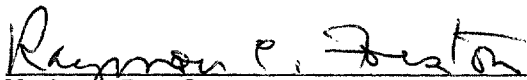
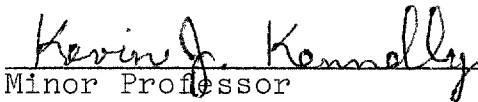



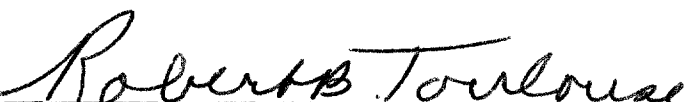
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AS A FUNCTION OF
LEVEL OF ASPIRATION

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This study evaluates the anomie theory of juvenile delinquency with empirical data drawn from a sample population of junior and senior high school students. This research originates from the findings published by Bernard Rosenberg and Harry Silverstein in The Varieties of Delinquent Experience, a portion of which this study partially replicates.

This study begins with an introduction of the problems involved in assessing a concept such as juvenile delinquency. The introductory chapters are followed by a section on contemporary theories and research in juvenile delinquency, including those of Robert Merton, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, Albert Cohen, and Bernard Rosenberg and Harry Silverstein. The next topics discussed are the considerations involved in obtaining a representative sample of delinquents and nondelinquents when using official and/or self-reporting methods. The presentation then relates aspiration level to juvenile delinquency and discusses questionnaire development and research methodology. The final chapters deal with the results, conclusions, and

interpretation derived from this study.

The findings of this research, based on the Chi Square testing of three null hypotheses, show that complete support cannot be given to either Merton's anomie concept of juvenile delinquency or to Rosenberg and Silverstein's assertions. Merton's view is supported only in the sense that a high level of aspiration prevails in the lower- or working-class respondents. No support can be given to Merton's presumption that juvenile delinquency is more prominent within this lower socioeconomic class. Neither does this study support Rosenberg and Silverstein's assertions that the aspiration level among this class is low. However, this study confirms their assertion that what goes by the name of juvenile delinquency is universal rather than class oriented.

In conclusion, this study supports Rosenberg and Silverstein's contention that the traditional Mertonian view of juvenile delinquency (illegitimate innovation) as a lower-class reaction to aspirations thwarted by societal barriers is insufficient as a theory for explaining juvenile delinquency.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AS A FUNCTION OF
LEVEL OF ASPIRATION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Even before the inception of the juvenile court system, many criminologists had become alerted to the differences in quality and quantity of deviant acts between youthful and adult perpetrators. Academicians and other professionals rushed in to voice their particular etiological ideas, and these were followed by a barrage of theoretical and research literature. While some of the literature portrayed sham relationships, other presented bona fide theoretical buttresses. But none, even to the present day, has achieved universal acceptance.

One aspect that is generally acknowledged, however, is that juvenile delinquency is not a single-variable phenomenon. The validity of this statement is unfortunate indeed, for it brings into play multivariate analyses of all types. Biology, including phrenology, genetics and ethnicity, was one of the early academic fields to investigate this phenomenon. It was later followed by the behavioral sciences of psychology and sociology, each with their appropriate perspectives.

Of the more prominent contemporary sociologists in this area, the names of Robert Merton, Edwin Sutherland, Albert Cohen, and Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin have stood out. The Mertonian theory has provided the basis of much contemporary research. Merton contends that lower-class minority groups, while ascribing to middle-class goals and values, have limited access to achievement of these pecuniary symbols due to socially structured barriers. The frustration resulting from the failure to achieve these goals and values is then turned outward on the society in the form of deviant behavior in attempts to acquire them.

Either explicitly or implicitly, Merton maintains that there is a common value system transcending class lines and that its manifestation is most dramatically seen in the lower classes who are unable to achieve these goals.

This point is well taken and, in fact, has served as a traditional approach for countless investigations of delinquency. The validity and consequent utility of Merton's theory is related, however, to the extent to which it is consistent with research findings in the areas of deviance, delinquency, or criminal behavior.

That brings us to the basis of this study. An inventory of previous research reveals that there are many investigators whose research has led them to take exception to Merton's

position. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to probe further into Merton's conceptual scheme and see what causally relevant relationships do exist with regard to juvenile delinquency. Furthermore, in this study, two basic null hypotheses are tested.

The first hypothesis is that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspirational level of delinquents and nondelinquents. This hypothesis will be expanded to test this relationship when controlling for sex, class, and sex and class. The second hypothesis states that the difference in the distribution of delinquents and nondelinquents among the eight levels of aspiration and expectation used by Rosenberg and Silverstein will be statistically insignificant. This hypothesis will be expanded to test this relationship when controlling for sex, class, and sex and class likewise. This latter hypothesis requires that two additional null hypotheses be tested. One hypothesis tests the level of significance in the distribution of delinquents in the eight aspiration levels used by Rosenberg and Silverstein, while the other hypothesis tests the level of significance in the distribution of nondelinquents in this same aspirational paradigm. Therefore, there are two basic null hypotheses, but one of these yields itself into two testable hypotheses, resulting in a total of three testable null hypotheses for this research.

It is hoped that testing these two null hypotheses and revealing other relationships brought out by the research will provide a helpful set of empirical data which substantially support or refute the theory of the etiology of juvenile delinquency implied in the Mertonian tradition.

CHAPTER II

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: LEGAL AND SOCIAL CONCEPTS

The first tribunal created to deal specifically with the problems of juvenile delinquency was the Juvenile Court of Cook County, Illinois, established in 1899. This was not only the first juvenile court in the United States, but also the first in the world (1). The law which created this court was entitled "An Act to Regulate the Treatment and Control of Dependent, Neglected and Delinquent Children"(1). From this law a juvenile court was created which had almost all the essential features of the juvenile court system of today: a juvenile-court judge, a separate juvenile courtroom, separate records, and an informal procedure with the elimination of arrest by warrant, indictment, trial-by-jury and practically all of the features of the ordinary criminal proceedings. The child lawbreaker was not to be considered a criminal, but a ward of the state and subject to the guardianship and control of the juvenile court, which was an equity, not a criminal, court.

"Juvenile delinquency" refers to certain antisocial behaviors of children and young adolescents which indicate their need for specialized supervision, guidance, and

treatment. In a strictly legal sense, a delinquent is one who has been determined to be so by a court acting with proper jurisdiction (1). This means that, when a law states that delinquency is "any act which if performed by an adult would be a crime," it does not imply that the substantive code is applied to minors in the same way as it is to adults (1). Neither is delinquency limited to violations of the criminal code. In most states a special list of additional acts and conditions have been enumerated which are also defined as behavior under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court system(1).

Since the inception of the juvenile court system, much has been written on the reciprocal plights of the adolescent and his society, while the establishment of this judicial body legally acknowledged the presence of a separate, young, age group with its own needs and behaviors.

Delinquency not only poses a problem to society through its potentially disrupting and disorganizing effects, but it is also threatening to the delinquent perpetrator because of the legal and technical sanctions involved which could lead to his adjudication and possible incarceration.

Many explanations of the causes of crime and juvenile delinquency have been proposed throughout the theoretical and research literature. Tracing their origin and development from physical characteristics, genetic factors, and psychological predispositions to sociological explanations has been a

juxtaposition of complicated etiologies, each of which has utilized both valid and spurious relationships.

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CHAPTER III

CONTEMPORARY THEORIES AND RESEARCH IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Some of the more prominent contemporary sociological explanations of delinquency stem from the imaginative works of Merton, Cloward and Ohlin, Cohen, and Sutherland, to mention a few. Each of these men has produced new insights into the problem of causally studying the concept of delinquency. Whether their conclusions are drawn from spurious or genuinely valid relationships, their writings have drawn increasing attention to the area of social environment as a fertile ground for theory building in a sociology of delinquency.

Utilizing the Durkheimian concept of anomie, Merton develops his thesis around a system of social and economic deprivations relative to the aspirations held by the members of the group. Durkheim's conception and application of anomie is lucidly sociological. Merton's use of the word involves a particular aspect of Durkheim's theory. Anomie, as Merton uses it, means "a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjuncture between the cultural means and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them" (18, p. 133). This process is only one

source of anomie, and Merton suggests others also be sought out.

Merton's theory of anomie implies the following propositions with regard to delinquency: 1) there are certain prescribed values and goals that are commonly shared by the members of all class strata; 2) the design of the social structure does not afford equal access to achievement of these goals to the various members of these classes; 3) persons of lower socioeconomic class background perceive fewer legitimate opportunities to obtain these "success goals" than do members of the middle- and upper-classes; and, 4) restricted opportunity of lower socioeconomic members to compete for these success-goals combined with constant success pressures tend to result in innovation by these individuals--in a word, delinquency (18, p. 133). Thus Merton sees delinquency as a response by lower socioeconomic members to thwarted avenues to legitimate opportunity to achieve commonly shared success-goals.

In his essay "Social Structure and Anomie" (18) Merton gives primary emphasis to discovering how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain individuals in the society to engage in nonconforming rather than conforming behavior (18, p. 132). He refutes any attempt to ascribe this behavior to some intrinsic, genetically induced, biological drive. In his discussion he suggests that certain phases of the social structure generate the circumstances in

which infringement of social codes constitute a "normal" response (18, p. 131).

In doing this he cites two important elements of the social and cultural structure. The first element consists of culturally defined goals, purposes, interests, values, etc. (18, p. 133). Within this context Merton points out that these regulatory norms and moral imperatives, which he sees every social group as having, do not necessarily coincide with the technical or efficiency norms in obtaining these goals (18, pp. 134-135).

Merton goes on to say that, although these two elements operate jointly, it does not mean that the emphasis upon certain goals does not vary independently of the degree of emphasis upon institutional means. In fact, he says that they may vary independently (18, p. 133). He gives two polar types and one intermediate example to illustrate this point. In the first polar type, any and all means are used which promise attainment of the goal. The second polar type is illustrated by activities originally conceived as instrumental but transmuted into ends themselves; and finally, the intermediate type is shown to be a balance between culture goals and institutional means (18, pp. 133-134).

Merton is primarily concerned with the first of these types, which involves a disproportionate accent on goals. He sees no group as being void of regulatory codes governing conduct, yet these groups vary in the degree to which folkways,

mores, and institutional controls are effectively integrated with the more diffuse goals which are part of the cultural matrix. His sole significant question then becomes, "Which available means is most efficient in netting the socially approved values, and the technically most feasible procedure, whether legitimate or not is seen as being preferred to the institutionally prescribed conduct?" (18, p. 135). As this process continues, the integration of the society becomes tenuous, and anomie ensues.

In continuation with this "social genesis" of the varying rates and types of culture patterning, five alternative modes of adjustment or adaptation by individuals within the culture-bearing society or groups are drawn. These are presented in Table I. A (+) signifies "acceptance," (-) indicates "rejection, and (†) indicates "rejection and substitution of new goals and standards."

Merton is quick to point out that persons within this scheme are not altogether static. They have the power and ability to shift from one alternative to another as they engage in different social activities. These alternatives are, at best, situational. Merton is also concerned with the structure of the economic activity "in the broad sense," as the basis for categorizing individuals into this framework.

In every society conformity to both culturally defined goals and institutionalized means is the rule rather than the exception. Society could not remain relatively stable if

TABLE I

MODUS OF ADJUSTMENT

	Culture Goals	Institutionalized Means
I. Conformity	+	+
II. Innovation	+	-
III. Ritualism	-	+
IV. Retreatism	-	-
V. Rebellion	±	±

(18, p. 155)

this were not so. Conversely, rejection of these goals and means (Adaptation IV) is the least common, and persons who are socialized in this fashion are, figuratively speaking, in society but not of it (18, p. 156). Perhaps it should be noted that where frustration derives from the inaccessibility of effective institutional means for attaining economic success, that Adaptations II, III, and V are also plausible.

It is Adaptation II, Innovation, that Merton states is the response most likely to produce deviance:

Great cultural emphasis upon the success-goal invites this mode of adaptation through the use of institutionally proscribed, but often effective, means of attaining at least the simulacrum of success--wealth and power. This response occurs when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally internalizing the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment (18, p. 141).

Via witticisms and lexical resourcefulness, Merton accumulates evidence, as Weber did in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, that the goal of pecuniary success is a prevailing feature throughout the American social structure. He also notes that the means of obtaining these success symbols are often ambiguous. Merton quotes Veblen as having observed, "...It is not easy in any given case--indeed it is at times impossible until the courts have spoken--to say whether it specific behavior is an instance of praiseworthy salesmanship or a penitentiary offense" (18, p. 141).

Pointing to empirical research, Merton acknowledges the existence of differential rates of deviant behavior through class lines.

Whatever the differential rates of deviant behavior in the social strata, and we know from many sources that the official crime statistics uniformly showing higher rates in the lower strata are far from complete or reliable, it appears from our analysis that the greatest pressures toward deviation are exerted upon the lower strata. Cases in point permit us to detect the sociological mechanisms involved in producing these pressures. Several researches have shown that specialized areas of vice and crime constitute a "normal" response to a situation where the cultural emphasis upon pecuniary success has been absorbed, but where there is little access to conventional and legitimate means for becoming successful. The occupational opportunities of people in these areas are largely confined to manual and the lesser white-collar jobs. Given the American stigmatization of manual labor "which has been found to hold rather uniformly in all social classes," (20) and the absence of realistic opportunities for advancement beyond this level, the result is a marked tendency toward deviant behavior (18, pp. 144-145).

Merton continues:

It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common success-goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale....The victims of this contradiction between the cultural emphasis on pecuniary ambition and the social bars to full opportunity are not always aware of the structural sources of their thwarted aspirations. To be sure, they are often aware of a discrepancy between individual worth and social rewards. But they do not necessarily see how this comes about. Those who do find its source in the social structure may become alienated from that structure and become ready candidates for Adaptation V (rebellion). But others, and this appears to include the great majority, may attribute their difficulties to more mystical and less sociological sources (18, pp. 146-147).

It can be seen from the foregoing that two crucial elements form the basis of Merton's thesis of deviant behavior for the lower socioeconomic classes in America. First, success-goals are seen as transcending all class lines and being commonly shared by those members of the various strata; and second, members of these various groups aspire, although with unequal means of opportunity for success, to achieve these success-symbols.

In Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (5), Albert Cohen, modifying Merton's theory, attempts to formulate and solve certain crucial problems that he feels have been neglected in sociological literature concerning the development and substantiation of the juvenile delinquent subculture tradition. When he speaks of a delinquent subculture, Cohen

is talking about a way of life that has somehow become traditional among certain groups in American society, and some of whose values run counter to the main culture. Its tradition is kept alive by the age-group that succeeds present members (5, p. 13).

Cohen's first task is to set forth the different characteristics of the delinquent subculture. In doing this he correctly states that the common expression, "juvenile crime," has misleading connotations. This terminology dichotomizes criminals into young and old while emphasizing only one type of crime. This term also implies that both age groups operate under similar motives, and Cohen is quick to counter this point by observing the delinquent subculture's non-utilitarian, malicious, and negativistic character (5, p. 24). Another characteristic of this subculture is its short-run hedonism, though, of course, this is not only present in delinquent groups (5, p. 30).

Cohen's general theory of subcultures is a departure from the "action is problem-solving" to a "psychogenic" assumption that all human action, not delinquency alone, is an ongoing series of efforts to solve problems.

...it is important to recognize that all the multivarious factors and circumstances that conspire to produce a problem come from one or the other of two sources, the actor's "frame of reference" and the "situation he confronts" (5, p. 51).

The "situation" represents one's physical environment while the "frame of reference" pertains to how one interprets what he sees (5, pp. 51-55). It is within this context that problems arise. A way of acting is never completely explained by describing the problems of adjustment to which it is a response, as long as there are conceivable alternative responses. Different individuals act differently with the same or similar problems and these must be accounted for (5, p. 55).

Cohen also introduces "pressures toward conformity" within his structural analysis. To the degree that we covet membership in a group,

...we are motivated to assume those signs (values) to incorporate them into our behavior and frame of reference. Not only recognition as members of some social category, but also the respect in which others hold us are contingent upon the agreement of the beliefs we profess and the norms we observe with their norms and beliefs (5, p. 57).

Not only is consensus rewarded by acceptance, recognition, and respect, but it is also probably the best criterion of the validity of the frame of reference which motivates and justifies our conduct(5, p. 57).

But should one not be able to find a solution to problems in ways acceptable to the group, one is more likely to look for another group with a different culture and with a frame of reference more congenial to one's own than to strike out on an individualistic path (5, p. 58).

The rising paradox created by subcultural conformity and cultural innovation is answered by the effective interaction of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment (5, p. 59). This innovation, however, is seen as manifesting itself only in increments so small, tentative, and ambiguous as to permit the actor to retreat, if the signs be unfavorable, without having become identified with an unpopular position (5, p. 60).

A complete theory of subcultural differentiation would state more precisely the conditions under which subcultures emerge and fail to emerge, and would state operations for predicting the content of subcultural solutions, but this aspect is beyond the design of Cohen's study.

In sequential logical form, Cohen describes this delinquent subculture as predominantly belonging to the working class. Middle class socialization, he contends, is rational, conscious, deliberate, and demanding. Working-class socialization, on the other hand, tends to be relatively easy-going. The child's activities are more likely to be governed by his own present inclinations, his parents' convenience, and momentary and unpremeditated impulses. They are less likely to be governed by exacting specifications of effort and achievement which are regarded as good in themselves or good because they seem instrumental to some long-range goals (5, p. 98). In summary, the important differences between middle-class socialization and working-class socialization are

in the nature of the skills and the values which are learned and in the motivation to learning.

Cohen appears to have laid the groundwork for a better understanding of the problems of adjustment which he believes play a vital role in the genesis of the delinquent subculture. The first and most obvious is that the working-class child shares the social class status of his parents. Furthermore, people of higher status tend to be people of power and property, and he makes the assumption that out of this and other elements, that it seems reasonable that there will arise feelings of inferiority and perhaps resentment and hostility. This is how the subculture plays its important role in providing the adolescent with a reference group. Cohen states that the hallmark of the delinquent subculture is the explicit repudiation of middle-class standards and the adoption of their very antithesis (5, p. 129). It is here, he suggests, in the refusal to temporize, that the appeal of the delinquent subculture lies (5, p. 130).

All of this is to say that Cohen has tried to show that a subculture owes its existence to the fact that it provides a solution to certain problems of adjustment shared among a community of individuals (5, p. 148). He has also tried to show that the content of the delinquent subculture contains answers to certain problems of adjustment he has so far described (5, p. 151).

In harmony with Merton's theory, Cloward and Ohlin, in Delinquency and Opportunity (4), hypothesized that adolescents feel pressures for deviant behavior when they experience marked discrepancies between their aspirations and opportunities for achievement of these aspirations. But they go beyond Merton when they synthesize his theory on "social structure and anomie" (18) with Sutherland's "differential association" theory (27) and apply this synthesis to the emergence of juvenile delinquent gangs.

They note that their hypothesis does not depend upon showing that a large proportion of persons in the lower-class have high levels of aspiration; it is sufficient to show that a significant number of lower-class members aspire beyond their means while contributing disproportionately to the ranks of delinquent subcultures (4, p. 88).

Cloward and Ohlin suggest that each individual in society occupies a position in both the legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structure. They suggest that delinquent behavior is related to the disparity between one's level of aspiration and his life chances in the opportunity structure. In dealing with social norms, they view them

...as two sided. A prescription implies the existence of a prohibition, and vice versa. In other words, norms that define legitimate practices also implicitly define illegitimate practices. One purpose of norms is to delineate the boundary between legitimate and illegitimate practices providing, of course, norm ambiguity or undefined acts are not prevalent. In setting this boundary, in segregating and classifying

various types of behavior, they make us aware not only of behavior that is regarded as right and proper, but also of behavior that is said to be wrong and improper. Thus the criminal who engages in theft or fraud does not invent a new way of life; the possibility of employing alternative means is acknowledged, tacitly at least, by the norms of the culture (5, p. 105).

Cloward and Ohlin's next step is to develop a typology of goals within the lower-class. Pointing to critics of Cohen's tendency to equate high levels of aspiration among lower-class youth with an orientation toward the middle-class aspirations, Cloward and Ohlin submit that while this may be true of some lower-class youth, most do not wish to adopt a middle-class way of life or to disrupt their present association and negotiate passage into middle-class groups (4, p. 92). Cloward and Ohlin state, "The solution they seek entails the acquisition of higher positions in terms of lower-class rather than middle-class criteria" (4, p. 92). While this does not maintain that the delinquent aspires to a middle-class status, it nevertheless postulates a similar motivational source of delinquency.

Without citing numerous and lengthy references to Cloward and Ohlin's book, one can say that the basic variable the authors utilize is opportunity, referring to a differential access to success for various levels of the social structure. In answering the question, "What is the origin of pressures toward delinquency?", Cloward and Ohlin state:

...the disparity between what lower-class youth are led to want and what is actually available to them is the source of a major problem of adjustment.

Adolescents who form delinquent subcultures have internalized an emphasis upon conventional goals (4, p. 86).

The next obvious question is, "Why do illegitimate alternatives serve as avenues to success goals?"

When pressures from unfulfilled aspirations and blocked opportunity become sufficiently intense, many lower-class youth turn away from legitimate channels, adopting other means, beyond conventional mores, which might offer a possible route to success-goals (4, p. 105).

It is this discrepancy between aspirations and legitimate avenues to success that produce this intense pressure for the use of illegitimate alternatives. Thus Cloward and Ohlin see the delinquent subculture as representing specialized modes of adaptation to this problem of adjustment (4, p. 107).

What is becoming increasingly familiar is the concept of an awareness of middle-class values and its anomic influence upon lower- or working-class individuals. Merton has described its effect on ensuing delinquency as a response by lower-class persons to acquire these values. Cloward and Ohlin, synthesizing Merton's anomic theory and Sutherland's differential association theory, present a similar conclusion. Cohen, on the other hand, while acknowledging the awareness of middle-class values by lower-class persons, sees their response as rejecting these values and creating their own "antitheses values" while ascribing to similar motivational sources (5).

Any theory, regardless of its possible utility and logical plausibility, must withstand the bombardment of empirical testing to substantiate its existence. An attempt will be made to examine the previously discussed theoretical formulations.

Although there has been much research in the area of juvenile delinquency, there has been very little that deals with juvenile delinquency as a function of "level of aspiration." It therefore becomes necessary to utilize research material involving delinquent-nondelinquent discrepancies along with research investigating "level of aspiration" of delinquent-nondelinquent populations, both of which employ the legal and self-reporting methods of delinquency evaluation. Therefore a distinction must be made when reviewing the literature to distinguish the type of method being employed for each research and its relevancy to the current study.

This study will begin by presenting pertinent empirical research which either completely or partially supports a pro-Merton concept. This will be followed by other investigations which offer a counter view.

Data collected from four census tracts in San Francisco in the spring of 1953 serve as the basis of Dorothy Meier and Wendell Bell's study of "Anomie and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals" (17). These authors conclude that "...anomie results when an individual is prevented from

achieving his life goal, and that the character of the goals and the obstacles to their achievement are rooted in social and cultural conditions" (17, p. 201). Bell and Meier correctly acknowledge that their analysis is largely post factum, but they nevertheless maintain that the results offer complete support for Merton's theory of anomie and its consequences.

Durkheim, from whom Merton draws heavily, had already noted the dampening influence of poverty upon aspirations. In explaining the relatively low rates of anomic suicide in economically depressed countries, he comes to the conclusion that "poverty protects" in the sense of limiting aspirations.

Poverty protects against suicide because it is a restraint in itself. No matter how one acts, desires have to depend upon resources to some extent; actual possessions are partly the criterion of those aspired to. So the less one has the less he is tempted to extend the range of his needs indefinitely (8, p. 254).

Following Meier and Bell, Reiss and Rhodes, in "The Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in the Social Class Structure" (22), concluded that the evidence presented in their paper for types of conforming and deviating boys lend support to the conclusions that: 1) the quantity and quality of delinquent deviation is more serious in the lower than in the middle stratum when self-reports of delinquent deviation were examined; 2) that the career oriented delinquent is found only among lower-class boys; 3) that the major type of lower status boy is a conforming nonachiever

while the conforming achiever was the major type in the middle class; 4) that isolates are more likely to be conformers than non-conformers; and, 5) at both lower and middle status levels peer-oriented delinquency was the most common form of delinquent organization. Thus their analysis lends additional support to the Merton tradition.

In 1959 Holloway and Berreman (12) investigated the educational and occupational aspirations and plans of Negro and white male elementary school students. Their conclusions showed: 1) support for the assumption that aspiration level varies with class with regard to occupational aspirations; 2) when class was held constant, aspirational level did not differ significantly by race; 3) aspirations when measured independently of plans did not vary by race or class with regard to educational aspirations, but did with occupational aspirations; and, 4) white middle-class pupils showed no difference between aspirations and plans, while Negro middle- and lower-class as well as white lower-class pupils showed a greater disparity between aspirations and plans. A significant relationship was also shown between perceived educational and occupational opportunity and social class. Elliot concluded that these findings offer strong support for the claim that success goals are perceived as being differentially available within the legitimate structure.

The 1962 Delbert Elliot research, "Delinquency and Perceived Opportunity" (9), which investigated defined success

values and perceived opportunity between delinquents and nondelinquents, used an unusual research design. Advocating the importance of the peer group in defining success values (4), Elliot proposed to measure these values in terms of social positions within the school system. Each respondent was instructed to rate each of six school positions in terms of its importance for success. A similar design was developed for education and occupation. Elliot's findings indicated that, with few exceptions, delinquents and nondelinquents defined school, education, and occupational positions similarly. With only one exception, that of student council, both groups perceived adequate opportunity to achievement of school positions. Delinquents perceived lower opportunity than nondelinquents to achieve educational and occupational positions defined as "successful."

This contention supports Merton with regard to a high level of aspiration through class lines, but does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that these aspirations will lead to delinquency, especially when actual plans are significantly lower for lower-class individuals.

In 1964 Bennett and Gist (1) investigated class and family influences on student aspirations, and concluded that aspirations and plans showed little variation among social classes. Only the type of influence varied dramatically with class. Maternal influence, another variable that was operationalized,

appeared to be stronger and more effective at lower class levels regardless of the race of the student. The conclusions of the Bennett and Gist study are consistent with the Mertonian thesis.

Mizruchi, in Success and Opportunity (19), also 1964, claimed that while his findings generally support Merton's hypothesis that the lower classes tend to be denied opportunities for the attainment of life goals, they also support Hyman's suggestion that there is a self-imposed barrier to lower class success in the occupational sphere. Merton is therefore, according to Mizruchi, only partially correct in suggesting that lower class obstacles are externally imposed.

One year later, Short, working with Rivera and Tennyson (25), operationalized certain aspects of the opportunity structure paradigm in a study of delinquent gangs in Chicago. Negro and white lower-class gang boys were compared with lower-class non-gang boys from the same neighborhoods, and with middle-class boys of the same race. The results showed that gang members perceived legitimate opportunities as available less often than non-gang boys, lower-class boys less often than middle-class boys, and Negro boys less often than white boys. This conclusion again buttresses Merton's limited opportunity paradigm.

The 1966 Chapman study, "Role and Self-Concept Assessment of Delinquents and Nondelinquents" (2),

investigated delinquency in terms of a process of social interaction resulting in persons being alienated from a legitimate value system and being attracted to an illegitimate value system. His research was concerned with: 1) how persons perceive others who represent legitimate and illegitimate value systems, and 2) how they perceive the self in relation to the legitimate value system. His findings showed that there was a significant difference in the way delinquents and nondelinquents perceive persons who represent legitimate and illegitimate value systems. The association was in the expected direction. He also concluded that nondelinquents indicate a more positive self-concept than delinquents.

And, finally, Fredericks and Moenar (11), in their 1969 report, examined the levels of occupational aspirations and anticipations of a group of delinquent and nondelinquent boys in relation to their fathers' occupations. Their research findings showed: 1) almost three of every four nondelinquents anticipated higher occupations than those of their fathers; 2) Negro delinquents hoped to obtain occupations above the level of their fathers; and, 3) Negro boys appear to be most motivated to rise above the occupational levels of their fathers. However, so far as relative goal discrepancy is concerned, the lower-class Negro in the sample study reflected the lowest degree of confidence.

It can therefore be seen that the research cited above offers partial and tentative support for the Mertonian anomic theory as an explanatory statement of the etiology of juvenile delinquency. In similar researches, other writers have expressed contrasting views based on contradictory findings. Several of the conclusions of their reports will now be presented.

Even before Meier and Bell's report, Herbert Hyman (13) attempted to assess Merton's hypothesis by relating various types of values to social class. He failed to demonstrate whether or not the distribution of success values was related to anomie, but he did provide some suggestions about the role of values in predisposing the lower-class population to anomie. Hyman's findings suggested that class and category of success symbols are associated, concluding that symbols of the attainment of success are different for respondents in the several classes. The tendency for the lower classes to select material symbols and preferences supports Hyman's suggestion that those objects and activities they rank highest are those that contribute least to the attainment of success. There is, as Hyman noted, a self-imposed tendency to anomie in the lower-classes because of low evaluation of the cultural mechanisms--objects and activities--instrumental in the attainment of success. This low evaluation was found to be particularly true of education.

What Hyman is asserting is that success-goals tend to be relative to one's position in the social structure rather than being "common" or absolute as Merton claims.

Stephenson (26), in 1956, researching mobility orientation and stratification of 1,000 ninth graders, found a need to distinguish between aspiration and plans. In order to determine more precisely the nature of occupational choice among young persons, he developed a questionnaire designed to measure both occupational plans and aspirations. The response pattern suggested that these youths held a relatively common perception in the aspirational dimension of mobility orientation, but that the expectation dimension is more sharply differentiated by their general position in the social system.

In 1962, Clark and Wenninger (3), researching socioeconomic class and area as correlates of illegal behavior among juveniles, failed to detect any significant difference in delinquent behavior rates among the social classes of rural and small urban areas. However, in keeping with the class-oriented theories, they did find significant differences, both in quantity and quality of illegal acts, among communities or "status areas," each consisting of one predominant socioeconomic class. The lower-class areas had higher illegal behavior rates, particularly in the more serious types of offenses. Their hypothesis, which stated that the rates of illegal conduct among the social classes vary with the type of community in which they are found, was an attempt to

bridge the discrepancy between the conclusions of Merton, Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin, and those findings reported by Nye and Short, and Dentler and Monroe.

"Socioeconomic Status and Delinquent Behavior" (21), reported by Nye, Short and Olson, 1963, concluded that a measure of reported delinquent behavior rather than official records of delinquency will yield results somewhat different from those supporting traditional conceptions of the status of delinquency. Testing a null hypothesis of no significant difference in delinquent behavior of males and females in different socioeconomic groups, their data revealed insufficient evidence to reject it. The slight differences that were found favored the low-status group as often as the high-status group. These findings, the authors state, have implications for etiological theories based upon the assumed status differential in delinquent behavior.

Landis and Scarpitti, 1965, reporting in "Perceptions Regarding Value Orientation and Legitimate Opportunity: Delinquents and Non-Delinquents" (15), used the delinquency subculture theories of Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin as bases for their investigation. They conducted a study of the attitudes and socialization patterns of adolescent boys and girls. Their findings revealed that distinct social class differences were obtained on the value-orientation and awareness-of-limited-opportunity scales. Also indicated was a greater acceptance of middle-class values at the ninth

grade level than at the sixth grade level. Awareness of limited opportunity scores, however, showed little change with age. Value orientation differences were also noted between black and white lower-class children while significant sex differences in value orientation appeared at the middle-class level.

In summary, the findings showed significant variations for age, sex, race, and social class subgroups. Secondly, they indicated that rejection of middle-class values and feelings of limited opportunity are related to a higher level of delinquency proneness and delinquency involvement.

Short and Nye (24) made it apparent that the traditional method of collecting data, that of dichotomizing legal delinquents and nondelinquents, could have a biasing effect on the results. In 1957, these two researchers formulated a self-reporting questionnaire to determine the incidence and prevalence of deviant behavior. Their conclusions suggest that when this method is employed, "the traditional assumption of a higher incidence of delinquent behavior among members of the lower socioeconomic groups, based upon official statistics, is not substantiated" (24, p. 209).

Using survey and retest data from 912 junior high school children in three types of communities, Dentler and Monroe (7) found a modified Nye-Short technique of self-reporting delinquent behavior to be highly reliable for their study. The findings showed that the Theft Scale correlated with age,

sex, and birth order among a series of demographic factors, but not with socioeconomic status, type of community, or family intactness. The Theft Scale also showed a significant relationship between quality of parent-child relations and leisure activities, but not with peer-group sociometric status or self-concept.

It can be observed that coupling the findings of Nye and Short with those of Dentler and Monroe tends to heighten the biasing effect found in the traditional method of juvenile delinquency data collection.

In 1967 Robert Winslow (28) summarized his findings of "Anomie and Its Alternatives: A Self-Report Study of Delinquency," by concluding that: 1) youths of lower status are subject to lower success pressures; 2) perceived opportunity does not vary significantly with the youth's position in the social structure; and, 3) serious, self-reported delinquency does not vary by parents' social class.

The 1967 research of Edgar Epps, "Socioeconomic Status, Race, Level of Aspiration and Juvenile Delinquency: A Limited Empirical Test of Merton's Conception of Deviation" (10), tested several hypotheses concerning the incidence of delinquent behavior in the various socioeconomic strata, in different racial groups, and in groups with different levels of occupational and educational aspirations. His findings revealed that: 1) none of the Chi Square values reached the .05 level of significance, therefore, the proportion of

students classified as most delinquent, intermediate, or least delinquent did not vary among socioeconomic levels; 2) there was no significant difference to indicate a strong relationship between socioeconomic status and juvenile delinquency; 3) higher-status students aspired to jobs in the higher occupational status categories more often than lower-status students; 4) racial differences were significant, showing that the occupational and educational aspirations were lower for Negroes than whites; and, 5) high-aspiring lower-status students did not report significantly more delinquent behavior than low aspirers. In general, Epps supports the position of those writers who question traditional views concerning the relationship between socioeconomic status and delinquent behavior.

The final research to be reviewed is a 1969 book by Bernard Rosenberg and Harry Silverstein, The Varieties of Delinquent Experience (23). Their research will be presented in somewhat greater detail than the previous works cited, for it serves as the basis for this current research study.

Rosenberg and Silverstein immediately state that, "The research reported in this book..., whatever its other failings, was designed to offend, challenge, question, and thereby perhaps to modify certain basic conceptions of the etiology of juvenile delinquency" (23, p. 1). The basic concepts these authors are referring to are those previously expressed by Merton and his followers and those of Oscar Lewis (16).

Rosenberg and Silverstein continue, "The traditions of delinquency study too frequently have served stereotypic thinking. We believe that what at present goes by the name of juvenile delinquency is universal, and that it has never been otherwise" (23, pp. 2-3).

This last statement expresses an explicit view that delinquent behavior knows no boundaries, and that type and quantity of deviancy are not limited to class lines. This has immediate and obvious challenges to Merton's theory and will be briefly discussed in the "Delinquency: Official and Self-Reporting" section of this research.

A second premise of Rosenberg and Silverstein is that the traditional view of "common success goals and values" is misleading and they seek to demonstrate this in their research data.

Every subculture, like every culture, has a distinctive quality; the entity or the construct or the model exists in itself, *sui generis*. Coming late, it nevertheless begins to make clear that many people, young and old alike, have not been fired with the American Dream, are not consumed with a desire to get rich quick, and do not have that high level of thwarted aspiration and expectation which drives them to desperate illegal acts. Undoubtedly some poor people, quite a lot of individuals, want and expect to make a fortune. Our data indicate that they are unlikely to be the most criminalistic element in their communities, as the Merton theory would suggest. So far as we can make out, at this point in our history, levels of aspiration are more class-typed than society-wide (23, pp. 8-9).

Therefore, the position of these authors is that deviancy cannot be explained by either socioeconomic position, *per se*,

with particular emphasis on the lower-classes, or by "level of aspiration," which they see as class related rather than as transcending American social class lines. To demonstrate this position three residential areas in three separate cities were chosen for their study. Each area represented a different ethnic concentration. The three cities chosen were Chicago, Washington, D.C., and New York City.

Crucial to the study was "the social block" (23, p. 21). It represented an existential, often physical, demarcation, a place where meaning derived from a sense of belonging, of allegiance to others, and of safety and security in familiar surroundings. To further develop this, a presupposition must be made. If the "social block" within these three cities does indeed afford to the above mentioned indices, then it would seem plausible to assert that varying degrees of homogeneity exist within and among the three city blocks under study. Its manifestation would be seen in overt acts -- either legal or illegal, a value code -- both professed and practiced, and various other aspects of social life (5; 15). In addition, two closely related assumptions concerning delinquency also require scrutiny. According to the first of these, juvenile delinquency is primarily a lower-class phenomenon. This assumption is primarily based on the use of official records.

Along with this is the assumption that lower-class patterns are basically of a single type; regardless of the communal and other social traditions in which they evolve (23, pp. 12-13; 16).

This latter concept, although not essential to the current research, was stressed by Rosenberg and Silverstein as an important aspect in helping to explain varieties of delinquent behavior. As their research revealed, a variety of deviant behavior was noted among the three cities. No challenge of this is intended. However, without presenting any hierarchical pattern of values, which would distinguish between behavior that was middle-goal oriented and those behaviors that were not, it would be difficult to acknowledge the uncovering of any profound relationships.

Upon examination of official delinquency records in the three areas studied, Rosenberg and Silverstein note that the only marked similarity in relative offense rankings existed between Chicago and Washington, D.C., where burglary was the most frequently recorded (23, p. 15). Other rankings by offense show a marked difference in the type and percent of delinquent acts between the three cities. "Put simply, and using official records, each study area, with its diverse ethnic population, generates essentially different patterns frequencies of delinquency (23, p. 15).

Inferring from these differential rates, the authors state that the patterns and the extent of delinquency in the three communities are in sharp contrast with one another (23, p. 16).

The disparities are so great that they justify one broad generalization: any analysis of delinquency as such requires the introduction of comparative cross-cultural data (23, p. 17).

In short, we believe that the current state of expert opinion concerning juvenile delinquency is a badly skewed version of the actual facts (23, p. 17).

What they have essentially said thus far is that when delinquents' economic status was held constant, varied results were obtained with regard to types of delinquent behavior. This is viewed as evidence against Lewis' belief in the homogenous nature of "a culture of poverty," and does not support Merton's assertion about the effects of poverty upon lower-class members.

A latent misgiving manifests itself at this point. Lewis has labeled, through extensive investigation, specific areas and situations as exhibiting "the culture of poverty." He points to the fact that mere physical deterioration of an area, the substantially low income level of its residents, and other related socioeconomic variables do not constitute a "culture of poverty," *sui generis*. He has even gone so far as to list some seventy traits that are characteristic of this subculture he is referring to.

According to this criterion, it seems that Rosenberg and Silverstein have fallen short, at least in their reported notations. What seems to constitute the selection of the three specific neighborhoods used in their research was the general physical condition, that of deterioration, of these

areas. From here, they made, without any real validity, certain presuppositions about the neighborhoods, only to later substantiate their claim with post factum elements.

To reiterate, this point is not crucial to the development of the current research since this study does not deal directly with Lewis, but it does take on a sense of value when implications for Merton's theory are drawn from it.

Issue could be taken with Rosenberg and Silverstein on this specific aspect of their study, but because of its unproblematical status with regard to the remainder of the study, the matter will be left for other times or other students of delinquency.

The data of Rosenberg and Silverstein's study was derived from relatively unstructured, informal interviews with 133 young persons (approximately 65 per cent male, 35 per cent female) living on city blocks previously described (23, p. 33). The respondents were enumerated by age, sex, ethnic group, and other demographic variables. In addition, a list of juveniles with arrest and conviction records was drawn from police and court records. The sample population was then classified into three major categories: those without records (nondelinquent), those with arrest records, but no convictions (designated as nonadjudicated delinquents), and those with both arrest and court records (officially adjudicated delinquents). From these three categories a random sample was chosen for interviewing (23, p. 34).

Recorded on tape, the interview itself was technically simple. Two interviewers sat with a respondent in a pre-arranged room discussing a number of themes selected in advance by the interviewers. Personal experiences and attitudes relating to acts of delinquency, levels of aspiration, and conceptions of right and wrong were discussed (23, p. 34). The first two items, acts of delinquency and levels of aspiration, are particularly germane to the present research.

With regard to admitted delinquency, Rosenberg and Silverstein, on the basis of their findings, quote John F. Clark and Edward W. Haurek (3, p. 831):

Official statistics are indices of negative "social response" (defined as the reporting and handling of misconduct) to behavior and not necessarily indices of the actual quality and quantity of juvenile behavior although the two phenomena may be highly related....The results of "admitted delinquency" studies would appear to meet some of the objections to the use of official data. Although this research technique has its limitations, it does provide data that are relatively free from the distortions imposed not only by the nature of the operations of formal social control agencies but also by the informal structures that intervene between the misconduct of juveniles and their referral to these agencies.

Rosenberg and Silverstein then remark that all "admitted delinquency" studies, including their own, establish the virtual universality of juvenile "misconduct" (23, p. 116). Their next topic of discussion was "level of aspiration." Dealing directly with Robert Merton's essay, "Social Structure and Anomie" (18), these two authors analyze and evaluate his

theory with regard to "common success goal" pressures on lower-class individuals in light of their own findings.

It will be recalled from the previous discussion on Merton's analysis that:

It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common success goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population, that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale (18, p. 146).

Central to this idea is the contention that these success-goals are similarly shared by all the members of the various socioeconomic groups, as previously indicated. It is precisely this point that has become a battleground for empirical validation.

In ascribing individuals to various states or levels of aspiration, the authors developed an eight-stage paradigm to accommodate their responses. This representation is as follows: 1) High Aspiration-High Expectation-Realistic; 2) High Aspiration-High Expectation-Unrealistic; 3) High Aspiration-Low Expectation-Realistic; 4) High Aspiration-Low Expectation-Unrealistic; 5) Low Aspiration-Equivalent [Low] Expectation-Realistic; (6) Low Aspiration-Low Expectation-Unrealistic; 7) Low Aspiration-Atonic-Unrealistic; and, 8) Low Aspiration-Exploratory-Realistic (23, pp. 135-138).

Upon evaluation of their results, the authors conclude that, unlike the traditional assumption, a sense of high

aspiration among the three poverty groups of youth studied was almost nonexistent.

An empirical taxonomy of aspirations and expectations among lower-class youth revealed that less than 25 per cent of the respondents were categorized as high aspirers while the remaining 75 per cent were ranked as low aspirers (23, p. 136).

From this Rosenberg and Silverstein offer the conclusion that:

In the final analysis, even though our approach is highly qualitative, we offer the proposition that youth deviancy is not a consequence of "illegitimate" innovation. Delinquency can be explained by the concept of anomie, but a form of anomie different from that which has become sociologically commonplace.

The logic of the Mertonian thesis, perhaps more than anything else, has fostered the belief that economic illusion has been more trenchant than bedrock economic reality. In this sense, man's illusions seem firmly anchored in the reality of his specific community, a reality both economic and moral--a condition only infrequently overridden even in "mass media-ized" society. If our data are correct, we suggest that economic reality is more the case, and therefore, delinquency must be attributed to other determinants. In our own view, the reality of moral disjuncture more than economoral disjuncture is at the root of youth deviance (23, p. 138).

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CHAPTER IV

DELINQUENCY: OFFICIAL AND SELF-REPORTING

In any empirical research which attempts to utilize a representative population, the question of which sample universe should be used in ascertaining data is an important consideration. Emphasis is placed on its being both a representative and an inclusive sample. Research work utilizing the concept of juvenile delinquency has generally followed two basic paradigms, i.e., it either uses children who are legally adjudicated delinquents with a control group of children who are not legally adjudicated delinquents, or it relies upon the method of self-reporting by the respondents to dichotomize delinquents and nondelinquents. Both methods have their merits and, unfortunately, their demerits.

Perhaps a brief review of these two procedures as they have been used in previous research will lend a better understanding to the problem at hand. Many researchers have utilized the legal delinquent--nondelinquent approach. Such studies as Short-Rivers-Tennyson (11), Fredericks-Moenar (3), Chapman (1), Landis-Scarpitti (4), and Short-Nye (10), have used this method with rewarding results. This method allows for easy dichotomization between the two variables of delinquents and nondelinquents. It also aids in the location

and selection of potential respondents since official delinquents are usually listed with some judicial branch such as the probation department, the court system, or some other official body such as the police or a juvenile care center. This leaves the nondelinquent sample to be drawn from their respective population.

Theoretically this is a good working model. However, as our knowledge of the role of selective variables increases in relation to how delinquent behavior comes to be known to these agencies, and the differential treatment accorded to adolescents, there are sound indications that each juvenile coming into contact with these agencies may not receive equal treatment (6). This would play an increasingly important role in the composition of those defined as legal delinquents where selective factors have operated to include them in that group.

This bias could also operate on another level. There is at least a tentative indication that the process of institutionalization, (i.e., legal internment of a juvenile) may have an effect upon the respondent's answers.

That is, a frequent criticism of past studies has been that some of the processes studied, e.g., emotional instability, strained family relations, and school maladjustment, may result from insitutional experience, or the fact of institutionalization rather than being a cause of the delinquency being studied (9).

This point is further demonstrated by the pioneer work of Robinson (7) and Schwartz (9), together with the studies of Porterfield (6), Murphy and Shirley, and Witmen (5).

A second concern along this same continuum would be that a questionnaire involving self-reporting of current and past behavior might be viewed in a negative manner by a respondent who is currently experiencing, or has in the past, experienced legal internment, e.g., fear of ensuing or additional restraints if some previously unknown behavior is learned of.

The weight and extent of this phenomenon is difficult to determine, but it is a plausible contention. At any rate, there is substantial evidence to affirm the first suspicion (that of differential treatment and contact between adolescents and official legal bodies).

This should by no means be taken to declare that research findings adhering to this procedure are invalid or unenlightening. On the contrary, they have proven to be informative and stimulating. Nor does this mean that self-reporting of official nondelinquents is a superior method of data collection, for it too has its shortcomings.

The method of self-reporting by legal nondelinquents, however, is gaining in popularity for several reasons. One of these is the abundance of legitimate criticisms cited regarding the above method. Others concern the difficulty of obtaining official records from legal agencies because of the nature of the juvenile offender.

Still others contend that what goes by the name of delinquency has permeated the adolescent society, notwithstanding race or class barriers. This idea does not preclude

the degree or extent of delinquency to specific racial and socioeconomic constituencies, only the idea of its uniquely magnanimous existence within these groups.

When self-reporting of nondelinquent groups is incorporated into the data collection process, it has generally revealed a more diverse relationship than those results obtained using official delinquents. This is another interesting aspect concerning the matter of respondent selection.

Generally speaking, those studies embodying legal definitions of delinquent--nondelinquent dichotomies have favored the traditional approach of Merton and others. The utilization of legal nondelinquent populations, on the other hand, has benefited researchers such as Short-Nye (10), Dentler-Monroe (2), Rosenberg-Silverstein (8), and others who take objection to this traditional approach.

To brashly state acceptance or rejection of either method employed is not the point of this section; its purpose is rather to call attention to the use of alternative means of data collection and some of the merits and demerits of each method.

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CHAPTER V

LEVEL OF ASPIRATION: EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL

The concept of aspiration, with regard to juvenile delinquency, is not altogether new in sociological literature. Probably its most formidable presentation comes from Robert Merton in his now classic essay, "Social Structure and Anomie" (2). Merton's theoretical formulation maintains that all members of society strive toward the same set of lofty goals that represent the apex of our value system. These subjective strivings are not restricted by class or race barriers which, according to Merton, in turn act as motivational sources to delinquency when societal barriers to achievement of these goals are encountered. This is particularly true for lower-class minority individuals.

It is precisely this aspect of Merton's paradigm that has evoked a point-counterpoint debate. Do the members of the various socioeconomic groups strive toward a common set of goals? Do aspirations and expectations vary by socioeconomic class? And, if so, can these differences be correlated with delinquency?

Investigating perceptions of aspirations, many researchers have noted exceptions to Merton's thesis. Hyman (1) assessed his findings by stating that class and category of success

symbols are associated, concluding that symbols of the attainment of success are different for respondents in the several classes. Stephenson (3) called for a distinction between aspirations and expectations of delinquents and nondelinquents. He demonstrated that the "mobility orientation pattern" suggested was one in which aspirations are relatively unaffected by class, reflecting the general cultural emphasis upon high goal orientation, while plans or expectations, on the other hand, were more definitely class based, reflecting class differences in opportunity and general life chances.

Continued research in this area, whether using legal delinquents or legal nondelinquents, has tended to support the idea that Merton's traditional view may be over-stated or simply not true. If aspiration levels which do not take account of expectations are used, then their use would be limited and generalization based on their use would be incomplete.

It would be a drab and passive mental existence if we could not envision ourselves under better circumstances. To "daydream" of fortune and grandeur, even with unavailable means to achieve them, is hardly a predisposition to delinquency. Even when pressure to achieve these ends is operationalized, one's own lowered expectations of what he will actually achieve cast doubts upon its phenomenological consequences. If consequential weight and validity are

given to aspirations, as Merton has, surely the same can be done with expectations, which would seem to enlist a more realistic approach to evaluating delinquent behavior.

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CHAPTER VI

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire used in this study was designed to elicit specific responses in three areas. The first part of the questionnaire gathered biographical and demographical characteristics. Respondents were requested to list variables such as age, sex, grade level, club or organizational membership, length of residency at this particular school if they were transfer students, parents' occupation, and previous contact with judicial agencies.

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of twenty-five specific acts which either by a single admittance or repeated admittance could constitute the classification of a delinquent child. The items ranged from seemingly non-serious individualistic acts to felony and gang membership. An absolute category selection extending from "never" to "five or more times" was used constituting a forced choice for the respondents. This method was chosen over a relative choice situation such as "few," "often," or "many times" due to the vague nature of the latter.

The method of self-reporting was employed on the basis of the criteria expressed earlier in Chapter IV, "Delinquency: Official and Self-Reporting."

The third category of questions dealt with levels of educational and occupational aspirations and expectations. Each respondent was asked what kind of job he would like to be employed at for his life's work if he had an unlimited choice. It was felt that this design would allow each student to aspire to his own lofty occupational goal. This question was followed by asking each student to indicate what kind of job he thought he really would do for his life's work, defined as expectation.

These two questions were then immediately followed by two relative educational questions. The first question asked the student to select the educational level he thought necessary for obtaining employment in his aspirational work field. The second educational question asked each student to indicate how far he actually expected to go in school.

These four questions, it was hoped, would allow measurement of each student's relative level of occupational and educational aspiration and expectation. To operationalize these variables, the following method was used.

A modified Hollingshead Two-factor Index of Social Position (2; Appendix B) was used to determine the social class the student aspired to and the social class the student expected to be in, both of which are based on the appropriate questions the respondent answered. The Hollingshead scale was modified in the following manner: (a) students' educational selection was collapsed to five categories in place of the original seven;

however, each educational level retained its original scale value to permit comparability; and, b) parents' social position was weighted only by occupation to determine their respective social class. This procedure allows placement of each parent into one of the five classes developed by Hollingshead. It further allows placement of each student into the same class structure in both aspirational class and expected class positions.

Once a class position had been assigned to the parent, the student's aspiration expectation and his level of aspiration could be classified into one of the categories of the eight stage paradigm developed by Rosenberg and Silverstein (3). The characteristics of these eight stages are: 1) High Aspiration-High Expectation-Realistic -- this group is characterized by their knowledge about the legitimate means by which their goals can be attained, and are aware of the obstacles which they are likely to encounter, they characteristically regard deviant and delinquent behavior as inappropriate to their objectives and therefore as maladaptive, hence, their aspirations and expectations are in line with the means to achieve them; 2) High Aspiration-High Expectation-Unrealistic-- these persons engage in considerable fantasy about achievement, but at this point lack substantive knowledge about their objectives and the means to attain them; 3) High Aspiration-Low Expectation-Realistic -- this category represents youth who realize the problems of

achieving success and have come down noticeably from their lofty ambitions (this would, in all probability be the group in which, according to Merton, and Cloward and Ohlin, a large proportion of delinquency would occur); 4) High Aspiration-Low Expectation-Unrealistic--this would include youth who had considerable ambition and for some reason lowered expectation, yet they are those who with some effort might very well be able to achieve high goals; 5) Low Aspiration-Low Expectation-Realistic -- this category represents youth that are responsive to their cultural environment and select occupations which are found most often among adults in the community and set their sights on achieving similar socioeconomic status, they are aspirationally adaptive and see no great difficulty in accomplishing their aims; 6) Low Aspiration-Low Expectation-Unrealistic -- characterized by youth who aspire to occupations commonly found in their cultural setting and expect even lower results; 7) Low Aspiration-Atonic-Unrealistic--the dominant characteristic which represents this group is their lack of interest for any meaningful occupation; and, 8) Low Aspiration-Exploratory-Realistic -- youth who are categorized in this group are highly individualistic and wish to move out and try many occupations, although their sights are now set on a fairly low level, e.g., the soldier of fortune stereotype.

In order to categorize a student's level of aspiration into one of these stages, his aspirational and expectational

class position was weighted against his parents' social class position, both of which are determined by use of Hollingshead's Social Position scale, to determine his relative aspirational level.

The assumption behind a relative aspirational status is that upward vertical mobility is among the common success goals and pressures Merton is referring to. However, in addition an absolute aspirational level was determined for the sex and class of respondents to allow a brief comparison, but an in-depth analysis of this latter relationship will not be discussed. The relative aspiration level was further analyzed with regard to the student's self-reported delinquency scale.

The data collected on self-reported delinquency was further computed for significant relationships with regard to (1) sex, (2) age, (3) previous contact with the police, (4) the level of aspiration expressed by the student based on parents' social position, and (5) parents' social class based on occupation.

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CHAPTER VII

PROCEDURE

Data collection for this research was from the eighth and tenth grades of the Wylie Independent School District, Wylie, Texas. The population sample consisted of 164 respondents. This included 83 males and 81 females. By grade level this represented 36 eighth grade males, 47 eighth grade females, 47 tenth grade males, and 34 tenth grade females. The eighth grade represented youth aged thirteen to fifteen years. This grade level also represented the terminal grade level before entrance into high school. The tenth grade youth were aged fifteen years to nineteen years, with the modal age being sixteen years, and were in their second year of high school. This, it was hoped, would allow a partial analysis of the degree and extent of reported delinquency with regard to age and/or grade level.

The selection of the tenth grade was made upon the bases of several criteria. The first represented a legal aspect. The State of Texas has among its statutes a mandatory school attendance law covering youths up to the age of sixteen. Although the tenth grade does encompass sixteen year old youths, it was felt that this group would represent a

cultural environmental change, meaning the transition from junior high to senior high school, more so than a class of ninth graders. A second legal aspect is that the age of sixteen represents a change in legal status--from juvenile to adult. Although this last concern has some direct implications upon the sample, it was felt that the status of the tenth grade level outweighed the chronological aspect, except in extreme cases of age differences.

The final reasoning was drawn from the United States Department of Commerce Publication (PHC(1)-52 (1). This publication of social and economic statistical data by census tracts additionally justifies the use of the tenth grade as a cut-off point, or not to go much beyond the sixteen year mandatory school attendance law in selecting a sample population. This publication revealed that the percentage enrolled in school between the ages of sixteen and seventeen years of age was 82.3 (1). Further examination showed that those between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years that were not high school graduates and not enrolled in school reached 31.9 per cent (1). It was felt that these percentages could have a biasing effect upon the sample if they were carried beyond this cut-off point. Although the method employed did not eliminate this bias, it was felt that it was minimized at the tenth grade level.

The selection of this specific rural town was also made for several reasons. The geographic location of the town

represents one of a fringe area. It is located ten miles from an urban area, yet is flanked by farm land. This permits a rural farm environment, but with numerous urban contacts.

The U.S. Department of Commerce Publication PHC(1)-52 offers additional characteristics of the census tract. The area is very homogeneous with regard to race, predominantly white Caucasian (1). Male occupations include professional, technical, kindred workers, managers and administrators (except farm), sales workers, clerical and kindred workers, craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers, operatives (except transport), other blue-collar workers, and service workers (except private household). The median family income for this area in 1970 was \$9,521 while the mean income was \$9,923 (1).

An additional reason for selection of this school and its population is that it is not known to be "test-wise." It has virtually been unexposed to this particular type of survey. Lastly, exceptional and valuable cooperation was extended by the high school principal, the junior high school principal, the school counselor, and the teachers of the eighth and tenth grades.

Data collection and respondent solicitation were conducted by working in liaison with the school administration and the school counselor, who also acted as research assistant. An appropriate time was selected so that all eighth and tenth grade students could be separately accumulated and simultaneously surveyed.

The school counselor assembled and administered the questionnaire to the tenth grade population. At the same time the eighth grade students were assembled and surveyed by the writer. Verbal communication by the researchers and visual communication via the questionnaire emphasized the complete anonymity of each respondent's answers.

Students were requested to answer all questions on the biographical and demographical part of the questionnaire that pertained to them. They were also requested to answer all questions on the remaining two parts of the questionnaire. No time limit was set, but the average survey time was about twenty-five minutes.

To distinguish delinquents from nondelinquents, the following criteria for delinquency were designated: 1)when any one of the seven possible felony questions (see Appendix A) was admitted as having been committed by a respondent, he was considered to be a felon and a delinquent (the sole reasoning of this classification lies in the legal distinction of the act); 2)with one exception, the remaining eighteen questions were viewed as misdemeanors, although repeated occurrence or extensive damage resulting from some of these acts could constitute a felon classification (with the exception of questions twenty-six, twenty-seven and thirty-one, an admittance of performing a misdemeanor act five or more times constituted the classification of delinquent; it was felt that the category five or more times, although an arbitrary

selection, would be more indicative of a delinquent pattern than a category of fewer than five admittances). This second criterion was employed for all misdemeanor questions except those cited above. For those three questions a student must have admitted to performing each of these acts five or more times before being classified as delinquent, providing no other misdemeanor or felony question met the criteria for such labeling. These three questions were weighted together for the following reason. A large majority of students positively answered question twenty-six -- driving without a valid driver's license -- within the categories of three to five or more times. Due to the nature of the offense it was felt that this did not demonstrate any significant behavior problem. Similar assumptions were drawn from the remaining two questions. Those who fell into the category of delinquent by this reasoning generally exhibited a lesser degree of involvement in the remaining twenty-two delinquency questions. Therefore a delinquent by definition is a respondent who has admitted to performing at least one misdemeanor five or more times, noting the above exceptions, and/or who has admitted committing a felony act once.

The next step was that of dichotomizing the head of a household's social position to incorporate a lower- or working- class level and a middle- to upper-class level. This was done by dividing Hollingshead's five class positions (Appendix B) between classes three and four. Classes one

through four represented the middle- and upper-classes, while classes four and five represented the lower- or working-class. This method allows delinquents-by-definition to be compared with other delinquents and nondelinquents on a class basis of lower and middle to upper.

The statistical analyses for the findings are based on the use of Chi Square. At various stages of measurement, several level of aspiration categories were found to have a zero frequency. To facilitate a more meaningful computation of a one sample Chi Square "goodness of fit" test, measuring the significance of distribution of delinquents and nondelinquents with regard to level of aspiration, the following criteria were used. When two or more zeroes were expressed next to each other along a line of continuum from one through eight, they were combined to form only one category. This procedure helped retard the inflation rate which zeroes produce in a Chi Square test while still maintaining a meaningful measure of significance. In other words, when two or more zeroes occurred sequentially in a one sample test, they were combined to form one category, thereby reducing the degrees of freedom proportionately. Most of the remaining Chi Square tests were performed on two-by-two or two-by-eight tables without combining categories.

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CHAPTER VIII

RESULTS

Table I allows a variable analysis by level of aspiration. Aspiration level one, high aspiration-high expectation-realistic, represented the level most often aspired to by the respondents, although it is separated by an N of only two from level five, low aspiration-low expectation-realistic. Thirty-eight respondents, or 22 per cent were classified in this category. With regard to sex, the males evenly distributed themselves between the two delinquent categories. Eleven males, 50 per cent, were found in both cases. Females, however, had a tendency to be predominantly nondelinquent, as indicated by only 37.5 per cent being delinquent. Their frequency in the delinquent/nondelinquent category was six and ten respectively. When class status was controlled, 60 per cent class one respondents were delinquent while 40 per cent were nondelinquent. These percentages were in the exact reverse direction for class two persons. Controlling for grade in aspiration level one, 52.17 per cent of the eighth graders were found to be delinquent. This was contrasted with only 33.3 per cent delinquent tenth graders. When sex and class were controlled, the following enumeration resulted:

- 1) 75 per cent class one males were delinquent;
- 2) 44.4 per

TABLE I

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES OF DELINQUENCY AND
ASPIRATION LEVELS IN PERCENTAGES

L E V E L *	Sex		Class		Grade		Sex and Class.			
	Male	Female	Class I	Class II	Grade 8	Grade 10	Male I	Male II	Female I	Female II
1 D	50.00	37.50	60.00	39.29	52.17	33.33	75.00	44.44	50.00	30.00
N	50.00	62.50	40.00	60.71	47.83	66.67	25.00	55.56	50.00	70.00
#	22	16	10	28	23	15	4	18	6	10
2 D	100.0	66.67	-0-	75.00	83.33	66.67	-0-	100.0	-0-	66.67
N	-0-	33.33	-0-	25.00	16.67	33.33	-0-	-0-	-0-	33.33
#	3	9	0	12	6	6	0	3	0	9
3 D	33.33	38.46	50.00	30.00	33.33	42.86	100.0	-0-	40.00	37.50
N	66.67	61.54	50.00	70.00	66.67	57.14	-0-	100.0	60.00	62.50
#	3	13	6	10	9	7	1	2	5	8
4 D	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
N	100.0	-0-	100.0	-0-	100.0	-0-	100.0	-0-	-0-	-0-
#	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
5 D	82.35	57.89	66.67	77.78	68.42	70.59	76.92	100.0	57.14	60.00
N	17.65	42.11	33.33	22.22	31.58	29.41	23.08	-0-	42.86	40.00
#	17	19	27	9	19	17	13	4	14	5
6 D	100.0	-0-	80.00	100.0	66.67	100.0	100.0	100.0	-0-	-0-
N	-0-	100.0	20.00	-0-	33.33	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
#	7	1	5	3	3	5	4	3	1	0
7 D	100.0	-0-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-0-	-0-
N	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
#	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	2	0	0
8 D	75.00	-0-	50.00	100.0	-0-	75.00	50.00	100.0	-0-	-0-
N	25.00	-0-	50.00	-0-	-0-	25.00	50.00	-0-	-0-	-0-
#	4	0	2	2	0	4	2	2	0	0
Tot. #	60	58	52	66	62	56	26	34	26	32

* D = Delinquent, N = Nondelinquent, # = Number in category
NOTE: 46 respondents were not included due to errors in
questionnaire answering.

cent class two males were delinquent; 3) 50 per cent class one females were delinquent; and, 4) 30 per cent class two females were delinquent.

Aspiration level two represented the fourth largest category of respondents. However, only twelve respondents were classified in this group. Of the three males and nine females classified in this level, all of the males, 100 per cent, and 66.67 per cent of the females were delinquent by definition. This was further illustrated by the fact that there were no persons of class one status within this aspiration level. Those persons of class two status had a 75 per cent delinquency rate. Holding grade constant it was found that only 16.67 per cent eighth graders and 33.33 per cent of the tenth graders were nondelinquent. Since there were no class one persons at this particular aspiration level, class two male and female percentages become redundant when holding sex and class constant.

Aspiration level three, which has particular importance to the Mertonian thesis when analyzing class two individuals, represented by high aspiration-low expectation-realistic means, was the third largest category by frequency. Sixteen respondents were classified in this level. By delinquent-nondelinquent percentages, both males and females were similar. The males had a percentage of 33.33 and the females had a percentage of 38.46 with N's of three and thirteen,

respectively. Class and delinquent dichotomization revealed that 50 per cent class one respondents were delinquent while 30 per cent class two respondents were delinquent. Eighth grade delinquents had a percentage rate of 33.33 and the tenth grade delinquents were at 42.86 per cent. Controlling for sex and class, the sole class one male was delinquent while the two class two male respondents were nondelinquent. The delinquent percentage for class one females was 40 per cent and class two females was 37.5 per cent.

Aspiration level four, high aspiration-low expectation-unrealistic means, was the least frequently occurring level. The single respondent in this category is represented by a class one nondelinquent male.

Aspiration level five, low aspiration-low expectation-realistic, was the second most frequent category. This aspiration level, when utilizing class two respondents, is particularly germane to Rosenberg and Silverstein's research. There were seventeen males and nineteen females for a total of thirty-six respondents in this level. Of the seventeen males, 82.35 per cent were classified as delinquent. The females had a delinquency percentage of 57.89. This category was also represented by predominantly class one individuals. Of the twenty-seven class one respondents, 66.67 per cent were delinquent. When controlling for eighth and tenth grades, similar N's and percentages were found, those being 19, 17,

68.42, and 70.59, respectively. Enumeration by class and sex revealed that 76.92 per cent class one males were delinquent. With an N of four, all class two males were delinquent. The percentage of delinquents for class one females was 57.14. With an N of five, 60 per cent class two females were delinquent.

Aspiration level six, low aspiration-low expectation-unrealistic, was the fifth ranking level by frequency. Of the eight respondents in this level, seven males unanimously fell under the delinquent criteria while the single female respondent was nondelinquent. Dichotomization by class and delinquency showed that 80 per cent class one respondents and 100 per cent class two respondents were delinquent. When controlling for grade, 66.67 per cent eighth graders and 100 per cent tenth graders were delinquent. Enumeration by sex, class and delinquency disclosed that of the seven delinquent males, four were of class one status and three were of class two status. The only female respondent at this level was a nondelinquent class one individual.

Aspiration level seven, low aspiration-atonic-unrealistic, was the second lowest occurring frequency with an N of three. The three respondents in this category were all delinquent males. One male was of class one origin, while the remaining two respondents were in class two. One of the delinquent males was in the eighth grade while the remaining two were in the tenth grade.

Aspiration level eight, low aspiration-exploratory-realistic, was the third least occurring category by frequency. As in the previous level, all respondents in this category were males. Three of the males, 75 per cent, were delinquent by definition and one, 25 per cent, was nondelinquent. All four males were in the tenth grade. There were two class one males, one of whom was delinquent. There were two class two males, both of whom were delinquent.

It can be seen from the preceeding that three of the eight aspiration levels are important to this research. The three levels are aspiration level one, because of its high frequency in this study; aspiration level three, due to its importance in the Mertonian thesis; and aspiration level five, which was supported by Rosenberg and Silverstein as being the most delinquent prone category among working class youths.

The foregoing results with regard to hypothesis testing may be summarized as follows.

Hypothesis 1, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration levels of delinquents and nondelinquents, was not supported. A Chi Square test of significance, Table II, revealed that this relationship was significant at the .05 level, constituting a rejection of the null hypothesis.

TABLE II
 ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENT AND
 NONDELINQUENT RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	17	9	6	0	25	7	3	3
Nondelinquent	21	3	10	1	11	1	0	1
Chi Square = 15.813								
DF = 7; N = 118								

According to Tables III and IV, hypothesis 1a, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the

TABLE III
 ASPIRATION LEVEL OF MALE DELINQUENT
 AND NONDELINQUENT RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	11	3	1	0	14	7	3	3
Nondelinquent	11	0	2	1	3	0	0	1
Chi Square = 15.299								
DF = 7; N = 60								

aspiration levels of delinquents and nondelinquents when controlling for sex, was supported for males but not for females. Males reached a level of significance of .05, making it necessary to reject the null hypothesis of no

TABLE IV
 ASPIRATION LEVEL OF FEMALE DELINQUENT
 AND NONDELINQUENT RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	6	6	5	0	11	0	0	0
Nondelinquent	10	3	8	0	8	1	0	0

Chi Square = 4.102
 DF = 7; N = 58

difference. The females were not significant at these same levels, and the null hypothesis was supported.

Tables V and VI support hypothesis 1b, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration level of delinquents and nondelinquents when controlling for

TABLE V
 ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENTS AND
 NONDELINQUENTS OF CLASS ONE STATUS

Classification: Class I	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	6	0	3	0	18	4	1	1
Nondelinquent	4	0	3	1	9	1	0	1

Chi Square = 3.699
 DF = 7; N = 52

NOTE: Social class is determined for this and all remaining tables by modified Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position.

class one respondents, but did not support the hypothesis for class two individuals.

TABLE VI
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENTS AND
NONDELINQUENTS OF CLASS TWO STATUS

Classification: Class II	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	11	9	3	0	7	3	2	2
Nondelinquent	7	3	7	0	2	0	0	0

Chi Square = 14.913
DF = 7; N = 6

Tables VII, VIII, IX and X support hypothesis 1c, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration levels of delinquents and nondelinquents when controlling for sex and class, in only one category. Class

TABLE VII
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENT AND NONDELINQUENT
CLASS ONE MALE RESPONDENTS

Classification: Class I	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	3	0	1	0	10	4	1	1
Nondelinquent	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	1

Chi Square = 5.958
DF = 7; N = 26

TABLE VIII
 ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENT AND NONDELINQUENT
 CLASS TWO MALE RESPONDENTS

Classification: Class II	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	8	3	0	0	4	3	2	2
Nondelinquent	10	0	2	0	0	0	0	0

Chi Square = 14.539
 DF = 7; N = 34

TABLE IX
 ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENT AND NONDELINQUENT CLASS
 ONE FEMALE RESPONDENTS

Classification Class I	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	3	0	2	0	8	0	0	0
Nondelinquent	3	0	3	0	6	1	0	0

Chi Square = 1.486
 DF = 7; N = 26

two males reached a significant level of .05. The remaining three groups, class one males and classes one and two females, did not reach a .05 level of significance.

TABLE X
 ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENT AND NONDELINQUENT CLASS
 TWO FEMALE RESPONDENTS

Classification Class II	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	3	6	3	0	3	0	0	0
Nondelinquent	7	3	5	0	2	0	0	0

Chi Square = 3.187
 DF = 7; N = 32

According to the data in Table XI, hypothesis 2, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration level of delinquents, which measures the significance of the frequency distribution by the use of a Chi Square one sample test, revealed that this relationship was significant at the .001 level. At this level of significance the data of Table XI indicates that the null hypothesis must be rejected.

TABLE XI
 ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENT RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	17	9	6	0	25	7	3	3

Chi Square = 55.49
 DF = 7; N = 70

Tables XII and XIII show that hypothesis 2a, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration level of delinquents when controlling for sex, was not supported for either male or female categories. The

TABLE XII
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF MALE DELINQUENT RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	11	3	1	0	14	7	3	3

Chi Square = 33.03

DF = 7; N = 42

TABLE XIII
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF FEMALE DELINQUENT RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	6	6	5	0	11	0	0	0

Chi Square = 18.70

DF = 5; N = 28

males the significant level was .001, while the females reached a .01 level.

Tables XIV and XV indicate that hypothesis 2b, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration level of delinquents when controlling for class, was not supported for the two categories. Class one respondents

TABLE XIV
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENT CLASS
ONE RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	6	0	3	0	18	4	1	1

Chi Square = 60.74
DF = 7; N = 33

TABLE XV
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF DELINQUENT CLASS
TWO RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	11	9	3	0	7	3	2	2

Chi Square = 22.83
DF = 7; N = 37

reached a significance of .001. Class two respondents were significant at the .01 level.

Hypothesis 2c, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration level of delinquents when controlling for sex and class, was supported in the only testable category. This relationship was not significant at the .05 level for class two males (see Table XVI). The three remaining categories, class one males and classes one and two females, had a population sample too small to calculate effectively a Chi Square on a one sample test of significance.

TABLE XVI
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF CLASS TWO MALE
DELINQUENT RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Delinquent	8	3	0	0	4	3	2	2

Chi Square = 11.74

DF = 6; N = 22

Hypothesis 3, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration level of non-delinquents (Table XVII) was not supported. A .001 level of significance forces a rejection of the null hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3a, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration level of non-delinquents when controlling for sex (Table XVIII) was not supported for the females. This group's data reached a .001

level of significance. The sample population for the males with regard to this relationship was too small for a Chi Square one sample test to be meaningful.

TABLE XVII
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF NONDELINQUENT RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nondelinquent	21	3	10	1	11	1	0	1

Chi Square = 14.35
DF = 7; N = 48

TABLE XVIII
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF NONDELINQUENT FEMALE RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nondelinquent	10	3	8	0	8	1	0	0

Chi Square = 25.51
DF = 6; N = 30

Hypothesis 3b, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration level of non-delinquents when controlling for class, was supported only for class two respondents. Again the sample population for Chi

Square statistical evaluation of the remaining category was too small. Table XIX reveals the information for class two individuals.

TABLE XIX
ASPIRATION LEVEL OF NONDELINQUENT CLASS TWO RESPONDENTS

Classification	Aspiration Level							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nondelinquent	17	3	7	0	2	0	0	0

Chi Square = 43.65
DF = 5; N = 29

Hypothesis 3c, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the aspiration level of non-delinquents when controlling for sex and class was not testable. For all four categories the sample size was, unfortunately, too small for Chi Square one sample testing.

Keeping in mind that the above analyses were evaluated for the respondents' relative aspiration level, an immediate question is suggested. What indications would be brought forth if an absolute, rather than a relative, aspiration level was operationalized for placement of the respondents into the various aspiration levels? Tables XX and XXI represent relative and absolute aspiration level scales. Data from these two scales indicate that agreement can be found with Merton's contention that a high sense of aspiration is present

throughout the classes. It will be noted that using an absolute aspiration-level scale places a larger frequency of class one male and female respondents in a higher aspiration level than does a relative aspiration-level scale. However, class two respondents are virtually unaffected. There is also no meaningful change in the frequencies of respondents in aspiration level three, the Mertonian deviant prone aspiration level. Therefore, with the exception of raising the number of class one respondents to a higher aspiration level, no other

TABLE XX

RELATIVE ASPIRATION LEVEL SCALE OF DELINQUENT AND
NONDELINQUENT RESPONDENTS BY SEX AND CLASS

Aspiration Level	Sex and Class							
	Male				Female			
	Class I		Class II		Class I		Class II	
	Del.	N-Del	Del.	N-Del	Del.	N-Del	Del.	N-Del
1	3	1	8	10	3	3	3	7
2	0	0	3	0	0	0	6	3
3	1	0	0	2	2	3	3	5
4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	10	3	4	0	8	6	3	2
6	4	0	3	0	0	1	0	0
7	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
8	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Total N	20	6	22	12	13	13	15	17

relationships are significantly affected. This brief analysis also supports Rosenberg and Silverstein's assertion that the Mertonian thesis with regard to deviant innovation by class two persons in aspiration level three does not adequately explain the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency.

TABLE XXI

ABSOLUTE ASPIRATIONAL LEVEL SCALE OF DELINQUENT AND
NONDELINQUENT RESPONDENTS BY SEX AND CLASS

Aspiration Level	Sex and Class							
	Male				Female			
	Class I		Class II		Class I		Class II	
	Del.	N-Del	Del.	N-Del	Del.	N-Del	Del.	N-Del
1	9	3	5	8	7	10	2	5
2	2	1	3	0	0	1	5	4
3	0	0	3	3	5	1	3	5
4	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
5	5	2	7	1	1	1	5	3
6	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total N	20	6	22	12	13	13	15	17

In addition to hypothesis testing, the following results were obtained with regard to additional variable relationships of delinquency to aspirational level. The succeeding tables

are presented as informative only. No further evaluation other than an immediate analyses will be described with regard to these relationships.

When occupational level was measured by holding sex and class constant, Table XXII indicates that class one males and females exhibited the largest percentages in aspiration level

TABLE XXII
ASPIRATION LEVEL BY CLASS AND SEX IN COLUMN PERCENTAGE

Aspiration Level	Class and Sex			
	Male		Female	
	Class I	Class II	Class I	Class II
1	15.38	52.94	23.08	31.25
2	-0-	8.82	-0-	28.12
3	3.84	5.88	19.23	25.00
4	3.84	-0-	-0-	-0-
5	50.00	11.76	53.84	15.62
6	15.38	8.82	3.84	-0-
7	3.84	5.88	-0-	-0-
8	7.69	5.88	-0-	-0-
Total N	26	34	26	32

Chi Square = 17.732

DF = 7; N = 118

five. The percentages were 50 per cent for the males and 53.84 for the females. Class two males and females, on the other hand, had their largest percentages in aspiration level

one. They were 52.94 and 51.25 per cent, respectively. This relationship by class and sex was significant at the .02 level for the males and at the .05 level for the females. Both groups tend to cluster at aspiration levels one and five.

Controlling for sex and class, delinquent percentages for respondents living with both of their original parents, percentage Table XXIII, were: 1) class one delinquent males - 67.85 per cent; 2) class two delinquent males - 51.85 per cent; 3) class one delinquent females - 60.52 per cent; and, 4) class two delinquent females - 50 per cent. Therefore, for all but class two delinquent females, which were equal to that of nondelinquents, the delinquency percentages for respondents living with both of their original parents were higher than that of nondelinquents. This same type relationship was observed for students not living with both original parents.

TABLE XXIII

LIVING WITH BOTH ORIGINAL PARENTS AND DELINQUENCY
BY SEX AND CLASS IN PERCENTAGES

Classification	Class and Sex							
	Male				Female			
	Class I		Class II		Class I		Class II	
	LOP	N/LOP	LOP	N/LOP	LOP	N/LOP	LOP	N/LOP
Delinquent	67.85	100.0	51.85	66.66	60.52	100.0	50.00	60.00
Nondelinquent	32.15	-0-	48.15	33.34	39.48	-0-	50.00	50.00

Chi Square for males = 5.158; DF = 1, N = 67

Chi Square for females = 1.673; DF = 1, N = 84

NOTE: LOP = Living with both original parents

N/LOP = Not living with both original parents

Enumeration of previous contact with the police, percentage Table XXIV, by sex and class showed no significant difference. A majority of students in each category indicated that they had had no experience with the police during the past year. This relationship would be expected. However,

TABLE XXIV
CONTACT WITH POLICE BY CLASS AND SEX IN
COLUMN PERCENTAGES

Contact with Police	Class and Sex			
	Male		Female	
	Class I	Class II	Class I	Class II
Yes	32.25	34.88	19.44	12.50
No	67.75	65.12	80.56	87.50
Total N	31	43	36	40

Chi Square for males = 0.056; DF = 1; N = 74

Chi Square for females = 0.687; DF = 1; N = 76

the lack of a significant difference between police contact and class status should be noted.

No significant difference was found between transfer and non-transfer students when being evaluated for delinquency (percentage Table XXV). Delinquent female non-transfer students was the only group that fell below a 60 per cent delinquency status. All other groups exceeded the nondelinquents in percentages.

TABLE XXV
TRANSFER STUDENTS AND DELINQUENCY BY SEX

Classification	Male		Female	
	Transfer	Non-Transfer	Transfer	Non-Transfer
Delinquent	80.65	65.38	63.63	47.91
Nondelinquent	19.36	34.62	36.34	52.09
Total N	31	52	33	48

Chi Square for males = 2.200; DF = 1; N = 83

Chi Square for females = 1.947; DF = 1; N = 81

NOTE: A transfer student is one who has transferred into that particular school less than two years prior to this study.

The final variable dealt with was that of organizational membership and delinquency, percentage Table XXVI. Controlling for sex, no significant difference was found. Only female organization members were less delinquent by percentages than any other group.

TABLE XXVI
ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND DELINQUENCY BY SEX

Classification	Male		Female	
	Member	Nonmember	Member	Nonmember
Delinquent	66.66	75.60	45.45	59.57
Nondelinquent	33.34	24.40	54.55	40.43
Total N	42	41	33	47

Chi Square for males = 0.807; DF = 1; N = 83

Chi Square for females = 1.555; DF = 1; N = 81

In summation it can be said that a majority of the respondents, delinquents and nondelinquents alike, were seen as aspiring to two basic aspiration levels. These two levels are aspiration level one and aspiration level five. Aspiration levels two and three were the next most frequently occurring levels. However, these two latter levels were represented predominantly by class two females. Correlating level of aspiration with sex and class, Table XXII, indicated: 1) class one males significantly aspired to aspiration level five when compared to class two males at the same level; 2) class two males significantly aspired to aspiration level one when compared with class one males at the same level; 3) class one females significantly aspired to aspiration level one when compared with class two females; and, 4) class two females did not significantly aspire to aspiration levels one or three when compared with class one females at these levels. There were, however, nine class two females who aspired to aspiration level two. The only other respondents who aspired to this level were three class two males.

Correlating delinquency with these same variables, aspiration level, sex, and class, did not produce any significant difference in aspiration levels one and five for either males or females. Tables VII, VIII, X, and XI illustrated this point.

Enumeration of nondelinquents by aspiration level and class and sex produced the following: 1) class one male nondelinquents most frequently aspired to aspiration level five; 2) class two male nondelinquents most frequently aspired to aspiration level one; 3) class one nondelinquent females most often aspired to aspiration level five; and, 4) class two nondelinquent females most frequently aspired to aspiration levels one, three and two. Again, none of these aspiration levels were statistically significant except where 100 per cent of the respondents were in only one cell, e.g., class two females in aspiration level two.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION AND INTERPRETATION

The data derived from the testing of hypothesis one and its corollaries, which attempted to measure any significant discrepancy between the aspiration levels of delinquents and nondelinquents, when taken as a collective group, do not support the null hypothesis. A significant difference in the aspiration levels between the two groups was found. The conclusion here is that delinquents and nondelinquents do not equally distribute themselves within the eight aspiration levels. When this relationship was further analyzed using variable controls, the resulting conclusion is that this difference was most dramatically found in the male lower- or working-class respondents. An appropriate conclusion at this point seems to be that lower-class male delinquent and nondelinquent respondents do not equally distribute themselves within the eight aspiration levels developed by Rosenberg and Silverstein.

The Chi Square results of hypothesis two and its respective subhypotheses revealed that there was a significant difference in the way delinquent respondents distributed themselves within the eight aspiration levels. This relationship was significant for both males and females and

class one and class two individuals. Enumeration by sex and class permitted only one testable group, that of class two males, which was not significant at the .05 level. The conclusion here is that delinquents when taken as a group, by sex or by class, except for male lower-class delinquents, do not equally distribute themselves within the eight aspiration levels. Although the discrepancy in the aspiration levels of class two male delinquents was not significant at the .05 level, it was significant at the .10 level indicating that this group had a tendency not to equally distribute themselves within the eight aspiration levels.

A Chi Square test of hypothesis three and its subhypotheses for nondelinquent respondents demonstrated that members of this group also did not equally distribute themselves within the eight aspiration levels. A small sample size resulting from the use of variable controls restricts a conclusion for nondelinquents with regard to sex and class status. However, when sex alone was tested for a significant relationship, the female distribution was significant at the .001 level. When class alone was evaluated, a significant relationship was found for lower-class persons. The conclusion from this hypothesis testing is that females and lower-class non-delinquents do not equally distribute themselves within the eight aspiration levels. The assumption that this relationship would extend itself to include lower-class male nondelinquents is also a plausible contention.

In recapitulation, it can be stated that delinquents and nondelinquents as a group, delinquent and nondelinquent males, delinquent and nondelinquent lower-class respondents, and delinquent and nondelinquent lower-class males, do not equally distribute themselves into Rosenberg and Silverstein's eight aspiration levels.

In addition, delinquent respondents, by both sex and class, do not equally distribute themselves within Rosenberg and Silverstein's aspiration paradigm.

Furthermore, nondelinquent respondents as a group, nondelinquent females, and nondelinquent lower-class individuals do not equally distribute themselves into the eight aspiration levels.

Lastly, an analysis of the most frequently occurring aspiration levels did not produce any significant difference between delinquents and nondelinquents. It is important to note that the aspiration levels most frequently aspired to are levels one and five.

From this data it must be concluded that support is given to Rosenberg and Silverstein in that the traditional view held by Merton does not adequately explain the causes of juvenile delinquency. Their findings in three urban lower socioeconomic areas as well as the data from this study suggest that an alternate hypothesis to the Mertonian view is needed.

The results and conclusions of this study can be compared and contrasted with the theoretical model of Robert Merton and

with the research findings of Bernard Rosenberg and Harry Silverstein.

The traditional Mertonian thesis which assumes that there is a common success value system, with its ensuing success pressure, penetrating all class lines is only partially supported by this research. A high aspiration level, using a relative aspiration scale, was not the most frequently aspired to level by class one individuals. A majority of these individuals did not aspire beyond their present socioeconomic level. Class two respondents, however, most frequently aspired to a high aspiration level. It is for this latter category that the Mertonian thesis is supported with regard to aspiration alone. Merton's theory, however, continues along these lines and states that because of societal barriers placed upon class two persons, their high aspirations are thwarted. Unable to achieve these value ends through legitimate means they resolve the norm conflict by illegitimate means to gain pecuniary success symbols. In the context of this present research, this group would be class two respondents who were placed in aspiration level three. They represent high aspirations but low expectations gained by realistic (but deviant) means. The findings of this research do not support this aspect of Merton's theory. Although a majority of class two subjects were found to be high aspirers, their mode of acquiring their goal was through socially sanctioned means. Only a small percentage of respondents, and they were

predominantly females, could be placed at the level Merton states as being the most deviant prone. Furthermore, when delinquents were compared with nondelinquents at their most frequently occurring aspiration levels, no statistically significant difference could be derived.

The conclusion drawn from a comparison of this research to Merton's theory is that this research supports the Mertonian thesis only with regard to high aspirations, again relatively speaking, of class two persons. No support can be lent to the contention that class two persons are more deviant prone than class one persons or that their means of achieving their goals differ from this group. Neither can support be given to the idea that a high level of aspiration exists throughout the various classes due to the number of class one respondents in aspiration level five.

A comparison of this research with Rosenberg and Silverstein's study further reveals similarities and differences. Rosenberg and Silverstein, challenging the traditional views of Merton, found that among their group of respondents a high level of aspiration was almost nonexistent. Interviewing only lower socioeconomic subjects, these authors found that a vast majority of respondents did not have their sights on goals outside their own immediate social position. Their conclusion was that Merton's premise of a common success value system and its pressures did not manifest itself in their study groups. The findings of this

research do not support Rosenberg and Silverstein in this area. As previously noted, class two respondents (lower-class) did express a sense of high aspiration. Upon further investigation Rosenberg and Silverstein noted that although the majority of their subjects were low aspirers with low expectations, their means of achieving their goals were based on realistic means. These respondents were also the deviant group. Rosenberg and Silverstein concluded from their findings that it is moral disjuncture, more than economic disjuncture, which is at the root of youth deviance. Since the results of the present study do not indicate that lower-class persons are significantly more delinquency prone than middle- and upper-class persons, support to Rosenberg and Silverstein must be given in refuting Merton's traditional view of illegitimate innovation as a response made by lower-class individuals to aspirations thwarted by societal barriers.

APPENDIX A

On the next four pages there are some questions asking you about yourself and your family. Please answer each question to the best of your ability.

You are not being graded on these questions, therefore, you cannot pass or fail. All that is asked of you is that you answer all questions honestly.

No one else will ever see your answers and there is ABSOLUTELY NO WAY TO TELL WHO ANSWERED WHICH QUESTIONS ON ANY PART OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!!

- DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME ANYWHERE ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

Begin with question number five (5) :

5. Sex _____
6. Age _____
7. When were you born? year _____, month _____.
8. What grade level are you in? _____.
9. Have you transferred to this school from another school?
yes _____, no _____.
- If your answer is yes:
10. What grade did you start in at this school? _____
11. What town did you transfer from? City _____
State _____
12. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations such as the Student Council, Honor Society, Athletic team, or are you a Class Officer?
yes _____, no _____.
- If your answer is yes list all of the clubs or organizations that you are a member of and class offices you have held:
_____, _____, _____,
_____, _____, _____
13. Do you live with both of your parents? yes _____, no _____.
- If your answer is no with whom do you live:
14. Mother _____ 16. Guardian _____ 18. Other _____
15. Father _____ 17. Relative (state relationship to you) _____.
- If you live with either or both of your parents, what kind (not where) of work do each of them do for a living?
19. Kind of work father does: _____
20. Kind of work mother does: _____
21. If you live with someone other than either or both of your parents, what kind of work does he, she, or they do?

22. Are they self-employed (do they own this business)?
Yes _____, no _____.
23. Have you ever been taken to the police station by the police? yes _____, no _____.
24. Have you ever been detained overnight by the police?
yes _____, no _____.
25. Has a Judge ever officially declared you to be a juvenile delinquent? yes _____, no _____.

REMEMBER -- THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO WAY TO TELL WHO ANSWERED WHICH QUESTIONS ON ANY OF THE PAGES OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE - SO BE AS COMPLETELY HONEST AS YOU CAN!

Directions:

Many young persons at some time during their life do things that they should not do or that are against the law. Following is a list of acts that are examples of what is meant. If you have done any of the following things on the list, please indicate them by following the directions below:

- a) Each question refers to your behavior (those things you have done) from this time last year to the present time.
- b) Do not go back further than one year in answering the questions.
- c) Indicate your answer by circling the choice that best fits you.

Here are the questions:

Have you during the last year:

26. Driven a car without a valid drivers license?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
27. Bought or drunk beer, wine, or other alcoholic beverages?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
28. Skipped school without your parents' or guardians' permission?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
29. Run away from home?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
30. Started a fist or knife fight?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
31. Done things your parents or guardians told you not to do?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
32. Defied your parents' or guardians' authority to their faces?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.

33. Made obscene phone calls?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
34. Thrown nails, glass, or cans into the street?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
35. Broken out street lights?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
36. Taken signs such as city limit, stop or other traffic signs, or rest-room signs?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
37. Thrown objects such as eggs, bottles, rocks, or water balloons at passing or parked cars?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
38. Had sexual relations with the opposite sex?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
39. Stolen things worth less than \$50?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
40. Committed theft under false pretenses (lied to get something) worth less than \$50?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
41. Gone joy riding (taken someone's car without permission just to go riding around in it)?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
42. Started or helped set fire to public or private property?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
43. Broken or helped to break up furniture, tools, appliances, or vending machines of public or private places?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
44. Broken or helped break down a fence, gate, or door of a public or private place?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.
45. Intentionally damaged someone's mailbox or taken mail from someone's mailbox without their permission?
0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
5) five or more times.

46. Knowingly possessed or used illegal drugs such as marijuana, amphetamines (commonly called speed), barbiturates (commonly called downers), LSD, or other drugs? Do not include drugs your doctor has prescribed for you.
 0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
 5) five or more times.
47. Committed theft under false pretenses (lied to get something) worth more than \$50?
 0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
 5) five or more times.
48. Stolen things worth more than \$50?
 0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
 5) five or more times.
49. Been a part of a gang or group which engaged in illegal behavior such as fighting, stealing, or destroying property?
 0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
 5) five or more times.
50. Rolled someone's house or yard with toilet or other paper?
 0) never; 1) once; 2) twice; 3) three; 4) four;
 5) five or more times.

Now that you have answered the above questions as honestly as you can, please do the same for the questions below.

REMEMBER -- THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO WAY TO TELL WHO ANSWERED WHICH QUESTIONS ON ANY PART OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!

Here are the questions:

51. There are many different kinds of jobs a person can work at when he decides to go to work. When you do decide to go to work, what kind of job would you like to work at for a living?
-
-
52. Sometimes we cannot do what we would like to do. What kind of work do you think you actually will do for a living?
-
-

53. How far in school do you think you ought to go in order to achieve your goal in life? Circle the highest level school you think is important for your success.

Graduation from: Elementary School
Junior High School
Senior High School
Junior College
Technical or Business School
College or University

54. How far do you think you will go in school? Circle the highest level school you think you will graduate from?

Graduation from: Elementary School
Junior High School
Senior High School
Junior College
Technical or Business School
College or University

APPENDIX B

TWO-FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

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Brief Instructions.

The Two-factor Index utilized occupation and education. These factors are scaled and weighted individually, and a single score is obtained.

The educational scale is based upon the years of school completed by the head of the household. The scale values are as follows:

<u>Years of School Completed</u>	<u>Scale Value</u>	
Professional (MA, MS, ME, MD, PhD, LLB, Etc)	1	
Four-year college graduate (AB, BS, BM)	2	1
1-3 years college (also business school)	3	2
High school graduate	4	3
10-11 years of school (part high school)	5	
7-9 years of school	6	4
Under 7 years of school	7	5

The occupational scale is attached on a separate sheet. Its effective use is dependent on the precise knowledge of the head of the household's occupation. Occupational position has a factor weight of 7 and educational position a factor weight of 4. These weights are multiplied by the scale value for education and occupation of each individual or head of a household. The calculated weighted score gives the approximate position of the family on the overall scale. For example, John Smith is the manager of a Safeway Store; he completed high school and one year of business college. I would score him as follows:

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Scale Score</u>	<u>Factor Weight</u>	<u>Score x Weight</u>
Occupation	3	7	21
Education	3	4	12
Index of Social Position Score.....			<u>33</u>

When the Index of Social Position score is calculated, the individual may be stratified either on the continuum of scores or into a "class." In the case of John Smith, I would rate him a Class III on the basis of the position he occupies on the continuum of scores, and the way the scores are grouped into classes.

The range of scores in each class on the Two-factor Index follows:

<u>Class</u>	<u>Class Status*</u>	<u>ISP Scores</u>	<u>ISP Score w/ only occupation weighted*</u>
I	Upper class	11-17	7-11
II	Upper middle class	18-31	12-20
III	Middle class	32-47	21-30
IV	Lower middle class	48-63	31-40
V	Lower class	64-77	41-49

*Class status and ISP score using only occupation weighted were selected and computed by this writer.

SEVEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCALE POSITIONS

1. Higher Executives of Large Concerns, Proprietors, and Major Professionals
2. Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals
3. Administrative Personnel, Owners of Small Businesses, and Minor Professionals
4. Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses
5. Skilled Manual Employees
6. Machine Operators and Semi-skilled Employees
7. Unskilled Employees

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