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Later lives of approved
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Later lives of approved
school boys and young
prisoners —

The effect of their social background,
personality traits and
institutionalization on their later lives

The following study, published by the Department for Social Research of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Helsinki, is No. 30 in Series XXXII of the Official Statistics of Finland. It concerns the social background, personality traits, and effects of institutionalization on the later lives of approved school boys and young prisoners.

The study was performed by Urho Rauhala, D.Soc.Sc., and translated by R.J.Milton.

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1. TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY

The study was made for purely practical purposes. It was prompted by the critical debate in Finland during recent years on the aims and present state of protective education. As it was clear that protective education could not be abandoned - not, at any rate, until large-scale preventive measures were put under way - the Department for Social Research at the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health instructed me to find out what effects the present system of approved schools were having on the later development of the boys. In other words, this is a typical follow-up study. Owing to the shortage of time at my disposal, I had to use data already in the possession of the authorities.

The population comprised 396 boys released in 1963 and 1964 from three approved schools for boys of normal intelligence, one for retarded boys, a camp for former approved school boys, and a juvenile prison. Their lives were followed for an average of six and a half years after release.

The data on the boys came from many sources. Their social background, personality data and observations made at the institutions were taken from their personal forms and attached documents. Most of the information on their offences came from the Registry of Criminal Cases at the Ministry of Justice. Variables depicting their success on the labour and housing markets and their translocations were supplied by their supervisors, labour exchanges, employment boards, the Seamen's Register at the Board of Navigation, and the military authorities. Using combinations of these sources, it was possible to check on the reliability of the data and evaluate the material from a criminological point of view.

The analyses were based on 476 variables, almost half of which were rejected owing to the shape of their distributions. This left 265 variables for multivariate analysis, of which over a half were screened out at different stages of analysis. Thus the final analyses included only 112 variables.

To start with, 59 tables were prepared to give an idea of the dimensions of the problems. They showed where the boys came from, what sorts of maladjustments they were suffering from, how Society had reacted to their disturbances and how they had reacted to the action taken by Society.

Mutual effects of the variables were studied by means of numerous principal-component and regression analyses. For the former, the 112 variables were divided into six groups:

1. home background
2. the boy and his companions*
3. school and institutions
4. offences and crimes
5. success in the eyes of the supervisor
6. success at work

Separate principal-component analyses were made for the variables in each of these groups, with the aid of which the data in the 112 variables were compressed into 27 factors.

After interpreting these factors, I introduced two dependent variables:

1. the number of offences or crimes committed since release (Recidivism)
2. the social status of the subjects, measured according to occupational prestige (Social Status by Occupational Prestige, often referred to as Success at Work).

These two had proved to be the best explanatory variables for recidivism and success at work. The principal-component analyses were then repeated with these two variables included.

The results of the principal-component analyses were checked in three ways. First, a kind of higher-degree principal-component analysis was made, taking into account only the peak variables of each factor - i.e. 27 variables. The six factors formed by this analysis gave a very clear picture of the disturbances of the

* "His Companions" was screened out at principal-component analysis.

boys and their effects. Secondly, a residual-variable analysis was performed, taking the peak dependent variables and the variables rejected during the principal-component analysis proper. This analysis revealed nothing essentially new on the origins and nature of the disturbances, so it indicated that the variables had been screened fairly successfully. The third check consisted of regression analyses. They gave essentially the same results as the principal-component analyses had done. They also permitted a closer study of the process leading to recidivism or going straight. The same method was repeated for success at work. These results confirmed and supplemented those obtained from the principal-component analyses.

2. MAJOR FINDINGS

Owing to the method of analysis employed, the large number of variables and to the length of the original written report (308 pages - in Finnish), it is not easy to present the main findings in brief. For instance, it is quite impossible to give the results of the principal-component analyses factor by factor. All I can do is list the factors by name, with a short summary of each major group of variables.

Here, to start with, are the results of the principal-component analyses, without yet taking the dependent variables into account:

2.1. Home Background

There were 31 variables in this group. Varimax rotation of six factors proved to give the best interpretations: 62.9 per cent of the total variance of the variables could be explained by these six factors, which were named as follows:

1. mother's difficulties
2. father's difficulties
3. general disturbances of siblings
4. father's difficulties after remarriage

5. early violent death of father
6. mother's difficulties after remarriage.

To sum up the variables depicting the boys' Home Background, the outstanding general feature was marital conflict between the parents. The origin of these difficulties is hard to establish basing on this study. Earlier studies reveal three possible causes:

First, marital problems may arise at a purely individual level, due to the physical and psychological incompatibility of the spouses and of their values and expectations. The spouses are simply incapable of solving their mutual problems with the means at their disposal. Most of the problems are psychological, so the minimum requirement would be for both spouses to speak out frankly about the real nature of their problems and try to solve them together. Such a course usually calls for superior mental qualities; open conflict and substitute solutions are more likely to result.

Marital conflicts due to rigid attitudes on life are another thing. Joseph Kahl in The American Class Structure (1959, pp. 187-217) describes the typical values of five social classes. The uppermost and lowest classes show great tolerance towards extra-marital relations. The only difference is that the upper class's adventures are viewed by others with sympathetic tolerance, while similar goings on among the lower class are labelled "prostitution", "promiscuity" or loose "living". Many of the boys in my study belonged to Kahl's lowest class. So if similar differences of custom between classes can be found in Finnish society, then the boys in my study come from homes in which extramarital sexual relations are not uncommon. Within the family, however, such conduct does not lead to durable human relationships and it endangers the marriage.

A broader view of the problem is given by Matza and Sykes in their study of the proliferation of subterranean values among the population (D. Matza & G. Sykes 1961, pp. 712-719). Apart from promiscuity, these values include a search for excitement and an

idealization of "hardness", neither of which are conducive to durable marriages.

It is difficult to judge from the present study to what extent children understand marital difficulties of varying origins. Eternal friction, tension and insecurity at home probably suffice to explain the disturbances. But to treat them, they are not enough: the authorities should find out the underlying reasons for the parents' disturbances because, by the law of social heredity, the same factors may well play a decisive role in the boys' own marriages. Such knowledge would also help choose methods by which boys can be assisted to understand themselves and their parents.

2.2. The Boy Himself

This principal-component analysis included 19 variables, for which five-factor Varimax rotation gave the best interpretations. The following five factors explained 71.0 per cent of the total variance of the variables:

1. typical approved-school boys
2. boys taken into custody for abuse of intoxicants¹
3. runaways
4. boys taken into custody for deprivation
5. time and duration of custody.

This Varimax rotation brought out three major groups of symptoms depicting the way in which the boys had reacted to stimuli produced by their unsatisfactory home conditions and institutional life. It also revealed two factors depicting the path by which the boys had ended up in the institutions.

Accentuated maladjustment was relatively rare in most cases, but more common among the recidivists. A symptom or reaction largely independent of delinquency proper is the abuse of intoxicants,¹ which is associated with its own way and content of life,

¹Alcohol, drugs, sniffed industrial solvents. See Matti Määttä (1969) for a discussion of Finnish customs in abusing intoxicants.

and which only leads to delinquency later, if at all, when money runs short. A third, independent group of symptoms was running away, vagrancy and "immorality". These, too, are not necessarily associated with crime to begin with. Their main importance is their effect on the boy himself.

Perhaps the only thing in common between these three groups is that the boys have tried to solve their personal problems in ways that Society does not approve of. Their basic problems and required treatment often vary widely. My material did not indicate how adequately these three problems could be treated in a single institution. It is also open to question whether all three of them require institutional care at all and, if so, what sort. It would probably be best to plan their rehabilitation on entirely different bases, taking into account the way the three groups relate to their families and friends, their environment and to Society.

Seeing how seldom in their working lives they subsequently use the "skills" taught them at the institution (Hood 1966, pp. 37-38), more care should be devoted to their vocational guidance and training and job placement. Vocational training can only succeed if it takes account of the boys' real problems.

Factors 4 and 5 are strongly associated with the boys' social background. The early disturbances of some boys should cause no surprise in view of the extent of their family problems.

The situation becomes more serious if it turns out that Society has aggravated the problems by its own actions. Obviously children's homes (the institutions) are of the utmost importance. At this stage, Society still has every possibility of influencing the subsequent turn of events. There should be no "cheeseparings" at this early stage of taking into custody; everything that can be done for the child in the present state of the art should be done. The fact that the fifth factor was the Time and Duration of Custody indicates that more attention should be paid to the procedures involved. Careful preparations are needed to prevent these procedures from adding to the harm already done to the child.

2.3. School and Institution

Here there were 17 variables and four-factor Varimax rotation proved to give the best interpretations. The following four factors enabled 67.1 per cent of the total variance to be explained:

1. fairly successful at school
2. malcontents
3. sent to approved school for truancy
4. retarded.

This section can be summed up as follows: some of the boys were still doing good work at school when they got into trouble with the authorities. At this stage, something could still have been done to help them had the right remedies been found. On the other hand, breaking the norms always triggers off a chain of sanctions, in which case it is no longer possible to avoid disturbances in other spheres of life.

Public debate in Finland has not paid enough attention to the fact that school itself, with its implicit compulsoriness, contains features that certain individuals find extremely hard to adjust to. Some pupils obviously experience intellectual difficulties that normal school teaching cannot eliminate. For others continual school attendance is practically an inhuman feat owing either to individual psychological factors or to social background. When they are compelled to go on with something the need for which they cannot grasp, conflict between school and pupil is inevitable. Judging from the results of this study, it seems unlikely that the conflict can be eliminated by sending the boy to an approved school. The presence of the second factor, too, probably means that discontent and dislike of school cannot be eliminated by placement in an approved school; much more is needed.

Seeing that the first unrotated factor could be called "Unsuccessful at School", action should be concentrated on eliminating the causes of school difficulties. The means at present available to the schools are quite inadequate. What is needed are intensified social services to cope with the disturbing cultural

background. No one should ever be sent to an approved school for truancy. Other means must be found of assuring compulsory school attendance.

2.4. Offences and Crimes

This group included 11 variables. Three-factor Varimax rotation gave the best interpretations: 75.2 per cent of the total variance of the variables could be explained by these three factors:

1. gross recidivism
2. early delinquency
3. mitigating circumstances.

To sum up, one cannot help being astonished at the vicious circle of crime and punishment. Obviously there is a multistage cumulative process at work, constantly feeding on itself. The system of sanctions has its effect on the number and severity of offences. From a purely therapeutic or resocializing point of view, it is vital to keep young people outside the system of sanctions as long as possible, and remedy the situation by sympathetic and efficient welfare alone. As soon as penalization is resorted to, behaviour becomes formalized on both sides and the scope of action is reduced radically.

This of course does not apply at the individual level. People are not only the objects but also the subjects of action and, with will power, an individual can achieve miracles. But statistically speaking, the chances of resocialization diminish as sanctions increase. No case should ever be boiled down to a conflict between the individual and the court. A court merely does what the law tells it to do. The moot question is the problem of human relationships, and the breaking up of these relationships by delinquent or disturbed behaviour. To mend broken human relationships is extremely difficult and takes a lot of time. It is not enough to treat only one party; action must extend to everyone whose vital interests are involved.

2.5. Success in the Eyes of the Supervisor

Of the ten variables in this group, three gave good Varimax rotations and enabled 64.7 per cent of the total variance of the variables to be explained. These three were:

1. runaways
2. the welfare-oriented
3. the stable.

The results can be summarized as follows: if they are reviewed broadly without being sidetracked by incidental details, they reveal only one basic dimension. All these boys can be set somewhere along a single scale of stability. At one end of the scale are the most unstable, at the other end the most stable. Around the middle lie the outward directed and welfare-oriented. The stable-unstable dimension is revealed by a very large number of variables, but always reflects a consistent way of reacting. This instability, restlessness, irritability, maladjustment - whatever form it takes in the individual - is the characteristic train of the boys in the present study. It can be either cause or effect, depending on what each boy has experienced in his earlier life.

Disturbances cannot be eliminated without knowing their causes or - at the very least - without reducing all irritants to the absolute minimum. This is important in planning treatment. The entire process of disturbance must be traced back to its origins. The boy's personality must then be allowed to develop from scratch in an undisturbed and sympathetic environment. The difficulty is how to construct such an environment when the building materials are so weak and our resources - monetary and others - so scanty. For the time being, perhaps, the most important thing is to prevent the authorities from introducing extra uncertainty factors into these boys' lives.

2.6. Success at Work

In this group there were 24 variables. Six factors gave the

best interpretations in Varimax rotation. They explained 67 per cent of the total variance and were named as follows:

1. job changers
2. stickers
3. boys from North or East Finland (areas of unemployment)
4. boys on unemployment registers
5. men who succeeded well in short-term jobs
6. men who succeeded well in long-term jobs.

To sum up, the most typical feature of these boys was job impermanence. This inevitably dropped them into the marginal labour force, as factors 1 and 4 clearly show; these two factors together explain 28.8 per cent of the total variance of the variables. Even the men in factor 5, who succeeded well in short-term jobs reflected the same instability. With regard to the Boys from North or East Finland, factor 3, it is difficult to say for sure whether their job impermanence was due to the chronic unemployment in those underdeveloped regions or to an inability to stick to one job; probably both. Under different circumstances, some of them might have stuck to one job (factor 2) or succeeded in long-term employment (factor 6).

Only a small minority in this study succeeded on the open labour market over longer periods without help. Those who make sincere efforts should be given all the help they can get. Obviously the best hope of success is to give them work that realistically takes into account their low mental stamina, short attention span, and the fact that they periodically get fed up with the constant effort involved. If the time they stay on each job can gradually be made longer, not only they but Society will benefit. Their achievements should not be despised too readily. Proper allowance must be made for their background and personality traits.

3. INTRODUCING THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Chapter 2 dealt solely with independent variables. It was attempted only to put the boys' problems under their main headings

and describe them as concisely as possible without analysing how these factors had contributed to the disturbed behaviour or delinquency. The first tentative step towards causal interpretation was taken by introducing two dependent variables: 1) the number of offences or crimes committed since release (Recidivism), 2) the social status of the subjects by occupational prestige. I am fully aware of the limitations of principal-component analysis used for causal interpretations. Owing to the multicausal nature of disturbed behaviour, however, it was important to know how communalities of one or two dependent variables would be distributed between several factors. To avoid false interpretations, the results were later checked by means of regression analysis.

The starting point for the analysis was the factors in the previous chapter. Each analysis included the same number of factors as in the corresponding section of Chapter 2, and the interpretation of the results was based in every case on the Varimax-rotated factors. Two major findings are worth mentioning at this stage:

1. The inclusion of the dependent variables did not affect the structure of the factors at all; there were very few changes in the loadings of the variables.
2. The communalities of the dependent variables were by no means evenly distributed between the factors: notable loadings occurred only in 13 factors.

The results of this stage of analysis require a somewhat more detailed presentation. They appear in the same order as in Chapter 2.

3.1. Home Background

Most of the variance of Recidivism was in the sixth factor: Mother's Difficulties after Remarriage. On studying Recidivism it was found not only that the mothers experienced difficulties after remarriage, but that in some cases the difficulties were partly due to the imprisonment of the boy's father. So these families had a tradition of crime, which could not help affecting

the boy's behaviour. Secondly, the boy had no place to return to upon release. The nuclear family had split up owing to marital strife and the mother had not fared better with her new husband. Thus the connection between Mother's Difficulties after Remarriage and the father's criminal history is worth bearing in mind when considering the problem of recidivism.

Contrary to Recidivism, success at work was not found to have any direct connection with the boys' Home Background. In this respect their home background was evidently so homogeneous that it hardly made any difference to their success at work. There is nothing surprising about this, because lack of mental stamina and job impermanence came out in the same way from many of the factors depicting the father, mother and boy. Here it is a question of social heredity - of a qualitative difference that put these boys and even whole families in a special position as regards welfare.

3.2. The Boy Himself

In this group, Recidivism seemed to correlate with factors 2, 3 and 5 (page 5).

Factor 2

This factor was Taken into Custody for Abuse of Intoxicants. Even if it was a statistical coincidence, it is interesting to note that the original independent variable depicting the abuse of alcohol substitutes received the highest loading here. The differences between the first three variables were almost nil. Obviously alcohol substitutes played a major role in these boys' lives. Määttänen (1968, pp. 207-214) sheds interesting light on their problems and gives a convincing explanation of how and why the abuse of alcohol substitutes links up with delinquency. He found that the alcohol substitutes most often abused were industrial solvents. Most of the abusers are extremely disturbed youths with a multiplicity of symptoms. The most common symptoms in early childhood are nervous disorders. Only later do truancy

and delinquency come into the picture.

Thus the inclusion of the dependent variables in the analysis does not alter the earlier picture we obtained of these boys; it merely fills it out. So the name of the factor remain "Taken into Custody for Abuse of Intoxicants." Delinquency here is merely a secondary or tertiary symptom.

Factor 3

The naming of factor 3 was based on the assumption that, in the course of time, many runaways would become welfare clients. In this respect they resemble abusers of intoxicants, such abuse being merely one of many symptoms. By itself, of course, running away may be a harmless habit if it is not connected with other antisocial features. But during their escapades runaways often commit petty crimes to keep themselves alive. Besides that, running away is connected with work-shyness which, in the long run, either turns a boy into a permanent welfare client or leads to repeated theft.

So as in the case of factor 2, delinquency is merely a later symptom; the main attention must be directed to the factors conducive to running away. There is no need to change the name of factor 3.

Factor 5

In this group, Recidivism had its greatest effect on the loadings of factor 5, Time and Duration of Custody. Earlier, when only the independent variables were taken into account, the duration of custody received the highest loading in factor 5: now the criminal tendencies of the boys get more emphasis.

In fact, it is more rational to consider factor 5 with Recidivism than without it. Now it can clearly be seen that the earlier the first offence is committed (if it is followed immediately by taking into custody), the longer the custody lasts and the greater the number of offences or crimes the boys commit after release. It would appear that delinquent behaviour is the main symptom of

these boys.

Recidivism alters the content of factor 5 to such an extent that its name might be changed to "Long Custody owing to Early Delinquency."

Social Status did not receive such a high loading as the variable for Recidivism in factor 5.

3.3. School and Institution

Recidivism seems to correlate with factors 1, 3 and 4 (page 5).

Factor 1

Without the dependent variables, this factor was named Fairly Successful at School. With the dependent variables, the role of practical subjects at school in the boys' success there is emphasized further, but so, too, is their academic competence both as assessed by the teacher and in the light of intelligence tests. Against this background it is interesting to note that, in this group the dependent variable Recidivism acquired its biggest loading in factor 1. Considered objectively, the boys in factor 1 do have the best changes of making out in life without resorting to crime provided they make use of their competence and work hard. Everything is relative, of course; in the present material, such boys can be regarded as veritable gluttons for work.

Factor 3

The dependent variables had no effect whatever on the loadings of factor 3. This factor keeps its name, Taken into Custody (and sent to approved school) for Truancy. Recidivism received a loading for this factor - in other words, boys institutionalized for the "crime" of truancy committed real crimes or offences after their release.

This raises a difficult question of principle - difficult to answer, difficult perhaps to raise at all given the present Finnish norms: is compulsory school attendance so important that

it is worth turning boys into criminals in order to enforce it? Here we have two principles which, in the light of my material, run counter to each other: full education for all at any price, or law-abiding citizens? The authorities appear to have opted for the former. I disagree.

Factor 4

Neither were there any major changes in factor 4, which continues to refer to the mentally retarded. On these boys institutional care had a clearly favourable effect, because their recidivism after release was slight. Owing to their retardation and sensitivity to outside influences, they can be compared to deprived children. The institution gives them protection at a critical stage of their development. Later, when their character stabilizes, they find their place in the community.

The results of the principal-component analyses between all the independent variables depicting the home, boy and school, on the one hand, and the dependent variables for recidivism and success at work (social status) on the other, can be summarized as follows:

The variables depicting the home background, personality traits and success at school and institution do not explain the boys' success or lack of it at work - not at any rate at this level of measurement and with such a homogeneous material. Taken as a group, these boys are obviously less successful at work than others of the same age, but the differences within the group are due to factors other than those presented in sections 3.1...3.3.

On the other hand, these background factors do have an effect on recidivism. The psychological processes involved are not clear from this study, because psychological variables are lacking in the analysis. Many rational associations, however, are indicated by variables that are just as concrete as the steps taken.

The emotional or factual break-up of the family has no direct effect on recidivism. All the same, recidivism grows if the

break-up of the family is at least partly due to the imprisonment of the father. For a variety of reasons the mother is no longer able to cope, the marriage ends up on the rocks and a new marriage does not improve the situation. Evidently the boy puts his mother and stepfather too much in mind of his father, so they are reluctant to take him in upon release. Thus the boy has no place to return to.

In the group of variables The Boy Himself, recidivism is associated with other symptomatic behaviour. The Number of Offences or Crimes Committed since Release has fairly high loadings in the factors Taken into Custody for Abuse of Intoxicants, Runaways and Long Custody owing to Early Delinquency (initially Time and Duration of Custody). One feature common to all three of these is that the disturbances began at a very early age and, except for the last, assumed forms other than delinquency proper. Here, unfortunately, the analysis does not go beyond symptomatic behaviour. But for practical purposes, it is useful to know what early symptoms are liable to lead to recidivism, if unattended to. It can never be stressed enough that countermeasures must be taken at the very earliest stage of development. Whatever is lost at this stage is hard to win back later.

The variance of the variable Recidivism is also distributed between three factors in the group of independent variables School and Institution. Basing on the present analysis it was possible to study the effect of institutional care and the combined effect of institutional care and earlier events. One of the findings was as follows: boys who succeeded well at school also made out fairly well after release from the institution. Taken alone, the present analysis does not reveal whether the good result is due specifically to the institutional care, or whether the same result would have been achieved by sending the boys to semi-boarding schools where they could do their homework in peace. But purely from the point of view of recidivism the finding is significant: recidivism was lower for these boys.

A similar favourable result was also obtained in respect of

the Retarded. Again the underlying reason is hard to find out. It is best to continue to avoid placing such boys in the same approved schools as boys of normal intelligence until it is known why their recidivism is less than that of other approved school boys.

The main problem raised by this group of variables is how Society should react to truancy. The need for a good general education covering a wide range of subjects can hardly be denied. But the higher the standards are set, the more children will begin to react negatively towards compulsory schooling. Thus social defects appear side by side with educational benefits, until finally the former outweigh the latter. A happy medium between these two contrary tendencies must be found, otherwise school will do some pupils more harm than good.

One feature common to all the analyses in sections 3.1...3.3 was that the events depicted by the independent variables clearly preceded those depicted by the two dependent variables, so they could be regarded as possible causes. In the following three groups the events of the independent and dependent variables were largely simultaneous or parallel. Here we see how fixed modes of behaviour link up with one another. They give a better picture of the boys' total behaviour after release from the institutions.

3.4. Offences and Crimes

Here, of course, we could only introduce the dependent variable Social Status by Occupational Prestige, which had smallish loadings for all three factors. Most of the communality occurred in factor 1 (page 8).

Factor 1

This factor can still be called Gross Recidivism and it is only natural that success at work received a high negative loading here. Long-term jobs simply do not occur during the intervals

between imprisonment. But the causal relationship, of course, is in the opposite direction: jobs that lasted longer prevented recidivism. This would seem to indicate a rational method of reducing the number and seriousness of repeated offences and crimes.

Factor 3

This factor was called Mitigating Circumstances and introducing the dependent variable confirmed the correctness of the name. When the time element is taken into account and small differences between the loadings of the independent variables are noted, the following sequence is found to be typical: the first offence is slight and the subject is served a mild sentence. After serving the sentence a fairly long time passes before he commits another offence and, since both this and the earlier offence were slight, the sentence is again mild. So the number of offences committed by these boys is generally small. Crime and punishment fit each other well: sentences were imposed taking the mitigating circumstances into account.

Even so, all this had a negative effect on success at work.

Thus the conclusion is clear: not only gross recidivism but also petty delinquency is an obstacle to success at work.

3.5. Success in the Eyes of the Supervisor

The effect of introducing the two dependent variables was to reverse the order of factors 1, 2 and 3 in the Varimax rotation. Otherwise the structure of the factors remained unchanged (page 9).

Factor 1

The new factor 1, The Stable, clearly shows how different behavioural features interrelate. The sequence is as follows: the longer the subject remains in his Third Job (the variable selected to depict long-term employment in this group of variables), the smaller is the number of offences he commits after

release from the institution, the easier it is for the supervisor to observe his working life and note his stability, the higher his Social Status rises, and the less often he changes his place or locality of residence. Thus stability is reflected in all the key variables: work, housing, geographical mobility and recidivism.

At the other end of the scale is instability, the feature that typified the majority of my subjects. It is hardly possible to eradicate such instability without altering the boys' life totally. So these boys need help at and outside the institution in every way likely to promote stability. Delinquency is a relatively rare primary symptom, so their therapy should not be focused on eliminating it to the exclusion of all other symptoms. It is more important to find out the reasons for the primary disturbances, gradually eliminate the irritants and alleviate the external conditions conducive to instability. Victory comes when the boy is ready to stand on his own feet and assume an adult role.

3.6. Success at Work

Here, of course, only Recidivism was introduced as a dependent variable, but it had no effect whatever on the factorial structure. Factors 1, 3 and 4 remained practically unchanged, so they can be disregarded and we can concentrate on the factors that had slightly significant loadings. Of these, factor 2 was by far the most interesting.

Factor 2

The effect of introducing Recidivism was exactly the same for factor 2 (Stickers) as it was for factor 1 (The Stable) in section 3.5. Both concern stability - the former job permanence, the latter stability in general. Naturally factor 1 in section 3.5 is broader in content and has a greater effect on Recidivism. But if we study what caused these boys to stick to their jobs, we have to examine their values. In my original principal-component

analysis of this group of variables, I called the boys in this factor "status-oriented". These boys are trying to make something of their lives. Society should support their efforts by every means at its disposal.

Factor 5

This factor can still be called Men Who Succeeded in Short-Term Jobs. Here, too, Recidivism received a negative loading - a very small one, but indicative. Good wages are a positive value in Finnish society. The slightest success in the approved direction has an immediate effect on Recidivism. So once again we get a hint of the way these boys can be helped.

Factor 6

When only independent variables were analysed, this factor was christened "Men Who Succeeded in Long-Term Jobs." The introduction of the dependent variable stresses the content of this factor. These boys were assumed to be striving for both money and security. Now that the role of long-term employment and the total length of their jobs receive a higher loading, they can perhaps be regarded as being more security-oriented than money-oriented.

The distribution of the communality of the Recidivism variable between the above three factors is interesting: the highest negative loadings are on the factors that stress permanence and stability. The values behind stability are either social aspirations or security. But any effort towards economic success - even for shorter periods - seems to have a diminishing effect on Recidivism.

To sum up the effect of these simultaneous factors, introducing the two dependent variables has brought out features stressing stability so that the only boys left in the marginal group are those who are not trying to make any progress but are merely continuing to drift. The truth is that there is still nothing we can do to help these boys. The question is: can we, and do we

want to accept them as they are, or are we merely trying to help them on our own terms? At present our results are nil. New methods and new principles are indispensable.

4. CHECKING THE RESULTS

In such a multistep study, systematic errors are possible unless a close watch is kept out for them. Partly for this reason, and partly to check the general validity of the results, I performed three kinds of check analyses: 1) a combined analysis, 2) a residual-variable analysis, 3) regression analyses.

4.1. Combined analysis

The main purpose of this analysis was to compress the 27-factor data into an even briefer form. This is specially desirable for decision making, as it is extremely difficult to make decisions if a very large number of variables has to be taken into account. Owing to lack of space, only the basic data on this stage of the analysis can be given here. A six-factor Varimax rotation was achieved by systematically testing with different quantities of variables and different numbers of factors. The six factors explained 56.5 per cent of the total variance of the twenty peak variables. In addition to the six factors, the first unrotated principal component (0) is included below because it will play an important part when comparing the results of this study with those of earlier studies:

0. lack of adequate care and supervision at home
1. accentuated maladjustment
2. the stable boys
3. institutionalization due to turbulence at home
4. urban-rural variations in the criteria for the duration of care or custody
5. the bane of the children's home: killing off a child's initiative by lack of adequate care

6. men from North and East Finland (areas with chronic unemployment) who succeeded in short-term jobs.

To sum up the findings, the variations of recidivism and success at work seem to move mainly along the stability-instability scale - viz. factors 2 and 6. Once boys begin to stabilize for one reason or another, their new-found stability soon reduces their delinquent behaviour; work does not leave them enough time for delinquency.

My material is too small to give any idea of why some boys begin to stabilize. Probably it is partly due to growing up, but the main reasons are factors that are not yet known. There is nothing to indicate that institutionalization has contributed in any way to their stability. It may have had a beneficial effect if it occurred at puberty or following an outburst of delinquency before that age. But factors 1, 3, 4 and 5 above point in the opposite direction.

Here we are up against social problems in the real meaning of the term. Unfortunately our means are too limited to cope with them all. Many of them can be dealt with simply by financial assistance, given the will and a sense of responsibility. But there is still a mass of complex problems concerning human relationships, about which we know too little. What we are faced with is a lot of unhappy people who do not know or cannot communicate the basic reasons for their problems. When the pressure becomes unbearable, they release it with their fists, intoxicants, divorce or running away; one way of running away from insoluble problems is as good as another.

4.2. Residual-variable analysis

Owing to the general logic of this study, there is a slight possibility of screening out variables from the final analysis that might provide good explanations of the variance of recidivism and success at work. To check on this, I performed a residual variable analysis covering the peak dependent variables and all

the residual variables having statistically significant correlations with any of the dependent variables. Naturally the naming of factors is affected to some extent by the set of variables involved in each case. None the less, the analysis produced very little new information of any importance.

To summarize the residual-variable analysis, the method of screening the variables used earlier in the study was found to have had no substantial effect on the final results. There remained all the variables that were significant in describing the groups of variables. So the rather poor explanatory capacity of the independent variables was due not to the method of screening but to far more general reasons: the coverage of the material, the lack of data for certain variables and the level of measurement. These problems could not be solved entirely satisfactorily basing on the limited means at my disposal.

4.3. Regression analyses

Here, again, I will have to pass over the technical aspects. The purpose was to construct a simple linear and additive model in which the correlations between independent variables would be as low as possible. The regression analyses covered 83 variables that had been carefully selected basing on the earlier principal-component analysis.

4.3.1. Recidivism

The dependent variable in this analysis was the number of offences or crimes committed since release. Table 1 shows the results for eight variables.

The explanatory capacity of the model was highly significant ($F = 22.1$, 8 and 387 degrees of freedom). It explained 31.4 per cent of the variance ($100 \times R^2$) of Recidivism. This explanatory percentage was fairly good for such a homogeneous material. A

TABLE 1. RECIDIVISM AND KEY INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Regression coefficient	Standard deviation	Standardized partial regression coefficient	Correlation coefficient	T-test value
Type of first offence	.661	.085	.331	.350	7.748 ⁺⁺⁺
Social status (boy's not family's)	-.634	.112	-.242	-.301	-5.664 ⁺⁺⁺
Earnings from short-term employment	-.279	.059	-.201	-.202	-4.741 ⁺⁺⁺
Mother's age at first offence	-.275	.082	-.142	-.187	-3.336 ⁺⁺
Malicious/friendly towards teachers	-.976	.357	-.116	-.136	-2.729 ⁺⁺
Age at which smoking started	.264	.104	.109	.117	2.553 ⁺
Mother-stepfather relations	.781	.279	.120	.142	2.800 ⁺⁺
Frequency of holidays from institution	-.639	.244	-.113	-.110	2.612 ⁺

Constant term = .580

purely predictive model, of course, would have given considerably better results.

In interpreting the model, the chronological order of the variables should be borne in mind: earlier events led up to later ones. Five of the eight variables were the peak variables of their own factors, which gives the model a broader basis.

So it is worth starting the interpretation with Mother-Stepfather Relations. In the case of the residivists these relations were very bad, and the mother's second marriage was often on the point of breaking up. The original principal-component analysis of the variables depicting the boys' Home Background produced four factors - all reflecting the same problem: Mother's Difficulties, Father's Difficulties, Mother's Difficulties after Remarriage, Father's Difficulties after Remarriage. Thus the home background was extremely disturbed, not only for the boy but for all concerned, as can be seen from factor 3 in the same group, Siblings' Disturbances. So it is quite justified to call the first unrotated factor in the Home Background group "Mother's and Father's General Disturbances." Naturally, the reasons for the disturbances vary widely and can hardly be ascertained from such a small material. But the strength of the variable Mother-Stepfather Relations in the model is a clear indication of the marital difficulties. If the parents' difficulties are due to unfulfilled basic needs, the children's general disturbances are fully understandable. Merely trying to cope with their marital difficulties takes up so much of the parents' time that they have little left to devote to the children. This erodes the children's basic security and creates a foundation for all kinds of disturbances.

The general turbulence at home soon wears down the boys' resistance, as the model indicates. Smoking starts at a very early age, so do school difficulties and maliciousness towards teachers. Smoking is innocuous in itself. The only notable feature is the very early age at which it starts, and it can be interpreted either as a first symptom of disturbance or as a sign of deficient parental control. Both interpretations emphasize the

social background of early smoking.

The first offences occurred while the boys' mothers were very young. This again points to lack of parental control, due to unsolved marital problems. Whatever emotional ties exist between the parents to start with are destroyed soon after the wedding. So the children grow up in a loveless atmosphere. From a child's point of view, his relations with his mother are paramount. As the mother is lacking emotional (and often any other) support from the father, it is questionable whether she has much emotional support to give the child at this vital stage of his personality development. Against this background, Bowlby's mother-deprivation theory is by no means without merit. Of course, the mother was not physically absent in most of the cases in my material, but the turbulence at home leaves room for suspicion that effective mother deprivation occurred as far as the boys' emotional lives and security were concerned.

Smoking, getting into mischief, and displays of maliciousness at school fail to produce the sympathy that the boys are perhaps subconsciously hoping for, so they have to do something more eye-catching to arouse their parents' attention. This, of course, is delinquency. But delinquency is a double-edged sword for the delinquent: it sets off a chain of processes that are difficult to reverse. The model shows clearly that, the grosser the first offence, the more probable is recidivism after release. A given act triggers off countermeasures by the authorities, which continue until the boy is able to demonstrate by his own actions that they are no longer needed.

According to my model, the best way to break the vicious circle is work: the longer a boy stays on a job, the rarer recidivism becomes. Holding down a job calls for motivation, which most of these boys are lacking; one can hardly expect them to be inspired by the example set by their parents. All the same, the regression model shows how this motivation can be created.

The second variable - the Boy's (not the family's) Social Status - was chosen to represent the factor earlier named "Stickers" (page 10).

These boys could well be called "status-oriented." Even among my subjects it can be seen that, if a boy really tries to get ahead, he can make a reasonably good career for himself. A career and recidivism are mutually exclusive, though given the stress most of the boys are under, it is by no means possible for them always to acquire steady trades or professions. However, similar results were achieved by the boys who were able to hold down short-term jobs with good pay. These boys can be called "money-oriented." After so many false starts, an ex-institution boy needs some reward for his efforts - either prestige or money - before being able to break the vicious circle of his vendetta with the authorities by his own efforts.

To avoid the worst effects of institutionalization, the boys were sent home for occasional holidays. Unfortunately, the model shows that the holidays increased recidivism. There is a deep-rooted belief that home is the best place for a child. What would seem more natural than to send a boy home from time to time to avoid all his personal relationships being cut? The misconception lies in the word "home". Home for these boys was not the sort of place one generally thinks of as home. As far as recidivism was concerned, their holidays at home defeated their own ends. What happened was that, owing to the tension prevailing at home, they did not return there but went back to their old peer group, from which they had received their original impulses and in which there was no parental control.

This is not an attack against holidays as such. What the authorities should do is to set up holiday centres to which such boys, who to all intents and purpose are homeless, can be sent without any danger of a relapse. At any rate, before sending any boy home it should be found out whether his home is in a fit state to receive him. If not, some other solution - such as a holiday centre - must be found.

Perhaps the most interesting finding from the regression-analysis model is that two of the three most important variables - Social Status and Earnings from Short-Term Employment - are

practically simultaneous with Recidivism or its avoidance. There is no direct causal relationship of course; they are alternatives. Naturally past experience influences decisions, but every act is a separate occurrence that calls for a new decision. Thus the recidivist is one who by his own individual choice goes on committing offences shading into crimes. Some of them are found out and, every time this happens, Society reacts more harshly. As the recidivist reacts with equal hostility to Society, the process feeds on itself until the final product is a hardened delinquent.

Despite all this, the rather poor explanatory capacity of the model - 31.4 per cent - indicates that significant variables are still missing from it. None of the social background or traumatic experiences at the institutions give a full explanation of why some boys become recidivists and others not. The model does not show whether poor persistence at work is a genetic weakness or due to poor childhood conditions, or both. The fact is, however, that none of these boys were capable of holding down long-term jobs and this incapacity was seldom due to poor intelligence. Also unexplained at present is the part played by will power. Are people conditioned to wanting different things and how does the conditioning occur? Such questions are endless. For some unknown reason, some people want to end their criminal activity and do so, others would like to but cannot, and a few do not even want to. Every train has its passengers, including the train back to jail.

4.3.2. Success at work

Contrary to Recidivism, the variables in the regression analysis did not explain much of the boys' success at work. So the result was exactly the same as in the principal-component analyses. The reason was simple: the success at work of even the most successful boys correlated very weakly with the independent variables. One reason was the weakness of the dependent variable itself. Despite a very large amount of effort and work, I was

unable to obtain much information on the boys' jobs. Partly, this was because many of them seldom had any jobs.

On the other hand, the principal-component analyses showed that success at work and recidivism were unidimensional, both being associated with the boys' instability. Thus success at work is not an unrelated phenomenon but is part of the boys' process of stabilization. If and when a boy settles down, this shows up in both his success at work and his recidivism.

For all its deficiencies, the model for success at work was interesting because it showed how closely work and delinquency balance each other out. The key data are shown in Table 2.

The explanatory capacity of the model was highly significant according to the F test ($F = 18.8$, 3 and 392 degrees of freedom), but the explanatory percentage was very low (12.6). All the same there is nothing logically impossible about the data in the model.

Here again, the interpretation was based on the standardized partial regression coefficients and correlation coefficients. The best explanatory variable for success at work was the number of offences or crimes committed since release: the larger this number, the weaker the boy's success at work. This is a very obvious finding.

Not so obvious for some may be the finding that, the more intelligent the boys were and the less dependent they were on their peers, the less successful they were at work. It seems axiomatic that, the more intelligent and more independent a person is, the better he will succeed. Evidently this is not the rule for all: for those who are unable to use it correctly, intelligence is a handicap. Once again, we have to bear in mind that the boys in this study were not normal. For some of them, work had lost all its point at a very early age and they were unable to change their attitude.

The extent to which this attitude reflects the shortcomings of a boy's home and/or school is difficult to say. For a boy who is reasonably intelligent, as many delinquents are, the

TABLE 2. SUCCESS AT WORK AND KEY INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Regression coefficient	Standard deviation	Standardized partial regression coefficient	Correlation coefficient	T-test value
Number of crimes or offences since release	-.117	.018	-.305	-.301	-6.462 ⁺⁺⁺
Dependence/independence on peers	-.663	.213	-.147	-.141	-3.114 ⁺⁺
IQ	-.080	.032	-.118	-.108	-2.501 ⁺

30

Constant term = .458

31

welfare state offers many opportunities of getting by without working, or only working for short periods. When Society expects everyone to work, this presupposes that all are largely similar. In fact, people vary widely in their ability to sustain constant effort and stress. For those in the marginal labour force, work is not easy to get. It is difficult for the untrained to find jobs and, for those psychologically unfitted for work, the position is even worse. Chronic unemployment and the obligation to work for a living are among the many paradoxes of Finland. A "mitigating" circumstance, perhaps, is that the overall national rate of unemployment is only 2 - 3 per cent.

The finding that untalented and un-independent boys succeeded on the labour market better than the talented and independent may seem like a blasphemy to some. But we have already seen in section 3.3, School and Institution (factor 4), that institutional care had a clearly favourable effect on many retarded boys. These boys, being sensitive to influences, absorbed certain basic values of Society during their time at the institution, and this has obviously helped them on a labour market that is hostile to intelligent, independent delinquents. There's always a job waiting for a willing, conscientious and obedient worker.

5. COMPARISONS WITH EARLIER STUDIES

An inductive study has one great disadvantage: its findings, as such, are not comparable with the results of deductive studies. This, of course, hampers interpretation. On the other hand, most criminologists now admit that it is fruitless to seek any universal theory of delinquency and exceptional behaviour (Hood & Sparks 1970, p. 7); so many factors of such a wide variety can lead to similar results.

In the light of present knowledge, it is difficult to differentiate the factors leading to recidivism from those leading to delinquency or crime in general. Many young-delinquent studies performed with test and control groups have shown irrefutably

that criminal and non-criminal activity overlap at many points. Most people are guilty of breaking the law at some stage of their lives. This explains nothing. It only goes to show that law breaking is a very widespread and, in some ways, natural activity. Ordinary people gradually wean themselves from such behaviour, others turn into hardened criminals. Why? This is one of the most difficult questions criminologists still have to answer. They have worked out highly accurate methods of forecasting which "clients" will eventually be back in an institution or jail. But many studies have shown that variables with a good predictive value for recidivism - number of earlier offences or crimes (or sentences passed), time elapsed between release and the next known offence, age in general and specially at the time of the first offence - are not necessarily the same as those differentiating delinquents from non-delinquents (Hood & Sparks 1970, p. 180). Thus predictive studies are not fully comparable to the present study because what I am trying to find out is why some boys become recidivists, not just to forecast who they will be.

The multicausal nature of delinquency leads to numerous difficulties for empirical investigators. If they merely study the behaviour of a single type of criminal under different circumstances, they easily lose contact with factors common to all criminals, and vice-versa. Although this investigation is clearly a follow-up study, it is more of a study of general factors than one of the interaction between types of therapy and types of delinquents (Hood & Sparks *ibid.*, pp. 193-214).

Comparability also involves the question of statistical population. Many study populations are such that they do not in any way represent the real population of the same age class. Numerous major criminological investigations have been made with test and control groups in an effort to throw more light on the vague borderline dividing the delinquent from the non-delinquent. As there was no control group in my study, it is not fully comparable to these others. The opposite also holds good: the results of a generalizing study cannot as such be applied to extreme materials

(Määttäner 1972, p. 110 of the Finnish text). Writers down the ages have evolved an excellent method of treating complex human relationships: they pinpoint some extreme situation in order to demonstrate the universally human elements of "exceptional" behaviour. And so, too, here: we cannot understand the boys in the present study if we are incapable of seeing the same features in ourselves.

Criminologists have developed a wide variety of theories, but none of these has won general acceptance. There are too many theories and too little testing of them (Hirschi 1969, p. 243). The explanations offered for the origins and nature of crime are so vast in number and so varied that it is difficult even to imagine how the fog can be cleared. So I will pass over the history of criminal research by simple reference to textbooks such as Anttila & Törnudd's (1970), Vold's (1966), and Crime and delinquency in Britain (1971).

In looking for comparable research results and/or means of testing earlier theories, the researcher is faced with the problem of choice. His choice reveals the direction from which he seeks help. There is always a subjective element in comparison, though comparison is no obstacle to a critical review of the investigator's own results.

With these reservations, I can start looking for points in common between my results and findings made under completely different circumstances. I shall begin with Travis Hirschi's Causes of Delinquency (1969). This, I feel, has been one of the most ambitious enterprises in criminology. What Hirschi has done is no less than to test in one book the results of three major schools of thought in western criminology. He calls these

1. the Strain Theories
2. the Control Theories
3. the Cultural Deviance Theories.

According to the strain theories, the reason for deviance is that people are unable to achieve legitimate aims with the means

at their disposal. The best-known proponent of this school is the American sociologist Robert K. Merton. According to the control theories a person becomes free to commit delinquent acts if his ties to the conventional order are cut in one way or other. Among the advocates of these theories are David Matza, F. Ivan Nye and Walter C. Reckless. According to the theories of cultural deviance the individual observes norms that the community at large does not approve of. Perhaps the best known of these theories are the Subcultural Theory and the Theory of Differential Association, and the best-known researcher in this line is Edwin H. Sutherland. It is impossible to describe these theories in detail here. Reference can be made to Hirschi (ibid., pp. 3-15, 225-232).

Hirschi's population was the pupils of 11 junior secondary schools in a single county near San Francisco. He selected weighted samples totalling 5545 students, of whom full data were obtained for 4077. He collected all the data available on these students, including academic achievement test scores and other data from school records, and those available from police records. The bulk of his material, however, came from questionnaires filled in by the students themselves. A six-step index was used to measure delinquency.

As is obvious from the above, Hirschi's population was entirely normal; he assumed initially that its delinquency rate would not deviate much from the statistical norm. So the boys in my study were a good deal more hardened.

According to Hirschi, the earliest American sociologists were openly moralistic. They assumed the reason for delinquency to be that Society had failed to tame and control the animal nature of the delinquents. Strain theorists, too, are moralistic, but they deny that the motivation for deviance lies in human nature itself. They believe people want to obey the rules and, in fact, do so unless the pressure of unfulfilled but legitimate desires forces them to act otherwise. According to Merton the American virtue, ambition, is responsible for the American vice, deviant behaviour.

He has been followed by many who have tried to demonstrate that good leads to evil.

However, there is no single moral standard in the United States. Instead there are several societies with numerous sub-groups. Learning the norms of his own subgroup automatically puts a person in conflict with those of Society in general. Since crime is learned, the processes behind it are just as positive and moral as those behind any other learned behaviour. Such are the theories of cultural deviance.

Hirschi finds that the strain theories are the worst hit by the results of his study. They are class theories: in most cases they start out from the assumption of a strong correlation between native class and delinquency. According to Hirschi, no such correlation exists, however important the individual's own social status is from the point of view of delinquency.

My own results strongly bear out Hirschi's views. All the variables measuring the social status of the boys' homes had to be dropped from the analysis. Only a boy's own social status was significant, and this depended essentially on his ability to stick with the job. Present knowledge sheds little light on the ways in which the family's social status affects the boy's job permanence. Evidently the family's attitudes on upbringing and the example it sets play a role. The end result in any case is variations in the mental-stamina and job-persistence dimension. This is directly connected with recidivism and success at work, which are to a great extent mutually exclusive. Nevertheless an excessively high proportion of boys at institutions come from the lower social strata. But for a proper understanding of delinquency, it is important to differentiate between the mechanisms that cause emotional disturbances and those that cause (or fail to cause) a disturbed person to be institutionalized.

By their very nature, the strain theories ignore the role of the family in creating disturbances. A consistent strain theorist assumes that a delinquent's family relationships are just as good as those of a non-delinquent. According to his theory, a delin-

quent was originally tied to society's norms and only discrimination or a lack of opportunities has forced him to abandon these norms. Hirschi found that this was not so. Emotional relations in the families of delinquents differ from those in non-delinquents' families. And again my results bear out his. My approved school boys' and young prisoners' families were typified by broken relationships. For this reason many of the boys had developed into emotional cripples for whom all forms of human contact were difficult. This lack of contact had exempted them from the need to take other people's feelings into account, and so freed their hands for delinquency.

According to Hirschi, the strain theories are weakest in the realm of values and goals. The effect of these on delinquency are exactly the opposite of what the strain theorist assumes: the more readily an individual accepts the conventional goal of success, the less likely he is to break the law - regardless of the probability of his attaining this goal. Thus ambition in itself does not lead to crime but lessens the probability of it. Hirschi's result is again exactly the same as mine. The boys whom my principal-component analysis showed to be fairly successful at school, or status-, money- or money-and-status-oriented succeeded after release in every respect better than those who displayed no ambition.

My study provides no foundation for testing the theories of cultural deviance directly, but it sheds some light on the matter. According to the cultural deviance theories, all groups are more or less equal in their capacity to exact attachment and loyalty from their members. Thus delinquent groups are just as cohesive as non-delinquent ones; failure in a conventional group generally leads the individual to seek personal success in an unconventional group - often with success. Here, too, Hirschi disagrees. The inter-personal relationships of delinquents do not resemble those of non-delinquents in quality. Failure in one group lessens the likelihood of achieving intimate personal relationships in another group. There was no direct indication of this in my study but, if

the behavioural models of the boys resemble those of their parents, the marital difficulties of the mothers and fathers after remarriage would indicate that these boys, too, will not find success by changing group. The quantity of contacts is not the same as their quality; generally, in fact, quantity and quality are inversely related.

The starting point for theories of cultural deviance is that it takes criminal influences to make a delinquent. But Hirschi's findings indicate that effective control decreases the probability of delinquent behaviour even if the control is exercised by persons with criminal traditions. According to my findings a lack of control no longer has any effect on recidivism. On the other hand, the boys' home background revealed the father's and mother's difficulty factors, in both of which variables indicating the parents' inability to bring up their children received high loadings. Thus lack of control plays a major role while the child is still young and in need of care and upbringing. If he has no one to look after him properly, the results may be disastrous. The decisive factor here is obviously the stage of development at which the child is deprived of care and upbringing. If it occurs very early, the result is an emotional pauper - i.e. one emotionally free of parental or any other external control. Creating controls at a later stage will hardly improve the situation.

In simplified form, the theories of cultural deviance presuppose that cultures, not individuals, are deviant. Living according to the norms of one's own culture automatically leads to conflict with the law. But on studying the attachment to their parents of his children in the lowest social strata, Hirschi found that the stronger this attachment was, the less likely they were to become delinquents. His assertion seems to have held good even in cases where the people they identified with were criminals. I was unable to test Hirschi's hypothesis directly, but the importance of human relationships came out so strongly in my material that his finding must be largely correct.

Hirschi himself favours a control theory. But even this failed to survive his empirical test without a scratch. The inception of delinquency also involves group processes that cannot automatically be attributed to the personality traits of the individuals concerned. Basing on his findings, Hirschi feels that this control theory underestimates the importance of the delinquents' friends and overestimates that of conventional leisure-time activities. This may be so. But in my study all the variables depicting the boys' friends had to be screened out at a very early stage. So the effect of friends cannot be very strong. The explanation may be hiding in one of Hirschi's own findings: the boys whose behaviour tended to conform to official norms had no delinquent friends - in other words, basic values may have influenced the choice of friends rather than the reverse. Thus the remaining objection to the control theory seems to be the excessive value attached to conventional leisure-time activities. Approved-school boys and young prisoners are by no means lacking in opportunities for such pursuits. But this form of external control has come far too late to make any further difference to the course of development.

Comparison with large-scale empirical studies is possible only in broad outlines. Many of the results have no point of comparison. In principle, the three theories discussed above deal with interactions between the individual and Society and tend to ignore those between the individual and his family. Although Hirschi's and my findings touch at many points, my findings put more emphasis on relations within the nuclear family. The explanation for this is more psychological than sociological. An individual's emotional ties to his immediate surroundings, mother, father, siblings, and all on whom he is absolutely dependent during his early childhood have been broken long before he ever comes into conflict with Society.

Two very interesting efforts have been made to explain this: Gustav Jonsson's Theory of Social Heredity (Jonsson 1967, pp.

14-27, 219-226) and John Bowlby's Theory of Mother Deprivation (Bowlby 1953, 1967). Both of them are worth retesting.

Jonsson's theory is not easy to describe briefly because it contains so many elements. It is based partly on his many years' experience as a child psychiatrist at the Skå Children's Village ("Barnby") and partly on the compilation of a very wide and varied empirical material to test his theory.

His primary material comprised 305 seriously disturbed boys placed in Skå between autumn 1947 and autumn 1961. Ages varied from seven to fifteen. A control group was formed of 222 boys born between 1939 and 1946 and selected by random sampling in Stockholm from among the non-delinquent. The sample thus comprised 0.5 per cent of each age (year) group in Stockholm. Jonsson's test group provides an excellent point of comparison with my study because his boys were very close to mine in their social background and personality traits.

The starting point for Jonsson's theory is the finding that the childhood comes of the parents had been similar in many respects to those in which they brought their own children into the light of day. By sticking to the models of behaviour and reaction learned in their own homes, the parents bequeathed their own difficulties to their children. The progression was by stages: unfavourable conditions in childhood - failure in an adult role - dissatisfactory family life - distrust of the environment. This created "a social and psychological frustration covering three generations," beginning with the grandparents and ending with the boys. The term "social heredity" refers simply to the interaction between the environment and actual biological heredity. In other words, an individual's exceptionalism does not end at his death: he will probably "produce" another exceptional individual, who will probably produce more exceptional persons.

Jonsson believes that the hard core of exceptional individuals is growing - that the probability of exceptional behaviour is

increasing from generation to generation, and that the exceptional features are becoming more and more serious. The latter development is due not only to events within the family but also to changes in the structure of Society. The more complex this structure becomes the more conspicuous and aggravated the defects of the individual grow.

With only two generations at my disposal - records were lacking for grandparents - this theory was difficult to test. Even so there were several points of comparison. The first three stages in Jonsson's process - unfavourable childhood conditions, failure as an adult, and dissatisfactory family life - came out quite clearly in my study. The principal-component analyses of my boys' home background made it fully plain that their early childhood conditions were unfavourable. They did not get the upbringing they needed to grow into adults. The same conclusion can be drawn from the tables presented in my main report in Finnish.

Failure in an adult role was just as evident. If working for a living and maintaining a family are essential facets of the adult role, serious failure can be attributed to both the fathers and the boys. In one way, my findings went a little further than Jonsson's. They revealed one of the main reasons for the failure: the low mental stamina that characterized so many of the male members of my families - not to mention the mothers. Success for them is experienced only in day dreams. How far this failing is hereditary and how far learned or provoked by circumstances - or all three - is impossible to say in the light of present knowledge. All that can be said for certain is that failure will continue unless mental stamina can be instilled or stability created.

One major finding of the present study corresponds to Jonsson's third stage: dissatisfactory family life. It is in this respect that the difficulties of the families and their offspring are greatest. I will only refer to my factors depicting the mother's and father's difficulties and both parents' difficulties after remarriage. Jonsson illustrates the matter by pointing to the

large number of divorces among the delinquent group and to the mothers' interview replies indicating unsatisfactory sex life even in cases where no divorce occurred; he also refers to child-custody disputes. In the absence of a control group, I was unable to get a clear picture of the degree of dissatisfaction. In my study the mothers remarried just as often as the fathers. In Jonsson's, the divorced mothers of the delinquents did not remarry as often as those of the control group. This might indicate added frustration for the mothers of his delinquents. My factors depicting the marital difficulties of the parents after remarriage show that at any rate some of them made desperate efforts to solve their difficulties by means of a second and even a third marriage, though for others the first marriage was enough to last them a lifetime. Another difficulty for the boys was that many of the families in both studies were matriarchal, which gave the boys a very weak masculine model.

As regards Jonsson's finding of child-custody disputes, my own findings point at either complete indifference or a desire to shed responsibility as being the disputants' motivation, rather than any concern over the efficient upbringing of the children.

Jonsson's fourth stage, distrust of the environment, mostly lay beyond the scope of my study, though my variable Parents' Attitude towards the Authorities did touch on this point. Judging from this vague datum, it does not seem as if the Finnish boys' parents were very distrustful: the attitude of 76.3 per cent of the parents to the authorities was quite practical and understanding, 17.4 per cent tended to shun them and conceal facts, and only 6.3 per cent were clearly aggressive, vituperous or hostile towards the authorities. Official documents, however, are not very reliable for testing such a question. To start with the investigators often failed to make any such assessment (it was lacking in 93 out of 396 cases). Frequently, only the most glaring cases are noted. Secondly it is in the parents' interests to conceal hostility towards the authorities because they so often come up against them in other connections. So I could not test

for distrust. All the same, distrust is a traditional feature of the underdog, so it can hardly be irrelevant.

Though the present study, as far as it is comparable, goes a long way towards confirming Jonsson's theory of social heredity, it does not throw any light on his assertion that the number and severity of disturbances is growing. In this respect Jonsson's hypothesis can only be tested against another longitudinal study covering three or four generations. As social downsliding ("downward mobility") is involved, such a study should also deal with the question of class.

Jonsson's theory of social heredity is still slightly vague. It does not throw much light on the origins of disturbed behaviour. In his four-stage progression, only the first stage - unfavourable conditions in childhood - precedes the boy's disturbances chronologically. The other three stages - failure in an adult role, dissatisfactory family life, and distrust of the environment - pertain to his later life. To interpret his findings freely, deficient "emotional economy" would seem to be the decisive factor in the child's development (Jonsson 1967, pp. 25-26). In practice, it also depicts the situation that is unsatisfactory from the child's point of view.

Bowlby's (1952) theory of mother deprivation sheds a great deal of light on emotional economy. According to Bowlby, a child's mental health depends essentially on the relation between him and his mother or mother-substitute during his early years. If a child is separated from his mother permanently or even temporarily at this vital stage of his development, his emotional development will suffer drastically and he is in danger of growing into an emotional pauper. In the most serious cases, mother deprivation may lead to mental illness or delinquency. Bowlby's theory is based on psychoanalytical ideas of personality development.

Personality development is the process whereby the child becomes increasingly independent of his immediate environment and its influences; gradually he learns to set his own goals and

consciously create his own environment. The process requires a capacity for abstract thought, for thinking in symbols and planning actions in advance. A child can only set aside his desires of the moment in favour of his basic needs if he has been able to develop this power of abstraction. As one of our most important long-term needs is to maintain good relations with others, we have to bear their wishes and requirements in mind constantly. This is done by the superego, or conscience. Both the ego and the superego depend on our capacity for abstraction. A small child has no such capacity, so he is dependent on the abstract thinking of his mother. The mother creates his environment, permits some impulses to be satisfied, and blocks others she feels are damaging to his development. So she is her child's ego and superego; but gradually he learns the meaning of her prohibitions and develops his own superego.

If this process is prevented from occurring - i.e. if the mother is prevented from caring for the child and no satisfactory mother-substitute is available, his normal personality growth is hampered and the way is open to disturbances. The stage and duration of the child's separation from his mother have a vital effect on the nature and severity of the disturbances. In other words, there is only a limited period during which the child's psyche is capable of responding to the mother's organizing influence. Once this period has passed, it is extremely difficult for a child to return to it. Deliberate reversion to infancy was one of the therapies adopted by Jonsson; it proved to be one of the most difficult to put into practice.

Bowlby's survey created quite a stir in the profession in 1953. His basic idea of the prime importance of personal relationships for the child's development was accepted, but there was a reluctance to put all the blame for maldevelopment on the mother. During the commotion, some people even discovered the existence of the father! But the stress has always been on the relations between the child and his mother or mother-substitute.

In 1962, WHO published the book Deprivation of maternal care,

a reassessment of its effects, in which seven researchers reviewed Bowlby's work in the light of the ten years' discussion following its appearance. The basic problems are still unsolved today. Such is the multicausal nature of psychological disturbance that mother deprivation cannot explain everything. There are always cases in which the reason is something else.

All the same, Bowlby presented a wide range of evidence in support of his theory. To use his simile, the effects of mother deprivation can be compared to those of the tuberculosis bacillus, which is known to cause disease. Some get the disease, others do not, but the cause is still the TB bacillus. The same probably applies to mother deprivation. At present we do not know exactly why a mother rejects her child, but when she does, the consequences can be serious. Evidently a child creates his own environment right from birth. There is powerful feedback between the reactions of the mother and of the child. If either is unable to provide emotional satisfaction for the other, what little affection there was to start with may die out. The probability of this is increased if the relations between the parents are poor. If a mother is unsure of her position in the family or totally dissatisfied with her marital relations, most of her energy goes on solving her own problems and she has no time to devote to developing the child's personality. The relationship breaks up and disturbances follow. After that it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain emotionally warm relations between mother and child. In my study it is easy to see why the emotional economy of the families concerned was poor. Possible reasons for unsatisfactory family life are obviously numerous; sometimes they are even financial. My findings however, indicate that discontent with sexual relations probably explains many break-ups. This also agrees with Jonsson's results.

Bowlby's theory of mother deprivation is far from being problem-free. If the mother-child relation is as decisive as he claims, not only its permanence but also its quality must be decisive. If a mother is disturbed and unbalanced, she cannot act

as her child's superego. A person who is unable to control her own impulses can hardly control those of a small child. Her actions will tend to be inconsistent. Bowlby explains this by stating that partial mother deprivation may occur even if the mother is not physically absent. In the light of present knowledge it is unclear which alternative is more dangerous to the child: complete separation from his mother (or satisfactory mother-substitute), or living with his mother in an emotionally poor home.

Probably the decisive factor is the child's own reactions, and not much is yet known about the child's part in the process. For one reason or another, some children are unable to react to their mothers' weak efforts to form an emotional tie, and reject them. This deprives the mother of the reward she normally gets from the mother-child relation (Deprivation of maternal care, ... 1962, p. 21). She is then unable to control the child's impulses and shuns contact with him as much as she can. If the mother-father relation is also poor, the situation deteriorates to such an extent that the mother may reject her entire family. This circumstance may also explain why so many approved school boys are impulsive, restless and weak in mental stamina. Even if this deficiency is not genetic, it may result from the process described above.

Theories like Bowlby's are needed to explain why these boys fail in an adult role and marriage. The factors involved are reactions, working habits and models of sexual relationship that have been inculcated in the child at a very early stage. In this respect the home environment is decisive. The home bequeaths its own shortcomings to the child - viz. Jonsson's theory of social heredity.

The development of the child's superego does not stop there: it is nourished by all his contacts with his larger environment. One of Hirschi's most important results was his rejection of the cultural deviance theories: he found that there is no such group

in American society as drives a child to delinquency - i.e. encourages him to reject conventional modes of behaviour in favour of its own criminal ways (Hirschi *ibid.*, p. 230). If he is right, the situation is interesting: families with criminal traditions formally accept the general norms of Society even while transgressing them in practice. Children learn very early to recognize the insincerity of what their parents say, as opposed to what they do. This conflict of values reinforces the impulsiveness and instability already created by unsatisfactory mother-child relations.

Outside the home, boys are faced with numerous and stringent demands for conformity, particularly at school and at work. Owing to his learned modes of reaction, these are alien to him and he reacts inimically. The risk of collision is obvious. The danger zone extends particularly to those who have no close human relationships (Hirschi *ibid.*, p. 229). The danger is not so much that this process will "free" the boys from community norms on a conscious level as that it will gradually cut all their human ties until they are no longer able to appreciate the emotional meaning of their acts for other people. Bowlby is probably right in stressing the importance of emotional relations between the child and his mother (or mother-substitute) for the creation and preservation of abstract attitudes. A person lacking this power of abstraction really is free to commit any act.

To avoid oversimplifying the problem, it is worth quoting some of the major findings of Matti Määttänen (The relation between psychological and social factors affecting maladjustment, 1972). His study is part of the same programme as mine. Though the two studies differ somewhat in their populations, methodology and sets of variables, they have enough in common to be fully comparable.

Before embarking on this comparison, however, an intricate problem must be solved. The overall picture that has gradually emerged from Hirschi's, Jonsson's and Bowlby's investigations, and

which has been tested as far as possible against my own results, is based on hypotheses of relationships between single variables and on theories built up on these hypotheses. When the results of principal-component analyses are brought into this picture, it is necessary to consider what is the position of these principal components or factors in the theoretical structure being created. What are these factors? Are they typologies depicting groups of the population, or do they depict features common to all the boys?

Factor 1 in Määttänen's study is a typical general factor, depicting a feature common to all the boys: Aggravated Maladjustment (at the institution). His other 13 factors can be divided into three groups as follows:

- 1) the Father, Overprotectiveness, Foster Homes
- 2) Maladjustment of Siblings, Continued Delinquency, Emotional Disturbance, Intoxicants
- 3) Productivity, Extropunitivity, Abuse of Pharmaceutical Drugs, Neurotic Tendencies, Aggressive Behaviour, Alcohol.

The first group clearly depicts the disturbed home background. Groups 2 and 3 depict the boys' reaction to external and internal stimuli. The borderline between Groups 2 and 3 is unclear. Group 2 puts more emphasis on the effect of independent variables, group 3 on reaction tendencies.

The problem does not concern the interpretation of the factors so much as the content to be assigned to them in formulating a theory. Can the factors in group 1 somehow be regarded as reasons for the maladjustment and those in group 3 as reaction tendencies due to these reasons? And do the factors in group 2 depict the processes whereby the disturbed home background affects the boy's reaction tendencies? From past experience we know that no single factor is a necessary and sufficient condition for disturbed behaviour, and that none of these combinations of causes produces all the types of reaction found in all the boys, even in this many-times screened population. All the same, there must be

a powerful interaction between these factors, though we do not yet know how it occurs.

Disturbed home background did not come out as strongly in Määttänen's study as in mine, but the significance of primary personal relations received the same weight in both. The most interesting from a theoretical point of view, I feel, are the factors depicting the boys' disturbances and reaction tendencies. Määttänen's study puts more stress than any of the others I have quoted on the multiplicity of these disturbances. There is a strong tendency in criminology to regard delinquency as some sort of independent phenomenon, separate from all other forms of disturbances.

Määttänen's 14-factor Varimax rotation makes it quite clear that, even in the worst delinquents, delinquency is only one of many forms of disturbance - and not always the most serious for the individual concerned. Far more common is a form of unspecified disturbance from which symptoms such as aggressivity, neurotism and abuse of intoxicants originate. Delinquency may be just one more such symptom. The emphasis put on it is due not to the boy's reactions but to those of Society. Viewed against Jonsson's theory of social heredity, Määttänen's findings mean that any one of these symptoms may set in motion the process of social down-sliding that will later lead to open delinquency. This greatly increases the number of people within the danger zone. The crucial question for therapy is whether each of these groups of symptoms has its own etiology, or have they all some common origin such as that described in the present study, basing on Hirschi's, Jonsson's and Bowlby's work. If each form of disturbance has its own unique etiology, then we are still far from finding solutions. But if they can all be attributed to difficulties in human relationships, we can at least hope for some progress in the near future.

Määttänen himself stresses the gestalt-psychological or system-theoretical nature of the problem, whichever term is preferred. Details must be viewed as parts of a whole. No single

factor in the total picture is of decisive importance; each disorder is due to the combined effects of many factors (Määttänen *ibid.*, page 100 of the Finnish text).

To enable the ideas of gestalt psychology to be used in diagnosis and treatment, Määttänen suggests a method based on the use of factor scores for profile comparison. The factors are converted into scores and the individual's place in each dimension is determined by his score. By studying deviations from the expected values, we can see which areas are problematic for the subject and what is the relative significance of these factors in the total picture. Once we possess a descriptive system that is known to relate to the etiology of the disturbances, this method will be handy and highly flexible. But until we do, factor scores will be merely rough estimates of limited application. At any rate, administrative decisions are at present made basing mainly on symptom classification.

Määttänen's technique, however, could also be used to obtain profiles for each group of symptom. We do not yet know for sure which type of profile is primary to the problem. If the reaction tendencies described by Määttänen are almost permanent, diagnosis per symptom will obviously be best; if they change with age and external conditions and/or clearly overlap, then a total gestalt picture will give better results. One thing is certain: using Määttänen's method we can now assess the relative importance of the factors for each subject with greater accuracy than before.

Some readers may wonder why I have not discussed the effects of institutional care even in this chapter, though the study has been clearly labelled a follow-up study. The explanation is simple: institutionalization does not have quite such dramatic effects on boys' lives as is commonly believed. What is involved is a group of far longer-term factors. The decisive errors have been made long before the authorities are called in.

Institutionalization does have its effects, of course, but these are indirect rather than direct. Two main effects stand out:

1) Progress in primary personal relationships is retarded

2) Work motivation is weakened.

The relation between these two seems to be that no adequate work motivation comes into existence if the boy has no one to work for. Thus a great deal of exceptional and disturbed behaviour can be ascribed to difficulties in human relationships.

As it is customary in Finland to regard foreign studies as being more reliable than Finnish ones, I will end by quoting from Martin & Webster's The social consequences of conviction (1971) in Great Britain. According to these authors, maintaining contact with the family is the most important single factor in keeping a man straight after release. So anything conducive to such contact is beneficial (Martin & Webster *ibid.*, pp. 187-188). The clearest effect of conviction and imprisonment is a deterioration of work output. Most released prisoners are only able to hold down short-term jobs - at any rate, jobs lasting a shorter time than those before imprisonment. When all the effects studied were taken into account, most of the changes due to imprisonment were found to be relatively small. In marriage and work, which were affected the most, the changes were almost unrelated to the type of crime and sentence (*ibid.*, p. 177). Martin & Webster sum up their major result as follows:

Having considered the relationship between reconviction and our various indices of change, we can only conclude that the changes as such appear to have been less closely related to reconviction than to some longer-term, and perhaps more fundamental features of our offenders' lives (*ibid.*, p. 191).

Only a few of the social consequences of conviction show up clearly. Most of them are marginal and less dramatic, though their cumulative effect may be considerable.

According to Martin & Webster, their offenders were typified by social instability and social isolation. The instability showed up in their work and family life - exactly the same finding as mine. Social isolation could not be tested against my material, but Hirschi came to the same conclusion, though he interpreted it in a slightly different way: again, what is involved are human relations: a criminal shuns intimate personal relationships because he fears he has nothing to give to others. Often this fear is justified. To avoid the trauma of intimate relationships going sour, he enters into a network of superficial relationships in which no one makes any emotional demands on another, the prevailing philosophy being "Live for the moment" (*ibid.*, pp. 206-210). Martin & Webster strongly bore out my observation that the main difficulty of delinquents and other disturbed persons is not being excluded from Society but either seeing all their close personal ties being cut or never having had such ties in their lives. This process includes social isolation. In this respect Martin & Webster get support from Jonsson (1967, p. 224). But social isolation is the end of the process, not its beginning. Thus Martin & Webster's findings fit well into the total picture presented earlier.

6. MY OWN THEORY AND OTHERS'

Logically I should end by presenting my own theory on the origin of emotional disturbance. But the truth is stranger than the myth: after going through the present empirical results and reviewing earlier studies, I have come to the same conclusion as Hood & Sparks (1970, p. 7) that it is entirely fruitless to seek any single theory to explain all crime, delinquency and exceptional behaviour. It is far more useful to test earlier theories (Hirschi, 1969, p. 243). This, and only this, will enable us gradually to see which of the "results" are hard fact and which pure speculation.

I have tried to condense my major findings, while comparing

them with others', in Chapter 5. But as the comparisons did not reveal many discrepancies, this means that I have accepted some of Hirschi's, Jonsson's, Bowlby's, Määtänen's and Martin & Webster's results even where I have been unable to test them in detail against my own material, because they fit in logically with the total picture given in the previous chapter. For logical reasons I have been compelled to filter and select results and I am by no means sure that these writers see emotional disturbances in the same light as I do. If I have misinterpreted them, the responsibility is all mine.

The contribution of the present study, I feel, is that it puts the origins of the disturbances where they belong: in early childhood. Their cause is the break-up of the child's human relationships. I cannot yet be sure whether this process occurs exactly as Bowlby says it does, or whether the total life situation in which the child grows and matures is responsible, as Määtänen states. The beginning is obviously decisive. The development then follows Jonsson's formula. Childhood experiences gradually sink into the background and into the foreground come the reaction tendencies that have crystallized at different stages of this process. The adult symptom is social instability both at work and in the subject's relations with his own family (if he still has one). If he has emotional bonds with someone, it is at this stage that they are liable to break. The emotional cripple's worst scars are his failure as a man and as a husband and father. To protect himself from ever worsening injuries he withdraws and gradually shuns all intimate personal relationships. So the end result may well be the social isolation described by Martin & Webster.

Omitted from my discussion are organic injuries, genetic factors and traumas due to chemical or mechanical stimulants of the sort for which simple medical remedies will be found in the course of time, if not already. These cases are not purely medical: they include a strong social element. For instance, a child brain-damaged at birth reacts more sensitively to stress

situations than his healthy siblings. So his use of energy is far more uneconomical and this affects his school and work performance and thereby increases the stress still further. If the root of the problem is not diagnosed at an early stage, a vicious circle forms owing to continual feedback.

However, nearly all exceptional behaviour is social in origin and can be attributed to human interactions. This enables the target area to be reduced and makes it possible to plan more effective methods. The future and fresh research will show to what extent the total picture presented in this study complies with the facts. Criminology is full of ideas that have been labelled theories. Only those that withstand the severe test of reality deserve this label.

SUMMARY

1. PRACTICAL ASPECTS

- The study was performed in Finland, at the Department for Social Research of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health
- the subject of the study was the effect of approved schools and juvenile prisons on the subsequent development of the inmates
- the population was the 396 boys released from four approved schools, a camp for former approved school boys, and a juvenile prison in 1963 and 1964
- the average follow-up period was six and a half years after release
- the data on the boys came from official sources
- the conclusions, and the detailed recommendations given in the full Finnish report, are based on abundant tabular material, principal-component analyses and regression analyses.

2. RESULTS

- The personal forms and other official documents contained relatively little data relevant to the treatment of disturbed boys
- therefore, the entire system of personal investigation should be changed. Details of this proposal are given in the Finnish text
- former approved school boys with IQ's below the statistical norm succeeded at work better than boys with normal or superior intelligence. Thus their recidivism was lower
- the following main results of Travis Hirschi's study (1969) were borne out by my results:
 - there is no clear-cut relation between the family's social class and the boy's delinquency
 - emotional relationships within delinquents' families are on an entirely different level from those of non-delinquents' families
 - the more firmly an individual accepts the goal of conventional success, the less likely he is to break the law, regardless of the probability of his attaining that goal
 - failure in one group lessens the probability of achieving intimate personal relationships in another - i.e. the quantity of contacts is not the same as their quality
 - lack of control and care in early childhood increases the probability of delinquency, irrespective of the existence or absence of a subcultural tradition of delinquency
 - the relationship between friends and delinquency is that boys who tend to behave according to conventional norms do not have delinquent friends, and vice-versa. The individual's basic values generally dictate his choice of friends
- according to Gustav Jonsson (1967), parents bequeath their own difficulties to their children. The result is a social and psychological frustration extending over three generations.

His theory of social heredity was largely confirmed by my study

- according to John Bowlby (1953, 1967), a child's mental health depends decisively on the nature of his relations with his mother or permanent mother-substitute during his very earliest years of life: if the child is permanently or even temporarily separated from his mother (or mother-substitute) during that time, the effects on his emotional development are liable to be disastrous. The present study produced fresh examples that bore out this theory of mother deprivation
- even for a delinquent, delinquency is only one of many forms of disturbance and not even always the most serious. An unspecified form of disturbance is the origin of a wide variety of symptoms. This major finding of Matti Määttänen gained ample support from my results
- the effects of institutionalization on a boy's life are not so dramatic as is popularly believed. His disturbances are due to developmental factors of considerably longer duration. The decisive mistakes have already been made before the authorities are called in. Thus J.P. Martin & D. Webster's principal finding is fully borne out by my study
- the full Finnish text of the study contains a proposal for reforming the system of protective education in Finland.

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