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Self mutilation by institutionalized delinquent adolescent girls

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SELF MUTILATION BY INSTITUTIONALIZED
DELINQUENT ADOLESCENT GIRLS

BY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

This exploratory study was undertaken to elicit from adolescent delinquent girls their perception of what their acts of self-mutilation mean to them.

Introduction to Problem

One of the common concerns in all of nursing is the preservation and encouragement of good physical health. We have often seen how a disfiguring condition can alter the self-concept of the individual. We strive constantly to help and support this individual in accepting his disfigurement. Coming from such a background, the encounter of a situation in which a person has deliberately disfigured himself required a new orientation on the part of the author. A need was felt to learn more about this aspect of behavior and its meaning to the individual. The result has been this exploratory study, undertaken to gain more insight into the reasons behind the delinquent adolescent girl's act of self-mutilation.

This situation and these subjects were encountered in the author's field work placement at the Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts. This school is governed by the Division of Youth Service, and directly administered by a three-member board appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts.

The girls have been placed in their custody by the Juvenile Court for a variety of reasons. The daily census at the School is approximately 125 to 145 girls, and the average length of stay is about one year. Most of the girls are between ten and eighteen years of age. The author's role at the School was to provide individual counselling to a small number of these adolescent girls. Several of the girls bore plainly visible carvings or tattoos which had been self inflicted. There was a feeling of uncertainty as to how the girl should be approached and how best she might be helped. It was later discovered that this concern was shared, to some extent, by the regular staff.

Eight adolescent girls between the ages of thirteen and seventeen years participated in the study. Each of the girls had done some form of self-mutilation during their first six months at the School, but had not done so within the three weeks preceding the interview by the author. The exact forms of self-mutilation considered will be described and defined later. The limitations inherent in this study are as follows:

- 1) only a small number of subjects were interviewed;
- 2) the study is retrospective in that it was necessary to rely on the recall of each girl;
- 3) since the interviews were held over a span of several weeks, the interviewed girls could conceivably have influenced the answers of those not yet interviewed;
- 4) the delinquent girl often distrusts adults, which could affect her willingness to express her feelings;

- 5) the adolescent girl may not understand her feelings and therefore have presented her rationalizations instead;
- 6) the interviewer formed part of the interview situation, and may have affected the answers.

There are many types of behavior that may be described as being self-mutilative. However, for the purpose of this study we are interested in only two areas; that of carving and of self-tattooing. Carving is a colloquial word for an intentional cut made through the skin surface usually in the form of letters or other symbols, such as a heart. By self-tattooing is meant the insertion of an ink or dye under the skin surface also usually in the form of some symbol, this being done by the person himself.

Although it did point up some possibilities, a survey of the literature (discussed in Chapter II) showed that very little work had been done in this particular area. Thus it is hoped that this exploratory study will serve several purposes:

- 1) to stimulate further interest in the area;
- 2) to provide some basis for further study;
- 3) to suggest possible positive approaches in dealing with such individuals.

Preview of Methodology

The eight girls selected were those who, in the opinion of the Program Director of the Industrial School, would be most willing to participate in a study of this nature. They had all

done at least one carving or one tattoo on themselves. A clinical interview was held with each girl in which she was given the opportunity to express her thoughts on this problem, as she desired. The methodology is discussed in more detail in Chapter III. The statements resulting from these interviews are analyzed and discussed in Chapter IV. Following the interview, a case study was done on each girl using the information given in her record. These case studies have been included in Appendix III to provide some basis for a deeper understanding of each girl.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

It is known that when the little child first explores his body and its functions, he begins to form a concept of himself as someone distinct and different from other people and things. As he is able to master and utilize his body appropriately, he begins to develop a sense of worth and well-being. This is the child's original self concept. Many irrational and symbolic associations may play a part in the child's concept of his body as he is not able to comprehend completely his environment. This body image will change as he grows older, but many of the early feelings and associations will remain in the unconscious. This is important for as Karl Menninger¹ writes, "a person's conception of his own body has a great deal to do with a person's conception of his own personality and of his relations with other people."

In light of the above, let us consider the delinquent girl who has demonstrated self mutilative behavior. It would seem to follow that her body image might be one of disgust, shame or some other negative feeling which would enable her to purposely harm or disfigure her body. If so, then possibly this started when she was very young and her body image and self concept were just beginning to be formed. Another

¹Karl A. Menninger, "Psychiatric Aspects of Physical Disability," Psychological Aspects of Physical Disability, Ed. J. Garrett (No.210; Rehabilitation Service Series; Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office) p. 10.

possibility is that perhaps her attitude shifted after some particular incident such as the birth of a sibling, an incident involving acute shame, or after the onset of menstruation.

There has been some work done concerning the body image of the juvenile delinquent by Kaufman and Heims.² They did not discuss the self mutilating girl as such, but they did work with delinquent girls. They found that the delinquents described their depression as a loss of a body part or as an emptiness of the body. Kaufman and Heims felt that this was related to a loss of a human relationship, perceived by the child as a sadistic act. The child often described the relationship as being aggressively torn away from him. The authors felt this was due in part to the manner the parent had of relating to the child, and in part to the early stage of ego development at which this loss was perceived. Often the child attempts to handle this loss by aggressive activity.

Toolan³ claimed that this aggressive behavior was a manifestation of depression due to the factual or imagined loss of some love object (for example, an imagined wrong or rejection by the parent). Self destructive behavior was mentioned as one aspect of this aggression. The child hates

²Irving Kaufman and Lora Heims, "The Body Image of the Juvenile Delinquent," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXXVIII, (1958), pp. 146-159.

³James M. Toolan, "Depression in Children and Adolescents", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXXII, (April 1962), pp. 404-415.

the lost love object, but still is dependent on it and consequently hopes it will be returned. Repression and denial are used to ward off the realization of the loss of the love object. Because the child prefers to think of himself as bad rather than his parents, he attempts to absolve his parents by the performance of evil acts. This reinforces his concept of himself as a person unworthy of love. As the child grows older, he finds it more and more difficult to maintain this pattern. As a result, his hostility increases as do his guilt feelings. This causes the severe depression which is warded off by diversionary methods such as self mutilative behavior.

Burks and Harrison⁴ also mention aggression as a means of avoiding depression. They define depression as a sense of helplessness (or impotence) of the ego. This implies worthlessness and hopelessness. They feel this is particularly true in cases where the child has experienced true rejection and deprivation at an early age. The child's self concept is one of inadequacy, worthlessness, and incompetence.

This would seem to lead us closer to understanding the self mutilative behavior as a form of aggression that is directed inward as a result of a self concept of worthlessness.

⁴Henry L. Burks and Saul I. Harrison, "Aggressive Behavior as a Means of Avoiding Depression", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXXII, (April 1962), pp. 416-422.

Menninger⁵ suggests in his book, Man Against Himself, that the neurotic person presumably uses it as a form of self punishment. It serves as a partial atonement, as it were, for the sins of the past and sometimes of the future as well. The religious fanatic in some cultures does it as a sacrifice. In Pre-Christian times this was primarily a giving up of the sexual life for the religious. The psychotic seems more irrational in his acts. In some instances his aggression is directed against himself. He seems to attach multiple areas of his body rather than a focal point, as it usually is in the neurotic person.

The delinquent is often not considered to be neurotic or psychotic. Menninger does not consider delinquents as such, but does suggest in another part of the book that many criminal acts are performed in such a way that capture is almost a sure thing. He feels that this is a form of self punishment brought on by their sense of guilt.⁶

John Burma⁷ did a study concerning self tattooing among delinquents. This was a pilot study to investigate the relationship of the self concept of delinquents to self tattooing. The article did not indicate how he went about this, and drew no definite conclusions as to the relation between self concept and tattooing. However, he did give facts about

⁵Karl A. Menninger, Man Against Himself, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1938, pp.201-294.

⁶Ibid., pp. 162-185.

⁷John H. Burma, "Self Tattooing Among Delinquents", Sociology and Social Research, XXXXIII, (May-June 1959), pp. 341-345.

the extent of tattooing and some of the reasons as given by the delinquents themselves. He reported the following eight findings based on data from his study:

- 1) that significantly more delinquents than nondelinquents tattoo;
- 2) that significantly more boys than girls tattoo, but when girls do tattoo they do it at least as much as the boys;
- 3) the idea occurs to some people early and probably without thought to the future;
- 4) it frequently serves as a status symbol in some groups;
- 5) after the first tattoo, additional ones are put on with less compunction;
- 6) there is a close relationship between children drawing on their arms and delinquents tattooing;
- 7) self tattooing may be evidence of gang membership;
- 8) for some it is a result of certain self concepts and hence is a partial index of such concepts.

It would seem possible from this study that tattooing and carving may be dynamically different from slashing. Slashing refers to the random but intentional cutting of the skin surface. The first two may have the function of being a decorative-narcissistic embellishment, whereas slashing may constitute a self punishing act. It is recognized that in some primitive cultures carving and self-tattooing are considered decorative. However, it is the writer's contention that in our present society this activity represents a deviate form of

behavior and as such could be one level of self-mutilation.

It is generally known and accepted that adolescents strive for independence. They must free themselves from parental authority in order to establish their right to adulthood. The peer group becomes very important. In the acceptance given by the group the adolescent finds the support and security still needed, but which can no longer be sought entirely from the family.

The delinquent adolescent is no different in this respect. He too, is very dependent on acceptance and approval by his peers. Indeed, this is often the only place he has ever felt this acceptance, in which case the group or gang may become even more important. The gangs have standards and rules to live up to, unfortunately many of these run counter to the rules of society. The goal is to be a man. The tougher, stronger and more reckless ones are looked up to and imitated. The gangs often impose initiation rites which serve to test the worthiness of prospective members. Then the gangs symbol may be tattooed on the new member. This is more commonly thought of in connection with male gangs, but the girls could have similar symbols. Also common is the carving of a boy-friend's name on the arms or legs as a sign of belonging.

There seems to be a dearth of research done or results reported pertaining to this problem. Even though, the work reviewed here does point up some of the possible reasons

underlying this behavior, it was felt that this study should be exploratory in nature. Accordingly, no hypotheses were formed.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Time and Place of the Study

This study was conducted during the Spring of 1963 at the Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts (hereinafter referred to as the "School"). This School is a facility of the Division of Youth Service under the auspices of the Department of Education. The School is situated on 250 acres of wood and farmland. The girls live in cottage-type facilities, each of which has a consistent supervisory staff and their own kitchen and dining room service. There is also an infirmary on the grounds and a school building. Each girl is assigned to a program of activities geared to meet her individual needs and interests. The author was first introduced to the agency through assignment there for field work experience. A proposal outlining the study was submitted to the Superintendent of the School. They were agreeable to having the study done there, and cooperated in the selection of the sample, as described below.

Selection and Description of the Sample

Even though no accurate records were kept at the School when the carving and self-tattooing occurred, members of the staff were usually aware of those girls who had exhibited such behavior. Accordingly, the sample was selected from a list of those girls compiled by the Program Director. The eight girls

selected were, in the opinion of the Program Director, those girls which would be most willing to participate. Since this is an exploratory study, it was felt that the willingness of the subjects to participate was more important than was having a random sample.

Pertinent characteristics of each of the subjects are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE I

PERTINENT CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBJECTS

Fictitious name	Age at time of study	Date of commitment	Approx. date when first done	Number of carvings	Number of tattoos
Diane	17 yrs. 7 mos.	9/60	11/60	many	6
Lou	17 yrs. 8 mos.	12/61	summer '62	2	0
Bess	13 yrs. 11 mos.	10/61	12/61	many	approx. 6
May	14 yrs.	6/62	8/59	20	0
Gay	14 yrs. 11 mos.	10/60	10/59	37	0
Lyn	17 yrs.	9/59	approx. '61	5 to 6	1
Dolly	16 yrs.	6/60	1/62	7	0
Alice	15 yrs. 10 mos.	10/61	approx. '60	0	1

The information in the table concerning the date when the girl first exhibited this behavior and how many carvings or tattoos she did was obtained from the girl herself. Where "many" occurs, the girl was unable to give a more exact answer. The charge on commitment for all was "Stubborn Child", although their delinquencies vary as can be seen from their case studies. As can be seen three girls first exhibited this behavior before coming to the school and all of the subjects exhibited it at least once in their first six months at the School. The last such mutilation (Gay) occurred three weeks before the interview was given.

The author's introduction to the subjects came about in three ways. One of the subjects had known the author as her counsellor. Two of the subjects were talked to first by the Program Director, who then introduced them to the author. The other five subjects were simply called to the office by the author, who introduced herself directly. All eight had essentially the same explanation given to them: that this was a study being done by the author in order to find out their views as to why they carve or tattoo, and from this perhaps to find better ways to help them. They were told that their names would not be used, and that if they did not want to participate they could refuse. None of the girls refused.

Methods Used to Collect the Data

Two methods were used to collect the data. The first

was a clinical interview with each of the subjects, and the second was a study of her case history.

The clinical type of interview was used with an interview guide (see Appendix I). This was aimed at eliciting from the subject underlying feelings and motivations regarding the self-mutilation. The subject was given the freedom to express herself as she chose. It was the intention of the author to record immediately the interview statements in order to eliminate the unreliability of the interviewer's recall. This was explained to each subject and she agreed to having this done. One of the subjects became so obviously disturbed by the note taking that it was discontinued in her case. Instead, as soon as the girl left, the interviewer tried to reproduce what she had said. A tape recorder would have been more reliable in the sense that every word would have been recorded. There was a feeling however, that the interviewer as well as the subjects might have become more tense and not as free to communicate. Furthermore, a tape recorder was not conveniently available. It is believed significant that in each case the subject seemed anxious to help the interviewer, and appeared to be stating what she honestly felt to be true. Some vagueness developed because a number of the subjects could not recall exact times or even feelings. It seemed impossible for them to distinguish one incident of carving or tattooing from another. At the least however, the interview does have face validity in that it

relays, more or less accurately, that which the subject recalled. Two representative interviews are given in Appendix II. The interview statements were examined for trends, new ideas, or indeed any hints that might increase understanding of this behavior. The results of this examination are given in the next chapter.

The study of the girl's case history came from a review of her record. The areas looked into were age, social history including family relationships, the particular form of delinquency, the psychiatrists' reports, and her general progress at the Industrial School for Girls. It is recognized that this information is second-hand to the author, and that its reliability must be assumed. It was hoped that the author would be able to correlate the instances of self mutilative behavior with the happenings in the subject's life at the time. However, this was not possible, because the subject could not remember accurately enough when she carved or tattooed, as explained above. Therefore the case study was used here only to give a clearer picture of each girl, and some of the events in her life that may have contributed to her behavior. The case studies are included in Appendix III.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

As previously stated, an interview guide was used in order to elicit certain information from the subjects. Thus, even though each interview did not follow the exact same lines, the answers to ten specific questions were obtained. We proceed now to examine the answers to these questions.

1) When did she first carve or tattoo?

Three of the girls (May, Gay, and Alice) had done one or the other before coming to the School. The other five girls were at the School when they first carved or tattooed. There seems to be no particularly significant difference between these two groups. The three girls who had either carved or tattooed before coming to the School were quite young, but they were not the youngest of the total eight girls. Two of the three, May and Gay, had done the largest number of carvings or tattoos, whereas Alice had done the least. Also, the reasons given (discussed later) were not markedly different from those given by the five girls who had first carved or tattooed at the School. It is not surprising that they could not remember exactly when they had carved or tattooed considering the fact that the adolescent delinquent is very much oriented to the present and not for the past or future.

2) What were her feelings at the time?

This question seemed to be particularly difficult for

the girls to discuss. Four girls either ignored this question or gave an answer which had nothing to do with their feelings. This might indicate that the girls had not thought about how they had felt, had repressed their feelings, or perhaps did not wish to relate this information. The other four girls answered that they were mad at someone else. This "someone else" was usually one of their girl friends, the School in general, or a particular staff member of the School. In reality, it appears that this being "mad at" often precipitated the actual act of carving or tattooing.

3) What were her reasons for carving or tattooing?

Diane, Lyn, Dolly, and Alice all indicated a desire to be accepted by their peer group. Typical comments were, "I wanted to be accepted, to be in with the older girls;" or "Everyone else was doing it, so I did." Lyn was able to discuss this further. She felt that the older girls did not encourage the younger girls to carve, but that the young girls saw the carvings on the older ones and then felt they had to have one in order to belong. Lyn considered the behavior as a means of seeking attention: "If it weren't for attention, they wouldn't have to show it off." She added, "a lot of things you do here, you wouldn't do on the outside." These girls seem to feel that there was considerable group pressure to carve or tattoo; yet, only a small percentage of the girls at the School have in fact done this. This led the author to wonder if the

girls who had carved or tattooed did not feel greater group pressure than actually existed. This enhanced susceptibility to group pressure might have been related to their apparent low self-esteem. The girls might in effect have been adding something to themselves in hopes of being more acceptable to their peers.

Lou and Gay had similar explanations, but their reasons were more directly related to a specific girl rather than a group. They were both involved in "going with a girl." This refers to an apparent homosexual relationship which is quite prevalent among people confined in institutions and denied normal heterosexual relationships. Very seldom are the girls involved considered to be true homosexuals. Lou thought that if she carved her friend's name, it would prove she really cared about her. Gay added the comments, "The girl says to you 'I'm going to carve your name', so you figure you have to carve her name; or, alot of girls say, 'If you really like me, you'll carve my name'." Although these were the only two who mentioned this, most of the girls' carvings were names of other girls. This leads one to suspect that this reason was more prevalent than was admitted to the interviewer.

Bess said that she first carved because she was mad at being sent to the School because she had to leave her boyfriend. Therefore, she carved his initials. She then said that whenever she was mad, she would carve. It was noted in

her record that after carving in December, 1961, she immediately asked if she would be going home for Christmas. When she was told, "No", she accepted this answer as though she had counted on it. Another entry in the record indicates that she carved upon returning from a home visit. Possibly she was warding off her depression by acting out. Perhaps she was trying to get attention from the School, or maybe her feelings of badness were so great she had to punish herself. This can only be speculation, as no one knows what happened to her when she was home for her visit.

Gay and Dolly mentioned that often they had nothing to do, were restless or bored, and so they carved.

May was the only girl who simply answered, "I don't know." She talked with great admiration, however, of some of the men's tattoos and how "neat" they were. This may have been an identification with the male figure who seems to be looked upon more favorably than the female figure by her family. (See case study - Appendix III.)

4) How many carvings and tattoos have they done?

The frequency of carving or tattooing is shown in Table I which appears on page 13. Several facts deserve note here. Listed are seventy-two carvings not including those of Diane and Bess, who could only answer "many". (The author could see close to ten on the arms of these girls.) However, only fourteen tattoos are listed. Perhaps part of the reason

for this is that the girl needs ink or dye to do a tattoo, and whenever these materials are used in the School, the girls are carefully supervised. Another reason might be that the girls look upon a tattoo as more permanent. Lyn was of the opinion that tattooing was not as bad as carving because sailors tattoo.

5) Was she alone? If not, who was with her?

The author had expected to find that most of the girls were in the company of their peers when they carved or tattooed, particularly since the reasons they gave were concerned with group action. However, six were alone every-time, one girl was alone some of the times, and only one girl was never alone when she did hers. The fact that most of these were done in the School where the groups are always supervised is the most likely explanation for this observation. The only time the girl is not directly supervised is when she is in her room alone.

6) What did she carve or tattoo?

Almost all of the carvings or tattoos were either a girlfriend's name or a boyfriend's name. The girlfriend was usually a friend within the School. The boyfriend was most often someone they left behind when they came to the School. This boy did not seem to be anyone to whom they had a particularly strong attachment, but rather was simply the last boy with whom they were involved. Two girls did their own name. One girl, Lyn, did the name of the Program Director "for spite":

"I knew it would hurt Miss - - -." May, in addition to names, also did two "Mom's", the words "I love you", and a heart. She could not explain why she had done these symbols. Her answer was again, "I don't know." It is interesting to speculate which "Mom" this symbol does indicate, considering May is an adopted child.

7) Did it hurt when she did it or soon after?

Five girls did say it hurt "a little." The other three girls said that it had hurt "some," later. Lou said it did not hurt at first because when she is mad, she can not feel anything, but that it did hurt later. There is some evidence in the literature that would verify Lou's remark. It has been demonstrated in other research studies regarding feelings of pain, that emotional crisis does indeed markedly reduce one's ability to perceive pain in its full intensity, but as the impact of the crisis diminished, the feelings of pain increase.

8) How was the girl treated by matrons, teachers, nurse, administrators, counsellors, friends, and family?

There were three girls who were "never caught," and so no one said anything to them (except their friends). They all said that the teachers had never said anything to them. Only one girl, May, had a counsellor at this time, but since her counsellor and the interviewer were the same person, this question was not asked. Only two girls ever saw the nurse. May was given an ointment which helped a little. Gay was given

some make-up by the nurse to cover up the scars.

The administrators (i.e., the Superintendent, her Assistant, and the Program Director) were uniformly looked upon by the girls as persons who would punish them if they saw the scars. The matrons were regarded in a similar fashion, but there was a wider variation in responses. Bess said that the matron was very angry with her. Lou felt the matron teased her a lot about her "girlfriend." Gay had the only bitter attitude. She said, "Some matrons pretend they're worried, but they don't really care." She also had the feeling that the administrator's "pets" got away with it, whereas she did not.

There was only one girl who said her family did not like it. For the other girls, apparently no one in the family ever said anything to them about this behavior.

The most striking reaction came from their friends at the School. Six of the girls reported that their friends were angry with them. They were called foolish, crazy, and stupid. Lyn said her friends were so mad at her, "They threw me down the stairs." One girl who tried to scratch Lyn's face said, "If you are going to have a scarred face, I'll really scar it for you."

9) How do they feel they should be treated?

Alice and Diane were never asked this question due to an oversight on the part of the interviewer. Of the remaining six, five girls immediately said they should be punished because

they had been bad and it served them right. Lyn and Dolly thought that if they were punished, maybe other girls would not do it. Gay was indifferent at first. She said, "It's their skin," and would tell them to "go ahead and do it." Almost as soon as she said this however, she reconsidered and said, "No, really I'd give them a warning, and then punish them the second time." She went on to say that all should be treated equally. She also felt the younger girls should not be mixed in with the older girls, because the older girls encourage carving. There could be two interpretations given to her changing her story. The most likely one, in the interviewer's opinion, was that the first answer was a "flip" or "wise" remark, after which she decided to give it more thought. The other possibility is that she decided to give what she thought the interviewer would want to hear. This seems less likely but possible.

10) Is she sorry she did this? If so, why?

Only one girl (May) said she was not sorry, but even she emphasized that she did not do it too deeply and the scars would go away eventually.

The principle reason for being sorry was that the people on the "outside" stared at them which made them feel "funny" or "cheap". Along the same line, they felt that it labelled them as a "certain type of girl," and that this hindered their chances of making new friends, both girl and boy friends. They also felt it would be harder to find a job.

They all mentioned various devices to hide the scars or tattoos, such as long-sleeve blouses or big bracelets. They apparently shun swimming, because when they get a tan, the scars are particularly noticeable. Alice had her one tattoo surgically removed, and Diane wants to have this done also. The other girls felt that the surgical scar was worse than the carving, so they were going to try other means, such as cocoa butter and a variety of methods usually assigned to the category of "home remedies or old wife's tales."

Gay seemed more disturbed about this than the other girls. She had sandpapered several of her carvings to remove the name. Yet, she was the only girl who said she would probably do it again. She said, "Every time I think it's going to scar and look awful, but then I say I don't care and go ahead and do it."

In retrospect, this method (the clinical interview) could have been more productive if a more solid relationship had been established with the girl before questioning her about her behavior. If each girl could have been seen several times, she might have been more at ease and perhaps better able to discuss the subject at hand. Also, if there had been fewer questions, it might have been less confusing for her as well as for the interviewer.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

This exploratory study was undertaken to elicit from adolescent delinquent girls their perception of what their acts of self-mutilation mean to them. The study was conducted at the Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts. The eight adolescent girls between the ages of thirteen and seventeen who participated in the study had done some form of carving or tattooing during their first six months at the School, but had not done so within the three weeks preceding the interview by the author. The purpose of the study was to stimulate further interest in the area, to provide some basis for future studies, and to suggest possible positive approaches in dealing with such individuals.

The review of the literature revealed that there was a dearth of research done pertaining to this problem. However, the work reviewed did point up some of the possible reasons underlying this self-mutilative behavior.

The eight girls selected were those who, in the opinion of the Program Director, would be most willing to participate in a study of this nature. A clinical interview was held with each girl in which she was given the opportunity to express her thoughts on this problem, as she desired. Following the interview, a case study was done on each girl

The interview statements from the eight girls were quite similar. This permits some generalization of the picture that ones sees in this type of behavior. Generally speaking, most girls were in their beginning to middle teens when they first carved or tattooed, and were usually at the School. They found it difficult to remember the exact times when they had carved or tattooed. They also had difficulty expressing their feelings. When they did express them, it turned out they were usually mad at someone at the time. The common reasons given in the interview for doing this carving were pressure from the peer group, usually the older girls. Another common reason was to show someone else they really cared about them, or that they belonged to that person. Having nothing to do, or being bored also seemed to play a part. This was brought out again by the fact that almost all of the carving or tattooing occurred when the girl was alone in her room. The general attitude was that in the School it was alright, but they would not do it on the "outside." The widest variation concerned the number of carvings or tattoos. There were only two girls who had less than seven and four girls who had probably well over fifteen. Almost all carvings or tattoos were in the form of names of other people, usually a girlfriend. It usually hurt a little, either when first done or shortly thereafter. Generally speaking, if the girl was talked to at all by the staff, it was to punish her. The families, the

school nurse, and the teachers for the most part apparently ignored the situation and made no comment. Only one girl had a counsellor at the time of the study. The girls' friends took the most notice. They were usually mad at the girl and called her names. Interestingly enough, the girl wants and expects to be punished, and seemed to have no idea of any other kind of treatment. All but one girl appeared deeply sorry, and six were confident they would never do it again. The primary reason for being sorry was that people on the "outside" would look down at them, and that it would be more difficult to make new friends or to find a job. They felt "funny" or "cheap" and generally unacceptable to the public.

They all had various methods of trying to get rid of the scar or of hiding it.

As can be seen, their view is a fairly superficial one. They do not seem to have much insight. When consideration is given to the case studies, it is evident that each girl has had an unhappy and/or unstable home. They had many feelings of inadequacy and worthlessness. Several had a feeling of being bad. It would seem that the act of carving serves several purposes. The girl can gain the attention she desires. Perhaps now she will belong to the peer group, or to the one friend she has singled out. She will also get the punishment she feels she deserves. It is not until she is on the "outside" that it backfires on her, at which time she becomes deeply sorry.

Recommendations

1) There are some implications that can be drawn from this study in terms of approaches to use with these adolescent girls. They seem to be seeking attention and also some controls. Therefore it would seem that these girls are in particular need of guidance and support, as might be given by a counsellor. Another possible approach would be through participation in a therapeutic group experience led by a person trained for this type of work. A reasonable punishment given to the girl seems to be indicated in that she expects it, feels she deserves it, and hence probably feels more comfortable in this controlled situation. Every effort should be made, however, to have the punishment be fairly equal for all the girls, and to have it be accompanied by some counselling and support.

2) Some efforts toward educating the public that carving and tattooing does occur, and that these girls will usually outgrow this behavior should be made, so that possibly with better public understanding, the girl might not be ostracized for the rest of her life.

3) Future research might investigate more fully the relationship between the girl's self-concept and her self-mutilative behavior.

4) More attention should be given to a thorough examination of self-inflicted injury during an emotional crisis.

and the degree of pain perceived by the person in crisis.

5) It would seem that self-mutilation, pain, and resultant injury are all areas of interest in clinical nursing, and that a role for a nurse-counsellor could be evolved. One could explore how the child in crisis would respond to nursing care as one way of handling her conflicts and reducing her need to destroy or permanently mutilate herself.

6) Considering that many of the children in this study engaged in carving and tattooing during periods of aloneness and periods of stress and anger, perhaps nursing practitioners could direct attention to honoring somatic complaints and acts of self-mutilation more therapeutically. Once the child does carve or tattoo, this might be an indication to the nurse-clinician that the child is in stress or crisis and should be treated as such, including physical care to the wounds and a therapeutic environment to encourage replacing internalized aggression (self-mutilation) with more meaningful verbalization.

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APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

Interview Guide

- 1) When was the carving or tattooing first done?
- 2) What were the feelings of the girl concerning this?
- 3) What were her reasons for carving or tattooing?
- 4) Was she alone, and if not, who was with her?
- 5) What does the symbol mean? (to the girl)
- 6) Did it hurt when she did it? Afterwards?
- 7) How was she treated by the matrons, teachers, counsellor, administrators, family, school nurse, and friends?
- 8) How does she think she should have been treated?
- 9) How many times did she do this?
- 10) Are the circumstances similar each time?
- 11) Does she think she will do it again? Why?
- 12) Is she sorry she did it? For what reasons?

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II
SAMPLE INTERVIEWS

Interview 1 - Gay

Interviewer: When did you first carve?

Subject: In 1959, at home.

I: Why?

S: I just did scratches on my arm. I didn't want to go to school, so I made up this tale. I told my mother that this man jumped me on the way to school, but it didn't work, she didn't believe me.

I: Did you go to school?

S: No, I had to go to the doctor's.

I: Why didn't you just tell her you had a stomach ache?

S: She'd never believe that. Not my mother!

I: When else did you carve?

S: I did some here. I have thirty-seven carvings in all -- mostly friends' names. I counted them in my room. I didn't have anything to do.

I: Why did you carve?

S: Mostly I had arguments with a girlfriend, or I was in my room for punishment.

I: Why were you being punished?

S: For carving. When I was in my room I'd carve another.

I: Did it hurt?

S: No, it didn't hurt except later when it was put in water.

I: What did the matrons say?

S: Some pretend they're worried, but they don't really care, they just say, 'You know you shouldn't do this.'

I: What did the administration do?

S: They gave me a punishment. I lost my movies for a month. I don't think it's fair, it's my skin, besides it's already done.

I: What would you do if you were Miss --- (Superintendent)?

S: I'd tell them to go ahead - no - really I'd give them a warning and then punish them the second time. Some people here get punished and others don't.

I: Who doesn't?

S: If they're pets?

I: Do you think you'll do it again?

S: Probably, I don't know. I'm usually sorry afterwards, but I seem to just keep on doing it. A lot of girls say, 'If you really like me, you'll carve my name,' or they'll say, 'I'm going to carve your name.' So you figure you have to, too.

I: When did you last do it?

S: Three weeks ago, a lot of times I'm mad. What I'm wondering is what I'll tell my mother, she'll be mad -- more disappointed. People on the outside look at you funny. They think things when they see a girl's name on you. I tried to take them off but I couldn't. I used sandpaper on these. It will still leave a big scar, but at least it won't be a name. This one on my wrist I did too deep. I couldn't even sandpaper it.

I: Did you ever think of having a doctor remove it?

S: That looks worse.

I: Maybe you can wear a big bracelet over it.

S: I tried that when I was home last. I went out with a boy and he said, 'Let me see your bracelet.' He saw the name on my wrist (a girls' name). I didn't see him again! It looks funny when you get tanned. They look white. Last summer I had to wear long-sleeve blouses and long pants. I only went swimming once and I love to swim. Every time I think of doing it, I say it's going to scar and look awful, but then I say I don't care. The nurse gave me some stuff to put on it, but it is really just make-up.

Some of the matrons have said to use this or that, but nothing seems to help. That's one thing -- the younger girls are in with the older ones. They learn all the bad things from them. I never smoked or drank or did any of this before I came, and now I do everything. They (the older girls) encourage carving: 'Are you chicken? Go ahead, it won't hurt. It doesn't scar much.' Yeah, and just look at me. That's the only thing that worries me. Do you know what will take off scars? Some say coconut butter -- I don't know -- I'll just have to leave them there and think up excuses as I go along.

Interview 2 - Lyn

Lyn started talking even before being asked a question.

Subject: I did it for attention. Most of the girls want to show it, especially if it's a name. If it weren't for attention, they wouldn't have to show it off. That's not true for those that just scratch. I don't know why they do it. I don't know what to say to you. What do you want to know?

Interviewer: Well, perhaps you could tell me, when did you first carve?

S: Here, everyone was doing it. A friend of mine carved all over, she looked like a newspaper. So I did it on my face for spite. I don't do it deeply. It heals easily.

I: Why did you do it?

S: While here, everyone does it. It shocks people on the outside, but here it is different. A lot of things you do here, you wouldn't do on the outside. It's senseless really. I'll never do it again. Tattooing isn't as bad.

I: Why?

S: It doesn't look as bad. Men have tattoos. It shows the class you're in. You stand out in a crowd.

I: What class does it show?

S: Only a certain type girl would do it. Like the crosses. (Presumably this refers to either (1) the wearing of a large number of crucifixes, or (2) small crosses tattooed beside an eye.) In a normal family, it isn't accepted.

I come from a higher type family, there is a doctor and an opera singer. My grandmother wanted to take me to Italy, but I lost my chance. A lot of families don't care. There's nothing better to do, you're in your room a lot.

I: Did it hurt when you did it?

S: Yes, it did hurt. I wouldn't do it now. You see I've been out and it looks senseless. People look at you, it looks ridiculous. I'm thinking about going out now and getting a job. I don't want others to know.

I: What did your friends say?

S: They got very mad, but they would do it themselves. They threw me down the stairs, and one girl scratched my face. She said 'If you're going to have a scarred face, I'll really scar it for you.'

I: Did you see Miss --- (the Assistant Superintendent) or Miss --- (Superintendent)?

S: No, I saw Miss --- (the Program Director). She's my god-mother, and she looks out for me more than the others. She felt she had let me down. She always gets very upset when any girl does it. The penalty isn't as strict as it used to be. It doesn't shock them (the administrators) anymore.

I: How do you think you would handle it if you were Miss --- (the Superintendent)?

S: I'd give them a strict penalty and make an example of her. The penalties here aren't given out evenly. I think mostly they want to be accepted, to be in with a certain clique.

I: What clique is this?

S: Mostly the older girls. They usually don't do it (carving) anymore. The new girls carve.

I: Are they told to?

S: No, no one tells them to, but they think they have to. Everyone has had to hide it when they go out, so they don't do it again.

I: What are most of the carvings you've done:

S: Names and initials.

I: Did you ever think of having them removed?

S: When they are removed, it leaves a bigger scar than the name. But, mine are all gone. I did it for spite -- I knew it would hurt Miss --- (Program Director).

I: How many did you do?

S: Three on my face and two or three others. When I did it, I had to show everyone. I also did a tattoo, but it fell out. (The ink came out). I had a counsellor once, Miss ---, but that was a long time ago.

APPENDIX III

APPENDIX III

CASE STUDIES

Case 1 : Lou

Lou was an illegitimate child who lived in a foster home until she was fifteen months old, at which time her mother married (not Lou's father). The new husband adopted Lou, and they have never told her about this. The mother and father give a surface impression of harmony. They live in a housing project, and have an adequate income. There is also a thirteen year old brother. The father prefers the son and treats him differently than he does Lou. She feels this strongly, and is very jealous of him. The family is inconsistent with her. She was never really punished or helped to control herself. Lou feels she cannot talk to her mother. The mother is felt to have repressed her hostility toward her own childhood and toward her husband as well. The workers suspected that she felt very guilty about the illegitimacy, and that Lou was the evidence of her own badness. When talking about Lou, the parents seemed to have overtones of resentment. They felt ashamed of her, and tried to cover up for her.

Lou has a long record of stealing, starting when she was nine years old. She found it difficult to make friends, so she would try to buy them with the money she stole. Lou feels frightened because she cannot trust or control herself. She has respect for her mother, but feels she is inconsistent.

Lou has felt uneasy about the father since she has grown up. He now treats her as his "pet," gives her money, and takes her out to dinner, treating her as if they were on a date.

She was committed to the Youth Service Board in December, 1961. When she came to the School, she made a marginal adjustment. She was often in trouble, and became quite involved in homosexual activities.

The psychiatrist described her as lonely, sad, and in desperation to be accepted and liked. She felt inadequate and worthless. He wrote that she was a neurotic girl who felt very remorseful and anxious about her stealing episodes, but with help had the potential of making a satisfactory life adjustment.

Her two carvings were both the name of the girl with whom she was involved. She thought it would prove to the girl that she really cared.

Case 2 - May

May's mother was fifteen and unmarried at the time she gave birth to May. She has never seen her mother, whose whereabouts are unknown. The adoptive parents first saw May when she was five months old. When the parents finally were able to take May home six months later, she appeared different. There was a question in the mother's mind as to whether she had been ill or was a different child altogether. In any case,

the mother immediately felt that something was wrong with May, and this feeling never left.

The adoptive father was from Norway and is a fisherman. The family lived in Connecticut until 1959 when they moved to New Bedford in search of better fishing. The father is of necessity at sea much of the time, but when he is home, he is usually a patient, good-natured man. He leaves all of the domestic problems to his wife, who is the disciplinarian. She is described as having a motherly appearance. She had worked for awhile, but quit because she felt it would be better for the children to have her home. She says their marriage is a good one, although she talks of it being a lonely life. They had also adopted a boy who is two years older than May. He is considered to be a fine boy. He is bright in school, has never been in trouble, and seems to care about May and be concerned for her.

May was always considered by the mother to be a problem. She would wander from home frequently, was nervous, erratic, and destructive. She would tease her brother and steal from her mother. Whenever May was angry at her adoptive mother, she would retort, "Maybe I'm just like my real mother." May tried to be the center of attention in school. She feels she is stupid which upsets her greatly. She was often made a scapegoat by her peers which made her turn to delinquent peers for acceptance. Her passivity, lack of good judgement and

limited intelligence contributed to her being easily led into trouble. She stayed out all night several times, was a truant, and tried to buy the attentions of boys. She seemed to consider all the episodes of disobedience as a big joke. The mother relates the regression of her behavior with the onset of menstruation. By this time the mother was "scared stiff" of the girl, felt ashamed of her, and was very depressed about the whole thing. She said it was "like a nightmare" trying to raise May.

The psychiatrist considered May to be a dependent, impulsive, passive, and immature girl who warded off her depression by acting out. Although she had been told about the adoption when young, she apparently forgot about it until the summer of 1961. At this time, she was told again by the mother in an argument. This made May very sad. She felt unloved and unwanted by the real mother which contributed to her feelings of inadequacy and inferiority.

When May came to the School (July, 1962), she already had at least seven scars from carving, and did another just eight days after arrival. At first she was in almost constant trouble, but seemed to settle down after Christmas, and then joined in many School activities. Her parents visit about once a month. May has not been home since her committment.

Case 3 - Bess

Bess is the product of an Army career man and a German war bride. The mother had an illegitimate son by another man who was killed in action. She married Bess' father soon after, had Bess in a short while, and then another girl ten years later. The marriage was never a happy one. The mother describes the father as cruel, vulgar, abusive, and a heavy drinker. He has a court record, and goes out with other women. She feels that Bess embodies his worst traits. The father too sees his own faults in Bess, and rejects her to the point of wishing once when she was ill that she would die.

In this situation Bess had been a problem child from her earliest years. She had temper tantrums, and was very defiant. She had few friends, fought with her siblings, and had difficulty in school. When she was about ten years old, there was a question of her being molested by the landlord, but there was no evidence of rape. Shortly afterward, she became more of a problem in school. They described her as disobedient, defiant, indifferent to others, cruel, untruthful, antagonistic, and unhappy. She began to truant, to have boys in the home while no adult was there, disrobe in front of the window, and to be promiscuous. She was brought into court by the mother as a Stubborn Child in October, 1961. Bess admitted to having had sexual relations with boys for about two years. She showed neither anxiety nor guilt about this

behavior nor pleasure in it. The court felt that she was easily led, used, and abused in her desire to be popular. She was committed to the Youth Service Board and sent to the Industrial School for Girls in November. Bess said she was crazy, and should be in the "nut house." She carved her second day at the school because she was "mad at leaving my boyfriend." She carved again shortly before Christmas, and seemed relieved when told this would mean she couldn't go home. She is in trouble frequently at the School.

The psychiatrist's report stated that Bess thinks concretely and superficially. She had a vacant look, was sad at leaving her mother, but had no guilt feelings about her behavior. She blamed it on the landlord: "If he did it, other men might as well do it too." She was very hostile towards her father. She seemed intellectually limited, impulsive, masochistic, and rather passively dependent. The psychiatrist felt that possibly the action of the landlord was so traumatic to Bess that she had to repeat it, to make it a commonplace occurrence. Her behavior also served to retaliate against her parents by shaming them. Because of her lack of guilt or anxiety, and her callousness and coolness in the psychological testing, he felt she might have a true immature psychopathic personality.

Case 4 - Gay

Gay's father has a long court record for many

different offenses, including molesting a ten year old girl. He was always a heavy drinker, and gambled frequently. The family moved frequently. The parents separated in 1953. He was in New York when last heard from. Since then, the mother has had many boy friends in the home, and Gay has frequently witnessed her mother in sexual relations. Gay has a thirteen year old brother who is also very difficult and often in trouble with the law. In addition, there is a nine year old brother who is retarded and has leukemia. He lives in a school for the retarded, and has little contact with the family.

Gay began to act out in June, 1960, when she started going around with some Puerto Rican boys, and staying out for several days in a row. She was committed in October, 1960, and sent to the New England Home for Little Wanderers, and she remained there until February, 1961. At that time she was moved to the House of the Good Shepherd. In March of that same year, she was sent to the School. There was much indecision in the planning for her, and she gradually got herself into more trouble.

The psychiatrist's report indicated that Gay projected onto others her feelings of hostility towards the mother. She denied the mother's promiscuous behavior. She seemed to feel that men are violent and dangerous, but that Puerto Rican men are wiser and kinder. Gay had been exposed to many sexual experiences by her father, another older man,

and her brother. The mother seemed to play this up. She described to Gay in intimate detail her own love life, and then encouraged Gay to follow her example. Gay seemed to feel that she must identify with the mother. Then the mother will love and accept her, whereas if she shows her hostility, the mother will be driven away. The psychiatrist felt that Gay was very dependent, impulsive, and masochistic. She felt she needed to be punished for what unconsciously she feels is so bad within her (anger and sexual feelings). She felt inadequate and worthless, and wanted to be protected from her own destructive impulses by being sent away. She defended herself against her depression by acting out.

It was generally felt that Gay is a very intelligent girl. She told an outside worker (April, 1962) that she carved because she had been abandoned here at the School.

Case 5 - Lyn

One Sunday when she was about ten, Lyn told her mother that she couldn't go to church because she had been too bad. It developed that the father had been molesting the girl since she was five years old. She had wanted to tell the mother, but had not because of the father's threats. The father denied any misconduct, and the mother believed him initially. However, after Lyn was given a physical examination, the mother changed her mind. The couple separated for three

years, and then were divorced in 1959. The mother felt very guilty about the divorce and has hidden the reasons from her family. She has also kept Lyn's whereabouts a secret.

The experience with her father left Lyn feeling guilty and very bad. She feels she belongs in the rough neighborhoods, as she is on an equal level there with her friends. In 1958, Lyn witnessed her grandfather's death. After that she started running away from home. She was finally committed in September, 1959. She was placed at the House of the Good Shepherd and was in group therapy there. They felt that Lyn's mother encouraged her in narcissistic and dramatic behavior. They also felt that Lyn denied all her problems, and was excessively dependent on the mother.

The psychiatrist's report said that Lyn was very anxious and depressed. She felt guilty about not telling the mother sooner about the father. Her sense of badness and worthlessness drove her to identify with the delinquent peers. Lyn denied any hostility towards the mother, but the doctor felt they had a hostile-dependent relationship. Lyn projected onto the nuns her own feelings of not being able to be trusted and liked. She was very impulsive and dependent on her friends, and could be easily led by them. She perceives herself as being powerfully seductive, but has a rather shaky sexual identification.

Lyn was sent to the School in May, 1961. Her adjustment was marginal. It became worse after April, 1962. She has had much homosexual involvement with other girls, and has created many disturbances. She was unable to tolerate living in a cottage and has had to live in the infirmary. She tried on parole three times, but never stayed out more than three months. The School felt they could do nothing for her, and she was discharged in the beginning of June, 1963.

Case 6 - Dolly

Dolly was illegitimately born when her mother was only sixteen. She was placed with a grandaunt whom she loved very much, until she was four years old. At that time her mother married. Dolly was very fond of this stepfather, but the marriage lasted only one year. Dolly and the mother both went back to live with the grandaunt. Also living there was the mother's sister, husband, and their baby. The baby was given preference, and Dolly was very jealous of him. Also the uncle corrected Dolly harshly, which she resented.

There is much antagonism and misunderstanding between Dolly and her mother. Dolly is angry with the mother for getting drunk and frequently leaving the home for several days at a time. The onset of adolescence in Dolly has exacerbated the mother's own guilt and need for punishment. It seems as if she has a need to punish Dolly for this, and

criticizes her and her friends. Dolly feels rejected and feels that the mother has no right to be so critical, since her activities are worse than Dolly's. They both appear to be very dependent persons. The relationship became much worse after the grandaunt died.

Dolly ran away from home and truanted. She was put on probation for a year. After drawing a knife on her mother and beating up another girl, she was committed in June, 1960. She spent a year at the House of the Good Shepherd, and then was paroled to the stepfather. This lasted only a month, because the mother went to live with the stepfather, and Dolly could not accept this. She was then sent to the School in November, 1961. She told the parole worker that once when she was very young, her mother held her over a gas stove and tried to kill her, but the uncle came in in time and took Dolly to the hospital. Dolly said every time she remembers that, she hates her mother and she does something bad.

Her adjustment at the School was marginal at first. She tried to run away numerous times, was disruptive, was involved in homosexual activity, and had to live in the infirmary. In January, 1963 she started working in the Superintendent's house, and seems much better in that she is more active, helpful, and responsible.

The psychiatric report written in May, 1962 found her to be aloof, cooperative, demure, and free of anxiety.

He felt this indicated a "hypertrophic ego development," and that she would be apt to become a minor to moderate criminal. He could find no evidence of any internalized conflict or anxiety.

Dolly was the only Negro girl to participate in this study.

Case 7 - Alice

Alice was adopted when she was two and a half years old by an middle-aged Italian couple. Her real parents' whereabouts are unknown. The adoptive family had not been able to have children of their own, and were delighted to have Alice. She was doted on and catered to by not only the parents, but the other relatives as well. The mother would do everything for Alice, even to the point of washing her face for her. The friction increased when Alice reached puberty. She kept saying, "You don't want me, I'll go away." The mother would reply that, "It's because we loved you and wanted a child that we adopted you." Alice began to stay at home less and less, and the fights with her parents increased. When she showed an interest in dating, the parents forbade her to go out, but said they would find a nice boy for her and give her a good wedding when she was sixteen. Her mother was sick for quite awhile, and was very upset when Alice wouldn't come to see her in the hospital, or help her when she came home. The parents could not control her, and she ran away and stayed

in a boy's apartment. There was a question of whether she was raped or not. She was committed in October, 1961. One of the workers made the observation that the parents covered up Alice's behavior because of their own shame rather than for her sake.

Alice did not see a psychiatrist, but she did see a psychologist. She told him that the mother was inconsistent and old fashioned. She said the mother used to hit her, bite her, and kick her around. The mother kept bringing up the fact that Alice was adopted, and that she should be grateful to them for this. Alice also felt that the mother kept reminding her about any previous misbehavior.

While at the School, she has been active in the program and well-liked by the other girls. She was tried on parole once, but her old habits continued.

The mother died this past April. Alice seemed stunned and saddened by this. She said in the interview with the writer that she did not know what the mother had, and she was now planning to go home and take care of her father.

Case 8 - Diane

Diane is seventeen and a half years old, pleasant, quite nervous, and seven months pregnant. She has essentially no family. Her mother deserted the family when Diane was a year and a half old. The father is believed to be in Oregon.

There is a stepmother living in Massachusetts, but she does not really want Diane in her home because she feels the girl is too difficult to manage, and it would necessitate quitting her job. Living with the stepmother is a thirteen year old sister with whom Diane fought frequently, and a fifteen year old stepbrother.

When the mother deserted, Diane and her sister were shifted around to various relatives until the father remarried two years later. When that marriage failed in 1959, the father and the two girls lived together. This was a particularly unhappy situation for Diane. The father was physically abusive to Diane, and seemed to favor the sister. There was a question of his having had sexual relations with Diane, but she denied this. She was having relations with a number of boys and contracted gonorrhoea. She finally ran away from the home to the stepmother. She was brought into court on a charge of promiscuity, and was sent to the Reception and Detention Center. From there she was sent to the Metropolitan State Hospital.

The psychiatrist there felt that she was not very bright, and that she felt deserted and unloved. She was hurt by her family's disinterest, and was particularly bitter and angry with the father, although she did idealize him at times. The doctor felt that she was unrealistic and operated on a "rather magical wish fulfillment." She becomes angry and

upset if her dependency needs aren't met, and is an immature girl with little control over her behavior.

She was sent from the hospital to the Division of Child Guardianship where she was tried in various foster homes and group placements. When none of these arrangements worked, she was sent to the School for lack of community resources. Her adjustment to the School was poor at first. She was very disorderly and disruptive of the school program. She was tried on parole three times. When she came back the last time, she was four months pregnant by a boy she hopes to marry. She had calmed down and seemed to be more mature. The boy is in the Army, and apparently cares a great deal about Diane. If they still feel this way in the Fall when Diane becomes eighteen, the State is going to let them marry. All of her carvings and tattoos were done before she met this boy. She now wishes to have them removed.