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Socializing the gang through group work

Friesen, Arnold Raymond

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Boston University
SOCIALIZING THE GANG THROUGH GROUP WORK

By

Arnold Raymond Friesen

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SOCIALIZING THE GANG

THROUGH GROUP WORK
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to study the gang in its total situation. It is an analysis of the processes of the configurational pattern that produced the gang. It attempts to discover processes of socialization that will correct the disorganizing forces of the larger total pattern that produced it, and thereby create a neighborhood that will promote social attitudes and develop socialized and integrated personalities.

There is need for a study of processes of "Socializing the Gang Through Group Work." First, the absence of literature dealing with the subject, second, by the number of gangs operating in America, third, by the anti-social attitudes of gang members and fourth for lack of any constructive programs dealing with the gang. It is impossible to study the gang as an isolated unit. The attitudes of the adults, the political, economic, moral and social status of the particular community must constitute the pattern of investigation.

It is common practice to separate the members of a gang, place them in different schools, homes, institutions, communities, on the farm, and by coercive methods break up the gang. This method is expensive, disequilibrates the family relationships, shifts the burden of responsibility, and does nothing to socialize the rest of the gang members. The pro-
cedure does not eradicate factors that were responsible for the formation of the gang. It is treating symptoms. Furthermore, the treatment has no relationship or reciprocal significance to the etiological factors in gang formation. The impact of treatment does not disturb the status quo of the configurational pattern in which the gang operates. That method of solving the problem gives greater opportunity for the gang in embryo to operate with less conflict. New objects of attack and agitation will be created, for the gang thrives on conflict. Conflict is essential to maintain the gang intact. It gives it something to do, something to cope with and master, if possible.

Socializing the gang in its own surroundings is a task that is neglected. The real need is a program that will commence with the gang as it is and step by step lead it to noble endeavors. Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher says: "Experience shows that there are really only two alternatives in successfully re-forming the boy—he must either be removed completely from the gang and the social world it represents or his gang must be re-formed. Official agencies have usually attempted the former alternative without success and have for the most part, completely neglected the latter."

If a boy is separated from his gang, he will travel a long distance for a reunion. The emotional and mental tensions in him for the gang have not been released. His problem has not been solved. The tension must be released and probably
will find expression in some anti-social activity. To take a gang and redirect its emotional and psychical tensions in social channels is a challenge yet to be accepted. The process requires a working knowledge of sociology and psychology. It is a gradual process and the technique for accomplishing the goal has not yet been devised. Psychological insight is basic for a pragmatic technique.

The methods employed for the production of the thesis are: library research, advisers, letters, diaries, interviews, participant observer, direct observation and insights gained through experimental procedure and experience.

The complexity of social forces in communities where gangs exist makes it difficult to devise methods that will do justice to the problem.

The technique for analyzing processes of a supple configurational pattern will be forthcoming as social research techniques are advanced. The methods used in this study are of the conventional type, because it is not a treatise on the technique of social investigation and because the emphasis will be on the processes and techniques of socialization.

The scope of the thesis is limited regarding investigation and analysis. No data has been collected about any particular gang, no diagnosis of a community has been made, no ready-made schemes devised to get insights into gang-life and no particular gang problem is being considered. Investigations and analyses of gangs have been made and are being made by the
various national and local organizations. Such a procedure would be adding facts to facts without interpreting them. Facts alone are useless. Facts reveal the structural composition of gangs but do not reveal the processes and techniques necessary to the process of socialization. The task of this thesis is to give insights into social and psychological phenomenon that will enable leaders to socialize gangs. Insights into psycho-social processes that work with gangs will be given consideration. More than a knowledge of the needs of a gang are necessary. Many leaders know the needs of disorganized and disintegrated gangs but how to organize, integrate, and socialize the boys is another problem. The problem is especially acute for the process must take place in the same environment that produced the gang without materially changing the structural composition of the neighborhood.
I

ETIOLOGY OF GAGS

There is a common belief that the gang is the expression of the ganging instinct. The definition given in 1890 by William James defines instinct "as the faculty of acting in such a way as to produce certain ends, without foresight of the ends, and without previous education in the performance." 1

Instincts became an explanatory concept when insights failed to materialize. In view of the above definition it is imperative to state that the term "instinct" has lost all intellectual respectability.

"The mode of behavior for which an explanation was sought in instinct was not only assumed in the definition of instinct but posited in toto in the form of inherited nerve patterns. The one explanation as much as the other assumed what it intended to prove! It granted what it intended not to grant..... The problem of behavior involves the problem of inheritance only to the extent in which behavior is conditioned by organic structure." 2

Function develops structure and structure limits function.

The source of the gang lies in the reality of social patterns and not in the instinct hypothesis. The social pat-

terns are always dominant in the production of behavior patterns. The newer psychologies have disproved the former claims of instinct psychology and many have found more factual, logical and consistent ways to account for acts of behavior; formally attributed to instinct. The tendencies of ganging are not due to "inherited automatic action patterns" but to the social situation in which the gang operates. The science of psychology like religion tends to arrive at an equilibrium and it crystallizes. It takes the bombardment of overwhelming evidences to disequilibrate the organized, systematized ways of thinking. Since the facts are against instinct many have been willing to call the ganging tendency--gregariousness. Hulsey Casson says: "Gregariousness seems to have perhaps the best justification for being called an instinct--man is a gregarious animal endowed with a nature tendency to seek the company and engage in the activities of others of his kind." 3

Gregariousness at its best may approach an explanation for the association of man with his kind but certainly does not account for the formation of gangs. Gregariousness like instinct is too small a segment of the total physiological basis to account for the gang. The physiological-sociological basis of the gang may be conceived of in terms of an organism: cooperating activities developing into a moving equilibrium of interdependent

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organs, becoming more complex as it interacts more completely with a complex environment while maintaining its unity. The physical basis of action are evolved through repetition and selection into cooperative fundamental functions, habits, memories, imagination and ideas. Actions are primarily contacts or avoidances but develop from touch, into taste, smell, hearing and sight. Whenever the activities or the constituent parts of an organized pattern of activities are of such a nature as to conduce to the perpetuation of the patterned activities there exists the basis of sensitivity. The pervasive operative presence of the whole in the part and of the part in the whole constitute susceptibility. The physiological organization of the gang consists primarily of physiological activities with the psychological becoming incorporated as a means of more efficient coordination. The consciousness of the gang develops through social interaction, into meaning and self-consciousness, and mind is the accumulation of organized responses into memories, imaginations, ideas, and meaning for guidance and reconstruction of actions.

Gang and reflective individual interactions develop gang opinion and thought which are social primarily, and even when called individual, because the gang leader is really a center of stored energy maintained by environment and social interaction. The physiological basis of the gang is not merely confined under the skin. Life must not, of course, be thought of as reduced to its lowest physical terms, but as an
expanding process which potentially at least, is inclusive of
even its most developed forms. The process extends as far as
his interactions penetrate society and theoretically is inter-
knit with the world.

Consciousness on the psycho-physical basis, denotes the
totality of actualized immediate qualitative differences of
feelings, it denotes upon the plane of mind, actualized ap-
prehensions of meaning--i.e. ideas. Then there is an obvious
difference between mind, consciousness, meaning and idea.
Mind denotes the whole system of meanings as they are embodied
in the workings of organic life. Consciousness in an indivi-
dual denotes awareness or perception of meaning. Mind seems
to be the master operator by means of which the adaptive oper-
atations of organic life may be made most perfect. Mind is sub-
ject to the laws of nature, to the laws of its evolution, like
all other elements in life. "The impressions made at the ex-
terior is communicated through a nerve, by the
actual successive alteration of the state of its
molecules, to a less differentiated protoplasmic
mass in the interior, which receives the impulse
by a similar alteration of all its molecules,
throwing it into an unstable condition, from which
it immediately returns to its normal state by
means of a discharge along a second line leading
to some organ of locomotion." 4

This whole passage implies the activity of the environment
and the passivity of the organism, the activity of the organ-
ism, being conceived as produced wholly by the stimulation of

4 Ward, Lester: Dynamic Sociology, New.York, Scribner & Son,
the environment. The true view would be to consider both the organism and environment as in a state of activity.

The development of the gang on the physiological-sociological basis through contact is slow and different and dangerous. The sense organs allow time and means for preparation, prior to contact, by mustering and organizing the reactions already attained into more effective responses. The process is one of differentiation and integration of activities. Every activity which performs a necessary task to maintain or promote the welfare of the organism performs a function. All functional activities promote an increase of energy, and tend to be repeated more easily because they are pleasureable and are formed in the habits of the gang. The word habit like instinct has little status but is being used for lack of a better term, at this point, to explain the process.

The basis of selection for the gang is largely pleasure and pain. Whenever an activity promotes the increase of energy, it is pleasureable. When it wastes energy, it is painful. The ones that are pleasureable tend to be repeated.

Action is primary on the physiological-sociological basis of gang development. The development of movement toward objects essential to the organism and away from objects harmful or dangerous are guiding principles in the process of socializing the gang on the physiological-sociological basis. This basis may be changed and unity maintained. If the moving equilibrium of the gang were not maintained, there would be
disintegration. The interaction between the individual and the gang is the basis for the development of self-consciousness and meaning which serves as the foundation stone of cooperation and socialization.

The psychological-sociological basis of the gang is a long-time perspective based on the evolutionary or functional viewpoint. That is, the idea that all things differentiate, individuate from larger wholes. Parts derive their properties from the whole and the whole is always more than the sum of its parts. The interactions between the individuals of a gang are mainly psychical. "Sociology is essentially reducible to true mental science" was the position of Comte. The interactions between the gang and the larger whole are mainly psychical. These interactions effect the thought process, feeling and will of the individual members of a gang. "The essential element in the social process is the psychical element." Professor John Dewey, now of Columbia University and Professor G. H. Mead, of the University of Chicago were the first to develop this point of view.

"Social intercourse is not a mystical transference of thought, a transference of the kind which exists only in the dreams of the spiritualistic deceivers and deceived. Social intercourse is conduct, behavior, or whatever name can be used as meaning action of organisms upon other organisms. But not all such actions are of the conscious type.... The larger part of the activity of a human being is unconscious, but no less important on that account."  

5 University Missourian, April 16, 1911.
Our sensations, our feelings, our percepts, our likes and dislikes, our emotions, our will, our habits, our intellect and even reason itself, are all relevant to the life-process. The relationship between the environmental, physical and psychical processes is difficult to explain. There is a functional relation and the nature of which has been called social process.

The theory of processes advocated, indicate that man's social and mental life are inseparable. "Man is made for action;...he is by nature active, not passive, in the presence of the forces of environment;...his mind has been developed in and through his activities, and for the sake of controlling them; that it has reference in all its phases to sustaining and developing the life process; that mental life is itself but an aspect, though in man the significant and controlling aspect, of the whole life-process; and finally, that it has reference not simply to the life of the individual, but also to the life of the group and of the race." 6

A consciousness of the insights developed will help the socializer to do more intelligent and constructive work with boys as he plans his activities and outlines future plans for his gang.

The principle that any integrated item of reality is a whole that is more than the sum of its parts will be the concept employed. The total social patterns possess properties of the whole, not characteristic of the individuated parts, which are called field properties. The whole is a

relative absolute. It has a changeable limit. Any change in
the nature of the whole rests upon the process of transposi-
bility. In the process there is complexity and permanence.
Simplicity cannot be changed. That which is subject to change
is a plurality in a unity. The change of the part within the
whole makes the possibility of change. The structural and
functional composition of the social patterns that condition
the activities of its individuated parts are governed by
larger social patterns. There is no largest total social pat-
tern theoretically. There are limits in the actual living,
work-a-day world, but its complexity and flexibility defies
boundary lines. The practical application of the above con-
cept would be to state that: "Disorganization is intensified
by the influx of foreign national and racial
groups whose old cultural and social controls
break down in the new cultural and racial situ-
atations." 7

The unity of the dynamic whole, characterized by organi-
zation and heterogeneity of structure and homogeneity action,
is reanimated after being ruptured by fresh contacts with other
cultures.

"Delinquency and criminal patterns arise and are
transmitted socially as any other cultural and
social pattern is transmitted." 8

The basic problem is that of the many in the one. The
many in the one involves a complete system of logic. The

7 Shaw, Clifford R., and McKay, Henry D.: "Delinquency Areas,"
8 Ibid., p. 206.
scientific mind sees organismic ideas not as single entities but always as complex patterns of functioning wholes. This takes place in theory, social, political, and economic levels. It has a very practical application.

The main problem is to adjust the individual to his surroundings. The insecurity of the individual in relation to the group brings on fear and hate. Insecurity of the individual in the social group means worry and worry brings on indigestion. Practically seventy-five percent of all maladjustments are due to social and psychical conditions. The solution of the individual must be in relation to the whole neighborhood, community, and society.

A trichotomic view of physiology, psychology, and sociology is not warranted under any circumstances. These three major sciences are individuated units of a functioning whole. To draw precise, clear-cut lines of demarcation reveals lack of insight into functioning dynamic, active social phenomenon.

"Every factor which has some degree of active influence in shaping and molding the forms of association, the interactions between individuals, is, then, a social force." 9

The nature of the social forces for the gang and an ordinary group are the same. "Gangs, like most other social groups, originate under conditions that are typical for all groups of the same species; they develop in definite and predictable ways, in accordance with

a form or entelechy that is predetermined by characteristic internal processes and mechanisms and have, in short, a nature and natural history." 10

The origins of gangs unquestionably represent the expression of desires and urges which are otherwise unsatisfied. To the onlooker, gangs merely signify misconduct; for the gang it is just a response to inner drives and outer stimuli as any other kind of conduct. The unsatisfactory human relationship causes boys' gangs to create a society for themselves where none adequate to their needs exists. The explanation of gang behavior are found in terms of human wishes and social attitudes, mobility and unrest; intimacy and status, social contacts and social interaction, conflict, accommodation and assimilation.

The importance of the social factors is indicated by efforts through legislation and education to eliminate red-light districts, close gambling resorts, night-clubs at one o'clock, censure motion picture films, establish city planning commissions, national garden and flower week, clean-up week, and similar enterprises that work for better social conditions. The social factor is dominant. "Distinctively human nature is second nature socially acquired." 11 One is born of his parents and the group. Man is a social product.

One of the social laws is the law of configuration. 12

Gangs and the law of configuration are based on the monistic principle. Atomism has no place in present day sociology and psychology. Discrete and isolated things are artifacts and fictions. The gang is not an isolated, separated, simple fact but as complex as the dynamic social patterns that produced it. Aristotle defined his whole as distributed through the parts. It could be separated from the parts. It was a soul. The injection of the religious element in the definition of teleology brought the term into disrepute. Any event in nature is never the product of a single cause. When wholes respond they respond as a whole to total situations, and the effect that one cause will have on an organism depends on the effects that all other causes are having.

A single cause acting on an object cannot be traced as a one to one effect but any result is due to a multitude of causes. The cause of a given object or event is the whole of which that object is a part. The part exists throughout the whole. The gang, in view of the above description, is never a separate, distinct entity but part of a total structure of social disorganization. The gang is definitely a "symptom of social disorganization." The gang reacts to any disturbing situation in its relation to all other influences that are at

12 Indebted to Dr. R. H. Wheeler, Head of the Psychology Department at the University of Kansas, for the laws.
the same time affecting it. This principle is of extreme importance in understanding the behavior of gangs.

Gangs and the law of individuation: "differentiation, or individuation, means relative segregation of phenomenological units within larger wholes." 13 Reality always existed as a part-whole system. There is no so called first cause. Individuation does not indicate primary and secondary causes. Individuation means the origin of new parts by the process of displacement. The new feature in the neighborhood would be the gang. It is not a totally new phenomenon but an individuated unit from the total pattern of the social forces operative in the community.

The gang grows out of community disorganization. The part derived its property from the whole. The gang is only a phenomenon of emergence, as the forces of the social patterns differentiates the new parts. The new parts are all integrated and interrelated as they emerge. The law of total change makes possible psychical definition of the gang. If the gang was not a total, integrated, interrelated entity, differentiated from a larger whole, the concept of gang, as will be defined, would be an artifact. The gang would not exist in certain neighborhoods or communities because the larger psychosocial pattern does not contain tensions that make for gang

formation. There are those slum areas made up of foreign cultures, habits, customs, traditions, folkways and mores, planted in a new situation, that have those elements that produce the gang.

The gang and the law of determined action does not mean that the gang is inevitable or operates in a pre-determined fashion. There is greater freedom under law than outside the law. To conform means liberty. The whole conditions the activities of its parts. This principle eliminates both vitalism and mechanism. By definition, the gang, from their standpoint, is a separate organization; they are differentiated from the social nature-pattern that surrounds them; they exist, they behave, but in terms of the neighborhood. The neighborhood behaves in terms of the gang, but in accordance with its own laws; not that of the gang. If in the estimation of the neighborhood, the gang is important, the neighborhood make it an unusually good source of imitation and suggestion. The individuality of the gang becomes potent and real through its membership character in the neighborhood and community.

The whole always functions through its parts. By definition the gang would rightly develop under the law of determined action.

"The slum has always been vaguely known as the breeding place for vice, crime, and demoralization of all kinds. Its physical structure and spatial relationships, however, have only recently been
the subject for careful sociological investigation." 14

The gang flourishes in the slum areas and instructs, unconsciously, the younger boy in the technique and philosophy of ganging. The gang is usually very careful to make certain that new membership is fully orientated and instructed before membership is granted.

"The cultural patterns of the gang are integrated in the slum through conflict with the police and with rival gangs. Conduct is defined in antisocial terms in these disorganized areas." 15

By the law of determined action, the slums and community disorganization, the boys are in circumstances that gangs loom as an unpleasant corollary. Social interaction of the nature just described breeds a lack of moral sense in individuals.

Relativity is as applicable to social science as it is in the theory of mathematics. All attributes and properties are mutually dependent within a common whole. The only absolute thing about a gang is that it has a psychical form but the form is not constant. It is a relative absolute depending upon its complex parts. The parts are as complex as the whole. Each part is a whole within a larger whole.

The gang is not a fixed, static, absolute psychical entity. There are individual differences in gangs and no gang

15 Ibid., p. 597.
is the same at all times. The environmental factors, the emotions, feelings, and desires of the gang members determine in part what the gang is at that particular time. When the organized pattern changes the gang is changed. It is not the same gang that it was before the change. The change may be wrought by internal or external stimulation or both. Insights into the gang are only possible when the principle of the relative-absolute is part of one's thinking. The absolute exists within the relative and the relative within the absolute. The one presupposes the other.

The social factors that facilitate the formation of gangs never develop two gangs that are alike. Each gang will manifest an individuality. "Individuality is a matter primarily neither of apartness nor of difference but each finding his own activity in the whole." 16

The Jeffries Point Gang, the Hill District Gang, and the Orient Heights Gang in East Boston have an individuality that distinguishes the three. When the social factors change the character of the gang changes. Each gang is different.

The most potent factor in the formation of gangs is the psychical element. The psychical tensions in the cortical region of the brain brought about by internal and external stimulation must be released. The brain functions as a whole and tensions are released through activity. This stored

mental energy finds expression through the law of least action. It is easier to release than to maintain the tension. This accounts for activity. The gang from the "Avenue" and the slum area operate on the same principle. The difference between the two gangs is one of degree and not one of kind.

"Tensions not only demand resolutions, but in the most direct way. They presuppose organization and balance within a system of potentiate." 17

This accounts for the formation of gangs in wealthy socialized communities. The social, economic, structural, spatial, and recreational facilities in well organized communities should eliminate the gang. The gang is present in those communities as it is in the slum sections. The difference between the gangs is due to the general law of relativity. The culture patterns and activities of gangs have a positive correlation which accounts for the contrariety. "Vulgarity, obscenity and profanity of all kinds mark the conversation of the youthful gang members." 18

The conversation of gang members from the "Avenue" or "Columbus Road" do not vary a great deal from those of a typical slum area. It is natural for the slum gang but not for the boys from the "Avenue." They express themselves freely because they think it's "tuff." It gives them ruggedness, individuality, "back-bone," "tuffness," and an inflated ego.

The boys from the "Avenue" are shielded too much and do not experience enough mental blockages to give them the stern reality demanded of the boys. They deliberately create conflict and unconventional activities to obtain attention, recognition, and release the tensions. The boys in the slums use profanity because they have not learned to express themselves in the English language.

The psychological principle functions in all relationships of life. The activity or movement occurs with respect to remote ends established in the field structure or whole of which the moving object is a part. There is no beginning without an end. The path followed from the position of the beginning to the position of the end is one that requires the least effort. The kind of path taken depends upon the structure of the field. The structure of the slums and of the Avenues is unique, and the activities of the gangs are homogeneous in character and at the same time, if it does not have a gradient formation, then the path is not predictable. The field structure is in constant flux. But when a field is structured gradient-wise, the path will approximate a straight line. Then the "conventional gang" exists in the community.

If the conditions are changed or the structure of the field altered, the path followed will be changed. What the line of least action will be depends on the circumstances under which the energy must behave. The nearer the gang is to its goal, the more kinetic energy it possesses. Therefore
insights in the psychical fields of tension is essential to intelligent direction and mental control of the gang. The boys in the gang follow the law of least action. If the gang is active, the intelligent director does not check the activity, but attempts to discover tensions and blockages that caused the boys activity. What is it that the boys do not like (mentally) about their form of existence. What causes them to do what the director thinks they should not do. A knowledge of blockages in the psychological field will reveal the source of difficulty.

Blockages in the psychological field are essential to personality development. Without mental blockages the human organism would have few internal tensions. Without sufficient tension the response of the organism to external stimuli would be too retarded to maintain its equilibrium. It is imperative that certain obstacles are encountered up to a certain point, after which they become stumbling blocks. That point is not easily determined by psychologist. The blockages of the boys in the slum area are sufficient to cause them to seek fields of greater fluidity. The "hum-drum" of the slum, the dirt, filth, the "same old story", nothing new, nothing "going-on", nothing to do, are blockages to the boys. On a return trip from the woods with thirty boys, one of them remarked, as the truck came to a stop, "back at the old dumps". The slum area gets old even to those who have always lived in it. The narrow streets, the policeman on the beat, with
little of no variety, causes the boys to seek fields where
they can play the part of the villain.

The daily blockages of the slums, causes the boys to en-
gage in activities that are less painful to them than the
blockages. To be idle, with nothing to do, makes for rest-
lessness. It breeds contempt.

The "hum-drum" type of existence cause the tensions in
the mind to find release in unreality. The boys began to
wish that they were captains of industry, a hero in a hold-up,
a gambler, a pirate capturing ships at high sea, a thief in
the night, a man of wealth, a gunman, on probation, in the
courts, in jail, on the front page in the newspaper, anything
to get attention and recognition. There is no opportunity for
expression, but all reality seems to be repressive.

The wish becomes the father of the thought and the boys
are "having fun." They engage in unlawful activities because
it requires less effort than remaining a "mumble-peg." The
fields of greater fluidity have become fields of reality.

Economics is the study of man's effort to make a living.
The function of economics is to support the individual human
life and serve as a basis for human elevation and socializa-
tion. "The products of economic effort are the very basis

of social progress, for progress comes by the
multiplication of achievement, and achievement
along all lines--physical, political, moral,
apiritual, artistic--depends upon substantial
and appropriate economic foundations........
Wealth, properly diffused, means enhanced op-
portunity and ability to secure still greater
opportunity. Leisure and an income above the level of existence tends toward an enormous development of individuality and sociality—towards the securing of education, the acquisition of greater political rights, of stimulative contacts, of opportunities for cooperation, general enlightenment and freedom." 19

Inequality of wealth is the great cause of inequality of opportunity. The common worker does not have the same chance that one of the "upper class" has for a man is born into a social class. Capital should increase the educational provision which is the chief aid to equality of opportunity.

"this tends to the creation of separate group interests. It breeds class hatred and social unrest, for the people feed, and often rightly so, that the chief causes of the extreme maldistribution of wealth are social injustices. The working classes particularly feel that their material rewards are not proportional according to their actual importance in society. Something is the matter with the rules of the game." 20

The philosophy of Karl Marx is that the principle influence which shapes human progress is the method of economic production. Present methods of production are destructive, wasteful, and wrought at the expense of human exploitation. The exploitation of the many by the few breeds bitterness and hatred. This hatred constitutes part of the psychical make-up of adult members in society. Throughout the entire capitalist era, the working masses have been exploited.

20 Ibid., p. 411.
The feelings, emotions and attitudes of the adults influences the behavior of youth. This causes the boys and girls of the poorer classes to sense their status in society and develop anti-social attitudes. It makes youth bitter, hateful, revengeful, spiteful, "nasty", mean, and determined. It drives the boys to stealing copper, brass and bronze in-order that they may attend shows and go to baseball games. "They get caught" and are branded as criminals. That is the price of the capitalistic system. If one boy experiences the advantages of stealing to gain certain ends, other boys will co-operate and the criminal gang is formed; the inevitable injustices of our present system of economics makes crime profitable. Economic determinism is a living reality in modern society.

"As a nation we are rich. There is plenty to go around. Our lands are fertile. We can grow more food than we can eat. There are plenty of factories, and lots of power to run them. We can make more clothes than we can wear, more automobiles than we can ride in, more gadgets than we can use. There is plenty of lumber and steel and stone. We can build more houses than we can live in. There are lots of doctors and hospitals and laboratories to cure our diseases and help us keep well. There are thousands of schools and colleges and libraries and museums to train our minds and make life more interesting.

And yet, we--you and I--are not rich. We must do without this or that. We spend our lives trying to make a living and worry about the future. Even if we have enough today we cannot be sure about tomorrow."

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Destructive competition breeds for hatred and contempt. Competition is self destructive. Survival of the fittest is the basis for success in a capitalistic society. Henry Pratt Fairchild writes, "An economic system based upon the competitive struggle for monetary profits and a social system dominated by the principle of conflict are equally archaic. A society that discards the profit motive in favor of production for abundant use, and substitutes cooperation for conflict, will be well on the way to stable prosperity." 22

Harry A. Overstreet writes, "It is not too much to hope that we can fashion today—a New World. We have postponed the matter long enough. We possess the resources and the instrumentalities. It is time now that we take our life in hand and make it into something decently and greatly human." 23

A study of the gang without taking cognizance of the economical basis of life; would be like analyzing the growth of flowers without considering the soil in which they grew. Our present system of economics is the root of all evil. The gang is but a legitimate outgrowth of capitalism. They are the fruits of the spirit of capitalism. The gang is capitalism in human action.

"The robbers and their henchmen control capitalist society. They own the industries; they manage the government; they direct the news agencies and the schools; they shape the ideas. Since the overthrow of feudal society this class has held the wealth, the income, privilege and power of the western world in its hands." 24

22 Ibid., p. vii.
23 Ibid., p. vii.
The better things of life are reserved for the owning class by a simple device, the payment of rent, interest, and profits to property holders. A social system in which rich grafters idle and sport while poor workers toil is out of balance, says Scott Nearing. "Over the radio, through the press, in the schools, in movies, prayer meetings, Sunday schools and church services, the ruling class reiterates the ideas which it desires the workers to hear, and plays upon the passions, prejudices and superstitions that it has helped to foster. Big business men and their hirings sift all of the food for thought that goes to the masses. Only where the workers have their own press, schools and forums can they get news uncensored by their exploiters and oppressors." 25

The gang is the result of capitalism and no gang or group will ever be socialized till service and sacrifice will be substituted for profit and power. Humanity is following Caesar instead of Jesus. The degree to which a gang can be socialized depends upon the degree to which the economic system is socialized. It is impossible for man or a gang to live a social and moral life in an unsocial and immoral society. The efforts of social settlements and religious institutions is "polish-off" the "rough-corners" of human behavior. To hold forth the theory that a group or gang can live a socialized life in a competitive and destructive society reveals the stupidity of the advocate of such a theory.

25 Ibid., p. 8.
A society where the principle, "Each for all and all for each" operates is the only type of society where intelligent and constructive processes and techniques of socialization could operate. The present task is not to socialize the gang but the forces that produced the gang. "The social forces released under capitalism provided the means of historic advance up to a certain point. Like all forces, however, those of capitalist society have their limitations. When the limits are reached, breakdown begins. Social forces, once released, have a drive like that of running water, which persistently seeks its level. Men can control forces in the same sense that they control running water. Social forces move like the forces of nature--powerfully, often fiercely." 26

The housing problem in the slums has a positive correlation to health, to juvenile delinquency, to crime, and to the efficiency of the worker in industry. The earlier standards of housing were confined almost entirely to the structure itself, including such things as the provision of adequate lights, ventilation, safety and sanitary facilities. Modern housing standards are being broadened to take into account the community, and to other facilities such as streets, parks, playgrounds, schools and stores. Modern housing standards suggest the necessity for planning of entire districts or communities so that houses, instead of facing upon traffic streets, will be arranged around parkways, playgrounds and garden plots with plenty of light, air and sunshine. These standards are designed not only to prevent the overcrowding

26 Ibid., p. 12.
of buildings but also to prevent overcrowding of population upon the land. The generally accepted standard in England is about twelve families per acre. Modern housing is therefore, intimately associated with city and community planning. The poorer houses are occupied by poor people and most boys' gangs operate in the poorer sections of the city. This indicates the relation between housing and delinquency in general.

The low standard of living due to ignorance and poverty among poorer classes of people, develops irresponsible and anti-social behavior patterns in boys. Many complicating factors appear in the background of each boy's life, but those of the broken home, unintelligent and unsympathetic parents, quarreling, fighting, nagging, beating, fussing, swearing, yelling, grousing, dominating parents is the most potent disorganizing force in the life of a boy. Divorce, separation, and desertion, as well as the more subtle phases of domestic discord, must be ascribed to the complex interplay of change and disruption of the social order that motivates gang life. Dr. Mabel A. Elliott says, "The home must assume the primary burden....In one way or another the parents have been unequal to their task. That is, the juvenile delinquents may be products of homes which set up delinquent patterns of behavior in which the whole primary educational influence is directed toward producing an anti-social individual and person. Or, because of other inadequacies--limited income, lack of skill, low-grade intelligence, or unfortunate background--the home often fails to provide the child with desirable influences and opportunities. Instead, the child is handicapped by the unfortunate neighborhood in which his parents choose or are
forced to live. Parents fail to recognize the need for suitable recreation or it is beyond the reach of their meager income. Even in the home with more adequate financial means there may be no understanding or acceptance of the responsibilities which parenthood and child-rearing entail. Occasionally the child from a well-to-do home may be seriously handicapped because of the personalistic characteristics of his parents. But by and large, however, delinquents come from the homes which are economically insecure." 27

The demoralizing home environment, where one or both parents are immoral, influences the boy to follow the same paths. He seldom understands the better side of life. Naturally he would take up the life that the gang leads. He feels at home with the gang but not with the "fellows" that come from organized and integrated homes. The family is more than a collection of individuals. The psychical and emotional tensions, attitudes and conduct-patterns grow out of the home relationship. Shaw and McKay state: "Often, too, the family is thought of as a mere collection of interacting individuals rather than a unity of interacting persons." 28

Shaw and McKay also point out that the emotional tensions, petty bickerings, the impact of personality upon personality may be far more conducive to delinquency than divorce, desertion, or separation, per se. 29

29 Ibid., p. 285.
The low-grade home, "blessed with its numerous offspring" is almost certain to be overcrowded. Housing congestion is always greater among members of gangs than those of other boys in the neighborhood. The lack of space to "spread-out", to do things, build things, keep things, have things, store things causes the boys to seek the streets to escape the "cluttered sordidness" of the home. The cramped living conditions under which the average slum boy lives, are scarcely suited to the achievement of individuality and personality. Privacy, a process of integration, is lacking in overcrowded areas. The room, the boy would like to call his own, does not and cannot exist in overcrowded areas. There is a causal relation between overcrowding and gangs.

The family is an interacting unit producing and releasing tensions. The overcrowded living conditions is the one inevitable source of conflict. Conflict produces tensions and tensions result in discord.

The first major conflict felt in the early years of the boy's life, is that of repressing his energies. The boy wants to play, run, jump, do things and he is always in the way or has things in the way. He is constantly picking up his toys, his playthings to satisfy his parents. The conflict is easily resolved by going out on the street which is the path of least action. The boy who seldom has his own way builds unconscious hatreds toward his family.
The second major conflict is that between the ideas of the parent and the boy. The clash, due to a lack of understanding on the part of the parent, results in the application of physical coercion, yelling, loud talking, negative attitudes, domination, punishment, privation, and enmity. The boy may be wrong and often is wrong but the low-grade home characterized by ignorance, breeds conflict of the sort just mentioned. The parent should understand the boy and explain to him, in concepts intelligible to him, that he cannot go on with his ideas, notions or activity. If the parent does not have enough intelligence to fulfill his duties as parent; then those with keener insights should make adult education compulsory. If the parent is unable to learn, he should be prohibited from multiplying himself.

The third major conflict commences when the boy reaches the age where he knows "a good deal" and instructs parents in "paths to virtue". This age boy is difficult to manage, difficult to instruct, difficult to direct, but it must be done by the parent. The low-grade home, characterized by ignorance and poverty, does not cope with the problem and the boy goes out on the street, to get away from family conflicts, and ultimately becomes a member of the street gang.

The conflicts encountered in the low-grade home produces tensions that will be released according to the law of least action. The boy's goal outside the home supplies a more immediate relief from strain than goals in his home. The home
prohibited him from releasing his tensions within its four walls. There were no "low pressure spots" in his home while the "lowest" was in the street gang. The energies of the boy became organized, as all energy does, with respect to the points of lowest stress in the system. Dr. R. H. Wheeler, further illustrates the applicability of the principle when he writes: "The larger situation, the relationship involving

the group as a point of reference, must also be envisaged in terms of least action. When an individual does not conform to the folkways of his group, tensions develop in the group that are expressed as suspicion and fear. In primitive society the group not only showed fear of the variant, or nonconformer, but even worshipped him. In civilized society, to relieve tensions of various kinds between groups and individuals, the group segregates the variant if he is subnormal or criminal; and if he is a genius it vociferously hails him as a leader or shuts him up in prison as the case may be." 30

The low-grade neighborhood, characterized by ignorance and poverty, fails to provide the boy with desirable influences and opportunities. Boys who live in disorganized neighborhoods and communities are, on the whole, more susceptible to adverse influences, than those from organized and integrated neighborhood. The low-grade neighborhood with undesirable influences, little opportunity for expression or creative activity, is the "hot bed" for gangs. Gangs thrive in low-grade neighborhoods. The gang is what it is to an amazing degree because their neighborhood is "bad". Dr. Mabel Elliot

reinforces the validity of the statement when she writes:

"In many cases, when a delinquent has moved out of a neighborhood of delinquency into one with socially sanctioned definitions, his habits of delinquency have disappeared. In the areas of extreme disorganization, where community opinion is dead, patterns of delinquency are transmitted as are all other patterns of conduct attitudes of disrespect for law, of hatred for the police, and of veneration for the gangster all tend to develop in the deteriorated areas. The neighborhood becomes a delinquency area because delinquency is the norm of the group." 31

The dirt, filth, old boxes, rags, junk, boards, paper, cans, garbage cans, rickety clothes lines, unswept and poorly lighted streets makes the slum area uninviting. It does not encourage the boys to keep clean, take baths, comb their hair, change clothes, be polite, refined, courteous and cultured. Instead, the boy who is the dirtiest, with the longest hair, who can swear, smoke, steal, drink and fight is in the "limelight." He is the hero. He is often the leader of younger boys, instructing them in the ways of ganging.

Neatness has cultural tendencies, it induces self-respect, it makes for a feeling of well-being, it promotes pride, it makes for wholesome thinking and living, it gives one a sense of direction and purpose in life. The neatness of a community has definite social influences. The dirt and filth of a community has definite anti-social influences. The low-grade

neighborhood saturated with dirt and filth, invites ganging. The low-grade neighborhood and ganging has a positive correlation.

The low-grade neighborhood is further characterized by housing conditions that are distressing. The degrading influences of the unpainted houses, their style, shape and arrangement drives the boy to a life with the gang. The spatial factor in the houses has sociological significance. It does not give the boy room to play, a yard he can call his own, and consequently is forced to a life on the street and street corner. Any vacant lot, or spot will be utilized by the boys. The competition for the possession of the play-space is keen and may be the deciding factor in the formation of a gang. The railroad yards, the tracks, the corner spots between the tracks, the empty freight cars, switches, all facilitate ganging. The better type of homes, with yards, gardens, flowers and trees are usually not situated close to tracks.

The slum areas located near the water front with the docks, ships, trucks, merchandise, cargo, longshoremen, truck-drivers, "foot-loose" prostitutes, and "bums" makes it a fertile field for gang activities. It gives the boys new experiences, adventure, thrills, and opportunities to steal. It has a luring atmosphere to the boy with leisure time. The atmosphere is one of "getting-by", "no work and all pay" getting something for nothing, and it has a lingo all its own.
The low-grade neighbor, characterized by ignorance and poverty, has little recreation facilities. The parks are few and far between, the school playgrounds are not open to the boys, and the street is the only resort. The thoughtless destruction of forest trees, the pollution of rivers, lakes and ocean beaches, the exploitation of many recreational resources by private interests, the congestion and lack of planning in urban communities, the mechanization of much work the growth of leisure, the multiplicity of commercial amusements, poverty, the stresses and strains of modern urban life, and the breakdown of moral training in many neighborhoods are among the major factors that have made recreation a matter of social concern. The inadequate facilities for leisure time activities for boys in slum areas almost forces the boys into the organization and life of the gang. The physical structure of such areas makes activities of an anti-social character possible. The slum areas produces the gang and it is a wonder that it does not produce more desperate gangs. The gang is a logical outcome of the low-grade home and low-grade community.

The low-grade school must share its burden of responsibility for the formation of boys' gangs. The school is a part of the total pattern of the community. The better school systems are usually located in well organized and integrated communities. The poorer systems, unfortunately, are located in the slum areas. The difference becomes apparent when a boy transfers from the school in the slums to one in a better com-
munity. The educational lag of the boy who transfers reveals the importance of good schools.

The school is a very important factor in the life of every boy. The school supervises the boy the major portion of the day. Through its personnel and courses of study it influences the attitudes, disposition, emotion, tensions, behavior and reaction patterns of the boy.

The low-grade school is characterized, first, by its educational methods. The school too often sets up its departments, courses of study, selects its teachers and is ready for class sessions. Such a procedure is common among the schools of America. The basic set-up does not take into account the individual differences of its pupils, their cultural heritage, their degree of maturation, level of insight, and gives very little consideration to the principles of mental development. The teachers usually are required to cover so much material, regardless of the pupils' ability to grasp the ideas. The development of emotional stability receives very little consideration in the average public school system. The laws of learning are poorly understood by the teachers. How can a teacher facilitate the emotional and mental growth of a pupil when he or she has no adequate knowledge of the laws of learning. The laws of learning must be adopted to individual needs which is seldom done in the school systems located in slum areas. The retarded pupil lags and begins to play "hockey" and "skip" and lose interest in the educational enterprise. The pupil drops
school, has unsupervised leisure hours, and finds himself loafing on the street corners "hatching up" things to do. The first step toward gang formation may be attributed to the school where conditions exist that have just been described. The schools responsibility lies in that it failed to devise ways and means to interest the uninterested to interest the retarded pupil in activities that he is able to grasp and adapt its courses of study to the needs of special groups. Is it necessary that every boy take mathematics? The first major contributive factor in gang formation, for which the school is responsible, is its lack of acquaintance with the psychology of learning.

The second major contributing factor toward gang formation is the teacher. There are teachers who would rather teach foreign pupils in slum areas than take a position in the better school systems. Those teachers are in the minority and the percentage is very small. The average teacher of the "slum" schools fulfills the requirements and hopes for a better day tomorrow. The better type of teachers are not satisfied with such a position and are constantly seeking opportunities for self-improvement. The inexperienced or "second-rate" teachers find the schools in the slum a stepping stone to better positions. Dr. R. H. Wheeler reveals the importance of teachers when he writes: "There are teachers who brighten the schoolroom with their personality and enthusiasm, and who inspire the pupil with the romantic and exciting color of the information which they
divulge. They know life, and live it. They see and understand discovery and creation. They are the doorways into a wondrous world. It is from these that the pupil learns." 32

The extra-curricula activities promoted by the teachers for the pupils are not many. The number of interest clubs in the schools in slum areas are few while the better schools have many clubs. The adult members of the community and pupils seldom engage in a cooperative under-taking under the auspices of the school teacher. The teachers do not visit the homes, get acquainted with the parents, and view the boy in his larger social situation.

The school equipment of the slum area, as a rule, is inferior to that of the better communities. The educational plants in slum sections do not have the equipment for teaching the practical arts that schools have in the better communities. This may be one of the causes why boys fail to complete high school. If the school had the necessary set-up and equipment, it could possibly influence boys from the slums to nobler endeavors.

The low-grade school is a community factor that facilitates the formation of gangs. It is the direct and deciding factor in many instances. It has a responsibility to the youth of America that it has failed to grasp and cope with.

The church has been a vital factor in all the social relationships of life. It has consistently been with the poor and down trodden. It has not failed in its mission to minister to all sorts of people and conditions of life. The church has its ministry located in the slums, the navy, the army, the battlefield, the prisons, the jails, in hospitals and foreign lands. The church is preaching glad tidings and goodwill throughout the world.

The church is not the same the world over. There are good churches and bad churches, rich churches and poor churches, high-grade churches and low-grade churches. The high-grade church had definitely taken steps for the enrichment of the boy's life. It has sponsored boy's choirs, Hi-Y Clubs, Boy Scouts, 4H Clubs, Young People's Societies and Hiking Clubs. The high grade church is characterized by its service to humanity. The Bowery, in New York City meets the needs of many of the underprivileged boys. It has a camp for boys, it serves the poorest element in society. Morgan Memorial in Boston, has large boy's divisions in its educational department, where regular boys work is undertaken. It offers even the transient boy a place to eat, sleep, counsel and often changes the lives of the boys who need a home and a friend. Similar institutions take over complete gangs and transform them into noble and worthy Scout troops and Clubs. Mission churches, in particular, are noted for their effect boy's work program, reinforced by the dynamic of religious motivation.
The low-grade church is not confined to the slum areas, but is conspicuously present in all areas of America. The church is the product of social interaction. It is secondary and never primary. The proof lies in the type of churches located in different types of communities. The better communities have the better churches. The low-grade community has the low-grade church. The church as such is not an agency for social progress. It is a crystallized institution maintaining the status quo, and actually preaching "intelligence" out of its membership. The slum areas have just such religious institutions that are dependent on poverty and ignorance for its perpetuation. The low-grade church is a curse to American civilization. It claims to be the "light of the world" but its lights have "burned out." It proposes to save the world but the world will have to save the church if it is to continue.

The church has neglected boys' work throughout its history. It fails in its mission to hold the interest and develop ideals and integrity in the life of a normal boy. Its program does not touch the heart of a boy. It is unconcerned about the boy who does not take a liking to "Sunday School Leaflets." It blames the boy instead of itself. The church says "thou shalt not" but fails to say, "come let us go and........" The church has no adequate program for the average boy. It has no program, ways or means of reaching
the gang. It wishes that it were not so and continues to neglect the neglected boy.

The low-grade church is characterized first, by its legalism. A legalistic church, adhering to the "letter of the law", unwilling to adapt itself to a constant, changing society, is failing in its primary function. It ought to keep "Abreast of the times."

The second characteristic of a low-grade church is dogmatism. The dogmatic attitude of church leaders is astonishing. They believe that their message will solve the "World's ills." The church operates on the "all or none" basis.

The third characteristic of a low-grade church is its repressiveness. The church has always preached a repressive gospel. It has offered little opportunity in its philosophy for expression. Its message has too often been negative instead of positive. It has blocked the pent-up energies instead of directing them into wholesome and useful channels.

The low-grade church, a vital force in the community is directly responsible for the formation of gangs. First, because it has no program for boys. Second, it fails to meet the unmet needs of the community and third, it is an end in itself instead of a means to an end.

Man lives in an environment of which he and all his institutions form a pitifully insignificant part. The physical nature and geographical surroundings condition to some extent the attitudes of people. This does not mean that it is neces-
sary to take a stand with the geographical determinists who make geography the sole cause of human conduct. There are writers who have insisted that the main qualities of human nature are directly established by the physical conditions of the larger environment in which human beings live. The geographical factors may be considered as a complicated physico-chemical system or as a spiritual universe; the human organism may be studied as a complicated reactive mechanism or as a system of spiritual forces. Life has a geographical basis; its character and quality does depend vitally on the natural physical environment. Physical environment is a powerful factor in the development of the nervous reaction patterns. "The configuration of the land, its topography and contour, may also play a considerable role. Man's location on islands, in back country, in mountains districts, in river valleys, along seas or oceans, on fertile plains, or deserts, goes far in determining the nature of his activities and the degree of his culture. Natural barriers in the form of mountains, deserts, forests or swamps may protect him from hostile migrating hordes. Isolation almost universally leads to biological and social inbreeding, to conservatism, clannishness, narrowness, superstition, inelasticity, in brief, to stagnation." 33

If the physical environment were the absolute determiner it should make progressive societies out of animals. Socialization does not always take place when physical conditions are favorable, nor have the most favorable conditions of physical environment prevented retrogression of societies. "There is

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some correlation between habitat in the form of
cclimate, geography, soil, and diet, and the spe-
cific characteristics of humanity, such as physique,
temperament, institutions, occupations, and ideas,
it is in no sense the sole arbiter of that people's
character or destiny." 34

There is a correlation between geography and human behav-
ior according to Dr. Myerson. He writes: "Whatever men do,
think, and feel in their social relations does
depend in very important measure, and, in fact,
in an intimate way upon their climate, geography,
and economic organization—to cite but a few en-
vironmental factors." 35

The expression "it must be the weather" reveals the uni-
versal assent of the relationship between climate and human
behavior. It is not difficult to observe the effects of cli-
mate in human reactions. An analysis of one's own feelings
and emotions in relation to climatic changes establishes the
truth of the postulation. At any given moment, however, the
influence of these physical factors on social behavior is
through the impulses, feelings, and ideas of individuals, for
it is only these psychic elements that social life is maintai-
ned.

"A tropical or an artic climate means low general
efficiency in the main for all human beings. Ex-
tremes of heat or cold reduce efficiency, both
physical and mental; extreme aridity or extreme
humidity has a debilitating effect; human effi-
ciency increases with weather changes from day to
day, as compared with a climate with the same
seasonal average but imperceptible variations." 36

34 Ibid., pp. 296-297.
35 Myerson, Abraham: Social Psychology, New York, Prentice-
36 Hertzler, op. cit., p. 297.
Dr. Ellsworth Huntington would say that the energyless people of the hot climates are so conditioned by the fact that the high temperature causes excessive chemical activity of the protoplasm just as does exercise, and people feel tired even without exertion. Thus every individual is born with the indelible impress of the climatatic environment to which his race has passed.

It is impossible to take up in any detail the theories that give the broad perspective which is needed as a preliminary to the study of the human being. An admirable book has been written which is a veritable encyclopedia of both the facts and the theories that underly biological and social relationships and their effect upon the human being. The author refers the reader to Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1928, pp63 ff. with the statement that both his content of thought and his method of thinking will be enriched by its study.

The relationship between the gang and geographical factors has not been definitely ascertained by any study known to the author. The geographical factors are the basis of the total situation in which any gang, of necessity, operates. A knowledge of the impacts that geographical factors make on personality are essential to insights of human behavior. They help the leader to understand the variations in behavior. They make his judgments more rational.
II

THE GANG

It is customary procedure to postulate a "logic tight" definition and then proceed to explain the processes that warranted the statement. The first effort should not be to look for definitions nor the logic and validity of experiences but learn the facts. To see the growth and development of an organism and idea in its relation to surrounding experiences and activities. A pragmatic view of life in its total relations is indispensable for a working knowledge of social phenomenon.

The gang has been variously defined, depending upon particular sociological-psychological concepts of the individual. The following are a few such definitions: "The gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously, and then integrated through conflict. It is characterized by the following types of behavior: meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict and planning. The result of this collective behavior is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local territory."¹

From the ethical, moral, cultural and social viewpoint the gang has been defined as "a group whose activities offend

the sensibility of 'nice' people." The statement fails to make clear the distinction between a gang and a group and takes no cognizance of the psychical factor that is the distinguishing factor.

The gang is an unconscious psychic entity, moving in time and space, maintaining a moving equilibrium, gaining consciousness when the equilibrium is disequilibrated by internal or external tensions.

Equilibrium is a basic fact in nature. That which must be a constant or an invariant in a transposable whole expressed in terms of energy or intensity is by definition an equilibrium. Equilibrium is the final cause of all events.

The sociological view is that all social problems, indeed the entire area of group behavior and social life, is being subjected to sociological description and analysis. The gang is conceived in its inter-relations with the social organization, with the family, the neighborhood, the community and society.

The meaning of the word "group" is two or more individuals so related that they carry on some form of social activity; such activity being a product of interstimulation. "Thus a "group" for sociology is a number of persons whose relations to each other are sufficiently impressive to demand attention."

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2 S. Max Nelson, Instructor of Group Work, Boston University.
Social groups carry on a common life by means of mental inter-stimulation and response, have their origin in the necessary interdependence of life-processes of organisms. Groups are the product of cooperation. The values of cooperation facilitated their well-being and group-life became a stable form of cooperative enterprise. "The very essence of all power to influence lies in the ability to get the other person to participate. The mind that can do that has a powerful lever age on his human world." 4

The group is clearly distinct from a gang but a description of a group was necessary to make the distinction more apparent.

To the casual observer the assembling or association of boys is often referred to as a gang. This is especially true if these boys irritate the finer sensitivities of the observant. Boys are also referred to as a gang because their corporate enterprises do not meet with the approval of the community or neighborhood of individual observants.

The boys may be an organized gang of the conventional type and considered to be a group. Their activities are in keeping with the standards of the community. They do nothing out of the ordinary that a normal group of boys would not do. They may be a gang in the strictest sense of the term.

The criteria for a gang and group needs to be clarified. The true difference needs to be brought into greater clarity.

The demarcation must be more exact and yet there will be border cases that will be difficult to catalogue.

The first criteria for a distinction between a gang and a group is leadership. Group leadership is a blanket term, covering a wide variety of activities and a multiplicity of motives. John Dillinger was a group leader of some note, so was John Wesley. The group leader is selected because of his knowledge of the purposes, plans, and procedures of the group. He may be elected because of his skill, interest, knowledge, enthusiasm, devotion, consecration, personality, financial status, and ability to carry through the proposed plan or program of the group.

The group may have what has been termed the self constituted leader. "The leader who pushes his way up does so by the combination of a strong personality with a vigorous, assertive ego and a steady, determination to accomplish certain results he sees as important." 5

The group selected leader's success is based on different basis than the gang leader. The group "leader's success de- pends upon the practice of an art of human relations about which much is known. And that leader will be most successful in retaining his right to lead who can help a group to get what it wants with the least friction and the most sense of unity and self realization." 6

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6 Ibid., p. 29.
Gang leadership is not a blanket term but has a very definite meaning. The gang leader is not elected nor consciously selected. He aspires to that position gradually in the majority of instances. The self constituted leader may "beat-up" the rest of his companions alone and direct the play activities of the gang, force the non-cooperative member into active cooperation and thereby become the leader. That kind of self-imposed leadership depends upon physical power. This physical power of the leader is one unique distinction and qualification for leadership in the gang not required by the group.

"Older boys with mentalities below normal have a tendency to group with younger boys who have a mental age near their own and slightly higher mentalities of the younger boys enables them to cope with the older boys who have the experience of living longer in the world." 7

"Its leadership frequently is secured on the basis of physical strength or by a type of shrewd ability to direct in unlawful activities." 8

The boy with the "brains" really is the gang leader. He need not be the strongest, but he must be mentally higher than his companions. He is a leader because the followers cannot react his ideas. He can act and think the quickest in the interest of the gang. This type of leader is protected by the group and the "muscle boys" in the interest of self-preservation.

Many gangs have a "goat" member or "nitwit." He takes it on the "chin" and is the laughing stock of the boys. Jokes

about him, on him and for him are planned. He may be the biggest member with the lowest I. Q. Usually the boy with the lowest I. Q. is the oldest chronologically. Again he may be the "shrimp" who has an organic inferiority complex and in this manner receives attention that he would not obtain otherwise. The "nitwit" would not remain in a group but soon would seek association in a group where the mental level is more equalized so they can understand and appreciate the same things.

The psychological tri-angle, the "brains", "muscles", and "nitwit" constitute the gang psychically. The trio functions harmoniously in the interest of the gang. This gives it intelligent direction, protection, and balance. They could not all be mentally alert, strong or slow of mind for that would break up the organization.

The past is functional to the present and the future controls the present. This may appear to be a paradox but its truth has been established. The logical conclusion being that goals control the activities of an organization. The goal is the low potential and the direction is a one-way process. "Dead Center" is never reached because there are too many unforeseen, unpredictable disequilibrating forces that make their appearance and the process is in operation. An equilibrium would mean death or constitute a static and fixed form of existence which does not occur with humans.

"A goal, let us agree in advance is an aim, purpose or object which defines the field of
desire and the direction of effort of an associated group of people." 9

What the goals will be can not be known except as one understands the total structure and forces of the physical and social patterns in which the gang or group finds itself. The situation is a constant state of flux and goals are being formed and transformed at all times. Unless one has insight into that the nature of such a process of sociological-psychological phenomena, he will not be an intelligent socializer of human personality. "The goals of organized human effort are as diverse as human needs and human interests. They appeal because they give scope for activities which satisfy some traits in human nature or which meet some needs in human experience." 10

The goals of the gang and group are not very different basically. The methods of achievement vary considerably. The fundamental human needs and desires are fairly constant under existing circumstances.

"Organizations are always means to an end, agencies to help achieve what people want. It is the human beings themselves who are the ends." 11

The organization of a group consists of "machinery set-up", either in the form of officers, constitutions, laws and by-laws, ritual and creed that govern and guide the activities and conduct of the members. The gangs have no formal, written constitutions or laws that they ascribe to. "Like its be-

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10 Ibid., p. 56.
11 Ibid., p. 13.
ginning, the organization of the gang is non-conventional and unreflective.\textsuperscript{12}

If a gang member breaks the verbal laws of the gang, he "gets the seat of his pants kicked." If a member of a group breaks the laws of the organization he may be expelled, reprimed, or considered to be a poor member. Usually little is thought, said or done in such instances. The gang maintains a much closer check on adherence to the established order. The organization of a group is inclusive in that it takes in members who ascribe to the stated principles. The organization of a gang is always exclusive and newer inclusive as it is in the group. The strength of the gang organization does not depend on the number of strong members, but on the strength of the bond between them, that is, on the amount of solidarity, on the best organization—psychically. The strength of a group is largely determined by number, as is evidenced by the number of petition signers certain groups seek.

"Group organization movement means the substitution of intention for accident, or organized purpose for scattered desire."\textsuperscript{13}

The organization of a group usually seeks publicity, advertizes its principles, makes known its resolutions, while the gang punishes the member that "squeals." The gang maintains a secret organization. Secret organizations are either express-

ions of existing differences and separations within the larger containing society, or social forms devised for fostering and enhancing the pleasureable feelings that go with separateness and secrecy. Many secret societies in "high Society" is for the purpose of excluding insights that would reveal the true nature of the particular situation. This is done for obvious reasons, the immoral hides itself and so also must every selfishly exclusive purpose nourish itself in secret. The development of the socialized life is necessarily associated with the decline of the secret organizations within the gang.

"Group organization will create the new world we are now blindly feeling after, for creative force comes from the group, creative power is evolved through the activity of the group life." 14

The membership of various groups indicate that the mental level of the members tends to be more equal than unequal.

"Mental age is the greatest factor in the selection of one's companions and in holding groups together. A common mental level with similar experiences as a background is a much stronger factor in group formation than any other factor." 15

The mental level in the gang is more uniformly even than in the group. The boy with the highest I. Q. is the youngest chronologically and the boy with the lowest I. Q. is the oldest chronologically. The lower level boy would not be able to contribute to the success of the gang and being a misfit

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14 Ibid., p. 3.
he would go where he could be nearer the top in action and on 
equal with their gang.

Similar experiences and common backgrounds are not so es-
tential for membership in a gang as they are for a group. The 
distinction is one with far reaching insights, that poor hous-
ing, overcrowdedness, lack of sanitation, and the slums are 
not always responsible for the gang. Gangs operate in the 
Newton's as well as the North End, West End, South End and 
East Boston.

The activities of the gang will receive more thorough 
treatment in another section of the thesis. The activities 
of the group are usually "above board" while those of the 
gang take place "under cover." The leaders of a group delib-
erately plan the activities in advance and announce them to 
the members, while the activities of the gang are not planned 
but occur as opportunities present themselves. The distinction 
is not unique for the gang deliberately plans certain stealing 
ventures with all details assigned.

The motivation of the gang and group offers opportunity 
for distinction and comparison. The group is usually motivated 
by goals that have social implications while those of the gang 
are usually anti-social. Conflict is constantly motivating the 
gang while the group seeks to avoid it. Conflict is essential 
for gang activity but not for a group.

Junking has a lure for many boys that motivates gang acti-
vity while the group would hardly maintain its unity on junk
gathering enterprizes. The romance of collecting old and odd pieces of metal, copper, brass, bronze, wood, boards, rags, paper and cans is sufficient motivation for gangs but not for groups.

Sexual offenses are forbidden by the group but gangs definitely engage in gang "shags." The conversation of gangs is largely confined to sex while the formal organized group seeks to "change the subject."

The new experiences that gangs engage in are for personal satisfactions without consideration of the effect it has on the neighborhood, while the group would avoid those new activities that would be harmful to the neighborhood.

"To a genuine group idea every man must contribute what is in him to contribute," but little is contributed by the various members of a gang.

The procedure in gang thinking is a short process; with the group it is a long process. "No appeal to reason that is not also an appeal to a want can ever be effective," in a gang but reason alone would be effective in influencing a group. Groups are influenced by majority opinion while gangs seldom seek majority, seldom get majority opinion and seldom want majority opinion.

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16 Follet, op. cit. p. 28.
"The larger the group, within the range from three to ten, the more superior the group product becomes." 18

The larger the gang, the less superior the gang product becomes and more power, thought and control are concentrated in the leader.

Gang leaders take an appreciably shorter period of time for decisions than do their followers or that of group decisions. Gang leaders take an appreciably shorter period of time than do their followers to determine whether or not their decisions shall stand while the group leader usually waits for the decision of the group to determine if his decision shall stand.

Gang leaders make an appreciably fewer number of changes under suggestion than do their followers or that of group leaders and their followers. Groups work out things together while the gang's activities are often not premeditated. In gangs we have unison, in groups harmony.

Dr. Frederick M. Thrasher has classified the gang into the diffuse type, the solidified type, the conventionalized type, and the criminal type. Regarding the diffuse type he writes:

"Many gangs...do not grow beyond a rudimentary stage. Their solidarity is not lasting; the loyalties of their members to each other and the gang cannot be counted on too far; the

natural leaders may not be recognized definitely as such by the rest of the gang." 19

Regarding the solidified type he writes: "In antithesis with the diffuse gang is the solidified type, which is the result of a longer development and a more intense or more extended conflict. A high degree of loyalty and morale and a minimum of internal friction contribute to a well-integrated fighting machine, by means of which the gang presents a solid front against its foes." 20

The conventional type of gang is described by Dr. Thrasher "as a spontaneous group and usually unsupervised; its activities tend to follow the line of least resistance."

The description characterizes a group or club rather than that of a gang in the strictest sense of the term. The dichotomy is not unique.

Regarding the criminal type he writes: "If the gang does not become conventionalized or incorporated in some way into the structure of the community as its members grow older, it often drifts into habitual crime and becomes completely delinquent." 21

The author has quoted Dr. Thrasher extensively regarding the type of gangs because it is the first published account classifying the gangs.

The corporate enterprises of boys on the street, vacant lots, open spaces, playgrounds and parks may develop into an accidental gang. The gang that is formed on the spur of the moment. The following account by a former member of a gang

20 Ibid., p.61.
21 Ibid., p.66.
illustrates the accidental gang.22 "A bunch of us boys were

playing on the street, dodging cars, and having a grand time. The cops came along, chased us and we went on a school playground that was not being used. This was about 2:30 in the afternoon. It did not take long before the cops were chasing us. In disgust we went along the waterfront, saw a tugboat, went on board, stripped it of its brass. While we were hammering away, the cops appear. We scammed, one boy got caught, arrested, put on probation for six months, and the rest of us fellows made it all right."

The heterogeneity of action developed into a homogeneous functional psychical structure and the accidental gang was formed. The following boy's story further illustrates that type of a gang. "We were standing on the street corner, 'chewing the fat' scuffling, smoking, shooting crap, 'wise-cracking' to the girls that went by and getting the corner storekeeper's goat. He said for us to beat it but we stayed. He called the cops and we got chased. After a reunion we decided to paint his windows, chalk up the door, scribble on the sidewalk, and get-even with him. The dirty work had to be kept quiet and the gang started."

Several boys were "bounced from club" in a settlement house. The club leader could not cope with the "freshness" and "out" the boys went. The "dukes" of the boys were up, the rest of the club members sympathized, walked out, broke several windows, were denied further privileges and the accidental gang was formed. The loyalty to a common code or ideal may be absent in the accidental gang. It has a goal, increased tensions, brought about by being denied settlement

22 The author is indebted to S. Max Nelson, Instructor in "Group Work" Boston University for the classification.
privileges, mental blockages, a suppressed ego, and the reinforcement of the "we" feeling, makes the accidental gang a living reality. The accidental gang is also a psychological gang while it is intact.

There is a psychological type of gang characterized by psychical entity and unity, produced by external and intra-internal stimulation. The tensions in the cortex of the brains of these boys resolve themselves according to the law of determined and least action. The individuality of personality and psychical entities has been reinforced by the larger total pattern of forces that maintains a mobile equilibrium. The low potential for the various tensions lies in the boy who can think and act the quickest in the interest of the gang. The increase of potentiality on the part of the leader accounts for direction and action of the gang. This boy may be called the "brains" in the gang for lack of a better term. He suggests and directs the activities. He does not necessarily need to be the strongest for the gang has the "muscle" boys, corresponding to bodyguards, protecting him in the interest of self-preservation. The psychological gang has the "brains", the "muscles" and "joker." He is the "goat" and tricks are constantly played on him. He enjoys them for the recognition and attention it gives him. If his ego is suppressed too far into the "id" the increased tensions will find expression in the form of a "come-back." The psychical gang is complete for it has direction, protection, and expression.
The accidental gang may be further subdivided into the specific opportunity gang. A group of boys, drawn together by common interest and activity may become a gang in every sense of the term, to gain definite ends. The man with his "push-cart" of apples may be stormed. One boy will buy several apples and while receiving his change, the other boys will fill up their pockets. These boys reveal all the characteristic of a gang. After the accomplishment, they may revert to an ordinary group of "ruff" boys. If specific opportunities call for group action a gang will be formed for the execution of the act. The attainment of the goal may bring enough satisfaction that the gang will automatically disintegrate.

The second major type is the habitual gang. This type of gang always exists in the slums. The physical, social, cultural, moral, and political structure of the neighborhood, community or ward is of such a nature that the forces produce gangs. When one gang disintegrates, another is ready to take its place. One of the contributing factors to the habitual gang is mobility. The people who move from one community to another in which the language, economic organization, political system, legal machinery, customs, moral codes, traditions and, in fact, practically the whole social organization and its accompanying culture are different. Such wholesale changes will disturb the life organization of the family and consequently the boy.

The influx of foreign culture, s shifting population,
shifting of the social foundations, the afflux of inventions, and community disorganization promotes conflicts, tensions and disequilibrization. There is no prospect of a stationary state. A lasting equilibrium of culture is neither possible nor desirable. The contradictions about us are not due to a want of logic or lack of insight but are due to putting new wine into old bottles. The times of disequilibrization gives the gang an opportunity for action with much less constraint than an integrated culture.

The habitual gang will always exist where there is a corrupt political system. Protection from politicians is a great incentive for gangs. A prospective representative bought a football for the gang; they distributed handbills, carried banners and worked for the candidate's election. After election the candidate told the boys that if they got into trouble, to notify him first. Special privileges, protection and financial aid from a corrupt political system is bound to make the gang a perpetual, established and incorporated organization of community life.

The activities of a gang depend on the structure of the community, the opportunity for action and the nature and character of the gang. The activity of a gang correlates with opportunity and circumstance. The following activities are a few of their common enterprises: picking up bottles, rubber, wood, cans, wire, brass, bronze, copper, lead, zinc, whips, glass, rags, paper, stealing oranges, apples, bananas, pop,
beer, whiskey, cigarettes, tobacco, brass, copper, bronze, lead, petty pilfering, serious shoplifting, breaking and entering, truancy, setting fire, ringing false fire alarms, carrying concealed weapons, assault and battery, malicious mischief, heterosexual offenses, and sell hot-stuff to junk shops. The usual procedure is to rob a junk shop and later sell the hot-stuff back to the junk dealer. It is impossible to enumerate all the things that gangs do.

The activities of gangs are based on psychological principles of motivation. The principle of adventure determines many activities. Taking a chance, a risk, a hazard, a venture, a doubtful issue, the unexpected or exciting occurrence, and daring enterprises that involve chance and mystery. The uncertain, the unknown, the untried are experimented with for satisfaction, action, and thrills of getting-by with the unusual. "It is characteristic of a gang to fight shy of supervision. We must offer a program that will furnish the spirit of adventure and excitement or else no measureable degree of interest in our service will be evidenced." 23

The second principle on which activities of gangs are based is new experience. The humdrum type of existence, with little opportunity for creative activity, promotes activities centered about the principle of new experience.

"The quest for new experience seems to be particularly insistent in the adolescent, who finds in the

23 From a statement by C. H. English, Supervisor of Recreation Chicago Board of Education.
gang the desired escape from, or compensation for, monotony. The gang actively promotes such highly agreeable activities as rough-house, movement and change, games and gambling, predatory activity, seeing thrillers in the movies, sports, imaginative play, roaming and roving, exploration, and camping and hiking."  

In an imaginary or real manner the gang will engage in enterprizes that satisfy the desire for new experience. Dr. W. I. Thomas writes of new experience: "It represents, among other things, a hunting pattern of interest. "Adventure" is what the young boy wants, and stories of adventure." 

The third basic principle accounting for activity of the gang is conflict. The "sameness" everyday does not furnish enough stimulation for functional and organic tensions to approximate equalization. Conflict is deliberately created to resolve the internal tensions. The balanced life of a gang is activity involving conflict. It is natural, normal, and wholesome. To oppose a strong force we must have a force of equal power. The socialized responses, by their very ability to conflict with the most powerful drives of human nature, demonstrate their right to a fundamental position. It is the leader's opportunity to supply wholesome conflict that will develop social attitudes. Covert conflict, it is an indication that socialization of a wholesome character may be achieved. "It is an important function of scientific leadership

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to keep conflict upon socially productive planes and to raise it from level to level—physical, mental, spiritual and socialized."  

The desire for security is a fundamental law of human nature. Human nature dreads the state of insecurity. The desire for security is so strong that many people spend a life-time seeking that state of bliss. The abundant life is realized in physical, mental and spiritual security. Physical well-being is cherished by any gang and its insecurity constantly haunts them. The goal of security is constantly consciously sought. The various activities that gangs engage in are determined in part by the desire for security.

The "hardest" and "tuffest" of all boy gangs respond to love. A slap on the back does more good than two kicks "in the pants." Friendliness with firmness is a procedure that motivates the gang. The statement, "I would do anything for him"... is an attitude induced by the leader who has impressed his followers with the strength of love and loyalty to them. Dr. Thomas writes: "The desire for response,.....is primarily related to the instinct of love, and shows itself in the tendency to seek and to give signs of appreciation in connection with other individuals." 27

The desire for response is natural, normal and human. The members of a gang desire responses as any normal boy does. The general desire for response has many social implications. The

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27 Thomas, op cit., p. 17.
response sought by the gang is not always wholesome but wholesome stimulation can be given that will satisfy the desire for response and stimulate socialization processes.

The desire for recognition is so fundamental and universal that schools of thought have been built upon it. Experiments have been undertaken to prove the universality of the desire.

Recognition is part of social intercourse. It inflates the ego, gives it strength, and tension to face the day's conflicts. It assures one of his place on the face of the universe. Many activities of the gang and delinquent persons in particular are due to lack of recognition given them by their social surroundings. A neighborhood that fails to recognize personality will be forced to take notice. Day's of Recognition may not be in harmony with the traditional interpretation of Jesus' teachings but they are good for the soul. Gang activities are definitely pursued in the interest of prerecognition.

The future of a particular gang is very uncertain. The boys may keep the gang intact for a number of years and again it may disintegrate in the course of a week. The life of a gang is dependent upon a number of unpredictable circumstances. A well organized neighborhood gang usually keeps intact while the boys are attending school. The dislike for school, the teacher, the courses of study, gives the boys a general grudge against a necessary evil. The gang is especially interesting
to the boys for they feel that they can do about as they please in the gang. The second year in high school, after the newness of high school has "worn-off" becomes a dull enterprise and the boys begin to drop out. The boys that quit school, loaf, make other acquaintances, form new friendships, develop new loyalties, and the gang is in the process of disintegration.

The second contributive disintegrating factor in the gang is jobs. The boys reach the age where they feel the necessity of money. They keep on the lookout for jobs. A boy obtains work, his interest and motives change, he cannot spend the time that he used to with the gang. The other boys realize the advantages of employments and their efforts are directed towards earning spending money and those things that money will buy. If the boys do not find employment, it may reinforce the gang, and stimulate unlawful activities. The lack of opportunity for employment is often responsible for the development of the adult criminal gang.

The third disintegrating factor in the gang is arrests. The boys "get caught", are "hailed into court", and sentences pronounced. The boy that was arrested may be required to report to the judge every week at a certain day and hour. He may be sent to a boy's school, or placed in another environment and the psychical unity of the gang is broken. The leader of the gang may be arrested and the entire organization of the gang breaks up.

The boys begin to engage in hetero-sexual activities
during their high school days and consequences of such practices may break up the gang. A boy makes a girl pregnant, the father of the girl says, "marry my daughter or else." The boy may marry and automatically drops out of the gang. He may refuse to marry the girl, "skip the country" and leave the gang in that manner. Other boys may "fall in love", marry and voluntarily transfer their loyalty from the gang to the young bride. Marriage is a common factor that breaks up the gang.

The boy's parents may move out of the neighborhood which would disrupt the integrity of the gang. Sickness and death of gang members often breaks up the gang. There are innumerable factors and incidences that are responsible for the disintegration of gangs. The most common ones are: arrests, completion of schooling, jobs and marriage. The redirection of gangs in settlements, Y.M.C.A.'s, Boy's Clubs and other social agencies does not occur very often and with little success in the majority of cases. The ineffectiveness of boy's clubs dealing with the ordinary boy will be revealed in a forthcoming book by Frederic M. Thrasher. In a letter addressed to the author he writes: "While it is unfortunate that the findings are not more favorable to the Boys' Club, I believe this piece of research will perform a real service to the boys' clubs and all boys' work agencies in pointing out to them certain weaknesses in this type of program which can be corrected. The research also will serve an important function in indicating how American social institutions can be scientifically evaluated."
III

SOCIALIZING THE GANG

The first and most important factor for socializing the gang is leadership. Professor Cooley's brief definition of leadership as, "personal ascendancy" is excellent but not descriptive. John R. Mott's definition of leadership is "expert service." Leadership may be defined as personal initiative, unusual efficiency, and executive ability by which an outstanding personality projects his ideals and purposes through group and mass activity. Leadership is an attainment, a conquest through struggle and not an endowment. There are few born leaders. There is no dearth of latent leadership but a lack of developed leadership.

There are five elemental factors which are always found in some degree in leadership. They are essential in all activities requiring worth-while leadership. They are knowledge, power, skill, character, and vision. Knowledge, the result of study and instruction, the mastery and correlation of facts plus their interpretation; power, the result of personal development, the storing of vital energy in personality; skill, the result of training; power, guided by knowledge and made facile through practice; character, the moral element essential in all genuine leadership, the resultant of moral living, "an organized set of good habits or recreation," and vision,
the result of living the climbing life and developing a constructive imagination. It is the leader's vision which steadies our confidence in him and gives perspective to his endeavors. No movement can rise above the level of its leadership.

"Leadership is known by the personalities it enriches, not by those it dominates or captivates. Leadership is not a process of exploitation of others for extraneous ends. It is a process of helping others to discover themselves in the achieving of aims which have become intrinsic to them." 1

The fundamental concept is the distinction between leaders and those who hold leadership positions but who are not leaders. Leadership must be distinguished from headship for out of the "heart are the issues of leadership."

"Leadership...is not a matter of hypnosis, blandishment or "salesmanship." It is a matter of leading out from within individuals those impulses, motives, and efforts which they discover to represent themselves most truly." 2

Group work leadership is more than the ability to keep the gang interested, occupied, and obedient to some arbitrary standard of conduct. It is more than gaining and holding the respect of the group or gang. It is more than the development of skills in a particular art or craft. Group work leadership is the very antithesis of the traditional military-political leader of whom far too much is known. It is the socialized type of leadership whose activities need description.

2 Ibid., p. 81.
Leaders have been defined "as persons of greater activity than the average so that their range of elasticity for participation in group activities is greater than the average man's." 3

Leaders must have followers or else they cease to be leaders.

"A leader is an individual who is moving in a particular direction and who succeeds in inducing others to follow after him." 4

The leader must remain within the reach and grasp of his gang. He who leads must adapt himself in method and motivation to the level of the gang. The leader guides the gang and is at the same time himself guided by the gang, is always a part of the gang. No one can truly lead except from within. The task of the leader is stimulating and vitalizing all the individuals who are contributing their effort in the interest of the gang. He who exerts special influence over a number of people has the right to be called a leader for good or for bad effects. The power of good leadership is the power of integrating forces that produce desirable ends.

Leadership is an art of influencing people to cooperate toward some goal which they come to find desirable. Group work leadership is personality in action under group conditions. It is the product of group life. It is a group phenomenon. "It is a process in which there is a give and take between leader and follower." 5 There are two kinds of give and take leaders.

One is in response to the force which starts the movement, and the other is that which direct it after it is started within the group. The type of leadership in group work is always the one who can start processes and forces that will produce wholesome ends. "Leadership is interested in how people can be brought to work together for a common end effectively and happily. It implies....the use and creation of power with people." 6

Cooperation solves the problem. United we win, divided we fall. Cooperation is the key to success. It is a principle of constructive action. It determines whether the end in view will be attained. The effect of cooperation is illustrated by Dr. Watson in regard to thinking. "The product of group thinking is distinctly superior to that of the average and even that of the best member of the group. It is further above the best than the best is above the average." 7

If the effect of corporate and cooperative effort produces the result quoted in thinking, it is logical to assume that social attitudes and ideals of a superior quality could be produced by the group. The principle of corporate cooperation is utilized by successful leaders. If leaders lead, do all the planning and work that needs to be done, the gang that is to be socialized will not be socialized. Cooperation must get into the muscle of the boys. Each member of the organization should

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have a responsibility and be given ample opportunity for expression and recognition.

The simplest and most elementary quality that characterizes the equipment of a leader is the possession of a striking personality. Size, though not always necessary, good looks, the appearance of strength of body and character, high motility (rapid and energetic reactions), aggressive carriage, tenacity, cheerfulness, self-confidence, readiness of speech and repartee, sympathetic, honest, courageous, persistent, good natural ability, initiative, originality, forethought, soundness of judgment, patience, balance and emotional capacity for affection characterize a leader. The suggested qualities are not exhaustive but indicate individuated qualities of a leader. Personality, a magic word, is the sum total of the effect a person has on other people. What really charms and delights people is an inner warmth which leaders radiate. A genuine interest in the welfare of others will strengthen and develop personality.

In the whole process of socialization it is very essential that leadership positions are intrusted to the right kind of personalities. To appoint or elect leaders in group work for the purpose of socializing the gang will be ineffective and certainly not efficient if the leadership does not understand what socialization is nor the steps in the process. Capable leadership is essential for socializing the gang. Personality is too sacred for experimentation when capable leadership can
be obtained or developed. The anti-social attitudes and behavior patterns of the gang call for the best leadership available.

The art of influencing and controlling people without their knowledge that they are influenced and controlled is psychological leadership. The psychology of leadership resolves itself the stimulation of emotions and widening the horizons of insight. The thoughts of the leader seem to become effective only through the arousal of an emotional state, and the arousal of this emotional state seems to depend upon the affective coloration accompanying aspects of the situation and one's prior emotional set. 8

It requires a knowledge of physiology, sociology, psychology, and economics. Without a knowledge of the four sciences it is impossible to understand human nature. The forces that develop behavior and reaction patterns are a part of the total pattern of human activity. The blind cannot lead those who can see.

The sociology of leadership is understanding human nature, living with the people and acting accordingly. The "suit-case" type of leader will not be very effective with the gang by presenting himself at a certain place and time for the purpose of changing their lives. It is necessary for the leader to become a part of the community in order to lead. It is also

essential that he detach himself from the community, and study it objectively. His vision and inspiration do not come from degrading and disorganized surroundings but from contact with a wholesome environment.

"I like the ways and privileges of the rich but my heart is with the poor, the underprivileged victims of the slums."  

The statement by Dr. Vaughan reveals the essence of sociological leadership. When Tammany regained its power two years after its fall in 1901, someone with inside knowledge of Tammany affairs attributed the rapid recovery to the fact that "the leaders live with the voters three-hundred and sixty-five days in the year." The essential factor in the sociology of leadership is the appeal to personal friendship and loyalty of the individuals.

There are many types of leaders as there are leaders. Each leader is unique, different and belongs in a class by himself. No two leaders lead alike. It would be a physical impossibility to classify all leaders. The end in view would not justify the means of accomplishing it. The physical, mental, emotional and social "make-up" of individuals constitutes the type of leader the individual will be. The "shrimp" could hardly become a captain in a police force. The mentally retarded person would not be apt to become a professor of theoretical ethics. The emotional person could not qualify for the

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9 Statement by Dr. D. D. Vaughan, Professor of Social Ethics, Boston University.
secret-service department. The super-refined, aesthetic, spiritual, poetical type of personality would hardly qualify as foreman of a chain-gang.

There are the direct and indirect type of leadership that constitutes the two major classifications. The direct type of leadership deals with people in a closer proximity than the indirect leader who sets in motion forces that sooner or later change the currents of human activity. The gang leader, who works in a face-to-face relationship, and the scientist, who invented the Super X Panatomic film for Kodaks, are examples of the two types of leadership, respectively.

Democratic leadership is the finest type of leadership that can be rendered to society. It is pragmatic, versatile, and sagacious. "In its fullest and richest sense democratic leadership is personal conduct which seeks to increase the welfare of the other persons, which is arrived at by the combined judgments of those concerned, which emanates from a single mode of living, which is carried out magnetically and by example, and which seeks no personal rewards." 10

The definition quoted may be more ideal than real but the following are a few examples of democratic leadership. It (leadership) "originated the normal school for the training of teachers. (Horace Mann) Provided industrial training for fellow-negroes. (Booker T. Washington) Manufactured inexpensive motor cars for the common people. (Henry Ford)

Struck off the shackles from enslaved negroes. "Abe" Lincoln)
Fought the trusts to a standstill and urged on every hand a square deal for the weak. (Roosevelt)
Supported helpless women in industry against corporate greed. (Brandeis)
Championed immigrants and the poor when in trouble. (Jane Addams)
Established the open forum. (Coleman)
Took the part of the "kids" (Ben Lindsey)
Never forsook the poor and the defeated classes living always after their fashion. (Jane Addams)
In educational situations, tries to understand the point of view of all persons concerned. (J. R. Angell)
By his genial ways he gave new hope and faith to any group in which he moved. (Phillip Brooks)

The following is a good summary of the place and effect that democratic leadership has in society. "Democratic leadership grows out of the needs of the group. The democratic leader draws people up to their best levels rather than driving them on in line with his own purposes. He trains people to become leaders, to take his place, and even to surpass him. To be efficient, a democratic leader must have an educated group. The narrow, uneducated dogmatic defeat a democratic leader. Democratic leadership depends on personal contacts rather than on objective decrees. It is humble rather than pompous." 12

The social leader is one who has the "makings of a gentleman." He belongs to the extravert group, according to Dr. Jung's classification. He works directly with people, he mingles and mixes freely in social circles. He is what has been called, "a good fellow." The quotation illustrates the social leader. "The social leader is one who performs before groups.

Mental ability and agility are required; personal magnetism counts. Social leadership is almost synonymous with direct leadership. The social leader is a master in maintaining attention, in arousing enthusiasm, and in creating inspiration."

The social leader often develops into a socialized leader. The difference between the two is one of degree and not of kind. The latter is an ideal type of leadership. It adapts existing circumstances to new needs, and does not create new machinery as emerging needs arise. It utilizes to the full the social values and motive forces inherent in the existing sentimental attachments and habits of team work.

"The basic principle of organization of the socialized leader... consist of arousing the self-expression of followers, organizing the emotions of group members around the plan or the cause in the interest of developing a sentiment of loyalty." 14

The socialized leader utilizes psychological insights of human motivation. He does not repress internal tensions but stimulates the group in the interest of self expression. He does not build emotional attachments around himself but that of his cause, plan or program. "The socialized leader is not self-centered or self appointed; he is, rather, self-effacing. His technique is not one of prescription and repression; on the contrary, it is a technique of stimulation, suggestion and inspiration." 15

There is a type of leadership that has been termed paternalistic. It is very common and used mostly by those who have had a great deal of experience with their chosen enterprise.

13 Ibid., p. 18.
15 Ibid., p. 57.
It is also used by leaders who lead groups that are their mental inferiors. Kindergarten teachers, Sunday School teachers and some Social Workers are of this type. It is fatherlike, considering the welfare of the members from the leaders viewpoint and often overruling the wishes of the group, "if these seem ill-advised." The chief criticism against this type of leadership is that the group is helpless when it loses its leader. Little conscious effort has been made to develop selfhood, self-direction and expression within the group.

There is a type of leader that could be classified as mental leadership. Ideas are his chief products. He turns aside for reflection. It is a cold and intellectual type of endeavor. It has little chance of successful leadership unless it hides behind the screen of indirect communication and even then a press agent is needed to give the proper touches of ordinary humanity through anecdotes and the like. The mental leader does his best work in seclusion. This does not mean that leadership can function without intellectual insight, rigorous thinking and scientific approximation. All leadership includes mental quality. The mental leader is inspired by reflection while the social leader is most inspired in the presence of enthusiastic followers.

The mentally alert, scientific leaders in the field of social relationships are rare. They seldom appear outside the field of science. The scientific leader combines the social qualities with an eye single to truth. He has an open mind,
a suspended judgment, and is committed to give up his ideas, pet beliefs, and interests, if new evidence makes them dubious and fruitless.

A true executive leader possesses characteristics of the socialized, mental, and scientific leaders. He must keep in touch with people and have new ideas. He is a man of the hour. He must make important decisions on short notice, sense at once the feelings of his co-workers, and the consequences of his decisions. He is a unifying, integrating force in any organization that he "heads up."

Of all types of leaders the autocratic leader is most hated by intelligent people. It may work with "nitwits" but "he can't pull that stuff with me" is the familiar reaction to the typical autocratic leader. He has followers not because they appreciate his "ways" but the circumstances in which they find themselves. Following the autocratic leader is the lesser of two evils. That type of leadership has been described as follows: "Autocratic leadership rules persons without consulting them. It wields an iron club. It leads in terms of its own wishes, wants desires; it molds the actions of others to suit its own plans. Autocratic leadership may use dominating methods or it may be bent on attaining goals where it can dominate. The autocratic leader is objective, overt, positive. He knows what ought to be done, what he wants to do, and he drives ahead to that end. He proceeds aggressively and obtrusively." 16

There is no one type of leader that is applicable for the gang.

Not every leader can lead a gang. It takes patience, understanding, insight, versatility, dynamics, and sagacity. It was the opinion of the Commission on Methods for Group Clubs given at the 28th Annual Convention of the Boys' Clubs of America, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, May 9, 1934, that "the most important factor in a successful group club is that of leadership. If it is adequate and intelligent the program and details of organization can be readily evolved. If it is lacking, no plan can be developed nor machinery set up that will take the place of it."

The importance of leadership is a postulate that needs no verification. It stands in its own right. The task is measuring leadership. Leadership must be investigated with the same degree of frankness as the physical sciences.

A desire on the part of a person to lead does not justify him leading boys. The world is too large, time too short, and personality to sacred to permit every "Tom, Dick and Harry" to try his "luck." No leadership is better than poor leadership. There is no justification in "handing-over" the gang to a leader who cannot lead. There are measuring rods for leadership. They are not accurate, scientific and always dependable but serve as indices to qualities and principles necessary for leadership. The following kinds of measures are useful:

- direction and degree of feeling, typical social attitudes, tactfulness in comment and action, and insight and social judgment."

These traits can be measured directly and indirectly by defin-

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ite likes and dislikes, second, by characteristic social feelings, third, tactfulness in comment and action, fourth, insight and social judgment and fifth, complex social attitudes as aggressiveness, timidity, initiative, sympathy, humor, understanding, and character.

The techniques of leadership depend on the structure and nature of the total social pattern, and the character of the group or gang. It is impossible to list the techniques necessary for socializing the gang. A leader who cannot lead without having a written formula to follow is not a leader. The techniques of leadership are not mechanical, but must change with circumstances, feelings, emotions and desires of the gang. The restlessness that characterizes boys makes a set program and techniques impractical. Techniques of leadership are techniques of socialization and will be considered in that chapter.

The hazards of leadership are love of power, based on inferiority feelings, emotional instability, maladjustments, sexual frustrations, with a tendency to rationalize. The pathological personalities are often leading the normal people. The blind, the lame, the crippled, and unbalanced often attempt to lead those that are balanced and can see. The following remarks characterize the "would be" leader. He's got a "swelled head." He drives himself but he drives others more. He won't listen to advice. If you want to get on with him, you have to tell him what a "big shot" he is and agree with all he says. He tries to make everyone "scared to death" of him. When he
gets mad, keep out of his way. Just smile and he'll give you a break. He's "got women on his brains." He's easily "flooded" and the "poor fool." There are real dangers that accompany successful leadership. The expression, "it went to his head" is the most dangerous hazard of all hazards.

It is difficult to obtain a scientific diagnosis of a gang of boys. They are suspicious of the purpose of such an investigation. They hesitate to make honest responses during the procedure of diagnosis. The average leader is not trained in technical diagnosis and the expert is new experience to the boys.

The diagnosis must be in terms of a particular gang and situation. No two situations are alike. The effect of a situation on different organisms is never the same. The relation between each organism and its environment is unique. An attempt should be made to investigate the gang and individual members in their total situation in order to determine all the factors which play upon him and to give a basis for an analysis of conduct in terms of the probable causes involved.

"Behavior can be studied profitably in terms of the situation out of which it arises. In other words behavior responses can be thought of as functions of situations. Analysis of individual factors is indispensable." 18

The aim of individual analysis is study each member of the organization of boys who have proved themselves too weak to adjust

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normally in the community, to study them physically, morally, mentally and socially. In this analysis it is preemptory that the boy has confidence in the person that is his leader. A rapport between the boy and leader must be established. No repercussions of the ego should be consciously sought. A transfer of loyalty from the anti-social goals, ideals and longings, to the leader and worthier ideals is essential. Each individual should be studied in relation to the total structure of his nationality. An historical perspective of nationality development and culture amalgamation of the boy are prerequisites to insights of his emotional and mental heritage. The importance and significance of the proposed procedure is revealed by a study of delinquency in regard to nationality.

The general statistics for 133 families from which the delinquents came are:

- United State 35%
- Italian 17
- Polish 10
- Foreign Jewish 3
- Other Nationalities 16
- Marriages of Mixed Nationality 19

The home influences are the most potent of all factors that make their impacts upon the personality of the boy. The home conditions should be investigated in regard to hygiene,

space, ventilation, artistic and aesthetic endeavors, conveniences, clothes, size of the family, type of family, i.e. husband and wife, husband, wife and children, man and children, woman and children, husband, wife and relation, man alone, woman alone, children alone, or children and relatives.

A knowledge of the dominating personality in the home helps the leader to understand the boy, his attitude toward that sex, and often explains acts of behavior that otherwise go on unaccounted for. Contacts with the home is of supreme importance in understanding the boy, gaining his confidence, that of his parents, and obtaining insights that account for the development of behavior patterns in the boy. To study a boy out of this larger setting is like diagnosing pimples on his face without a thorough medical examination.

The home is intimately interwoven with religious influences. These influences are not due to active participation with organized religious institutions. Religion influences the traditions, customs, habits, folkways, mores of the home. The traditional, legalistic, external, superimposed, repressing orthodox type of religion tends to be more harmful than helpful. Legalistic religion is always a repressant and does not facilitate expression. It blocks the ego instead of motivating it. It says thou shalt not. It curbs the psychical tensions that are brought about by the functions of our vegetative system.
The Catholic church in particular puts "celibacy" above the married state which is diametrical opposed to the normal life.
The blind are leading those that can see.

The "lag" brought about by the conservative religious institutions in our rapid changing civilization causes religious bodies to lose their potential effectiveness. Their unwillingness to work with reality and get religion into the muscles of the people is pathetic. The techniques of social change and a knowledge of the religious heritage and its influence and activity in a particular situation is essential to an understanding of the gang under consideration.

A knowledge of the economic status of the gang and each member is necessary for a proper understanding of their activities. The way the boys make their money determines to a large extent their motivations and activities and gives clues for techniques of socialization. If the boys have no allowance, and consequently little of the things they desire, their attention will be directed to ways and means of getting what they want. The goal of possession will be one of the underlying tensions that accounts for activity. "One cannot think, understand and plan without a basis of fact, and since facts do not lie around in plain view, they have to be discovered. But for the most part the data which now are so carefully sought and so elaborately scheduled are not social facts at all. For their connection with any system of human purposes and consequences, their bearing as means and as results upon human action, are left out of the picture. At best they are mere physical and external facts. They are unlike the facts of physical science because the latter are found by methods which make their interrelations and their laws apparent, while the facts of social fact-finding remains a miscellaneous pile of meaningless items."
Since their connections with human wants and their effects on human values are neglected, there is nothing which binds them together in an intelligent whole.\textsuperscript{20}

The social status which means position in society is important for an understanding of the attitudes and emotions of the individuals. "It seemed of great importance to ascertain the adjustments of delinquents to the primary social groups, the home and the school. It certainly was of great significance to find that in not more than twenty per cent were the family relationships of the delinquent reasonably satisfactory." \textsuperscript{21}

The social status of the gang members need not be that of the delinquent but generally the tendency reveals a positive correlation.

The quality of school work done by the various boys, their grades in schools, their courses of study, their attention, interest and ambition in formal education is information that helps to understand the boy. It ranks him as to ability, achievement, interests, insights, knowledge, and forces that have acted upon him.

This information may be secured by direct inquiry, through the visiting teacher, report cards, from the boy and it gives the leader information as to what the boy is doing in school. It also helps one to encourage the boy along vocational lines that he fitted for and can do. Grades are very unreliable and


\textsuperscript{21} Healy and Bronner, Op Cit. pp. 47-48.
inadequate but often it is the best one can do under certain situations and certainly more than is being done with most gangs.

The Aristotelian dictum that good conduct is strongly correlated with good intelligence is not always true, usually of superior ability. "While intelligence is a very important factor in bringing about and maintaining desirable adjustment morally and socially, the boy who gets steeped in delinquent interests and practice goes that way in spite of his intelligence." 22

Factors other than intelligence function very positively in gang formation and maintain the organization as an entity.

Mental diagnosis lends itself to scientific analysis. Tests of intelligence, aptitudes, personality and emotions may be given by the leader, if technically trained, otherwise by school authorities or some agency. This could be accomplished with a view of granting certain favors much coveted by the gang or the members thereof. This information is of utmost help to the leader in knowing the mental status of the gang, the percentile rating of the members of the organization and gives a basis for intelligent insight and stimulation as the processes of socialization began to function. Time, space and personality are too costly to go by guesses, observation when factual information may be secured.

It is valuable to be acquainted with various definitions

22 Raubenheimer, A. S.: "An Experimental Study of Some Behavior Traits of the Potentiality Delinquent Boy" Psychological Monograph, Vo. 34. No. 6. p. 105
of motivation, written by different men, with different backgrounds, and with different purposes, in their attempt to define motivation. There is no one adequate definition of motivation because there are many kinds of organisms to be motivated and under different situations. One thing will motivate a certain individual but may not cause any conflict or action in another. First, a motive may be regarded as a reason for doing something. Dynamically it is a tension that demands resolution toward a goal. In this sense it is synonymous with the dynamic aspects of behavior itself: will, emotions, purpose. Second, it is fruitful to consider motivation as the process of motives. Motives according to phraseology of Gestalt psychologists are known as tensions. "Tension is a general term that satisfies the problem of motivation. Recall that tension does not mean a thing by itself; it is not a force residing in an object or in a particular place. It is a relational term denoting a difference in potential between one part of a field of energy and another part, consequently it implies an end, or resolution, otherwise it has no meaning. Thus, tension implies the existence of an unitary field of energy, in which on stress or port depends on another. Motivation is the process of raising potentials. This comes about in two ways: First, through intro-organic stimulation. Second, motivation comes through external stimulation in such a way that the stimulus-pattern provides a problem within the learner's level of insight." 23

Motivation of learning is not through the invention of clever devices but in reconstruction of the process itself into a vital, meaningful and achieving experience. To motivate

is to give a task meaning and value in its own right. Motivation as a psychophysiological problem involves simultaneously the response processes of the nervous system, and the mental processes which accompany them. Both physical and psychical factors must be viewed in intimate correlation.

The very first task in dealing with the problem of motivation is the condition of the one to be motivated and the general environment in which this individual finds himself. If an individual is in a passive state of mind and even in a sluggish physical condition, motivation will be seriously hampered.

If the mental status of the individual is carefree, the first task then is to arouse conflict and tension so action can be obtained. Dr. Wheeler says, that, "learning is hastened by motivation because the intensified responses are faster; more of them occur in given units of time." One motivates by creating learning situations which will stimulate him to action as one only learns when he is active.

If the situations of motivation are overdone it will disturb the equilibrium and the balance of tensions will result in excessive tonus and emotions, and, not in deliberate rational thinking. Confusion, maladjusted personalities, unco-ordinated motor habits and perhaps weakened health would be the result of excess motivation. Undiplomatic motivation practices encourage a growing individualism. That perhaps is the crux among the dangers connected with motivation. However, a nervous breakdown, scattering of one's thoughts, ungovernable attitudes and
temperments are indeed serious.

There are two types of motivation; the intrinsic and extrinsic. They are names for increasing the individual's effective activity. The conditions of this motivation are to be found both within the organism (intrinsic); as levels of maturation, state of health, faulty diet or malnutrition, pathological conditions and general vitality of the organism. The surrounding environment (extrinsic); as beliefs, tensions, stress, economic conditions, social pressure, culture, educational stress and general living conditions, contribute to the "energising and definitizing the learning process." It is upon these two types of motivation that the various methods employed can be developed. Without giving an adequate explanation of the meaning, value and criticism of these types, the writer shall pass on to the methods used and give an evaluation of methods.

The basic consideration in attempting to discover methods is first, a recognition of the fact that there are individual differences. Second, no one method will work on all individuals of the same sex, age, experience and degree of maturation. There can be no stereotyped motivating pattern, and, third, the time element, the momentary set-up, both environmental and physical are factors to be taken into consideration. There is a time and place for everything.

The first method used by people in dealing with the problem of motivation was punishment. If an individual complied with the standards, folkways and mores of the group all was
well. If the action of the individual was not in harmony, then punishment was administered in an attempt to stimulate action which would be directed in the right and accepted path. Punishment should be a last resort and when administered it should be within the grasp of the individual. "Do not punish when insight can be appealed to." The value of punishment is that of reducing the problem to their level of insight.

Logically it follows that rewards, as a method, should follow that of punishment. It is not only a direct opposite but is an alternative for punishment. Care must be taken that the reward and the goal are the same. Too often rewards and the goal are the same. Too often rewards earned are not true measures of the progress that the learner has made. "Too often the individual who has acquired the greatest amount of usable knowledge is not rated the highest, or even toward the top of the scale," says Dr. Wheeler.

The interaction and stimulation with one another is a method, if supervised, guided and directed, that can be used to a great advantage. In this manner, be it a heterogeneous group, those with keen appreciation and a deeper grasp will stimulate and encourage those who are not so apt to act. Perhaps the good or progress accomplished has been at the expense of those more able and capable, but the fact that those who were able to stimulate the lower strata, were motivated during the act, justifies the principle advocated.

Competition and rivalry are vital factors in motivation.
The question is not with the method but with the quality and permanent values derived from the method. The point is whether or not competition and rivalry take precedence of the goal for which they are striving. Unless competition and rivalry are intelligently supervised, it is largely futile. If competition and rivalry are not well managed the very purpose which is sought will be defeated. For example, if one is trying to teach a group of boys swimming or the general arts of mastery in gym work and offers honor points to those who meet the requirements, it often happens that the boys work for honor points instead of appreciating the value of the enterprise and realizing the satisfaction of having mastered the technique. Some boys desire the letters of recognition but fail to grasp the value of the work to be done in order to receive the award.

The experiments by Gilchrist and Hurlock on the question of praise and blame have value for practical use. Praise is a strong incentive. It arouses the instinct of self-assertion or the ego. The crux of this test is not in its workability and effectiveness but in giving an adequate explanation. Had the group been able to grasp the situation from all angles, comprehended its significance and appreciated the intrinsic or inherent values, for the effort expanded, the same results no doubt, would have been accomplished. The latter, no doubt, would be the better method of motivation and certainty would have more permanent and lasting effects. Praise, if given in
proper proportion, is better than blame, because blame loses its effectiveness by constant repetition. The same may be said of praise. Praise stresses the essential and correct points, while blame stresses the non-essential and wrong points. Blame perhaps magnifies, colors and makes the very thing which is not sought to be of primary importance. At least it appears that way. Praise is the more effective and lasting than blame.

Motivation through creative experience is the best method of motivation if based on organismic psychology instead of instinctive psychology. The "piece-meal" method as used by instinctive psychologists is too much like a continued story. If the whole picture of activities is grasped it will be more intelligent. The parts will be seen in a true perspective and in relationship to the whole. The whole should come within the realm of some previous experience or within the level of the learner's insight. It is always well to project from the known to the unknown.

Motivation from the standpoint of environment might be called social pressure. There is validity in social pressure. It brings on displeasure, social pressure becomes conscious and intentional, and social pressure is conscious and intentional but also preinstituted and formal. It operates through regulations, rules and laws. Regardless of all methods the highest incentive upon which persons act is a sense of the intrinsic worth in the enterprise itself.
Serious results are often obtained by a lack of proper stimulation. A lack of stimulation develops egotism, laziness, faulty habits and other undesirable habits and traits; while over-stimulation might develop an inferiority complex, "slipshod" habits, indifferent attitudes, and an idea of satisfaction with a "half done and half mastered" solution to a problem. Theoretically, Dr. Wheeler says, "if the degree of stimulation is adequately controlled, the child should be able perfectly and easily to solve each new problem the first time it is attacked." Granting that Dr. Wheeler's statement is true, the question is how to determine the level of insight in each individual. This method might be met by stating that each individual requires personal attention, which is true, yet the author is concerned about the lack of adequate data that will help to determine, at least for the average, what the "pacing" in relation to maturation and levels of insight are for the various ages.

The most vital interest of children lie not along the paths of ease and pleasantness, but along the road of serious, strenuous effort. The same will be true of a heterogeneous group. The problem must be within their level of insight or ability to grasp the situation. Arousing a genuine interest is a great deal more than making a subject interesting. The problem in motivation is certainly one of arousing a genuine interest.

Maturation is the degree of development toward the remote
end of perfect harmony, unity, and maturity. Maturity is often reached but perfect harmony and unity progress toward perfection as the process of evolution continues. Dr. Wheeler says, that, "the evolutionary stage of physical and neural development, either in the race or the individual, is a condition of intelligent behavior." Thus maturation is a basic and major condition of learning. The laws of mental development are laws of maturation, not laws of experience or exercise or repetition, as these terms are customarily understood. Maturation is a basic and fundamental factor in motivation. The question naturally follows, how can the degree of maturation be determined? Professor Gesell at Yale, has done a piece of work that is invaluable for the purpose. He has discovered bits of behavior and classified them for various ages. He commenced with the pre-mature child on up to the age of six or seven years.

Bits of overt behavior need to be discovered for the various levels or degrees of maturation, at least, to the stage where physical growth ceases, as it is popularly stated. Under such a system there would be many variations but the essence of maturation would be apparent and realized. For realizing different degrees of maturation above the ages of physical growth, would necessitate a knowledge of the individuals' physical and environmental situations in which he had been and was at the time. No such elaborate work has as yet been done, but it seems imperative for the application of proper motivation.
Many acts of behavior which were formally explained only in the light of instincts are now being explained as a result of maturation. It must be admitted that with the meager experimental developments in maturation, one must largely depend upon experience and judgment. Trial and error will have their share of the problem but until some experimental work with human beings is done, it remains the best there is. The principle of the organismic position appears to be fundamentally sound, but there is a tremendous need for experimentation to prove, clarify and substantiate the position. From the standpoint of organismic logic the organism is a behaving organism. This is adequately substantiated by the law of field genesis which states the whole evolves as wholes. The growing individual is behaving to a situation at a maximum.

The concept "Einsicht" has been defined by W. Kohler as, "A material, inner relation of two things to each other." "Insight is a field property common to all learning-patterns" states Dr. Wheeler. Insightful response and insight are synonymous. Insight may be as behavior that is organized with respect to a whole field of conditions. Insight depends upon the conditions existing both within and without the organism. "All learning is insightful behavior." It depends upon some kind of a grasp on the part of the organism. Insight may be defined in a number of ways and may be tested through a number of criteria, such as ability to respond to a part in the light of a whole, modification of activities to meet the exigencies
of a situation in a manner we may call sensible, or the trans-
position of the general properties from one situation to anoth-
er; but in no case do we mean by insight any mental process, a
peculiar vitalistic entelechy or anything not objectively ob-
servable. The moment or act of insight can only sometimes be
described as a sudden flash; it is often a succession of glim-
mering apprehensions and is found in all degrees, from elusive
and indefinite dimness to a clear and convincing definiteness.
There is a very close relationship between the degree of matur-
ation and insight. This close relationship exists from the am-
eoba up to man in the evolutionary scale. There is a positive
correlation between the degree of maturation and insight.

The value of insight is tremendous. It has many practical
applications, i. e. presenting materials and problems that the
individual is able to grasp. In explaining any case of learn-
ing, one must consider the degree of maturation, degree of dif-
ferentiation of the organism, level of insight and the entire
stimulating situations.

Dr. Wheeler says, that, "The essence of the learning pro-
cess is discovery" which means that a realization of the level
of insight is imperative. The material to be presented must
be new and at the same time challenging, yet within the grasp
of the individual so the problem can be mastered. The creative
aspect of the learning situation appears to be the crux of the
whole problem of insight. The degree of difficulty the mater-
ial should be, will depend upon the degree of maturation and
level of insight. Such factors as experience, health, culture and activity must be considered.

In attempting to discover the various levels of insight, it becomes necessary to keep in mind a basic and fundamental principle that all individuals are different and require special study. Organismic psychologists have not as yet discovered or revealed the grasp of an average person for the various ages.

If one is to motivate a heterogeneous gang, he must recognize the various levels of insight. This can be done in various ways. First, the general social environment must be recognized. From these conditions general inferences can be drawn only specific experience can make intelligable.

Second, a history of the gang, their experience and general cultural background is important. These can be obtained from personal contact. The personal experience of the boys and their interactions with other groups is very valuable. Third, the formal education, types of vocations, housing conditions, personal belongings, clothing, personal appearance, vocabulary, speech, diction, idea's and interest are all factors that will reveal the relative status of the gang. The interpretation of the facts can only grow in reliability as one gains experience in dealing with the gang. The basic thing to remember is that, poor people have poor ways. Fourth, personal acquaintance with the leaders of the city, community, neighborhoods, schools, churches and business men will serve
as a basis for insights as to the type of gang that the community has produced. Experience and good judgment can only determine the various levels of insight. Personal contact with each individual is of inestimable worth.

To do a constructive, progressive and permanent piece of work one must stabilize the gang. Stabilization, the actual creation of a desire to do bigger and better things. Too often programs are being built with enthusiasm and zeal and in a short time the interest is gone and only unhappy and unpleasant memories remain. This "sort of a thing" is very detrimental to a gang and motivation is very difficult. The stability of any undertaking depends upon how effective it is in uncovering and developing leadership. New and capable leadership is important. Lack of interest and indifference toward a proposition accompanied with a lack of active participation is the result of a lack of complete comprehension of the problem. Meaningless activities require the longest time to master and at best is mastered very poorly. The program and activity of the gang must be within their degree of maturation and level of insight.

If the process of motivation is to be continuous it is essential that certain principles are observed. These principles must be understood or else they will have no value. The principle that is essential for continuous growth is that of an open mind and a suspended judgment. To get the gang to the place in its thinking where it will welcome new things and thoughts can be done with complete satisfaction and perfect
harmony, if the new phenomena is reduced to the gang's level of insight. If the individuals can grasp, understand, and realize the worth and utility of the new, they will come to welcome progress. If the new discards the old and the new fails to be understood because its significance has not been grasped open mindedness, of course, will not be developed. If the development of meaning is followed step by step this false attitude will be avoided. The way to develop this open mindedness is to explain in concrete terms the progress that has been made in specific fields of activity in which progress is sought and a general transferableness of learning in view of insight. Whether it is by relationship or insight, the desired results can be obtained. It is not wasted time to explain and illustrate that we are seekers after truth.

The second principle of continuous motivation is that "truth is relative." Truth is not static, something that is absolute and final but it is an ever widening and expanding phenomena of satisfaction. Each new discovery, each problem solved, uncovers more new possibilities and problems, which means that the progress of mankind has no limits. Progress had a beginningless beginning and will have an endless ending. The moral purpose of the universe appears to be that of reaching the perfect good life here and now. This little bit of philosophy, if it is philosophy, seems essential as a principle for continuity in motivation.

The third principle which is essential for the continuity
of motivation is that without opportunity for expression of thoughts, or ideas that are being mastered, motivation will be artificial and remote. Dr. Wheeler emphasizes the principle of the "Futility of Ulterior Goals." He says, "Unless motivation is relevant to the task, it results in the establishing of ulterior goals and defeats its own end."

The fourth principle in the continuity of motivation is utilitarianism. In the process of evolution, natural selection, only those aspects of life are retained that are useful to the organism. The ultimate goal is utilitarian. It is the good life. If that conception is fully grasped, it will aid the process of growth. The danger of utilitarianism is stagnation. It is apt to crub thinking.

Man finds himself in a world which must be understood in order to be controlled. The technique of the phenomena with which man deals, is known as a process. The nature of processes is an elusive thing. The complexity of the forces making their impacts on a human organism are thought to be psycho-social processes. The behavior processes in man whose responses are determined by some phase or factor in the social world, is the result of a neural complex set-up or organized with reference to circumferential psycho-social forces. The response processes are purposeful, meaningful and directed toward a goal. There are no random movements in human activity. The tensions set up in the nerve fibers do not always come into consciousness as concepts, feelings or emotions. They are correlated and
integrated with stronger tensions that disequilibrate the equalized tensions in the cortical region of the brain and conscious behavior appears. This interaction is almost wholly the psychic level, and is instigated by suggestion, imitation and the more definite forms of communication, such as symbolism and language. The interrelationship of individuals with each other, does not prevent these psycho-social processes from being individuated psychic processes. Dr. Ellwood states that, "the whole process of interstimulation and response between individuals evidently comes into intermediate and control processes of social adaptation. The social process is a process of reciprocal progressive adaptation of individuals to one another in the carrying on of some phase of group life." 24

The essence of the social process for socializing the gang is the creation of new values through the interplay of all the forces of life. These new values must be definite goals with low psychic potentials and strong social implications. It is immaterial if the new values, in the one-way process, are non-human or symbolic, or even invisible, as in the abstract content of the psycho-social tensions, provided it is the product of human action and direction. If the nature of processes can be directed toward definite goals, it is possible to socialize personalities through directed group work.

Socialization is a blanket term and until it is analyzed will have little meaning. The nature of socialization is it-

self complex and requires analysis. The prerequisites for analysis include an intimate and technical knowledge of sociology and psychology.

The nature of socialization is manifestly and educational process which undertakes to modify the whole nature of man. It is a reconstruction of man so society gets all that every man has to give, to bring the submerged personality into light and activity. It is a process of enlarging the boundaries of the horizon of the psychical equilateral triangle that constitutes the gang psychically. Professor Gidding finds that the process of socialization is a process of growing consciousness of kind, of increasing sympathy and understanding, and of increasing friendliness or affection among the members of a larger social group. It is the participation by the individual in the higher social values of life. It is the development of the social spirit in individuals. The social spirit of the gang may, of course, be high or low in its ethical aim; but as it develops and universalizes itself, so as to include all of the neighborhood, it also purifies itself. E. A. Ross has stated that socialization is "the development of the we-feeling in associates and their growth in capacity and will to act together." 25

F. H. Giddings states that socialization includes the de-

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development of "a social state of mind." The aim is to fit the individual into the life of the community. A person may be socialized from the standpoint of a small group, he is not socialized with regard to humanity unless he possesses "a social state of mind." The highly socialized individual, Professor Giddings finds to be dependable, and helpful, mindful of the value of social usage, also independent in thought, courageous, willing to experiment, but with full responsibility for the results. "The true socialization of the individual has taken

place, when, regarding himself as an end—that is, a being whose good is worthy to be sought he regards all other persons also as ends, never using anyone simply as a means, and finds his own welfare in the welfare of the group to which in any wise he belongs, even the great human group in its entirety." 26

Complete socialization would not be recognized by sociologists unless it led the individual practically to identify himself and his interests with those of humanity as a whole. Such socialization is a spiritual matter. It is the psychic articulation or as Comte would have said, "the incorporation" of the individual into the collective life of humanity.

E. W. Burgess says, socialization is "conscious and willing coordination by the person of his interests with those of the group." 27 A social person is one who habitually responds to the welfare of other persons without expectation of reward. In its highest phases it becomes a process of moralization.

The socialization of a gang is the process whereby the members change from an organized homogeneity to a social heterogeneity, with each functioning increasingly in social enterprises and identifying his own personality with the welfare of the neighborhood, and with the main purpose not centered on building up the power of the gang, but on building up other constructive groups and humanity itself.

Socialization will not be wrought entirely by some redistribution or reorganization of the material conditions of life—which will put an end to conflicts, but by the creation of socially minded men and women. The opposite of socialization is voluntary separation and isolation of gangs from the freer relationship in social intercourse. Professor Giddings says,

"the zero point of socialization is criminality, that degree of departure from prevailing and approved behavior which the community with relative severity punishes."

The following captions are obstacles of socialization and at the same time indicative of the need for socialization: "niggers," "greasers", "round heads", "waps", "fuzzy-wuzzies", "red-necks", "high brows", "red-haired devils", "silk stockings", "hard collars", "rat eaters", "frog-eaters", "goddams", "sheeny", "heathen", "papist", "heretic", "parley-Woo", and "nicks".

The social patterns of the gang are primarily a face-to-face relationship. The gang carries on its activities within the area of the primary group. The social relationship between the gang and members of the primary group are usually friendly,
sympathetic, understanding and tolerant. The unusual activities, that are considered special events, achievements and accomplished by the gang, may take place outside the boundaries of the primary group. If the primary social contacts influence mould, and develop anti-social behavior patterns, contacts with secondary groups that are social in character should develop social behavior patterns. The process of socializing the gang is to set up social patterns that will make their impact on the gang. The impact must not be too strong for the elements of the primary group patterns are not to be destroyed.

It is necessary for the psycho-social forces to disequilibrate the status quo of the primary patterns in order to appear in consciousness. If the forces are too strong the gang will probably be suspicious, distrustful, hostile, and have a "sneeken-snickerus" attitude about the situation in which it finds itself. Natural everyday factors must be kept intact, and enough new elements introduced to assure progress.

It is necessary and valuable to take the gang out of its natural social setting and have them exposed to socializing influences. This gives the gang new experience, adventure, thrill, and concrete mental images of a socialized environment. The real process of socialization occurs in gangland, when normal and natural situations and activities are made to have social implications through the ingenuity of the leader. "Boys' work is proper magic and a boy's worker a veritable magician."

28 Nelson, S. Max, Instructor In Group Work, Boston University.
The social patterns that serve as socializing agencies are innumerable. It all depends upon the leader. If the leader can take the disintegrating activities of the gang and make them integrating and socializing factors, he has succeeded, if not, he has failed. Buying expensive equipment, and engaging in activities that are costly is not conducive to socialization. The real test and progress of socialization consists of utilizing situations and equipment that are within the ways and means of the gang. The social patterns may consist in part of new personalities, new ideas, new activities, new purposes, new methods, new attitudes and a feeling of social well-being. These can all be created from the latent possibilities of the primary group and members of the gang.

It would be impossible and unwise to set up social patterns for leaders and state that socialization would result, if the project had been carried out successfully. Human nature doesn't work that way. If the leader does not have enough vision to create these patterns with resources available, he is not a leader and no new equipment, or organization or social situations would assure progress. Socialization is a process of education. It requires a working knowledge of the principles of mental development.

Continuous processes of socialization are dependent on democratic living. The principle "each for all and all for each" is the basic foundation of a true democracy. Democracy is a process and not a goal. It is learning how to live with other
people. Dr. Gilbert H. Roehrig, City-Wide Boy's Work Secretary of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association says, "Living in today's world requires, if one is to be happy and effective a great deal of ability in social techniques. Much of life today is lived in groups. Group life involves much fundamental action and reaction between the group and the individual. This experience transcends all others both in shaping the growth and development of the persons involved and in determining the values that are coming to characterize present day society and the means by which these values are sustained. Consequently people have to learn how best to live and work with each other."

"Rugged individualism" which in the past has been the finest and most effective characteristic of the most honored Americans will in the coming days have to share its place in personality with the virtues that enable men to live and work corporately. Many of the ills in American life today—in politics, in industry, in community life—grow out of either a failure to sense mutuality of interests and to appreciate the need of mutual action or an inability on the part of people adequately to set up such action and to carry it through. Individual leaders we have in abundance. What we lack in our present day society is social will (motive) and social means (skill) to choose desirable social progress. How to deal with this need is probably our outstanding American problem. Where shall we look for means to deal with this problem?

Any agency or movement or group of people desiring to improve the order under which they live is inevitably driven to dealing with children and youth. Not the least of the reasons for this is the fact that human nature is so prone to accept as
right any status under which it has gained its early experience. Furthermore after it has adjusted itself to the conditions of this status it finds change difficult and unappealing. So that if the need of the times seems to indicate that change is necessary either in attitude or practice good strategy councils a major effort in introducing the younger generation to the desirability of such change and in equipping it with the means of carrying on under the changed conditions.

Motives and skills that are proper and adequate in a given situation may work havoc when applied in what looks like the same situation but to which time in its normal evolution has brought many changes.

"Rugged individualism" under pioneer conditions seemed to make for progress. The motives underlying it and the skills that made for success under its regime became American goals around which a public school system determined its curriculum and the church developed its moral sanctions.

The motives and skills necessary for the enrichment of life for the greatest possible number or to lay the ground work for such enrichment under the old conditions seem to be proven inadequate and inappropriate for this new era.

Instead of exclusive emphasis upon the individualistic virtues the times seem to call for motives and skills developed around the social imperatives. People must learn to work and live together. Mutuality takes the place of "rugged individualism". This does not mean the displacement of individual
initiative and growth. It does mean a new scheme of reference, viz. the good of the group, to which the individuals' objectives and means must be made to conform. Mutual respect, mutual confidence, mutual good will are the new watchwords.

Where is youth to learn the motives and skills that condition his native individualism to this new social need? Where shall we look for means to deal with this problem? Much of our difficulty grows out of the ways in which we introduce our children into life.

All our educational ways tend to stimulate in the individual his will and ability "to pull his own chestnuts out of the fire." There are few early experiences in life that quicken our sense of mutuality with others or introduce us to the means of achieving mutual interests.

Club work with boys gives them an experience of living and working together and an opportunity to develop the learnings which grow out of such an experience. Learning to live together with one's peers, to face the varied interests and needs that show up in a group of close-up friends, to accept the inevitable-ness of conflict in these differences and to discover how to bring unity of purpose and means out of this diversity represent an imperative need in the life even of adolescents.

Two essential factors in insuring group experience that will be marked by increasing mutuality are (1) that the personnel of the group shall be bound together by ties of mutual interest and regard. It must be a friendly fellowship. This
friendliness must be so dynamic as to become the scheme of reference in the light of which any proposed activity must justify itself. (2) The group must not become an isolated unit shut off from sufficient access to the wisdom and experience of the mature world in which it lives. This means adequate sharing in the life and program of the group on the part of some acceptable adult.

Too frequently the life of the group in its essential quality is characterized by no different motives and no different methods from those that are obtained in the other relationships that the members sustain. There may be ruthless competition for personal leadership, the friendly relations of the members of the group to one another may be impaired by the tendency of potent individuals to exploit the common life for their own ends,—majorities may dominate minorities without any adequate effort to compose their differences and hostile relations may develop with other groups and with the general world that is the actual background of the group's own life. If their experience in group life is to result in motives and skills that make the members competent to live happily and effectively on a basis of mutuality in a highly complex and corporate community life the institutions or persons responsible for such groups must deliberately plan so to condition group experience as to insure these results.

Where neighborhood gangs have come to be marked by unsocial practices an analysis of their experience shows that at
some point in the gang history a choice of end or means was made on the basis of too limited experience or too narrow purpose. If the episode that resulted in the beginning of a bad social trend had been participated in by some wise and understanding adult the wrong choices of end or means might have been avoided. As a result the first steps toward a constructive social program might have been laid without the impairment of the emotional experience involved.

The contribution of the adult or leader to this gang is one of bringing to their counsels and practices his larger experience and the viewpoint of the organization where that is involved as makeweights in their decisions and choices.

The success of such contribution will be determined by the extent to which it results in enriching the gang experience by

- broadening the range or experience so as to get beyond undue concentration upon a single, particular interest;
- leading the experience into increasingly worthy areas, particularly with reference to the needs of the boys of the group;
- conserving the freedom of the boys to develop the club activities and goals out of their own interests, needs and experiences thus giving to them the rewarding sense of creation;
- increasing the skill of the group in composing differences among its members in aims, hopes, and ambitions in the interest of unity;
- developing a growing tendency to check up present practices with the experience of the past where such exists and to arrive at conclusions that work out practically and for the good of the group.
integrating the group with its own larger community in such ways as to lead its members into a conscious concern about the group's influence in the interest of its own standards throughout that larger area.

When such experiences mark the life of a gang, the boys of the gang grow both in their ability to achieve personal accomplishment and in their knowledge of social processes and their skill in using them. 29

"The deeper truth, perhaps the deepest, is that the will to will the common will is the core, the germinating center of that large, still larger, ever larger life which we are coming to call the true democracy." 30

True democracy means the will of the whole, says Mary P. Follet, but the will of the whole is not necessarily represented by the majority, nor by a two-thirds or three-quarters vote, nor even by a unanimous vote; majority rule is democratic when it is approaching not a unanimous but an integrated will. The foundations of democratic living are learned by democratic practice in social situations where democratic procedure holds sway. No amount of instruction about the new democracy can substitute for actual experience in democratic control in the life of a gang.

The techniques of socialization are dependent on democratic living. The fallacies of atomistic ethics have been inhibiting factor in social progress. The technique for socializing must

29 The author is indebted to Dr. Gilbert H. Roehrig, City-Wide Boy's Work Secretary of Boston Young Men's Christian Association for his counsel and use of his material for a proposed "Leader's Manual."

30 Statement by Dr. D. D. Vaughn, Professor in Social Ethics, Boston University
always be in relation to the entire social pattern of the community. The gang is a product of that larger social whole. The gang is commonly regarded as the sole unit to be worked with, but the total pattern of social and mental development must be considered. The true process of socialization must be from the cradle through nursery, school and play, and on and on through every activity in life. It is acquired only through those modes of living and acting which shall teach persons how to grow and develop the social consciousness. It appears to be the height of folly to permit the forces of the community to produce the gang and then socialize it through group work. It is better strategy to use the gang as a special unit of work and in a larger measure work with the disorganizing psycho-social factors of the community life. "One philosophy holds that the strategy of group work lies in capturing natural groups and redirecting their interests and activities." 31

The redirection of the interests and activities of the natural gang would alter the forces of the community. The gang is not an isolated factor, but a part of the whole and it is impractical to work with one small segment of community life. "If group work agencies are to exercise moral and spiritual leadership, it must not be by sheer weight of tradition and authority, but by the depth of their insight into human personality, by their understanding of social life and the

effect of social factors upon individual lives, and by perfected techniques for meeting people at the point of their needs and interests." 32

Reliance upon past emotional and ideational experiences stored and objectified in the enduring codes, and standards in the gang and their systematic rules of operation should, by theory, whatever may be said of practice, enable the leader to maintain the integrity of the gang will while it is undergoing fundamental changes of motivation and internal organization. The persuasive-coercive processes of socialization are the best agents and conservators of fair play in the long run. It is psychological stupidity to "expect any marvelous changes in the boys in a year's time." The very essence of all power to influence lies in the ability to get the other persons to participate. The mind that can do that has a powerful leverage on his human world.

The importance of confidence as a technique of socialization is invaluable. The gang must believe in its leader, if it is to be lifted up and out of disintegrating attitudes. The boys must be able to trust their leader. They want to feel that their interests are safe in the leader's hands—that he will not betray them, or sell out, or get tired of serving them. Confidence facilitates harmonious social relationships. It coordinates, integrates and unifies psychical tensions that are essential to socialization.

32 Ibid., p. 4.
"The social worker who is trying to lift up a depressed family or class or a backward race must have faith in the persons he deals with if he is to secure helpful coordinations between his efforts and their cooperation in the betterment of their own condition." 33

"People cannot live together without some degree of mutual trust." Confidence is mental trust. It gives release and direction to mental tensions. If confidence has been established, it is easier to trust than not to trust, therefore, people will trust. The principle is applicable in dealing with gangs. In fact, it is basic to successful leadership.

The mental trust that results from confidence is essential to socialization but that is not enough to complete the process. Understanding the boy's nature, his emotions, his shiftlessness, his desires and wants are among other subjective attitudes that help to maintain the gang and leader relationship. The following illustration is an example of understanding boys and appealing to their wants. Give a boy a pile of facts and figures about health. He is quite indifferent. But suppose he wants to win a swimming prize. He will go into training and simply "lap up" the facts about health. The task of a leader is understanding the boy. To see as he sees, to feel as he feels, to view activities and enterprizes through the "eyes" of the boy. Intelligent leadership is an aid to understanding and good will. It is impossible without understanding,

sympathy and confidence to develop the "we-feeling." In the
simple and complex social adjustments and activities of indi-
viduals, understanding is a basic process of socialization. The
techniques of socialization are innumerable and dependent on
particular circumstances and situations. There are no univer-
sal "cure-alls" for socializing the gang. What will socialize
a gang in one locality will not work in another place. The
best universal techniques for socialization are intelligent,
sympathetic understanding of the gang.

The particular technique of socialization around which
this thesis is written, is social group work. The purpose of
group work is to develop personalities through revealing and
training capacities that promise achievement and satisfaction.
It is an attempt to build on the inevitably social interests
both of children and adults a type of group experience which
will be individually developing and socially useful. In the
Survey for May, 1935, Grace Coyle defines group work as

"an educational procedure aiming at the development
and social adjustment of individuals through vol-
untary group association." 34

Guiding principles for the educational procedure are; indivi-
dualization of group members as to backgrounds, capacities,
needs and interests.

Group work is concerned with both individual and social

34 Coyle, Grace L.: "Group Work And Social Change" National
Conference of Social Work, Chicago, University of
results. It is further defined as "an educational process emphasizing, first, the development and social adjustment of an individual through voluntary association; and second, the use of this association as a means of furthering other socially desirable ends." 35

Group work commonly connotes an "educational process carried on in leisure time under the auspices of a social agency for the purpose of aiding individuals in a group to acquire knowledge, skills, and attitudes, or to conduct activities that are constructively recreational in character." 36

The group process will not be produced by any process of addition but by the interpenetration of the group as a whole.

Group process is "acting and reacting, a single and identical process which brings out differences and integrates them into a unity. The complex reciprocal action, the intricate interweavings of the members of the group, is the social process." 37

The objectives of social group work have been splendidly summarized as follows:

1. Socialization
   a. Ability to adjust harmoniously to other people and changing situations.
   b. Cooperation within the group and with other groups.
   c. Wider contacts and more varied experiences with other persons.

2. Individual Adjustment and Personal Development
   b. Self-expression; new experience.

c. Recognition from others.
d. To some extent, response (devotion).
e. Remedying behavior problems and eliminating personal maladjustments where they already exist; preventing them in others.
f. Development of personal qualities: initiative, originality, resourcefulness, dependability, persistence, integrity, leadership, etc.
g. Development of physical abilities and skills; opening up new avenues for such expression.
h. Mental development; in the improved ability to think and to make careful analysis and judgment of facts and issues and to secure a larger body of information and knowledge.

3. Group Achievements

a. Active participation in and successful accomplishment of group projects.
b. Progression in the ability of the group to accomplish group aims.
c. Progression in group aims themselves. 38

The vital problem is how to make group activity a happy and satisfying experience for the boys. A program needs to be developed into which the activities of the gang and its members can be incorporated and through which they can be given significance in a larger plan of life. All gangs pursue some kind of activities that involve content. The range and quality of their activities are infinitely various, according to the interest of the gang, the skill of the leader, and the educational philosophy of the agency through which the gang is being socialized. The content of the activity depends much more upon how able the best members of the gang are than it does upon

the ability of those further down in the ability scale.

The gang wants to have a good time. It likes fun. It wants activities that give them enjoyment during their leisure time. What constitutes a good time, fun and enjoyable activity varies with age, experience, cultural status, intelligence, and other factors. To a large degree, enjoyment will depend upon variety new experience, and timeliness. Excellent equipment and liberal policies will prove effective in attracting boys to a social group-work center. Even if the equipment is not excellent, for the premises never make a club, it should be clean, homely, aesthetic, comfortable and characteristic of the type of activities in which the gang is engaged. A dirty club is inexcusable.

Social group work as a technique for socializing the gang makes it necessary to point out that, although the gang may be content to discuss organizational affairs and to gossip informally without skilled leadership, the attempt to utilize the discussion as an instrument for socialization will probably prove abortive unless the leader is rich in cultural resources and skilled in discussion techniques. A social group worker makes a certain conscious effort, called a technique, toward the gang. The social process in the gang becomes slightly modified--determines to a large extent what the next conscious effort or technique of the worker shall be. 39

The conscious direction of the educational process in group work helps to set up social patterns and subtle changes are brought about by an increase in the number and complexity of remote or derivative groups that influence the gang. A gang should never be forced to break with their past except as this past appears to them as inadequate. If there is no movement from within that calls for a change, there is no basis for a new system of control and hence for new attitudes, ethics, loyalties and morality. Gang loyalty is more than loyalty to an individual, it is loyalty to ideals. The boys refuse to "squeal" under pressure, partly to shield his fellows, but still more because squealing is contrary to the boys' moral code. If a change from within is wrought with the gang for the first time it will them a feeling of the narrowness of their own traditions, habits, customs and ways of life. It is difficult to realize the habits of a gang and the emotional attachment that have been acquired in their formative period. As the gang enlarges from the primitive horde to humanity and as it comes to include not only the living but those yet to be born, social consciousness is extended, social values universalized, and socialization becomes increasingly a process of moralization.

The success of social control depends upon choosing those forms of contact which affect the interests of the gang in some substantial way, without resort to violence or intimidation in which case the phenomenon passes over into another category. Social control consists of forcing the gang to choose the lesser
of two evils, and in doing so the gang is coerced non-violently coerced, it is true, but coerced none the less. "The essential procedure in typical instances of non-violent coercion consists in the concerted withholding of social contacts or relations which lie within the control of those applying the pressure." 40

Social control depends upon constraint of the individual while socialization would place control within the individual. The control within the individual is directed and regulated by social control. Social interaction and leadership under conditions of control are seldom present in the natural community. These controls must be created. They must be set-up with certain ends in view. The creation of new social patterns, based on the principle that the past is functional to the present, will create a basis for the processes of socialization. There are as few socialized boys in an unsocialized community as there are fresh water lilies in the great American desert. The creation of new social patterns, which consist in part of goals, emotional character and tensions, time relations, degree of complexity, and methods used in the set-up technique, are indespensable and invaluable aids for socializing the gang through group work. The type of social patterns that will survive are those where national ties, strong traditions and in many instances where centralized control is exerted. Local face-to-face groups are supplanted by, become linked up with,

and are dominated through national overhead organizations. The
Boy Scouts, The Boys' Clubs of America and the Young Men's
Christian Associations are examples.

These created patterns condition the boys through the pro-
cess of relationship and suggestion. Suggestion is the law of
the gang, interpenetration of the group. Suggestion is the in-
oculation of a strange idea into the consciousness, without
direct immediate participation of the "ego" of the subject.

"The nature of suggestion manifestly consists not
in any external peculiarities whatever. It is based
upon the peculiar kind of relation of the person
making the suggestion to the "ego" of the subject 41
during the reception and realization of the suggestion."

The laws of suggestion also influences human behavior below the
level of consciousness which makes direct and indirect suggest-
ton possible. It is usually a verbal hint, often used to build
up or maintain the prestige of the leader, ot to avoid the dan-
ger of offending the pride or disturbing the self-confidence of
the followers and setting up barriers between leader and fol-
lower. The value of suggestion is "where the followers may
resent to let the power of suggestion work its
way to effect desired changes." 42

The negative effect of suggestion often produces favorable results contrary suggestion is valuable for the "spur of
the moment" motivation but dangers in continued association.

41 Park, Robert E. and Burgess W. E.: Introduction to the
Science of Sociology, Chicago, University of Chicago
Press, 1921. p. 408.
42 Tead, Ordway: The Art of Leadership, New York, The Mac-
If the club meeting is disintegrating and the boys are "raising ruckions," negative suggestion can be used to good advantage. Tell the boys not to leave the club room and they want to leave. State a fact contrary to the accepted order and note the defense reaction. Many difficulties with boys are conditioned by too frequent attempts at suggestion; in fact boys delight in doing something to the contrary, in which case the methods of suggestion have the opposite of their intended effect.

Nothing succeeds like success; preach only that which you practice; sow only that which you can reap, and, keep your feet on the ground and head above the clouds, is descriptive of imitation. Boys do not imitate abstract ideals, they imitate the leader if he is a real leader. "Imitation is not an active process for the leader. It is rather a support upon which he can frequently rely once his person or his cause has become sufficiently established so that it becomes good form to join him and his group." 43

Imitation is acting as others act; it is a way of life that is the occasion for a similar performance by another. When one boy wears a cowboy suit, with a pistol hanging from his belt; other neighborhood boys imitate and the Wild West has become a living reality. The leader parts his hair in the center and the boys imitate. The leader "pulls out Chesterfields" and

the boy's buy Chesterfields. Joseph Peterson has written one of the best discussions of the problem of imitation. First, he believes that many activities supposedly of an imitative character may be ascribed to a similarity of bodily organs and to the fact that all members in similar circumstances respond to similar sets of stimuli. Second, when members of a group do not conform to the behavior of those around them they suffer from social pressure, which is always a group phenomenon. Third, it is easier to get ahead, or otherwise finds it advantageous to imitate. The friendly attitude is the influencing attitude. An affection is a positive motivating force over the conduct of those upon whom it is poured out. Smiles produce smiles, hate produces hate, and a friendly, cooperating attitude produces friendship. The rise and spread of Christianity is an example and illustration of the part imitation of ideas and ideals have played on a larger scale.

The leader must be sympathetic toward his work, his gang, and his surroundings. A sympathetic understanding of the gang is essential for social control. Hostility breeds hostility, it increases tensions, makes the leader-follower relationship too dynamic. Sympathy as an induced feeling is a type of mental interaction. It coordinates the psychical

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tensions. It is a mental attitude favorable to cooperation. It develops the expanding process of life and may be conceived of as a process of social control and socialization.

Psychic control is a technique for offense and defense with the living organism. The responses will be according to the situation in which it finds itself. It is impossible to imagine a psychic life which is isolated. The very first thing to discover is the goal of the psychic trends. Teleology is inherent in any conception of psychic life. There are no random or purposeless movements. When the goal of the psychic trends and tensions have been discovered, it is possible to change the goals, substitute stronger goals or reinterpret and re-evaluate the goals. The goals will always be in a constant state of flux with the boys. If no superior goals can be created, it is better to leave the anti-social goals than disturb them, for some goal will always be present. "Every voluntary act begins with a feeling of inadequacy, whose resolution proceeds toward a condition of satisfaction, of repose, and totality." 45

Positive emotional responses are those of approaching, examining, enjoying, enthusing over, loving, purchasing something or somebody. These positive responses may be elicited by presentation of goals that bring satisfaction, comfort, and security. Negative emotional responses are those of avoiding, rejecting,

disliking, fearing or hating something or somebody. These are also produced by goals of a negative character. The task in psychic control is the presentation of goals that produce action of a social nature. The goals to be set-up for psychic control will depend entirely on particular circumstances. Insights into human nature will determine the goal. Those leaders will an intelligent and keen understanding of boys will be able to present goals that will produce results.

The first general principle of all psychic life is a drive for superiority. This drive is basic in all life and schools of psychology center their attention on the principle. In attempting to control the gang, the leader has the psychological task of making social goals more superior than those anti-social goals that the boys believe bring them superiority. The difference between the boy's worker and preacher lies in method. One is intelligent, practical and pragmatic while the other is non-intelligent, impractical and too idealistic. The church as a socializing institution, means well, but its leadership lacks insight into human motivation that recondition the emotional and psychic nature of boys. Psychic control must be built on the principle of the superiority drive in human nature.

The second principle that must be taken into consideration in psychic control is recognition. Each personality has an inherent right and place under the rays of the sun. "Personality is the key to reality" in religion and in life. The basic purpose is to develop integrated personalities, that will take
their place in society. Each little "ego" must be recognized, given his status in the gang. The status of the boy in a gang is in the last analysis a matter of social attitudes. First, the individual's conception of his own role and second, the attitudes towards the fellows in the gang, neighborhood and community. In controlling the gang on the principle of recognition it is important to know that "expert and majority opinion hold about equal away over the individual, but the chances are about ten to seven in favor of the majority." 46

"Group opinion facilitates agreeing individual opinion to an extent almost three times chance. Group opinion inhibits disagreeing opinions to almost one-half chance. A greater number of positive than negative opportunities are accepted even by chance." 47

In controlling the gang, based on the desire for recognition, the leader must be singled out and recognized for he is the accepted and recognized personality by the gang. The most important factor in the gang leader is personal prestige.

A slap on the back is worth more than two kicks in the pants. A friendly, positive, cooperative attitude that increases the ego tensions, gives the boys energy, driving power and if done rightly, produces cooperation. "Don't be afraid to give praise and give it often enough so that its sustaining


power will not be lost." 48 There are very few people who will not cooperate better in a common enterprise when a little praise is administered. Praise is always more effective than blame. Regardless of sex, age, race, creed, color or ability, praise is the most effective of all incentives. How to administer praise will depend on the intelligence, experience, and insight of the leader and the maturation and insight of the subject. All people like to be praised.

There are times when all techniques of social and psychical control fail. The leader has tried his best with no avail. The situation described might be theoretically impossible but not in real life. The sternness of reality has sway over ideality and physical control includes intimidation, as being the threat of violence, implicit or explicit. Under this aspect of control must be classified, first, that aspect of control which rests, in the last analysis on the physical force and capacity for coercive violence of the ruling element, whether a minority or a popular majority. Second, open domination by individuals, or groups and, third, secret intimidation.

Physical control is very poor strategy with a gang. The gang enjoys fights, conflict and enemies. The ideal boy in the gang is one who "can stand up and take it." They are looking for fighters and physical power. To be sure, the gang as a whole can not be punished, by the leader. The author has

punished boys, physically with profit to the boy and emotional release to himself. "To the tune of the hickory stick" makes some boys good boys. That is the exception and not the rule. Some of the old-fashioned ways were not "so bad". Physical punishment is the only level that some individuals act on. Resort to it if necessary. If the leader does not want to tackle the job, there are plenty willing hands within the group or from another's group to fill the bill. The author does not attempt to prove his case nor uphold it. When it's all said and done, what will you do?

Threats as a means of control is not very effective. The boys have nothing to lose, little to gain and usually accept the challenge. If the challenge is accepted, the boys win and the leader loses. A threat reinforces the desire for conflict and challenge and the emotional and psychical conditions are unfavorable for the socializing process.

Flattery, persuasion, rewards, slogans, mottos, gossip, propaganda, satire, laughter, humor, disgust, envy, hate, calling names and love are all means of social control. Their value and use will be ascertained in experience and not from reading a treatise about them. One type of leadership could use one of the methods and another type would fail if he tried the same technique. It depends on the personality of the leader. There is one quality or technique of leadership that is in a separate category. The quality and tone of the leader's voice. "A good voice is a most important element in the
equipment. Apparently the quality of the voice can convey directly some sense of assurance, firmness and assertiveness which people (boys) tend to heed and respect. A low, positive tone accompanied by clear and not too hurried enunciation is invaluable as suggesting poise and an impersonal command of the situation."

The author has proven to his satisfaction that ten to fifteen boys can be controlled, directed and entertained in a single room for an hour and a half with the voice. The voice is a powerful technique of control. Friendliness with firmness of voice often works when all other techniques fail.

IV

CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIALIZATION

The consequences of socialization are very difficult to determine. The progress of humanity is difficult to measure. The time element is too short for a true perspective of changed lives. The natural growth and development in the boys of the gang make it doubly difficult to determine just what the effect of leadership has been. It is much easier to state what the consequences should be than what they will be. This is a real world and it is not likely that "angels" will be produced from the members of the gang. The completely socialized personality would feel out of place in a world that is dominated by greed as a result of economic determinism. The very best that could be hoped for would be the development of a social philosophy of life. The philosophy is summarized in the principle, "each for all and all for each" and in the commandments of Jesus "Love your neighbor as yourself."

A socialized philosophy of life does not manifest itself in the relationships of life unless the conscience is socialized. The development of the critical mind, the ability to understand another's viewpoint, a sensitiveness to human reactions, and an emotional capacity for a genuine social life. The socialized conscience and social philosophy of life ought to develop a wholesome personality in the boys.
There is a wide range of individual variation within the limits of normality. The variations are one of degree and not of kind. The distinction between the "nitwits" "the rest of us" and the "genius" is the degree of variation from the status quo of the primary group. It is impossible to be a normal person. All persons are abnormal in some degree. There is no normality. Abnormality is universal among people. Even though all people are abnormal, they can possess wholesome personalities. A wholesome personality is an integrated personality, says Dr. W. H. Burnham. "The normal developing personality is characterized by a series of integrations at higher and higher levels. The great means of preserving and developing the wholesome personality is attentive coordinated activity, physical and mental. The normal expression and control of emotions is essential for personality development. Involved in the preservation and development of the wholesome personality are such significant attitudes as confidence, the attitude of facing difficulties, the sense of humor, the learning attitude, and the objective attitude." ¹

A lack of understanding among friends accounts for the dearth of wholesome personalities within the primary group. There are innumerable examples of wholesome personalities in history and in contemporary society.

A wholesome personality is characterized by cultural attainments. The finer, social and aesthetic inclinations are the very essence of a gentlemen. The rude, raff, and slipshod ways of life are not conducive to a spiritualized and

socialized life. Therefore, cultural development should be one of the "earmarks" of a socialized personality.

A social philosophy of life, a socialized conscience, a wholesome personality and cultural attainments should enable the individual to find his place in society. Self realization is basic to socialization. Know thyself is still sound advice.

Self-realization is a prerequisite to all the higher values. Beauty cannot be described, it must be experienced. How would you convey your impressions of a gorgeous sunset to someone who is color-blind? How would you describe the emotions that sweep over you, when at a well-rendered symphony, to someone who is stone-deaf? There can be no proxies on the higher levels. Every man must climb up for himself.
SUMMARY

The purpose of this thesis was an investigation of the gang with reference to the configurational pattern that circumscribes the gang. It was an attempt to discover the processes of society. The processes of society are active factors in the social life of human beings. These active factors are the structural modes which the social changes of a given unit follow. These factors are the psycho-social activities of the community and individuals, their feelings, ideas, beliefs, ideals, desires, interests, and psychical tensions. The real task to be accomplished is the redirecting of the emotional and psychical tensions of the boys into socially useful channels within the structural area.

The etiological factors of the gang were first considered as biological forces. These forces are necessarily the raw material out of which the social life is developed. They are the psychological expression of social organization, functioning with respect to the environment, which produces the higher forms of social coordination and organization. The physiological basis, when viewed from the psychological side, are the true primary dynamic forces of human society, the ultimate fountains of all activity; and their guidance and control is involved in the process of socialization.

The physiological and psychological basis of social
disorganization are aspects of a total dynamic functioning organism. The psychical basis of a gang is action. Action is primary. Activity is fundamental in the mental life as well as in the social life. It is the coordination of the activities into a unified whole, that makes social life possible. Socialization takes place through collective adaptations, various forms of interstimulation and response, and reciprocal processes with the larger society. The whole process of developing the social life is strictly limited and conditioned by the mental and moral character of society and the individual.

The boy is by nature active, not passive, in the presence of the forces of environment. His mind has been developed in and through his activities. Mental life is an aspect of the life-process, but it is a significant and controlling aspect of the whole life-process. The psychical life has reference not simply to the life of the individual but also to the groups and psycho-social forces of the community.

The processes of the gang are explained in terms of physical causation, where such can be traced, and in terms of mental activity, when it is one of stimulus and response with reference to the whole pattern of community forces. The social process must be described in psychological terms. A socialized life is possible only through the mental interaction of individuals.

The economic factor determines the status and well-being of an individual in society. The economic status of the
people living in the slum areas is very low. Many of the worst iniquities of modern times are due to economic determinism. Self-interest, competition, and profits are the cornerstones of the present economic order. This has led to vast disparity in privilege between the most successful and the least fortunate members of society. It leads to the concentration of almost illimitable power in the hands of a few. Concentration of power leads to bitterness and strife which are inherent in a system of economics that rests upon self-interest, competition and profits. It stimulates desire for things that cannot be obtained and anti-social habits result.

The low economic status of members in society force some members to accept a low standard of living, over-crowded living quarters which produces conflicts and tensions. Low vitality, nervousness, irritation, depression, uncleanness and dissemination of disease are facilitated in the low-grade home due to economic pressure. The low-grade home, the low-grade neighborhood, the low-grade school and the low-grade church all contribute to social disorganization, which directly facilitates the formation of gangs.

The gang was conceived of as a psychical unity, moving in time and space, confining its activities within the boundaries of the primary group. The distinction between a gang and group was based on the difference in goals, leadership, organization, membership, activities, motivations and thinking and reasoning. The psychological make-up of the gang was its unique character-
istic. The type of gangs operating in a community vary with circumstances. The peculiarity of circumstance often produces the accidental gang. The gang is often of the opportunist type. The boys form a gang, consciously, when specific opportunities are gained through characteristic peculiar to a gang.

There is also the habitual gang that is the inevitable result of the sociological forces of the community. The favors that are gained through corrupt political systems, characteristic of such communities, makes the gang a constant and permanent element in such areas.

The activities of the gang are based on unsatisfied desires. The suppression of desire, the mental blockages due to a lack of creative opportunity, and the "hum-drum" type of existence in the slums force the gang to carry on activities of an anti-social nature.

The task of socializing the gang can be accomplished through group work which is essentially an educational process. Capable leadership is essential to the process and without adequate leadership the gang will not be socialized. The leader is the key man for socializing the gang. He has the task of diagnosing the gang which will give him a structural basis and intelligent foundations on which he can build his program. Programs without insights into human nature is futile. The leader must understand that the laws of learning are the laws of dynamics. He must be able to utilize psychological
principles in the interest of motivation. Directed motivation based on the processes of socialization will produce social ends. The patterns of the social process must be set-up by the leader. The creation of patterns out of ordinary circumstances of life are the most effective, stable and lasting tensions. The techniques of socialization revolve around insights into human nature and utilization of the ordinary life experiences for social ends. There are no tricks in the "bag" that will permit any leader to learn the trade and produce results. The techniques of socialization are based on the principle of sharing. The give and take, the exchange of ideas and the enrichment of personality through widening the mental horizons are of the very essence of all techniques. Depending on techniques for socializing the gang would certainly mean failure.

The consequences of socialization will be the production of real boys. Regular fellows working with and for each other toward "a more abundant life."

It is well to build a society of stabilized boys that will greatly lesson the crime waves and destructive gangs in America. It will lesson the political systems hold in the gang, if the gang has social attitudes and views it will facilitate and help to promote the Christian ideals of brotherhood and goodwill throughout the world.
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