

The Measurement of Movements on the Conformity-Deviance Continuum as an Auxiliary Tool for Action-Research

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Article abstract

MESURE DES TENDANCES

SUR L'ECHELLE « CONFORMITE-DEVIANCE » :

INSTRUMENT DE RECHERCHE ACTIVE

But de l'étude. Cette recherche entreprise par le ministère de l'Éducation dans certains bas-quartiers d'Israël a pour origine la théorie sociologique selon laquelle la déviance et la délinquance sont associées aux conflits de l'enfant qui appartient à des groupes divers. Le traitement vise à arrêter ces pressions diverses en utilisant l'appartenance de l'enfant au groupe comme agent de traitement, et c'est pourquoi les travailleurs sociaux ont dû s'intégrer au groupe pour tenter de changer son système normatif. Ce rapport traite

des problèmes d'évaluation et de mesure objective des résultats obtenus par les efforts de correction et de prévention des travailleurs sociaux.

Aperçu théorique sur un schéma pour l'étude de la délinquance en Israël. Dans un pays où l'on dénombre plus de 70 groupes ethniques, les conflits de normes peuvent être hautement significatifs pour expliquer la genèse du crime et de la délinquance. Ce problème majeur de conflit de culture qui naît avec la deuxième génération n'est cependant qu'un facteur prédisposant dans un ensemble plus vaste. Le schéma propose synchroniser deux types d'explications causales : une configuration de facteurs prédisposants ; une chaîne de pressions dynamiques qui conduisent un individu donné à s'associer à des groupes criminels et à adopter leur type de conduite.

Schema des {acteurs sociaux de conduite criminelle applique hypothétiquement à l'étiologie du crime et de la délinquance en Israël. Pour l'ensemble prédisposant sont envisagés les points suivants : cellule familiale ; facteurs écologiques ; facteurs économiques ; conflit de culture. Le processus dynamique d'association considère les points suivants : solutions délinquantes de situations conflictuelles ; identification différentielle ; stigmatisation sociale ; sous-culture criminelle.

Méthode. Deux groupes ont été choisis pour définir empiriquement le continuum mesure. Après interview, les deux groupes ont été comparés en utilisant le test Mann-Whitney et le test χ^2 . Les principaux points de distinction entre groupe délinquant et groupe non délinquant ont ensuite été analysés afin d'établir leur contribution relative.

Questionnaire. Dans une première partie, le questionnaire comprend différentes questions concernant le passé socio-économique de l'enfant et de sa famille. La deuxième partie est un ensemble d'inventaires éprouvés antérieurement. La troisième partie groupe les points concernant la conscience qu'ont les jeunes de la structure différentielle et du processus de stigmatisation.

Résultats. On a tenté de maintenir stables les variables des facteurs démographiques. L'anomie a été considérée comme facteur prédisposant. Après vérification, il ne semble pas que l'anomie soit un facteur significatif de la délinquance. Les différents points des inventaires qui différencient véritablement les délinquants des non-délinquants ont ensuite été analysés et les plus significatifs sont indiqués dans chaque inventaire.

Identification dynamique et processus d'association. Les principes d'association différentielle ont été largement vérifiés par cette étude et formulés sous forme de probabilité. Cette étude a aussi vérifié la théorie de la désorganisation familiale et du conflit de culture lié à l'immigration familiale. Le concept de norme vicieuse conduisant à une socialisation précoce est crucial pour le concept global de la délinquance.

THE MEASUREMENT OF MOVEMENTS
ON THE
CONFORMITY-DEVIANCE CONTINUUM
AS AN AUXILIARY TOOL
FOR ACTION-RESEARCH

Shlomo Shoham
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CONTENTS

The purposes of the study	105
A. The theoretical background	106
A model for the study of delinquency in Israel : a country of social change	106
1. The predisposition configuration	112
2. The dynamic process of association. Delinquent solutions of conflict situations in the primary so- cialization process	118
B. The method	126
1. The questionnaire	127
2. The findings	128
Appendices	135
References	136

*THE PURPOSES OF THE STUDY **

The rationale of the action-research undertaken by the Ministry of Education in the slum areas of Or-Yehuda, Kfar-Ono, Shechunat-Hatikva and Ramat Yisrael, stemmed from some sociological theories of delinquency causation. The latter postulate that deviance and delinquency are associated with interactional conflicts of a child with his family and various other membership groups. The preventive and treatment efforts intend to counteract and neutralize these pressures while utilizing the boys' membership groups as the treatment agent. The streetworkers have, therefore, to integrate themselves and be accepted by the group and try to change attitudes of the individual members through changes of the norm system of the group.

The present report deals with the problems of evaluating and measuring these attitude changes and proposes a method of measuring objectively the results of the correctional and preventive efforts of the streetworkers. Changes of attitudes may of course be generated by familial and socio-economic conditions which are extraneous to the treatment relations between the streetworker and his group. The « objective » tool described in this report is supplemented by the participant observation of the research workers. The latter would help to determine why a certain attitude change should be attributed

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to the efforts of the research worker, or to other, non related, circumstances.

A. THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

A MODEL FOR THE STUDY OF DELINQUENCY IN ISRAEL : A COUNTRY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

In a country where more than seventy ethnic groups have been identified conflict of norms may indeed be highly relevant for the genesis of crime, delinquency and social deviation. We have elsewhere described culture-conflict as more of a « frame of reference » than a closely structured theoretical system¹. It is not unlike a tool-box for theoretical expositions from which one may draw to explain both conflicts as mental processes on the personality level and norm-conflicts as cultural-conflicts when the group or a whole society is taken as the unit of analysis. The Jewish mass immigration to Israel is, no doubt, the basis for the most conspicuous form of social change as an arena of culture conflict. The flow of Jewish immigration to the country has been almost continuous with wide fluctuations and highly divergent peaks and ebbs. In the population census of 1961, for instance, we find that more than 49% of foreign born Jews have immigrated to the country within the years 1949-1951 whereas in the last few years the Jewish immigration to the country slackened to an insignificant trickle. The overall scope of immigration to Israel is evident from the fact that from 649,600 Jews prior to the establishment of the State in 1948 the Jewish population increased by 262% i.e. 2,344,900 during the 18 years up to 1966. Of this increase 64.6% is due to immigration (*The Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 1967).

More than 45% of the Jewish population in Israel are of Asian and African origin. 6% are natives, born of native-born parents and the rest, 49%, are of European and American descent. Of the immigrants who entered the country from 1948 to the middle of 1961, 14.6% came from Rumania, 13% from Poland, 13.3% from Iraq, 12.8% from Morocco and Tangier, 5.2% from Yemen and Aden, 4.5% from Algiers and Tunis and the rest came from other countries in quite small numbers.

1. Cf. S. Shoham, « Culture Conflict as a Frame of Reference for Research in Criminology and Social Deviation », in : *Festschrift in Honour of Professor Sellin*.

The immigration from the U.S. amounted in that period to less than 1.1% of the total amount of immigrants.

In a previous study we have found *inter alia* that the « criminality » of adult « new » immigrants in Israel exceeded the native-born (and the « old » immigrants) at the rate of 4 to 3 (or 10 to 7.5). An interesting comparison has been made among the rates of serious offences committed by immigrants from the various continents. These rates were, for serious offences per 1,000 immigrants, from Africa, 13 ; Asia, 10 ; and from Europe and America, 5 (Shoham, 1962).

It should be mentioned that the overwhelming majority of immigrants from Africa have come from North Africa. They belong to the « Moghrebite » community, and they have as a rule an ethnic and cultural background quite distinct from that of the rest of the oriental Jews. The Asian Jews belong mostly to the category of « oriental » Jews, whereas the relatively few American immigrants are mostly of European origin or parentage. The clue to these differential crime rates may quite possibly be found in the culture-conflict hypothesis, because the general, economic, and educational standards of the North-African and Asian immigrants are relatively low. It may be that the clash between the cultural codes, norms, and values of these immigrants and those of the receiving community causes a relative increase in the crime rate of these immigrants. We may note the relatively low rate of criminality of the European and American immigrants, whose general cultural and educational standards were similar or nearer to the standard of the receiving community.

Another aspect of the culture-conflict hypothesis has been studied by analyzing the types of offences committed by the various immigrant groups. The first impression revealed a relative preponderance of the more serious offences among the African immigrants. Still another was the high percentage among the Africans of offences against the person. These may indicate the existence of a cultural tradition among the African immigrants of settling disputes by violence, a method of « self-help » which may have been more or less accepted conduct in their countries of origin. It should be stressed however that these comparisons provided only a suggestion for further research to determine whether the excess of violence among the North-African offenders was embedded in the mores of their countries of origin or whether some special attributes of their

communities of origin or the receiving community hindered the process of integration, thereby causing real or illusory feelings of discrimination and increased violence.

The main problem of culture-conflict with respect to crime and immigration arises with the second generation. The native-born of immigrant parentage, or those who came very young, are the most prone to suffer from the effects of their parents' immigration. The conduct norms of their parents diverge as a rule from the prevailing norms in the receiving country. The process of integration may also injure and sometimes shatter the social and economic status of the head of the family. This and other effects of the process of integration may weaken the cohesion of the family unit and thus hamper the family control over the young.

An even earlier finding in the present context was presented by the Agranat Committee on Juvenile Delinquency (1956) which examined the delinquency rates for the years 1951-1953 and found a great preponderance of delinquency among the oriental Jews over the delinquency among the European Jews. This conclusion applied not only to new immigrants but also to « old » immigrants and native-born. The committee concluded :

The process of the social and cultural integration of the oriental immigrant boy is seemingly accompanied by internal and external conflicts which result, *inter alia*, in delinquency. The delinquency proneness of these boys is augmenting the more the receiving community refrains from guiding and helping them to find their place in the new society. In that case a boy may develop a feeling that he is being discriminated against ; the delinquency proneness therefore increases with the accumulation of real or illusory discrimination and failure experiences with the result that the rate of delinquency of the oriental boy increases the longer his stay in the country... The European boy on the other hand shows a better capacity for adaptation to the environment. Irrespective of the fact whether the receiving community is fully prepared to assist him in the process of integration or not : the latter is therefore less prone to seek antisocial substitutes of satisfaction and consequently the longer he stays in the country the less his susceptibility of turning delinquent.

The committee stated, however, that due to insufficient statistical data this conclusion should be regarded as a working hypothesis only, to be confirmed or refuted by further research.

However, culture-conflict, albeit of special importance to

the explanation of crime and deviation in Israel, is but one predisposing factor in a configuration of many. The latter would be a part of a scheme which we shall present to explain some causal pressures to crime and delinquency in Israel. This scheme is not a theoretical « model » in the strict sense but more of an integrative arrangement. The stress is more on the ordering of the variables than on their inter-relationship. This would be, incidentally quite in line with Wolfgang and Ferracuti's call for the integration of criminological theory (1967, p. 111). The following scheme utilizes both some dynamic association premises and a « predisposition configuration » which is a remote descendant of the multiple factor approach. This « predisposition configuration » is selective and expressed in clusters of probabilities, — it has, therefore, no resemblance to the non-theory and amorphic-mass-eclectism aspect of the multiple factor approach.

The components of our scheme are mainly related to social factors of crime, delinquency and deviance. This is so because we are not concerned in the present volume with offences and deviant acts which are overtly psychogenic or psycho-pathological in nature. Many acts such as compulsive petty thefts, as well as numerous forms of sexual aberrations are in the realm of psychiatry and concern the criminologist only tangentially because in these cases the outward *pathological manifestations of a person's disease by themselves constitute the behaviour prescribed by the legislator*. We have also excluded from our studies the severe psychotic offender because his mental derangement not only mars for him the boundaries between the legal and the illegal but also twists his whole perception of reality; incidentally he would also be found not responsible because of insanity according to the strict and somewhat mechanistic criteria of the criminal law. However for the middle-range of offenders which constitutes the majority of the population of offenders in any society, Sutherland's contention that there is a normal (i.e. negatively speaking not necessarily psychopathological) and learned (excluding biological and hereditary « criminal traits ») behaviour is far from being disproved. There are some findings that point to the learning processes of opiate addiction, the seemingly mechanistic and biogenic nature of what we have denoted as « situational opiate addiction » i.e. the addiction through injection of morphine to patients in hospitals. Even in these cases the

addiction seemed to occur through learning by conditioning during the withdrawal period.

Sutherland's and his followers' exclusive reliance on socio-genic factors stem from their express disregard of the « personality factors » of offenders. This holding constant of a level of analysis of social factors only is based on two assumptions which have not, as yet, been fully proved. The first is related to the neutrality of bio-physiological factors to the explanation of criminality. These are definitely relevant to the *general behaviour of human beings*. But if they do not differentiate between legal and non-legal behaviour they would be irrelevant to the etiology of the latter. We may presume that if General De Gaulle in his early youth would have donated through a time machine 10 cm of his potential height to each of the following : Napoleon, Ben-Gurion and Al Capone, that the first would have ended his career as a colonel in the French Revolutionary Army, the second as a foreman in an orange grove in Petah-Tikva, Palestine, and the third as a spaghetti vendor in Chicago. Their different body-build might have changed their career both within the legitimate and the *non-legitimate structures*, but would have little to do with the reasons why one became a criminal and the others not.

The second assumption is related to some personality factors. There would not be any significant differences between the prevalence of structural personality defects or factors among the criminal population and among the population at large. There would be similar distributions of introversion, extroversion, high and low frustration levels, among Bugs Moran's mob, the British Horticultural Association, the Rotary Club of Tel-Aviv and the New York Chamber of Commerce. These two assumptions and especially the latter are far from proved or disproved in toto.

Our approach, however, is quite different. We do not exclude the etiological importance of personality but we assign the latter to their proper level of analysis. In other words, we claim that research in criminology may be fruitfully divided into three levels : a) The causes of the process by which a person commits his first offence or a child makes his first steps towards delinquency ; b) The problems of recidivism and the process which leads a first offender to be persistent, professional

and ultimately a hardened, incorrigible criminal ; c) The third level deals with the phenomena of crime on the social level, i.e. the fluctuations of crime rates in a given community for a given time ; the genesis and volume of special types of crime ; and the inter-relationship between crime, delinquency and social change.

In the present context we are dealing almost exclusively with the second and third levels but we do not exclude the primacy of personality factors and processes for the explanation of some types of crime and deviance for which the other levels of analyses are unsuitable. We also agree with Wolfgang (1967) that the integrative efforts in criminology are bound to move from the well trodden avenues of sociological criminology to the almost unexplored depths of deviant personality processes. Indeed we have pointed out elsewhere the application of the stigma theory which attempts to explain the internalization of derogatory tags as a partial explanation for the prostitution of girls from authoritarian North-African families. The stigma theory in this case initiates the causal explanations at a deeper personality level of analysis and the sociogenic processes carry on where and when the former has resulted in an overt predisposition to crime or deviance.

Our proposed scheme synchronizes two types of causal explanations : the first is a configuration of predisposing factors and the second is a chain of dynamic pressures which lead a given individual to associate with criminal groups and to absorb their patterns of behaviour. The predisposition configuration is a conglomeration of factors which have been shown in a *given culture*, in our case Israel, to raise the probability that an individual exposed to them would be more vulnerable to the second dynamic process of association. We stress the given culture element, because the factors in our scheme have been found to apply to Israel, but are bound to vary from culture to culture. These factors, are of course, a part of an unknown whole. Any technique of association taking them as independent variables to the dependent ones of crime and delinquency shall have, therefore, to account for this residual unknown. We shall proceed to our analysis by presenting the complete scheme itself and then we shall examine its various components separately.

A scheme of social factors of criminal behaviour hypothetically applied to the etiology of crime and delinquency in Israel

Predisposition configuration	Dynamic process of association
<i>The family unit</i>	Delinquent solutions of conflict situations in the primary socialization process
1. More criminals in the family	
2. Broken family	
3. Inadequate family	Differential identification with criminal images and delinquent roles
4. « Masculine protest »	
5. Post-adolescent maladjustment	Access to the illegitimate structure of the differential opportunity structure
6. Conspicuous consumption	
7. Mal-cohesion of family unit	
8. Slackening of parental control	
<i>Ecological factors</i>	Differential association with the criminal group
1. Urban areas	
2. High-rate of delinquency areas	Social stigma of crime and delinquency
<i>Economic factors</i>	
Relative need, as defined by individual	The criminal subculture :
<i>Culture-conflict</i>	1. Juvenile groups
1. A tangential proximity of different cultural areas	2. Organized crime
2. Social change by industrialization, urbanization and immigration	
3. Conflict between levels of achievement of migrant youth and the norms of the absorbing culture	

1. THE PREDISPOSITION CONFIGURATION

The family unit

In the case of the criminal family the differential association begins right at home. The primary socialization itself would contain criminal patterns to varying degrees. This would range from the criminal tribes or castes in India where the primary criminal socialization would be normative (Cressey, 1936) to families — one or more members of which have a criminal history or is actively engaged in crime. Research findings outside of Israel have indicated that the chances of another member of the family becoming delinquent are overwhelmingly higher in these families than in controls which do not have any criminal member. There are findings as to more delinquents in the families of the boys and girls in institutions for juvenile delinquents in Israel. These relate also to the differential rates between criminal parents and delinquent siblings.

« Broken homes » by divorce, separation, death and prolonged incapacitation have also been found to be significantly

linked with juvenile delinquency in Israel (Shoham and Hovav, 1966). Inadequate families marked by unhappy, conflict-ridden homes, tension, irritation, quarrels and friction between parents which displayed itself by inconsistent treatment of the children, ambivalence and violent alternating attitudes were also found to be strongly linked with delinquency. These findings by, *inter alia*, Burt, Shaw and McKay, Nye, Healy and Bronner and many others have also been replicated in Israeli studies (Jaffe, 1964; Shoham and Hovav, 1964). Other findings stress the etiological significance of conflict-ridden homes, the « feminization » of the modern socialization agencies, post-adolescent maladjustment, conspicuous consumption and other related hypotheses on the genesis of middle and upper class juvenile delinquency in Israel. The last two predisposing factors in our scheme which are related to the family i.e. mal-cohesion of the family unit and the slackening of parental control have been found in most of our studies to be especially relevant to the delinquency of the first generation youth of immigrant parents.

Ecological factors

The study of the ecology of crime and delinquency has been initiated by Shaw and McKay (1942), and others of the Chicago School of Criminology; by T. Morris (1958) in England and Christiansen (1960) in Denmark. In Israel we have indeed found that the rates of juvenile delinquency increase with a higher degree of urbanization as measured by density of population and the volumes of commerce and industry.

As to the predisposing factor of high-rates of delinquency areas it has been found, for instance, that the highest zone of delinquency in the Tel Aviv-Jaffa area, is the central business and commercial area. The average delinquency rate (distributed according to age groups) in this area was 46 per 1,000 at the time of the investigation. (The total average for the whole Tel Aviv-Jaffa area was 30 per 1,000.) The delinquency rates in the Tel Aviv-Jaffa area do tend to decrease from the highest concentration in the older central business zone outwards. The exceptions are the new housing projects in the area whose dwellers are rather heterogeneous demographically and the Jaffa area which is totally populated by « new » immigrants who arrived in Israel after the establishment of the State (Shoham and Hovav, 1964).

Economic factors

Modern criminological theory does not vacillate any more between the two extremes of the ancient controversy : whether crime is caused by need² or by greed (Ferri, 1900 ; Ploscowe, 1931). It is realized that want per-se and even sheer hunger are very rarely linked to crime and delinquency. Thousands of people are dying of hunger in India but they would not dare to slaughter a holy cow and fry themselves a steak, because the norm against eating meat has been deeply internalized by them and no degree of hunger and want are apparently strong enough to induce them to infringe it. Also many inmates of concentration camps have suffered extreme hunger but would not think of stealing the bread rations of their fellow inmates, whereas others would.

Need is seemingly a subjective state of mind, — which is determined by the socio-cultural milieu —, want is a comparative entity defined by an individual when his possessions or achievements are found lacking when compared with the money, power and gadgets of others. Need is, therefore, more of a relative and subjective affair and not an absolute and objective one. Most human beings, including those who dwell in the worst slums of the U.S., Latin America, Southern Europe and Asia are not criminals, — those who become delinquents are only a small proportion thereof. Economic need as *defined by an individual* may exert, no doubt, varying degrees of pressure to consume. The latter may be regarded by an individual as forceful enough and the consumption vital enough to risk breaking the law.

Culture-conflict

We have already pointed out in the first part of this report the overwhelming significance of norm-conflict to the study of crime and delinquency in a mass immigration country like Israel. The concentration of prostitution, gambling, smuggling and other vices in the contact areas between the Jewish Tel Aviv and Arabic Jaffa of Mandatory Palestine is a partial illustration of another premise of the culture-conflict frame of reference resulting from tangential proximity of different cultural areas.

Our third item in the culture-conflict group is related to Cohen's theory of delinquent gang formation as applied to

2. Adhered to by Marxists : see Bonger (1916).

Israel. This theory, which is class centered, hypothesizes that delinquent solutions with lower-class boys are linked to the discrepancy between middle-class norms and the performance level of lower-class boys (Cohen, 1955).

In Israel, classes (in the sense attributed to this concept in England and the United States) have not yet been formed ; there are, of course, many criteria for social stratification but these are not very distinct and their effect is not decisive enough to justify a whole theory of criminal subculture formation (e.g. Cohen's theory on the delinquent gangs) on the discrepancies between middle-class norms and the actual achievement of lower-class boys. It might be tentatively suggested that a mass immigration country like Israel, could be more fruitfully studied for the purposes of determining the pressures towards juvenile gang formation as an arena of « culture conflict » between the conduct norms of the receiving community and the new immigrants holding *mutatis mutandis* the underprivileged position which the lower classes held in Cohen's causal scheme.

Social disorganization and anomie

The causes of social anomie are traced by Durkheim (1951) mainly to sudden social change : « When society is disturbed or disorganized, whether by a painful crisis or by a fortunate but too sudden turn of events, it is temporarily incapable of exercising normative control and influence upon the individual » (p. 247). Anomic trends in societies are indeed universal and the real problem is, as De Grazia justly puts it, a matter of scaling and degrees. A society might suffer from simple anomie characterized by conflict among the various « belief systems » (ideologies) or be plagued, at the other extreme of the continuum, by acute anomie, i.e. complete « mortalization » of religious, political and other ideological duties, a severe deterioration of the « belief systems » which results in the ultimate disintegration of a given society's normative structure (De Grazia, 1948, p. 71sq.).

Social anomie is almost by definition a predisposing factor of crime and delinquency because most of the norms of the criminal law are an integral part of the normative system of societies. We may assume that an anomic process has been operating in Israel until the « six days' war » in June 1967. The latter has probably checked some of the anomic trends.

Indeed a study of « Anomie in the Kibbutz » which was conducted by the author had to be reevaluated and some of the questionnaires readministered because the last war was believed to have had a *eunomic* effect on the Kibbutzim as well as on the Israeli society as a whole. The following analysis relates, therefore, to the anomic trends in Israeli society before the « six days' war »

The value system of the Jewish Yishuv (settlement) in Palestine was literally based on one supreme goal, which can be compared to the pinpoint edge of an inverted pyramid, kept miraculously in balance, with all other goals, values and means dependent on this edge for direction, support and *raison d'être*. If Zionism was meant to achieve statehood, the very achievement of the latter made it into a fulfilled and satiated craving and therefore into a thing of the past. This may partly explain the fact that those who still relied on or voiced the norms and values of the pre-1948 period were scorned, belittled and even branded as « Zionists ». This goal-achievement created a vacuum, which caused a violent quake in the normative and value pyramid of Israeli society. This was instrumental to the genesis of an anomic process on the social level as well as trends of personal anomie and alienation.

The goal and normative vacuum created by the achievement of independence could, of course, have been filled in by other goal or goals, but it has not been and cannot be replaced by another goal of similar strength and magnitude. There were many who claimed that the security of the State and its defence against its belligerent neighbours was a goal of equivalent importance to the creation of the State itself. It has indeed been proved that in times of war or imminent danger to the very existence of the State, e.g. during the Sinai campaign in 1956, and the June 1967 war, the entire nation acted with spontaneous fervour, the defence of the State being its supreme goal. However, in time of relative quiet, defence could not be similar to the overwhelming motivational crescendo evolving from the dream of independence and statehood.

The single-mindedness and ascetic puritanism of the pre-1948 generation, the goal they served having vanished, could be responsible, *inter alia*, for some anomic trends which are widely divergent in nature. People might have violent reaction to their years of idealistic ascetism and turn hurriedly to affluence and hedonism. They might pursue the latter with an

urgency similar to the intensity with which they strived for their ideals. The idolatry of manual labour ceased almost immediately after the establishment of the State. All that remained of the labour cult was the white-collared, but tie-less shirt of the former labour leaders who constitute the present-day power elite. The non-religiosity of the majority of Israelis has been the object of an ambitious project which was a failure in artificial insemination of values.

The only too apparent value and goal gap began to worry the Israeli government who recognized its disorganizing effects on group cohesion, solidarity and national self-concept. One of the panaceas to fill this value vacuum was deemed to be the « Jewish consciousness » programs which were meant not only to teach a watered-down Hebrew religion in schools but also to implant a religious consciousness in the nation as a whole. This inevitably failed, because some three or four generations of irreligious conditioning cannot be neutralized by a blueprint of a well-meaning Minister of Education. The « pioneering spirit » so heavily relied upon in the Yishuv is a characteristic of every young society. It means not so much doing things in a chronological primarity but mainly the sacrifice of personal interests for the sake of the general welfare or particular ideal of the group.

With the acute social change from an inchoate society (the Yishuv) to a complete society (the State), with all the basic ensuing changes in the political and economic institutions, there began a process of discarding the ideals and group goals and adopting a personal achievement orientation, careerism economic security and conspicuous consumption.

Tradition is also a recognized *eunomic* factor. Many societies and not only Israel do not have group goals and ideals of exceptional strength that will cement their normative systems. It is evident that in a traditional society (not necessarily in the religious sense), people are generally convinced that their ancestors have bequeathed on them most of their necessities, both pragmatic and ideational and it is not only expedient and desirable but also possible to tread in the steps of their forefathers. However, this kind of eunomic tradition has not yet crystallized in Israel, not only because of the relatively short time of its existence, but also because of its ethnic heterogeneity and diversity of cultural patterns.

A rigid class pattern is also a potent eunomic and stabiliz-

ing factor, but a class structure based on traditional and economic criteria, sanctioned by hundreds of years, is obviously non-existent in Israel. The Yishuv before 1948 was basically an egalitarian society, the elite of which was composed of people who displayed devotion and ability to implement the ideologies of the group. After the establishment of the State, the criteria for social stratification and upper vertical mobility became conventional, i.e. economic affluence and status in the power structure of government and business. As far as the latter were concerned, there were no normative and structural barriers for the aspirations towards their achievement. On the contrary, the objective necessity for professional and executive manpower constituted an immense impulse and driving force towards aspiration and achievement. We have been witnessing, therefore, in Israel, a violent race towards affluence, hedonistic pleasure, status and power, to be acquired, according to the prevailing aspirations in the shortest possible time. It is well known that this « cut-throat » race towards the « room at the top », which is as narrow and limited in this country as elsewhere, is a classic and potent pressure towards social anomie.

2. THE DYNAMIC PROCESS OF ASSOCIATION DELINQUENT SOLUTIONS OF CONFLICT SITUATIONS IN THE PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

This closest link of the chain of association to the predisposition configuration deals with the crucial problem : what are the causes on the *personal level* for the fact that some adults and children are caught in the differential association process, which may lead them ultimately to membership in the criminal subculture, while other persons are not ? This link relates to the attitude of the individual towards the restraining norm as a personality element, and to what process is necessary to overcome or « neutralize » the restraining force of the norm or norms (in case these have been internalized) on the personality level.

A useful sociopsychological theoretical systemisation of the processes leading to conformity to social norms analyzes the transmission and enforcement of norms by the group (norm-sending) and the degree to which the norms have been received and internalized by the individual (Thibaut and Kelly, 1959). The norm-sending process requires first of all a statement by the group as to the desired behaviour and the consequences for

the individual if he does not comply. The group should, then, maintain surveillance over the person in order to determine the extent (if any) of his compliance to the norm and, lastly, the group should apply sanctions to non-complying individuals.

The degrees of conformity to the norm by the individual are graded from mere compliance, where the individual is induced to conform by constant surveillance and by threat of (negative — i.e. depriving) sanction, to identification, where conforming behaviour is induced by (positive — i.e. rewarding) sanction and conformity becomes, thus, autonomously rewarding, to the most complete conformity, which is the internalization of the norm by the individual. Then surveillance and sanction are not necessary, because the internalized norm, when incorporated by the individual as a personality element, becomes « just », « right » and « true ».

The hypothesis in the present context is, therefore, that the first link in the dynamic process of association, bridging it with the predisposition configuration lies in the area (hitherto scantily explored by criminologists) of social psychology which tries to explain the conformity (or nonconformity) of an individual to group norms. The degree of conformity to legal norms — i.e. the extent to which the norm has been internalized by a certain individual (because of the pressures which enhance or injure the legitimacy imputed by the individual to the internalized norm) — and the *efficacy* of the sanction to enforce compliance by a certain individual is determined on the group level by the efficacy of the norm-sending process with its three components (statement of the rule, surveillance, and application of sanctions) and on the personal level by the norm-receiving process with its three stages (compliance, identification and internalization).

The norm-sending process may be plagued by conflict situations — i.e. two or more inconsistent rules governing the same factual situation (as defined by the individual). These conflict situations may appear in all three stages of the norm-sending process. The extent and the severity of these conflict situations (which could be eventually expressed quantitatively) may determine the weakness or strength of a certain criminal law norm to regulate the relevant behaviour of an individual and indicate thus the extent to which this individual is ready and ripe for the differential association and differential identification processes which may lead him to crime as a way of

life. This hypothesis, if found to be correct by empirical proof, might afford a useful clue to the crucial question in criminological theory ; i.e. that even in the worst of slums plagued by poverty, bad living conditions, criminal gangs, prostitutes, and dope peddlers, only some boys become delinquent whereas a far greater number remain law-abiding.

Inefficient norm-transmission may also result in criminal or delinquent solutions because of ignorance. In Israel where cultural gaps among the various ethnic groups were extremely wide we could have observed individuals and families who never were exposed to the prevailing or dominant norms of the state and were quite ignorant of them. Readers of the humane diary of Toufiq-el-Haqim, a magistrate in a rural area of Egypt, realize how futile and tedious is the administration of justice in villages where laws passed in Cairo never reached the Felshin's ears and eyes. A similar lack of norm-transmission is portrayed by the Yemenite Jew who cannot understand the Israeli laws which forbid bigamy, the Bedouin who dismisses the rumours that the « city laws » do not approve of avenging the blood of his murdered brother and the mountain Jew from Morocco who does not know that Israeli laws prescribe life imprisonment for killing a daughter who becomes pregnant out of wedlock. These are extreme cases but many laws are passed which do not reach us. The norm-transmission process here did not even begin to operate because the potential norm-receivers were not exposed to the myriads of laws, by-laws, rules and other *mala prohibita enacted* every day by the various authorities. Here the legislator wisely availed himself of the famous maxim that : *Ignorantia juris neminem excusat*. Otherwise the wheels of government and justice would have been hopelessly clogged. The problems are in the realm of culture-conflict and crime which have been analysed previously.

Fruitful research in this crucial area of criminology, taking into account the special cultural attributes of Israel, would be to investigate the norm-transmission of the group and the norm-holding capability of the individual. The capability of the group to transmit the norm and to hold the individual within bounds of expectations is decreased by urbanisation, migration, dislocation, culture-conflict, political disturbances, etc. Some groups maintain a stronger capability of controlling the behaviour of their members than other groups. What are the com-

ponents of strong-weak capability of groups? Which of the aspects of norm-sending is the most effective? Can « scales » be developed to measure the aspects of norm-sending? Can we demonstrate a connection between the weak holding power of a group and the relative frequency of delinquency and crime? Is it possible to measure the holding power of groups when the individual participates in activities away from the supervising « eye » of the group? This is the problem of indirect control of the carry-over of the images of control and supervision from the group to the business of life beyond the group. In modern society, the adolescent and the young adult move out from the confines of their family or neighbourhood into the larger, more impersonal world. They may participate with other individuals in educational, economic or recreational activity which has a very minimum of group structure and rather unimpressive set of loosely held norms.

Closely connected with this stage of analysis is the research carried out in Israel on delinquent gangs and especially on the non-delinquent members of predominantly delinquent gangs. The questions asked were : why boys of similar socio-economic backgrounds and members of the delinquent gang do not participate in the gang's delinquent activities but only in its non-delinquent ones? Some of the clues, the importance of which transcend the boundaries of Israel, indicate that the answers might be centered on the effects of the conflict situations in the socializing process of the youth on the norms which have to be internalized in order to form an initial barrier against criminal solutions. The hypothesis is that the higher the intensity and extent of conflict situations in the socialization process, the greater the shift on the continuum from moral orientation to sanction orientation, the final product being that the normative barrier against a given crime is completely shattered and the crime, then, is in being caught and not in committing the offence.

The tentative list of variables which might be relevant in testing the link between « conflict situations » in the primary socialization process and delinquency might be as follows : 1) Degree of marital maladjustment measured by scales of conflicting roles in the family ; 2) Discord of parents towards main values and norms : attitude towards authority, private property, education and resort to violence, which might be relevant to forming the children's attitude towards delinquent or non-

delinquent behaviour ; 3) Value and norm discord between parents and children ; 4) Degree of consistency of parents in disciplining their children. The scaling of this variable should be based, of course, on current theories of learning as to the possible effect of contradictory or inconsistent responses : reward, withdrawal (punishment) to the same (or similar) behaviour of the child ; 5) Value and norm discord between the parents and other socializing agencies, i.e. school, church, youth club, etc. Conflict situations might also occur between verbally transmitted norms and the actual behaviour of parents. Paying lip service to legitimate behaviour but behaving contrary to these same norms creates conflict situations which may explain some of the juvenile delinquency.

If we turn now from the family to the various norms imbued in a given culture which are supposed to be internalized by juveniles, we find numerous conflict situations produced by contradictory norms. The child's inability to integrate in his personality grossly contradictory norms, his inability or refusal to use double standards, or a selective approach to norms may indeed cause an attitude towards the child's personality as being « rigid », with a higher probability of not only emotional derangement, but, *inter alia*, delinquent solutions.

One type of solution of the conflict situation in the norm-sending process is to turn to the street-corner gangs or to openly delinquent gangs for clearer norms and clearly defined non-ambiguous values and patterns of behaviour. This type of solution (in the absence of a restraining normative barrier) becomes more probable with adolescents whose roles are bound to be ambiguous because of the biological changes which place them in the no-man's land between childhood and adulthood. By closely associating with (anchoring on) his age-mates an adolescent joins a group composed of individuals who have similar adjustment problems and gains thereby further emotional security.

Differential identification

A theoretical step further but before the actual association of a person with the criminal group is his identification with criminal images and his playing criminal roles. Daniel Glaser (1956) who actually formulated this premise relied on the social psychology of George Meade and contended that prior to a person's actual criminal behaviour he becomes criminal

value-wise and role wise. *He sees himself as a criminal or law violator.* When one's self image is deviant he is ripe for the association with actual criminal behaviour. The delinquent image of being smart, as Miller (1959) remarks, involves « the capacity to outsmart, outfox, outwit, dupe, « take », « con » another or others, and the concomitant capacity to avoid being outwitted, « taken » or duped oneself » (p. 74-75). The status one aspires to and the image one identifies with is the « big-shot » with the big car, flashy suits, green wads and swell dames.

Differential opportunity structure

After the conflict situations in the primary socialization process paved the way for delinquent solutions, *inter alia*, by identification with criminal images, there must, then, be an access to illegitimate structures and means — for the actual criminal association and behaviour to take place. Cloward and Ohlin (1960), who formulated this link in the causal chain towards delinquency, theorized on a person's awareness of the limited access to legitimate opportunity and his resultant awareness of illegitimate opportunities. Later, we will report the results of our replication to this country of an instrument devised in the U. S. to measure awareness of legitimate opportunities and the awareness of illegitimate opportunities by youth from some slum areas around Tel Aviv.

Differential association

The actual overt initiation into the life of crime by means of association with criminal groups and their patterns of behaviour have been dealt with extensively in our follow-up studies of the institutions for juvenile delinquents in Israel as well as the follow-up of the young adult prison in Tel-Mond. The application of the differential association premises and the exclusion of the « lone wolf » mentally deranged offenders or deviants has been found relevant not only to property offences but also to drug addiction and prostitution (Shoham and Rahav, 1967).

Social stigma

Crime and deviation receive their final identification by the groups' attitude towards a given behaviour, i.e. the stigma or Mark of Cain which it attaches to an act or individual³. The

3. The stigma theory of crime and deviation has recently been formulated by Shoham in : *The Mark of Cain* (in press).

reaction to the infringement of a norm and the stigma linked with the application of sanctions serve to differentiate between legal and other social norms, and are also the main criteria for distinguishing both the criminal and the deviant from the law-abiding and the conformist. Pressure, coercion and stigma are applied by the group (or by individuals who possess enough power to do so) when some interest or value of the group (or powerful individual) has been infringed or injured. The criterion which actually triggers and causes the process of dividing the criminal and non-criminal from the law-abiding and conforming population is the power element of social branding and stigmatizing. The stigma of crime results, from a person's clash with the machinery of law enforcement and other social controls.

The formal stigma of conviction limits a person's socio-economic opportunities, his status and role are forcibly changed, he may reject, at first, some of the group's norms and seek the company of other convicts or ex-convicts who have similar « adjustment » problems. Finally a total rejection may ensue of the norms and values of the « legitimate » society and the complete absorption of the normative system of the deviant group of which he becomes a full-fledged member, where his stigma becomes a status symbol. The Mark of Cain is, therefore, mostly an exercise of power by the branders to put tags on the individuals or groups who « don't fit in ». The branding of a person as « deviant », « queer », « troublemaker », « rigid » and « maladjusted » is inherent in the normative authority of the power elite in a group. With crime there are some legal barriers to the branding machinery of society but not with stigmatizing a person as deviant and maladjusted.

The criteria for stigmatizing a person as deviant are, therefore, necessarily amorphous and change with every shift in the power structure of government, bureaucracy, custom and other components of a normative system in a given society. This unpredictable and, therefore, largely arbitrary behaviour of society's stigmatizing machinery, might add a realistic tone to Kafka's Mr. K's futile efforts to apply logic, ethics and justice in explaining his plight.

Despite its seemingly hazardous performance, the effects of social stigma are rather powerful. The pegs which don't fit

in are pushed, and run over hard and fast by the branding wheels. Once started, the segregating and stigmatizing pressure lead down and the way back upwards to regain social status is barricaded by many barriers. Stigmatizing tags branded by parents on children during early socialization have been linked by us elsewhere to the etiology of prostitution in North-African authoritarian families (Shoham and Rahav, 1967).

Correctional implications

The present scheme as a whole has been empirically tested in our present project. The scheme itself may be regarded, as a « positive-feedback » circuit moving from the amorphous mass of predisposing factors through the differential association-identification process to the criminal subculture which feeds in turn many of the predisposing factors on the social level, such as criminal family members, broken homes (due to long prison terms of the head of the family), and ecological factors i.e. higher incidence of criminal gangs in the neighbourhood, etc.

The predisposition configuration contains presumably the crimogenic factors inherent in a given society. From the smallest social unit, i.e. the family, through the neighbourhood, community, state etc. These factors are, so to speak, objective insofar as the preventive efforts relating to them are in the field of social welfare and social replanning, — an area so widespread social unit, i.e. the family, through the neighbourhood, community planning, social security, health services, etc. These are denoted by the generic name of « indirect preventive measures ». They are not only problematic in their implementation but also costly and are bound to entail upheavals in the relevant political structures.

The dynamic process of association, on the other hand, deals with the causal chain of an individual's association to the life of crime. Here the preventive or correctional efforts (which may be denoted as « direct preventive measures ») may cut the chain of association of each consecutive link, — the nearer the better, e.g., it may intervene by supplying positive identification roles and images instead of criminal ones, it may divert association towards positive organizations, for instance, youth clubs or youth movements instead of criminal ones and it may facilitate access to legitimate opportunity structures instead of illegitimate ones. The present project is one such

attempt to curb the process of association to delinquency at various consecutive cut-off points.

B. THE METHOD

In order to define empirically the measured continuum, we have chosen two groups; one on each of its extremities. The delinquent group consists mainly of youth from the Tel-Mond jail. According to a previous study (Shoham *et al.*, 1967) these youths are a part of the hard core of juvenile delinquency in Israel. In order to generalize our measurement equipment to both boys and girls, we have included in the delinquent sample some inmates from an institution for delinquent girls. In choosing the conformist extremity group we tried to control for socio-economic status, and thus, have chosen it from lower-class neighbourhoods. Conformity was empirically defined as active involvement in an institutionalized socialization agency. Actually, these were boys and girls who were stable attendants of an evening school, and some youth centers.

After interviewing, the two groups were compared for the main variables of socio-economic status (father's occupation, length of stay in the country), and the country of origin and the differences were found quite insignificant ($P > 0.05$). In the conformist group there were much more of European origin. In order to avoid this problem, some subjects were randomly chosen from these Europeans until the distributions of this variable became quite similar in the two groups. These subjects were eliminated from any further processing.

TABLE 1
*Father's continent of origin by delinquency
in the tested sample (percentages)*

	Israel	Asia Africa	Europe	Total	N
Conformists	1.5	71.0	27.5	100	69
Delinquents	3.8	73.4	22.8	100	79

Then the two groups were compared for all the other variables, using the Mann-Whitney U test for ordinal variables, and a chi-square test for the nominal ones. The items which significantly distinguish between the delinquents and conformists, shall be analyzed by the « discriminant function »

technique, in order to find their relative contribution to the distinction between the groups.

1. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire had three main parts. Part one consisted of various questions about the socio-economic background of the boy and his family. Part two was a set of previously tested inventories :

1) *The Rothstein self-concept inventory*. — This scale consists of 11 items from a schedule developed by Rothstein (1961). The respondent is asked to indicate whether each statement which refers to personality attributes is « like me » or « not like me ».

2) *The Pd scale of the MMPI*. — The Pd scale is a factor-analysed instrument derived from the MMPI (Hathaway and Monachesi, 1952). No test in recent years has been as successful in distinguishing delinquent from non-delinquent populations. The thirty Pd items require a true or false answer to a broad range of behaviour and attitude statements.

3) *The moral judgment scale*. — This scale, introduced by Crissman (1942), has been widely used by Rettig to obtain judgments of rightness and wrongness about various kinds of behaviour ranging from minor norm violations to more serious illegal and immoral acts. There are fifty items in this instrument, and responses are measured along a ten-point scale.

4) *Powerlessness*. — This seven item inventory (Rettig and Neal, 1963) attempts to ascertain the feeling of powerlessness and impotence in affecting the course of national and international events. The items require a forced choice response.

5) *Normlessness*. — This six item inventory (Rettig and Neal, 1963) seeks to elicit on a four-point scale the respondent's feelings about the need to use morally dubious means to achieve success and high status in the society. The instrument contains three additional items as fillers, making nine in all.

6) *Despair*. — Very similar to the normlessness and powerlessness items in measuring dimensions of alienation, this five question inventory, originally developed by Srole (1956), attempts to obtain a reading on feelings of despair or hopelessness. Each item is answered on a five-point scale. There are also three filler questions embedded in this sub-scale.

7) *Family cohesiveness*. — This eight question inventory developed by Shoham seeks to elicit the status of the relation-

ship between the respondent and his parents. Of special concern is the interest shown by the parents in the activities of the child. Responses are made on a five-point scale.

8) *Family consensus*. — This inventory, also developed by Shoham, consists of seven items rated on a five-point continuum. These questions are designed to determine the extent of consensus between parents on values relating to personal and social issues as perceived by the respondent.

9) *Background data*. — The remainder of the schedule contains background information items including length of residence in Israel, country of family origin, father's occupation, and related matters.

Part three of the questionnaire was a pool of items dealing with the youth's awareness of the differential opportunity structure, and of the stigmatizing processes; his awareness and knowledge of the differential association process and some of his conformist or deviant activities. Most of these items were constructed with the collaboration of two experienced street-corner workers.

2. THE FINDINGS

The results of a previous study utilizing some of the scales of the present questionnaire indicated a high significance for predisposition to delinquency of some demographic factors, especially the country of origin, year of immigration, and the economic standard (Shoham and Shaskolsky, 1968). We therefore made every effort to hold these variables constant because our research population was mainly of low socio-economic status, which means first generation of immigrant parents, and mostly of oriental origin. The latter have proved to be powerful predictors of deviance in Israel. Neutralizing these variables by holding them constant, enabled us to unravel more subtle variabilities in the youth's attitudes which were related to deviance or conformity. Also the various items in our present study proved to distinguish much more significantly between delinquency and non-delinquency than in our previous study. This also has to be largely attributed to the constancy of these demographic variables.

Anomy has been included in our scheme as a predisposing factor of delinquency. We have used the powerlessness and normlessness components of anomy as adapted by Rettig and

Neal (1963) from the conceptualization of Seeman (1959). The despair element of anomie was measured by the five item scale of Srole (1956). These three have been found rather more significant in our previous study which measured the differences of attitudes between a hundred delinquents and non-delinquents in the Tel Aviv area. It should be stressed that the latter did not control for class : ethnic origin, economic condition, length of stay in the country and place of residence. Precisely these may be responsible for the greater variability in the former study. Moreover, Rettig's study which tried to apply empirically the alienation concept of Seeman and Srole, was actually a comparison between lower-class and middle-class attitudes. In other words, our previous study measured the link between class and delinquency, which is a rather overstudied premise, since Ohlin and Cloward, and not between anomie and delinquency. After having controlled class in the present study, anomie does not seem to be significantly linked with a predisposition to delinquency. This may be partially related to the fact that the special security problems of Israel make for a greater anomic cohesion in this country than in other cultures, and especially the U. S. where the instruments of this study were first applied.

There is apparently a greater reliance on the power structure in this country, and the feeling of participation in the management of affairs due to the almost total partaking of the population in the periodical war efforts and reserve army service. A partial support for our present conclusion is that there was almost no youth unrest in this country comparable to the almost universal upheavals and rioting of young adults. This indeed would call for a comparative study between some major cities in the world which have been the arena of serious youth uprising and the rather docile Israeli youth. To quote one of the youths who has been interviewed by the Israeli radio : « We here don't have time for nonsense ; we have to spend every year two months in the army. » The release of aggression against outgroups has always been a cohesive element. As clouds have silver linings so the evil of our precarious security blunts the meaninglessness, powerlessness and despair of alienation and anomie.

We propose now to analyze the items of the inventories which have significantly differentiated between delinquents and non-delinquents :

1) *The Rothstein self-concept scale*. — Out of 11 items, 6 have come out significant; 3 up to the 5% level, and the others to 1% and above (see Appendix A). The two most significant items were items 5 and 10. These relate to a sense of guilt stemming from apparent thoughtlessness and making mistakes by irresponsibility. *Prima facie* this would be in line with Cohen's hypothesis as to the residuary guilt of the delinquent boys for the infringement of legitimate norms. The empirical strength of these items may not allow a far-fetched conclusion, but on the face of it this would not support Cloward and Ohlin's argument (1960) with Cohen, — i.e. that delinquents would refute the legitimacy of the prevailing normative system before becoming delinquent, — i.e. that the delinquency of a boy would be a positive act of aggression against society after rejecting its norms. The aggressive reaction-formation due to guilt as hypothesized by Cohen (1955) does not figure therefore in their causal scheme. This finding, however meager its application, refutes the author's own previous theoretical siding with the Cloward and Ohlin's exposition in the present context (see Shoham and Hovav, 1964; Shoham and Rahav, 1967). The other significant items in this inventory, items 2, 4, 7 and 11, are a combination of extra leisure, other-directedness, weariness and a feeling of low performance at school. These would also support a combination of a sense of hardship to integrate in the legitimate structures and a sense of inadequacy as far as performances in this structure are concerned.

2) *The MMPI Pd scale*. — Of the 30 items in this inventory 16 have come out significant. Items 12, 15, 17, 34 and 37 (see Appendix B) show here again the maladjustment to the primary socializing institutions of the family and school. These items indicate rejection and truancy from both home and school. Items 13 and 31 uphold the differential identification premises with the images of « the tough guy » and « the swindler ». Items 14, 21, 26 and 41 support the differential association premise because the delinquents were associating themselves with company not approved by their parents, were committing petty thefts and displaying an esprit de corps with the gang.

3) *The Crissman's moral judgment scale*. — 12 of 50 items have been found significant. Two main trends may be discerned in the attitudes of delinquents as distinguished from the attitudes of non-delinquents. First : delinquents have been found more authoritarian, strict, and rather « reactionary » in the advocacy

of harsher penalties for criminals. This might be explained by the rather more permissive and liberal attitudes towards the punishment of offenders which prevail in the Israeli press, public discussions and the general atmosphere regarding this matter in the various legitimate institutions. The more punitive attitude of the delinquent may be related to rather extreme and harsh relationship of the delinquent subculture. It is known that the normative system of the gang is far stricter and less « liberal » than the prevailing normative system. This would display itself in the attitude of the delinquent towards punishment. On the other hand, the non-delinquents might reflect a general attitude of the public according to which a liberal attitude towards offenders goes, *inter alia*, with cultural sophistication. The delinquents' traditionalism displays itself also in the advocacy of charity and their greater patriotism as displayed by their greater condemnation of conscientious objectors. The second trend is that delinquents are more permissive as far as marital relationship and sexual promiscuity is concerned. We could not find any plausible explanation for this discrepancy.

The family cohesion and family consensus scales have only two significant items, out of 15. We may therefore safely exclude these scales from our model.

The dynamic identification and association processes

The items which were related to the differential association were as follows : 139) « One who goes with chaps who used to steal, will himself begin to steal » ; 145) « If someone is shop-lifting, he had better do it alone, since others will disturb » ; 146) « When a theft is committed, some friends must co-operate » ; 189) « One who travels in a stolen car may steal one himself » ; 214) « You must learn how to get pleasure from drugs » ; 230) « Most of the thieves learn the profession from their friends ». The basic tenets of this premise, i.e. association with a criminal group leads to criminality, the accessibility and knowledge as to the commodities involved in criminal behaviour. The learning process by which means offenders are indoctrinated in their criminal trade, through association with other criminals. The specialization in the various tasks comprising crime as a group phenomenon. However, some of the items proved to be significant in the wrong direction. Sutherland's contention that criminal behaviour is *necessarily* a task performed by many persons, also the complexity of the learning process was not

upheld by the delinquents. The differential association premises may be taken therefore as largely verified by our population, not in the strict Sutherland formulation but in the milder form of probability, i.e. that the learning of crime through association with criminal groups and criminal patterns of behaviour would be a modal type of crime causation, but there would be many other types of crime and instances of crime causation where the learning process and the performance through groups would not be necessary.

The following items relate to the differential opportunity structure and mainly to the awareness of access to non-legitimate structures. The following items indeed uphold the differential opportunity structure premises insofar as they stress the need which pushes one to look for alternative avenues of success after failure in the legitimate structures. The availability for delinquents of actual entrance in the illegal structures, and the existence of an upper vertical mobility within the latter : 171 (« If a guy wants to get drugs, he must know where to go » ; 196) « Only one from the same neighbourhood may be accepted into a group of thieves » ; 141) « One begins stealing because he has no money » ; 220) « Only one who knows thieves may become a thief » ; 224) « Stealing is no problem, and anybody can do it » ; 231) « One who wants to steal must know where to sell the booty » ; 177) « It is not a problem for me to join chaps who steal cars » ; 236) « When one is accepted into a group of thieves, he immediately gets a good job ». Other 17 significant items do not relate to the acceptance or rejection of our model, but would be quite useful in the placing of the youths on the conformity deviance continuum which would be the main tool of measurement in the proposed action research.

The family

The inadequate family, that cornerstone of theoretical criminology, has also been upheld in our present study. The delinquents' family is significantly less adequate, as measured by family discord, than non-delinquents (see Table 2). One of the responses of the delinquents states categorically that they would not raise their children the way their parents did (see Table 3). Of special interest is the partial verification of part of the Glueck's social prediction table as presented to our research population. This relates to : « Control of child by the father » and « the acceptance of this control by the child » (see

Tables 4 and 5). As this control relates, no doubt, to the normative transmission by the parent and the internalization of these norms by the child, it is crucial to the whole conception of delinquency as related to faulty norm-sending in early socialization. As such it also verifies partly the theoretical premise in our model of conflict situations and delinquent solutions (Shoham, 1964). The latter serves, as we may recall, as a link between the predisposing factors of delinquency and the actual association with criminal patterns of behaviour.

TABLE 2
Adequacy of family structure by delinquency (percentages)

	Adequate	Inadequate	Total	N
Conformists	90.9	9.1	100.0	66
Delinquents	54.9	55.1	100.0	71

TABLE 3
Answers to the question : « Would you educate your children as your father did? » by delinquency ($P < 0.02$)

	Yes	No	Total	N
Conformists	74.3	25.7	100.0	66
Delinquents	52.8	47.2	100.0	72

TABLE 4
Supervision and control by the father by delinquency (percentages)

	Suitable	Satisfactory	Over protection/ rejection	Indifference	Total	N
Conformists	57.6	33.9	0	8.5	100.0	59
Delinquents	32.1	28.3	15.1	24.5	100.0	53

TABLE 5
Acceptance of father's control by delinquency (percentages)

	Acceptance	Subjection	Rebellion	Ambivalence	Total	N
Conformists	51.8	19.6	17.9	10.7	100.0	56
Delinquents	34.7	10.2	38.8	16.3	100.0	49

The culture-conflict premises as related to the impact of the family's immigration on the probability of delinquency of these family's first generation youth has also been found valid in our present study : significantly more delinquents than non-delinquents have responded that their family's both social and economical condition has deteriorated by immigration to Israel. Also, more delinquents have specified the contrast of the sexual

permissivity in this country as distinguished from the stricter sexual mores abroad. The value of this significant difference transcends this variable because the conflict of sexual mores may be representative of a host of other values and norms in this country, which were widely divergent in their country of origin. This, evidently also supports the culture-conflict item in our causal model. Some items in this part of our analysis are relevant to the differential association premise. The non-delinquents spend more, and devote more time to recreation and educational activities, whereas the delinquents spend more on clothes, clubs and discotheques.

It might be interesting to point out that movies are preferred by non-delinquents. The derogatory effect of violence and crime in the movies, deplored by many is either unfounded or Sutherland has been proved once more to be right : the vicarious exposure to patterns of crime through communication channels, is apparently insufficient to trigger the actual learning process. One has to be in contact with the delinquent peers and groups in order to actually learn the patterns of delinquent behaviour.

APPENDIX A

The significant items of the Rothstein self-concept scale

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- 5) « Life could be much easier for me, haven't I done every time the same mistakes. »
 - 10) « A lot of times I get into troubles because I speak or act without thinking. »
 - 2) « I sometimes feel tired although I have not been hard working. »
 - 4) « While I was in school I thought that every book learned was too difficult for the children to understand themselves. »
 - 7) « I count on my friends' opinions more than on my own. »
 - 11) « Occasionally I have a lot of time with which I do not know what to do. »
-

APPENDIX B

The most significant items on the MMPI scale

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- 12) « At times I have very much wanted to leave home. »
 - 15) « As a youngster I was suspended from school for one or more times for cutting up. »
 - 17) « In school I was sometimes sent to the principal for cutting up. »
 - 34) « Sometimes I have very much wanted to leave home. »
 - 37) « I played hookey from school quite often as a youngster. »
 - 13) « When someone does me a wrong, I feel I should pay him back if I can, just for the principle. »
 - 31) « At times I have been so entertained by the cleverness of a crook, that I have hoped he would get with it. »
 - 14) « During one period, when I was a youngster, I engaged in petty thievery. »
 - 21) « I have the wanderlust and am never happy unless I am roaming or travelling about. »
 - 26) « My parents have often objected to the kind of people I went around with. »
 - 41) « If I were in trouble with several friends who were equally to blame, I would rather take the whole blame than to give them away. »
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ABSTRACTS

MESURE DES TENDANCES SUR L'ÉCHELLE « CONFORMITÉ-DÉVIANCE » : INSTRUMENT DE RECHERCHE ACTIVE

But de l'étude. Cette recherche entreprise par le ministère de l'Éducation dans certains bas-quartiers d'Israël a pour origine la théorie sociologique selon laquelle la déviance et la délinquance sont associées aux conflits de l'enfant qui appartient à des groupes divers. Le traitement vise à arrêter ces pressions diverses en utilisant l'appartenance de l'enfant au groupe comme agent de traitement, et c'est pourquoi les travailleurs sociaux ont dû s'intégrer au groupe pour tenter de changer son système normatif. Ce rapport traite

des problèmes d'évaluation et de mesure objective des résultats obtenus par les efforts de correction et de prévention des travailleurs sociaux.

Aperçu théorique sur un schéma pour l'étude de la délinquance en Israël. Dans un pays où l'on dénombre plus de 70 groupes ethniques, les conflits de normes peuvent être hautement significatifs pour expliquer la genèse du crime et de la délinquance. Ce problème majeur de conflit de culture qui naît avec la deuxième génération n'est cependant qu'un facteur prédisposant dans un ensemble plus vaste. Le schéma proposé synchronise deux types d'explications causales : une configuration de facteurs prédisposants ; une chaîne de pressions dynamiques qui conduisent un individu donné à s'associer à des groupes criminels et à adopter leur type de conduite.

Schéma des facteurs sociaux de conduite criminelle appliqué hypothétiquement à l'étiologie du crime et de la délinquance en Israël. Pour l'ensemble prédisposant sont envisagés les points suivants : cellule familiale ; facteurs écologiques ; facteurs économiques ; conflit de culture. Le processus dynamique d'association considère les points suivants : solutions délinquantes de situations conflictuelles ; identification différentielle ; stigmat social ; sous-culture criminelle.

Méthode. Deux groupes ont été choisis pour définir empiriquement le continuum mesuré. Après interview, les deux groupes ont été comparés en utilisant le test Mann-Whitney et le test χ^2 . Les principaux points de distinction entre groupe délinquant et groupe non délinquant ont ensuite été analysés afin d'établir leur contribution relative.

Questionnaire. Dans une première partie, le questionnaire comprend différentes questions concernant le passé socio-économique de l'enfant et de sa famille. La deuxième partie est un ensemble d'inventaires éprouvés antérieurement. La troisième partie groupe les points concernant la conscience qu'ont les jeunes de la structure différentielle et du processus de stigmatisation.

Résultats. On a tenté de maintenir stables les variables des facteurs démographiques. L'anomie a été considérée comme facteur prédisposant. Après vérification, il ne semble pas que l'anomie soit un facteur significatif de la délinquance. Les différents points des inventaires qui différencient véritablement les délinquants des non-délinquants ont ensuite été analysés et les plus significatifs sont indiqués dans chaque inventaire.

Identification dynamique et processus d'association. Les principes d'association différentielle ont été largement vérifiés par cette étude et formulés sous forme de probabilité. Cette étude a aussi vérifié la théorie de la désorganisation familiale et du conflit de culture lié à l'immigration familiale. Le concept de norme viciée conduisant à une socialisation précoce est crucial pour le concept global de la délinquance.

MEDIDA DE TENDENCIAS

EN LA ESCALA « CONFORMIDAD-CONDUCTA DESVIANTE » : INSTRUMENTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN ACTIVA

Objeto del estudio. La investigación emprendida por el ministerio de Educación en algunos barrios bajos de Israel se basa en la teoría sociológica según la cual tanto la conducta desviante como la delincuencia juvenil están asociadas con los conflictos del niño perteneciente a varios grupos. El tratamiento tiende a suprimir tales presiones, utilizando como agente de tratamiento la pertenencia del niño al grupo ; por ello los trabajadores sociales han tenido que integrarse al grupo, con el fin de intentar cambiar su sistema normativo. El presente trabajo trata de los problemas de evaluación y medida objetiva de los resultados obtenidos por los esfuerzos penales y preventivos de dichos trabajadores sociales.

Resumen teórico de un modelo para el estudio de la delincuencia juvenil en Israel. En un país donde pueden contarse más de 70 grupos étnicos, los conflictos de normas pueden ser extremadamente relevantes para comprender la génesis del crimen y de la delincuencia. Sin embargo, este problema mayor de conflicto de culturas, que surge en la segunda generación, no es más que un factor predisponente en un conjunto de factores mucho más vasto. El

esquema propuesto sincroniza dos tipos de explicaciones causales : una configuración de factores predisponentes ; una serie de presiones dinámicas que conducen a un individuo dado a asociarse con grupos criminales y adoptar sus tipos de conducta.

Esquema de factores sociales de conducta criminal aplicado hipotéticamente a la etiología del crimen y de la delincuencia en Israel. Los puntos siguientes son considerados para el conjunto de factores predisponentes : unidad familiar ; factores ecológicos ; factores económicos ; conflicto de culturas. El proceso dinámico de asociación tiene en cuenta los puntos siguientes : soluciones delincuentes de las situaciones de conflicto ; identificación diferencial ; estigma social ; sub-cultura criminal.

Método. Para definir empíricamente el continuum medido, se han escogido dos grupos. Después de haber sido entrevistados, los dos grupos fueron comparados, utilizándose para ello los tests Mann-Whitney y χ^2 . Los puntos que distinguan significativamente el grupo delincuente y el no delincuente fueron entonces analizados con el fin de determinar su contribución relativa.

Cuestionario. La primera parte comprendía varias cuestiones referentes a los antecedentes socio-económicos del niño y de su familia ; la segunda, un conjunto de inventarios experimentados previamente ; la tercera, los puntos relativos al conocimiento que tienen los jóvenes de la estructura diferencial y del proceso de estigmatización.

Resultados. Se ha intentado mantener constantes las variables de los factores demográficos, considerándose la anomia como factor predisponente. Después de haberse efectuado la correspondiente comprobación, parece ser que la anomia no predispone de manera significativa a la delincuencia. Los diversos puntos de los inventarios que permiten distinguir verdaderamente a los delincuentes de los no delincuentes fueron seguidamente analizados, indicándose en cada inventario los más significativos.

Identificación dinámica y proceso de asociación. Los principios de asociación diferencial han sido ampliamente verificados por este estudio y formulados en forma de probabilidad. También se han comprobado las teorías de la desorganización familiar y del conflicto de culturas unido a la inmigración familiar. El concepto de norma viciada conduciendo a una socialización precoz es crucial para el concepto general de delincuencia.

MESSUNG DER TENDENZEN

AUF DER EBENE

« KONFORMES-ABWEICHENDES VERHALTEN » :

AKTIVES FORSCHUNGSTRUMENT

Ziel der Untersuchung. Diese Untersuchung, die vom Erziehungsministerium in einigen israelischen Elendsquartieren unternommen worden ist, hat die soziologische Theorie zur Grundlage, nach der abweichendes Verhalten und Kriminalität mit den Konflikten des Kindes eng verbunden sind, das verschiedenen Gruppen angehört. Die Behandlung versucht, diese verschiedenartigen Pressionen aufzuhalten, indem sie die Zugehörigkeit des Kindes zur Gruppe als Behandlungsmittel benutzt ; deshalb haben sich die Sozialarbeiter der Gruppe anpassen müssen, um zu versuchen, sein normatives System zu verändern. Dieser Bericht erörtert die Probleme, die sich durch die Besserungs- und Präventivversuche der Sozialarbeiter bei der Analyse und objektiven Auswertung der erhaltenen Resultate ergeben haben.

Kurzer Abriss eines Schemas fuer die Forschung der Delinquenz in Israel. In einem Land, in dem 70 ethnische Gruppen vorherrschen, koennen die Normkonflikte ueberaus bedeutsam fuer die Genesis des Verbrechens und der Delinquenz sein. Dieses wichtige Problem des Kulturkonfliktes, das mit der zweiten Generation entsteht, ist hingegen nur ein vorherrschender Faktor in einem viel umfangreicheren Gesamten. Das vorgeschlagene Schema verdeutlicht zwei Typen kausaler Erklærungen : — ein Zusammenwirken praedisponierender Faktoren ; eine Kette von dynamischen Pressionen, die ein gegebenes Individuum dazu fuehren, sich Gruppen von Verbrechern anzuschliessen und deren Verhalten zu uebernehmen.

Schema der sozialen Faktoren kriminellen Verhaltens, das hypothetisch auf die Verbrechensethologie und die Delinquenz in Israel angewendet wird. Fuer das praedispositive Gesamte werden die folgenden Punkte ins Auge gefasst: die Zelle der Familie; ekologische Faktoren; oekonomische Faktoren; Kulturkonflikt. Der dynamische Prozess der Sich-Annäherung betrachtet die folgenden Punkte: Loesungen von Konfliktsituationen durch delinquentes Verhalten; differenzierte Identifikation; soziales Stigma; kriminelle Subkultur.

Methode. Zwei Gruppen wurden ausgewaehlt, um empirisch das gemessene Kontinuum zu bestimmen. Nach dem Interview wurden die beiden Gruppen miteinander verglichen, wobei der Mann-Whitney und der χ^2 Test angewandt wurden. Die vorwiegenden Unterscheidungspunkte zwischen der delinquenten und nicht delinquenten Gruppe wurden daraufhin analysiert, um ihren dementsprechenden Beitrag zu bestimmen.

Fragebogen. In einem ersten Teil umfasst der Fragebogen verschiedene Fragen, die die sozio-oekonomische Vergangenheit des Kindes und seiner Familie betreffen. Der zweite Teil stellt eine Gesamtheit schon vorher geprüften und bewiesenen Materials dar. Der dritte Teil befasst sich mit den Punkten, die Aufschluss geben ueber das Bewusstsein, das die Jungen von der differenzierten Struktur und dem Stigmatisierungsprozess haben.

Resultate. Man hat versucht, die Variablen der demographischen Faktoren im Gleichgewicht zu halten. Die Anomie ist hierbei als vorwiegender Faktor betrachtet worden. Nach der Analyse scheint es nicht so zu sein, dass sich die Anomie wesentlich der Delinquenz beugt. Die verschiedenen Gesichtspunkte des gegebenen Materials, die wesentlich die Delinquenten von den Nicht-Delinquenten unterscheiden, wurden daraufhin analysiert und die bedeutsamsten von ihnen im entsprechenden Inventar verzeichnet.

Dynamische Identifikation und Prozess des Sich-Anschliessens. Die Grundsätze differenzierten Anschlusses haben sich durch diese Untersuchung deutlich bestaetigt und sind in der Form von Wahrscheinlichkeit (*probability*) ausgedrueckt worden. Die Studie hat ebenfalls die Theorie von der Familienzersplitterung und des Kulturkonfliktes, der mit der Immigration zusammenhaengt, gestuetzt. Das Konzept der verkannten Norm, das zu einer fruehzeitigen Sozialisierung fuehrt, ist von groesster Bedeutung fuer das gesamte Konzept der Delinquenz.

ИЗМЕРЕНИЕ ДВИЖЕНИЙ НА КОНТИНУУМЕ "ОТСУТСТВИЕ ПРАВОНАРУШЕНИЙ — НАЛИЧИЕ ПРАВОНАРУШЕНИЙ" КАК ВСПОМОГАТЕЛЬНОЕ ОРУДИЕ ПРИ ПРАКТИЧЕСКОМ ИССЛЕДОВАНИИ

Цель исследования. Данное исследование, предпринятое Министерством Народного Образования в некоторых трущобных районах Израйля, основано на социологической теории, следуя которой, правонарушения связаны с конфликтами вызванными в детях тем, что они принадлежат одновременно различным группам. В данном случае, было решено использовать принадлежность детей к детской группе: включаясь в эти группы, практические работники пытались внести изменения в их нормативную систему и таким образом устранить их дурное влияние. Наш рапорт посвящен оценке и объективному измерению результатов, которых добились социальные работники в исправлении и предупреждении преступности.

Модель исследования правонарушений в Израиле. Ясно, что в стране, насчитывающей свыше 70-и этнических групп, наличие столь различных норм часто вызывает всевозможные конфликты которые, в свою очередь, могут породить правонарушения и преступления. Следует однако отметить, что конфликт культур (*culture conflict*), возникающий у второго поколения иммигрантов, хотя и представляет собой важнейшую проблему, все же является лишь одним из предрасполагающих факторов. Предложенная модель синхронизирует два типа причинных объяснений: ряд предрасполагающих факторов; цепь динамических причин, под влиянием которых, подросток

присоединяется к преступным группам и перенимает их специфическое поведение.

Схема социальных факторов преступного поведения, гипотетически примененная к этиологии преступности и правонарушений в Израиле. 1) Предрасполагающие факторы: семейные условия; этнологические факторы; экономические факторы; конфликт культур. 2) Динамический процесс присоединения к преступной группе. Были рассмотрены следующие пункты: выход из конфликтного положения путем правонарушения; дифференциальная идентификация с образом и действиями преступника; низкий культурный уровень преступной среды.

Метод. Для эмпирического определения измеряемого континуума, были отобраны 2 крайние группы. После опроса и, посредством тестов Манн-Витней (*Mann-Whitney*) и квадрата "кай" (*chi-square*), сравнения обеих групп, подвергли анализу те пункты, которые в значительной степени отличали правонарушителей от юношей, не нарушающих законов. Таким образом, удалось определить относительное влияние различных факторов на разграничение между обеими группами.

Вопросник. Первая часть вопросника состояла из вопросов, касающихся социально-экономической среды ребенка или подростка и его семьи. Вторая часть содержала данные, собранные в прежних анкетах. Третья часть состояла из вопросов, заданных с целью определить, до какой степени юноша отдает себе отчет в структуре своих социально-экономических возможностей, в процессах, связанных с общественным впечатлением, в законном или правонарушающем характере своего поведения.

Выводы. По возможности старались производить исследования опираясь на однородные демографические данные. Вопреки предположениям, аномия (*anomy*) не оказалась важным предрасполагающим фактором. Пункты исследования, отличающие обе группы были анализированы и самые значительные из них указаны в каждой анкете.

Динамическая идентификация и процесс присоединения. Наши гипотезы, касающиеся дифференциального присоединения к преступной группе, в значительной степени оправдались и были выражены в форме вероятностей. Данное исследование также подтвердило теории влияния неблагоприятных семейных условий и конфликта культур, связанного с иммиграцией родителей. Ошибочная норма ранней социализации (*early socialization*) ребенка оказалась решающим фактором, ведущим к преступности.

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