A CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY CONSENSUS

WITH RESPECT TO

EMERGING DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

BY

HENRY SEYWERD

MCGILL UNIVERSITY   APRIL 1946.

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research of McGill University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts.

F O R E W O R D

The study aims to show the kind of social situations
which tend to produce delinquency in an urban area which has not
been markedly and only intermittently delinquent.

The data of this study came to the writer in the course
of duty as Probation Officer in the Juvenile Court of Montreal and
were not collected primarily for purposes of a thesis. The emergence
of delinquent behavior within this particular area of the city had
become a source of increasing concern to   court authorities
and some agencies in the community interested in combatting the
trend. With the arrest of a gang of eight young housebreakers, the
writer was detailed to make a somewhat closer than usual study
of disorganizing processes operative in the area, with the above
gang as subject matter. The findings were to be presented to certain
community agencies for possible action. While consideration was given
to all members of the delinquent group for some purposes, certain
administrative contingencies allowed case study of only five of
these adolescents.

The area dealt with is a suburban, largely English-
speaking middle-class area. It was found that urgencies variously
growing out of Montreal's cultural bifurcation, the social and
horizontal mobility of the population type of the area , and its

intermediary class position reinforced by ecological factors have tended to isolate a smaller sub-area with a somewhat less homogeneous population, creating thereby an institutional gap. With regard to the adolescents mainly involved this came to approximate a "wrong side of the track" situation. Actual experience of discrimination and conscious rejection by differentiated individuals of the institutional facilities of the superordinate group resulted in segregation and gave rise to the typical adolescent delinquent gang and to emancipation of its members from traditional moralities.

It is felt that this study to some extent may show how delinquent patterns become established in contrast to the many and exhaustive studies of the transmission of delinquent patterns in areas where this kind of behavior and attitudes are traditional.

Names and certain other details relating to the individuals discussed have been changed to prevent identification.

The writer is solely responsible for the collection and interpretation of the materials and the preparation of the thesis in general.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. THEORIES OF CRIME CAUSATION

Historical (1.)

Early theories of crime causation tended to center about
the belief that the commission of a crime involved wilful depravity.
It was sin and therefore instigated by the devil. In keeping with
the then current world view, punishment and torture were abritrarily
applied; divine intervention and magical means such as prayer and
excorcism were considered the methods of reform. There was little
interest in motives and situations as factors in causation.

The next major point of view retained some of the
features of the earlier one but marked an advance in accepting the
principle of natural causation and in the humanization of treatment
of the offender. The "Classical School of Criminology", as it came
to be called, is associated with the writings of Beccaria (1764).
It based itself upon a mechanistic psychology known as "associationism."
Individuals at birth are endowed equally. There are no hereditary
causes of human differences. Knowledge and belief are built up from
sense experiences; differences between individuals are due to different
environments in which they live. The basic motive and organizing
principle was the individual's self interest in the service of which
thinking took place, guided on either hand by pleasure and pain.
Man was a moral free agent and his actions were the result of a
free exercize of the will. The task of educators, reformers,
legislators was, therefore, to pass good laws with proper rewards and

1. A review of the historical material can be found in Walter C.
   Reckless, CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR,(New York, McGraw-Hill Company Inc.)

punishments and the desired behavior would result. Fear of punishment was to ensure lawful behavior and punishment was the treatment to be applied to the offender. English common law is based upon this pseudo-psychology. "Equality before the law" means that the criminal act is taken as the unit to be dealt with and the phrase usually serves to hide indifference to the individual. Punishment is supposedly graduated according to the seriousness of the offence without reference to the offender as long as he is sane. Juvenile Court legislation has mitigated this view.

The next major theory of criminality was formulated by Ceasare Lombroso (1876) who focused attention away from the criminal act to a consideration of the offender. Lombroso based his views upon the new biology rather than psychology. He wrote under the immediate influence of Darwin and the early anthropologists who saw in primitive races a graduated hierarchy of submen and nearmen. The criminal was a throwback to one of these stages and could be recognized by certain anatomical traits such as asymetrical skull, outstanding ears, low retreating forehead, sensory defects, etc.

Gabriel Tarde developed a contrasting cultural theory upon his basic "laws of imitation" (2.) He rejected the Lombrossian theory and insisted that the criminal is a professional type who chooses crime as a career. Criminal patterns spread by copying of criminal behavior. Factors in diffusion are proximity and intensity of contact. The movement is usually from the upper to the lower classes and from the city to the country. These social causes are the important causes

---

2. Gabriel Tarde, PENAL PHILOSOPHY, (Boston) 1912.

and variations in crime are contingent upon the state of civilization. His theory, however, does not explain why most people are immune.

Dr. Charles Goring (3) and H.H. Goddard (4) advanced feeble-mindedness as the great cause of crime. Goring had disproved Lombroso's theory by comparative measurements of several thousand criminals and non-criminals and had found no evidence of criminal stigmata. His mental measurements and his conclusions as to the importance of mental defect were based upon unstandardized test procedures and empirical estimates. With the progressive development of mental testing, the margin of defectives among criminals and delinquents over non-criminals has been steadily reduced. Today little or no difference is found between them. (5)

Modern Theories

Contemporary theories fall into two main groups, those emphasizing individual differences and those dealing with situational and social processes. The untenability of the mono-genetic theories has led to the acceptance of the multiple factor causation and various emphases upon combinations of biological, personality, primary group factors and social processes.

Pioneer work in this field was done by William Healy (6). As a psychiatrist, he has placed emphasis upon the mental and emotional life of the delinquent. A factor is not a cause until it first becomes a motive, and in turn affects behavior. Healy was the first to make systematic and extensive use of the method of individual case

3. Charles Goring, THE ENGLISH CONVICT, (London) 1913.
4. H.H. Goddard, FEEBLEMINDEDNESS (New York) 1914.
5. Edwin H. Sutherland, "Mental Deficiency and Crime" Chapter XV in Kimball Young (Ed.) SOCIAL ATTITUDES (New York) 1931, pages 357-75.
6. William Healy, THE INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT (Boston) 1915.

study and developed new tests for intelligence and special abilities.
His analyses have emphasized biological and mental factors against
situational and social. He later abandoned specific allocation of
major and minor factors in any individual case. In his recent work
in collaboration with Augusta Bronner, he retains his belief in
emotional determination of delinquency. The authors state that,

> "....a striking finding of our present study
> has been the immense amount of discoverable
> emotional discomfort that clearly has been
> part of the origins of delinquency. On the
> other hand an acute contrast was brought out
> by the disclosure that very few indeed of
> the non-delinquents in the same families had
> in their emotional lives any such frust-
> rations - and those few had found in
> channels other than delinquency some modes
> of compensatory satisfactions." (7)

While the statistical proofs offered appear convincing,the
interpretation remains doubtful. A specific pattern of activities
is treated as an individually caused phenomenon rather than as an
interactional one. There is preoccupation with the desires and
inhibitions of the individual offender; the social situations within
which delinquent acts take place are given secondary importance
or none at all. These include the latent patterns of criminality
in our culture, which make delinquency and crime normal behavior
in certain situations, public opinion, group sanctions, situations
varying with respect to danger of detection and punishment, and
situations of personal-social interaction. Moreover, if this emotionally
deterministic approach could uncover why a person becomes delinquent,
it should logically be possible upon the same premise to discover
why a person becomes a slave, a factory worker or a banker, unless,

7. William Healy and Augusta Bronner, NEW LIGHT ON DELINQUENCY
   (New Haven, Yale University Press for the Institute of Human
   Relations) 1936. page 7.

of course, it is assumed that delinquent behavior is inherently abnormal and wrongful. The authors state that their hypothesis excludes this assumption (8). It appears, however, to have remained as an unconscious bias, which leads to an ethical evaluation of emotional traits. (9)

There is, moreover, in such studies, a tendency to eliminate the casual offender and consider only the recidivist and confirmed delinquent. As the authors state of their cases, "they represent the usual run of serious juvenile court cases." (10.) Their characteristics then become the basis for generalizations about the causes of delinquency. The immediate situations in which delinquent acts occur are minimized.

If it is possible by this method to explain the habitual criminal acts of an offender, then it must be possible to explain the first act of the same kind in the series since the motive for them is assumed to be qualitatively undifferentiated. If this is accepted, a dichotomy between the individual and his environment is set up, an entirely new line of explanation becomes necessary in order to account for the mass of occasional offenses among them, what J.S. Plant called "the normal reaction of normal people to abnormal conditions." (11) At the other pole are the actions of psychotics, who have broken with reality.

The second group of theories are those dealing with situational or cultural processes. The theoretical formulation of the "Situational approach" was first given by W.I. Thomas and D.S. Thomas.

---

8. Ibid, page 2
9. Ibid, pages 11-13
10. Ibid, page 36.
11. James S. Plant, PERSONALITY AND THE CULTURAL PATTERN, (New York, Oxford University Press) 1937. page 248.

"...The behavioristic or situational approach...
ignores or minimizes instincts and original
nature and studies behavior reactions and habit
formation in a great variety of situations compar-
atively. It assumes that whatever can be learned
about original nature will be revealed in its
reactions to these various situations. We
regard this approach as the only one capable
of giving a rational basis for the control of
behavior which may be a substitute for the common
sense, preceptual, ordering-and-forbidding type
of control which has been traditional and which,
to the degree that it had efficiency in the past,
has now broken down." (12)

While it is not possible to set up real experimental control

of any group for the study of a problem,

"... if groups of individuals roughly similar in a
large number of attributes can be studied in
varying situations the specific type of behavior
resulting may be compared statistically for the
different situations and inferences drawn as to
the relative effects of the situation on behavior." (13)

The most important situations for the development of person-

ality arise in interaction with institutions and with the attitudes and

values of other persons. The authors review the research from this

point of view, carried on in child guidance clinics, homes, schools,

and continue,

"... But the family and the school are themselves
within other and larger situations - neighbourhoods,
communities, geographical localities, containing a
great variety and disparity of values and stim-
ulations - playgrounds, libraries, settlements, boys'
clubs, moving pictures, dance halls, cabarets, gang
organizations, etc., and it is desirable to study the
contacts of the individual with this congeries of
situations and to measure the totality of their
influence on his behavior." (14)

With respect to delinquency and crime from this point of

12. W.I. Thomas and D.S. Thomas, THE CHILD IN AMERICA,(New York, Alfred
      Knopf and Co.,) 1928, page 561.
13. Ibid, page 565
14. Ibid, page 544

view, pertinent studies are those of Clifford R. Shaw and his collaborators. (15) In his studies of delinquency areas in Chicago and elsewhere, he related the concentration of delinquency cases to other socio-pathic conditions such as adult crime, physical deterioration of buildings, family dependency and desertion cases, industrial and commercial invasion of areas, boys' gangs, declining populations, foreign-born and negro populations. Areas of low delinquency were found almost free from these conditions.

Frederik M. Thrasher in, "The Gang" has shown the natural growth of counter-moral behavior in gang life of adolescents in the isolated areas of cities. (16)

William Foote Whyte in his "Street Corner Society", a study of an Italian "slum" in a large American urban center, describes a social organization built largely upon a basic gang pattern, and the distinctive personality types which result from it. (17) With respect to the racketeer in "Cornerville", he says,

> "   In a crisis the "big shot" becomes public
> property. He is removed from the society in which
> he functions and is judged by standards different
> from those of his group. This may be the most
> effective way to prosecute the law-breaker. It is
> not a good way to understand him. For that purpose

15. Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, SOCIAL FACTORS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. (Washington, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on the Causes of Crime) 1931, No. 13, Volume II. Also Clifford R. Shaw, Frederik M. Zorbaugh, Henry D. McKay and Leonard S. Cottrell, DELINQUENCY AREAS, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1929.
16. Frederik M. Thrasher, THE GANG, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1927.
17. William Foote Whyte, STREET CORNER SOCIETY, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1943.

the individual must be put back in his social
setting and observed in his daily activities.
In order to understand the spectacular event, it
is necessary to see it in relation to the every-
day pattern of life - for there is a pattern
to Cornerville life. The middle-class person looks
upon the slum district as a formidable mass of
confusion, a social chaos. The insider finds in
Cornerville a highly organized and integrated social
system." (18)

Theory of Differential Association

E.H. Sutherland has developed a theory of criminality

in terms of social processes, and consistent with the situational

approach to the explanation of behavior. He points out that

studies of crime and delinquency have almost exclusively concerned

themselves with crimes committed by the children and adults of

the lower classes. They have ignored the large amount of white-

collar crime, fraud, racketeering, illegitimate speculation,

fraudulent competition, commercial bribery, professional mal-

practices of various kinds, among the upper classes. Except in some

cases, white-collar crime has not been treated as crime because of

the class bias of the courts, the social prestige of the criminals,

because the mores are not yet organized against it, because actions

against offenders are usually brought in civil, rather than in

criminal courts since recovery of damages is considered more important

than criminal prosecution. (19) Also, in contrast to lower class crimes

which are usually direct, physical actions, white-collar crimes are

"...indirect, devious, anonymous and impersonal.
A vague resentment against the entire system is
felt, but when particular individuals cannot
be identified, the antagonism is futile. The
perpetrators do not feel the resentment of their
victims and the criminal practices continue and
spread." (20)

18. Ibid, Introduction, XVIII
19. Edwin H. Sutherland, WHITE COLLAR CRIMINALITY , American Sociological
    Review, Volume 5, No. I, February, 1940.
20. Edwin H. Sutherland, PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY, (Philadelphia, J.B.
    Lippincott Company) 1939, page 43.

If criminality is accepted as a pervasive pattern in our culture, it follows that many studies of crime and delinquency as lower class phenomenon only have been based on biased samples. A new hypothesis is necessary which will include also the data of white-collar criminality. To this end, Sutherland offers the theory of "Differential Association."

> "   The principles of the process of association by which criminal behavior develops are the same as the principles of the process by which lawful behavior develops, but the contents of the patterns presented in association differ. For that reason it is called differential association. The association which is of primary importance in criminal behavior is association with persons who engage in systematic criminal behavior...The impersonal agencies of communication exert some influence but are important principally in determining receptivity to the patterns of criminal behavior when they are presented in personal association and in producing incidental offenses." (21.)

Cultural conflict and social disorganization are the underlying causes of differential association and, therefore, of crime and delinquency. (22)

B. CONSENSUS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

For purposes of this study, the hypothesis of differential association and social disorganization has been restated as breakdown of consensus in relation to emergent delinquent behavior. Consensus is a highly abstract concept and may be defined as the subjective aspect of collective action, that is, the conscious and unconscious residues of communications which cause and enable differentiated individuals to act collectively.

The term was introduced to Sociology by August Comte. Against the organic analogies and individualistic theories of society

21. Ibid, page 5
22. Ibid, page 6-9

of the Spencerian school, he advanced that the individual is an abstraction, that "man exists as man only by participation in the life of humanity" and " although the individual elements of society appear to be more separated than those of a living being, the social consensus is still closer than the vital." (23)

Other students have not departed from this orientation given to sociology by Comte. C.H. Cooley developed the concept of primary group consensus; John Dewey stressed society in communication; William Graham Sumner described consensus as a function of "in-group" versus "out-group" relations; others have used the term "esprit de corps" to denote comparable phenomena. Emile Durkheim finally described consensus as the "mental images" that, rather than external interdependence, create the division of labor.

These various emphases without conflict can be subsumed under a view of consensus as a function of the equilibrium between the two interactional processes, competition and communication. In R.E. Park's system of sociology these are the two great society-making processes. (24)

> "   There is a symbiotic society based on competition and a cultural society based on communication, tradition and consensus. The cultural superstructure rests on the basis of the symbiotic substructure, and the emergent energies that manifest themselves on the biotic level in movement and actions reveal themselves on the higher social level in the more subtle and sublimated forms associated with human institutions. Thus, human society exhibits not merely an ecological, but an economic, a political and a moral order." (25)

23. R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1926, page 24-5
24. R.E. Park, SYMBIOSIS AND SOCIALIZATION, The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLV, No. 1, July, 1939.
25. A.B. Hollingshead, HUMAN ECOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES in "An Outline of the Principles of Sociology" (Ed.) R.E. Park (New York, Barnes, Noble Inc.) 1939, page 69.

The process of competition itself is impersonal and creates merely external relationships with respect to subtenance and habitat, in contrast to the social process which involves communication, the taking of social roles and consensus.

In its pure form, ecologists point out, competition is found only in the economic and abstract relations of the plant community where each unconsciously competes with the other. The struggle for survival limits numbers and distributes the competitors or symbionts in a system of ordered relations which, while not social, justifies description as a community.

Among human beings, competition always takes place within a social order. In as far as it is free, the ability to move and follow specialized activities leads to migration, movement, segregation and selection of population and institutional types into specialized regions and areas, as well as into a hierarchy of occupational classes, functionally interdependant and organized by centers of dominance. Competitive interaction, thus, creates the basis of modern social organization.

Competitive interaction results from and releases individualistic and rational motives manifest in physical and psychological mobility. Durkheim, following Comte, has emphasized that as the struggle for existence brings about increasing specialization and individuation, there are increasingly required means and methods of control. Competition and mobility tend to operate centrifugally towards attenuation and breakup of social relations. Conflicts increase, as do crime and personal disorganization. The end of the process may be revolution and war.

Social control and consensus, therefore, come to rest upon the effectiveness of the limitations which can be placed

upon the unrestrained individualism of physically and psychologically mobile and competing individuals. These controls are internal modifications rather than external constraints; they rest upon communication.

As John Dewey says,

"   Society not only continues to exist by transmission, by communication, but it may be fairly said to exist in transmission, in communication." (26)

And, as Park expresses it,

"   The thing we call society is, of course something more than""a geographic expression,""or even an association for the exchange of goods and service. Society, in the sense in which that term is applied to human beings, is characterized by the fact that it imposes upon the free play of economic and egoistic forces the restraints of a political and moral order. Yet, custom, conventions, and law, by which society exercises control over the individual and itself, turn out finally to be products of communication; ......

     It is a social-psychological process by which one individual is enabled to assume, in some sense and to some degree, the attitudes and the point of view of another; it is the process by which a rational and moral order among men is substituted for the one that is merely psychological and instinctive. Communication""spins a web of custom and mutual expectation which bind together social entities as divers as the family group, a labor organization or the haggling participants in a village market."" On the other hand, particularly when it takes the form of dialectical discussion, communication tends to individualize thought and bring out distinctions within the limits of a common understanding and universe of discourse." (27)

Communication, while at first it may result in conflict, initiates the socializing processes, accomodation and assimilation.

26. John Dewey, DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION, (New York, The MacMillan Company) 1916, page 5.
27. R.E. Park, PHYSICS AND SOCIETY, Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, May, 1940, pages 135-52.

Intermediate between the individual, the territorial and functional organization of society are the primary groups. While the relationships centering about the market are most abstract and unsocial, the areas of true consentiel relationships are to be found in the family, the playgroup, the neighbourhood. The concept of the primary group was elaborated by C.H. Cooley (28) who saw the whole moral order especially as embodied in democracy and Christianity as an outgrowth of primary group values and sentiments. Attitudes and values such as family loyalty reappear in civic pride and patriotism. Consensus from this point of view is essentially the projection of the primary groups attitudes upon society and is the source of the tendency to take the world personally and socially. The nature of consensus as the basic feeling of "we" has been expressed as follows:

> "   The concept of consensus may be best under-
> stood in the simple terms of its literal derivation -
> namely, as a process of""feeling together""by the
> majority of the members of a given society upon
> the important matters of their common life. This
> substantial unanimity of opinion is a product
> of a way of life where all persons are enlisted in
> the search for a common goal, where men are
> animated by a common purpose. Consensus is a
> spontaneous product and cannot be enforced by fiat
> or force. It is the intangible expression of the
> inner life of a society which is as difficult to
> define as it is important to understand if one is
> to grasp the essential element of social organ-
> ization; without some fundamental unanimity in a
> society, its physical organization is no more than
> a hollow shell." (29)

Consensus is, therefore, closely related to what is commonly accepted as morality. Says North,

> "   Morality is developed out of a sense of
> oneness with the social whole. The "we" and the
> "our" are fundamental concepts in the mind of the
> person who would become sensitive to the needs and
> rights of others. Without this consciousness of
> social solidarity there can be no real morality." (30)

28. C.H. Cooley, HUMAN NATURE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER (New York,
    Charles Scribner and Son) 1922, pages 152-3
29. Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION
    (New York, Harper and Brothers Publishers) 1941, page 21.
30. Cecil C. North, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION (Chapel Hill, University

While Cooley sees social organization and consensus as an outgrowth of the human nature groups and their ideals which are much alike among all peoples, Emile Durkheim found the sources of social solidarity in the division of labor and concomittant social attitudes. Specialization of occupations in the division of labor does not decrease but increases the unity of society through the interdependence of differentiated individuals.

> "   The assumption that the social relations
> resulting from the division of labor consist in
> an exchange of services merely is a misconception
> of what this exchange implies and of the effects
> it produces. It assumes that two beings are
> mutually dependent the one on the other,
> because they are both incomplete without the
> other. It interprets this mutual dependence
> as a purely external relation. Actually this
> is merely the superficial expression of an
> internal and more profound state. Precisely
> because this state is constant, it provokes a
> complex of mental images which function with a
> continuity independent of the series of external
> relations. The image of that which completes
> us is inseparable from the image of ourselves,
> not only because it is associated with us, but
> especially because it is our natural complement." (31)

The division of labor makes possible societies which otherwise would not exist. The accomodations and changes involved in the conversion of conflict groups such as a boys' gang into a boys' club, of a religious sect into a denomination, mark phases whereby consentiel relations are established and individuals are integrated into the social and moral orders. Professional codes of ethics, the effective norms of secondary groups, are further expressions of consensus so conceived.

C. BREAKDOWN OF CONSENSUS

Societies in which consensus is absolute exist only as literary Utopias. Approximations, however, are found in the

---

R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, op. cit., page 715.

relatively static preliterate societies, the pre-industrial communities of the West, such as still exist in the Province of Quebec, (32) and agricultural communities generally. The relative stability and permanence of such communities are largely a consequence, at the ecological level, of the close adjustment of numbers to the land and a relatively unchanging technology, of close adjustment of individuals to each other, and to their culture. Stability is insured by the isolation of such communities and absence of contacts with people of divergent cultures. There is little mobility, little specialization of occupations or division into social classes. The basic institutions are family and kinship groups closely integrated with a simple institutional complement. Individuals live in a single set of mores which find expression in the law, morals, manners, prejudices of the community. Each individual has a share in shaping all the others. Control is maintained by group judgment, praise or criticism, rather than by formal law. Since communities are usually small, homogeneous and relations are face-to-face, uniformity and conformity are almost inevitable.

The equilibrium of a society is upset by the introduction of new competitive factors such as increase or decrease in numbers, changes in land use and technology, contact with or invasion by divergent cultures. The result is a state of imbalance, unorganization or disorganization. New competitive energies are released, which express themselves in mobility, conflict, the breakup of old cultural forms. This creates conditions under which the wishes of the individuals

---

32. Horace Miner, ST. DENIS: A FRENCH-CANADIAN PARISH, (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press) 1939.

must be satisfied in new ways and in situations no longer defined by
tradition and custom. In contemporary society the significant relations
with respect to social organization are competitive relations. Society
is organized by the market and no longer about the areas of intimate
and personal relationships.

Urban Social Organization

The effects of the introduction of competition and mobility
are both structural and functional, and are exemplified in the
organization of the urban community. The territorial organization of
a city has been described as an ordered complex of natural areas which
surround the central retail, banking, office area. E.W. Burgess has
developed the concept of the five zones as an idealized but basic
pattern of city structure. (33) Adjacent to the central area and
surrounding it, is the zone of transition, pressing outward into
the zone of working men's homes, which in turn comes to invade the
area of better residences, which is succeeded, finally, by the
commuters zone. These zones, again, are differentiated into natural
areas with more or less distinctive local cultures, institutions,
and personality types. Such areas develop in relative isolation but
in functional interdependence with the total urban pattern.

With respect to the subject matter of this study, it is
assumed that the City of Montreal exhibits similar problems of social
organization as have been found elsewhere. In Chapter Two, that part
of Montreal known as Notre Dame de Grace Ward is related to the
urban structure as a whole and is shown to possess the characteristics
of a natural area with a distinctive occupational and social type
of population. The term middle class has been employed to describe

33. E.W. Burgess, THE GROWTH OF THE CITY: AN INTRODUCTION TO A
RESEARCH PROJECT, Publication American Sociological Society,
XVIII, 1923, pages 85-97. Also in Robert E. Park, E.W. Burgess
and R.D. MacKenzie (ed) THE CITY (Chicago University of Chicago

its intermediary social position. Anything more than this general
designation is thought by the writer to be beyond the scope of this study.

As individuals drift into the new urban aggregation, their
place in the social order is no longer determined by custom but rather
by personal competition in a complex division of labor. Competition brings
about selection and segregation; these processes operate in a cyclical
manner.

" The first effect of the introduction of
competition in any society is to break up all
types of isolation and provincialism based upon
lack of communication and contact. But as
competition continues, natural and social selection
come into play. Successful types emerge in the
process of competitive struggle while variant
individuals who fail to maintain the pace or
conform to standard withdraw or are rejected
from the group. Exiled variants from several
groups under auspicious circumstances may in
turn form a community where the process of
selection will be directly opposite to that
in their native groups. In the new community
the process of selection naturally accentuates
and perfects the traits originally responsible
for exclusion. The outcome of segregation
is the creation of specialized social types with
the maximum of isolation. The circle of isolation
is then complete." (34)

This describes the processes which create occupational
and social differentiation and the stratification of urban social
levels. Individuals tend to associate on the basis of like interests.
Occupations attain status in the prestige structure according to the
values which the mores ascribe to them. Thus, while associated on
a basis of interest, through the action of the mores, the final
class bond is status and ownership of the symbols of status.

The fully assimilated individual in modern society is thus
tied to all others and to the social order in three ways, by occupation,
income and social place. (35) The various classes tend to develop

34. R.E. Park and E... Burgess, op. cit., page 232.
35. A.B. Hollingshead, op. cit. page 84.

ideologies, which, like the self-conception of the individual, serve
to control and direct behavior. Such ideologies give rise to typical
institutions. As in every social group, consensus develops from the
sense of belonging to a social unit whose members share the same ideas
and patterns of behavior, from the need for companionship and emotional
security. The integration of the "we" feeling tends to be further
reinforced by the character of classes as in-groups in actual and
potential conflict with other classes. Moreover, psychological distances
are created between any two classes because of differences in habitual
behavior and the difficulty and impossibility of close contact of any
number of members of one class with those of another.

While class differences in attitudes and behavior are real,
classes, in our society at least, and especially at the lower levels,
are scarcely organized and, as yet, have no tradition. While there
are self-conscious class attitudes, there is little "class consciousness."
Consensus, however, tends to increase at the upper levels and
generally with increased stratification of social levels.

Characteristic aspects of local social life of the natural
area discussed in this study are presented as indicative of the attempts
of new ecological groupings to establish their places in the prestige
order and integrate new consentiel relations. Because of the
cultural heterogeneity, recency of settlement and ecological barriers,
consensus is found to be fragmentary and emergent. In as far as it
exists and is articulated in the social structure, it is that of a
dominant in-group divided against an out-group. The "mental images"
of this consensus which are imposed upon the out-group do not tend to
rest upon the latter's actual function in the division of labour
but consist of stereotypes, aiming at subordination. Selection and

segregation are shown to have created a subarea, the smaller population of which is largely excluded from participation in the social life of the main group and stands to it in a relation of uneasy equilibrium. (Chapter Two) This ecological and social differentiation is found to be the basic defining situation in the emergence of delinquent behavior.

The processes which organize the larger society and the subarea also organize the gang society. As Park says somewhere, the basic processes whereby a society, an institution and a boys' gang come into existence are similar for each. The breakdown of the consensus of established relations produces insecurity, unrest, increased mobility, experimental behavior. New contacts and associations initiate exchange of experience; new attitudes and roles are defined, giving rise to new collective groupings and consensus. This is described in the chapter on Gang Behavior (Chapter Three).

D. DEFINITION OF THE SITUATION

Consensus, participation in common activities, implies communication but participation is not guaranteed by the possession of common speech. W.I. Thomas has evolved the concept of the "definition of the situation." (36) Definitions of the situation range from gossip and gesture to the moral ideas. Mobility and unrest represent the stage in which new definitions are being initiated; they ar made more secure on the basis of habit.

The process of defining the situation has both an individual and a group aspect. Definitions arise, as Thomas says,

---

36. W.I. Thomas, THE UNADJUSTED GIRL, (Boston, Little, Brown and Company) 1927, page 42 ff.

from a need to act in individual or group crises; such crises are changes in the environment or in the individual which demand adjustment. Definitions remain as attitudes, roles, custom, taboo, traditions for the guidance of future situations. Thus the products of past crises are imposed upon individuals and represent group definitions of the situation.

As an individual process, the definition of the situation takes the form of explorative and tentative ways of behaving, especially with respect to the limits the situation imposes upon behavior and upon the realization of the individual's wishes. Thomas* definition is essentially behavioristic; since the situation always includes other persons, behavior is not solely trial and error but includes taking the role of the other. But the definitions and attitudes of others are important only in as far as the individual is able to assimilate them. Age, sex, class, social place are important limitations and explain in the first place why the individual has attitudes of one kind and not of another. As Thrasher says of the gang boy,

> " He knows little of the outside world except
> its exteriors. He views it usually as a collection
> of influences that would suppress him and curtail
> his activities with laws and police, cells and bars." (37)

While all the families discussed in this study came to the area consciously in search of status, they largely failed to participate in its social life. Data which might account for this failure may not be considered adequate to sustain explanations suggested. The relative anonymity of these families is probably easily matched by that of many others in the area who also fail to define or to find definitions of the situation in terms of participation.

---

37. Thrasher, op. cit., page 255.

Selection and segregation, the cycle from isolation to isolation, proceeds by a series of definitions in mobile situations. Within the new ecological groupings individuals initially meet as strangers or symbionts.

> "   The degree of mobility in the community is an important index of the consensus existing between its members.... Individuals and families who are constantly moving from place to place fail to identify themselves with local institutions or to take any vital part in institutional life. Families who change their residences from one part of the community to another and from one city to another never acquire the deep sense of "belonging" which is necessary to good citizenship. The personal life organization of such individuals tends to be unstable. Their children fail to develop many of the close primary ties which are the products of settled community life." (38)

This has been shown to be characteristic of urban families generally. The area itself is still relatively mobile and the structures expressing an emergent consensus express and are oriented towards the interests of a higher social level. The problem families appeared to have accomodated to this situation. Moreover, it is likely that personalities defined to a great extent in migration and mobile situations had become too highly differentiated to find many other points of identification with the interests of the area except that of the British origin of the population, responding to a "consciousness of kind" in the culturally bifurcated situation as it exists in Montreal. Chapter Three introduces the problem families and also in a longitudinal view, indicates broadly the selective situations which determined their status in the new habitat. This is amplified further in Chapter V. Mobility and conflicting definitions with regard to the problem children arising out of their attempts to

---

38. Elliott and Merrill, op. cit. pages 794-5.

to participate in the adolescent life of the area, as in recreation (Chapter Five), the Y...C.A., playgangs and schools are described.

Residence and life in past areas of mobility with respect to the boys acted as defining and selecting factors in determining their place in the new society. Semi-delinquent and delinquent attitudes and roles already acquired were not redefined to any extent because the new situation was favorable to their persistence; failure to find a place in the social system facilitated compensatory gang association. These factors tended to reestablish the boys at a previous ecological and social level. Every individual participates only in part of his culture but every individual also has membership in some group, and the attitudes of others in the group determine and limit his behavior. The attitudes of others are also the most important inducements to action, especially in the undefined situation. The Chapter on Gang Behavior (Chapter Four) shows the emergence of new attitudes and roles in the process of interstimulation. The group relationships of the person thus are the major clue to his behavior whether normal or delinquent. The significant relations in personality development are primary group relationships. One participates in them fully and without reserve as Cooley has said. They tend to grow up even under the most unfavorable conditions which accounts for failure of law and external regulations in gangland as elsewhere.

Definition of the Situation and Adolescence

On his way to maturity the person must adapt himself to a number of successive groups and must assume new roles often by radical changes. Even in the best ordered life career there is some lost motion in the development of personality. Where the changes demanded are sharp and far reaching as in the case of the immigrant and the mobile person, much conflict may result. The

continuity of personality, conversely, is assured if new situations
make possible the continuity of roles from group to group and by
such factors which do not demand major redefinitions of the situation.
Apart from the broader aspect of disorganization which brought
about the segregation of the problem boys and their selection to a
delinquent gang is the fact that the adolescent status is left
undefined in our social system. As the anthropologists have shown,
adolescent difficulties and conflicts are not inevitable where the
status is clearly defined with due heed to the capacities of the
individual at this age level. Says Linton:

> "   In societies which recognize adolescents as
> a distinct category and ascribe to them activities
> suited to their condition, the period passes with
> little or no stress and the transition from the
> roles of childhood to those of adult life is
> accomplished with little shock to the personality.
> Societies which choose to ignore the particular
> qualities of adolescence may elect to deal with
> the situation in either of two ways. They may extend the
> child category, with its ascribed attitudes and
> patterns of overt behavior upward to include
> adolescents, or they may project the adult
> category downward to include them. In either
> case, the adolescent becomes a problem for himself
> and for others. If he is expected to adhere to
> childhood patterns of obedience and dependence,
> he either becomes a bad child, in revolt against
> authority, or he submits and establishes these
> patterns in himself so firmly that he experiences
> great difficulty in assuming adult responsibilities,
> and initiative when the time comes. If he is expected
> to follow adult patterns from the moment of puberty
> he finds himself called upon to assume forms of
> behavior which tax his abilities to the uttermost
> even when they do not exceed them....Perhaps the
> one thing worse than either of these methods is to
> do as we do and leave the social role of the
> adolescent in doubt. We alternately demand from
> them the obedience and submission of children and
> the initiative and acceptance of personal respons-
> ibility which go with adult status." (39)

---

39. Ralph Linton, THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY, (New York,
    D. Appleton Century Company) 1945, pages 67-68.

The adolescents in this study are shown at a stage in their life cycle where the effective control of the family is breaking or has broken down and other controls have not been established. The absence of socially sanctioned defining situations is especially obvious in the case of the boys from broken homes. The problem is one of making the transition from the primary into the secondary society which is similar to the problem faced by the old world agriculturalist in his adjustment to the secondary society of the new world. The persistence of previously acquired roles which have little or no relation to any status in the new system result in isolation and segregation, hedonistic and individualistic definitions of the situation.

Moreover, our society is characterized by a contempt and lack of understanding of the child as a person. This is aggravated in the urban community where there are many pressures which tend to shorten the period of childhood. Under such conditions the child

> "......is predisposed to consider himself weak,
> small, incapable of living alone, ...Most of
> our errors in education begin at this point.
> In demanding more than the child can do, the idea
> of his own helplessness is thrown into his face.
> Some children are even consciously made to feel
> their smallness and helplessness. Other children
> are regarded as toys, as animated dolls; others,
> again, are treated as valuable property that must
> be carefully watched, while others still are made
> to feel they are so much useless human freight.
> A combination of these attitudes on the part of
> the parents and adults often leads a child to
> believe that there are but two things in his
> power, the pleasure or displeasure of his elders.
> The type of inferiority feeling produced by the
> parents may be further intensified by certain
> peculiar characteristics of our civilization.
> The habit of not taking children seriously
> belongs in this category. A child gets the imp-
> ression that he is a nobody, without rights,
> that he is not to be seen, not heard, that he
> must be courteous, quiet and the like." (40)

40. Alfred Adler UNDERSTANDING HUMAN NATURE, (New York, Greenberg,

Since adult standards are applied as measuring rods to
the child, the child in turn is anxious to define situations in
adult terms.

In this study the situation is aggravated by the failure
of the boys in attempts to participate in formal activities of their
contemporaries. This reinforced the drive for adult status. This
is evident in their delinquent activities, especially with respect to
sex behavior. (Chapter Four)

Not only was their adolescent status left undefined,
but also the mores regarding property and sex are shown to be in
conflict and to lag behind the new urban conditions of living.
(Chapter Six) Finally urban institutions as defining agencies
fail to support each other and are themselves only partially
integrated with the community.

CHAPTER TWO

THE COMMUNITY SETTING

Introduction

The eastern part of Canada's central region is organized by two centers of dominance. The political capital of Quebec province, Quebec City, is the integrating center of the Roman Catholic, ruralistic French-Canadian society. Montreal, Canada's metropolis, is also the regional and active center of the secular English culture, and the focal point of the industrial revolution which, belatedly but rapidly, is transforming the French-Canadian hinterland.

Montreal is located on an island which marks the confluence of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers. The latter river is not navigable beyond this point for large vessels, which makes Montreal the terminus for ocean-going shipping. About a mile and a half removed from the river, several hundred feet high, stands Mount Royal from which the land falls away to the river in several successive levels. These topographical features to a considerable degree have determined the city's pattern of expansion. A third important factor has been the cultural bifurcation of the population into English and French. From the original French settlement on the shores of the St. Lawrence, the city grew north towards the mountain and east and west along the river. The "Headquarters area", the financial and commercial core of the city, has come to occupy almost completely the successive terraces between river and mountain, almost shearing the city in half. This division has reinforced the segregation of the two main culture groups into what has come to be known as the "English west-end" and the "French east-end."

The expansion of the central area, the growth of subcenters as heavy industries have settled east and west along the river, has furthered also the development of slums, the rise of new working class and artisan areas which topographically are confined to the lower lying levels of the city. In Montreal, " a high level of income goes along with a high level of residence, and a rise in the social scale has a literal altitudinal connotation"(41) The residential areas of the English-speaking managerial and white collar groups have developed along the slopes of the mountain to the west and north-west, where a rise to several hundred feet above the industrial flatlands leaves the air clear of industrial smoke and noise.

The population of Montreal has been fed by a dominantly French, but also English Canadian city drift, by overseas migration of peoples of British stock and migrants of European and other origins. While more than two thirds of the population is French, the English minority dominates the more specialized levels of the occupational pyramid. Financial, managerial, wholesaling, large retailing functions, and manual skilled occupations are more or less concentrated in the hands of this top-heavy English group, which exists in a relation of uneasy accomodation alongside the culturally dominant French.

> "   The English people of Montreal are more than an ethnic minority in a city. They are in fact the metropolitan element of Canada's metropolis. Some among them direct the great economic institutions which operate throughout Canada and beyond the national borders. Their hospitals and medical specialists serve clients from a wide area and and train physicians and nurses for a still wider one. English Montreal's hinterland is half a continent. The French of Montreal enter into

41. Lloyd G. Reynolds, THE BRITISH IMMIGRANT IN CANADA, as quoted in C.A. Dawson and W.E. Gettys, An Introduction to Sociology, (New York, Ronald Press) 1929, page 147.

these nationally dominant institutions in minor
and less specialized roles. But the very
presence of the numerous French allows the
English group to be more specialized and more
devoted to control functions than they could
be if Montreal were a purely English city.
Those of the French who are in dominant
positions are concentrated in institutions
which have for their hinterland, not the
continent, but merely the province." (42)

This bi-cultural definition of situations is, perhaps, the
most basic in ordering occupation, residence and social relations of
the Montrealer and accounts for much of his self-consciousness as he
goes about his daily routine. This definition also can be seen as
the broadest determiner of the problem dealt with in this study
though it is, for the most part, implicit rather than explicit.

<u>Consensus and Social Organization and an Urban Area</u>

Breakdown of consensus and social disorganization for
purposes of this paper are seen to be evidence of a disequilibrium
between the process of competition and communication in the inter-
action of which societies are created. Examples of the old familial
and stable societies can be adduced to show the character of social
life and the processes in personality organization under conditions
of consensus. It does not follow, however, that consensus necessarily
can exist only in groups having a simple technology and relatively
undifferentiated social relations. As Durkheim points out, the
extension of the division of labor, by increasing the interdependence
of individuals, in the long run also increases social solidarity and
consensus. Time, therefore, is essential to the social processes;
social disorganization signifies a lag between the processes

---

42. Everett Cherrington Hughes, FRENCH CANADA IN TRANSITION, (Chicago,
University of Chicago Press) 1943, pages 207-208.

creating ecological interdependence and the integrative processes at the various social levels. This is basically a lag in communication. Close and continuous contact and personal and imaginative participation in group life are essential conditions for the establishment of consentiel ties and the transmission of a common culture.

The above represents the hypothesis of this study and is broadly demonstrated in the present chapter. One may summarize its logic.

The community setting describes the population of a natureal area in Montreal, known as Notre Dame de Grace, for short and popularly, as N.D.G. The population, aggregated on the basis of function, shows along with the characteristics of recent mobility, a developing social structure, indicative of a distinctive social life and an emergent consensus. Aggregation of individuals sets up tensions which come to be resolved in interaction and habitual adjustments.

Linton, using the generic concept of "the band" equates under this term the primitive local group larger than the family, rural neighbourhoods, as well as the expression of local social group life in urban areas and says with respect to the latter,

> "   In every modern city it is possible to find
> local units which are self-contained for all
> ordinary purposes. To their members the city
> as a whole is simply the zone of exploitation,
> the region which the males go out to daily,
> returning to their band at night with their
> spoils." (43)

This is an apt characterization of the out-group orientation of a functional area such as N.D.G., as well as of a boys' gang, even though the economic activities of the former are

43. Ralph Linton, THE STUDY OF MAN (New York, D. Appleton Century
        Company) 1939, page 218

legitimate while those of the latter may be predatory. Linton adds that "the band IS society as far as most of mankind is concerned." (44)

Apart from expressing the basic need of individuals to belong somewhere, N.D.G.'s emergent social structure may, in part, be seen as an attempt to articulate under new conditions, and in new and locally adjusted forms, the common traditions of its English population. This is an attempt to replace the older and overt relationships in which its adult individuals had been reared and ..hich were shattered in the process of mobility and migrati.n. Such activities receive particular urgency through pressures and tensions growing out of Montreal's cultural diversity.

N.D.G.'s institutional adjustments to some extent can also be seen as an attempt to regain a measure of self-government, moral, perhaps, rather than political, which, in the process of urban centralization has largely been lost by functional areas of this kind or was never established. The creation and maintenance of an independent social life, however, is difficult because many individuals remain culturally dependent on the city. The males and many women tend to regard the area in good part as a dormitory because of their employment in the central area; dominant interests, therefore, may be largely satisfied elsewhere. A certain degree of detachment, however, is possible in education, recreation, worship, congeniality groups. For women and children especially, local interests are probably stronger. Failure to participate, therefore, by many individuals in local associations does not necessarily denote anonymity but may mean rather that their interests are satisfied outside the area.

---

44. Ibid, page 219

The population of N.D.G. is selected to its habitat on the
basis of the similar functions of the component individuals in the
economic order. To the extent that the members of the "band" face
inward the struggle for status and recognition is between closely
crowded individuals of similar competitive ability. Tensions and anxieties
may tend to magnify differences between them which otherwise might
not be significant.

In this situation ecological features, such as railway
tracks, become the symbols whereby individuals differentiate themselves
from others; such features come to denote the psychological limits
of the consensus of the in-group and limit physical contact and
interaction. Moreover, to the extent that features of the commercial
subcenter, main thoroughfare, transportation lines, are reminiscent
of their more highly developed prototypes of the metropolitan central
area, they tend to sharpen the self-consciousness of the individual
by more or less clearly apprehended threats and reminders of urban
anonymity and personal extinction. It becomes the line where
individuals differentiate between the "we" and the undifferentiated
"they" of the urban mass.

This is reinforced by topographical configurations of "higher"
and "lower", which become symbols of status evaluations, where
"lower" also tends to be consigned to the anonymous. Social orient-
ation away from the central area and directed towards localisms and
local culture coalesces with this social evaluation of physical
features and produces a steady tendency to isolate the lower part
of the area and its population. Finally, in as far as conscious
isolation from the rest of the city is an attempt to escape an
actually experienced or imagined anonymity and inferiority of
past areas of mobility, hostility is projected upon the populations

of the "lower" subarea which rightly or wrongly has come to symbolize this inferiority or potential downward mobility. This rejection is by no means complete. The structure of attitudes of N.D.G. is in part a result of the cultural bifurcation of French-English Montreal. The dominant populations of both lower and upper N.D.G. share common symbols of identification. To the extent that "consciousness of kind" creates attitudes of approach to lower N.D.G. conflicts are noticeable in some individuals because of the general tendencies to withdrawal and inhibition of cooperative attitudes. There are sporadic attempts to include the subarea in a common consensus.

In effect, however, these processes are illustrative of the subjective mental currents making for accomodation in the social division of labor, the subjective attitudinal adjustments of which Durkheim speaks, incomplete and non-inclusive though they may be.

Since the focus of interaction is continually away from the lower part of the area and social equality has always meant equality with those above, lower N.D.G. similarly motivated and similarly fleeing extinction and anonymity, but for various reasons less able to meet these threats in objective structures, finds itself blocked and antagonized in its demands for attention and search for recognition. Some accomodations, however, exist.

The present chapter describes these conflicts in broad outline and the effects upon the community structure. The effect upon specific individuals is dealt with in Chapter Five.

A. ECOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION OF N.D.G.

The pattern in time and space which a city comes to exhibit is the result of the ecological processes of centralization, segregation,

decentralization, invasion and succession. The spatial pattern is integrated by and around the central headquarters area where "social, economic, and cultural interaction occurs most frequently." (45) As described by Burgess these processes tend to order the city in five functional zones showing a typical succession outward from the center. Within these zones are found specialized natural areas marked by physical and social differentiation, functional integration with the rest of the city, natural selection of population types, and characteristic institutional adjustments. The administrative division within Montreal known as Notre Dame de Grace lies within the Suburban Zone and consitutes a middle-class residential and rather well-defined natural area.

Along the south it is isolated from the low-lying industrial belt along the St. Lawrence River by railway yards and a bluff rising at some points a hundred feet from the Lachine Canal and from the valley of the St. Pierre River, a tiny stream lost amid the trackage of the railroads and industrial waste. To the east, the municipal boundaries of the City of Westmount, an autonomous municipality enclosed within the larger boundaries of Montreal, roughly mark a new rise in ground culminating in Westmount Mountain. They also parallel a main north-south thoroughfare in Decarie Boulevard, which takes care of the main through traffic to and fro... the central and industrial areas to the south and south-east detours west around the mountain through N.D.G.

---

45. A.B. Hollingshead, op. cit. page 103.

The western part of the area consists largely of open fields which once were the object of real-estate speculation. Expansion in this direction has ceased and is now taking place towards the north-west and the Town of Hampstead. While the latter is a high-class residential suburb, it may be included as part of the natural area since it has no shopping center of its own. Neither are there any natural barriers separating the town from N.D.G. and building activity is closing the partial gap.

Three main commercial sub-centers have developed within N.D.G., with one or more second-run movie houses. Over one hundred firms advertise in the weekly "Monitor," a paper devoted to N.D.G. topics and distributed free. The largest sub-center has grown up along Sherbrooke Street, the principal east-west thoroughfare which cross-cuts the whole of Montreal and obeys McKenzie's definition of a "string street" in changing its ecological character with change of function in the natural area it traverses. The commercial concentration along this street is paralleled in the adjoining lower Westmount shopping district but separated from it by several blocks of apartment houses and other features. A smaller center has also grown at Girouard and Monkland Avenues, which carry north and west tram lines and still another further north at Snowdon Junction, an important tramway terminal and transfer point to suburban and satellite communities. While the railway traverses the area to the south, there is no rail stop. The area is well served, however by street car and bus lines which make the central area of the city easily and quickly accessible both around the north and south of the mountain.

Lower N.D.G.

N.D.G. speaks of itself broadly as upper and lower N.D.G.
There is a further gradual rise in ground level from the top of the
bluff already mentioned which forms the southern boundary; this rise
continues up to Cote St. Antoine Road which runs parallel to and
above Sherbrooke Street and is thought of as a dividing line. Below
the latter street N.D.G. is traversed by the Canadian Pacific Railway
tracks; beyond them St. James Street from the central area joins
Western Avenue and becomes Upper Lachine Road, which runs along the
top of the bluff and serves the heavy traffic east and west. Within
lower N.D.G. a further division is made as between "above the tracks"
and "below the tracks." While this will be recognized as a common
device of social ranking, it has here a peculiar physical basis in
that there are within N.D.G. only two railway underpasses which
permit communication between people on either side of the tracks;
only one admits motor traffic and a streetcar line. The other is
a small tunnel some blocks west used by pedestrians only.

There are other points of entry in lower Westmount which
have figured in the traditional and recent gang fights involving
sometimes several hundred boys in which the youth of lower Westmount
and N.D.G. are allied in defending their territory against encroach-
ments by the "St. Henry boys", the "Frenchies," from the low lying
industrial areas.

The section of N.D.G. below the track has the character
of a sub-area. It was first settled by railroad men within easy
access of the yards and is still known as a "railroad area." It
had a brief beginning also as a better class residential area overlooking
the flatlands along the river but with the expansion of industry has
steadily declined in desirability. Rentals here tend to their lowest
level for the entire ward. Some light industry is scattered through

this section as well as immediately above the tracks and for a time it was zoned for industry but in recent years has again reverted to residential status. While there are large tracts still unbuilt and some building is in progress, its future expansion is doubtful. Social workers state "they are building a slum."

Delinquency is a problem largely of lower N.D.G., except for a sprinkling of cases along the north-south traffic lanes in the vicinity of the commercial sub-centers.

Population

Every natural area in a community attracts, repels and finally selects a characteristic type of population differentiated along age, sex and occupational lines from those of other areas. In the process of urban expansion, N.D.G. grew from a "geographical expression" into a preferred residential area for the white-collar middle classes of largely British descent in less than a generation. In 1921 it was still largely unsettled.

> "   In 1931 more than one-sixth of all the residents of the area were British immigrants...Notre Dame de Grace has attracted, not merely new immigrants of the clerical class arriving since the war, but also those who have been economically successful in one of the older immigrant areas and who wish to register their economic success through a change of residence. Even greater in volume was the movement to Notre Dame de Grace of second generation immigrants. The Britisher mechanic's son or daughter who has "graduated" to the clerical class is frequently not content to remain permanently in an artisan area such as Rosemount and Maisonneuve. When he reaches the stage of setting up his own home and the choice must be made between establishing it in Maisonneuve or Notre Dame de Grace, the son will usually lean strongly towards the latter." (46)

In 1941 the population numbered 60,557, 68.1% of which were of British origin, 18.9% of French, 7 % of Jewish and 6% of others.

---

46. Lloyd G. Reynolds, op. cit. page 154

While the total population of the ward is still increasing, its British component is doing so at a slower rate than either French or Jewish. The percentage rate of increase for British origins from 1931 to 1941 was 25.3% as against 37.8% for the French and 29.3% for the Jewish groups.

While Notre Dame de Grace is the largest ward in extent of area within 4.56 square miles with the largest number of dwelling units and the second largest population, it is the fourth lowest in population denisty of the thirty-five wards of the city.

Occupation

Functionally N.D.G.'s population is distributed largely into clerical and service occupations. A sampling of five hundred N.D.G. families classified 19.9% as executives, 15.0% as salesmen and salespeople, 14.0% as office workers, 13.8% as in the professions, 16.7% as skilled labour while unskilled labour accounted for but 4.0%. (47)

Income

The same study found the income for the largest group of families, 63.8% to be between $1800. to $2500. annually; 31.4% received between $1000. to $1800.; 4.4% had incomes in excess of $2500.; 0.4% had incomes of less than $1000. a year.

The occupational distribution thus tends to bear out the income classification. If the money income is low at the white-collar occupation level, the "prestige income" is higher than the money income warrants when compared with the "hand worker" at less or differently specialized occupational levels.

Family

The small family group in N.D.G. is characteristic of the long-term decline in fertility which has been greatest in the professional, business and clerical groups and reflects the secularization of these

47. Canadian Facts, Toronto, Ont. 1940

classes. The N.D.G. family was found to consist of an average of 3.86 persons, 2.83 of which were adults, 0.79 were children of school age, and 0.24 small children.

Home

It was found that one in three families interviewed owned its own home; in comparison home ownership in Montreal as a whole is less than 15%. Conversely, two thirds of the families do not own their own home which is an index to the mobile character of the population and its economic level already described. The largest number of families, 47.2%, reside in duplexes; 38.3% in houses. 64% of those living in houses own them; 19% of those living in duplexes own them.

Ethnic Distribution

Within the area the segregation of the different ethnic groups persists as elsewhere in the city. The Catholic French population is concentrated mainly in the eastern part of the area along Decarie Boulevard and the boundaries of westmount where there is a group of ecclesiastical institutions, including those of the Sulpician Order, one of the oldest nuclei of settlement. A further French distribution is found in lower N.D.G. along Sherbrooke Street which, with the section to the south, is a mixed area.

The Jewish concentration is mainly in the north, where it overlaps into Mount Royal ward to the back of the mountain. A new Y.M.H.A. is about to be built there and an extension of already existing synagogue facilities is being planned.

West of these concentrations and north-west of Sherbrooke Street is the bulk of the homogeneous English population. Growth in this direction is indicated in plans for a new high school and the acquisition of new properties at the extreme north-west for recreational and playground purposes. While there is cultural

differentiation within the area, its basic functional character as a white-collar area is revealed by the fact that the French and Jewish groups tend to be drawn from the same class and occupational level as the dominant British.

Lower N.D.G.

As indicated, topographically lower N.D.G. is ranked lower, also in residential desirability because of the concentration here and the nature of transportation facilities. It receives lower ranking also because of the greater ethnic mixture. The group of British descent is, however, by far in the majority; the French are next. There are also some Russian families, a sprinkling of other origins and a block of Italians. The latter are the amazement of the others since it is said, "they came without a penny," and some of them managed to acquire quite large parcels of land. The population here is mixed also with respect to occupational status . Here are the railway families, laborers, transportation workers as well as a probably quite large group in clerical and service occupations.

B. INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL LIFE

Along with the segregation of a specific population type to an area, a measure of common life and consensus tends to develop. This is expressed partly in the formal and traditional institutions of the historical society which follow populations and are partly transformed to reflect their special character. Other groupings emerge which are more specifically an expression of the life of the area. Middle class institutions which have grown up in N.D.G. include fraternal orders and lodges, women's clubs, literary groups, patriotic societies, including some expressive of the British origin of the population, businessmen's associations, church auxiliaries, a Y.M.C.A., home and school associations. There is also a weekly

paper almost wholly devoted to local news. Other organizations which place N.D.G. in the wider urban and national context include political parties, among them two left-wing groups, city wide recreational and welfare agencies.

There are, in addition, Irish Catholic, French Catholic, and Jewish organizations. Such a varied associational life is indicative of a high degree of community consciousness. In response, however, to difficulties encountered by some ot these organizations in their work, a Community Council was established because of:

(1) "The discovery of the lack of understanding of the work of a number of important organizations in the community, like the Family Welfare.

(2) The incidence of juvenile delinquency with which the Y.M.C.A. was dealing.

(3) Need was felt in creating a strong combination of affiliated organizations whose representatives could interpret to their agencies community problems, which it was hoped, these agencies, when they sensed them would be prepared to act upon in cooperation with other agencies." (48)

The council has some forty-five affiliated clubs, organizations, agencies and institutions but does not include French representation. The establishment of a children's library is considered to date its greatest achievement. It concerns itself also with the development of parks and playgrounds, new and more adequate school facilities, eradication of noxious weeds, "undesirable conditions such as gambling, liquor problems, immorality," veteran's rehabilitation, police protection etc. It has discussed the possibilities of a war memorial in the form of a public library, a community music festival, a forum

---

48. From a speech by a Past President of the Council.

on public questions and similar projects, Initial leadership of the Council
has come largely from the Y.M.C.A.

Lower N.D.G.

Representation of lower N.D.G. on the Community Council has
been intermittent and there has been friction. Numerically the popul-
ation of lower N.D.G. is small, and is not sufficiently homogeneous
to support much group-life and common interests. This will be discussed
later. Both Catholics and Protestants have a school and a church and
there is one small mission. An old store has been turned into a boys'
club but lack of space and facilities limit participation. There is
a playground called a park but it has no trees. There is a Home and
School Association in connection with the Protestant school which has
led a precarious life. There is also a study group of mothers which
has maintained successful continuity under the guidance of a social
worker.

As already stated, lower N.D.G. divides into two sections.
geographically, below the track and a section above the track. As
far as upper N.D.G. is concerned, both are lumped under "below the
track." The people in the upper half, however, tend to rank them-
selves as superior to the lower; but their children who attend school
in upper N.D.G. complain of snobbery there. While boys' gangs on the
whole seem to divide along the lines of "above" and "below" they
nevertheless reflect this confused identification. The division
in the first place is reinforced by the fact that the Protestant
Gilson School district does not extend areally above the tracks.
But there are mixed gangs due to contact in the attractive parks
along Sherbrooke Street, both in N.D.G. and adjoining Westmount,
as well as contacts in the restaurants, stores, movies and other
attractions along this street. These features grant a kind of anon-
ymity not enjoyed elsewhere in the area by the adolescent. Seven

One social agency feels itself unwanted in the area. Workers are puzzled why N.D.G. people will not avail themselves to any great extent of the agency's advisory services. They explain it themselves by saying that the people are too "independent; they think of it as charity." Welfare agency drives are said to meet opposition for the same reason and the "entry of agencies is not welcomed." Conversely, "N.D.G. always pays its bills." While the Y.M.C.A., a middle class institution, feels it can raise any amount, the Montreal Boy's Association, whose main functions are identified with lower class areas, is said to experience undue difficulty in getting financial support for its work in lower N.D.G. Proposals for special classes for retarded children in the schools drew protest from parents, partly because they are thought to reflect on the area. A committee on low cost housing has failed so far to make headway because of similar objections. With respect to delinquency, a special meeting called to consider action on the problem ended with a resolution "to affirm our faith in the young people of N.D.G." and, in effect, denied that the problem existed. It was barely voted down. One probable motive behind the resolution is often highlighted in court situations in which the insecure parent will anxiously defend the child because he feels that his own failure or success as a parent is being decided by the court. As a group attitude it probably reflects status anxiety in the mobile white-collar group, which is further revealed in the frequent remark, "This talk about delinquency in N.D.G. must be kept down." Also heard is the bland statement that "there is no delinquency in N.D.G.," which is, as will be seen below, an expression of indifference to, or actual ignorance of, the problem as well as a class attitude.

Mobility and Cultural Conflict

Antagonisms and expressions of social distance, seem more directly to be the result of the mobility of N.D.G.'s population, attendant differentiation, cultural conflict, and emergent attitudes of subordination and superordination. Sorokin has made a distinction between horizontal and vertical mobility. The first refers to movements of individuals or groups in physical space within the same culture and at the same social level; vertical or social mobility is

> "the movement of individuals or groups from one
> social position to another and the circulation
> of cultural objects, values and traits among
> individuals and groups." (49)

This refers to social circulation, the movement of individuals up or down the social ladder within the hierarchy of the social classes. Social mobility is thus closely allied to occupational stratification.

N.D.G. is a society still in the making. According to the Dominion Census of 1941, of the total population of N.D.G., more than one third, 23,805 individuals were born outside of the Province of Quebec. Some ten thousand of them were born in the British Isles. The Census does not state how many were born within the ward. In view of the rapid growth of N.D.G. it seems legitimate to subtract a good part of the child population as having been born within the ward. This leaves one with the inference that a majority of adults which remain after discounting those not born in the province have moved to N.D.G. from other parts of the city and of Quebec Province. This, moreover, is almost certainly so for the French group which represents not quite one-fifth of the population. A large part of the British group has chosen N.D.G. as the area of second settlement. Factors operative in

---

49. P.A. Sorokin, <u>SOCIAL MOBILITY</u>, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume X, page 554.

selecting population to N.D.G. may be classified as changes in occupational, income and thereby class level of individuals and families, and ethnic pressures. The English population of Montreal assigns a high residential status to N.D.G.

Basic is identification with the relatively homogeneous British background of its residents and with the "English west-end" of the city. The contiguity of the area to Montreal's superior suburban residential communities increases its status value. Furthermore, for the ambitious wage earner or artisan and for his children, the class level of the salaried white collar worker is the next rung on the social ladder in the process of upward mobility. Expressions of this are easy to secure.

"Our girls in Verdun think that going with a fellow in Notre Dame de Grace is a real good catch." He is thought of as a "wealthy fellow." A Rosemount family spoke with pride and envy of their friends, "They are moving to N.D.G." Characteristic is, "We would like to move to N.D.G. and get our children out of this roughhouse. People around here are all French. The kids are always fighting and have no one to play with." Good school facilities, superior housing are uniformly expected as well as playgrounds and parks and easy communication with all parts of the city, especially the central area. Ethnic pressures operate in several ways in bringing about movement into the area. There is first the high and sometimes critical degree of self-consciousness pertaining to the two main culture groups in Montreal. The English, though numerically and politically inferior, enjoy the dominant economic positions against the French who are the political and cultural

majority. Each group, however, is similarly structured into upper and lower classes. There is, for example, a Junior League and a League de la Jeunesse. There are Les Ouvriers Catholiques as well as labour unions. Withih the class structure of the English economic dominance may be a factor in reinforcing the process of mobility into white collar occupations, in the direction of closer identification with the classes of directors and managers of corporate enterprise. One boy who had been employed in a factory under a French foreman told the writer,

> "I am going back to night school. I am going
> to work in an office. I am not going to be
> bossed around by any so and so Frenchman."

This is an indication that ethnic pressures operate towards occupational segregation. It is probably true that the drift of the English into white collar and managerial positions is more rapid than that of the French. In any event it is much easier for them and the drift has been continuous. Another example may illustrate how this conflict may induce mobility and partial segregation. One of a group of boys who wanted to get into the Merchant Marine, was asked why he wanted to "get away from Rosemount," an area of first British settlement. He stated with surprising heat, "Hell, we are getting out. The Frenchies are coming in!" Many families have settled in N.D.G. or elsewhere to escape these pressures.

Such considerations are pertinent in order to convey something of the self-consciousness of the people in the area, its social and economic stratification and "status anxiety."

The divisions and antagonisms present in the larger community and society continue to jeopardize consensus and collective action within N.D.G. Thus the Jewish and French culture groups are not

readily accepted as part of the community, though the first is
represented on the council. The second leads its own relatively closed
cultural life. Leading members of the Council privately expressed the
traditional concern about the growth of the institutions of these
groups and their influx into the area. One can see reactivated those
attitudes of withdrawal which have led to segregation of the British
in N.D.G. in the first place. A prominent member of the council was
asked why no French Canadians were affiliated. He answered that there
was "no reason. It was just overlooked." The meaning of the answer
is not obvious but its source in traditional attitudes is clear. The
real or imagined threat represented by these different culture groups
probably acts to reinforce the insecurity of families and
individuals which may be assumed to be present because of the
recency of settlement of a good part of the population. In the
process of imigration, the family is stripped of communal and social
ties and tends to become the typical small urban family adapted and
adapting to the demands of a competitive environment. Adults moving
to N.D.G. are essentially in the family of procreation. Their
parents have remained in other parts of the city, country or overseas.
The mobile family is therefore removed from primary controls of the
older generation or kinship group. If the class status of the family
approximates that of the new area of residence, its social resources
may be adequate to establish eventually its social place. At first,
however, families and individuals have to contend with the attitudes
towards the outsider trying to gain entry into an already established
pattern of social relations. This applies to children who try to
establish themselves in existing cliques, playgrounds, gangs and
schools, as well as to the parents. Participation in the association-
al life of N.D.G. as elsewhere is motivated in part by this drive for
status.

When movement involves also a change in class level, the problem of the newcomer is intensified. This group also lacks the support of the kin-group and older generation. Moreover, with respect to newcomers in this group, the change is from hand worker and artisan occupational level into the white-collar and clerical group. The concommittant movement up the social ladder at these levels tends to be especially productive of anxiety. It involves changes in physiological perspective, the acquisition of new behavior, new ideological orientation (50). The new behavior required of mobile individuals is at first felt strange and external by them. Moreover, the established group tends to look upon the newcomer as one who is usurping their manners and interests. Thus people in this group may feel continually on the defensive and afraid of criticism and ridicule. One result tends to be social, economic and moral conservatism. Another source of anxiety may be in the conflict of the old loyalties to the parent generation with the requirements of new status. This may lead to hostility to the old associations and insistence on maintaining social distance from them. Accomodation between competing classes to one another may be brought about by residential segregation; but more important is the creation of social distances. These arise gradually out of differences in habitual behavior and of the difficulty and impossibility of close contact of any number of members of one class with those of another. In N.D.G. neither residential segregation nor social differentiation appear sufficiently marked to prevent friction between the two divisions, even though both types of accomodation are in evidence. Both population types are highly mobile

---

50. There is evidence, for example, that trade union attitudes and sentiments survive among British artisan families in lower N.D.G. These are opposed to the individualistic middle class ideology identified with the managers and directors of industry.

and the smiliarities between them probably greater than the differences.
Moreover, because of the relative isolation imposed upon lower N.D.G.
by ethnic and ecological factors from the rest of the city, its population
is under continual pressure to identify itself with the interests of
upper N.D.G. which in turn is oriented towards Westmount and areas of
similar status.

Upper N.D.G. expresses its distance from people "below" by
characterizing them as "mostly poor people." They are thought of as
in need of charity, not well educated; "they say 'ain't' and 't'ain't.' "
The children of the families tend to be considered rowdy, uncontrolled,
and delinquency is not unexpected. Neglect of the parents may be
blamed for it; in one discussion it was said there was no need for
both parents working in war plants. "They are out now for all they
can get. The women ought to be made to stay home and look after
their children." Their morality may be considered different and infer-
ior as in a statement made at a meeting in upper N.D.G., "These people
simply must be brought up to our standards."

Others will not recognize "below the tracks" and its
population as part of the area at all. Some residents thought it
was "not fair" to speak of delinquent children in N.D.G. since
their families were not N.D.G. families at all and the children had
brought delinquent behavior with them from elsewhere. When the writer
presented the cases of these boys to an N.D.G. group for action, he
purposely refrained from stressing their previous delinquency since
he was afraid of encountering this very attitude.

It is probably true for much of upper N.D.G. that, "Well,
we just never thought of them or of anything below Sherbrooke Street."
Those physically and socially furthest removed show almost complete

incomprehension of any problem and sometimes have a vague knowledge only
of what part of the area is under discussion. This is understandable
if only because of the geographic extent of the total area as well as
the physical barriers which limit contact. In this respect the relation-
ship between the two sections is a functional one only. Since there
is no contact there is no conflict and since there is no conflict, there
is no problem.

Lower N.D.G. feels discriminated against on several specific
counts. Complaints, however, appear to come largely from below the
tracks. Clerical workers and salespeople are perhaps the most artic-
ulate in expressing resentment against attitudes of superordination
by "Mortgage Heights" as upper N.D.G. is sometimes called.

For example, Gilson School, which serves that section of
the area is thought of as the stepchild among schools. It is a
wooden one-storey structure which from the first two rooms some
twenty-five years ago has periodically been added to at ground level
without provision of connecting corridors. To enter any room, one
must either walk around outside or pass through classes in session.
Teachers say that while "important visitors" will go to other N.D.G.
schools, they rarely visit "below the tracks."

Inadequate playing facilities and one inadequate boys'
club in an old store are also causes for complaints. The people
express interest in such organizations as the Community Council, Boy
Scouts, Sea Scouts and so forth but complain that no attention is
paid to the needs of their children. Most institutions have waited for
them to come. When they did, they have been met with disregard and

discrimination, leaving lower N.D.G. with the feeling that "our suggestions carry no weight." Persons who expressed themselves thus did so after intermittent attempts to present their case to the Council. There had been open conflict. At one meeting a woman representative from below exclaimed, "at least we have no murderers down below," referring to an episode which did not take place in N.D.G. at all but in adjoining Westmount. Identification of the latter area with N.D.G. was probably not accidental. Inferiority feelings are marked. Women admit being ashamed at having to tell prospective visitors that they live "in that part" of N.D.G.

Refusal to accept subordinate status has other sources. "We are as good as they are" also springs from the fact that people here consider residence in the area a decided register of success, even though it is "below the tracks." There are tendencies making for an uneasy equilibrium. A rough evaluation of the status of members of an association in lower N.D.G. proved revealing. This represents a definitely selected group, first, because the person who supplied the names was anxious to demonstrate that lower N.D.G. compared favorably with the rest of the area; secondly, leadership of this association can be taken to consist of the most mobile elements of lower N.D.G. This group included a nurse, characterized as "a climber;" the wife of a bank clerk "who is usually president;" a radio technician "up and coming;" a foreign-born technician "very active;" a colored woman "respected though she works;" a mechanic, also coloured," who has been secretary, comfortably off." It was mentioned that his children played intimately with the white children although the parent had experienced some discrimination. Others included and characterized in one way or another as mobile were railway men or their wives, electricians, salesmen. It is, perhaps, significant

that this group includes as leaders individuals who may be assumed to be more or less marginal persons who are likely the first to be, or to feel, excluded from the dominant group. (51)

Accomodation and Segregation

Attitudes of accomodation are expressed in statements such as "We have a little community of our own," "We are like a little country town." The nucleus of organized groups to which this refers may, to some extent, be consciously intended to parallel similar ones in upper N.D.G. This may apply also to periodic informal card parties in aid of some welfare or other and similar groupings. The fact though that they are in part inspired and led by social workers reduces their status in upper N.D.G. A minority of members and participants are drawn from the area immediately above the railway tracks, the upper half of lower N.D.G. A difficult situation is created sometimes for children of artisan parents who educationally and occupationally have qualified for participation in upper N.D.G. Processes of isolation and segregation which tend to produce the competitive and parallel organized groups of lower N.D.G. also, as will be seen, lead to the emergence of gangs. The chief difference is that in the adult society they take a socially approved form, whereas, under certain conditions, gangs may become delinquent. The initial process would seem to be that of discrimination and isolation. A fundamentalist preacher who grew up here stated,

> "   We always went to church and school in our
> own group. When the teacher or somebody asked
> us where we lived and we told them they made you
> chily all over the way they said, 'Oh, that's where
> you live?' Wherever we went up there, they treated
> us as bloody bums." (These are the exact words used.)

---

51. As Park and Burgess state, "Exiled variants from several groups under auspicious circumstances may in turn form a community where the process of selection will be directly opposite to that in their native groups. In the new community, the process of selection naturally accentuates and perfects the traits originally responsible _____" Park and Burgess, op. cit. page 232.

While N.D.G.'s delinquents come from both above and below the tracks, the present gang came largely from above. No conclusions, however, are valid with respect to the incidence of frequency of delinquent cases from above or below.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FAMILIES OF FIVE YOUNG GANGSTERS

Introduction

To speak of the "modern urban family" amounts to little more than saying that the family is in a process of change in organization and function. There is as yet no typical mode of organized family life such as could once be described as typical of the pre-industrial community. There are, however, many emergent family forms which, as Mowrer has shown, (52) are characteristic of differentiated urban areas. A social worker described upper N.D.G. families as "child-run" and the lower as "parent-run." This confirms broad observation and what one might expect to find in an area of this kind. If verified, this might signify a difference between the white-collar equalitarian family with a tendency to the filiocentric, perhaps, under pressures of upward mobility, against the patriarchal type of first generation English and Scottish artisan and wage-earning family. In view of the rapid growth of the area as well as its social mobility, great fluidity in type, however, can be assumed. As was noted in the previous chapter, there is a variety of occupational types within N.D.G., both white-collar and artisan though dominantly of the former. Within the white-collar group also there are stratifications which probably correspond to differences in class level. One may assume then, that there are considerable time differentials with respect to the history of mobility of groups of families. The group of five families described in the present chapter are all characterized by recency of mobility, both horizontal and vertical. Vertical mobility

---

52. Ernest E. Mowrer, FAMILY DISORGANIZATION, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1927, Chapter V," The Ecology of Family Disorganization."

may, perhaps, be asserted of all of them despite the fact that, though there are differences between them in occupational level, in only one case (Case Five) was change of residence accompanied by upward change in occupational level, and this in the children. For the rest, change in residence was an expression of "social hunger" symbolic of improved status rather than an actual change. In origin, cultural background and tradition, mobility, the problem families undoubtedly are representative of many others in N.D.G. and with respect to occupational status, as noted, at least of others in their section of N.D.G. In every case, the adults were born in the British Isles or possessions. The adults migrated independently and finally married. Migration, usually, involves some disorganization. This becomes more marked the more the culture of the immigrant differs from that of the new environment. Nevertheless, disorganization may result even in the case of the country person or family moving to the city. It may be true also for the British immigrant to Canada, even though he is able to carry over some major definitions. Some of the parents seem to have made good personal adjustments but not all of them. The effect, however, becomes apparent in the children. (Chapter Five)

On their arrival, all these families settled in the older areas of immigration where there was little neighbourhood life, institutional controls external or non-existent. There were few or no playgrounds for the children and a gang tradition already established. The depression, changes of job, fluctuating economic status, brought with them frequent changes of address. Incipient friendships, neighbourhood ties, had to be continually dissolved or were not established because of residence in areas where others were equally mobile. Their move to N.D.G. was in the hope of escaping this isolation. It was a profound social gesture. They uniformly expressed their hope of better

influences for their children and of wanting to be with people like themselves. Some of the families were already disorganized, but all of them, one may safely assume, came self-consciously in search of status. They entered N.D.G. at the bottom and settled in the "fissure" where their lives continued in relative isolation from the larger society.

In this process of moving through unstable and undefined personal and social relationships it was inevitable that there should have been dissociation between the family and its members, and the institutions and the moral norms of the community. The effect would be interstitial, individualistic definitions and behavior. The families and its members failed to become fully integrated into the social system. In the family histories that follow, the major life situations in their respective careers are presented with stress upon those which seem to have been significant in predisposition to delinquent behavior.

While the total group involved eight boys, it was not possible to gather sufficient material on the other three, largely because administrative procedures of the Juvenile Court required that their cases be dealt with by someone else. Some data, however, with respect to their gang personalities were available and are included in the chapter on Gang Behavior.

Case One: Bruce McLeod

Bruce is pale, dark and tall and shows nervous characteristics. His face is weak. He talks little and rarely smiles. When confronted with some situation he dislikes he is given to long arguments as to why he is unable to do this or that. he has a slight stutter about which he has always been self-conscious. his outstanding trait was said to be that "he liked feeling important," which, in part, he tries

to achieve by quite impossible stories about his prowess or past experiences. He is fond of sports in which he has achieved some distinction. Since the death of his mother, to whom he was greatly attached, his main confidants have been known delinquents and the gang rather than his brothers. He is now seventeen but had shown no delinquent tendencies up to two years ago, when, along with some young adults, he took part in a theft and burglary for which he appeared in court.

In school he was never very brilliant, made little effort, and always "thought he knew it all." Intermittent later attempts to continue in an evening school ended in failure to pass examinations or in loss of interest. With regard to educational or vocational goals, he is often given to sudden enthusiasms and resolutions which quickly peter out.

His father, born in Scotland, had been in a railway office. After several years, he lost his job because of drink. Mrs. MacLeod was also born outside Canada and it was she who was largely instrumental in keeping the family together and seeing two of her boys through university. There are four children in the family, including one girl, now married. Bruce was the youngest. Life in the MacLeod home was never very happy. Mr. MacLeod was a heavy drinker, and often grew violent and insisted on senseless prohibitions to assert his authority. Among other things, he used to lock his wife in her room to prevent her going to church. He finally deserted home and his present whereabouts are unknown.

The father was in the home until Bruce was twelve years old. All the other children were close to the mother; the father accused her of alientating their affection from him and trying to buy

them off. On the whole, he showed little concern for the children and Bruce showed no affection for him. Bruce was greatly attached to his mother and "went to pieces" when she died. An index of this dependence may be the exceptionally long period before Bruce was weaned, at two and a half years. With her death the family broke up and Bruce moved in rotation from relative to relative who finally rejected him among other reasons because of minor thefts. Only his relatively successful brothers did not desert him, in part hoping to protect the family from further disgrace. Bruce, however, shows a deep rooted inferiority with respect to his brothers, if not actual dislike. He accepts their help outwardly as a matter of course but will do little to meet their requests for various concessions on his part. They complain that he does not take them into his confidence and that the gang has been stronger than their influence. Bruce took several war bonds from one married brother with whom he was living and took the gang travelling with him on the proceeds. (53)

Case Two: Lewis Garrett

Lewis' family is completely broken. A brother is in Reform School. Two younger brothers were charged with desertion by their father and were later placed with an agency. A sister too had deserted home and was given into the care of an organization for delinquent girls. There had been a question of her living with a married man. Later a younger brother also had to be placed.

Lewis himself, before his present court appearance, had been committed to a boys' home from which he ran away and became involved with this gang.

---

53. Family data had to be secured chiefly from a brother whom the writer had known for some years without knowledge of the family, as stated in the case, Court contact was on a personal plane. For this reason the informant showed great protectiveness and anxiety and the data remain unreliable. Anxiety, partly due to a desire to protect the family, was reinforced by this personal factor.

His father is a carpenter who can neither read nor write. He was born in Newfoundland and had himself run away from home at the age of nine. He is known as excessively strict but says he could never do much with Lewis.

His wife was born in Scotland. Before her marriage she worked as a domestic, had several jobs, never keeping one for any length of time. Besides her seven children, she had a number of miscarriages. She was considered a pleasant person, but mentally retarded. She is said to have been weak and over-protective in her attitudes towards the children. Shortly after her death two years ago, the children refused to stay with their father and the family disintegrated.

Lewis is of medium height, lanky, ruddy-complexioned, speaks in a rather detached manner and shows no dissatisfaction with the irregular life he has been leading.

He was born in Pointe St. Charles. The family moved several times before coming to N.D.G. where he says he likes it better because there is more skating, hockey, football. He used to belong to the Lions and to the Scouts.

In school he repeated several grades; he was in three different schools and left in fifth grade with a record of truancies. His work record is one of nondescript delivery and labouring jobs, none of which he held for very long.

Most of his leisure he has spent in gangs, both below and above the track and at sports which were mostly unorganized. He liked sitting around the parks, smoking with the other boys and with them he used to frequent the movies in the west end and downtown.

He has been leading an irregular, disorganized life in which there were few possibilities for him to develop positive and desirable habits. He has had no home life of any description for a long time. Frequent desertions from home date back some three years

and included trips with the gang to Plage Laval, a favourite river resort, and Toronto. He has been stealing for almost as long. The chances for his adjustment are poor.

Case Three: Bert Andrews

Bert is not yet sixteen. Physically he is well developed. In manner and outlook he is more set and mature than many boys of his age. He suffers from no particular emotional problems. Street life from the age of four was familiar to him. He and his only brother had a record of extensive truancies from their first year of school on. His brother died in a street accident at the age of ten. Shortly afterwards, his family moved from Rosemount to N.D.G. where he entered school and continued to be truant. Finally he left in sixth grade. Previous delinquent behavior includes minor thefts at an early age, thefts from parked cars for which he was never apprehended, gambling which brought an appearance and dismissal in Court. In the gang's activities under review he was found to have shown initiative and some organizing spirit. With present facilities his ultimate adjustment is doubtful.

Both parents are British-born. They settled first in older areas of immigration and moved several times before coming to N.D.G., partly in the hope of finally adjusting the boy to school, which failed. The family did not suffer much from the depression. Mr. Andrews is employed with the railway and does not belong to any community insitution. Mrs. Andrews might have participated more if her husband had permitted. Mr. Andrews is absent from home at work for more than a week sometimes and this, together with their past mobility in areas where institutional life is weak, is in part

responsible for their present isolation from the community. This means

they do not often attend church, belong to no lodges, clubs or civic

organizations. Hence, too, they were weak in their support of the

school for their boys. The community makes a few claims on the family.

Mr. and Mrs. Andrews are not happily mated. Mr. Andrews

used to be a heavy drinker, violent in speech and action, and suffering

from intermittent illnesses. Mrs. Andrews, while superficially

subordinate to her husband, is rather easy-going and a sociable person,

inclinations which she has had to sacrifice at the cost of considerable

tension and dissatisfaction in marriage. Mr. Andrews also clings

uncomprimisingly to the old country standards and attitudes for the sake

of his own security. They are much too rigid and outmoded in the

Canadian urban setting, impossible to live up to for the boy, even if

he wanted to. Apparently they also were habitually dressed in

sarcasm, making them especially unattractive for a growing boy.

In contrast, Mrs. Andrews dimly realized the inadecuacy

of these ideas. Her solution has been to take the path of least

resistance and simply let the boy drift to find his own way. In

addition, partly because of the conflict with her husband, and

partly because Bert is now her only child, she tried to wean the boy

away from his father and over-favoured him.

Bert did state that he liked his mother best, but added

carefully it was only because she gives him money when he wants it.

He stated he was not afraid of his father and added, with a grin,

"He is of me, but ' don't show it. I just let him hit me. He is

sick and he can't control me. I always get my way." He is thus

quite conscious of the weakness of the parents and thoroughly enjoys

the feeling that they cannot control him. Meanwhile, early street
life and the gang appear to have given him whatever his home lacked,
including training in large areas of life where home and community
failed to supply it. He is perfectly adjusted to his world. He
himself recognizes the hold it has on him. As he says, "I would like
to break away from the gang, but I know that even if I walked in my
sleep, I'd be walking up to the corner. "

Between a weak mother and a rigid father, the boy grew
up dependent on neither and found his fullest scope for development
in gang life.

Case Four: Charles Barker

Charles is now over fifteen. He is "a fresh air fiend;"
he wants to be out of doors. His complaint is that "there is nothing
to do at home." Physically he is not very strong, mentally he is
slow, but restless and dissatisfied. In the gang he is considered
"a bit of a sissy" and is always a willing follower. His closest
friend is John Coleman, an unstable boy without much courage, but
able to persuade Charles and himself to be daring.

Charles has one brother, younger by about one year
and a half. He lost his mother at the age of five and was brought
up by his father and grandparents until his tenth year. His father
remarried at that time to give the boys a home. They moved frequently
and Charles has been in five different schools and finally left in
sixth grade. His truancies were extensive and began in fourth grade.
He developed a successful lying technique whereby he often escaped
discovery. On one occasion, by bribing his brother, he managed to
hide almost three months of absence from the school while he had a
job on the racetracks. He only likes outdoor jobs, as on a delivery
wagon. He holds no other job for long. His main ambition is to

travel and he has deserted home a few times. His father wanted him to be a designer since he appears to have better than average ability in drawing; for this his schooling is insufficient.

During the last two years he has fallen in with older boys and has become increasingly "bossy, cheeky and independent" and has sometimes stayed out all night.

His father came from England where he had been in the civil service and has held a similar post since he came to Canada and to Montreal. He settled first in N.D.G., moved to Verdun, to Pointe St. Charles, then back to N.D.G. about two years ago because of what he hoped would be better influences and better school facilities for the boy. He is quiet, sincere and his son's activities have been a blow to him. His second wife, too, was born in England and had been a professional musician and had travelled extensively. She is sensitive about her role as step-mother and has often bent the stick back in order not to be identified with the stereotype.

Charles has what is usually called a good home. His parents seem to understand one another. While not overly well-to-do, there is a steady income.

The factors which stand out in Charles' case are; first, his mother died when he was five years old. It is said that she had spoilt him. There is no indication in the history of how this affected the boy. At five years the mother was still the center of the child's world. He must have suffered a sense of loss which is probably reflected in his restlessness, even though he became very much attached to his grandmother who looked after him for the next four years. Also, as in most families of the boys involved, the environment in which he grew did not remain stable. The family moved eight times during the boy's life. This change of habitat involved demands for adjustment to five

different school situations, each one with new competitive demands.
He ran away from it frequently. In addition he is somewhat retarded,
as much a result as a cause. French and Arithmetic gave him special
difficulties. As he himself states, "Every time a lesson came up, I
couldn't do it, so I didn't like school anymore." The river banks
in Verdun were an attractive alternative to school. In the corner
gang he could forget the sense of frustration and inadequacy which
he suffered in the school room. His gang already included known
delinquents. The move to N.D.G. did not change anything except that
at first he found it difficult to adjust and often went back to Verdun
to see his old friends.

He appears to have moved through the first three school
grades without truancy. The reason for this may be that he was
closely attached to his grandparents and his father. He expressed
himself to that effect.

As he grew, his father failed to think of him with new
problems of adolescence. Though Mr. Barker had known that Charles
was smoking for two years, he did not allow him to smoke in the
house. In fact Charles did not know that his father was aware of
this habit. The secrecy and possible sense of guilt attached to his
smoking must have made him find ways and means a hundred times to
get out of the house. The parents' lack of insight is revealed
also in their failure to provide sex education. Mr. Barker justified
this by saying that the boy was too young at sixteen and that he
himself received no instruction before this age.

The boy's drive to be out was met only with increased
and intermittent severity. Mr. Barker did not see much of the boy
as he works in shifts which periodically keep him from home in the
evening. He also works Sunday, the one day when families do come

together. On the other hand, his stepmother had never felt quite accepted by the boy and her disciplining has been sporadic. This made it possible for the boy and encouraged him to circumvent authority by a good lying technique, to escape from home where there was nothing for him to do. Again, the gang supplied his need for being understood and fostered his particular interests. He followed into delinquency rather than was led. He has feelings of guilt and shame about what happened and is anxious that his grandmother should not know. He did not wish his father to know of his quest for sexual knowledge. His chances for adjustment are about even.

Case Five: Herb King

Herb is fourteen. He is slightly built, well-mannered, somewhat inhibited. His Court appearance has depressed him considerably. His father died of tuberculosis shortly after Herb came to Court.

He has not been much of a problem at home. The only indication that he may have been getting into mischief was last summer when he had been absent from home a few times. On one occasion he went to Toronto in company of Garrett and MacLeod, on the proceeds of war bonds which the latter had stolen from his brother.

Both parents are British-born and came to N.D.G. after several years of residence in Pointe St. Charles at several different addresses.

Mr. King was a railroad man. He was gassed in the last war and contracted tuberculosis. He had been bedridden and hospitalized for several years before his recent death. Herb's misdemeanors were successfully kept from him. Mrs. King has been very strict with the boy and Herb is somewhat afraid of her.

Herb's school years were impeded by an illness and during the time that other boys begin their normal play life he was sheltered and coddled. He grew up with three sisters and a brother, all older than himself and there is one younger sister also. Of the four girls, three completed high school, one attends now, and two graduated from business college. His brother has been overseas in the Airforce for four years.

The main factors in Herb's case are strong inferiority feelings. Among his successful sisters, he has come to think of himself as the family dunce. Like so many other boys who find school difficult, he longed for the day when he could leave school and go to work. He always felt that he was slow. His sisters were always pressing him to make high school and eventually college. As sisters will, they were patronizing and protective of their younger brother and Herb had little opportunity to assert himself at home. Thereto must be added the fact of a tubercular father whose illness made the home atmosphere oppressive at a time when adolescent drives made the boy especially restless and in need of guidance.

Nondescript jobs met these drives only partly. When the dare came he felt compelled to prove his manhood. He was the least enthousiastic participant in the gang's activities and entered into them only after considerable pressure.

His chances for rehabilitation are good.

C H A P T E R   F O U R

GANG BEHAVIOR

Introduction

In this chapter the growth of the gang, its structure and activities, and its gradual maturation in criminality are described. It will appear as an interstitial group in an interstitial area. The term "interstitial" was first used in this sense by F.M. Thrasher (54) in the conceptualization of his studies of Chicago gangs. He says,

> "   The most important conclusion suggested by a study of the location and distribution of 1,313 gangs investigated in Chicago is that gangland represents a geographically and socially interstitial area in the city. Probably the most significant concept of the study is the term interstitial - that is, pertaining to spaces that intervene between one thing and another. In nature foreign matter tends to collect and cake in every crack and crevice and cranny - interstices. There are also fissures and breaks in the structure of social organization. The gang may be regarded as an interstitial element in the framework of society, and gangland as an interstitial region in the layout of the city." (55)

Interstitial areas and interstitial groups emerge from the lag between the ecological and social organization.

The first effects of the introduction of competition and mobility in a society are to break up the traditional system of accomodation and social control, to create new and wider areas within which control becomes necessary, to weaken the local defining agencies in communities into which the migrants go and to bring into contact heterogeneous groups and individuals. From the needs for security,

---

54. Thrasher, op. cit.
55. ibid, page 22.

for belonging somewhere, for recognition, emerge some reorganization of social relations and new means of control. A middle class association quite as much as a boys' gang are products of such situations.

Previously in this study were described some tensions and antagonisms attendant upon attempts of a population aggregate to stabilize and integrate a new system of social relations and to develop some kind of self-conception. The histories of five mobile and individualized families were related who in their search for economic and social place settled in lower N.D.G. It was noted that the families and the subarea in which they lived were little or not at all integrated with the larger community. One may say, on the whole, that lower N.D.G. is not included in the view upper N.D.G. has of itself. It was noted also that the family, like other institutions, becomes weakened in the process of mobility and tends to lose its institutional character to the point where it has no status in the community. This, in turn, results in the impairment of control over its members.

The failure of the family and community organization to incorporate the young individual releases him to his own definitions and exposes him to conflict. Under such conditions children and adolescents become segregated into societies of their own. Left to define their own behavior, their activities eventually may come to clash with the norms of the adult society. In the gang, the situation, at first, is undefined but a structure of personalities and roles emerges and behavior opposed to that prescribed by the community. In as far as such behavior is delinquent, it is initially a product of personal-social interaction and incidental only to a host of other and experimental activity. It becomes more systematic in contact and interaction with the latent and pervasive criminal culture of the larger community.

The Basis of Rapport

A brief summary at this point would seem necessary to an understanding of special aspects of the gang's behavior and self-consciousness. While this gang, in part, did emerge from a much larger playgroup, the latter differed materially from the playgroup in a city slum. The life conditions of any group in N.D.G. have little overt resemblance to those of a delinquent area as described for instance by Sullenger.

> "   The slum, with its out-of-doors in the street
> is a university which schools the child in the
> vagaries of sex, the rules of gangdom, the art
> of outwitting the policeman, and other predatory
> habits long before he begins life on his own
> responsibility." (56)

This is not to deny that these processes operate to some extent upon the children in suburban N.D.G. as elsewhere. Rather it is to stress that they are particularly effective upon the spontaneous and unsupervised child societies in the slums. The children there are born into them and their frequently traditional delinquent pattern. In contrast, playgroups in N.D.G. in which these boys moved and participated are largely supervised and organized. They are adjuncts to the home rather than substitutes for it as in gangland. While there is a sporadic pattern of ganging in their part of the area, delinquent activity has been intermittent and scattered, and has not been a normally accepted pattern. It is true that some of the boys had had experience with delinquent behavior prior to coming to N.D.G. Their depredations, however, are not to be explained simply as persistence of habit. For one thing, they did not, as far as can be discovered, again engage in systematic delinquency until they were part of a gang once more. For another, delinquent habits tend to

56. T. Earl Sullenger, SOCIAL DETERMINANTS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, (New York, John Wiley and Sons Inc.,) 1936, page 76.

disappear when individuals move to non-delinquent areas, (57) or into communities that are organized against such behavior. In this connection it is, perhaps, significant that some of the boys failed to gain a new vantage point for prestige and status; the established adolescent groups did not take kindly to newcomers. Attempts at acceptance into existent delinquent and non-delinquent gangs failed. Isolation and segregation from the main-stream of adolescent life in N.D.G. reflect also character-istics of transitional class status of homes in a socially mobile area. Thus it was found that the social contacts of the boys were with groups of different class levels (Chapter Five). The gang, in part, emerged in response to this marginal situation. There was also individual failure to come up to the behavior expectations of the dominant culture pattern, failure to meet standards of competitive achievement in sports and school. The latter, especially, is important in the social ranking and associations of the middle class child and relatively unimportant to the lower class areas and in the slums. There was failure to make occupational adjustments and failure generally to make the transition from childhood into adult society. One must add also the breakdown of family control and unsatisfactory relations within the family and the existence of an institutional gap in lower N.D.G., at least to the extent that existing institutions are not particularly adequate to the needs and tastes of this part of the area. Failure, therefore, to achieve adequate status and participation in the life of the community was a large element of individual experience which the boys brought to gang life and which formed the basis of an easy rapport.

---

57. E.H. Sutherland, op. cit., pages 78-79.

The Hangout

The gang, in part, grew out of the casual and repeated groupings of a number of boys and girls in restaurants, parks, movies, schools and playgrounds. Coleman and MacLeod had been boarders for a time in the home of Bert Andrews. Coleman and Barker also had been neighbours when living at previous addresses and maintained their friendship. The final active nucleus emerged only with the beginning of systematic delinquencies. Others who had joined them in their wanderings dropped away but remained as an admiring or critical audience for the inner circles' criminal exploits, more or less well informed about them. Similar needs, wishes, dispositions drew the boys together and common experience molded them into an elementary society identified with a definite habitat and a central hangout.

Playgroups and gangs, as Thrasher has shown, tend to have a definite geographic basis which may be thought of in terms of the imaginative world in which the gang boy lives.

> "   This is the realm of adventure centering in
> the hangout, which the gang boy regards as his
> castle. The area immediately surrounding this
> cherished spot is home territory, beyond which
> lies the lands of the enemy. Most of the activities
> of the gang have a definite relation to this geo-
> graphic division of its world." (58)

A measure of isolation is necessary for the self-conception and integration of a group as it is for the individual personality. Relations within an elementary society, such as the gang, are dependent upon interaction at the personal and face-to-face level within the sense range of individuals.

---

58. Thrasher, op. cit. page 123.

This requires a definite locale where the boys can meet, loaf, brag, plan, maintain rapport, and, of course, escape supervision and adult interference. Moreover, for an interstitial group in an interstitial area, the hangout serves as a clubroom for boys who have found conventional agencies not to their taste or non-existant.

The hangout of this gang was a small restaurant store, the usual "hole in the wall" affair, located on Sherbrooke Street in the main section of the commercial subcenter. The two parks in the vicinity served as secondary meeting places. Nearby are movie houses, a nucleus of civic institutions, the fire station, the police station, the community hall, several churches and schools. Not far away is also the railway underpass giving access to the area below the track, and the main north-south streets and street car lines. For purposes of gang movements, therefore, the hangout was strategically situated.

The store contained the usual equipment of a few booths, which were highly uncomfortable to anyone but the gang, lunch counter seats, candy and soft drink stands, and an array of pulp and "comic" reading matter. There was also a pinball machine as well as an illegal slot machine for possession of which the proprietor was later fined. With respect to it, the boys readily conceded that it was probably "fixed" but were always willing to try their luck despite this. The store was the center of their social world. Here planning and post mortems were carried out and loot hidden, sometimes in empty lots, , in the vicinity. Some articles, such as clothing, were bartered and sold in the store among their friends. There was a strong suggestion that the proprietor knew of their activities but he stated that it was "none of his business" what the boys were doing.

The restaurant was the base of operations. The park too served as a meeting place where they could "act the fool with the girls." Here, before the boys, one of their girl friends was beaten by her father who found her "playing around in the bushes" with members of the gang.

Gang Movement

When individuals, such as these boys, are isolated from or have failed to be integrated into stable and satisfying relationships they tend to respond with restlessness and random movement. It is this that drives them to prowl in the streets, search out parks, streetcorners, restaurants, movies, where they encounter individuals with like needs and experiences. As they become sensitized to one another, this restlessness is shared and thereby reinforced and its attendant character-istics come to be exhibited as a collective phenomenon. This is one initial source of the often purposeless prowling and roaming through space which is typical of all gangs. Such behavior is easily conjoined with and fosters the adolescent quest for new experience. Two factors facilitated movement and association of the gang under discussion. The gang ripened from more or less casual acquaintance into intimacy during the summer months which favoured out-of-door association and interstimulation through roaming activities. The second point is that initially no actual conflict with rival gangs in rival territories could be discovered. They were free therefore to prowl the whole area. Their burglaries were carried out within a comparatively narrow radius of the hangout, but their search for excitement, for anonymity and new experience led them far afield. Favourite spots were the riding stables on the north-western fringe of the city where they hired horses, or were given them in return for various chores. They spent much time at the race tracks and two of the boys held jobs there for awhile, or they

would rent horse carriages for rides on the mountain. Belmont Park
Amusement Center was often visited. Plage Laval, a resort on the
Back River to the north of the island, was a favourite weekend target.
They slept in rooming houses but just as often in the grass or in the
sheds. At times they brought wine or gin with them. Here they met
girls, went boating, roamed over the countryside. Two of the boys once
came home ill, were forbidden to go again, which did not prevent them
from doing so. Three of the boys once set out to run away from home
but were brought back by the police from a point a hundred miles
distant before the parents were aware of it.

On another occasion the boys went to Ottawa where one of
the gang's parents were. They slept part of the time in ditches
and were forced to hike back most of the way because their money ran
out. Charles Barker's account of this trip was especially vivid. It
included descriptions of playing Dr. Jeckyl and Mr. Hyde along the
highway, and such details as a frog crushed by a car, and how spattered
oil makes paving look like a snake's back. Another time they stayed
in the "best hotels" with money from their burglaries. Later the gang
went to X, near the border, with the intention of "robbing our way
across the country." A few nights spent in cold freight cars, on a
diet of stolen biscuits and soft drinks, decided them to return home.

After stealing several Victory Bonds from his brother,
Bruce MacLeod and two others of the gang went to Toronto, where they
remained for a week. The two latter boys were able to leave their
absence unexplained to their parents. Most of these excursions
included one or more boys, who were not later identified as delinquents.
Only as they matured in delinquency did participation in these wanderings
come to be confined to the "inner circle."

Gang Structure

The basic processes whereby a society, an institution or a boys' gang comes into existence are the same in each case. There is unrest, mutual stimulation, the emergence of a structure of personalities in competition for position or status. Personal roles develop in the gang's division of labour and, free from conventional control, the gang acquires an elementary organization.

Movement and conflict are essential conditions to the structuring of a gang. As noted, direct conflict with rival gangs, the gang warfare which is so important a factor in the organization of gangs in a slum area, was not evident in the natural history of this group. The boys did speak with respect and some envy of another gang and the athletic prowess of its members, and without much hesitation, were able to give a full list of names of some fifteen members. As one might partly infer from its size this gang was almost wholly accomodated to the community. It was found to function largely within clubs, had existed for a relatively long period with its main roots in public and high schools. A rough check on some members indicated fair scholastic standing, some near delinquency, but never defined as such. In addition, there was friendship between some of these boys' parents who belonged almost exclusively to white-collar families. This group is important mainly because some of the gang had tried to gain an entry but were not accepted. It represented a closed and set adolescent pattern. Gang members, however, did not seem greatly resentful but rather appeared to accept their exclusion with some resigned envy. Conflict which helped to organize the gang was less overt and more diffuse. This has been indicated and is discussed fully later. Conflict within the gang, because of the struggle for status, was always present.

" This struggle in the gang takes the form of
both conflict and competition, which operate to
locate each individual with reference to others.
As a result, the gang becomes a constellation of
personal relationships with the leader playing the
central and guiding role. It may be considered
" "a unity of interacting personalities;""but it may
also be regarded as an accomodation of conflicting
individualities more or less definitely subordinated
and superordinated with reference to each other and
the leader." (59)

Collective activities, movement, action in a hostile envir-

onment, determine the general organization of the gang. Division of

labour creates personality roles for which individual boys qualify through

a process of personal competition and selection. The basis for these

roles are physical and psychological traits such as size, age, physical

prowess, special aptitudes and skills, handicaps, habits, past experience.

Fighting ability is most important and usually determines leadership. In

order to realize an adequate role the boy may try to excel in daring

and toughness, vandalism, sexual knowledge. In the gang conduct

ostracized in conventional society enhances personal prestige and status.

Therefore, an appearance in Juvenile Court, a term in reform school,

police contacts, tend to have status value and serve to identify the

boy closer with his group,since its approval is more important to him

than that of any other. An extreme case of this was that of three del-

inquent brothers who successively were members of the same traditional

and delinquent gang. Their family situation was marked by exceptionally

strong sibling rivalry which the boys carried over into gang relationships.

The youngest of them put on a daring exhibition of thefts and subsequent

open defiance of the court where, after several appearances, he was

sentenced to reform school. He demanded to be sent to jail and threatened

---

58. Ibid, pages 331-332.

and carried out his threat of running away from the school until the court was forced to send him to jail. Closer study of his case revealed that the boy counted on his youth for a jail term shorter than the three years in reform school. Most striking, however, was the discovery of his motivation. His thefts, his provocative behavior in court, his demand to be sent to jail were dominated largely by a drive for status in his gang and his delinquent community where the reputation of his two older brothers as "toughies" was already firmly established. Somewhat incredible as it may seem, he has not again appeared in court during his fifteenth and sixteenth year.

Internally, then, the gang may be viewed as a struggle for recognition. Like other roles, that of the leader emerges as a result of total interaction, both within the group and of the group with its environment. This is usually entirely unreflective, at least as far as the members are concerned. There are no deliberate choices and decisions to follow one boy rather than another. Moreover, even the actual leader may be rather unselfconscious about his role. The gang under discussion had no recognized leadership. Herb King stated somewhat doubtfully that maybe Bert Andrews was the leader. When this was suggested to Bert, the latter at first answered that "we had no leader; we never thought about it that way." Some time later he brought the point up himself, evidently having reflected upon it. He seemed secretly flattered by the idea and offered that maybe he had been the leader. After some weeks, he appeared to have generated some anxiety regarding possible severe punishment in·connection with his alleged role. At all events, he sought to divest himself of his responsibility, stating, "If I am supposed to be the leader, I think

you ought to know some of the things Coleman did." He did not, however,
repudiate the status altogether, perhaps because of vanity, but also
because he did share the unacknowledged leadership of the group. He
divided the position with Bruce MacLeod who was considered the "brains"
of the gang. Bruce was the only one of the boys who had completed public
school and subsequently and intermittently attended high school where
he failed. He claimed to read the "Reader's Digest", quite out of
character with the printed fare of the rest of the gang. Undoubtedly
he had a greater fund of knowledge whereby he was able to impress the
others. He was admiringly described as "a smart guy." This, however,
carried a double meaning and referred also to his apparent role of
supplying the finer points in planning of activities. His known athletic
achievements helped to strengthen his position. However, he showed less
initiative than Bert Andrews. Interaction between these two appeared
closer than with the other boys and both were older. Of the two, Bert
was much more ready with his fists, and represented the action type
combined with some practical organizing ability. Loot from the burglaries
was usually hidden in his house and in the garage attached to it. This
helped to strengthen his role. The gang way of life was indispensable
to him and familiar even from pre-school age. He had already learned
something of its hazards before coming to N.D.G. when his younger
brother was killed when both were "riding the bumpers" of a car, a
favourite pastime in gangland. The status of both boys was heightened
by the fact that they had previously appeared in Juvenile Court. Both
had since matured in delinquent activity. It was possible to trace
Bert Andrews' friends and connections into two delinquent groups, one
in an eastern area of the city where, as his father says sarcastically,

he had grown up "mostly in the streets." Bert had been in Juvenile
Court for gambling and on suspicion of searching cars, was sent home with
a warning and never charged. His mother was giving him large allowances
"to keep him from stealing," of which she suspected him or knew. His
other and more recent affiliation was with a delinquent group from
below the track who, among other things, took a joy ride through part
of Canada on a $1,000. taken from a saving and careless parent. This
involved an Italian and one Polish boy. They are still among his
friends. The latter comes from the St. Henri district, an industrial
area, south below the bluff. This, together with the already mentioned
traditional gang fights, suggests that delinquency in lower N.D.G. may
to some extent, be that of the fringe of a deteriorated area despite
the pronounced physical, cultural and class barriers which separate
them. This, however, is probably not an important general factor.

One of the characteristics by which a gang is distinguished
from a crowd is the fact that it can tolerate cliques within it without
destroying its solidarity. As in any competitive cooperation individuals
experience tensions because of subordinate roles. Since, however,
the gang is the only society the boys are greatly concerned with,
accomodations are usually worked out. Moreover, if the gang encounters
a great deal of hostility in its environment, its character as an ingroup
becomes more pronounced and solidarity is more easily maintained, a
principle widely put to use by the dictators. The present group, however,
was diffuse in organization, democratic in leadership, partly perhaps
because of the hostility it did encounter being also more diffuse.
If Bert and Bruce were the leaders, John Coleman with support at least
from Charles Barker, was continually contesting their position. The
others, however, did not trust him. As will be seen, John did come to
lead the mob activities of the group. The manner in which he conceived

his role definitely heightened interaction within the gang not only by daring the gang on to greater extremes but also by belittling and challenging the decisions and suggestions of the others. John was t_e gang's "enfant terrible." He exemplifies the "moral holiday spirit" in delinquent activity. Authoritative and punishing parents had moved away and left him in the city virtually without supervision except for a married sister who placed him in a Y.M.C.A. He was asked to leave because of the drinking in his room where he met with other gang members. He then boarded at the Andrews. Suddenly released from and smarting under an inferior and restricted role, he joined the boys, anxious to compensate and to acquire new status. "John was a pain in the neck" with his incessant bragging. Weak and with little initiative of his own, he expanded under the security and stimulus of numbers and of success to an extent where he came to jeopardize the safety of the gang. One boy related, "I knew it wouldn't last. Coleman was bragging about it (the burglaries) even to strangers. He'd sit in the restaurant and ask perfect strangers if they would like to go on a job." He had several fights with Bert Andrews, and it appears was always the loser, but said, Herb King, "You couldn't settle HIM." John would use blackmail threats when the pressure became too strong and sometimes threatened independent action, in the knowledge of the support of Charles Barker. When these two finally adventured by themselves it was the gang's undoing. They were the first to be arrested and Coleman was the first to "squeal." John also saw himself in the role of trigger-man, carried an automatic and did some target practice. At the same time he was the gang's "show-off" and the "crazy guy." "He went plain crazy, sometimes, trying to be big." "He always kept us laughing," said Charles once in his defense. "Yeah,"

confirmed Bert Andrews, somewhat sourly, "but most times he didn't know it."

Bert and Bruce were decisive in most of the gang's activities unless Coleman be included with respect to activities which did not involve planning. His impulsiveness was probably the main reason why he was not trusted. The diffuse and democratic nature of this gang is brought out further by the fact that their particular experiments in adult behavior, in the night-club and red-light district, tended to be dominated by Allan Morley who was not a member of the "inner circle" when defined with reference to delinquency and most other activities. He was, however, the confidant and both judge and audience for the gang. He interacted closely with Bruce MacLeod, perhaps because the latter was more secure with respect to middle-class behavior. Allan consistently refused to take part in their delinquencies, though sharing at times in the proceeds. At the same time he taunted the boys with their deficiencies in daring or "smartness." He boasted about having been involved in exactly twenty-three robberies himself. Several of his boasts, such as the theft of $100. worth of tramway tickets were relayed to the writer with sufficient detail but in every case were found unverifiable. The writer is satisfied that they probably did not take place. His only traceable delinquency, for which he did not suffer, was theft of stamps over a period of time. Employed as an office boy he was able to dump advertising matter and retain the postage stampes it was his duty to affix. He was usually well dressed and it seems, had considerable spending money. He liked "to flash a roll," but, said the boys, the inside of the roll was cardboard, covered with one or two bank notes. This did not seem to diminish his status, partly perhaps because he was liberal with what he had, though at other times he provoked resentment by charging a "hundred percent"

interest on loans. Still, he was called "a spender." Lending money to gang members on his part was less an instance of reciprocal relations in the gang but rather a technique of the role he wished to play. He had a primitive method of humiliating and punishing a debtor. Charles owed him a small amount which he was unable to repay. As the boys tell it, whenever Allan encountered Charles, he would take the latter's hat from his head, throw it on the ground, and "spit on it from deep down until it was covered all over," and pausing intermittently he would ask "When are you going to pay up?" The boys said they urged Charles "not to take that from anybody" but Charles was "a sissy." The unfortunate debtor solved the difficulty by leaving his hat at home whenever he knew he was going to meet his banker.

Why Allan Morley refused to join the "inner circle" in spite of the urgings from the others is not clear. It may be that Bert Andrews would have refused to accept him. The latter referred to him once contemptuously as being "like a guy in the movies." Still his part in the gang's division of labour stood for an important part of the boys' activities. As Mary Hopkins' boyfriend he placed her at the disposal of the gang. His was the role of the sexual sophisticate, the ladies' man. He was instrumental in introducing some of the boys to their first sex experience. His function, therefore, was important to the self-conception of the gang.

The above boys were the most distinctive types among the group and largely represent the group control. Herb King was considered "a sissy." He joined in their depredations largely out of a fear of losing status. Charles Barker showed little initiative except with respect to travelling and roaming activities. He was highly suggestible and had at least familiarity with delinquent behavior from previous residence and association in delinquent areas. He was loyal to Coleman

and towards the gang as a whole he expressed the tie as "Where they go, I go." He exemplified the roaming tendencies , the restless adolescent, the vagabond who lives in the present.

Lewis Garrett had a long history of delinquencies and was initiated to them largely in the slums near the central area. After coming to N.D.G. he distinguished himself as partner to a tobacco store burglary. While known to some of the boys previously, he took part in their activities while a run-away from reform school. Having no home to go to, he slept in the Andrews garage where the boys had fixed a bed for him. He was re-arrested after a month of freedom, but his part in the case was not discovered until the arrest of the others, several months later. He won a reputation with the boys as "foul-mouthed", to the point where there was some protest, and as a purveyor of pornographic pictures and stories.

With respect to Raoul Giroux, sufficient data could not be secured to fix his place in the gang. He did appeal to the boys because he had been in the Merchant Marine and was the precipitating cause of three or four of them trying to join. He took part in one burglary. He had known the boys only for a short time.

Tom Wallace's position cannot be fixed either. He was the butt of jokes however, because of his frequent suggestions to go to the red-light district.

Guns were an important element in the gang structure. Two of them were taken with other loot from one of the homes entered. Two shotguns taken somewhere else proved unusable and unsaleable. Another gun was bought from a boy on the fringe of the gang who had stolen it from his place of work. This boy claimed that the gun was his uncle's, "a cowboy out West." This was breathlessly repeated to the writer by Herb King. Still another boy who with his father practiced marksmanship

as a sport had been asked to sell or loan his gun. He had refused to do so, but after prolonged urging, agreed to stand guard for the boys. Neither of these two boys was a member of the "inner circle" though quite familiar with its activities.

It was evident from talks with the boys that the guns were objects of great excitement and symbolized their attitudes of daring and rebellion. John Coleman especially enjoyed trading in guns, carried an automatic most of the time, and did some target practice. He also invented and told stories about hold-ups he had been partner to for the edification of the girls in the park. He went as far as to mention specific locales in the vicinity, as one drug store where he claimed to have shot the proprietor in the leg, another where he shot the lock off the door to gain entry. The number of stories and the bragging which clustered about the guns are an index of their value in holding the gang together.

Gang Control

The strength of the group tie and its survival depend upon a satisfactory distribution of roles and statuses, in the gang as well as in the larger society. Status in the gang is the result of a process of struggle and selection. Out of these attitudinal changes and the resulting interdependence arises the character of the gang as a primary group. Satisfactory relationships constitute a system of identifications, "a fusion of individualities," the collective character of which is expressed as "we." Such a system gathers to itself a feeling of rightness which is the source of sanctions of the gang's activities, and gives rise to the typical primary group attitudes, such as loyalty, honour, mutuality. Solidarity, morale in the face of opposition and cooperation are other aspects of such a group. In the day to day business of the gang, such attitudes find expression

in such things as the sharing of legitimate and illegitimate gains
with one another. The boys who are "flush" take the others to a show.
Bruce took some of the boys to Toronto on the proceeds of his bond
theft. The boys fixed a bed for Lewis Garrett in the Andrews' garage,
sometimes fed him and got him invited for a meal by their parents.
Subordination of individuals and cooperation and "we" attitudes
generally are reinforced by all gang activities. House-breaking and
stealing are lessons in cooperation. With the continuity of common
experiences, there grows up a common tradition as a factor in control,

> "... a heritage of memories which belong more
> or less to all members and distinguish the gang
> from more ephemeral types of groups such as a
> crowd and the mob." (60)

This was partly expressed by the boys in the retelling of
their common experiences, their wanderings, night-club adventures, etc.,
with the intimation that an outsider could never appreciate how much
fun they had had. The compelling function of traditions and the roles
which it established, will be discussed later. Thrasher speaks of
such phenomena in terms of the gang boy's orientation in "areas of
intimacy" as a basic form of gang control.

> "   The area of individual orientation may be
> defined both geographically and emotionally; for
> the gang boy there is an area of geographical
> range including home and familiar territory
> beyond which lies enemy territory and the external
> world. In addition to this there is an area
> of intimacy in which he has relations of close
> emotional dependence. He depends on this area for
> what Thomas calls "response." The member of the
> gang, or of the intimate fraternity becomes absorbed
> in these emotional contacts. Rapport, based on
> sympathy, is set up. There results close fellow-
> ship which often involves a feeling of infinite
> security.... A certain part of this submergence
> of individuality within the group may be due to
> the hero worship of some individual member. The
> extent of assimilation of the person indicates the
> degree of the group control over him." (61)

---

60. Ibid, page 174.
61. Ibid, pages 298-299.

Herb's school years were impeded by an illness and during the time that other boys begin their normal play life he was sheltered and coddled. He grew up with three sisters and a brother, all older than himself and there is one younger sister also. Of the four girls, three completed high school, one attends now, and two graduated from business college. His brother has been overseas in the Airforce for four years.

The main factors in Herb's case are strong inferiority feelings. Among his successful sisters, he has come to think of himself as the family dunce. Like so many other boys who find school difficult, he longed for the day when he could leave school and go to work. He always felt that he was slow. His sisters were always pressing him to make high school and eventually college. As sisters will, they were patronizing and protective of their younger brother and Herb had little opportunity to assert himself at home. Thereto must be added the fact of a tubercular father whose illness made the home atmosphere oppressive at a time when adolescent drives made the boy especially restless and in need of guidance.

Nondescript jobs met these drives only partly. When the dare came he felt compelled to prove his manhood. He was the least enthousiastic participant in the gang's activities and entered into them only after considerable pressure.

His chances for rehabilitation are good.

CHAPTER FOUR

GANG BEHAVIOR

Introduction

In this chapter the growth of the gang, its structure and activities, and its gradual maturation in criminality are described. It will appear as an interstitial group in an interstitial area. The term "interstitial" was first used in this sense by F.M. Thrasher (54) in the conceptualization of his studies of Chicago gangs. He says,

> "   The most important conclusion suggested by a study of the location and distribution of 1,313 gangs investigated in Chicago is that gangland represents a geographically and socially interstitial area in the city. Probably the most significant concept of the study is the term interstitial - that is, pertaining to spaces that intervene between one thing and another. In nature foreign matter tends to collect and cake in every crack and crevice and cranny - interstices. There are also fissures and breaks in the structure of social organization. The gang may be regarded as an interstitial element in the framework of society, and gangland as an interstitial region in the layout of the city." (55)

Interstitial areas and interstitial groups emerge from the lag between the ecological and social organization.

The first effects of the introduction of competition and mobility in a society are to break up the traditional system of accomodation and social control, to create new and wider areas within which control becomes necessary, to weaken the local defining agencies in communities into which the migrants go and to bring into contact heterogeneous groups and individuals. From the needs for security,

---

54. Thrasher, op. cit.
55. ibid, page 22.

for belonging somewhere, for recognition, emerge some reorganization
of social relations and new means of control. A middle class
association quite as much as a boys' gang are products of such situations.

Previously in this study were described some tensions and
antagonisms attendant upon attempts of a population aggregate to stabilize
and integrate a new system of social relations and to develop some kind
of self-conception. The histories of five mobile and individualized
families were related who in their search for economic and social place
settled in lower N.D.G. It was noted that the families and the subarea
in which they lived were little or not at all integrated with the
larger community. One may say, on the whole, that lower N.D.G. is not
included in the view upper N.D.G. has of itself. It was noted also
that the family, like other institutions, becomes weakened in the process
of mobility and tends to lose its institutional character to the
point where it has no status in the community. This, in turn, results
in the impairment of control over its members.

The failure of the family and community organization to
incorporate the young individual releases him to his own definitions
and exposes him to conflict. Under such conditions children and
adolescents become segregated into societies of their own. Left
to define their own behavior, their activities eventually may come
to clash with the norms of the adult society. In the gang, the
situation, at first, is undefined but a structure of personalities
and roles emerges and behavior opposed to that prescribed by the
community. In as far as such behavior is delinquent, it is initially
a product of personal-social interaction and incidental only to a host of
other and experimental activity. It becomes more systematic in contact
and interaction with the latent and pervasive criminal culture of the
larger community.

The Basis of Rapport

A brief summary at this point would seem necessary to an understanding of special aspects of the gang's behavior and self-consciousness. While this gang, in part, did emerge from a much larger playgroup, the latter differed materially from the playgroup in a city slum. The life conditions of any group in N.D.G. have little overt resemblance to those of a delinquent area as described for instance by Sullenger.

> "   The slum, with its out-of-doors in the street is a university which schools the child in the vagaries of sex, the rules of gangdom, the art of outwitting the policeman, and other predatory habits long before he begins life on his own responsibility." (56)

This is not to deny that these processes operate to some extent upon the children in suburban N.D.G. as elsewhere. Rather it is to stress that they are particularly effective upon the spontaneous and unsupervised child societies in the slums. The children there are born into them and their frequently traditional delinquent pattern. In contrast, playgroups in N.D.G. in which these boys moved and participated are largely supervised and organized. They are adjuncts to the home rather than substitutes for it as in gangland. While there is a sporadic pattern of ganging in their part of the area, delinquent activity has been intermittent and scattered, and has not been a normally accepted pattern. It is true that some of the boys had had experience with delinquent behavior prior to coming to N.D.G. Their depredations, however, are not to be explained simply as persistence of habit. For one thing, they did not, as far as can be discovered, again engage in systematic delinquency until they were part of a gang once more. For another, delinquent habits tend to

---

56. T. Earl Sullenger, SOCIAL DETERMINANTS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, (New York, John Wiley and Sons Inc.,) 1936, page 76.

disappear when individuals move to non-delinquent areas, (57) or into communities that are organized against such behavior. In this connection it is, perhaps, significant that some of the boys failed to gain a new vantage point for prestige and status; the established adolescent groups did not take kindly to newcomers. Attempts at acceptance into existent delinquent and non-delinquent gangs failed. Isolation and segregation from the main-stream of adolescent life in N.D.G. reflect also characteristics of transitional class status of homes in a socially mobile area. Thus it was found that the social contacts of the boys were with groups of different class levels (Chapter Five). The gang, in part, emerged in response to this marginal situation. There was also individual failure to come up to the behavior expectations of the dominant culture pattern, failure to meet standards of competitive achievement in sports and school. The latter, especially, is important in the social ranking and associations of the middle class child and relatively unimportant to the lower class areas and in the slums. There was failure to make occupational adjustments and failure generally to make the transition from childhood into adult society. One must add also the breakdown of family control and unsatisfactory relations within the family and the existence of an institutional gap in lower N.D.G., at least to the extent that existing institutions are not particularly adequate to the needs and tastes of this part of the area. Failure, therefore, to achieve adequate status and participation in the life of the community was a large element of individual experience which the boys brought to gang life and which formed the basis of an easy rapport.

---

57. E.H. Sutherland, op. cit., pages 78-79.

The Hangout

The gang, in part, grew out of the casual and repeated groupings of a number of boys and girls in restaurants, parks, movies, schools and playgrounds. Coleman and MacLeod had been boarders for a time in the home of Bert Andrews. Coleman and Barker also had been neighbours when living at previous addresses and maintained their friendship. The final active nucleus emerged only with the beginning of systematic delinquencies. Others who had joined them in their wanderings dropped away but remained as an admiring or critical audience for the inner circles' criminal exploits, more or less well informed about them. Similar needs, wishes, dispositions drew the boys together and common experience molded them into an elementary society identified with a definite habitat and a central hangout.

Playgroups and gangs, as Thrasher has shown, tend to have a definite geographic basis which may be thought of in terms of the imaginative world in which the gang boy lives.

> "   This is the realm of adventure centering in
> the hangout, which the gang boy regards as his
> castle. The area immediately surrounding this
> cherished spot is home territory, beyond which
> lies the lands of the enemy. Most of the activities
> of the gang have a definite relation to this geo-
> graphic division of its world." (58)

A measure of isolation is necessary for the self-conception and integration of a group as it is for the individual personality. Relations within an elementary society, such as the gang, are dependent upon interaction at the personal and face-to-face level within the sense range of individuals.

---

58. Thrasher, op. cit. page 123.

This requires a definite locale where the boys can meet, loaf, brag, plan, maintain rapport, and, of course, escape supervision and adult interference. Moreover, for an interstitial group in an interstitial area, the hangout serves as a clubroom for boys who have found conventional agencies not to their taste or non-existant.

The hangout of this gang was a small restaurant store, the usual "hole in the wall" affair, located on Sherbrooke Street in the main section of the commercial subcenter. The two parks in the vicinity served as secondary meeting places. Nearby are movie houses, a nucleus of civic institutions, the fire station, the police station, the community hall, several churches and schools. Not far away is also the railway underpass giving access to the area below the track, and the main north-south streets and street car lines. For purposes of gang movements, therefore, the hangout was strategically situated.

The store contained the usual equipment of a few booths, which were highly uncomfortable to anyone but the gang, lunch counter seats, candy and soft drink stands, and an array of pulp and "comic" reading matter. There was also a pinball machine as well as an illegal slot machine for possession of which the proprietor was later fined. With respect to it, the boys readily conceded that it was probably "fixed" but were always willing to try their luck despite this. The store was the center of their social world. Here planning and post mortems were carried out and loot hidden, sometimes in empty lots, , in the vicinity. Some articles, such as clothing, were bartered and sold in the store among their friends. There was a strong suggestion that the proprietor knew of their activities but he stated that it was "none of his business" what the boys were doing.

The restaurant was the base of operations. The park too served as a meeting place where they could "act the fool with the girls." Here, before the boys, one of their girl friends was beaten by her father who found her "playing around in the bushes" with members of the gang.

Gang Movement

When individuals, such as these boys, are isolated from or have failed to be integrated into stable and satisfying relationships they tend to respond with restlessness and random movement. It is this that drives them to prowl in the streets, search out parks, streetcorners, restaurants, movies, where they encounter individuals with like needs and experiences. As they become sensitized to one another, this restlessness is shared and thereby reinforced and its attendant character- istics come to be exhibited as a collective phenomenon. This is one initial source of the often purposeless prowling and roaming through space which is typical of all gangs. Such behavior is easily conjoined with and fosters the adolescent quest for new experience. Two factors facilitated movement and association of the gang under discussion. The gang ripened from more or less casual acquaintance into intimacy during the summer months which favoured out-of-door association and interstimulation through roaming activities. The second point is that initially no actual conflict with rival gangs in rival territories could be discovered. They were free therefore to prowl the whole area. Their burglaries were carried out within a comparatively narrow radius of the hangout, but their search for excitement, for anonymity and new experience led them far afield. Favourite spots were the riding stables on the north-western fringe of the city where they hired horses, or were given them in return for various chores. They spent much time at the race tracks and two of the boys held jobs there for awhile, or they

would rent horse carriages for rides on the mountain. Belmont Park Amusement Center was often visited. Plage Laval, a resort on the Back River to the north of the island, was a favourite weekend target. They slept in rooming houses but just as often in the grass or in the sheds. At times they brought wine or gin with them. Here they met girls, went boating, roamed over the countryside. Two of the boys once came home ill, were forbidden to go again, which did not prevent them from doing so. Three of the boys once set out to run away from home but were brought back by the police from a point a hundred miles distant before the parents were aware of it.

On another occasion the boys went to Ottawa where one of the gang's parents were. They slept part of the time in ditches and were forced to hike back most of the way because their money ran out. Charles Barker's account of this trip was especially vivid. It included descriptions of playing Dr. Jeckyl and Mr. Hyde along the highway, and such details as a frog crushed by a car, and how spattered oil makes paving look like a snake's back. Another time they stayed in the "best hotels" with money from their burglaries. Later the gang went to X, near the border, with the intention of "robbing our way across the country." A few nights spent in cold freight cars, on a diet of stolen biscuits and soft drinks, decided them to return home.

After stealing several Victory Bonds from his brother, Bruce MacLeod and two others of the gang went to Toronto, where they remained for a week. The two latter boys were able to leave their absence unexplained to their parents. Most of these excursions included one or more boys, who were not later identified as delinquents. Only as they matured in delinquency did participation in these wanderings come to be confined to the "inner circle."

Gang Structure

The basic processes whereby a society, an institution or a boys' gang comes into existence are the same in each case. There is unrest, mutual stimulation, the emergence of a structure of personalities in competition for position or status. Personal roles develop in the gang's division of labour and, free from conventional control, the gang acquires an elementary organization.

Movement and conflict are essential conditions to the structuring of a gang. As noted, direct conflict with rival gangs, the gang warfare which is so important a factor in the organization of gangs in a slum area, was not evident in the natural history of this group. The boys did speak with respect and some envy of another gang and the athletic prowess of its members, and without much hesitation, were able to give a full list of names of some fifteen members. As one might partly infer from its size this gang was almost wholly accomodated to the community. It was found to function largely within clubs, had existed for a relatively long period with its main roots in public and high schools. A rough check on some members indicated fair scholastic standing, some near delinquency, but never defined as such. In addition, there was friendship between some of these boys' parents who belonged almost exclusively to white-collar families. This group is important mainly because some of the gang had tried to gain an entry but were not accepted. It represented a closed and set adolescent pattern. Gang members, however, did not seem greatly resentful but rather appeared to accept their exclusion with some resigned envy. Conflict which helped to organize the gang was less overt and more diffuse. This has been indicated and is discussed fully later. Conflict within the gang, because of the struggle for status, was always present.

" This struggle in the gang takes the form of
both conflict and competition, which operate to
locate each individual with reference to others.
As a result, the gang becomes a constellation of
personal relationships with the leader playing the
central and guiding role. It may be considered
""a unity of interacting personalities;""but it may
also be regarded as an accomodation of conflicting
individualities more or less definitely subordinated
and superordinated with reference to each other and
the leader." (59)

Collective activities, movement, action in a hostile envir-

onment, determine the general organization of the gang. Division of

labour creates personality roles for which individual boys qualify through

a process of personal competition and selection. The basis for these

roles are physical and psychological traits such as size, age, physical

prowess, special aptitudes and skills, handicaps, habits, past experience.

Fighting ability is most important and usually determines leadership. In

order to realize an adequate role the boy may try to excel in daring

and toughness, vandalism, sexual knowledge. In the gang conduct

ostracized in conventional society enhances personal prestige and status.

Therefore, an appearance in Juvenile Court, a term in reform school,

police contacts, tend to have status value and serve to identify the

boy closer with his group,since its approval is more important to him

than that of any other. An extreme case of this was that of three del-

inquent brothers who successively were members of the same traditional

and delinquent gang. Their family situation was marked by exceptionally

strong sibling rivalry which the boys carried over into gang relationships.

The youngest of them put on a daring exhibition of thefts and subsequent

open defiance of the court where, after several appearances, he was

sentenced to reform school. He demanded to be sent to jail and threatened

58. Ibid, pages 331-332.

and carried out his threat of running away from the school until the
court was forced to send him to jail. Closer study of his case revealed
that the boy counted on his youth for a jail term shorter than the
three years in reform school. Most striking, however, was the discovery
of his motivation. His thefts, his provocative behavior in court, his
demand to be sent to jail were dominated largely by a drive for status
in his gang and his delinquent community where the reputation of his
two older brothers as "toughies" was already firmly established.
Somewhat incredible as it may seem, he has not again appeared in court
during his fifteenth and sixteenth year.

Internally, then, the gang may be viewed as a struggle for
recognition. Like other roles, that of the leader emerges as a result
of total interaction, both within the group and of the group with its
environment. This is usually entirely unreflective, at least as far
as the members are concerned. There are no deliberate choices and
decisions to follow one boy rather than another. Moreover, even the
actual leader may be rather unselfconscious about his role. The gang
under discussion had no recognized leadership. Herb King stated
somewhat doubtfully that maybe Bert Andrews was the leader. When this
was suggested to Bert, the latter at first answered that "we had no
leader; we never thought about it that way." Some time later he
brought the point up himself, evidently having reflected upon it. He
seemed secretly flattered by the idea and offered that maybe he had
been the leader. After some weeks, he appeared to have generated some
anxiety regarding possible severe punishment in connection with his
alleged role. At all events, he sought to divest himself of his
responsibility, stating, "If I am supposed to be the leader, I think

you ought to know some of the things Coleman did." He did not, however,
repudiate the status altogether, perhaps because of vanity, but also
because he did share the unacknowledged leadership of the group. He
divided the position with Bruce MacLeod who was considered the "brains"
of the gang. Bruce was the only one of the boys who had completed public
school and subsequently and intermittently attended high school where
he failed. He claimed to read the "Reader's Digest", quite out of
character with the printed fare of the rest of the gang. Undoubtedly
he had a greater fund of knowledge whereby he was able to impress the
others. He was admiringly described as "a smart guy." This, however,
carried a double meaning and referred also to his apparent role of
supplying the finer points in planning of activities. His known athletic
achievements helped to strengthen his position. However, he showed less
initiative than Bert Andrews. Interaction between these two appeared
closer than with the other boys and both were older. Of the two, Bert
was much more ready with his fists, and represented the action type
combined with some practical organizing ability. Loot from the burglaries
was usually hidden in his house and in the garage attached to it. This
helped to strengthen his role. The gang way of life was indispensable
to him and familiar even from pre-school age. He had already learned
something of its hazards before coming to N.D.G. when his younger
brother was killed when both were "riding the bumpers" of a car, a
favourite pastime in gangland. The status of both boys was heightened
by the fact that they had previously appeared in Juvenile Court. Both
had since matured in delinquent activity. It was possible to trace
Bert Andrews' friends and connections into two delinquent groups, one
in an eastern area of the city where, as his father says sarcastically,

he had grown up "mostly in the streets." Bert had been in Juvenile
Court for gambling and on suspicion of searching cars, was sent home with
a warning and never charged. His mother was giving him large allowances
"to keep him from stealing," of which she suspected him or knew. His
other and more recent affiliation was with a delinquent group from
below the track who, among other things, took a joy ride through part
of Canada on a $1,000. taken from a saving and careless parent. This
involved an Italian and one Polish boy. They are still among his
friends. The latter comes from the St. Henri district, an industrial
area, south below the bluff. This, together with the already mentioned
traditional gang fights, suggests that delinquency in lower N.D.G. may
to some extent, be that of the fringe of a deteriorated area despite
the pronounced physical, cultural and class barriers which separate
them. This, however, is probably not an important general factor.

One of the characteristics by which a gang is distinguished
from a crowd is the fact that it can tolerate cliques within it without
destroying its solidarity. As in any competitive cooperation individuals
experience tensions because of subordinate roles. Since, however,
the gang is the only society the boys are greatly concerned with,
accomodations are usually worked out. Moreover, if the gang encounters
a great deal of hostility in its environment, its character as an ingroup
becomes more pronounced and solidarity is more easily maintained, a
principle widely put to use by the dictators. The present group, however,
was diffuse in organization, democratic in leadership, partly perhaps
because of the hostility it did encounter being also more diffuse.
If Bert and Bruce were the leaders, John Coleman with support at least
from Charles Barker, was continually contesting their position. The
others, however, did not trust him. As will be seen, John did come to
lead the mob activities of the group. The manner in which he conceived

his role definitely heightened interaction within the gang not only by daring the gang on to greater extremes but also by belittling and challenging the decisions and suggestions of the others. John was t_e gang's "enfant terrible." He exemplifies the "moral holiday spirit" in delinquent activity. Authoritative and punishing parents had moved away and left him in the city virtually without supervision except for a married sister who placed him in a Y.M.C.A. He was asked to leave because of the drinking in his room where he met with other gang members. He then boarded at the Andrews. Suddenly released from and smarting under an inferior and restricted role, he joined the boys, anxious to compensate and to acquire new status. "John was a pain in the neck" with his incessant bragging. Weak and with little initiative of his own, he expanded under the security and stimulus of numbers and of success to an extent where he came to jeopardize the safety of the gang. One boy related, "I knew it wouldn't last. Coleman was bragging about it (the burglaries) even to strangers. He'd sit in the restaurant and ask perfect strangers if they would like to go on a job." He had several fights with Bert Andrews, and it appears was always the loser, but said. Herb King, "You couldn't settle HIM." John would use blackmail threats when the pressure became too strong and sometimes threatened independent action, in the knowledge of the support of Charles Barker. When these two finally adventured by themselves it was the gang's undoing. They were the first to be arrested and Coleman was the first to "squeal." John also saw himself in the role of trigger-man, carried an automatic and did some target practice. At the same time he was the gang's "show-off" and the "crazy guy." "He went plain crazy, sometimes, trying to be big." "He always kept us laughing," said Charles once in his defense. "Yeah,"

confirmed Bert Andrews, somewhat sourly, "but most times he didn't know it."

Bert and Bruce were decisive in most of the gang's activities unless Coleman be included with respect to activities which did not involve planning. His impulsiveness was probably the main reason why he was not trusted. The diffuse and democratic nature of this gang is brought out further by the fact that their particular experiments in adult behavior, in the night-club and red-light district, tended to be dominated by Allan Morley who was not a member of the "inner circle" when defined with reference to delinquency and most other activities. He was, however, the confidant and both judge and audience for the gang. He interacted closely with Bruce MacLeod, perhaps because the latter was more secure with respect to middle-class behavior. Allan consistently refused to take part in their delinquencies, though sharing at times in the proceeds. At the same time he taunted the boys with their deficiencies in daring or "smartness." He boasted about having been involved in exactly twenty-three robberies himself. Several of his boasts, such as the theft of $100. worth of tramway tickets were relayed to the writer with sufficient detail but in every case were found unverifiable. The writer is satisfied that they probably did not take place. His only traceable delinquency, for which he did not suffer, was theft of stamps over a period of time. Employed as an office boy he was able to dump advertising matter and retain the postage stampes it was his duty to affix. He was usually well dressed and it seems, had considerable spending money. He liked "to flash a roll," but, said the boys, the inside of the roll was cardboard, covered with one or two bank notes. This did not seem to diminish his status, partly perhaps because he was liberal with what he had, though at other times he provoked resentment by charging a "hundred percent"

interest on loans. Still, he was called "a spender." Lending mon y
to gang members on his part was less an instance of reciprocal
relations in the gang but rather a technique of the role he wished to
play. He had a primitive method of humiliating and punishing a debtor.
Charles owed him a small amount which he was unable to repay. As
the boys tell it, whenever Allan encountered Charles, he would take the
latter's hat from his head, throw it on the ground, and "spit on it from
deep down until it was covered all over," and pausing intermittently
he would ask "When are you going to pay up?" The boys said they urged
Charles "not to take that from anybody" but Charles was "a sissy."
The unfortunate debtor solved the difficulty by leaving his hat at
home whenever he knew he was going to meet his banker.

Why Allan Morley refused to join the "inner circle" in spite
of the urgings from the others is not clear. It may be that Bert Andrews
would have refused to accept him. The latter referred to him once
contemptuously as being "like a guy in the movies." Still his part in
the gang's division of labour stood for an important part of the boys'
activities. As Mary Hopkins' boyfriend he placed her at the disposal
of the gang. His was the role of the sexual sophisticate, the ladies'
man. He was instrumental in introducing some of the boys to their
first sex experience. His function, therefore, was important to the
self-conception of the gang.

The above boys were the most distinctive types among the
group and largely represent the group control. Herb King was considered
"a sissy." He joined in their depredations largely out of a fear of
losing status. Charles Barker showed little initiative except with
respect to travelling and roaming activities. He was highly suggestible
and had at least familiarity with delinquent behavior from previous
residence and association in delinquent areas. He was loyal to Coleman

and towards the gang as a whole he expressed the tie as "Where they go, I go." He exemplified the roaming tendencies , the restless adolescent, the vagabond who lives in the present.

Lewis Garrett had a long history of delinquencies and was initiated to them largely in the slums near the central area. After coming to N.D.G. he distinguished himself as partner to a tobacco store burglary. While known to some of the boys previously, he took part in their activities while a run-away from reform school. Having no home to go to, he slept in the Andrews garage where the boys had fixed a bed for him. He was re-arrested after a month of freedom, but his part in the case was not discovered until the arrest of the others, several months later. He won a reputation with the boys as "foul-mouthed", to the point where there was some protest, and as a purveyor of pornographic pictures and stories.

With respect to Raoul Giroux, sufficient data could not be secured to fix his place in the gang. He did appeal to the boys because he had been in the Merchant Marine and was the precipitating cause of three or four of them trying to join. He took part in one burglary. He had known the boys only for a short time.

Tom Wallace's position cannot be fixed either. He was the butt of jokes however, because of his frequent suggestions to go to the red-light district.

Guns were an important element in the gang structure. Two of them were taken with other loot from one of the homes entered. Two shotguns taken somewhere else proved unusable and unsaleable. Another gun was bought from a boy on the fringe of the gang who had stolen it from his place of work. This boy claimed that the gun was his uncle's, "a cowboy out West." This was breathlessly repeated to the writer by Herb King. Still another boy who with his father practiced marksmanship

as a sport had been asked to sell or loan his gun. He had refused to do so, but after prolonged urging, agreed to stand guard for the boys. Neither of these two boys was a member of the "inner circle" though quite familiar with its activities.

It was evident from talks with the boys that the guns were objects of great excitement and symbolized their attitudes of daring and rebellion. John Coleman especially enjoyed trading in guns, carried an automatic most of the time, and did some target practice. He also invented and told stories about hold-ups he had been partner to for the edification of the girls in the park. He went as far as to mention specific locales in the vicinity, as one drug store where he claimed to have shot the proprietor in the leg, another where he shot the lock off the door to gain entry. The number of stories and the bragging which clustered about the guns are an index of their value in holding the gang together.

Gang Control

The strength of the group tie and its survival depend upon a satisfactory distribution of roles and statuses, in the gang as well as in the larger society. Status in the gang is the result of a process of struggle and selection. Out of these attitudinal changes and the resulting interdependence arises the character of the gang as a primary group. Satisfactory relationships constitute a system of identifications, "a fusion of individualities," the collective character of which is expressed as "we." Such a system gathers to itself a feeling of rightness which is the source of sanctions of the gang's activities, and gives rise to the typical primary group attitudes, such as loyalty, honour, mutuality. Solidarity, morale in the face of opposition and cooperation are other aspects of such a group. In the day to day business of the gang, such attitudes find expression

in such things as the sharing of legitimate and illegitimate gains with one another. The boys who are "flush" take the others to a show. Bruce took some of the boys to Toronto on the proceeds of his bond theft. The boys fixed a bed for Lewis Garrett in the Andrews' garage, sometimes fed him and got him invited for a meal by their parents. Subordination of individuals and cooperation and "we" attitudes generally are reinforced by all gang activities. House-breaking and stealing are lessons in cooperation. With the continuity of common experiences, there grows up a common tradition as a factor in control,

> "... a heritage of memories which belong more
> or less to all members and distinguish the gang
> from more ephemeral types of groups such as a
> crowd and the mob." (60)

This was partly expressed by the boys in the retelling of their common experiences, their wanderings, night-club adventures, etc., with the intimation that an outsider could never appreciate how much fun they had had. The compelling function of traditions and the roles which it established, will be discussed later. Thrasher speaks of such phenomena in terms of the gang boy's orientation in "areas of intimacy" as a basic form of gang control.

> "   The area of individual orientation may be
> defined both geographically and emotionally; for
> the gang boy there is an area of geographical
> range including home and familiar territory
> beyond which lies enemy territory and the external
> world. In addition to this there is an area
> of intimacy in which he has relations of close
> emotional dependence. He depends on this area for
> what Thomas calls "response." The member of the
> gang, or of the intimate fraternity becomes absorbed
> in these emotional contacts. Rapport, based on
> sympathy, is set up. There results close fellow-
> ship which often involves a feeling of infinite
> security.... A certain part of this submergence
> of individuality within the group may be due to
> the hero worship of some individual member. The
> extent of assimilation of the person indicates the
> degree of the group control over him." (61)

60. Ibid, page 174.
61. Ibid, pages 298-299.

The boy's integration into the gang gives him a feeling of belonging somewhere, of acceptance. The knowledge of having a particular part to play assures him that he will be appreciated. This involves attitudinal changes to other members of the gang and to gang life, which, in their permanence, makes for continuance of the group. While his integration on the one hand gives him an opinion of himself as someone who counts, a self-conception, it results on the other hand in emotional dependence to a greater or lesser degree. The behavior of Bruce MacLeod is a clear illustration. After repeated failures to make a   work adjustment, and in order to remove him from gang influence, his older brother took Bruce to an eastern port city to place him in some employment. Bruce stayed two days, then hitch-hiked back to Montreal and N.D.G. because, he explained, "it was too lonely without the gang." When the boys decided to give up burglary at one stage because it was getting too risky, it was Bruce who persuaded them to continue because he was afraid that the gang might break up. After being placed in a reform school, he ran away and his first stop was at the hangout "to find the boys." He stressed repeatedly that they were his "only friends." Charles Barker's favourite declaration was, "Where they go, I go." After the arrest and release of the boys, they asked the writer, "Do I have to give up now going with the gang? They are my best friends." The crisis situation, thus, reveals the strength of the gang tie because the individual is thrown back upon his emotional life and attitudinal readjustments are again demanded. These are difficult to make, hence the remarkable persistance of gang life, as of family attitudes elsewhere, in areas where the social organization is embodied in gangs rather than expressed in conventional institutions.

Another type of control in the gang as an elementary society lies in the force of gang opinion which is the product of experience and deliberation. What others do and think is usually sufficient sanction for the individual member and will make almost any conduct right or wrong. It also makes the boy one kind of person in the gang and quite another apart from it. Gang opinion has a whole range of sanctions from applause to physical punishment. The pressure of numbers is a basic type of control. It affords the individual security and tends to remove the inhibitions which might come into play if he were to act on his own behalf. The feeling of power, and expansion of self, resulting from the mere force of numbers, is quite sufficient to distort judgement and moral perspective.

Other types of control in the gang are outright forms of crowd control, examples of which will be given later. They rest upon mutual excitation and interstimulation. One form is the "daring mechanism" which is a series of competitive acts, each requiring more courage and bravado than the one preceding it. The simplest expression, perhaps, is in securing the cooperation of an individual through an accusation of cowardice. "You're yeller!" is usually effective. One speaks of a high rate of interaction within the gang not only because relations are direct and personal but also because forms of communication include the whole range of interstimulation from the subtle psycho-motor communications such as facial expressions, unverbalized reactions to full verbal and emotional communication. The resulting group consciousness involves a certain loss of self-control on the part of the individual which is transferred to the group as a whole. The extreme form of this kind of control appears when the gang acts as a mob.

Moral Holiday

It is the view of this paper that crime and delinquency
are symptoms of the breakdown of consensus. When competitive relation-
ships and individualistic definitions gain upon social and consentiel
relations, society and societies disintegrate. Social anomie may
progress to a stage where individuals, though still in society, can
no longer be considered members of it if judged by participation in
a common life. In the broad sense of the term, there is a breakdown
in communication, the effect of which in urban and industrial societies
has been to reduce major relations of groups and individuals to a
competitive and symbiotic level. Delinquent and criminal gangs and
their activities are among the clearest and extreme examples of
unrestrained and uncontrolled individualism. Their relationship to
society and to the community is that of parasites and predators
upon a host.

Two main conditions are necessary to the emergence of such
groups. One is the isolation of individuals from control of the mores;
the second is continued contact with the diffuse and latent criminal
culture of an individualistic society. Thus, from one point of view,
a delinquent boys' gang is the carrier of a criminal tradition.

With respect to the present group, some of the boys were
found to have been subject to criminal conditioning prior to their
settlement in N.D.G. through residence in delinquent and semi-delin-
quent areas. In their later activities there was contact with adult
criminality, such as the criminal proprietor of the hang-out, himself
an unassimilated social atom referred to as the "Greek," with the
"Fence," who urged them on and to some extent guided them in their
activities, disposing of their loot in a systematic fashion; with

the criminality of Montreal's prostitution area; and the disorganization and adult influences of night clubs, burlesque shows, road houses, and smilar places. One must also add the general organizing power of a delinquent and criminal ideology transmitted through contacts of mobility such as movies, newspapers, radio and pulp magazines, as it occupied the imaginative life of the gang. While previously delinquent boys were members of the group, there was no evidence of any particular teaching, persuasion or duress on the part of the "bad" boys to incite the "good" boys to burglary. No doubt the presence of boys already delinquent helped to turn behavior into such channels. At the same time, however, the boy who was most individualistic and aggressive overtly, John Coleman, had no particular delinquent history. He was, however, reacting to release from parental repression. This points to the fact that, initially it is not even necessary to assume that "bad" boys mislead others. The dissolution of social bonds, in the first instance, releases impulsive and experimental behavior in the pursuit of the primary needs and wishes of individuals.

> "   There is no pre-existent harmony between individual desires and social controls....
> The normal child is individualistic, egoistic, thoughtless and selfish. Only by patient effort, by precept and example, does the child learn to be unselfish, obedient, kind, and altruistic, and to respect private property." (62)

In interstitial areas, where family and community controls upon children and adolescents are weak or non-existent,

> "...juvenile delinquency is within certain age limits at least, not merely something to be expected; it may also be said to be normal." (63)

The general predatory character of gang behavior as with respect to property and sex represents, in the first instance, the socialization

62. Elliott and Merrill, op. cit, page 93.
63. R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, The CITY, op. cit. 105.

and organization of the hedonistic and impulsive definitions of the adolescent who, spatially and socially, move and act outside the dominant social controls. Under such conditions it is natural that behavior should come to constitute attacks upon the mores since, outside conventional controls, the boy is subject to control by the gang and its morality.

Where there is delinquency in a group, usually all the boys are delinquent. Thus specifically, delinquency is the product of interaction within the gang. Hence, also, from one point of view, delinquent behavior does not require an explanation different from that which explains other collective activities. Thrasher says,

" Although gang activities and gang morality
are, in part at least, a reflection of the gang's
disorganized social world, they find a supplementary
explanation in the conception of the gang as an
elementary society, which, unhampered by conventional
controls, tend to develop its own organization and
codes in an independent and spontaneous fashion.
The codes of the gang are enforced upon its members
in a variety of ways -- some definitely directed,
others almost entirely unreflective. Thus the gang
defines the situation for its members and secures more
or less harmonious group action." (64)

The main type of control which the gang exerts pertains to its character as a primary group and the concomittant basic "we" attitudes and emotional dependence and to its character as a society with a structure in which public opinion, that is, gang opinion, assures conformity through sanctions such as praise and blame, prestige and ridicule, physical punishment. A third type of control which operates in the gang is crowd control. In fact the elementary kind of gang society has been defined as the "perpetuation and permanent form of the crowd that acts." (65) This points to the fact that many influences which determine the character of gang activities are unreflective and unplanned and often simply instances of crowd behavior. It follows

---

64. Thrasher, op. cit., page 277.
65. Park and Burgess, op. cit. page 1872.

that delinquent acts, when they first occur, are rarely, if at all, defined as such. There is therefore, no sharp line which marks the transition of a gang to delinquent behavior. The gang, as Sutherland says, moves in the atmosphere of a moral holiday.

> "   Certain occasions are defined in traditions and culture as moral holidays, Hallowe'en, New Year's Eve, election nights, spring celebrations, and important football victories are occasions of this nature. Crimes are committed on these occasions by persons who would ordinarily not commit such crimes, and may take the form of destruction of property and of assaults. These crimes are committed primarily in a spirit of exhuberance, which is, on some of these occasions, the persistence of tension developed in a hot contest. There is much evidence that delinquency of boys in the deteriorated areas is an extension of this attitude throughout the year." (66)

Most of the activities of the present gang, already described, are essentially of this character. It remains true also of their later exploits which involved more planning and, for this reason, also required a degree of maturation.

Thus the boys did not engage in their more serious delinquencies until after two or three months of association. There were isolated thefts; MacLeod had taken war bonds from his brother; Coleman was strongly suspected of having stolen one from Bert Andrew's mother, with whom he was boarding. This and the beating he received for it from Bert did not break their association. There were hints of, and some definite, minor delinquencies. Most of their activities, however, bordered closely upon the forbidden and were carried out in ignorance of or against the express disapproval and prohibitions of parents and other adult authorities. To some extent this period was one of progressive maturation, it may be through a gradual assimilation of criminal roles. Some of the boys, like Barker

---

66.   Sutherland, op. cit., page 44.

and King, were introduced at least to specific delinquencies as in

the sharing of the proceeds of bond thefts by MacLeod. It is more

likely, however, that it marked a period of progressive emancipation

and isolation from conventional controls, through contacts with

demoralizing influences of urban life, a solidification of the group

through the increasing preoccupation of the members with one another and,

thereby, increased control of the group over its members, the development

of a tradition of uninhibited behavior, an interpenetration and

fusion of habits, sentiments and attitudes. Undoubtedly, these

developments were indispensible before the gang could engage in more

dangerous and planned activity such as systematic attacks on property.

An indication of a maturation of counter-moral attitudes is supplied

by the fact that other boys deliberately divorced themselves from the

group to leave the "inner circle." Two boys, since arrested on other

charges, stated that this gang " was goin' to start robbin', and

we weren't goin' to be mixed up in that." These and other boys had

taken part in the gang's swimming, riding and roaming. Members of

the "inner circle" would mention one or the other name when relating

activities, only to answer further questions with, "Oh, he's alright.

He never done nothin'. He didn't go with us anymore." It seems that

at this time they all were without jobs and in the doldrums.

There appear to have been some preliminary arguments and some

planning. One boy related that MacLeod suggested house-breaking,

having had experience in this, while Andrews advocated looting parked

cars. Coleman was said to have supported the former. It is at least

questionable whether there was any such formal procedure.

It is quite probable that all of the boys had had experience

by this time of various ways of appropriating property. Burglary

was only an exciting novelty. Their techniques were simple enough.
Entrance into houses was gained in various ways and sometimes involved
some climbing. The simplest technique was to see whether the lights
were on, and if not, go up to the door and press the bell. If someone
answered they would ask for some fictitious person and go their way.
MacLeod was chosen for this task because of "his nice manner." In a
dime store they had secured a cheap glass-cutter, with Scotch tape
and their coats they learned to stop the sound of glass. This they had
seen in "a movie with Boston Blackie."

Said one, "We were bumming around the restaurants downtown
and that takes money. We didn't have no jobs. If we'd had jobs we
might have done something like go bowling or go to a movie." or,
as another put it, "I wasn't working. I don't like working in
summer. I want to travel or just loaf around, but you need money
for that." A third had this to say, "We all started robbing together.
None of us had a job. When you quit some place, you can't get a release
or not a good one. They would just say that I was fired for fooling
around, like Charles. He was working at X and that's what happened.
It takes a long time to get a new job. I was off work and my father
was sick. He said he'd put me out of the house if I didn't go to
work. So I started robbing. No I didn't have to pay board at home,
but I wanted to, to make my old man shut up." A fourth said, "We
were just hanging around and had nothing to do and no money. We didn't
start with small stuff like things from stores. We started right in
with robberies. We had been talking to some girls in the park and
had bragged how tough we were and they laughed at us. So we went out
to rob a place. We found it was easy money so we went again." A
fifth felt himself forced into it. "I was against doing anything like
that and I told them we'd get caught. They called me yellow and went

themselves. Next night the same thing happened and they told me not to squeal and that I was yellow. I told them I'd prove I wasn't and went with them. Next time I told them I'd proved I wasn't scared but Coleman told me I was crazy. He said, 'You are in it now. If we get caught, you are in it with the rest of us.' So I went again."

The rather dreary detail of the data above points to the basic aspect of the gang as a product of social unrest, growing out of dislocated relationships. It is, in one respect, an attempt to articulate their tensions, otherwise unreleased, which found expression in delinquent and other activities. Common sense goes as far as to recognize this condition in statements such as, "No wonder they got into trouble. They didn't have anything to do," or, as the boys would say, "We had nothing to do. We were just hanging around." There is a strong urge to act in such situations, which lowers the threshold of suggestibility and makes for ready rapport and response to any suggestion. In their above accounts, the boys gave expression to their unrest, the monotony under which they laboured and, probably, to a dim recognition of their insecure position as individuals in the community. Social unrest is defined as,

> "..... an activity in response to some organic
> impulse which the activity, however, does not
> satisfy. It is a diagnostic symptom, a symptom
> of what Graham Wallace calls 'balked disposition.'
> It is a sign that in the existing situation
> some one or more of the four wishes, - security,
> new experience, recognition and response,- has
> not been and is not adequately realized. The
> fact that the symptom is social, that is contagious,
> is an indication that the situations which provoke
> it are social, that is to say, general in the
> community or the group where the unrest manifests
> itself." (67)

---

67. Park and Burgess, op. cit., page 925.

Their rationalizations with respect to the lack of recreational facilities are for the most part, perhaps, gestures in the direction of the conventional interviewer and repetitions of attitudes expressed by adults around them. As will be seen, some facilities were available and used. Their failure to mention them in the context indicated, perhaps, an unconscious acknowledgement that they felt psychologically unfit to participate to a greater extent, and, by implication, also that the community was psychologically unprepared to accept their unfitness.

The boys stressed with some insistence that they "did it mostly for fun." They saw it thus as an aspect of crowd behavior. In this instance, perhaps, they were conscious that the adult criminal eventually acts largely from motives of gain. Under pressure of the court situation, parental and community disapproval, which they had drawn down upon themselves, they wished to repudiate identification with full adult criminality. The profit motive, nevertheless, motivated them to some degree.

Momentum

The boys, to some extent, realized their lack of experience in criminal techniques and that this was taken advantage of by a criminal adult, that is, the Fence. Under the latter's influence, however, their activities became more systematic.

> "We tried to sell the stuff in pawnshops, at first, but they wouldn't take it. I guess we looked too young. We heard at the riding stables that Cantin was doing things like buying stuff. He was supposed to pay us sixty dollars for the things we got at X's, but he only gave us half. He was crooked. He would always promise us so much and give us only little. The trouble was that we were not organized. That's what was wrong. It was just, 'Come along, you and you, let's go on a loot.' We never thought much about it beforehand. If one wouldn't come, the other would. If they hadn't caught us, we might have got organized better."

The adult was a factor in maintaining the momentum of delinquent activity, not only by buying the loot, but also by urging them on and supplying them with likely addresses.

> "   Cantin had a truck and used to come at night
> to the (Andrews) garage and get the stuff.. He was
> a delivery man and knew lots of people. He gave us
> a bum steer once and we nearly got caught. He kept
> on telling us to go ahead and not to be scared."

The accomodation aspect and the essential insecurity of the gang is partly revealed in their quarrelling about the division of the plunder. They felt that they had no means of forcing Cantin to deal squarely with them; moreover, there was no specific member who dealt with him exclusively. Cantin would pay now one, now the other. Thus practically every one of the boys complained that, at one time or another, he received an unfair division of the money realized. This in part gave rise to stories of buried treasure. Some of the boys would pretend that they had jewellery, money or guns buried somewhere in order to hide their chagrin that they had been cheated. The stories about hiding places had the earmarks of the "comics," detective fiction and movies. One of them caused the police to dig a hole in the ground in sub-zero weather without reward other than perhaps a sharpened appetite. Some of the things were thrown away as worthless, sometimes because of easy identification. There is an account of the boys sitting on the curbstone, sorting out jewellery and dropping what was not wanted through a sewer opening.

The gang's primary objective is not necessarily delinquency or anti-social acts. They are means to an end, to be somebody. Nevertheless, as the gang matures, delinquent habits may become the dynamic core of the group structure. After a narrow escape, the boys had almost convinced themselves that they "wouldn't loot any more, because it was getting too risky." "But,"said one boy, "Bruce started us again." When asked about this, Bruce admitted with some difficulty that, "I

didn't like for all of us to get jobs as we said we would. I wouldn't see half of them anymore. Bert was going to work nights. Coleman said he wouldn't stop anyway, even if we did. He was going to try alone."

There was a hint that he felt something of a moral isolation by the gang's decision to stop looting, viewing this, in some sense, as a kind of reforming of the others, something he felt himself unable to share in. Moreover, as was noted earlier, Bruce showed more evidence of being dependent upon his gang than some of the others. It seems that he actually felt that what held the group together at this stage, was its delinquent activity and that the group's continuance depended on it. A more obvious motive was competition to maintain his leading role contested by Coleman's declaration that he would carry on by himself with possible aid from others. Distrust of Coleman had something to do with the continued stealing of the gang as a whole. It was a means of keeping him under control since his possible arrest would implicate them also. Remarks such as "it was so easy," "it seemed so easy," were offered by the boys as one explanation of why they continued in housebreaking. They discovered that uninhibited behaviour and attacks on property do not result in any dire and immediate consequences as they, like other children, had been taught to expect,- even a criminal parent tries to instil ideals of honesty in his child. On the contrary, their behaviour was being rewarded. This is an essential condition in the fixation of a habit. It could only encourage them to continue. Success resulted in heightened excitement and ego-expansion. Coleman's action in inviting even strangers to take part in their exploits has already been mentioned. From one point of view, the boys' exhuberance can be said to be due to the discovery that the law is ineffective where the mores do not support it.

The gang came to glory in its toughness and daring. Success in forbidden activity thus produces its own momentum through increasing collective excitement. Together with the other emotional satisfactions deriving from it, delinquent activity thereby becomes systematized and habitual. Eventually what at first is "stealing for fun" comes to be "stealing for profit" with the mature delinquent and criminal. One attitudinal and quite natural product is that, when the frequently successful offender is caught, he tends to feel that on this particular occasion he has merely been unlucky. This reinforces new and improved planning and organization. In the course of time the element of daring and bravado pales because it increases the chances of being caught, and calculation and the profit motive become dominant.

What has been said about collective excitement and the moral holiday spirit in the gang invites one further conjecture. Sutherland holds that gang behavior is fundamentally akin to the periodic and collective catharsis of public festivals and celebrations. The fact that the gang shows such behavior throughout the year is partly explained by the continuing absence of social controls. It is, however, also due to the fact that gang behavior is structured. The gang, as an elementary society, is an organization of statuses and roles. While these roles are the product of competition and interaction within the gang, they are patterned also after the values and collective representations of a criminal culture. Most common, perhaps, is the image of the idealized and successful criminal.

More generally, what Sumner calls "pathos" (68) extends not only to the criminal, successful in his activities, but to all the attributes of his role and the situations which pertain to him, except perhaps, a criminal's unspectacular fade-out, or reform, or respectable death.

---

68. William Graham Sumner, FOLKWAYS, (Boston, Ginn and Company) 1906, pages 180-181.

On the other hand, events such as "shooting it out," even getting shot, desporado tactics, capture and escape are all highly dramatized. (69) Dramatic rehearsal, both overt and covert, is a frequent aspect of juvenile gang behavior. There is evidence for it in the present case. This glorification of crime and the criminal is a contributing factor in delinquency because it helps to reduce inhibition against it and gives "rightness" to such behavior and the boys pattern their self-conception after it. This is generally understood. The attributes of this ideal role, however, may enter in somewhat more subtle ways in maintaining the momentum in delinquent activity. They may reduce the fear of capture because capture has been dramatized. In other words, pathos also pertains to capture. It need not be a blow to the self-conception. Moreover, it may also prepare the boys for such an event as something which is to be expected. There are probably a number of unconscious adjustments made to an eventual appearance in court which shape the role of the gang boy aside from the more objective ones such as acquiring knowledge of how "to get off easily." Rather, what is meant here is an unconscious mental set which seems to be revealed sometimes in the overtones of the vindicatory, "We knew it wouldn't last." A "we-might-as-well-be-hung-for-a-sheep-as-for-a-lamb" attitude is revealed also in "we knew we would get caught anyway" whereby the boys rationalize continued stealing. Unconscious adjustments to role expectations were evident also in first contacts with Bruce. His arrest had been delayed and he was brought to the detention quarters without having met any of his friends. In his first contact with the writer he assumed a tough pose, tried to show that he expected no sympathy, talked in gang jargon and manner in such terms as "the bloody cops," "how many years do I get for this," etc. When he failed to be met

---

69. Evidence for this is familiar to everyone through various types of ballads and folk-songs, popular literature, movies, etc.

by the expected reciprocal attitudes, on the basis of his middle class background, he quickly adjusted, and it seemed with some relief, to the middle class manners in the situation. But, he had come to court prepared to act out the part of the role which he had imagined was appropriate to it.

Finally, a subtle and probably unconscious form of mechanism effective in continuing activity may possibly have been part of the increasing collective excitment which made them look forward to and seek some inevitable and sensational climax, possibly capture. This would be akin to the otherwise deliberate daring mechanisms whereby the boys urge one another on. It could, perhaps, be expected to be found in a gang of relative novices in crime.

Mob Behavior

As an elementary society the gang is capable of reflection and planning and exerts control through gang opinion. however, as has been shown, the gang at all times remains close to the more elementary behavior. The moral holiday spirit is at once a result of "balked disposition" and of mutual excitation within the gang, which gives rise to behavior the isolated individual would not engage in. One marked aspect of moral holidays is sheer destructiveness. As a frequent aspect of gang behavior it marks the regression of an elementary society to the level of a mob. "The mob is a crowd that acts," on aroused impulse. As Blumer says, "just as it is, in this sense, a non-cultural group, so likewise it is a non-moral group." (70) The individual in the acting crowd loses his self-control and his critical capacity and becomes subject to the collective excitement. Since under those conditions

70. Herbert Blumer, AN OUTLINE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY, op. cit. page 236.

communication is unconscious and unwitting, reponse is immediate and
direct. There are no roles and no reflective interpretation of the
gestures of others as in ordinary conduct. The psychological crowd has
no structure or self-awareness. It represents a condition of extreme
rapport in which the aroused impulse finds immediate and collective
expression. This is the "gang spirit." "Such an expression implies
group-controlled action of an impulsive or irresponsible sort." (71)

It is not surprising that our gang should also have
demonstrated this particular form of collective behavior. Herb King
related how, in two of the places the boys broke into, they engaged in
destruction.

> "   At X street they nearly wrecked the place. They
> pulled out drawers, threw everything around. Coleman
> started it, then the others joined in. I did a bit
> myself. I told them at first, 'Its alright to rob
> other people's houses, but what will people say when
> they come home and find the house in that state?'
> They told me to jump in the lake. I told them it
> would be worse if we'd get caught. They said that
> we wouldn't."

At the other house, this boy again objected to the destruction.

> "but somebody yelled, 'Commando Raid!' I don't know
> who. There was a large photograph on the wall.
> Coleman had a golf-club and smashed it. He yelled,
> 'What an awful puss! ' Its just that Coleman thinks
> he is a big shot. You can't tell him anything."

It will be easily understood that the terms "Commando Raid!" occupied
the day dreams of the boys as symbols of unrestrained aggression. It
was the collective representation which facilitated the immediate and
collective expression of aggressive impulses. In view of what has been
said about the gang personality of John Coleman, it is, of course, no
accident that he should respond most conspicuously to the symbol or,
perhaps, even utter it.

---

71. Thrasher, op. cit., page 296.

The Search for Adult Status

In as far as recreational opportunities were available in N.D.G., the boys used them. Parks, supervised playgrounds, skating rinks, swimming in the Community Hall, specific club activities were facilities which they took advantage of. All were in the almost immediate vicinity of the hangout, except for the Y.M.C.A. Conventional and formal organization however, functions in opposition to the gang. It is effective only if its attractions outweigh the discipline it must exact of individuals. It cannot tolerate gang control within its framework and continue to exist. It must, therefore, break up the gang or transform it into an accomodation group such as a formal club. It will be seen that gang life was stronger in its attractions than anything the community could offer. What stands out clearly is the boys' rejection of any supervision and authority, anything that threatened action of the gang as a unit and preference for a type of activity that allowed informal participation of all members, leaving the action pattern, the structure of the group to operate unhindered; "for a boy must have not only companions but a group of companions in which to realize himself." (72) Theoretically, at least, recreational agencies are designed to meet childhood and adolescent needs and allow for full development at each level of growth. Such as were present in the environment had failed to incorporate the boys as had other age-grading institutions. They were now consciously in search of adult compensations. Urban life, moreover, is organized ultimately about adult values. Despite whatever recreational life a suburban area like N.D.G. seeks to develop, it remains oriented largely towards the center of the city with its restaurants, hotels, theatres, night clubs, and sophisticated commercial entertainment. The gang, too,

---

72. Thrasher, op. cit.

was drawn by the adult excitements and pleasures of downtown life for

which, incidentally, it needed more money than it had. This was offered

by them as a motive for housebreaking. The gang judges the outside

world by exteriors. Free of adult control, the boys accepted those

patterns which they judged to have prestige in their environment.

In the anonymity of the area of bright lights, gang control and movement

as a group could be maintained. Two incidents will illustrate their

experiments in adult behavior.

Bert related with a good deal of amusement what happened at

X nightclub.

> "   John Coleman came in after us. He got in by
> pretending he was eighteen. He had no money and
> tried to borrow some from us. He put on an act
> that he was drunk, bragging about how much hard
> liquor he had drank before he came in. He wants
> to be big. He yelled for the waiter to bring him
> a bottle of soda-water. He wanted to ma.e out
> that he was sick from the liquor. Then he yelled
> for another one. They asked him for his registration
> card to find out his age. He wouldn't show it and
> got on his high horse, so they threw him out."

Another incident involved Lewis Garrett. The boys were

engaged in what, by mutual stimulation, turned into competitive

drinking though this was not verbalized. Bruce noticed that Lewis

was becoming increasingly paler, but

> "the darned fool wouldn't say anything. He just
> kept on. He didn't want us to think that he
> couldn't take it, like a man you know, show off.
> I saw he was goin' to be sick. I nudged him and
> told him not to be silly and to go to the bathroom.
> He couldn't even talk anymore. He wouldn't go."

Bruce finished the tale with mention of the disastrous consequences

of Lewis' condition to himself and his companions.

The role of the drinker "who can take it" is a common

adult role with a long and famed history as a cultural type. John and

Bert, shortly after their first appearance in court, landed in a

police station in a state of complete drunkeness. With a third boy,
they had stolen the bottles from a brewery truck.

In one of the taverns, the boys used to receive free beer
from one of the waiters who seemed to be Allan Morley's particular friend.
The other boys did not seem to know themselves the cause of this gener-
osity and suggested blackmail. The writer was unable to find out.
Other devices for feeling adult included hiring taxis when they had
the money, going nowhere in particular and giving large tips. When
broke they were satisfied to roam along St. Lawrence Street, "tagging
from restaurant to restaurant," or hang around the railroad stations
"to watch the sailors go off."

> "   Where they go, I go. We liked to see what
> went on downtown even if we didn't have no
> money. We just stand outside the burlesque
> show and watch the crowds go in and the girls."

Their visits to roadhouses outside the city have already been mentioned.
After sessions in taverns, the boys also frequented the "red light"
district. Bert asked for a medical examination after his arrest as
he feared he had contracted a disease in a house of prostitution.

The community, through legal authorities, chose to take
note only of the gang's transgressions against the mores of private
property. A generation or so ago, the boys' sex behavior might have
been of at least equal concern. As it was, and for lack of a complain-
ant and a consistent definition of what the mores are in this
respect, it was almost completely ignored. As the gang boys develop
their own organization, they cannot go beyond their experience. As
already indicated, gang roles and activities tend to reflect the
activities, codes and cultural roles present in the community about
them, though the boys will interpret them in their own way. Allan
Morley, as already mentioned, in his role as "man-about-town" was
necessary to the gang to complete the view it had of itself as a

society. He symbolized adult spending freedom, that is, conspicuous consumption. But more important was his function as sexual sophisticate and his part in introducing some of the adolescents to their first sex experience. His girlfriend, Mary Hopkins, was barely fifteen. With other girls, she often joined the boys in the park where they constituted an audience before whom the boys could brag of real and imaginary exploits.

Mary's family had moved from a first area of settlement to N.D.G. Her father had a clerical position and was separated from his wife. According to the school principal, the girl "was one of the finest students and certainly not retarded." Charles Barker had known her in X where he went to school with her. He said, "She was the same then. She had dirty habits. Her father told me she was only twelve." When asked what this meant, he said she had boys in and boasted to him of her sex experiences. After coming to N.D.G. she hung around the park where her father "found her in the bushes one night" with a member, or members of this gang. The father himself related this to the school principal to whom he came for advice. He chastized her publicly. Allan Morley was her boy friend and one evening when her father was out, she invited him to the house. He brought the gang along. She had intercourse with him in a back room. Morley then pointed to Bert Andrews and told her, "He is next." She protested, but when he threatened that he would walk out on her unless she consented, she did. The others followed. Contraceptives were found in a drawer of the bedroom. Charles Barker and Herb King protested that they saw all this but did not take part, but sat in the front room and waited.

At another time they ransacked the drawers of the room and took several articles. These were later returned when Mary pleaded for them. While some of the boys showed anxiety as to the consequences of their behavior, Bert Andrews stated with a grin, "Next day all the boys went around hitting their chests, saying, 'Today, I am a man!' " Sexual freedom to the adolescent is the most basic criterion of adult emancipation, prestige and maturity. Their behavior in this respect is clearly marked. Under the circumstances, even physical gratification could have played only a minor role. There is no indication, whatever, nor, perhaps, could one expect it, of any appreciation of the use of sex as the basis of consentiel and intimate relationship. From the point of view of the community, their action was delinquent, though not defined as such, because it was parasitic and predatory in character as was their stealing. It also had the same attitudinal preparation. Close adolescent association is commonly marked by preoccupation with sex. This has been noted in connection with some of the gang's personalities. Their behavior, in this case as elsewhere, may be explained as the result of mutual stimulation. Like their attacks on property, their exploitation of sex is a group rather than an individual phenomenon, governed by both competitiveness and consensus. Bert Andrews was quite conscious that the affair expressed and cemented groupunity. He verbalized this in an unprintable remark.

PART TWO

CHAPTER FIVE

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND THE GANG'S ATTITUDES

Introduction

Emotional difficulties, factors and situations judged as unfavourable and usually related to delinquency, are important only as they facilitate association with established delinquent behavior. The sections which follow deal with the interaction of the personalities of this study in specialized situations and their failure to become integrated into the social system.

With the breakup of the primary society, and the decline of institutional functions of the family, individuals are called upon to make a variety of major separate and independent adjustments, apart from the fundamental one in the family, to educational, recreational, and occupational life. The institutions in urban society which have come to perform these functions for the family are only partly or not at all integrated with one another and with the family. This may be because they conceive their specialized functions competitively, or because they function at differentiated social levels, or because of institutional senescence, or because of purely impersonal and objective limitations. They often present to the individual contradictory schemes of behavior and, in certain areas of the city, break down or do not exist at all. This lag and differential development is responsible for the emergence of interstices in the social structure and insterstitial groups.

With respect to the integration of the individual into the social system, he proceeds in the life cycle from his primary group to participation in the secondary groups. Stable personalities and life organizations result from a gradual progression through a graded series of roles and statuses in social groups which increasingly

approximate the conditions of adult life. The starting point is the
home, followed by the playgroups, usually graded in age levels. The
schools and recreation increasingly contain primary and secondary elements.
The economic groupings finally, are most completely secondary and
impersonal.

The acquisition of a balanced life organization is jeopardized
by institutional disintegration, or if progression through these
statuses is disrupted or by their inadequate definition through mobility,
or through personal handicaps and cultural differentiation. The
effect is to place achievement of these statuses competitively resulting
in selection, segregation and failure.

In what follows the individualizing process is seen to have
its beginning in the family and the school, Retreat into the primary
relations of gang life reinforces the original difficulties and
jeopardizes adjustment to the social and recreational life of the
community and occupational adjustment. Gang life and gang activities,
finally, are aimed at the realization of adult status without
undergoing the approved disciplines which in past experience had proved
painful.

A. FAMILY SITUATIONS

Family Status and Mobility

While social mobility is largely synonymous with kind and
degree of participation in the life of the community and its success
is contingent upon selective participation, horizontal mobility tends
to discourage participation or make it impossible. The direct relations
of the newcomer to the community, at first, tend to be purely
functional, symbiotic as Park has said, and are associated primarily
with the occupations of the adults. Failure to gain entry may mean
permanent isolation. Failure to participate, however, may also be a

matter of choice and, as such, is characteristic of individuals in urban aggregations. One result is to weaken the hold of institutions upon the individual as well as to weaken the institutions themselves. The family is now primarily a social institution. It is essential for its function of passing on the cultural heritage that it be integrated with the main streams of communal life so that its members individually and as a group may achieve status and self conceptions in accord with and loyal to the accepted mores.

With respect to the problem families, past mobility appears to have made it difficult for them to play a significant role in the community, or achieve security of status. In their move to N.D.G. they had at least achieved certain minimum objectives. Their basic identification with the English cultural background of the area was mentioned earlier and there were also more concrete expectations.

The Andrews had lived in N.D.G. for some six years. They thought of their move to the area as the beginning of "a new life." In part they came to escape from the scene where their younger son was accidentally killed. With respect to Bert's problem behavior, they expected that "all this would change in N.D.G." This was symbolized, and perhaps other expectations as well, by the purchase of a very elegant "highboy" writing desk on their arrival. This looked rather incongruous among the odd assortment of boarding house furniture. The desk was meant to affirm Bert's expected reconciliation to school discipline and to induce him to "try high school."

It was subsequently found that Mrs. Andrews may not be able to read or write which, in itself, might have been sufficient

to discourage participation in social groups, especially in a middle
class area. She had some social ambition but had allowed her violent
husband to discourage it. At times she had helped in the Red Cross
and, at first, used to go to church, in order "to get acquainted."
Her husband, however, had insisted that she stay at home on Sunday since
he was often absent during the week. Mr. Andrews belonged to a union
but took no part whatever in any N.D.G. group. While there are no data
to show that any of the adults in the problem families had been
directly subject to discriminatory class attitudes, consciousness of
inferior status was expressed in various ways. One should note here
that Mr. Andrews had a semi-skilled job and his wife kept boarders
which would not have made the family easily acceptable to upper N.D.G.
Mr. Andrews was markedly antagonistic to "Mortgage Heights" whom he
tended to blame for his son's difficulties.

> "   There are a lot of good families upstreet with
> wayward sons, but nothing ever happens to them. If
> they get in trouble they get a lawyer to help them out
> or send them away to some fancy school. But they
> come hanging around the restaurants upstreet,
> showing off with their girls, or bragging about
> money which they never earned. The boy comes
> home asking for money and tells me, 'So and so
> had a five dollar bill.' 'So and so is not working
> but always gets pocket money or new clothes or
> something.' I tell him that I don't want any good-
> time Charlies around here."

A suggestion of ranking themselves superior to the section
on the lower side of the tracks was contained in Mrs. Andrews' remark
about her boy "hanging around with that rough crowd from below the
tracks." Upper N.D.G. would classify the Andrews themselves as
belonging there. They seemed to feel their isolation and expressed
hope of being able someday to buy or rent a small farm. This
objective appeared to have received special vividness under the stress
of Bert's delinquency. It denotes in part their own lack of adjustment
and some realization of the threat of urban living to the family. They
have since been able to realize their ideal.

Herb King's family is only some blocks removed from the Andrews'. Like them, they were of old country origin. Mr. King was a railway man and had died only recently. Mrs. King had been the daughter of a shop-keeper in a small English town. She is an excellent manager, frequently referred to her family as "respectable," is self-consciously mobile and with several attractive marriageable daughters, anxious to do "the right thing." Successful relatives in a Western city were mentioned almost immediately and thereafter. Her daughters are anxious about correct symbolic middle class behavior. One of them expressed high concern about her boyfriend who was also "respectable," if he were to hear about "what Herb has done." The girls have accepted N.D.G.'s educational goals of high school and business college, one suspects with a view to a "good" marriage. They did not, on the whole, appear to reject Herb because of his misdemeanors and gave evidence of a strong family loyalty and wished "to say as little about it as possible." The mother and the girls attend the United Church regularly and help with the Red Cross. They appeared to be successfully consolidating middle class status.

The Barkers live above a store on the fringe of the commercial center in almost complete anonymity, and express resignation about it. In spite of some handicaps, however, their relative non-participation in the community is probably also a matter of choice. As a civil servant, Mr. Barkers occupational status would ensure social acceptance. His work periods prevent his attending the Anglican Church. He appears to be quiet, retiring by nature and expressed religious sentiments. He made a conscientious attempt at analyzing his own responsibility for the boy's delinquency. He belongs to an occupational association but has no affiliation with

any group in N.D.G. Having held an almost identical position before coming to Canada, he has seen little need to modify his life organization. Asked about his failure to take more interest in the community, he explained his low salary, the nature of his work, in which he showed a pedantic pride, and thought that he was resigned that "he could not go anywhere." He explained his moving to N.D.G. as being "among English people anyway." Isolation creates the need for communication. Mrs. Barker, after talking about her life to the writer, at some length stated, "I haven't talked so much about myself to anyone in years." With regard to church participation she felt that "we have moved around too much to go to church very much," indicating, thereby, how institutions come to be weakened and lose their hold on individuals. Also, she did not like to go without her husband, and thus they attend church only on special holidays. Mrs. Barker appears to be a highly individuated person, widely travelled before her marriage. She tried Red Cross work but found that she had "little in common" with the other women and gave up. The Barker's friends are other civil servants. One therapeutic effect of periodic contacts with the writer was that after several visits, Mrs. Barker announced with animation that he (the writer) had made her feel she was "getting stale" and that she had taken a half time job in a war plant and was enjoying it hugely.

The MacLeod family lived in upper N.D.G. at one time. Mr. MacLeod's alcoholism and violent actions forced several changes of address until they settled in the relatively anonymous part of lower N.D.G. This is a case of downward mobility. The brothers, apart from Bruce, are anxious to reestablish themselves, and have good positions. Their friends are largely downtown. There is a great deal of anxiety, both with respect to Bruce and his delinquent career as well as with respect to their father who might turn up again. It remains a broken family, largely detached from the community.

John Coleman's family had lived below the track, above,
and then left the city, N.D.G. appeared to be little more than an
incident in their lives. The father was a railway man. No contact
was had with the parents except by correspondence. John was left free
to move and define his own situations, though nominally in charge of
a busy and largely indifferent older sister. The modern community
has no means of integrating the detached individual.

The relation of the Garrett family to the community was one
of dependence. Mr. Garrett was a labourer and illiterate. Mrs.
Garrett had been an inefficient mother and housekeeper. Welfare agencies
patched up the family over a period of years until it was no longer
possible. The court received the individualized debris.

All of these families had been assisted at one time or
another by two or more Welfare Agencies with an economic and protective
function. The effects of the disappearance of the large family and kin-
ship group and the failure of the modern community to supplement
their function is most clearly apparent in the fate of the boys from
broken homes. Bruce MacLeod, John Coleman and Lewis Garrett are examples.
The Juvenile Court is least of all equipped to deal with their problems.

Clark Edwards had not been a member of the "inner circle" of
the gang. The Edwards family provides a contrast to the others. They
think of themselves as upper N.D.G. and feel secure in that position.
Mr. Edwards is the vice-president of a firm, has had university
training and is the son of a professional family in England. He is a
member of various lodges and organizations. Mrs. Edwards is of French-
English extraction, studied art, travelled in Europe until her family
lost some money "which put us down a peg," but still left them

"comfortably off." Three sons are in the services, two of them

commissioned. Mrs. Edwards is a member of a women's club in N.D.G.

of a Church Auxiliary and a bridge club. She is greatly worried and

ashamed about the court contact and hopes to keep it from her friends,

and says, "at home we try to laugh it off." She stated that if she had

known what kind of district they were getting into, they would have

stayed on X street which is in Upper N.D.G. "There are no Greeks and

foreigners up there. It is select. We only came down here because

the rent was lower. My sister warned me not to. I guess she was right.

What with the war and taxes, we thought we had to economize." On

subsequent visits she delighted to relate details which reflected adversely

on lower N.D.G. and continued to gather them. (73)

Parent-Child Relations

The individualizing influences of physical and psychological

mobility have changed not only the form of the family institution but

also, as personal attitudes, tend to enter the more intimate area of

family relations, threatening the "unity of interacting personalities."

This gives rise to conflicting roles and inconsistencies of behavior

which undermine the status system. As Sutherland says,

> "   A child is confronted with various cultures even
> within his own home, for no parent can act consistently
> in modern life even within his own home. The parent
> changes from day to day with stimulations, successes,
> moods, contents of books he has read or lectures
> he has heard. A great deal of behavior is in the
> nature of playing a role and when the roles are
> conflicting, the behavior is inconsistent. Groups
> outside of the home have standards which are
> extremely different from those within the home." (74)

---

73. It was not possible to get details of the crises which induced the
Edwards family to accept assistance from the Family Welfare Association
except that they were not economic ones. It should have been of
particular interest.

74. Sutherland, op. cit., page 70.

In the present case, such conflicts are reinforced since the parent generation in each of these cases was not only mobile but also migrant. In view of the fact that one sixth of N.D.G.'s population was born in the British Isles, some of the problem attitudes relating to the cultural background of the delinquent families may be assumed to be sources of anxiety, and conflict in other families in N.D.G. They are, therefore, to some extent characteristic of family problems in the area.

While personal disorganization may be a direct result of migration, it is important mainly with regard to the problems it creates for the younger children of immigrants and their native born children. (75) Second generation immigrants have always shown an unduly high number of delinquents and criminals. The success of instilling the inviolability of culture, which consists of common definitions is predicated on consensus. Since the parents themselves are isolated to a greater or lesser extent from the community both by class antagonisms as well as differences in life organization, they fail to be effective in controlling their children.

British born parents often have grown up in the tradition of a well integrated family system, relatively immobile, in which the role and status of the individual members are culturally stereotyped and clearly defined in terms of the sex and age grouping to which they belong. The individual did not greatly dissociate his wishes and desires from those of the others. This tradition is in rather sharp contrast to the highly individualized family of a generation later in the Canadian urban setting, with its shortened childhood and many stimuli to personal and early independence.

75. Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, OLD WORLD TRAITS TRANSPLANTED (New York, Harper and Brothers) 1921

Plastic and impressionable the children born here, in street life, play gangs, schools, movies often learn to understand and respond to the new setting better than the parents. Conflicts may result.

Mr. Barker acknowledged a difference when it was pointed out to him, but he felt he had been too busy and had not quite known what to do about it. He thought the time to impart sex knowledge to his fifteen year old boy was when he reached sixteen. This was the age when his own parent "had told him." He always had vaguely assumed that the boy's religious training could be continued at any time as soon as he (the father) would be less busy. People at home were good Christians and always went to church. The boy said his prayers every night. The latter actually had drifted away from Sunday School and Church when he was twelve and said his prayers "only when his father is around," had visited the "red light district" with the gang in quest of sex knowledge and adult status, had been to road houses and night clubs, mostly unknown to his parents. While both parents knew that the boy did not like school and had been extensively truant, the father stated that this was hard for him to understand since, where he came from, people placed such great value on education and he had tried to bring the boy up the same way.

One may conclude from the above that in the life experience of the parents themselves, adolescence traditionally was defined at a comparatively advanced age and in a uniform manner. Their relative isolation from the larger community which allowed them to continue their own life organization, left them insensitive to trends making for precocity in the city environment and to evidence of them in the boy's behaviour.

Conflicts often result when the parents insist on imposing a rigidly defined child-parent relationship under which they themselves grew up. This was a critical factor in the case of Bert Andrews. His mother, who took the path of least resistance with respect to bewildering adjustment demands as well as regards her husband, refused to accept and did not understand, the different conditions obtaining for the development of the boy. The more difficult the boy's behavior became the more the father insisted on his authority of position in attempting to discipline him. He used to state grimly, "I'll teach him the meaning of father and son. No son of mine is going to get me down, not where I come from." Attempts at controlling the boy by insisting on culturally stereotyped roles which for their effectiveness demanded the kind of environment of the larger family group in which he himself had grown up, only increased the isolation between father and son. The boy simply escaped his home as often as he could.

This was in part at least a factor in the breaking up of relationships within the Garrett family. The writer had only a brief contact with the father. The case history was compiled from agency records and what information the boy was able to supply. The latter is highly socialized, unreflective, showed no curiosity or interest in the questions put to him nor felt compelled to volunteer any information. He is quite satisfied with himself and his occasional escapes from reform school are rather in the nature of a lark. He stated quite cheerfully and with finality that "father was beating us all the time so we run away." The three children had deserted home several times to escape punishment. His only sister had declared in court that she would never go back home and refused to do so. A social worker described Mr. Garrett as having very old fashioned ideas about how to bring up his family.

From all this and a study of the records, the writer gained the picture of an illiterate, lower class father with a patriarchal conception of family life who demanded strict obedience due to a father and at the same time knew himself to be inadequate in the face of individualizing influences which were taking the children away from the family. Almost literally he tried to beat off these dim threats with a stick.

Insistence upon and enforcement of authority of position was a major factor also in the case of John Coleman, though specific details are lacking. This seemed clearly reflected in John's behavior in the courtroom after he was arrested. He wept brokenly like a baby and shook with fear to a degree that several people put out their hands to steady him. He was almost unable to walk. Is it too much to infer that after his moral holiday he was facing again in the judge and the court the repressive and punishing father authority from which he had escaped? Charles and Bert also complained about their parents being old fashioned.

The above examples show two different sets of factors which enter into culture conflict. There is the traditional clash between young and old, much sharper at the present time because of the vast social changes that have taken place since the parents were children. Secondly, there is the clash between the immigrant and the native culture with which the child usually is more familiar than are his parents.

From one point of view sibling rivalry can be seen as an example of culture conflict when, as in the case of the MacLeods, it involves class attitudes. The MacLeods were upwardly mobile. Bruce's inferiority feelings and dislike for his brothers grew out of the latter's successful attainment of class goals as in university and their comparative economic success. They, in turn, were anxious

to protect their position and afraid for their own status if Bruce continued in delinquency. Family sentiment, however, entered strongly into their anxiety and the image of their dead mother continued to define their behavior with respect to Bruce. On Bruce's part, his great dependence on his mother and the unsatisfactory role of the father in the family left him with an inadequate role when the former died. In the gang he formed again the primary contacts which he had lost. His recurrent complaint had been that he had no friends. At the same time the very attitudes which at home with his brother were punished, such as failure and scorn of school, unsuccessful middle class behavior, assured him status in the gang.

Class attitudes in sibling rivalry and adolescent conflict were a factor also in predisposing Herb King towards gang behavior. He was the youngest in the family of four older sisters and an older and successful brother whom Herb idealized. Actually he had been much too young to be anything but tolerated by his oldest brother who, in addition, had been working away from home prior to his enlistment. Herb's identification with his older brother seemed to grow out of his inferior position with respect to his sisters who were, or had been, attending high school and business college and were in good positions. Because of early illness and his role as the youngest boy he had been coddled and protected. His sisters were anxious to attain status in the community. He smarted under their criticism as to his clothes, manners, behavior, which on their part, grew out of normal status anxieties. As he put it in exasperation, "My pants are too long, my pants are too short. My coat is not brushed, my shoes are not shined. I am too gawky. I am too fresh. I can't do anything right." Or they

threw up to him his school failure and his dependence. "You are the only one of us who did no good in school. If you can't make school, why don't you go to work? Fetch me this, fetch me that. We are keeping you, you can do this or that for us." None of these remarks need have been spiteful. They were often meant teasingly. This Herb admitted himself. This was coupled with attempts to mother him. "It made me grind my teeth but I couldn't do anything. There are too many. You can't get anywhere with women." His father was seriously ill and bedridden for years. His mother had to attend him as well as worry about the careers and possible marriages of the girls. When the boy went out of the house to join the gang it was not particularly noticed. Herb's case will be sympathized with by most boys with many sisters. Every one of the remarks above, however, were designed to strike at the developing self-conception of an adolescent boy.

Apart from this, his story is unsensational. The psychiatrist would discover that his delinquencies were compensatory and such in part they undoubtedly are. Herb's case is that of many others who do not thereby become delinquent so the explanation is not quite adequate.

What it appears to demonstrate is merely how a boy is driven to join a gang. His subsequent delinquency is rather adventitious. Had he lived even a few blocks removed, this gang and their hangout might quite possibly not have entered into his life. As it is, he even resisted joining in delinquent acts for a time. More broadly, of course, this generalization can be made to apply to all other cases but in this case differential association as a factor in delinquency is clearly apparent.

This applies also to the role of the home factors in the case of Clark Edwards. A successful life organization demands that the

child be emancipated from parental domination. Failure of parents to recognize adolescent needs for independence and an adequate self-conception may be instrumental in causing a boy to look for substitute roles in disapproved behavior outside of the home. Mrs. Edwards undoubtedly loved her children to a degree where she kept Clark in a state of infantilism. She boasted that Clark always told her everything, that as a matter of fact he had been giving her a running account of the gang's activities for a long time. "Clark, my little Clark! He could never do a thing like that. He is much too simple." Her boy only knew "nice children" and she made it a point to keep a watch on his friends. "I know them all." "He always comes straight home and hardly goes out. He is never in that restaurant (the hangout). If he wants a soft drink, he can go and get it and drink it at home." She met all the facts regarding Clark's admittedly little involvements with amused disbelief and complete assurance, so much so that for some time she had no clear idea of what he was actually charged with. She displayed utter bewilderment and shock when some weeks later she heard the boy admit his part in the gang's activities in court.

When Clark talked of what went on in the gang, he did so with intense excitement, scarcely pausing for breath, and embellishing stories with colourful detail. One could see how by a gradual process of infection, he had acquired gang attitudes and responded to the appeal of uninhibited and impulsive behavior. When asked why he had not joined in the gang exploits sooner, he answered naively, "We don't do that in our family." Eventually, probably after much unconscious dramatic rehearsal, he consented "because they were always after me."

He had looked on it much as a spectator at a football game who takes on the attitudes and roles of the players and at a specially exciting point may feel compelled to take part.

Children want to be led and normally look to and accept their parents' definitions. They are the models whom they will follow in shaping their life organizations. If the parents themselves play conflicting roles with respect to each other and suffer from major anxieties, if they are inconsistent in their own behavior as well as in their demands and expectations of the child, the latter is unable to develop a consistent role and identifications break down. The gang may step in with its individualistic definitions.

This situation is illustrated in the Andrews family. According to Mrs. Andrews the child was planned but Mr. Andrews resented the boy from the beginning as an intruder. The boy very early reacted the same way and showed jealousy of his father. The parents, already temperamentally incompatible, became further estranged: on the part of the mother, because of her gross overprotection of the boy, on the part of the father because of violent behavior and excessive drinking. Also his health deteriorated and he was intermittently helpless and dependent on the earnings of his wife. This probably increased his anxiety for his position in the home and his resentment. The mother identified herself closer with the boy and favoured him both secretly and openly. She stated, "I had to unteach him what he learned from his father." Mr. Andrews met this with harshness and sarcasm to the boy or silence for prolonged periods. But isolation as a mode of punishment presupposes affection for its effectiveness and force was effective only as long as the boy was physically afraid of him. The boy learned to take advantage of his mother and ignore his father. He stated that he liked his mother better only because she was always giving him money.

For the rest he says,

> "   I can't do anything right at home. My father
> wanted me to go to school. My mother always said
> I should be allowed to work if I wanted to. My
> mother takes my part. Once my father wouldn't let
> me go to scout camp. She cried and wouldn't speak
> to him after that. I guess she is afraid of him.
> He is always sarcastic-like, but I don't care. I
> just go out. He is scared of me anyway. They both
> are."

Family and Gang

Various other factors have already been discussed under other headings. Their total effect was to make the home unattractive, ("There is nothing to do at home."), to weaken parental control and supervision of the movements of the boys, to jeopardize the transmission of the social heritage from parents to children. The reaction of the boys to the home situation is summed up in the statement, "I just go out," which hides a world of resentment and boredom. Like most adults, children prefer the approval of their own age group to that of any other. This is the chief reason for the strength of the gang tie which often crosscuts family loyalties.

The attitude expressed above also marks an active phase in the process of individualization and emancipation from the family and it represents a drive towards personal independence reinforcing the innumerable stimuli in this direction already present in the city environment. The direction of the boys' impulse life, which should be defined by the family is taken over by the gang and other conditions being given, leads to juvenile delinquency. The exhortations of the parents in the face of such motivations against the gang hence remain singularly ineffective.

B. THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

The function of the school system in the cultural process is the assimilation of the young members of society to the dominant social order through transmission of attitudes, knowledge, techniques

and values of the older generation to the younger. The curriculum
of the grade school is assumed to comprise the minimal requirements
for successful participation in later adult life. It has been noted
that all these boys were school failures and all but one failed to
complete grade school. Each had been more or less extensively truant
and repeated one or more grades. The purpose of this section is
to show the general structure of the conflict between the child and
its groups, with the school and its objectives. With the data on
hand it is not possible to make anything but a tentative evaluation
of the sources of failure as they apply to the cases of these boys.
Such data as could be secured from the schools were meager and complete
only as to scholastic standing and even this was not to be had in one
case. Recorded conduct data were few and, as is often the case, of
doubtful value even if corroborative interviews with teachers could
have been secured.

In general, the processes which brought about rejection
of school are basically similar to those described in connection
with the Y.M.C.A. (Section III). Differences in culture patterns
and social expectations, together with formal methods of transmission,
discourage participation and bring about a retreat to the child
society and its indigenous culture from impersonality, competitive
failure and new and strange ways of behaving.

This would tend to show that the school, like the Y.M.C.A.,
in this case, functioned as a channel of vertical mobility. Moreover,
while the actual reactions of the boys to their schools are on record,
only closer study could show to what extent they are rationalizations
of their failure. With respect to the study as a whole, their truancy
must be viewed as attitudinal preparation for their present delinquency.
They had already left school before their present exploits, even
though some had been delinquent and truant previously.

Occasions for conflict between the school on the one hand and the child, family and community on the other, appear at several levels. One may note, first, that the school system developed in the process of social evolution by supplementing, and sharing with the home the function of assimilating and educating the young, once almost exclusively a matter for family and church, integrated in a close primary relationship. Two outstanding examples of lag, here pertinent, may be seen in the fact that, with respect to Quebec province, compulsory education has only recently been recognized in the mores, and that economic support of the public school system and its expansion is still largely dependent upon small groups of property owners. This means that the great majority of parents who send children to school have no responsibility towards its upkeep and, to this extent, the institution must remain more or less external to them. There is no adult participation. Both instances of lag are rooted in the social organization of an agricultural society. The integration of the institution with the community is, therefore, a function of the mobility of the population. Moreover, none of the parents of these boys were members of a Home and School Association, just as elsewhere their record of participation was weak. Charles Barker engaged in nearly three months of truancy without his parents becoming aware at all of its full extent. Where home and school are integrated as in the small community, or are in close communication, this could scarcely happen.

Charles and the other boys attended school or were truant at a time when there was no compulsory attendance law. In spite of whatever pressure the parents might have exerted upon the boys, there was no corresponding pressure from the schools. When parental authority ceased to be effective generally, the result with respect to school attendance was similar to the breakdown of control in other respects. Bert Andrews and his brother, before the latter's death,

managed to miss a total number of days each, amounting to almost a half-term, for several single school years. Mrs. Andrews explained apologetically that, of course, the boys did not have to go to school, meaning that, since the community did not require them to go, the importance of schooling did not press upon the boys. Implicit, of course, is that the school itself had no inducement to offer to the boys. This fact, however, made it easier also to rationalize failure of parental authority.

There is, moreover, no necessary agreement between the culture patterns transmitted by the school and the patterns existing in a local community. The difference is most pronounced in the conflict between the school and immigrant cultures. But the heterogeneity of urban social levels generally creates similar problems. The formalized and uniform culture of school and curriculum are bound to run counter or fail to meet the interests and needs of diverse groups and persons in a highly differentiated urban community. As North says,

> "   It must be clearly understood that equality
> of educational opportunity is not the same thing
> as uniformity of the curriculum." (76)

Not all parents in the various urban groups and classes value academic success equally, either for themselves or for others. Objectives of food, shelter and clothing may be all-absorbing. This is related to differences of physiological perspective. It is probably significant that the Andrews parents, especially the mother, did not ask the assistance of a social worker to keep Bert in school until sometime after their move to N.D.G. While, as far as is known, the parents did want their children to complete at least grade school, they lived for the better part of their boys' careers at school in areas where even compulsory education tends to break down. There the

76. Cecil C. North, op. cit., page 265.

boys acquired prevailing attitudes of antagonism towards school which did not change on moving to N.D.G., despite parental expectations. Together with the urban pressures towards an early start in the earning life, gang traditions are also strong in such areas and at the adolescent age level, tend to be stronger than the family. Since the parents themselves may be only semi- or completely illiterate, they cannot effectively define the goals of academic achievement.

A perennial source of misunderstanding between home and school is in the different conceptions of the two institutions as to what contributes to the welfare of the children. This lies in the different definitions of childhood. Teachers are determined to advance the child intellectually and, therefore, tend to consider only a part of him. Parents may resist because they see the child as a whole, ("He's my Johnny."), and a member of a "we" group. The question when the child belongs to the teacher and when to the parents is never wholly resolved. Bert Andrews' father is on record as having had "a fight with the teacher" because the boy was punished for failure to bring in some homework. This partial view of the child and the lack of integration between urban home and school is often responsible for truancy and failure. It may mean that the child who has problems at home receives additional punishment in school as "lazy," "inattentive," "restless," "talkative," "attention getting," "aggressive," and "unruly," This the writer has frequently found in the case of "depression children." (77)

---

77. Another case the writer has handled was that of an eleven year old boy whose father was a suicide, the mother out working. The boy feels rejected and restless. He was excessively truant. Some months ago he was brought to court for a department store theft. Since this time the writer has tried to make the boy like school with some success and to educate his mother to her responsibilities as bestower of affection. Some weeks ago the teacher slapped the boy "across the face" for an error in recitation, accusing him of doing it deliberately, which he may have. Recently she referred to his appearance in Juvenile Court before the whole class. The same day his mother bought him a scooter. The boy is still rather bewildered.

There is a suggestion that something like this may have happened in the case of Lewis Garrett.

One of the most important sources of school failure and truancy has been found in the mobility of families with concommittant changes of school for the children. All the boys in this study attended two or more schools. Charles Barker was in five schools during seven years in which he finished fifth grade. This meant that he was asked to adjust to five different competitive situations along with all the redefinitions which a change of home and school implies. Among them is the problem of finding a new point of vantage and new roles in the primary group of the new school and neighbourhood. Frequently the school places him in a lower grade since it is thought he will not be able to meet the requirements of the changed learning situation, with consequent lowering in the self-esteem of the boy. By the time he reaches the higher grades, he may feel overgrown and protest his humiliation at having to be in a class "with little kids." This happened to Charles Barker. Within N.D.G. the attendance of these boys was distributed over several schools. A possible indication of the area definition of the newcomer may be found in the remark of an N.D.G. principal in answer to a general question why one of the boys had failed. He felt that "they found our N.D.G. standards too high if they came from Pointe St. Charles." This suggests the basic social function of the school as a channel of vertical mobility. There is a process of selection which tends to pre-determine the future social and occupational level of children, ordinarily at least up to the level of the parents. By the time the children arrived in N.D.G., this process was well under way.

The School and the Person

Urban culture tends to correlate success with scholastic achievement. This is particularly a middle class value. Along with

this goes a belief that learning is or should be a cold and rational
process to be kept clear of complications which emotions might bring
to it. This grows out of a popular psychology which teaches that
emotion and intellect are two different entities. A corrollary
has been the emphasis on "intelligence" as the most important factor
in the journey through the grade system. The school career can be seen
as attainment of a series of competitively placed statuses with
increasingly complex role requirements; intelligence is considered
the major selective factor. Our group of boys showed a fairly even
distribution in a range of quotients between 80 and 98 . (78)
In view of the criticism of intelligence tests, if for no other reason,
these ratings were probably not important in their failure. As Waller
points out, the old categories of mental functions are themselves
social attitudes. When the child turns to the subject matter of his
courses,

> "...the child's attitudes must be impersonal. The
> orientation which he then assumes with reference
> to the theoretical situations confronting him is
> usually that which can be called the memorizing
> attitude or the recalling attitude...These are
> attitudes of extreme importance in determining
> the child's success in the assimilation of the
> subject matter. The psychology of the school
> men sometimes errs by considering them
> changeless functions rather than attitudes
> dynamically evolved in connection with concrete
> subject matter. Perhaps educational measurements
> do not measure the efficiency of mental functions
> but the effect of attitudes." (79)

---

78. It is significant that they were not tested until after their
    appearance in court.
79. Willard Waller, THE SOCIOLOGY OF TEACHING, (New York,
    John Wiley and Sons, Inc.) 1932., page 319.

Intelligence, thus, is conditioned by, and is only one of, a number of other factors which enter more subtely into successful competition. The low I.Q. in fact, may itself be a symptom of failure elsewhere. As Plant relates,

> "..of a class of thirty, the usual teacher is practically entirely busied with some five outstanding in intellectual, personality or social virtues, and some five or more outstanding in low intelligence, wiggliness or mischief. The groups between float along, to a large extent, educating themselves. One finds proof of this when a class goes into junior high school, for instance, where the shake-up of the new situation brings members of the middle group to such a clinic as ours. Because they have been polite, have washed behind their ears, have made no trouble, their academic needs and progress have hitherto been far more a matter of conjecture than of knowledge. Of our last fifty referrals four have been these rather colourless seventh-grade children who come to us for truancy. None belonged beyond fourth grade in "academic" achievement." (80)

The child's success in school and his role is also defined by attributes of social class, appearance, behavior, manners, docility, personal habits of various sorts, relationship to parents, to teachers, the teacher's class position and the position of his parents. (81)

The school, also, may penalize, inadvertently it may be, some physical defect or difficulty of the child, such as left-handedness, sight, hearing defects, speech defects, deformities. Even under-standing treatment may leave such factors as handicaps for the child and act selectively because the definitions which may accrue to them are quite beyond control. As will be seen, some such factors entered into the situation for some of the boys.

The formal and institutional setting for the learning processes may itself be sufficient to bring about truancy and failure.

---

80. J.S. Plant, op. cit., page 281, footnote.
81. Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage, (Washington, American Council of Education) 1940, Chapter XIII.

From the point of view of the child, the school is an experience in primary group living involving tensions, conflicts and differentiation of roles in the struggle to be someone in the eyes of the teacher and the other children. He finds that the relation to adults in the school differs greatly from his relationship with the adults in his family. The teacher, at first, may serve as a mother substitute but this does not last. The teacher relies on impersonality, domination, to maintain his status. But formalism tends to destroy the character of the school as a primary group, the "we" attitudes and identification with group objectives. As the relationship of the child becomes increasingly secondary, the primary group attitudes attach themselves more and more to his contemporaries. Emphasis on high grades results in intensified competition and isolates the emotionally and intellectually retarded child. There follows loss of interest in the learning process, resistance, truancy, ganging, (in which the bad boys get together to beat up the good boys), and rejection of the school status is complete.

Available data tend to bear out much of the above. Charles Barker apparently experienced great difficulty in making the break from home to school. He carries with him a vivid experience of his first day in school. He stated truculently,

> "They tried to make me like school but they
> couldn't. The first day my father brought me there,
> I guess I yelled all the way up. Two men had to
> hold me in the schoolyard to keep me there. I
> cried when I saw my father walk away down the
> street."

And later,

> "French and arithmatic were my worst. Every time
> a lesson came up I couldn't do it. So I didn't
> like school any more."

On the river banks of Verdun he found fishing and boating more to his liking.

Herb King had been coddled and protected because of an early

and intermittent illness. He had acquired a terror of hospitals so much so that he had to be treated at home. He may have carried something of this over into school. The first thing he remembers is an old teacher who used to rap his knuckles for writing with his left hand. He has a tendency to be ambidexterous. His second grade was again interrupted by illness. He returned to school, nervous and shy. The teacher continued trying to make him change his writing habits. "I never liked Miss X. She was always at me. She made me repeat second grade." "I never liked being in a crowd like that. When you make a mistake they call you dumb and look down on you." When he fell back in his work, the principal talked to him and used to compare him with his clever sisters. This had the opposite effect since his four sisters at home had already crowded him into the background. He "always felt he was slow." Two changes of school did not improve matters. He was often truant and explains himself that "there was no fun in school and I made up my mind that I would never stick to it. I wanted to go to work."

Bert Andrews had a hearing defect which was not at once discovered. Finally, however, he was given a seat in the front of the class,

> "but I was always scared of reading out too loud
> or wrong. The girls would start snickering. They
> ought to have the girls and boys separated as they
> have in Catholic schools."

He tended to be aggressive. Bert explained that because of self-consciousness in the classroom, he acted tough in the school and outside generally. (82)

Lewis Garrett at first offered no other explanation beyond an explosive, "I didn't like school, that's all. I didn't like any

---

82. He probably was provided with this bit of insight by a social worker who tried to adjust him to school after coming to N.D.G. Bert's aggressiveness easily had other roots.

I was in." Later he intimated that his parents had no money during the depression and couldn't buy books or clothes for him. "Anyway, I wanted to go to work. My old man was always beating me." The writer has no data for the other boys. Their overt reaction to school, however, is shown in their truancy, failure and delinquency. As has been noted, these have grown out of the school process itself and the absence of consensus and integration between home and school.

There is, however, a lag in the concept of education which as a general factor, contributes to disorganization of the adolescent. It exemplifies the failure of the school to define the status of the adolescent. The school and its curriculum tend to ignore almost completely the major problems of late adolescence, emancipation from home and parental authority, definitions guiding the transition to heterosexual adjustments and vocational preparation. (83) A recent proposal to teach the facts of sex in Montreal high schools has been turned down because, as one authority was reported to have said, "it would do more harm than good."

Truancy has been generally recognized as a main road to delinquency.

> " The gang invites truancy and truancy
> encourages the gang. 'Truancy is one of the
> first steps in the formation of the gang'
> asserts an experienced officer of the Chicago
> Department of Compulsory Education. 'Nearly
> every habitual truant over twelve becomes the
> nucleus for a gang and delinquency follows.'
> The gang, on the other hand, is the basis of
> truancy. The demoralizing influence of truant
> gangs in school districts is rapid...Gang boys
> are truants and lead others to become so." (84)

---

83. Elliott and Merrill, op. cit., page 96.
84. Thrasher, op. cit., page 370.

One interesting sequel to their school career which must be mentioned is that MacLeod and Andrews went back to evening school for a time and the other boys generally played vaguely with the idea of going to night school, when their future careers were discussed with them. The writer can testify to those who are interested that the idea of evening education has taken some hold even in the lowest levels of our population, even though it is probably rarely carried out. The writer has also found that "going to night school" is sometimes considered by adolescents as another gang enterprise, with apparently few specific drives behind it. Several such groups have been encountered in Rosemount Ward. The boys will say, "So and so went to night school, so we all went. When he stopped, we all stopped." They find this quite amusing. In the gang under discussion, MacLeod after one failure made a second attempt with Andrews. Both gave up together. Bert thought he would try again if "the gang went." In view of the past experience of the boys as school failures, they thought of night school as "maybe easier," that is less formality, less "coldness" in the learning process, less insistence on requirements. Also, it may be, less competitiveness, as expressed by Andrews, "They don't make you feel that you are always dumber than some other guy."

C. THE GANG AND RECREATION

The small mobile family can no longer care adequately for the recreational needs of its children and adolescents. The urban community has shown itself especially inadequate in the provision and control of their leisure and play life. Even when recreational facilities are provided, they may fail to attract those individuals for whom they are intended. A number of factors entered into the failure of the gang members to be absorbed into local recreational institutions.

The difficulties of an area such as N.D.G. to maintain a local social life have been noted earlier. It remains oriented towards the central area with respect to recreation as in other activities. The area of bright lights to its adolescents is an ever ready and attractive alternative. It was so for the gang, partly because of the institutional gap in its section of N.D.G.

A further factor was that membership and participation in the available institutions were competitively placed, both at the level of personal skills and social skills. The individuals tended to be denied status on both counts. Mobility creates stratified social levels with differentiated institutions and specialized behavior demands. It also differentiates individuals until they may not be able to penetrate each other's experience any longer. The cultural pattern of another social level may mean discrimination to the individual or seem completely external. Contacts produce tensions, discomfort, insecurity and retreat. In the present context, the example of a differentiated institution is the Y.M.C.A. A group of differentiated individuals is the lower N.D.G. gang. The formal institution, moreover, must reject the informal, spontaneous group. Neither can operate under the control of the other.

The boys related a number of incidents as reasons why they did not participate in supervised activities to a greater extent. For instance, Allan Morley was forbidden the use of the swimming pool in the Community Hall for infringement of regulations. Some of the boys said, "if Allan can't go, we won't," and did their swimming unsupervised outside the city. It was charged also that this institution discriminates against boys from lower N.D.G.

Bruce MacLeod was given a free membership in the "Y". He turned up once or twice only. When asked about his failure to attend he stated that none of his friends were there and he did not like to go alone. This was the answer of several boys when they were individually asked why they were not members.

Herb King started to go to the Reserve Army with Allan Morley, Charles Barker with John Coleman and Garrett at different times. When one in each group stopped attending, the others stated that "they didn't want to go alone."

Several informants stated that the Quebec Amateur Hockey Association discouraged boys from using the rinks by setting too high a standard in skating and playing ability with a view to producing champion teams. Two of the boys, Andrews and MacLeod, stated not only that they did not use the rinks as much as they would like to because they were not good enough skaters, but also that some of the other boys could not skate so they didn't go very often.

Most of the boys expressed a supercilious attitude to Y.M.C.A. participation or sneered at it outright. Only "sissies" or "fifi's" go there." Pressed for reasons, they stated variously, "Only schoolboys go there." "You've got to be dressed to go there." "Its only for big shots." "You have to pay fees. It costs thirty-five cents to go swimming at the Y." "Its too far from where I live." "You can't do anything by yourself there. You've got to do what they tell you to do. We got more fun by ourselves."

Charles Barker summed up the gang's attitude.

" I went for movies and for swimming. I wouldn't like to belong. They are different crowd altogether. They amuse theirselves differently. They're all sissies. If all the boys joined the Y, I guess I wouldn't mind, but I like to have my friends where I go. I wouldn't want to go alone."

In view of the rapid growth of the area and its functional dependence and inter-relationship with the rest of the city, N.D.G. still has the problem not only of developing its institutions but also of integrating its population about them.

A survey carried out within the last few years covering children in five English Protestant Schools in Notre Dame de Grace, showed that 50%, (if memory serves) of them had no contact with any organized recreational activity. This, of course, is only the roughest kind of index. (85)

It is true, however, that an institutional gap exists at least in the problem section of the area. In view of the frontier aspects of the area, one could therefore expect to find a good deal of individualized and unorganized activities on the part of its child and adolescent population generally. Some index is provided by considering experiences and difficulties of as well supported a community institution as the Y.M.C.A., located in upper N.D.G. It may also help in defining the limits of its function.

"Y" Boys

A summary of interviews with Y.M.C.A. personnel yields the following appraisal of N.D.G. boys who attend.

The boys are between the ages of 12 and 15 years. About 50% are in high school. Their main interests are hockey, rugby, and baseball but they want to become professional players in order to make money. One main difficulty was said to be to convince them that school attainments hold much more promise of future success than professional sports. There is little interest in the game for the game's sake. They must win. If they lose, they drop out.

85. Any valid and useful interpretation would have to draw on a now non-existant knowledge of the degree of family integration, the severity and type of class training and other means of socializing the young individual in N.D.G. By the time all this is known, the usefulness of the above item would probably have disappeared.

There is a tendency to consider the Y staff as paid attendants and an unwillingness of the boys to do things for themselves. "Once they have paid their membership, they think they own the place." They fail to recognize that their fees are insufficient to m_intain the Y. The boys tend to demand payment when they are asked to do various odd tasks about the place.

Behavior most often subject to criticism is rough play and protective lying. They will not tell on each other. There is much smoking, at least three out of ten doing so, and the older ones, within the building.

Another problem is ordinary courtesy. There is little respect for authority, and for older people. Ill-manneredness is often considered smart. Respect for furniture and equipment has to be taught. Criticism is met with pseudo "tough talk" and sometimes with threats, like, "If I can't do this or that I'll just go to the poolroom."

The most popular indoor sport is dancing to the juke box at which they tend to be "noisy and rough." Failure to come up to Y standards was also criticized with respect to heterosexual relationships. The example cited was one group of young people of "good family" who planned in the Y for a weekend in the mountains which turned into a "drinking and necking party." It was thought of as an issue between behavior learned in smart downtown hotels and that demanded by Y standards.

The lack of success in tying the gang boy to the Y was stressed. There was said to be a nostalgia for the good old days when the Y was housed in an old shack which served as a meeting place for the older gangs.

It was further stated that readiness to participate is assumed and those who do are expected to fit in. "If they come, very well. But we can't stand for boys coming in here and busting up classes."

There are participants from the lower class sections who come voluntarily. Others have been brought in by a social worker. A "rumpus room" has been fixed up "as a concession to them."

The first inference one may draw is that of the pervasiveness of gang habits and gang spirit as they show up and persist against the organizing efforts of a formal institution. The situation represents an incomplete assimilation of the spontaneous groups that grew up along with the expansion of the area. Protective lying, rough play, unwillingness to tell on each other in case of misdemeanors, destruction of property, are noted as some of the main problems. The planning activities independently of the Y, also complained of, show the emerging of cliques within the imposed institution, organized about the natural interests of the members as opposed to those of the directors. (86)

Leaving other considerations aside for the moment, all this merely means that the gang tradition is stronger and older than the Y. The experiences and difficulties of the institution are simply those of getting its formalized programme accepted against the attractiveness and traditions of uninhibited gang behavior. The formal programme hence tends to be least successful with boys from areas where gang traditions are strongest. This is true of areas of lower economic status as of the boys in the present case.

---

86. As Thrasher says, "Beneath the external earmarks of a club, gang characteristics often persist. The result is a sort of social hybrid. If supervised and backed by wholesome influences, the gang my become thoroughly socialized (accomodated to society); otherwise it may function as a destructive and demoralizing agency in the community, or it may lose its vitality and enter a period of disintegration." op. cit. page 64.

Antagonisms

In this respect, difficulties tend to be aggravated the more the programme, equipment, furniture, behavior, and expectations are geared to a higher class level. The resulting rigidity of demands of the institution automatically discourages participation of individuals who, because of environment and background, stand at a more remote level in the community. Rigidity engenders insecurity and resentment. Lower class boys are frankly timid in the solid atmosphere of the Y and hide their timidity by rough talk and rough behavior, as by putting their feet on a beautifully varnished table. That the boys are conscious of different behavior expectations as conditions of membership is shown in their threats, when thwarted, of reverting to lower class behavior, "I'll go to the poolroom." This may be taken as an indication also of the essential insecurity of the white collar family, recently arrived from lower class position. Its success can be maintained and continued only by keeping its children in the Y and in schools, rather than in poolrooms and corner stores.

Efforts made by the Y.M.C.A. to expand its membership "below the tracks" have had little success. At least once, when free memberships were offered through the school, there were no takers. An explanation given was that of too great physical distance. While this is a factor, it is rather social distance that is involved. This became evident when a group of girls from "below" were finally brought into the Y by a social worker on reduced memberships. Two of the girls were in high school, ten others worked in factories and similar employment. They attended dances at the Y and expressed the hope of "meeting boys of their own age."

On "party nights" they were found highly self-conscious about their clothes, did not mix and stayed in a group by themselves. Attempts were made to "bring them together" in meetings with guest speakers. "Oh, yeah, the meetings were successful because they (upper M.D.G. girls) wouldn't be bothered mixing with them." Most of these regular girl members were in high school.

The behavior of the regular girl members was further described as being "self-centered," and "aggressive with boys." "They will attend only mixed parties." In contrast, their sisters from below were anxious to take part in any activity, were shy with boys, and "even shrank from them." The former felt that "this was their own institution." "They were never shy about pushing themselves right into anything." The latter's attitude was thought symbolized by incidents such as being late for a meeting when they would stand outside the door and would not dare to go in. The girls from "above" also enjoyed more freedom because "they have more money," and "they boast about it." They were said to indulge in "smart Alec"talk about their parents and teachers, and forming cliques, "no one else could get in." Their sisters from "below" have expressed the opinion that the girls above the tracks were "snooty."

Social distances are found to be expressed also when the attitudes of the gang towards the Y and "Mortgage Heights" are summed up. They do not participate because of the distance, cost, because some are self-conscious about their clothes and are afraid of snobbery. This involves a recognition that Y members are on a somewhat different social and economic level. As one boy stated it, "They amuse theirselves differently. They are a different crowd altogether." Another says, derisively, "They are all school boys." When it is considered that about fifty percent of the Y members are high school students and that most of the

gang members are school failures, one is left with the inference that not only are the boys afraid of snobbery but also of derision which may hide strong inferiority feelings. The very fact also that the Y is placed in the more desireable part of N.D.G. tends to identify it with "Mortgage Heights."

Hence physical distance also implies social distance. This is further reason why they object to joining individually without their friends to back them. They would feel uncomfortable. These attitudes serve also to define the social place of the family. Mrs. King stated resentfully that after trying to get Herb to join the Y to meet some "nice boys", he came home to tell her that some boys had told him in an argument, "Go on down where you belong." Her daughter also had complained that "there were cliques up there," and the girls are "too conceited."

The second type of objection voiced by the gang boys to Y participation illustrates the problem of the gang in relation to the formal institution. This was seen above to be present even within its membership. The boys declared their unwillingness to submit to schedules. They would no longer be free to do what they liked and when they liked it. "You gotta do what they tell you." The gang is stronger than the Y. The origin of these attitudes is found in part in the personal histories of these boys with their pattern of previous defiance and evasion of home and school authority but chiefly in the fact that the gang activity has a momentum of its own and the gang is an end in itself. The fundamental gang attitude is expressed in Charles Barker's comment, "Where they go, I go. If he won't go, I won't go."

It is just because the relationships within the gang are unintellectualized and non-rational that they resist the specialization demanded of it by the rational program of the formal institution.

Commercialized Recreation

Some other points raised by the Y data deserve consideration. Membership in the institution tends to be thought of as earned not by participation but by having paid for it. Hence the boys tend to look upon the staff as paid attendants and with scant respect for its authority, reinforcing such discipline problems as protective lying. Hence too, they tend to demand payment for special tasks they are asked to perform since having paid a price of admission to a prepared program and locale no obligation or voluntary effort seem entailed. This is clearly a result of attitudes engendered by our commercialized urban recreation and spectatoritis, of having things done for you once you have paid for them. It is also in the nature of a formalized recreation that active participation is no longer spontaneous but has to be learned.

The pervasiveness, early striving for and acceptance of adult values by the city child, is illustrated also in attitudes to sport; games are no longer played for their own sake; unless they win they tend to give up. At an earlier stage in childhood, play is its own reward. Between the ages of ten to fifteen years, competition between children is most intense, fostered by the grade system in our schools. Inescapably at this period, adult attitudes and success goals are accepted by the children. The dominant, rational attitudes of the economic society tend to be extended to the field of recreation, and play may become another business. The end of this process is seen in professional sports. The game is no longer important only because of its inherent values, such as speed, endurance, presence of mind, "muscle joy," exhileration of movement. It also tends to lose its "release" value, its function, among others, of socializing aggression. (87)

87. Plant, op. cit., pages 295-7.

These qualities, first, come to have money value for the individual player and for the same reason winning the contest becomes of superior importance. The game has become a business. Secondly, if the qualities necessary to assure success of the contest are not present, problems of fair play and illicit practices begin to arise and illegitimate means such as bribery may be employed. All formalized recreation fosters this competitiveness and specialized activity leaving the way open for the aggressive and the skilled but isolating the timid, the handicapped, and the unskilled from the groups who have status in his world. They are left to their own devices and, as in this case, may drift into delinquency. The above applies not only because the gang felt excluded from the skating and hockey rinks where the aim apparently was to train champion teams but also because past inadequacies and experience of inferior status at home, in school, reinforced by class distinctions, rendered them in need of "protected competition." (88) In competition the Achilles' heel of the individual is discovered in school, play, dress, manners, attitudes, etc. The gang grows up as other means of gaining security and status fail.

B. OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

The problem of progressive social adjustment is the problem of finding new roles. With gradual emancipation from the family, and the school, the adolescent must find an occupation as the basis for

---

88. As Plant says, "For most children today the family provides this experience for two to five years, and there is some indication that this is a needed experience... Within the family the parents are primarily interested in what the child can do. When the child goes on to the street, the play life is based on what he cannot do... and this continues through life. Within the family group the competition is protected, while in the social group the competition is destructive." ibid, page 258-9.

participation in the secondary adult society. Just as scholastic
achievement in our culture is competitively placed so too specific
occupations, regular and stable work relations, hard work and thrift, are
all highly individualistic values. They tend to be seen as expressive
of the dominant values of independence, responsibility, and relate to
occupational adjustment as they do to citizenship.

The smooth transition to the status of wage or salary earner
implies prior acquisition of some minimal skills, chiefly such as
provided by school training, as well as some emotional and attitudinal
preparation before the status is assumed. This must include goals
and incentives strong enough to reward the young individual for the new
restraints and inhibitions required in the pursuit of an occupational
routine; such are the actual monetary reward, enhanced status and
recognition in his social groups, greater personal and eventually adult
independence.

Our culture, conversely, punishes in one way or another
"idleness," "irresponsibility," "lack of self-respect" as judged by
parasitism, defined also as "sponging on parents," wasteful spending,
frequent changing of jobs, "bumming around." All such behaviors are
found conducive to delinquency, "an idle and disorderly life," as the
Juvenile Delinquents Act puts it. The above definitions were applied
to the behavior of the gang boys by parents and others, even by the
boys themselves. They describe also universal aspects of gang behavior.
They indicate conflicts between attitudes and roles nurtured in adolescent
societies and those prescribed for adult statuses. The adult culture
expects that the growing individual organize his attitudes and behavior
in terms of a career motive. A career motive implies anticipation of
some future status and role which is immediately effective in organizing
the individual's present behavior. Parents and elders generally do not

always realize that in this, as elsewhere, prior training and conditioning are necessary. Adolescent flounderings are criticized from a belief that there is some inherent quality in the individual boy that will inevitably make him gravitate into his particular niche. This belief may be an unconscious acknowledgement of the effect of the impersonal competitive forces which somehow do determine the individual's place in the occupational order. It may also be a more or less conscious reflection of our open-class ideology. It is not always seen that the boy's difficulties may be a symptom of his undefined adolescent status. Mrs. Barker felt that Charles' truant disposition was due to the fact that "he was born under Mercury." She failed to add that Mercury is not only the patron of travellers but also of thieves. One synonym for career motive is "ambition." The writer has found that many of the boys he deals with have little notion of the term as a symbol with emotional connotations. The word may be quite new to them or may stand for some more or less general industrial employment. Often it means high wages and the pleasures that can be bought with them. Garrett's "ambition" was "to get a job in the States where they pay well and everything is always wide open." Incidentally, he chose the States because this would also remove him from the jurisdiction of courts and reform schools. Herb King thought somewhat vaguely that he wanted to work "on a machine;" by this he meant a punch press which he considered "a soft job" because he could sit down all day. (89) The term "ambition" therefore, belongs, more properly

---

89. The writer is reminded here of a comment made to him by the owner of a small plant to the effect that some of his workers actually felt they were getting the best of him in being well paid for work of this kind which they looked upon as requiring no bodily exertion; one may recall in this connection that "the iron man, the machine is the friend of the defective." Elliott and Merrill, op. cit., page 368. ff

to the vocabulary of the middle classes where it implies upward mobility
and idealism. Ambition is a basic drive in the process of social selection.
A thirteen year old delinquent of Italian ancestry made this distinction
neatly. He had just been committed to reform school and was asked about
his "ambition" to orient his training there. He promptly answered,

> "   I haven't any. I just want a job. My brother,
> he's got ambition. He finished high school and is
> going to college. That's why my mother works," and
> laughing, "me, I go to reform school."

Ambition thus tends to imply a socially mobile orientation. Often,
of course, one finds among the boys the wish "to be something," that is,
to play a significant role, but the kind of response one receives
in an interview to the question of ambition usually is an index to
the orientation of the boy and of his family. Where the term is in
the vocabulary it tends to mean that the need for specialization in
occupation, a fair amount of training, is accepted. The time perspective
therefore, includes the future and the personality is organized with
respect to it. Otherwise, life situations tend to be defined as
immobile and the perspective is on the immediate goals of food,
shelter and clothing.

The absence of any career motive and ambition among the
boys in this group was in the first instance, of course, the immediate
reflection of gang orientation. The gang lives in the present. At the
time the group was studied, the gang was the center of their world.
Frequent changes of job alternated with shorter or longer periods of
loafing and spending. Casual work even seems to have been undertaken
sometimes only to replenish the gang's finances. Unstable work
relations and adjustment difficulties arose out of gang life and in
turn reinforced the gang and gang behavior. This situation was earlier
described as "symptomatic of other factors and processes."

The modern city is organized about what are essentially adult values and adult behavior. There are many pressures and definitions therefore, which tend to shorten the period of childhood, especially among the lower classes. The young individual is driven to assume adult values whether in recreation, sex life, or occupation before he is physically and emotionally sufficiently developed to define and incorporate them into a stable life organization. This has been discussed in connection with some of the gang activities. With respect to occupation, childhood tends to be shortened especially for children in the lower strata, if only the necessity to earn presents itself sooner than at the upper levels. One may express the difference roughly by saying that in the upper levels the family contributes to the adolescent, as in supporting him to realize long range class goals, while at the lower levels the adolescent contributes to the family to insure the immediate and immobile physiological needs. The problem families in this study do not invite as clearcut a distinction. Most parents were anxious to see their children finish school, go to high school, or enter some kind of apprenticeship. But the factors which brought about the selection of these families and of the boys to their particular place in the community, were effective in part in bringing about school failure. School failure in turn created pressures toward early assumption of earning life, though these pressures were not at all uniform. School failure, moreover, determined also the occupational stratum through which the boys might enter adult society. It implied a final and critical definition of "what they were good for," that is, a narrowed range of occupational choice and corresponding social status. When the boys were asked why they did not finish school, they answered uniformly that they wanted to go to work. The goal of wage earner, however,

appears to have been accepted merely as generally part of the desired adult status. They appeared as little prepared to accept the obligations involved as they were to accept continued school discipline. The schools obviously had failed in inculcating career motives; pressures and definitions by the adults around them also were conflicting and ineffective. This lack of orientation ultimately, perhaps, was rooted in the mobility of the families, and the attendant isolation, insecurities, inconsistencies, and disruptions in the life careers of the parents as well as the children. Mobility, thus, is reflected in the absence of career motives and instability in occupational adjustment, as it is elsewhere. In the relative absence of and failure of institutions to absorb and incorporate the families, there was little to inspire efforts at self-advancement.

While most parents were anxious to see the boys make some permanent and stable work adjustment, the day by day pressures and definitions towards this end were, nevertheless, highly conflicting and inadequate. Thus, both the Andrews parents wanted Bert to work. Mr. Andrews especially insisted that the boy should pay his board. However, when the latter left his job, this was kept from his father. Mrs. Andrews would tell her husband that the boy had paid his board to her or would actually give Bert money so that he might pay her in the presence of his father, both pretending that it came out of the boy's own earnings. The deception was made easier because Mr. Andrews was absent at work for several days at a time.

Conflict may arise also from the continued dependence of the parents on the boy or of the boy on the parents, or both, which makes the assumption of roles difficult. Herb King's move to go to work, initially, was carried through against the opposition of his mother. It was clearly an attempt to gain status for himself in a

household dominated by women. He was subject to frequent criticism by his sisters both with regard to his school failure and their claim that they were supporting him. His mother, however, was content to keep him at home, though she was not always consistent in this, because he was "the baby of the family." She thought that because all his sisters were either at work or in school he was useful around the house. She failed to note the conflict the boy's role created with his developing self-conception. His efforts in the role of independent wage earner appeared not to have been taken seriously, paradoxically, even by his sisters. Despite their criticism, they too seemed to look upon him as the "baby." In gang association at last, Herb found the recognition he could not get elsewhere, and the gang's attitude to work soon became his own. More than once he would pretend to go to work in the morning, receiving his street car fare and lunch, and spend the day in gang activities. This would be discovered on pay day, but the gang now was sufficient compensation for the inevitable ridicule and criticism from the members of his family.

Failure to define the situation at all on the part of one parent and inadequately on the part of the other can be seen in the case of Charles Barker. Mr. Barker did have a vocational goal for the boy. The latter had shown some drawing ability and his father wanted him to become a designer or an artist. But Charles, when asked about this, showed only the vaguest awareness of his father's plans. In fact, this seemed to be rather a projection by the latter upon the boy of a suppressed desire for expression. Mr. Barker was fond of good reading and had married a woman who was a musician. Mrs. Barker, the step-mother, more or less tacitly it would seem, felt that the boy's career was "his father's worry." She did insist, nevertheless, that he go to work, but also admitted that "half the time we don't know

where he works and we can't seem to find out." Charles was employed
at the racetracks for several weeks while he was supposed to be working
in the university library. Moreover, like Herb, he would spend weeks
in gang activities pretending each morning that he was going to work.
While his father, when he found out, was strictly opposed to the boy's
penchant for racing stables and travelling jobs, Charles seemed successful
in inventing headaches to escape inside work which he detested. The
job most to his liking had been driving a horse-drawn delivery cart
for a grocery chain.

The effects of the breakdown of uniform definitions are
most marked in the cases of the boys from broken homes. The boys are
left to flounder as best they might, which tends to result in a life
organized about impulse satisfaction and vagabondage. John Coleman
who had been left without supervision by his parents, held a number
of nondescript jobs, did not always pay his board and was asked to leave
at least two places where he boarded. Control by his married sister
was spotty. One rooming house keeper was supposed to have informed
her about John's behavior and work habits but never troubled as long as
the boy continued to pay her which, at this time, he did, partly from
the sale of stolen goods. She probably did not know this. John's
sister finally heard from other sources that the boy was leading an
irregular life. She came to see him a few times at his boarding
house but never found him in. She decided on an early morning visit.
John had just returned from a night's prowling, saw her coming, and
leaped into bed fully clothed. His strategy failed, as did his
explanation that he was doing night work, which in manner of speaking
was quite correct. It was said, however, that a week later "he was
on the loose again."

Lewis Garrett had no one to fall back on, and gravitated
between reform school, sporadic work, stealing and some support from

the gang. Bruce MacLeod was intermittently dependent on his relatives and brothers, casual jobs, or content with a hand to mouth existence in the company of the gang.

One overall source of conflict arises from the fact that when the boy enters earning life, possibly forced into it by his parents, he is thereby exposed to many individualizing influences. At the same time his parents continue to make the same emotional claims, continue to demand obedience, control of hours, spending money and friends. If the boy has gang membership and a strong self-conception based upon it, he is able to oppose his parents with his own strong definitions. To the parents this is often no more than some inexplicable stubborness. "We don't know where he gets it."

Parents and adults in the case admitted that rarely had they taken a hand in finding suitable work for the boys even though they did insist generally that they earn their own living. In part, this may have been due to the feeling which some of them voiced that, since the boys had failed in school, they were not much good for anything else. Since they tended to define education in middle class terms, they probably found it difficult to accept the boys' adjustment at a lower-than-hoped-for level. The likely effect could be mutually reinforced frustration between parents and children, arising from the different definitions of the school situation. Actually, however, under modern conditions, the average parent is quite helpless to bridge the gap between economic institutions and the home. The change from an agricultural to the modern industrial society resulted in the divorce of economic functions from the family. The concommittant separation of place of work from place of residence is responsible for most of the segregation in the modern community (90) and, thereby,

---

90. Park, op. cit. page 108.

differential social selection. The working members of th family are scattered as to type and place of employment, are subjected to different influences, and may have few common experiences in their vocational activity. Each must engage in personal competition, and adolescents must perforce be left largely to their own resources. Parents can only exercize a minimum of indirect control over their working life. This mutual detachment is part of the normal course of individualization.

Under these conditions, parents may think themselves lucky to know a foreman or some other employee in some firm who can be asked to exercise a guidance or supervisory function over their boy. Here also enters the pattern of "needing pull to get a good job," and in other ways to socialize in some way the impersonality of the work relations. Thus Bruce MacLeod was taken back to work in the railroad office, after having been fired, because an office manager had once been a friend of his errant father.

In the labour market, the individual, especially in the lower occupational strata, holds a position analogous almost to that of any other commodity. Competition and selection at this level are governed largely by the impersonal contingencies and fluctuations of supply and demand. The disappearance of the apprenticeship system and of the need for long term specialization no longer required to fill a place in a factory, has meant the elimination of monopolies of skill, that is, security in terms of function. The labour movement is basically an attempt to gain a new security in terms of power. For the adolescent, therefore, the process of finding a niche may of necessity become a process of trial and error especially when jobs are scarce. When jobs are plentiful certain urgencies are reduced but the same process may be reinforced in the direction of finding the best possible adjustment in a number of consecutive work situations, defined

in terms of maximum income, aptitude, congeniality. To these boys without training or habits of work, the war brought many opportunities to earn good wages. No particular skill was required. They shifted from job to job, partly in search of higher wages, were able sometimes to hide their actual earnings, and take time out to spend them, "just bumming around," or they "just got tired of working."

This instability, in part, perhaps largely, was a reflection of behavior as organized by the gang. To the extent, however, that they went to work in response to adult pressure, or in an actual attempt to make individual adjustments, their instability may also indicate difficulties in accepting the impersonality of industry. The separation between the boy's primary groups and the plant or factory in which he works is complete, except for the impersonal pay envelope. More even than the school, the factory only considers a special part of him; he is largely a function, the efficiency of which is rated a monetary value. The individual, however, brings his wishes and roles with him; he enters the factory with his whole personality. He may, as the psychiatrists suggest, try to rediscover the family pattern. With respect to the boys and their experiences of failure in social relationships elsewhere, this impersonality could only increase their tensions. At all events, the fact that two or more of them, at one time or another, tried to secure and succeeded in getting jobs in the same plant, and also quit or were fired together, may seem an attempt to extend the gang pattern into work relations. This is basically, perhaps, an attempt to socialize an otherwise impersonal environment, a search for emotionally satisfactory roles. With respect to the actual tasks performed, the work process itself, the descriptions were hazy and evidently had failed to catch their interest, and were mostly of an automatic nature. Hence the work process itself had little or no stimulus value and did not allow for self-expression.

J.S. Plant finally suggests the disintegrating effect of the impersonality of industrial relations upon personality values and thereby the whole moral order.

>   "   With the increasing size of industrial plants
> there has come also a factor of impersonality that
> means that workers scrupulously honest in their
> dealings with other individuals have no such feeling
> of responsibility towards their employers. We cannot
> resist reporting our experiences here with older
> children who have developed very real conflicts
> as they have found themselves drifting into this
> situation of "callousness" in their relationships
> to their employers. Recognizing that they have
> responsibilities to their employers, they find at
> the same time that the impersonality of the
> organization is numbing those ethical relationships
> which, after all, we do very clearly build up
> about personal relationships." (91)

---

91. Plant, op. cit., page 395.

PART THREE

C H A P T E R   S I X

DISINTEGRATING MORALITIES

Introduction

Law and our public morality regarding property and sex, still
largely insist upon the norms of a pre-industrial society. They are
cultural lags. Ours is a changing society governed by static social
norms. Sexual promiscuity and amorality with respect to property relations,
nevertheless, have become usual phenomena of modern culture. It is only
under certain conditions that they come to be defined as criminal.

The sex behavior of the individuals in this study is the
natural result of conflicting moralities, the apparent absence of any
consistent and common definitions and the release of hedonistic drives
in an unstable growth environment.

The mores of property grew out of conditions of largely
personal owning and were maintained at one time mostly through primary
group controls. Accepting the fact that for children and many adults
the urban environment has no personal owner, that the spontaneous
and uncontrolled behavior of children and adolescents is bound to
produce acts which will be disapproved of and defined as delinquent,
and accepting further the latency of a criminal culture, then the
appearance of systematic delinquency and criminality is to be expected
as natural and normal.

A. "THE FACTS OF LIFE"

The sex urge, as a fundamental determiner of behavior, has
in all societies been placed under some form of repression and control.
The basic biological function of sex is the procreation of children;
socially its essential function is as the basis of those intimate

relationships which will assure the affectional needs of husband and wife, parents and children and, thereby, the continuity of the social institution. The problem of sex education is to bring about acceptance by the individual of those patterns and attitudes of behavior through which a society conceives these functions to be most effectively served. With regard to the younger members, society must give progressive and uniform social definitions to what, at first, is for the individual only a set of pleasurable sensations.

While the pleasure factor persists in sex experience there is, in the process of growth, an inevitable accretion of meanings and purposes gathered from within and without the defining mores. This, eventually, justifies the dictum, "no more sex than you have been educated up to," (92) which will be found applicable to the sex conduct of the boys under discussion. Through the whole adolescent period, the sexual phenomena, says Plant,

> "..run rampant as the symbols of having grown up...
> So for the adolescent one could multiply by
> hundreds the examples of the sexual life to attain
> in one's own eyes and in the eyes of others, age,
> maturity, social prestige, victory in sibling
> rivalry, and the like." (93)

Such definitions, however, are essentially individualistic and have nothing to do with the major functions of sex of continuing race and family, and enhancement of personality. From one point of view, the conduct of the boys was the immediate product of gang association and, in one instance at least, a group activity like robbing a house.

A further explanation, however, is to be found in our particular system of age-grading which deprives individuals of an adequate status during adolescence. Individuals, thus, may feel

---

92. John Levy and Ruth Munroe, THE HAPPY FAMILY (New York, Alfred A. Knopf) 1938, page 34.

93. Plant, op. cit., page 221.

impelled to reort to means of gaining recognition which in our culture are productive of both personal and social disorganization. The bulk of gang activities is an expression of this condition. The behavior of the boys has earlier been described as competitive, exploitative, and destructive of the basis of consensus. It involved the prostitution to individual ends of the girl and woman involved, contributing thereby to personal and social disorganization, courting the physical and social dangers of disease and illegitimacy. It is not sex activity as such which was disorganizing, the boys were physically sufficiently matured, but rather the attitudes of which it was an expression, the fact that it took place in a disorganized environment, and that it tends to reinforce and establish counter mores.

In Samoa, as Margaret Mead relates, adolescent problems with regard to sex do not exist. (94) Sex play is early tolerated in children who are thus early familiar with "all the facts;" sex experimentation is looked upon as a preparation for marriage. The transition from childhood to adulthood is easily accomplished. Sex, therefore, does not become the means of expressing and allaying anxiety of the unintegrated adolescent and does not tend to destroy the basis of social relations. The most disorganizing feature of such behavior is perhaps that it retards emotional maturity, as conceived of in our society, by tending to integrate attitudes towards sex at the predatory infantile level. This would unfit individuals for mature participation in adult society in that such attitudes cannot serve as a basis for the reciprocal and consentiel relations demanded in the adult heterosexual partnership.

An additional explanation of the boys' behavior may be found in the fact that the sex mores today tend to sanction conflicting

94. Margaret Mead, COMING OF AGE IN SAMOA, (New York, William Morrow and Company Inc.) 1928, page 159.

standards of conduct. It is difficult to say what the mores are. The traditional Christian mores have viewed sex behavioristically as an act having objective consequences but viewing experiences associated with it as purely physical and degenerate, even within marriage. Its symbolic function in personal relationships was largely ignored. In order to preserve the monogamic system of marriage, extra-marital sex experience was discouraged and opposed. The ideal of chastity was exacted especially from women, men enjoying greater freedom. This double standard was reinforced by the place of the woman in the property system as a chattel and as a function rather than as a person. If women were promiscuous, no man could be certain of his child and his heir. Moreover, promiscuity produces other problems of illegitimate, pregnancy and motherhood, and disease. The various cultural revolutions have brought about the breakdown of the old mores and moral controls upon sex behavior. They have encouraged and compelled experimentalism in sex and social relationships within the new ecological groupings. Conditions which bring about the emergence of gangs are also conditions under which counter mores and new mores emerge; what once was the sin of an individual may become the cultural pattern of a group. New and individualistic patterns of sexual life are fostered by the anonymity of urban living, by changes in the material culture as exemplified in the growth of the hotel complex, commercialized recreation and the automobile. Along with such changes has come the social and economic emancipation of women, the trend towards a single standard of morality, changes in men's attitudes towards greater sexual freedom for women; contraceptives and birth control have encouraged sex experience as an end in itself and have reduced the fears which once reinforced the religious and cultural taboos. Two world

wars have also helped to establish new patterns of sex conduct.

With respect to the adolescent, the traditional mores and social expediency have held out the ideal patterns of the "pure, unsullied girlhood" and the "clean young man" who, perhaps after stumbling through a few romantic attachments in which the presence of the sexual factors is not acknowledged, finally enter marriage in a virginal state. The male, though, might be forgiven for somewhat greater sophistication. These ideals are still largely the only ones sanctioned by our public morality as a progressive attitudinal preparation for marriage. No doubt, they often serve their purpose but, they are also the source of much adolescent unrest, guilt feelings, and personal disorganization, where they conflict with the changing mores.

In contrast to the traditional ideals the behavior of the gang boy appears as that of emancipated and hedonistic children playing at adult behavior. From the data relating to the training of some of the boys, their conduct will be seen, partly, as the result of the confusion of standards and the almost complete absence of any progressive definition of sexual norms. Data could not be secured for all of the boys.

Neither of Bert's parents had ever discussed the subject with the boy. Mrs. Andrews thought "they learn so fast here (in Canada) you don't have to tell them." This expresses the attitude of the psychological nomad. She spoke to her husband about it once but he told her to "let the boy find out for himself." To this extent the parents showed emancipation from any concern either for the preservation of the mores, or for the potential problem of sex adjustment which the boy naturally had to face. To this extent, also,

they were themselves a pattern for delinquent conduct. She answered further that, if she had to explain, she thought she would tell him that premarital intercourse would be alright if he married the girl; she was obviously not sure about it. Anyway, the boy never asked her any questions. She continued that "one feels shy of course. I did tell him that there were good girls and bad girls. I told him to talk to my brother-in-law once; but I don't know whether he did." This brother-in-law is a returned soldier, living in the Andrews house who is separated from his wife and whose children are in foster homes. For the rest, like so many parents, she thought the problem was largely solved once habits of modesty were established. The boy had always been "very clean" and did not allow himself to be seen nude in the bath. The boy, however, did show some training. Bert remembered that at the age of ten years, when his brother was killed, he was for a time afraid to sleep alone and was allowed to sleep in the same room with his parents. He observed intercourse and thought "it was a sin what they did." For the rest, as his parents had expected of him, he found out for himself, first with school girls, later from other sources as related earlier.

When asked about sex training, Mrs. Barker stated that she never had occasion to talk to Charles about it. "He is the most bashful boy in the house. Just the other day he told his brother 'to put his bathrobe on in front of Ma.'" On further promptings she thought that "indirectly I told him to be careful of girls. I told him to leave them alone. Don't you think that is right? I left books around like the Reader's Digest for him to read if he got curious." It is easy to imagine how the Digest would deal with the

topic of sex, and what a boy in fifth grade would make of it. It is also certain that the Digest would scarcely contain the kind of concrete facts and words an adolescent boy would be most interested in. The parents had not discussed the subject with respect to the boy between themselves. "I could not tell you whether his father told him anything. We've never talked about it. His father is a very bashful man." Mr. Barker stated that he had thought Charles was much too young to be told about "such things," The boy is fifteen and a half years of age. "My father never mentioned it to me until I was sixteen." He reflected, however, that times perhaps had changed since then, "when the family was much closer" and "there were not so many contacts with other things," such as movies and other children, "who know all about it."

Mrs. King was greatly shocked at the suggestion that Herb might be involved in questionable sex activities. She did not feel that such a thing could happen in N.D.G. She had moved here to keep her children away from things like that. His sisters were all "respectable and such fine girls." She had never spoken to Herb about sex directly, Herb was much too young for that, and always a modest boy. The children were all very much attached to each other. Lately some girl had been phoning him but would never leave her name. Herb gave the girl's name to the writer. He thought his mother would not like her. He met her at an out of town resort. Mrs. King eventually produced a battered "Family Medical Adviser," in the appendix of which the subject of sex was presented in the traditional incomprehensible terms of "bees and flowers."

Clark Edwards was not involved in the sex activities of the gang. Mrs. Edwards was the only mother among those interviewed who had

applied conscious masturbation training; she "looked for it." Her methods consisted of slapping and admonitions about "dirty habits." Later she "never had occasion to." She also explained the facts of sex at an early age without embarassment, she says, on her part. She has provided her sons with secular literature when she thought they "needed it." When Clark was curious about her last pregnancy she gave him repeated detailed explanations until she thought he understood it. "After that he often joked about my size." She thinks that all her boys have "normal ideas" about sex and were all "clean boys." They were "always welcome to bring home their calf-loves." "My husband is very shy and English. He doesn't see it my way; but he doesn't interfere. He told me he could never have handled it that way." Clark has not yet shown any interest in girls.

Another "sex case" may be related here with its locus in upper N.D.G. in a section where there have been sporadic delinquent acts. It came to the writer about the same time as did the case of the gang. There is, otherwise, no connection between them. The writer feels justified in including the case since it bears out the points already made. The case, moreover, reveals the confusion and inadequacy of traditional cultural and institutional attitudes respecting sex and the sex offender. If some aspects of the case seem tragi-comic, no unfairness is intended nor should any conclusions be drawn with respect to other institutional personnel in the area. The youth involved was past seventeen, the younger of two sons and only children of a Scottish born artisan family. The mother had been a widow for some years. The boy was charged with attempted indecent assault upon a school teacher whom he waylaid on her way to work. He succeeded in putting his hands on her, when she screamed and he ran off. He was later identified and arrested. The affair was a great shock to his

brother and mother. The latter said she did not dare any longer to leave the house because of the neighbours. The boy's brother had been active in Sunday school work which he relinquished. To the mother also, "the church is all I have." She had been befriended by two ministers, one an old friend of the family, the other in charge of her church. Both came "to stand by her" after "this terrible thing" happened. The writer felt that everyone was making altogether too much of the affair. It developed subsequently that all parties had assumed that "the worst had happened." It should be added that the language of the legal indictment is often deceptive. But the main reason, as came out after a hesitant question by the mother regarding the possible pregnancy of the teacher, was that she could not bring herself to discuss "such a horrible thing." To quote from an interview the writer had with the mother at which the minister was also present,

> "   The Reverend X and the mother cannot understand
> how the boy could do a thing like that. He (the boy)
> always went to church. The word "sex", says Mrs. Y,
> was never mentioned in my house."

This, perhaps, sums up whatever home training the boy had received. Mrs. Y added that a few months ago she had delegated to his older brother to "tell him the difference between right and wrong." She added that the boy's brother "was always such a good Christian boy, I saw no reason to worry about him (the younger one)."

Both ministers went to see the boy in the Detention Home. Of the first visit all the boy could tell the writer was that the minister had spoken to him "about it being a sin." The second minister called the writer before his visit. During the interview with the latter he showed initial hesitation about using the word "masturbation" merely hinting at it. Later he suggested that the boy's behavior was the result of "too much masturbation," "he has that guilty look." He admitted

frankly, finally, that he did not know how to talk about "a thing like that" to the boy if he were to visit him. He was rather relieved when assured that he need not lecture or question the boy about it.

The dominant attitudes which paralyzed the parental function in transmitting the mores to the children spring from a deeply-rooted sense of shame and guilt which has always surrounded the subject of sex as something sinful. In the case cited gratuitously these attitudes were seen to extend also to the traditional and institutional exponents of morality. One of them, an extreme case perhaps, found the sex taboo paralyzing to such an extent that he had to confess himself completely inadequate to meet a crisis in the mores. In one respect this is a clear example of what occurs when an institution becomes a vested interest.

One would expect to find the traditional mores strongest in a middle class area such as N.D.G. where populations are especially conservative with respect to "right" moral norms, partly because of the danger of losing status gains, partly to ensure social advancement; this is one of the sources of "status anxiety." Conversely, the boys, in their role as failures, had no compelling conventional status goals which would demand of them inhibition of present impulse for the sake of future reward.

The conflict of what mores to enforce became apparent both in discussion with community members and the attitudes of the court. There was a strong tendency to treat this aspect of their behaviour with silence. There was unofficial action with respect to one of the girls. With regard to the boys, the attitude was, "What can you do about it?" There was a tendency to take the boys with respect to sex at their valuation, namely as adults. One remark was made that "they'll grow out of it." This would indicate that on the one hand

the undefined adolescent status was recognized, on the other that the

boys in this respect, succeeded in having their own definitions accepted.

Clearly also, if this had been a group of girls rather than of boys, the

tension would have been very much greater. It follows, therefore, that

the double standard of morality was implicitly recognized and redefined.

What stands out further is the emphasis of the adults on the

facts of intercourse, showing almost complete lack of insight, in this

as elsewhere, that the authority of their own lives and adjustments

was more important than any specific instructions they could give.

In addition, they delegated or left the responsibility "to tell the boy"

to others. The family, as Levy says, begins in childhood, pointing out

that the kind of adjustments the individual will make to heterosexual

relationships is largely conditioned by the models he gets for it in

family life.

Under such conditions, the child is bound to feel that the

facts of sexual life are closely guarded secrets of the adults, and are

left to his own curiosity and definition, sometimes deliberately as in

Bert's case. The adult monopoly is even more sharply defined by the

fact that parents and others generally tend to react with violent

resentment and disapproval to the social gestures, references or sex

play of the child, and otherwise meet questions with stony silence

and evasions. This is done in spite of the knowledge that socialization

and training in sex behavior is especially difficult since it is one

of the few activities the child can engage in without great interference

by adults. Sex knowledge, therefore, tends to become an element in the

warfare between the two generations.

Acquisition of sexual knowledge by children is often conceived

as having stolen a march on adults. The proverbial adolescent snicker

denotes in part, that they "have found them out." Items of such

information become the subject of barter among children and have marked status value. Early assumption of the seeming sexual freedom of adults comes to confirm that one is grown up. The silence of parents and adults, to some extent, is due also to the difficulty of communicating to the young individual the meaning of sex in the mature adult relationship, with its broad symbolic content. In the experience of the adolescent, sex activity is a concrete source of pleasure and centers around individualistic values. To the individuals in an adult relationship it tends to assume a unique symbolic value which, as Plant suggests, can never be taught.

> "   If our observations are correct, then an
> individual can understand the use to which
> those who love each other put the sexual life
> only when he or she have had that experience." (95)

This, in part, may explain the delegation to others by the parents of explaining the facts, the reference to the "Family Medical Adviser" with its poetic appendix, "The Reader's Digest" and so forth.

> "   But frankly, we have felt that up to the
> present, we could not answer the question of
> sexual education of the adolescent. The
> physical manifestations of the sexual life
> are not only highly individual, but they attain
> for any pair of persons who are what one calls
> "happily married" validity precisely on the
> basis of their individuality, or at least on
> the basis of their supposed individuality. Perhaps
> it is only this setting forth of principles that
> could ever be given to adolescents." (96)

The case cited of the Edwards family shows a pleasing and rational contrast to the others. It represents a modern and apparently successful attempt to deal with sex in a secular manner. The case is made even more interesting by the fact that the Edwards are avowedly Catholic. For the rest, the attitudes and activities of the boys simply

95. Ibid, page 222.
96. Ibid, page 226.

expressed in a direct manner their drives and desires where home and
community had failed to supply models and training. Parents and
adults who are themselves confused can scarcely give a balanced education
to the impulses of the child. This left the door open for the concrete
and positive instruction in gang life and its experimental freedom. The
isolation of gang life, furthermore, heightens the emphasis on hedonistic
values and definitions.

B. BREAKDOWN OF CONSENSUS AND ATTITUDES TO PROPERTY

It was found that the gang's activities were common knowledge
among a large group of boys and girls as well as some adults. With
regard to the latter, Mrs. Edwards admitted casually that Clark had been
giving her a running account of the gang's activities for some time.
The proprietor of the hangout probably also knew, at least enough to
justify his taking some action had he wished to do so. He was undoubtedly
more interested in the accumulating profits of small amounts and professed
his indifference to something that did not concern him. There was, of
course, also Cantin, the Fence. Some of the boys and girls who were
spoken to expressed similar attitudes. They stated that they did not
want to squeal, that they did not think it was any of their business
what these boys were doing. Others who lived in the immediate vicinity
and were in almost daily contact with members of the gang suggested that
they felt, or actually had been, intimidated, and were afraid of violence
if they told.

Other boys had been members of the gang but "quit when they
started robbing." Two others did not take part in the robberies but were
separately charged with the sale and possession of guns. Both came of what
is usually called "good families," their fathers occupying managerial
positions. One sold a gun to the gang, which he himself had stolen,

knowing what its **possible** use might be, but otherwise showed himself somewhat contemptuous of "that kind of boy" who made up the gang. The other to the very last resisted demands to sell or loan his gun, but finally agreed to stand guard for the boys. Before he could do so, he and the others were arrested. When this last boy was asked what had kept him from taking a more prominent part, he stated naively, "Well, we don't do that in our family." For the rest he spoke of the gang's exploits in the proceeds of which he had shared with the attitude of one who was witnessing an exciting movie.

One might rest content with an explanation of this seeming lack of honesty as largely due to youth, gang loyalty and fear of gang sanctions. This, however, is only begging the question since the specific offenses of these boys, while more sensational, are also merely aspects of gang behavior. It was found difficult to explain to some parents, for instance, that this indifference is in itself a "delinquent" attitude and inseparably makes possible delinquent activity. One incident will serve to dramatize this.

At two of the places which the boys looted they also engaged in irrational destruction of furnishings. One of the boys protested against this saying, "Its alright to rob people's houses, but what will they say when they come home and find the place in that state?" In other words, this boy had been trained in the care of property and in neatness to the point of being shocked by wilful destruction, but could accept and take part in housebreaking and looting, rather as a matter of course and an apparently ammoral attitude. This may be contrasted with the statement of the boy above who said it was not done in his family. Nevertheless, he too was delinquent. Their respective attitudes merely point to differences in home training but throw no light on the genesis of the basic delinquent attitudes.

One additional example may help to clarify this. A large part of the routine cases coming before the Court consist of thefts from Five and Ten or other department stores. This is some of the earliest thieving children tend to engage in. Court officers experience great difficulty in giving such boys a perspective on their actions. Little or no guilt feeling seems to attach to this kind of theft. One sometimes tries to make the boys feel that they have injured not Woolworth or Eaton, but the salesgirl or salesman who has the responsibility for the goods displayed, goods which apparently do not belong to anyone or, at least, to no specific individual. In the same way, one may attempt to personalize property for a boy who has been breaking street-lights by impressing him that his father is a taxpayer. The attitudes illustrated in the foregoing then simply seem to be rooted in the fact that beyond a certain point, the notion of property ceases to be meaningful in the face of the vast extension of this idea.

One may review briefly how we learn the meaning of property and how at a certain stage it may fail to inhibit predatory activity. The idea of property has its roots in the identification of a person with a thing. This identification is usually established by the intimate and frequent use of an object. It is an extension of the self-feeling upon things in the environment. A child will express attitudes of pleasure, self-assertion, defense, with respect to its playthings, tools, bicycle, clothes in the almost instinctive "this is mine." This claim obviously is not based on law but on sentiment.

Similarly, in the child's world, the knowledge that a thing is identified with some specific other person acts as an inhibitor upon its predatory impulses, either because the child identifies himself with the owner, or because of the sanctions of sentiment, or because it learns that in order to enjoy the right to its own it must recognize the rights of others.

The idea of owning in this intimate and personal sense, this projection of the self upon things, tends to diminish the further these things are removed from the owner. If a boy has five hockey sticks he will not usually defend the fifth one with the same zeal as the other four. Also if the boy should play with dolls at the age of two, changes in his self-feeling coming with growth may make him give up the dolls at four or five years.

Similarly, the strength of the inhibitions about the property of others will tend to decrease the further the object and owner are removed from the emotional and intellectual grasp of the child. The vast, impersonal system of owning represented by the department store, the streetcar company, public property, makes no emotional claims on the child and is beyond its understanding. It has almost ceased to have any relation to the intense, "This is mine and that is yours." It is beyond the grasp of adults as well. This is true for the head of the family who prides himself on having got the best of the "income tax people," the woman who cheats at the grocers, the individual who buys in the "black market," "chisels " on the streetcar, etc.

There are, thus, two kinds of owning, one intimate and personal and the other external and impersonal. The one is governed by sanctions of sentiment, the other by police and law. Observance of the mores with regard to both tends to become a function of the degree of an individual's integration in his primary and secondary groups.

Sutherland has suggested that there is also a public and a private culture. The mores of the private culture are those of previous generations and function in the areas of consential relationships. The area of the public culture is governed by self-interest, greed,

competition, and conflict. Here, rules and laws are no longer the expression of common consensus but tend to become the instruments employed by competitors in the realization of individualistic interests.

The writer recalls one woman who, at the termination of the proceedings in the courtroom, soundly berated her son for taking part in a burglary. After the boy had left the room, she smiled at the judge and the writer, stating engagingly that, after all, it was silly for her boy to get mixed up in a burglary since "he only got ten cents out of it." (97) This mother was clearly dishonest; no matter how much she moralizes to her child about his stealing, her attitudes will betray her. While voicing the mores of the private culture in her role as mother, her role, as she conceived it, in economic relationships incorporated the attitudes of the public culture with its primary motives of gain, aggrandizement by individualistic methods. She clearly intimated her conviction that the judge and the writer who, like herself, were redefining for the boy the traditional mores, also did so against their private convictions and that they recognized that these rules were merely formal and external. Her attitude is similar to the one in which the businessman and the politician sit down together, certain that "reasonable" people can find some basis of mutually advantageous agreement whatever may happen to the third party.

Crime and delinquency are largely urban phenomena. Moreover, as distinct from crimes against the person, crimes against property are generally committed against strangers. They may be either direct and personal attacks as in robbery or burglary, or may be much more general and public, as in fraudulent stock and bond sales or fraudulent advertisement. (98)

---

97. In a somewhat different connection, Plant says, "there are perhaps a great many who can say every last word of the whole ritual of life with never a notion of what it means." op. cit. page 177.
98. E.H. Sutherland, op. cit., page 26.

The contacts of urban life are largely contacts with strangers, or individuals as functions. The idiomatic claims of personal relation- ships from which consensus regarding property is derived tend to remain confined to a vastly narrowed area of consensus. The mores of private property, however, historically were formulated under conditions largely of personal owning.

> "   Where interaction was confined to the local
> community, the spontaneous and sentimental
> influences controlled behavior for the effect of
> behavior of a person was immediately apparent
> to himself and to others. When interaction extended
> beyond the area of personal observation and intimate
> association, the effect of behavior did not become
> immediately discernable, the problem of control
> was greatly intensified." (99)

The ammorality of the world of business governed by competitive and efficiency norms and impersonal and fractional relations and contacts, isolate the objects of economic activity, whether material or human, as effectively from any personal and social context as do the predatory attitudes of criminal areas their victimes.

Moreover, while both white collar and lower class criminals act individualistically in their contacts and relations with the stranger in a form of symbiosis known as parasitism, they co-exist in another form of symbiosis which has been called commensalism. Crime is class- typed, criminality is not. The form of criminal activity tends to be a function of the occupation. In our cities, the business areas and the slum exist side by side. The economic goals of slum landlords, as railway and trust companies, churches, universities, other individuals who hold on to slum properties in the expectation of future increment with the expansion of the business area, illustrate the creation of economic values by ignoring secondary group norms of social responsibility

99. Ibid, page 27.

and public welfare. The individualistic definitions of business thereby create the environment within which slum populations and criminals make their temporary accomodations to the ecological order and the social in as far as it exists.

Returning to the delinquent and criminal attitudes found among the persons in this case, their tacit consent, indifference and rationalizations, they are now seen as symptomatic of breakdown in the urban community of the basic consensus which had assured control in the earlier self-contained and self-supporting society. Strangers make no emotional claims on the boy as he prowls about the impersonal world of duplex and apartments, stores and railway tracks, in search of loot, since neither he nor his family have taken root in the community. Ongoing processes of mobility and culture conflict will continue to generate these attitudes and continue to contribute to delinquency.

C. CONCLUSION

Delinquent traditions become quickly established. One year after the episode dealt with in the preceding pages, the following item appeared in a local paper.

"POLICE HOLD JUVENILES AND ADULTS IN WAVE OF
WESTMOUNT ROBBERIES

A series of burglaries in N.D.G. and Westmount, claimed to have been made by juvenile boys with an adult in the role of a modern Fagin, was claimed to have been solved yesterday as Montreal detectives arrested a 21 year old local man on a charge of encouraging juvenile delinquency, while several youths awaited court decisions or appearances on theft counts.
From local Westmount investigators, it was found the burglaries had occurred during the summer vacation by school-age boys, some of them members of prominent Westmount and N.D.G. families.

> Three boys, 15 and 16 years of age, have
> already appeared before Recorder X of Westmount
> and await decision of the bench this week, while
> two others face Montreal Juvenile Court within
> a day or two.
>
> Yesterday, Detective Sgts. Y and Z arrested
> A, aged 21, of B street, delivery man for an
> N.D.G. store, who will be charged in Juvenile
> Court today under Article 33 of the Criminal
> Code - encouraging Juvenile Delinquency.
>
> The local detectives...have been working
> in concert with .... Westmount Police to solve
> several burglaries committed in their respective
> districts.
>
> The burglaries, it was understood, were
> not of a serious nature in themselves but were
> marked by considerable damage to N.D.G. and
> Westmount homes.
>
> Investigators claimed that teen-aged boys
> were being guided to scenes of prospective
> burglaries by a receiver who later disposed
> of stolen items."

The two boys mentioned in Chapter Four as having

dissociated themselves from the inner circle because they were

"not going to be mixed up in robbing" had now become members of

the above group. The "Modern Fagin" was the same adult who, one

year previously, had been sentenced to three months in geol as

a receiver of stolen goods for the earlier gang.

The group above grew from the same ecological and

social setting as the previous one and consisted of a similar

mixture of boys from "good families" and of more pronounced interstitial

types. Their area of exploitation was the same. The type of delinquency

approximated that of the earlier group even to the irrational

destruction of property.

A more systematic study of this second group would have

provided an interesting test for the assumptions of the foregoing

thesis. Whatever their correctness, it is fairly clear that the geol,

reform school sentences, and court controls applied to members of the

first group did not arrest the continuity and momentum of the disintegrative

processes which resulted in demoralization and delinquency.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, Alfred, UNDERSTANDING HUMAN NATURE, (New York, Greenberg, Inc.) 1927;

Blumer, H. "Collective Behavior" in AN OUTLINE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY, (Editor, R.E. Park) (New York, Barnes, Noble Inc.) 1939.

Cooley, C.H. HUMAN NATURE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER, (New York, Charles Scribner and Sons) 1922.

Dewey, John, DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION, (New York, The MacMillan Company) 1916.

Dollard, John, CRITERIA FOR THE LIFE HISTORY, (New Haven, Yale University Press) 1935.

Dollard, John and Davis, Allison, CHILDREN OF BONDAGE, (Washington, American Council of Education) 1940.

Elliott, Mabel and Merrill, Frances, SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION, (New York, Harper and Brothers Publishers) 1941.

Goddard, H.H., FEEBLEMINDEDNESS, (New York) 1914.

Goring, Charles, THE ENGLISH CONVICT, (London) 1913.

Healy, William, THE INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT, (Boston) 1915.

Healy, William and Bronner, Augusta, NEW LIGHT ON DELINQUENCY, (New Haven Yale University Press for the Institute of human Relations) 1936.

Hollingshead, A.B., "Human Ecology and the Social Sciences" in AN OUTLINE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY (Editor R.E. Park) (New York, Barnes, Noble, Inc.) 1939.

Hughes, Everett Charrington, FRENCH CANADA IN TRANSITION, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1943.

Linton, Ralph, THE STUDY OF MAN (New York, D. Appleton Century Company) 1939.

Linton, Ralph, THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY, (D. Appleton Century Company) 1945.

Lunt, Paul S. and Warner, Lloyd, THE SOCIAL LIFE OF A MODERN COMMUNITY, (New Haven, Yale University Press) 1941.

Levy, John and Munroe, Ruth, THE HAPPY FAMILY, (New York, Alfred A. Knopf) 1938.

Mead, Margaret, COMING OF AGE IN SAMOA, (William Morrow and Company) 1928.

Miner, Horace, ST. DENIS A FRENCH CANADIAN PARISH (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1939.

Mowrer, Ernest E, FAMILY DISORGANIZATION (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1927.

North, Cecil C. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press) 1926.

Newsom, G.E. THE NEW MORALITY, (Ivor Nicholson and Watson Ltd. London) 1932.

Park, R.E. and Burgess, E.W. INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1926.

Park, R.E. and Miller, H.A. OLD WORLD TRAITS TRANSPLANTED (New York, Harper and Brothers) 1921.

Park, R.E. and Burgess, E.W. and MacKenzie, R.D. THE CITY,(Chicago, University of Chicago Pres) 1925.

Plant, James S PERSONALITY AND THE CULTURE PATTERN (New York, Oxford University Pres) 1937.

Reckless, Walter C. CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR (New York, McGraw Hill Company Inc.)

Reynolds, Lloyd G. THE BRITISH IMMIGRANT IN CANADA, as quoted in C.A. Dawson and W.E. Gettys, "An Introduction to Sociology" (Ronald Press) 1926.

Shaw, Clifford and Zorbaugh, Frederik, DELINQUENCY AREAS, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1929.

Sorokin, P.A. SOCIAL MOBILITY (Encyclopedia of Social Sciences) Volume X.

Sumner, W.G. FOLKWAYS (Boston, Ginn and Company) 1906.

Sullenger, T. Earle SOCIAL DETERMINANTS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY (New York, John Wiley and Sons Inc.) 1936

Sutherland, E.H. MENTAL DEFICIENCY AND CRIME, in Kimball Young, "Social Attitudes, (New York) 1931.

Sutherland, E.H. PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY, (Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott and Company) 1939.

Tarde, Gabriel, PENAL PHILOSOPHY (Boston) 1902.

Thomas, W.I., THE UNADJUSTED GIRL, (Boston, Little, Brown and Company) 1927.

Thomas, W.I. and Thomas, D.S. THE CHILD IN AMERICA, (New York, Alfred Knopf and Company) 1928.

Thrasher, F. THE GANG, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1927.

Waller, Willard, THE SOCIOLOGY OF TEACHING, (New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.)1932.

Whyte, William Foote, STREET CORNER SOCIETY, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) 1943.

JOURNALS NEWSPAPERS PAMPHLETS AND MISCELLANEOUS

Burgess, E.W. THE GROWTH OF THE CITY AN INTRODUCTION TO A RESEARCH PROJECT, Publication of the American Sociological Society, XVIII, 1923.

Burgess, E.W. THE STUDY OF DELINQUENT AS A PERSON, American Journal of Sociology, May, 1923.

Canadian Facts, Toronto, Ontario, 1940.

Park, R.E. SYMBIOSIS AND SOCIALIZATION, American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLV, No. 1, July 1939.

Park, R.E. PHYSICS AND SOCIETY, Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, May, 1940.

Shaw, Clifford, and McKay, Henry, SOCIAL FACTORS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, (Washington, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on Causes of Crime) 1931, No. 13, Volume II

Sutherland, E.H., WHITE COLLAR CRIMINALITY, American Sociological Review, February, 1940.

Wirth, Louis, CULTURE CONFLICTS AND DELINQUENCY, Social Forces, June, 1931.