extreme overcrowding forces him to spend most of the day in company with other children in the street, so that much of his energy is expended in adjusting to this society even in childhood. Sleep is disturbed; the quarrels and sexual life of the parents are acted out in his presence; the father is frequently alcoholic and outside the family circle. There is a rapid development of physical skill and practical ability of an untutored kind, but the school is often of a traditional type where he concentrates on learning sacred text. He goes to work while still very young. It is remarkable, however, that although these conditions and the resulting personality development may well be regarded as exceptional, there is a striking similarity between them and the description by Spinley (1953) of the differences in attitude to child-rearing between the mothers in a North London overcrowded area and women brought up in an upper-class girls' school. The significance of these extreme cases is obvious to all, but the lesson is perhaps that similar but less obvious differences are to be found in the immigrants in the cities in Western Europe or in those being rehoused or otherwise placed in a different social setting.

From the point of view of the psychiatrist and his concern for the individual delinquent, the advances in sociology and social psychology have introduced some reorientations. To some extent there is a factor of time in the two sorts of observation. The social factors are frequently of interest in relation to parents and to young people when they reach adolescence and enter the wider community. Maladjustment of parents, however, affects the quality of the family life and this has a deeper psychological effect upon the growing personality of the child. The social problem of one generation is a psychological problem for the next.
Undoubtedly, the most important trend in the assessment and treatment of the individual delinquent is towards a more detailed differentiation of types of response or syndromes of delinquency. Delinquents are involved in such a wide range of behaviour from the most trivial to the most serious that it is hardly possible that anything significant can be said about them as a class except that they are mainly boys and in a certain age-range. Yet to say that the bio-psycho-social causes are differently combined in each case, however true, does not permit any advance in scientific methods of testing the validity of such subjective impressions or of the value of special forms or prevention and treatment. There are necessary causes, sufficient causes, precipitating and predisposing causes, and the weight given to them may vary widely from one observer to another.

One of the most systematic attempts at differentiation was that of Hewitt & Jenkins (1946). They were able to show in child guidance clinic cases that certain types of behaviour complained of were statistically associated. They thus distinguished syndromes which they called: (1) unsocialized aggressive behaviour (cruelty, fighting, defiance, inadequate guilt feelings); (2) socialized delinquent behaviour pattern (stealing in groups, truancy, running away); and (3) overinhibited behaviour pattern (shyness, apathy, worrying). Factors in the family situation also tended to be associated together and they differentiated three sorts of background: (1) a family pattern of parental rejection; (2) a pattern of parental negligence and exposure to delinquent companions; (3) a repressive family situation. They were able to show that the three behaviour patterns were strongly associated with these family situation patterns respectively.

Extending these concepts to the study of a population of juvenile delinquents in two training homes, Jenkins (1949) described the various categories of delinquent: (1) the situational category (17%), whose personality was essentially normal and who hardly needed training-school treatment; (2) the pseudo-social category (14%), who were socialized within a delinquent group; (3) the personality category (64%), whose delinquency resulted from inner factors distinctly more substantial than those of the average child or in whom the pattern of delinquent behaviour had become in some way internally rooted (the delinquents in this category usually responded well to methods of community or training-home treatment); and (4) the asocial category (5%)—the most seriously disturbed group—who included those who were difficult to treat and who without treatment were likely to become adult asocial and amoral psychopaths. This last category was composed mainly of the most severe examples of unsocialized aggressive personalities, with the corresponding family situation. Their personalities were "integrated
around a pattern of hostility and attack". There was, however, a small group of “emotionally disturbed” delinquents—the most seriously disturbed fraction of the “personality category”—who combined serious delinquency with apathy, seclusiveness, sensitiveness, submissiveness, and the related backgrounds of both rejection and repression, who were relatively unintegrated, and even slightly disintegrated, and who were perhaps destined without treatment to become emotionally unstable psychopaths.

Similarly, Rich (1956) has attempted to differentiate types of stealing, which, of course, represent the vast majority of delinquent acts. He describes four varieties with an unclassified residuum—namely, (1) “marauding” offences, with three or more boys, stealing when opportunity presents but without planning; (2) “proving” offences, committed usually alone with the objective of proving one’s manhood or for reassurance, stealing cars being predominantly in this group; (3) “comforting” offences, stealing from parents or impulsive solitary stealing (usually is a substitute for the loss of love, as well as resentment for wounded feelings); and (4) “secondary” offences, committed alone or with others of the same type, with a clear idea of what can be stolen and with precautions against detection. Parental attitudes were rated with regard to the features used by Baldwin et al. (1945): “democracy”, “acceptance” and “indulgence”. Interesting relationships were established between these and the history of delinquent behaviour. Among Borstal lads, the author found that those who were regarded as mentally abnormal, i.e., with the greatest disturbance of intrapsychic function, were heavily concentrated amongst those who committed crimes alone or who had not delinquent group associations (Gibbens, 1961).

These are but two examples out of many attempts to establish varieties of delinquent conduct and personality in a meaningful way. It will be seen that even from the study of individuals, the differentiation of the individually disturbed delinquent and the “social” delinquent emerges, though the relative importance of the two sets of factors varies widely. They are necessarily crude attempts, which, in the main, bear out the impressions which clinical psychiatrists have already formed, but further attempts in this direction must precede any detailed study of the value of prevention and treatment.

Two aspects of this trend need special emphasis; first, there is at present no clear evidence on which to decide whether the “individual” or the “social” delinquent most readily becomes a recidivist. Any decision about this must await further information about the extent to which one variety may evolve into another. As a corollary, there is a widespread opinion that psychiatrists and social psychologists should pay special attention to the vital period of transition, when a youth with a clear disturbance of psychological functioning finds a solution in
the delinquent group or subculture, frequently with improvement in mental health at the cost of social maladjustment to the wider community.

Many other correlates of delinquent behaviour have received intensive study in the last ten years. The influence of defective or dull intelligence has been the subject of much investigation; the results have recently been reviewed by Woodward (1955). With increased understanding of the effects of culture upon test results there is perhaps less reason than ever to regard this as a major factor.

The effects of maternal deprivation and separation in early childhood, reviewed by Bowlby in 1951, have received especially close attention since then by himself and others. It is generally agreed that deprivation and separation without compensatory care by a reasonable substitute expose the child to serious stress; and the attention paid to the problem has done much to improve conditions in nurseries and hospitals. The life-histories of children affected in this way are so varied, however, that it has proved more difficult to study the effects than was at first supposed; varieties of separation and varieties of mental disorder have, at times, been assumed to be connected on insufficient evidence. In delinquents, especially, early separation may be the first indication of life-long rejection, which has a more serious effect because it is repeated or re-emphasized. Whether transitory separations in early life have permanent effects appears more doubtful. These and other stresses in childhood clearly need further study in spite of the difficulties involved.

The biological and constitutional aspects of delinquency continue to receive close study. Glueck & Glueck (1956) and Sheldon (1949) have shown that delinquents are more muscular (mesomorphic) in body-build and, on this basis, have been able to study the psychological features of delinquents which are most closely related to body-build (and therefore, presumably, constitutional in origin), and those which vary most closely with environmental patterns. English Borstal lads show a similar excess of the more muscular physical types (Gibbens, 1961). Further refinement of such studies may help to show how one form of maladjustment rather than another results from similar environmental pressure.

One biological feature, which has aroused a good deal of interest, is the observation that in many countries youths are reaching their maximum height at an earlier age and that lately the average age of puberty has been going down at the rate of about half a year every ten years. It is generally assumed that this is related to better nutrition. At the same time, the tendency is to regard young people as psychologically immature to a higher age than formerly. The possible significance of the widening gap between early physical maturity and later psychological maturity is being freely discussed.
In a paper of this scale, it is not possible to do justice to the many studies of delinquents, especially in the international field. Their volume and value are steadily increasing as the subject begins to receive the attention it deserves.
PRESENT TRENDS IN DELINQUENCY

It may be useful to ask two preliminary questions which frequently come to mind when discussing recent trends in the various countries. The first is, what is the cause of the increased anxiety which is felt about the apparent trends? In some countries there is no doubt good cause for concern, but, in others, in which youth appears to behave very much as it has done for several decades, concern is often felt that this may not long remain true. The situation is "being carefully watched". One may perhaps ask whether the most significant change in the present situation is not the behaviour of youths, but the fact that adults view it with more alarm than they used to. If, as Croce said, many of the characteristics of society are due to pressure of one generation on another, could it be that the old generation, for economic and other reasons, are less able to maintain pressure on the younger? There are some who believe that, with the rapid advance in technology, adults are increasingly threatened by the more complete training of youth.

The second question, partly connected with the first, is whether juvenile delinquency is necessary. There is a widespread view that a "good" and "healthy" society should not have any delinquency. No doubt this is the ideal; but so long as parents are as unstable, and the young as experimental, as they are, it is questionable whether the elimination of delinquency, even if it were possible, is really desirable. There is much to indicate that delinquency is a disorder with a comparatively good prognosis and may represent a valuable safety valve. Hilda Lewis (1954), for example, has shown that, among children admitted to a local authority home, the delinquents usually recovered satisfactorily, but the neurotic children remained neurotic some years after. From the wider aspects of mental health, it is arguable whether the elimination of delinquency in the present state of society would not generate more intractable disorders. Penrose (1939) has shown that for most countries there is an inverse relationship between persons in prisons and persons in mental hospitals. Where the mental hospital population is large, the prison population is small and vice versa.
Since offences against property form the vast majority of juvenile delinquency, the causes of increase in this respect are likely to be those of a general increase in delinquency. In what follows, a selection of some of the more widely canvassed opinions is given; they may be regarded as hypotheses for investigation. Moreover, comparing the situation in different countries often shows in a disconcerting way that what seems a reasonable explanation for an increase in one country exists in another in even clearer form without resulting in an increase; this must compel either the abandonment of the theory or a consideration of possible compensating factors. The international scene presents almost every type of trend in property offences by juveniles; and the characteristics of the trends vary considerably in relation to the particular age-group of juveniles which is affected, the relation to the criminality at all ages, and to other types of offence. For example, in Denmark there has been little change in juvenile crime. In Austria and Norway there have been marked increases in the last few years after a previous decline; in Norway, this is most marked in the younger age-group of 14-16. In both countries, the increase in total crime is mainly due to juveniles, and sexual or violent offences have shown little increase. In France and the United Kingdom, juvenile crime has fluctuated, but in the last three years has shown a rapid increase after a previous fall; the increase is most marked in the older age-group of 17-21 and perhaps for this reason is accompanied by a relative increase in violent offences and, in the United Kingdom, in sexual offences as well. In the United Kingdom there has been no great increase in offences by boys aged 8-13, although there is a large population increase at this age.

Changes in the type of property offence are less easy to assess, but an increase in wanton destruction of property, usually by groups of lads, is often reported, as is an increase in thefts of objects of little value, as trophies and momentos to obtain prestige with companions (discussed later as “proving” offences). The intention is “non-conformist” rather than antisocial, since the home background of such lads is frequently secure; an increasing proportion is said to come from higher social classes, but the extent of this increase is probably very slight.

SOCIAL CHANGES

Delinquency may be regarded as due to failure of the individual’s internal controls or the failure of external social controls, or both. Although it is quite possible that a new generation should grow up with deficient or weakened inner controls, the resulting increases would presumably be gradual. Sudden changes are perhaps more likely to be
caused by artefacts (altered case-finding and case-reporting) or by failure in social controls.

The apparent difference between urban and rural rates of delinquency has always been recognized, though there is some doubt as to the real extent of this difference. One reason for this—which may affect both real incidence and case-finding—is the very different system of controls. There are villages in the Eastern Mediterranean countries which, until quite recently, were inhabited by one large family or clan, and where official delinquency was negligible; presumably, the system of close social control is able to prevent and also treat any delinquency without reference to the law. Such close-knit societies may, however, produce a special form of delinquency based upon feuds between families or upon family codes of honour. Cases still occur, for example, in which a juvenile murders his younger sister, with the tacit approval of the heads of the family, because she has dishonoured the family's reputation. Such a crime may seem to the lad to be a matter of honour and duty. Traditional controls are easily damaged irreparably by migration or urbanization. Where the authority of a church extends into all aspects of social life, or where widespread control is exercised by industrial organizations or factory committees, this may serve both to prevent and to treat delinquency. Irish immigrants to England, for example, undoubtedly sometimes show an awareness that recognized controls have been removed, though this may be the cause or result of immigration.

A sharp increase in juvenile delinquency is not, on the whole, characteristic of those countries, such as Israel, Yugoslavia, and Poland, which are undergoing the most rapid social reconstruction or development, although there are local situations which in other countries would be readily accepted as reasons for an increase; for example, in Israel there are recognized difficulties with cultural assimilation of immigrants, and in all three there is pressure on the education system so that it is not possible to send children to school for the whole day, although mothers frequently go to work all day. One cannot ignore the possibility that there are other, more subtle forms of social control, connected perhaps with group cohesion or morale, or widespread general concern for children as heirs to the new developments. The statistics of juvenile delinquency in wartime have perhaps been ignored too completely as unreliable. The sharp fall in suicide during war, however, is not regarded as an artefact, and may reflect an improvement in group morale and sense of purpose.

Many theories centre on the economic, social and psychological consequences of urbanization or industrialization. It seems possible for urbanization to occur without industrialization, so that aggregates of villages occur with the preservation of large family patterns of social
life. Lin (1959) has spoken of a state of “over-urbanization” in Taiwan, in which the lack of equally rapid industrialization has deprived the immigrant of the higher conditions of work he looks for. Industrialization may provide many of the advantages and dangers of urbanization—the better and more stable working conditions, opportunities for advancement and often better conditions of health; but also the break-up of large family culture, looser patterns of social co-operation and greater economic independence of the members of families. Often the increased speed of change, which overtakes the natural rhythm of the generations and calls for greater flexibility in adults, is mentioned.

Urban society has four main characteristics: (1) the greater complexity of its economic and social organizations; (2) its increasing mechanization and standardization; (3) the increased secularization of life in keeping with the mechanized services and standardized goods; and (4) the substitution of impersonal relations instead of personal ones as a result of these features. Some of the essential factors on which successful adjustment depends are referred to later. Much will depend upon whether movement to the city is a positive goal or whether it is forced by economic necessity, whether whole families go to join a group already known to them or take up city life alone; whether child immigrants were rejected at home or sent because of increased opportunities in the new country. Some who fail to adapt will move out of the city; it is those who linger on without adaptation that are most liable to show one of the forms of social breakdown. In many instances, however, delinquency is at its highest in communities which have been urbanized for several generations and not in migrants or the children of migrants; and the problem is rather one of the gradual growth of the “delinquent area” by the increasing self-selection of those who are unable or unwilling to move away to better areas. In such depressed areas there is little tendency for specifically criminal families to congregate, but rather a mixture of families is found, showing many forms of maladjustment (mental and physical ill-health, mental deficiency, alcoholism and unjustified unemployment), representing partly alternative modes of response.

From the point of view of the psychology of delinquency, the most important effects of urbanization are probably those which affect the quality of the family life of the child, or, in the second decade, the effects of delinquent subculture.

In the older age-group, 15-21, the pressure of economic changes has received much attention. In many countries adolescents earn a higher proportion of earnings of the adults than before, and in some cases this tendency is increasing. In the United Kingdom, for example, “teenagers” (the unmarried between 15 and 25) earn 8.5% of all personal income (Abrams, 1959); real earnings have increased for them since 1938 by
50%, and their real "discretionary" spending has probably risen by 100%. Nearly two-thirds of these earnings are available after contributions to taxes and to parents. Of this uncommitted expenditure, 25% is devoted to shoes and clothes, 14% to drink and tobacco, 12% to sweets, soft drinks, etc., and the remainder (about half) to "entertainment" in the widest sense (gramophone records, magazines, cinema, etc.). This "teenage" market is today so important that it directs advertising and marketing policy into new channels. This market is almost entirely working-class, conditioned by working-class tastes and values; it is, moreover, a rapidly changing market in which 10% fall out each year by marriage, so that there must be a constant appeal to new interests and ideas; and, as it is a community looking for goods and services which are highly charged emotionally, it is served most successfully by those who can catch the fashion or exercise a strong emotional appeal. The pressure to sell to this section of the public must have wide social consequences, of which the most important perhaps is to persuade teenagers that they form a separate culture, neither children nor adults. We shall consider later the possible effects on youth opinion, though economic experts say that no consistent relation can be proved between a high rate of delinquency and the relative height of adolescent earnings in different countries. It is probable, however, that it is not the level of earnings so much as the level in comparison with others which produces stress. In predicting the chances of success on parole, for example, Ohlin (1951) found that no allowance had to be made for general economic conditions at the time of release. Presumably, unemployment is less of a hardship when many are unemployed, and employment is taken for granted in times of prosperity and full employment. Failure to earn the high rates of pay of other youths may possibly produce much frustration.

Television, radio, press and cinema have often been held responsible for the increase in crime and violence. They are easy to accuse because any member of the public can form an opinion by merely turning a knob, while it will take some time to experience the effect of any particular club or café. On this subject there cannot yet be any expert opinion, for impartial research, such as the study of television by Himmelweit et al. (1958), has rarely been made. They found no evidence to support the idea that scenes of crime and violence make viewers any more aggressive than non-viewers; but there was also little to suggest that it was a beneficial way of discharging aggression: aggression was aroused as often as it was discharged. Conventionalized violence, as in the Westerns or the 17th-century sword fights, arouses little anxiety. Yet the realism of many modern programmes, though frightening to children and scandalous to adults, may be accepted as conventional by contempo-
rary youth. Traditional nursery stories are often felt today to be brutal and frightening. It has always been difficult to decide to what extent dramatic presentations and stories purge the emotions or inflame them. There seems to be no reason to alter Bovet's opinion ten years ago that television and radio may determine the content of offences but do not motivate them. It may be sounder to condemn certain programmes as beneath human dignity and generally objectionable, rather than to blame them for having specific results.

The influence of the very widespread trend towards equality between the sexes, which is noticeable in rapidly developing countries, is very difficult to trace. That it does not make the girls want to behave like boys, or become more delinquent, is quite clear. It might provide an economic basis for more frequent divorce and separation, as well as the temporary separations found in seasonal urbanization. The long-drawn controversy over the effects of mothers going out to work has perhaps resolved itself into the view that, with proper organization, it does no harm, but when thoughtless and unplanned, it may lead to an important degree of insecurity and neglect. The increased independence of women may, in a wider sense, contribute to a sense of "devaluation" in inadequate fathers, whose morale has hitherto been supported by a cultural pattern of male superiority, and so contribute to chronic ill-health or "contracting-out" of responsibilities as fathers.

CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE

There is very little information about the distribution of the various forms of family structure in the general community, even in relation to such matters as maternal deprivation or physical separation, or varieties of incomplete home; and even less about changes in these patterns. The new information coming to hand about representative samples of children born at a certain period (Douglas & Blomfield, 1958) will no doubt prove very valuable, although the children in this study are as yet below the age at which the main incidence of delinquency is to be expected. The general trend towards smaller families does not seem noticeable in the families of delinquents unless it is the result of separation or divorce.

There seems to be a general unanimity that children orphaned by war, or refugees or child immigrants, contribute no more and often less than their share to the total of juvenile delinquency, perhaps because the circumstances of the deprivation called forth a very positive response in the general community.

It is commonly said that the more frequent separations and divorces lead much less often to outspoken rejection or deprivation than to an
adequate but colourless care by one parent, lacking in stimulation or positive direction; but the varieties of family disturbance leading to delinquency are so varied, and so different at different age levels, that generalizations are impossible. Many parents show serious tensions, disabilities and minor nervous breakdowns. They intend to bring up their children properly, but are unable to avoid showing both sides of their conflicts to the children, and thus bring up insecure children who may be unwittingly encouraged to show the sort of behaviour which their parents have over-anxiously tried to prevent (Johnson, 1959). Such parental attitudes explain why some delinquents have well-developed consciences in most respects, but have little conscience about the delinquent act to which their parents have unconsciously driven them.

It is the sociologists who are more likely to point to general trends, and it is perhaps the home life of the subcultural delinquent which is most susceptible to generalizations. It has been suggested that the complexity of urban life imposes a greater uncertainty upon fathers in maintaining their position in society or improving it; the mother’s role in caring for young children is less easily influenced by changing circumstances. With the longer period of immaturity and education from 14 to 20, new educational duties are thrust on parents, which are not defined clearly in the culture, and the new wider area of freedom of choice in deciding what is best leaves them quite undecided. Making the best use of the available social services demands considerable knowledge and skill. The family relationship of democratic co-operation, which is to some extent imposed by the economic independence of the members, finds parents at a loss if the discipline in their own childhood was based upon commands and prohibitions. Certainly, the home life of the social delinquent often shows a father who takes little interest and a mother who shows affectionate care while childhood lasts but in adolescence continues affectionate support without any advice or direction. Once again, it must be stressed that in the individual case the situation is almost invariably more complex.

The views of Riesman (1950) are perhaps especially thought-provoking: that in static, primitive societies with a high birth-rate and a high death-rate, culture is transmitted by tradition, quickly learnt and rigidly kept; that in periods of rapid expansion with high birth-rate and longer life, children are educated to “inner-directed” behaviour, with general standards and principles which will guide them in the uncertain and changing future. This is still characteristic of much of our culture. But with a more static population with long life, small families and adequate prosperity shared by almost all, the tendency is to educate children to “other-directed” behaviour, fitting in with the culture as they find it and “doing what the next man does”. The tendency to
adopt average behaviour becomes especially strong when reinforced and further standardized by the organs of mass communication (press, radio, television). But it must be emphasized that reliable information about social changes is very meagre.

Not all delinquents come from the lowest and most disorganized economic classes of the community, however; and there is one family pattern, perhaps increasingly common in urban areas and at higher social levels, about which social psychologists and psychiatrists have reached some general measure of agreement—that of maternal domination. The father, because work absorbs his attention and for other reasons, plays a much reduced role in family life and the mother takes over the double function of providing affectionate care and strict discipline. Talcott Parsons (1947) has suggested that in these circumstances "goodness" becomes identified with feminine attitudes; after puberty, the drive towards masculinity leads the boy to over-value rebellious behaviour as typically masculine. It is at least from such backgrounds and their variations that the "proving" offences originate, in which the motive is self-reassurance about courage, independence and virility. Crimes involving daring and excitement, especially car stealing, are commonly of this type. When the situation is more severe, the youth may have trouble in sexual identification and have prolonged difficulties with adolescent homosexuality.

CHANGES IN THE INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT

There is a widespread impression amongst psychiatrists who see many delinquents that a higher proportion of them today have serious psychological disturbances. It is impossible to say how valid this observation is. It may clearly be due either to increased experience on the part of the psychiatrists, who may be less likely to misjudge superficial impressions, or to better selection of the more serious cases by courts and social agencies. Some psychiatrists, who almost routinely see a high proportion of delinquents, say that neurotic disturbances are becoming more rare because parents do not put enough pressure on the children to produce neuroses. Administrators and those in charge of institutions are also much more vividly aware of a small but increasing proportion of juveniles who are so disturbed that they make little response to the available treatment; and in many countries special institutions with greater psychiatric help are being designed for this group. On the other hand, in these same countries there is a call for more facilities for late adolescents and young adults who do not appear to need prolonged treatment but need to be removed for a short time
from their surroundings and then supervised at liberty. Though standards of diagnosis differ, it seems doubtful whether seriously disturbed juveniles have increased proportionately, though they have probably increased in absolute numbers.

SPECIAL PROPERTY OFFENCES

A number of specific property offences have shown considerable increase in many countries. Automobile stealing or borrowing has shown very great increase, notably in Scandinavian countries and the United Kingdom, but it is doubtful whether this or some other new property offences represent more than changes of opportunity. Both in Copenhagen and London it seems that 1% of the available cars are stolen or borrowed every year (Gibbens, 1958); in Copenhagen, this figure remains quite constant. As the population of cars increases, the number of thefts increases. In Sweden, however, the number of thefts has risen proportionately faster than the number of cars.

In the earlier stages of popularity of this offence, it tends to be committed by lads who are not otherwise delinquent and who come from a relatively good home background. It may be, however, that the more frequent the theft becomes and the more the ownership of cars spreads throughout the community, the less marked this distinction becomes. In the USA, for example, this difference in social background which was once evident (Wattenberg & Balistrieri, 1952) is now becoming less noticeable. The psychological aspects reported by the author (Gibbens, 1958) were very similar to those described by Swedish psychiatrists.

Shop-lifting, which is said to have increased in some countries, is also commonly motivated by desire for excitement, though simpler motives of gain are much commoner than in the cases of car thieves.

Other crimes of opportunity which have been reported are increased fruit stealing in Israel and ticket touting in Yugoslavia and some other countries (youths buy up all the seats in a cinema or theatre and sell them at a profit). The theft from shops of gramophone records by youths was said by an experienced magistrate to be a new crime which for a time rapidly increased. The subsequent history was interesting; it suddenly stopped. Possibly, the great competition between shops for this increasingly valuable trade made it undesirable to acquire a reputation for being watchful.

One aspect of these offences which has attracted attention is that they are said to show a double standard of morality, since those responsible may not have committed any other offences and appear to be generally law-abiding; moreover, the parents may appear to condone them. It
has been suggested that public property and private property are viewed in a different light and, with increases in public ownership, it is more often regarded as fair to steal from the State, as in the very frequent offence of not paying for one’s ticket on the railway, which accounts for a large proportion of convictions in some juvenile courts. But such a view may reflect only the increased insight that all offenders have multiple standards. Many juvenile housebreakers would be horrified to commit a sex crime. The middle-class also have a double standard by which falsification of income tax returns, dangerous driving and driving after drinkings spirits are often not regarded as serious crimes (Wootton, 1959).

SEXUAL OFFENCES

Sexual offences by juveniles do not appear to have increased to any important extent in many countries. In England, however, there has been some increase (Radzinowicz, 1957). Among persons of all ages, for every 100 indictable sexual offences recorded by the police before the war, 352 were recorded in recent years, though this only represents a change from 1.3% of all indictable offences to 3.6%. Some 9% of these offences are committed by those under 17 and 16% by those under 21. But whereas there has been a great relative increase in homosexual offences, which have risen from 27% to 41% of all indictable sex offences for all age-groups, young offenders of under 21 commit 35% of the heterosexual offences but only 9% of the homosexual offences, no doubt because the latter are not often reported to the police when occurring between boys.

It is hardly necessary to stress the very large volume of undetected sex offences. According to Kinsey (1944), in a town of 100,000 inhabitants, contacts with prostitutes (which is sometimes an offence in itself) reached 3190 in a week, though this is less than 10% of all extra-marital contacts; according to the same author, 20%-30% of the unmarried males in a town could have been charged with homosexual behaviour in any one year.

Kinsey’s data upon trends are much more relevant from the present point of view. Comparing two generations (the reported behaviour of those with an average age 22 in 1945 with the histories of those who were then on average 42 years old, i.e., who had been 22 in 1910-25), he found very little difference. “The only instance in which a larger number of the younger generation is involved at an earlier age applies to such activities (masturbation, nocturnal emissions and petting) as are not ordinarily considered when the charge is made that the younger generation is becoming increasingly immoral. The charge more often concerns pre-marital intercourse with companions or with prostitutes.
and homosexual contacts. But on all of these latter points, however, the records of the older and the younger generation are, by the admission of the older generation . . . so nearly identical that no difference can be found in the accumulative incidence curves. And as for the homosexual, if a larger number of the younger generation is becoming involved, we have failed to find any evidence of it." It is significant especially that in the instance where the younger generation does seem to become involved at an earlier age, it is the lower educational level that is concerned, which may be a consequence of better nutrition and medical care, etc. Kinsey confirms that adolescence is occurring a year or so earlier in the lower social levels. One of the few differences between the generations is that the total amount of contact with prostitutes, especially in the lower educational levels, has fallen to a half or two-thirds, but has been replaced by contacts with ordinary girl-friends.

It can hardly be doubted that these data are the best available on which to found any hypotheses about the causes of change in the incidence of sex offences, which, of course, often involve the added elements of force or seduction. If the change is not entirely due to alteration in social attitudes to case-reporting, the change among the lower educational levels from contact with prostitutes to voluntary contacts with girl-friends may introduce a wider scope for false hopes and sudden frustrations; and parental opposition to the girls' behaviour may introduce an added element to investigation and case-reporting.

Homosexual offences by juveniles or young adults, especially the occurrence of homosexual prostitution among juveniles, is a matter of concern in many countries, even though there is rarely any indication of any increase. If one accepts Kinsey's data, it may be that the increased frankness with which the existence of homosexuality is recognized today has led to more detailed observations. In some countries, the rapid extension of social work has brought workers into contact with cases which are felt to be baffling and perhaps more exceptional and pathological than they are because they are unlikely to be touched upon in the course of training. However, to be told by a police officer that most of the dozen or so ordinary-looking youths in a public square are male prostitutes might well surprise most people. Among 100 Borstal lads (Gibbens, 1957), one-third remembered being approached by adult homosexuals at some time, nearly always without response: the proportion was the same in those who were normally heterosexual and in those who had conflict about homosexuality. Though much of the homosexual behaviour of adolescents is transitory, the homosexual prostitutes present a special problem; they are said to find it difficult to avoid ordinary criminality when they become too old to make a living by prostituting themselves.
From a wider viewpoint, the relation between property delinquency and sexual maladjustment, especially in late adolescence, becomes increasingly important. In social classes in which apprenticeship or occupational training are exceptional, the main normal interests must be in sport, hobbies and social life with girl-friends; and in practice the late adolescent gang is usually composed of the residuum of a group of socially active youths, the majority of the other members of this initial group having left to take up individual relationships with girl-friends. Kinsey used to stress that too little attention was paid to the effect of the traditional residential training of delinquents upon their sexual development. In later adolescence, this tends, perhaps inevitably, to cut them off from one of the most powerful forces of rehabilitation. This is a particular problem with the institutional training of adolescent girls, and with boys who have never known a normal family life.

WAYWARD GIRLS

One of the few irrefutable facts about delinquency is that it is mainly the activity of boys; and there seems no change in this situation. Since the work of Mead and other anthropologists, this is less often regarded as a natural biological fact which need arouse no curiosity. Girls are less frequently seen in child guidance clinics or in court, but more frequently enter mental hospital in adult life. There is no reason to suppose that they suffer less than boys from the effects of family tensions and as Adelaide Johnson (1959) says, they appear to steal from their parents in childhood as frequently as boys. But the girls tend to nurse their grievances and anxieties until adolescence, when they emerge suddenly in wayward or sexually promiscuous behaviour. One of the many problems in prevention is that, whatever is done for the boys, there will continue to be a number of girls who draw little attention to themselves until they emerge in adult life as the rejecting or unstable mothers of the next generation's delinquents. Although puberty is occurring at an earlier average age, there is nothing to indicate that physical precocity plays any important part in their behaviour, nor, indeed, that the specifically sexual component is paramount. Puberty supplies them with a social asset, which can be used to satisfy their need for affection as well as for the things which money can buy.

No serious increase in waywardness is reported, but as with homosexuality, a growing concern is felt in many countries about the problem. There is no reported increase in prostitution, but the near-prostitution of young girls causes concern. The proportion of girls who are seriously disturbed is generally reported to be higher than that of boys, and institutional training raises more difficult problems (Glover, 1960).
VIOLENT OFFENCES

There is no general concern about the moderate increase in violent offences by juveniles, though in the United Kingdom there has been a sixfold increase in offences against the person (violent and sex offences) and the age-group 16-21 has recently contributed more than its fair share to this increase in violence. In France, there has also been an increase in violent offences by older juveniles.

Case-reporting may fluctuate considerably in these offences. In the United Kingdom, the increase is often said to involve violence within the family setting, and it has been suggested that patterns of violence which are long been common in deteriorated areas, where neighbours do not object and there is a tradition of keeping information from the police, cease to be "respectable" when the family is rehoused in a new housing estate.

Aggressive offences in juveniles, like other offences, vary in the extent to which they arise from largely intrapsychic maladjustments or social influences. Physical aggression is likely to result from a combination of strong stimulation and strong frustration. Some offences are due to physical injury or abnormality of the brain, with outbursts of violence following special physical stimuli, including alcohol. The most serious cases, unfortunately far from rare, are those in which a deep-seated aggressiveness dates from early parental rejection and serious emotional deprivation; such children may have learnt that they can draw at least some increase in substitute attention to themselves by displays of bad temper. The aggressiveness of such youths is likely to be so generalized and easily provoked towards companions and employers that it forces them into property offences, with occasional aggressive offences added only in response to special circumstances, and they form a large proportion of juvenile recidivists who resist institutional training.

A simpler learning process is involved in the aggressiveness of those who have been brought up by parents who have more overtly stimulated aggression by giving frequent examples of it, combined with severe and unpredictable punishment when the children try to follow the example. For many others, aggressiveness is part of social learning. The dullard may earn the respect of his friends by the strength of his right arm, and the outcast at school find compensation in leading a group of delinquents. In depressed areas of a city one may find examples of "double maladjustment", the lad having given up the normal circle of friends, but also being disturbed by his inability to measure up to the level of aggressiveness which he thinks is demanded by the delinquent groups. It is, in fact, rare to find overtly and persistently aggressive youths who do not have many social and group reasons for inflating their aggression. The gang
fights which occur in depressed areas of large cities also serve to divert
the attention of the members from the bitterness of feeling that the future
holds nothing for them—that "you cannot win".

It is difficult to live by aggressiveness alone. Hence, the most per-
sistently aggressive offenders have a criminal record of predominantly
property offences. Twenty-six aggressive psychopaths recently followed
up for eight years committed 105 offences, but only 18 aggressive
offences and only two aggressive offences awarded more than 12 months' imprisonments (Gibbens et al., 1959). Conversely, those offenders
whose record is confined to minor violence are likely to be in regular
employment and to have other stable characteristics. Whether the
improved economic position leads to an increased proportion of violent
offences is not known. In the United Kingdom, juvenile offences have
increased, and the proportion of violent offences, though small, has
increased proportionately more rapidly.

There is a widespread tendency to blame the increase in violent
offences upon the influence of television and cinema, which frequently
portray a violent solution of difficulties and seem to glorify it, or upon the
aftermath of war. After the First and Second World Wars, there has
been an increase in violence, and an increase in demand for corporal
punishment for crimes of violence—both trends perhaps being aspects
of the same effect. But it must be emphasized that there is little reliable
evidence and less scientific investigation to substantiate this view. It
is quite clear that the licensed violence of war does not produce violent
offenders (Spencer, 1954); those who are violent in a military setting
are delinquent in terms of military law as well as civil law. Good soldiers
do not become criminal in civil life. Whether the aggressiveness of war
is inadequately discharged in non-combatants is perhaps more doubtful.

ALCOHOLISM AND DRUG ADDICTION

There is little general concern about any increase in these conditions in
Europe. In the Near East there has been some increase in drug addiction
or habituation among wealthy young men, and in the United Kingdom
convictions for drunkenness have increased to well above the pre-war
level and the contribution of the young adult group (17-21 years) has
been disproportionately large. On the other hand, sample surveys show
that less than 40% of male teenagers (i.e., up to 25 years old) and 10% of
girls of this age take an alcoholic drink as often as once a week
(Abrams, 1959). Drinking among young adults or juveniles is very
largely a social activity, and, where equal social activities and facilities
are provided (e.g., coffee bars), there seems to be no general demand for
alcoholic drinks.
Under this title are grouped several types of behaviour which are commonly regarded as more frequent, new and especially characteristic of the modern scene—loud, aggressive or insulting behaviour in public, wanton damage to windows, street lamps, cars; obstructing traffic, etc. Sometimes generalizations are made about the type of youth responsible rather than the behaviour (Scott, 1954).

It is certainly remarkable that nearly all European countries and some others have a name for certain sorts of youths, mainly distinguished by their clothes: Teddy-boys, Halbstarke, blousons noirs, nozemis, lederjacken, raggare, stiliagi. Each of these terms has certain special characteristics, and certainly each is used rather indiscriminately to refer to many different types of lad. In the USA, some division of types is achieved even in popular slang, e.g., “bop-hipsters” (aggressive gang members); “cool-hipsters” (solitary, withdrawn individuals, drug-takers, etc.); “zoot-hipsters” (exploiters, con-men, pimps and drug-peddlers).

Some of these terms may originate from the youths themselves, but for the rest the need to invent them suggests the possibility that (as mentioned before) increased anxiety and uncertainty on the part of adults in the face of youth may be an important feature. Large sections of the public think that these youths are responsible for much of juvenile crime, including the most serious, and the causes of any changes in the incidence of delinquency are probably thought to be bound up with the causes of these movements among youths.

Wanton destruction

It is certainly necessary to distinguish those who take part in large-scale assemblies and riots from those who commit wanton destruction (breaking street lamps, damaging cars, destroying trees or flowers in public parks, etc.). The latter is characteristic of quite small groups of delinquents who have a similar background to many other delinquents. It has always been fairly common among younger delinquents, and, when on a large scale (e.g., breaking into schools or factories and carrying out wholesale destruction and defacement), is usually an indication of serious unhappiness and resentment, sometimes displaced from the parents to the outside world. It now seems that older youths of 16-18 years are involved, but since it is difficult to arrest the culprits, it is doubtful if they contribute much to any increase in convictions. Muchow (1956) suggests that it is characteristic of dull, primitive and thoughtless individuals, and also of the “educationally frustrated”, to whom may now be added those frustrated in their search for well-paid employment.
Riots

Large-scale assemblies and riots of groups of more than fifty, and sometimes several hundred, youths seem to be new. A valuable study of the riots in Germany has been made by Bondy et al. (1957), and their findings agree with those made in other countries. They distinguish three sorts of riot (Krawalle): (1) the pure riot; gatherings of youth for no apparent purpose; (2) the performance riot, when youths meet for some show or display—notably when the rock’n’roll films were shown throughout Europe; and (3) the follow-on riot, in which there is a recurrence, perhaps a week later, as a result of the excitement, publicity and lingering resentments of the previous one. Once met, traffic may be obstructed and protests by passers-by may give rise to catcalling, jeering at the police, stone-throwing, over-turning or damaging cars, etc.

Certain features of these gatherings are well established. There is no organized leadership; they are not promoted or covertly planned; the lads are not distinguished by dress or membership of any socio-economic group, but the majority are between 16 and 18 years old. There are few girls.

The most important feature, which cannot be too strongly emphasized in the present context, is that, when arrested, the lads do not usually have a delinquent record, and there is no indication that they come mostly from broken homes or other settings characteristic of delinquents. When investigated, they are often found to have a good work record, with good earnings, and the employer reports that they are particularly capable workers. The lads themselves may be quite mystified as to how they came to behave in this way and genuinely regret it. Although the riots may cause considerable difficulty to the police and passers-by, and can occasionally lead to disastrous crimes, including murder, they should probably not be included as one of the new forms of delinquency, although many would regard them as the most characteristic new form. Very few or no arrests are made in many cases, so they can hardly account for any increase in recorded crime. It may be, however, that they induce a greater sensitiveness to insulting behaviour and minor aggression by individuals or small groups at other times, in the belief that these more clearly delinquent lads gave rise to the riots.

The causes of such mass phenomena are usually obscure, and cannot be fully revealed by study of the great variety of individuals or types of individual taking part in them. Certain factors already mentioned may play a superficial part in the trend. There is a geographical or transport aspect, that increasing numbers of youth regard the whole of a large city as their playground and think little of going ten or twenty miles to a dance. There is an economic factor, that they earn enough to travel
these distances and, more important, that the teenager represents such an important market that many influences are brought to bear to induce him by mass persuasion to differentiate his special "teenage" qualities. To a surprising extent, the lad of 17-18 seems to feel at one with all others of the same age in a large city, and prides himself on "being known" to everyone in his age-group.

At times the large groups appear as a herd-like defence against a common enemy. The normal rebelliousness of youth easily identifies the police as a common—if usually quite symbolic—representative of authority and the adult generation. The small group of lads with special clothing is apt to attract police questioning and searching; a common agreement to meet in one place gives a feeling of strength and temporary immunity. The follow-up riots, which attract the press and many adult observers, take on the character of a second round of a contest, the observers waiting to see what action the youths or the police will now take.

Since most of the members of these large assemblies do not appear to differ from at least a large minority of the whole age-group, it is natural that some should list among the causes all the exceptionally adverse circumstances to which youths of this age have been exposed—the war, evacuation, lack of schooling, the absence or death of their fathers, the open playgrounds upon bombed ruins later withdrawn in the course of reconstruction, armies of occupation, the devaluation of parents' opinions as a result of political upheaval, and widespread nihilism or cynicism about social values. These can hardly fail to play a part, but one of the advantages of international comparison has been to show that similar trends can be observed in countries, such as Sweden, which have not known the upheavals of war in the same way, and that they transcend political boundaries. The essence of the new behaviour—the formation of very large groups—is not satisfactorily explained by these changes.

It is suggested in some countries that further clues may be found in the attitude of the leaders of youthful opinion—the students. Such behaviour, more ritualized and better tolerated, used to be characteristic of students. Today, students appear to have a more disillusioned attitude to political and religious ideals, and less youthful frivolity, but a more single-minded devotion to working for a well-paid job in a prosperous society. In the factories and offices too, youths do the work of adults and find that the impersonal organization pays little regard to their youthfulness. They mature physically more quickly, are apt to look older than they are, and are treated as adults. Modern society, in fact, lacks those ritualized opportunities for free emotional expression such as the orgies of primitive peoples, or the carnivals, fêtes and festivals...
of older societies, when young people could temporarily throw off the burden of being responsible. In this view, the riots are not due to the excessive irresponsibility of modern youth, but the opposite.

Whatever the causes may be, the subject does not appear to be relevant to the problems of delinquency, which arise, according to clinical experience, in much the same way today as yesterday, from serious deprivation and major disorders of family life.
The prevention of delinquency is such a vast field that certain general issues require discussion.

The scope of general prevention of delinquency includes all measures for promoting the health and well-being of children; there are some aspects of welfare—notably, physical cruelty and neglect of children—where prevention seems to depend essentially upon the combination of the widest range of services. The immensity of this task has naturally led to the development of plans specifically aimed at and concentrated on the prevention of delinquency, and especially of serious and persistent varieties.

It is necessary to be clear whether the aim is to prevent all delinquency, even of a benign type, or persistent delinquency, recognizing that some persons will become adult recidivists although prevented successfully from being official delinquents as children. With the increasing tendency to deal with delinquents without resort to court appearance (in the USA, three out of four cases), there are difficulties in comparing the gravity of the various forms of “behaviour disorder” and “antisocial behaviour” displayed, and evaluating the result of prevention; and some schemes for prevention in one country would amount to the treatment of declared, if early, delinquency in another.

In the prevention of persistent adult crime, moreover, it has been too readily assumed that the problem is essentially the same as the prevention of juvenile delinquency. It must be stressed that a career of persistent crime can begin at any age. Among 90 recidivists aged 35-50 sentenced to preventive detention in England, for example, the author found that 54% had no convictions as juveniles (i.e., under 17), and after deducting those who had not been young enough in 1933 to benefit from the modern juvenile court system, or those with very little opportunity in childhood (e.g., because they were in child-care institutions, etc.), the proportion was still 40%. Most of these, however, began their criminal career between 17 and 21. One need not doubt that all were disturbed children,
but the type of disturbance requires closer study. But the problem is not only that disturbed children must be detected and preventive measures applied. A further problem, too long overlooked, is that the successful prevention of juvenile delinquency commonly involves measures which tend to delay emotional maturation. The measures come to an end, or cannot be further applied, at 17 or 18 on the assumption, which soon proves wrong, that the young people are now responsible adults. Many adult recidivists appear to show that some form of effective support has collapsed in early adult life.

Psychiatrists and psychologists have played a large part in suggesting the lines of attack which are most widely used today, though their efficacy has yet to be proved.

In the field of general psychiatry, two main trends of development can be seen, both of which have had an impact on psychiatric knowledge in relation to delinquency and to its prevention. The first has been an extensive development of the public health aspects of psychiatry applied to whole communities or subcommunities, the second a more concentrated study of the physiological and biological basis of the individual patient's disorder. Since both physical and mental ill-health (Krapf, 1959a, 1959b) can be regarded as a breakdown in the balance between the stresses imposed and individual capacity to resist or adapt to stresses, these are in a sense permanent aspects of the problem.

It must be emphasized that these stresses are the by-product of what is for the majority, and even for the affected individuals themselves, a welcome opportunity for better conditions and improved standards of living, designed to relieve the universally felt stresses of poverty, ill-health and unemployment. For example, in a study of men sent to prison for violent cruelty to children (Gibbens & Walker, 1956), several cases were found in which the violence had rapidly followed rehousing into better conditions: an undoubted factor was that the parents were anxious to live up to the new standards of cleanliness and decorum in the area, felt inadequate to do so and were exasperated with their children for not changing their behaviour overnight. The excessive punishment was partly a misplaced demonstration of their solidarity with the new standards.

Moreover, it must not be supposed that relief of stress offers in itself any satisfactory objective. Pursuit of the values of a society must necessarily involve stress, whether in passing examinations or tolerating burdens for the sake of children, etc. It has been said that adaptation depends upon the personality and intelligence of the individual, his desire or motivation to achieve it, the size of the task involved and the general setting in which he has to achieve it. Help, therefore, can be given in any or all of these directions.
Although much remains to be learned about the circumstances under which overstraining occurs, it can be claimed that enough is known to offer constructive suggestions about prevention of ill-health. Concentration on public health aspects or on social psychiatry has therefore been closely linked with preventive work. In Amsterdam, for example, it has been found valuable to use psychiatric advice in the rehousing of families from distressed areas, neither keeping together all the families concerned (which has in other places led to the preservation of maladjusted and often heavily delinquent patterns in the new housing areas) nor allowing such contrasts in social standards that the higher feel insulted and the lower feel outmatched and hopelessly inadequate, but trying to achieve a constructive balance of families which will impose only tolerable stress.

The situation of the economically under-developed countries, which often show much energy in seeking to build the new society with a well-developed system of values, lends special point to the question of preventive work. To a psychiatrist from a country with a long history of established social institutions, it may at first seem pointless to look for the development of child guidance clinics and psychiatric out-patient clinics where there is only part-time education, few trained social workers, or over-stretched facilities for the care of deprived and abandoned children. Yet reflection shows that, if psychiatry is able to contribute to the health of society only if supported by a pyramid of social services and facilities, it must indeed have little value in it. Psychiatrists and mental health authorities in such countries realize that, on the contrary, psychiatric advice is needed at the earliest stages of development in collaborating with education, social service, industrial and housing authorities in securing a place for well-established mental health principles, and in working out a degree of collaboration which is difficult to obtain in older countries which have built up a multiplicity of specialized and professionalized services.

These problems have been thrown into relief by the great improvement in physical communication which makes it possible to provide basic requirements of food, clothing and shelter, and the great advance in the treatment of physical disorders which has largely controlled the major infections and diseases. We thus have a situation in economically developed countries in which “it is generally agreed that at least one-quarter of the work of the general practitioner consists of psychotherapy pure and simple” (Balint, 1954), and “48 per cent. of the hospital beds are devoted to the mentally ill or defective and of the remaining 52 per cent. some two-thirds of these are occupied by those who cannot return to useful citizenship unless the emotional factors which determine and maintain their illnesses are adjusted” (MacCalman, 1953), and in children’s clinics “with the decrease of serious disease, the paediatrician
finds that emotional disorders have become his major preoccupation" (Tizard et al., 1959).

There is no reason to doubt that serious recidivists of any age have a disturbed early history and that mental hygiene in childhood, whether or not there was overt delinquency, underlies effective prevention. Bernard Glueck (quoted by E. Glueck (1960)) has recently shown that a high proportion of adult offenders could have been classed as serious potential offenders in childhood according to the criteria of S. & E. Glueck.

The prevention of mental ill-health, however, is not only or primarily concerned with prevention of maladjustments predisposing to delinquency. But in the sphere of mental hygiene there has been a trend to study the special situations which produce the pre-delinquent personality.

The background of "parental rejection" in its various forms, described by Hewitt & Jenkins (1946), is seen increasingly to produce not only severe emotional disorder but a delinquent-prone personality and the possibility of detecting children who are in special danger is being explored in child guidance clinics (Glueck & Glueck, 1960).

Programmes for preventing mental as well as physical ill-health may be conceived of either as protecting the individual from special stress or as building up the resistance of the individual. In both mental and physical disease, the most certain progress has been in identifying and removing these damaging influences; but the more recent trend has been to devise programmes which actively foster good or optimum health, though in the mental health field the means of achieving this "positive health" are necessarily far more difficult to define than in the physical sphere.

In research in prevention of delinquency there are two general trends of special importance: (1) the development of prediction studies designed to identify young children who are in danger of being seriously delinquent in the future, and (2) the tendency to design preventive programmes in such a way that their results can be scientifically evaluated.

PREDICTION STUDIES

For many years, S. & E. Glueck (1950, 1959, 1960) have carried out a series of well-known studies of the factors associated with success and failure of various forms of penal treatment. The most recent study of juvenile delinquents shows that among many factors distinguishing delinquents from non-delinquents there were a group of characteristics of the social background, a group of personality features revealed by psychological tests, and a group revealed by psychiatric interview.
Five characteristics of the family background are described—relating to affection of father and mother for the boy, discipline and supervision by father and mother and family cohesiveness, which not only differentiated the delinquents at the time of examination but appeared to refer equally well to their situation many years before. By applying appropriate weights to each factor, a "social prediction score" could be allotted to the delinquent which would indicate the risk of future crime. Several subsequent studies in other countries, and with other groups of offenders, have tended to confirm that these social factors differentiate delinquents. Since these features refer to long-continued characteristics of the parents, there is clearly a hope that they can be successfully used with ordinary schoolchildren or children showing early signs of delinquency, so that preventive work can be concentrated upon them. Studies are in progress in which children as young as 6-10 years have been allotted a social prediction score, and have been followed up for some years: though results are not yet available, the preliminary findings are said to be encouraging (Glueck & Glueck, 1960). Other long-term studies of large representative samples of children from birth onwards are in progress (Douglas & Blomfield, 1958; Miller et al., 1960), and though these children are not yet at an age when delinquency is at its height, the detailed information of the home background throughout childhood is expected to produce valuable results.

Though there are many technical problems, this method clearly offers great hopes of concentrating preventive services where they are most needed. It should be noted especially that the method does not imply that the factors associated with future delinquency are causative. If it proves to be reliable, it may provide a method of testing the value of preventive programmes, even though the reasons for success or failure remain obscure.

**EXPERIMENTS IN PREVENTION**

In tune with the more scientific approach, a number of limited projects have been carried out in prevention or early treatment, incorporating methods of testing their effectiveness. In the very complex field of social interaction and human relations, however, it is difficult to evolve suitable methods, and although the fact must be faced that the results have sometimes failed to show any great benefit, they have had the great advantage of being social experiments on which knowledge can be built. It is only possible to mention here some fields of prevention studied in this way.
Community services

The most comprehensive plans have been those organized by the Chicago Area Project, which recognizes that social cohesion and a community spirit cannot be organized or developed from outside. It must come from the natural leaders of the community. These can be encouraged financially from outside and tactfully guided; but if they are to build up their own community organization, they must be allowed considerable autonomy, even to the extent of being supported in policies which would not be approved by the staff of the project.

One of the recurring themes in preventive work is that success must depend upon efficient co-ordination of many services. The present weakness may not be the lack of services so much as the natural tendency of workers in any field to standardize their method of work and restrict their sphere of operation. One project was therefore designed to reinforce existing services by providing co-ordination. The results suggest a need for greater flexibility, for greater speed of operation, and for more effort to overcome the rigidity that affects long-established services.

Parents

A number of projects have been designed to influence parents to realize their duties to pre-delinquent children and help them to supervise and manage them more effectively. Parent-teacher associations include this among their many objectives; the “family-relations clinics” such as those maintained by the Tavistock Institute, London, aim at a greater impact by group discussion. In one project in New York, the parents of the members of a gang were brought together to discuss problems of joint interest.

Pre-delinquent adolescents

Many attempts have been made to work with pre-delinquents in their natural groups. Social workers may join groups and take part in all their activities except actual delinquency. Only very experienced social workers are capable of working successfully in this way in “street corner therapy”, since relationships are subtle and constantly shifting. Some gangs, for example, are said to welcome the worker since they gain prestige by being singled out in this way.

Several schemes are based upon the observation that many adolescent delinquents or pre-delinquents feel quite hopeless in relation to the vast impersonal organization of a big city (exemplified by the recurring phrases “you can’t win”; “nobody cares”)—a feeling which may even be accentuated by the impersonal character of some social services. What
is needed is the provision of suitable opportunities for success and achievement, of schemes which will awaken enthusiasm and hope. Such ideas underlie the Work Camp Project of New Jersey; the Outward Bound Schools in Great Britain, where opportunities for courage and graduated endurance in mountaineering, etc., are offered; the "elanist" clubs in Yugoslavia, devoted to aviation and the study of space travel; or the kibbutzim of Israel for parentless children who are offered the satisfaction of communal achievement and the respect of the community.

A major difficulty in these schemes is "reaching the unreachable". The clubs or services provided tend to be used by those who need them least. Efforts are increasingly concentrated upon searching for those parents and children who have cut themselves off from normal social contacts.

Some other preventive experiments are mentioned in the sections which follow.

PREVENTIVE POLICIES

Apart from these experiments in prevention, certain trends in preventive policy may be noted.

Medical services

The prevention of maladjustment originating in the pre-school period often falls upon the medical services. The first officials to visit the newborn child are the health visitors. In the past, they have often been concerned mainly with physical health, but it is now recognized that their training should enable them to detect family situations which have a bearing upon future mental health. At a later stage, school medical officers are well placed to observe the first signs of emotional as well as physical disturbance, and their inquiries can proceed in the framework of medical confidence which may be reassuring to the parent. The need for co-ordination, so apparent in all preventive work, is especially necessary in the medical services. The emotional needs of children removed to hospital, the value of proper psychological preparation for surgical operations, prevention of unnecessary psychological consequences of burns and injuries, which are now assuming so much importance in very young children, or chronic illness such as epilepsy—these are only some of the fields in which the mental health aspects of physical disease call for closer co-operation. In countries where there is rapid social change, child guidance clinics cannot be effective without the full co-operation of social services.
Educational services

It is said that truth is the first casualty of war, but the casualty which takes the longest to recover is probably education. In several countries devastated by war or in the process of development, there are not enough school buildings to allow children to attend school all day, and a shift system is in operation. Mothers, on the other hand, are often in full-time work. In less damaged countries, this situation, if present, would probably be thought sufficient to account for a high rate of delinquency; in fact, the countries concerned (such as Israel, Poland and Yugoslavia) do not have a high rate.

Delinquency represents a failure of education, whether parental or national. The education authorities can justly claim not to have the main responsibility, since classes are overcrowded, the total proportion of time spent in school is relatively small, and school-teaching has little prospect of making progress in opposition to parental teaching. Nevertheless, children entering school at 5-7 years of age provide the greatest opportunities for early prevention.

Education is served by a profession with a long tradition and established technique. With the many new responsibilities for giving instruction in a technological age, the problems of educational pathology are not the main concern and perhaps call for greater collaboration between teacher, psychologist, psychiatrist and sociologist. The latter has pointed out that teachers are the representatives of the dominant culture and class, and where social class differences are wide, the class attitudes and prejudices which the child brings to school need careful study if he is not to reject school-teaching outright. Where there are large cultural differences—for example, in immigrants—specially educated members of the same culture are not always the most acceptable teachers. However competent they are, both parents and children may feel that they are not being offered the best which the new society has to offer.

Although professional collaboration is accepted in the field of educational pathology, with the abnormal, the physically handicapped, the educationally maladjusted, a greater interchange in professional training is needed. In Denmark, for example, the educational psychologist must serve a substantial apprenticeship as a teacher. Bovet (1951) observed that there are wide differences in the outlook of the educator and the psychiatrist, the one looking to the future and developing present potentialities, the latter trained to interpret the present in terms of the past. Conflict in the past between these views has changed to a mutual interest in working out the combination of "treatment" and "training" which delinquents need.

Truancy is widely recognized as a frequent precursor of delinquency; early detection and treatment of it might provide one of the most
valuable methods of prevention. There are many varieties of truancy, and advances have been made in differentiating the type which represents a neurotic condition, resembling "school phobia" (Warren, 1959), which is not conducive to delinquency. The investigation of cases is often in the hands of relatively untrained officers. It has been suggested that employment of the most skilled social workers in this field might provide a valuable preventive service, and successful experiments have been made in this direction.

A second group of pre-delinquents are among the "late school failures", those who "sit at the back" in the last year or two of school, learn nothing, and wait with variable patience for their release. They have never learnt that there is something of practical value to be learnt at school, or have despaired of acquiring it. Preventive work with this rather large group of boys and girls probably calls for greater vocational training, but also for teaching by means of "real-life" projects outside the classroom.

Apart from the special method of schooling for the mentally and physically handicapped, the abnormal or the educationally maladjusted, which are clearly a very important part of general prevention, a number of experiments in prevention have been made with pre-delinquents in school. These have usually consisted of "all-day schools" to which additional staff is allotted, providing a more varied curriculum for longer periods, including after-school supervision of recreation, club activities, etc. Such schemes are used, for example, in New York and in Israel. Similar principles apply to the day colleges and continuation schools and other schemes to give further vocational training to adolescents in the difficult period between leaving school and obtaining a job with good prospects. These methods of giving further education at all levels, combined with advice from youth employment agencies, are being extended on a wide scale.

Throughout the whole field of education, there is a need for a closer study by psychologists and neurologists of the more subtle forms of intellectual handicaps, reading and writing disabilities, etc. In the delinquent, these are too easily assumed to be due to the obvious emotional maladjustment; early detection and special education for these concealed handicaps may resolve many emotional problems.

Social work

It hardly needs to be emphasized that trends in the organization of social work are at the centre of many programmes for prevention. In many countries, especially those which are building up social work organizations for the first time, the emphasis is upon building up a unitary service, with workers trained to refer families appropriately to
the medical, psychiatric and child-care services, and it is emphasized that psychiatry has a large part to play in ensuring that the front-line social worker has a full appreciation of the importance of emotional factors in mental and physical hygiene. These countries are concerned to avoid splitting of social work into the rigid compartments which have sometimes grown up in older countries which have developed their social services piecemeal. How best to organize social work is a question which is receiving close international study.

The police

In many countries, juvenile delinquents are increasingly dealt with by specially selected police officers, and more discretion is given to them to bring a charge or warn the juvenile. The possible effect upon criminal statistics has been noted. This policy has many aspects which are not within the scope of this paper, but it is relevant that, if greater selection and discretion are used, wider training in the social and psychological aspects of delinquency are needed. In some countries, police officers take courses in psychology and social work. Apart from showing an understanding but firm attitude, the police foster good relations with young people by sponsoring sports, clubs and competitions, outings for deprived children and lectures in road safety. In one experiment in prevention, a team of social workers attached themselves to a police station so as to provide a close liaison and ready reference of the social problems revealed by police inquiries (Penner, 1959). The results showed how complicated it is to decide which delinquents need to be referred to the court.

The prevention of disorder by large gatherings of young people seems to be very largely a police matter, calling for great tact and judgement in choosing the right moment to intervene and in deciding on the force required.

Religious organizations

The importance of religious organizations in prevention does not need to be stressed. In several countries, notably Austria, France and the United Kingdom, consultation with psychologists and psychiatrists in problems of mutual interest has greatly increased.
TREATMENT

The treatment of delinquents, in the widest sense of the term, is not only or primarily a matter for psychologists, and only those aspects can be discussed here which reflect a common agreement among psychologists and psychiatrists.

DIAGNOSIS

Undoubtedly, the first consideration is that careful selection should be made of the delinquents who are most suitable for the various forms of treatment. Much unnecessary controversy would be avoided if the participants realized that they were frequently disputing about different varieties of delinquent. The selection of delinquents who should receive psychological investigation requires wide experience; simple rules are hardly sufficient, but the Roehampton Conference on the investigation of delinquents, which was organized by the International Union of Child Welfare (Int. Child Welf. Rev., 1951), recommended that those committing the following offences usually needed investigation: stealing from home, persistent telling of lies (especially of aggrandizement), wandering from home, cruelty to animals or other children, wanton destruction, fire-setting, sexual offences, repeated truancy, rapidly repeated offences, offences by delinquents who fail to respond to simple measures, or offences by children who may require removal from home.

Two general trends in treatment were frequently mentioned. They refer to the two extremes of the delinquent population and may reflect an increased awareness of the great range of disturbance which is encountered. First, it is a general impression among psychiatrists that the proportion of delinquents with serious mental disturbance is increasing. How much this is due to improved selection of cases for examination or to deeper experience in the doctors is not clear. But administrators also show increased concern for the group of delinquents who do not respond to the usual methods of treatment. Secondly, at the other
extreme, it is observed wherever the rate of delinquency is high that there is a large group of delinquents without very serious disturbance. They are clearly not sufficiently affected by preventive measures; they call for some new treatment, but not for the method used for recidivist juveniles or serious cases. Discussion of new trends in treatment should clearly distinguish these groups.

TREATMENT AT LIBERTY

Treatment at liberty, with probation or its equivalent or with suspended sentence, is widely used for the minor delinquent. The principle presents no difficulty, but important advances are being made in the development of casework to make supervision as constructive as possible.

Treatment at liberty of the pathological or seriously disordered delinquent, however, still needs development. In the mental health field, there is a growing tendency to treat mentally handicapped individuals outside hospitals; quite apart from the problems of delinquency, this has demonstrated the need for protected workshops, hostels and temporary reception homes with psychiatric supervision. It is increasingly realized that a substantial group of such delinquents needs these facilities, either before or after institutional treatment.

INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT

The main trend appears to have been towards a greater differentiation of varieties of institutional treatment. The pre-war change from short and exemplary punishment of juveniles to more prolonged constructive training has given place to a view of institutional treatment of at least three types: a standard variety suitable for the majority of rather serious offenders; a more specialized long-term treatment for severely disordered juveniles for whom the ordinary methods are clearly unsuitable or ineffective; and, most recently, a form of short-term institutional treatment for those who can no longer be treated at liberty, but are not sufficiently delinquent to warrant long periods of detention. Planning is most active in relation to the two extremes.

Special institutional treatment

Psychiatrists and psychologists have been most closely involved in the treatment of the group of delinquents who are too disturbed to obtain profit from the usual method of institutional treatment. As general treatment has improved, failure with this group has become more conspicuous, and since most, if not all, of them show some mental
disturbances, the tendency is to regard them as very largely a psychiatric problem. In Denmark, Sweden and the United Kingdom, among others, institutions with more intensive psychiatric treatment and supervision are planned.

The main trend in psychiatric treatment has been the development of group psychotherapy. Although this may be applied to suitable delinquents under the same conditions as to other cases of mental illness (i.e., in regular sessions), with the most severe behaviour disorders it is necessary to take into account the whole range of relationships with staff and other inmates. It is from these day-to-day relationships and incidents that the inmate can learn to achieve a new adjustment. Much psychiatric treatment and guidance in institutions is devoted to discussion with the staff as well as inmates, and to the treatment of conflicts between them which reveal the inmates' essential problems. The situations will not resemble those of real life unless the institution provides a rich variety of activities, including sport, entertainment, trade training, hobbies and general education. It is clear that psychiatric institutions for such patients will have to incorporate the valuable lessons taught by those with experience of advanced educational and penal institutions.

These trends have had an impact upon institutions for the less disturbed in focusing attention on the value of group discussion and improved staff relationships.

To what extent the abnormal delinquent falls within the scope of the mental health rather than the educational services is a matter on which administrators differ. In the United Kingdom, the Mental Health Act of 1959 provides for the detention in hospital of a new category of "psychopath", who may or may not be a delinquent.

**Short-term treatment**

In many countries there is thought to be an increasing group of late adolescents who are not sufficiently delinquent or maladjusted to need prolonged treatment but who, within their particular social setting, are difficult to influence by probation or other treatment at liberty. Such lads, it is said, have the support of reasonably good homes but have not been helped to develop occupational interests; though physically fit, they smoke and drink too much, keep irregular hours and take no part in sport or other healthy activity; without being antisocial, they drift without interest or initiative, and, in a group of similar youths, easily come to believe that this is a natural condition of their generation. Their offences arise from boredom, special temptation or lack of sympathy and identity with wider community standards. For them, it is said, a brief removal from their usual environment may be a useful prelude to a change of outlook, and the opportunity can be taken to improve
physical fitness and discipline, perhaps by analogy with the courses for those starting military service. In the United Kingdom, detention centres are set up for this type of short-term training and similar training is provided or contemplated in Germany and Sweden.

There are many aspects of this trend which are not the direct concern of the psychologist: the needs of general prevention, the exasperation of the public by acts of thoughtless aggressive vandalism or destruction, accommodation problems, etc. But a psychologist may validly make certain observations. First, such methods may well have a valuable place in the available range of treatment; but they are most suitable for the mentally and physically normal youth without serious emotional problems. It is tempting but misguided to suppose that very immature and inadequate youths with mental and physical handicaps can be so stimulated in a short time that they can abandon the habits of a lifetime, though superficially they may appear similar to the minor delinquent described above. The need for different handling of diverse categories implies that observation and diagnosis, in which psychiatrists have their part, should often precede a sentence to short-term treatment. This need not be a lengthy matter, since the existence of a doubt would suggest that the treatment was unsuitable. Secondly, there are few lads who do not require help for a longer period. It is widely suggested that the sentence should be the first phase in a longer period of supervision at liberty. Thirdly, a short, invigorating regime often involves a target for achievement which includes physical skills, and no doubt this suits the majority. For the weakly minority, this may only deepen their sense of inferiority. Different skills might be vigorously fostered in different institutions. In this connexion, the Swedish residential adult schools, where an adult of any age can take an intensive course in almost any subject under residential conditions which encourages his integration in a group, deserve close study.

**After-care**

It has always been recognized that the after-care of delinquents is an essential part of treatment, though in all countries there are great difficulties in developing adequate services. The most important new trend is the realization in the psychiatric services that proper after-care for the mentally disabled in hostels, protected workshops or temporary residential homes is necessary. To an increasing extent, these facilities must be made available for the seriously disordered ex-delinquent who has obtained the maximum benefit from special psychiatric institutions. Without these facilities, the handicapped delinquent is likely to relapse and act as a focus of delinquent influence in the young community.
Evaluation

It was noted that in both preventive and treatment programmes there is a growing tendency to design any experiment in such a way that some evaluation can be made of success or failure. This is a welcome development, but the principle is beginning to be extended much further. Experiments are still largely designed on the basis of what ought to be effective, in view of current ideas about causality and treatment. In the future, it might be more effective to study the results of the forms of prevention and treatment which are in use at present, without regard to causal explanations, and on the basis of this evaluation to suggest improvements in the way the present facilities are used (Mannheim & Wilkins, 1956). The more carefully these evaluative studies have been made (Adamson & Dunham, 1956; Powers & Witmer, 1951), the more disconcerting they have been to established theories in both psychology and social work; they can thus hardly fail to give rise to new orientations.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is most grateful to Dr Eduardo Krapf of the World Health Organization for advice and encouragement in the preparation of this report; to Mr Hugh Klare of the Department of Criminology of the Secretariat General of the Council of Europe, for statistical information; and to the many experts, too numerous to name, in the various countries visited, whose assistance made it possible to produce the report.
REFERENCES

Bondy, C., Braden, J., Cohen, R. & Eyerth, K. (1957) Jugendliche stören die Ordnung (Bericht und Stellungnahme zu den Halbstarkenkrawallen), München, Juventa Verlag
Bovet, L. (1951) Psychiatric aspects of juvenile delinquency, Geneva (World Health Organization: Monograph Series, No. 1)
Gibbens, T. C. N. (1957) J. ment. Sci., 103, 527
Gibbens, T. C. N. (1958) Brit. J. Delinqu., 8, 257
Int. Child Welf. Rev., 1951, 5, 134
Krapf, E. E. (1959a) Int. soc. Sci., 11, 63
Krapf, E. E. (1959b) Psiquiatrìa, Buenos Aires
Muchow, H. (1956) Unserre Jugend, 9, 388; 10, 442; 11, 486
Parsons, T. (1947) Psychiatry, 10, 167
Penrose, L. S. (1939) Brit. J. med. Psychol., 18, 1
Rich, J. (1956) Lancet, 1, 496