PHYSIQUE and DELINQUENCY

By Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck
OTHER BOOKS BY THE AUTHORS

by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck

Five Hundred Criminal Careers, 1930
One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, 1934
Five Hundred Delinquent Women, 1934
Preventing Crime (Editors), 1936
Later Criminal Careers, 1937
Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up, 1940
Criminal Careers in Retrospect, 1943
After-conduct of Discharged Offenders, 1945
Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, 1950 (transl. into Japanese)
Delinquents in the Making, 1952 (transl. into Italian and French)

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The Community Use of Schools, 1927
Extended Use of School Buildings, 1927
Evaluative Research in Social Work, 1936

by Sheldon Glueck

Mental Disorder and the Criminal Law, 1925
Probation and Criminal Justice (Editor), 1933
Crime and Justice, 1936; republished, 1945
Cases on Criminal Law (with Livingston Hall), 1940
War Criminals: Their Prosecution and Punishment, 1944 (transl. into Spanish)
The Nuremberg Trial and Aggressive War, 1946 (transl. into Japanese)
Criminal Law and Enforcement (with Livingston Hall), 1951
Crime and Correction: Selected Papers, 1952
The Welfare State and the National Welfare (Editor), 1952
DEDICATION

To the late Earnest A. Hooton, teacher and friend, who long ago directed our attention to the possible role of body build in human behavior.
PHYSIQUE AND DELINQUENCY

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I

General Orientation

Introductory*

From time immemorial—in folklore, philosophic speculation, and literature—there have been attempts to link forms of bodily structure to traits of temperament, character, and conduct. The vigorous antics of Shakespeare’s energetic shrew-tamer, Petruchio, the jealousy and envy of the “lean and hungry” Cassius, the indolence and gluttony of the fat knight, Sir John Falstaff, the compensatory villainies of the “deformed, unfinished” Richard III—these are among the more familiar illustrations from literature.

In modern times there have been more scientific and systematic attempts to relate body morphology to traits of temperament and personality—among them the pioneering works of Kretschmer¹ and Sheldon.²

Is there anything to this alleged biologic affinity of body type to various temperamental and mental traits and, in turn, to conduct? Especially, is there any evidence that somatopsychic structure plays a significant role in delinquency? Since we have some valuable original data which might throw light on this issue, we devote the present volume to it, by intercorrelating traits of personality and character and sociocultural factors of home and family life with physique types, in a representative sample of persistent delinquents contrasted with a matched sample of true non-delinquents.

To focus attention on one aspect of the causal complex in delin-

*Footnotes will be found at the end of each chapter.
Physique and Delinquency

Delinquency does not of course imply non-awareness of the others or a notion that they are unimportant. There is indeed a growing conviction that the complex phenomenon of delinquency is not likely to be accounted for by any simplistic concept of unitary “cause” or “theory.” Acts of delinquency are varied, having in common only the fact that they are evidence of maladjustment of the individual to one or another of the diverse prohibitions of legal norms and codes. Therefore causal sequences leading to violations of the law must probably also vary. As research proceeds, certain sequences may be found to carry more etiologic weight than others; but it is still true that it is a diversity of traits and factors which, working together in differing degrees and circumstances, bring about the end result of antisocial behavior.

The variety of etiologic influences involved in delinquency makes it possible to place under the microscope for intensive study each of numerous participating factors. Perhaps the analysis of physique as related to temperamental and mental traits and environmental influences will yield some valuable insights.

It should be said at the outset that the present work is not animated by any notion of respectful reawakening of the somnolent Lombrosian theory that “the criminal” is a distinct hereditary species of “atavistic” or of degenerative nature. Nor is it begun with any preconception that bodily structure is the most weighty etiologic factor, or matrix of influence, in criminogenesis. It is merely found to be a promising focus of attention—among others we plan to explore in subsequent monographs—in pursuit of more intensive analyses of the intricacies of delinquency than was possible in our prior researches, including even the most comprehensive work, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency.*

Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency

In the present volume, then, we continue the task of *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* begun in the work of that title in which were presented the first fruits of a farflung inquiry into the causes of
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juvenile delinquency, through a comparison of 500 persistent delinquents and 500 proven non-delinquents. Detailed account of the sampling process is rendered in Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency. Here it need only be pointed out that we studied persistent and therefore true delinquents, rather than boys who once or twice during their lives had stolen a toy, sneaked into a motion picture theater, or played hooky—something that many children indulge in by way of experimental deviation from legally dictated norms of conduct. We were interested in the unquestionably "pathologic" in terms of delinquency to compare with the unquestionably healthy. The 500 delinquents were therefore drawn from the two industrial schools of Massachusetts. Much time, effort, and ingenuity were spent to find, in the Boston public schools, 500 true non-delinquents, to match with the 500 delinquents in terms of age, general intelligence (I.Q.), ethno-racial derivation, and residence in economically and socioculturally underprivileged areas of Greater Boston. General conclusions must be qualified to take account of these aspects of the two samples compared. However, experience with a prediction table based on five factors of family life that were found most markedly to differentiate delinquents from non-delinquents, as well as other, indirect, evidence derived from a prior study, would seem to indicate that the samples in question are more typical of the general situation than might offhand be supposed.

Basic data for comparison of the delinquents and the control group were derived from intensive exploration into the family background of these two groups of boys, their physique, their health, certain aspects of their intelligence, their temperament, and their personality and character structure.

The general control of the ethno-racial factor greatly enhances the reliability of the morphologic findings, in that the differences found to exist in the body structure of delinquents and non-delinquents, and between the boys of the various physique types, can be considered roughly (though not completely) independent of the influence of ethnic origin on the measurements involved. Apart
from this, the intensive verification of the raw materials that entered into the original research has given promise of enhanced reliability of the correlation tables in the analysis encompassed in the present work, advantaged as it is by the employment of a carefully selected control group. It should be pointed out also that no other investigation involving somatotypes or body types exists which includes on so extensive a scale the findings of Rorschach tests, or of psychiatric investigation and sociological inquiry.

Finally, attention should be called to an important methodologic principle governing the original investigation and the gathering of the raw materials for Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency. From the start, we insisted that each segment of the inquiry—somatic, intellectual, characterial (Rorschach Test), temperamental-emotional (psychiatric), and sociocultural—be explored independently of every other. No investigator in any of these areas was given access to the findings of the other segments of the research. To be sure, this had some drawbacks; but our experience has demonstrated that the advantages in terms of the ultimate reliability of the data have far outweighed any handicaps. There was no "reading in" or "tainting" of the raw materials of any one area through information obtained from any other line of the investigation. Reasoning in a circle was strictly eschewed. The psychiatrist had no access to the Rorschach Test findings on the boy he was interviewing; the anthropologists were not shown the Rorschach or psychiatric data. The Rorschach experts interpreted the test protocols obtained by other psychologists without prior knowledge of whether the test-responses were from delinquents or non-delinquents. We ourselves put the pieces of the puzzle together.

The reliability of the facts thus obtained from independent and neutralized sources, by various methods and different personnel, revealed an essential harmony reflected, for example, in the consistency of the psychiatric and Rorschach diagnoses when the cases investigated day by day over several years were finally compared; and further reflected in the finding that the three diagnostic-prog-


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nostic (predictive) tables we prepared from the most differentiative social, Rorschach, and psychiatric data turned out to have equally high power in distinguishing delinquents from non-delinquents.¹³

Evidences of the internal consistency and reliability of the basic data, from which the tentative conclusions in Unraveling were drawn, fortify our conviction of the merit of undertaking the present inquiry.

Over 400 traits and factors were included in Unraveling in the mass comparisons of delinquents and the control group of non-delinquents. These comparisons yielded some fundamental insights into the forces at play in the etiologic dynamics of persistent juvenile delinquency. The summation of the major resemblances and dissimilarities between the delinquents and the non-delinquents indicated that the separate findings, independently gathered, integrate into a dynamic pattern which is neither exclusively biologic nor exclusively sociocultural, but which derives from an interplay of certain somatic, temperamental, intellectual, and sociocultural forces:

The delinquents as a group [were found to be] distinguishable from the non-delinquents: (1) physically, in being essentially mesomorphic in constitution (solid, closely knit, muscular); (2) temperamentally, in being restless, energetic, impulsive, extroverted, aggressive, destructive (often sadistic) . . . ; (3) in attitude, by being hostile, defiant, resentful, suspicious, stubborn, socially assertive, adventurous, unconventional, non-submissive to authority; (4) psychologically, in tending to direct and concrete, rather than symbolic, intellectual expression, and in being less methodical in their approach to problems; (5) socioculturally, in having been reared to a far greater extent than the control group in homes of little understanding, affection, stability, or moral fibre by parents usually unfit to be effective guides and protectors or . . . desirable sources for emulation and the construction of a consistent, well-balanced, and socially normal superego during the early stages of character development.

While in individual cases the stresses contributed by any one of the above pressure-areas of dissocial-behavior tendency may adequately account for persistence in delinquency, in general the high probability of delinquency is dependent upon the interplay of the conditions and forces from all these areas.
In the exciting, stimulating, but little-controlled and culturally inconsistent environment of the underprivileged area, such boys readily give expression to their untamed impulses and their self-centered desires by means of various forms of delinquent behavior. Their tendencies toward uninhibited energy-expression are deeply anchored in soma and psyche and in the malformations of character during the first few years of life.\textsuperscript{14}

The first assay of the materials that formed the basis of \textit{Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency} called, naturally, for comparing the delinquents and non-delinquents \textit{en masse}. The next logical step is a more definitive analysis on the basis of significant “breakdowns” of the mass data. Indeed, we anticipated this necessity in \textit{Unraveling} when we said:

Some of the more important questions that will concern us in further, more detailed explorations of our materials are:

What causal syndromes can be inductively arrived at and defined by means of correlation of the various factors within each level of the inquiry? What syndromes will emerge from a comparison of delinquents and non-delinquents on the basis of a breakdown into ethnico-racial groupings? Into somatotypes? . . .

Further, what somatopsychic types will emerge from detailed cross-correlations between somatotypes and various characterial and personality traits? A more exact appreciation of the significance of constitutional typology in the causation of persistent delinquency than has yet been established awaits the result of such correlations.\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{General Purposes of the Inquiry}

What, then, happens when the synthetic entities, delinquents and non-delinquents, are broken down into the four comprehensive physique types (mesomorphic, ectomorphic, endomorphic, and balanced) within which individual somatotypes can be classified, and when selected traits and factors originally described in \textit{Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency} are re-assessed in terms of this fourfold cleavage? This is a question of great importance, not only for obtaining deeper insights into the etiology of delinquency but as a practical basis for preventive and therapeutic programs. The knowledge that a delinquent is a mesomorph or endomorph or ectomorph or of
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balanced physique yields little explanation of his antisocial behavior. While it is generally known, for example, that a mesomorph is a person of muscular, closely-knit, athletic build, the special significance for delinquency of such physical characteristics becomes apparent only through consideration of the intermediary traits of tempera-
ment, personality, and character that distinguish the mesomorph from other body types.

Classification of Somatotypes

From an anthropologic point of view, delinquents and non-delin-
quents are synthetic groups, made up of a combination of individuals belonging to different somatotypes. The reader who wishes to learn the technical details of classification of human beings into morpho-
logic types is referred to William H. Sheldon’s work, The Varieties of Human Physique, or his more recent Atlas of Men. Here it suffices to state briefly that Sheldon’s somatotyping method, which is a significant improvement on the classic but crude work of Kretschmer, consists of classifying the fundamental tendencies or thrusts of body structure of persons into somatotypes according to the respective degree of participation of each of the major constitutional components—endomorphy, mesomorphy, and ectomorphy. The following definitions of these presumably fundamental building-blocks of body structure are from Sheldon’s The Varieties of Human Physique:

Endomorphy means relative predominance of soft roundness throughout the various regions of the body. When endomorphy is dominant the digestive viscera are massive and tend relatively to dominate the bodily economy. The digestive viscera are derived principally from the endoder-
mal embryonic layer.

Mesomorphy means relative predominance of muscle, bone, and con-
nective tissue. The mesomorphic physique is normally heavy, hard, and rectangular in outline. Bone and muscle are prominent and the skin is made thick by a heavy underlying connective tissue. The entire bodily economy is dominated, relatively, by tissues derived from the mesoder-
mal embryonic layer.
Ectomorphy means relative predominance of linearity and fragility. In proportion to his mass, the ectomorph has the greatest surface area and hence relatively the greatest sensory exposure to the outside world. Relative to his mass he also has the largest brain and central nervous system. In a sense, therefore, his bodily economy is relatively dominated by tissues derived from the ectodermal embryonic layer.

On the basis of certain key bodily measurements and indices, and of skilled observation, an individual can be identified by three numerals, indicating his position on a seven-point scale in terms of the strength of each of the above-described three constitutional components. Thus, a person rated as 171 is an extreme mesomorph, that is, very strong in bone and muscle structure and very weak in both the soft-roundness of the endomorphic component of body build and the linear-fragile ectomorphic component; a 444 is a person who is essentially poised at the midpoint of participation of the three fundamental somatic components; and so on.

By Sheldon's method, many individual somatotypes have been found to exist; in his latest book he identifies no fewer than eighty-eight of them, and he guesses that further exploration would turn up even more. The method of somatotyping followed by our consulting anthropologist, Dr. Carl C. Seltzer, is not, strictly, that of Sheldon; but it has yielded highly reliable results. For the purposes of intercorrelational analysis, individual somatotypes have to be subsumed under more general physique-pattern categories. On the basis of careful anthropologic measurements and of disciplined scrutiny and comparison of the standardized photographs of our delinquents and non-delinquents, Dr. Seltzer classified the individual somatotypes according to component dominance, as shown in the following table from Unraveling:

It will be observed not only that mesomorphy predominates in the bodily structure of a majority of the delinquents (60.1%) but that despite the initial matching of the delinquents and the non-delinquent controls by ethno-racial derivation, twice the proportion of mesomorphs are found among the delinquents as among the non-
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### Incidence of Somatotype Component Dominance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Endomorphic Component Dominance</th>
<th>496 Delinquents</th>
<th>482 Non-Delinquents</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme Endomorphs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endomorphs</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesomorphic Endomorphs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ectomorphic Endomorphs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>11.8</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mesomorphic Component Dominance</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme Mesomorphs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesomorphs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Endomorphic Mesomorphs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ectomorphic Mesomorphs</td>
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<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th>Ectomorphic Component Dominance</th>
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<tr>
<td>Extreme Ectomorphs</td>
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<td>Endomorphic Ectomorphs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mesomorphic Ectomorphs</td>
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<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No Component Dominance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced Types</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

delinquents. It is to be noted also that there are only a third as many delinquents as there are non-delinquents of ectomorphic physique (14.4%:39.6%).

These findings constitute a major reason for the present inquiry.
Physique and the Management of Juvenile Delinquency

Introductory

What do our findings suggest regarding the more effective management of juvenile delinquency? Incomplete as are the data of this analysis, there is certainly evidence that differences in bodily morphology are not only implicated in the genesis of delinquency, but must also be taken into account in its management. Although it is quite apparent that physique alone does not adequately explain delinquent behavior, it is nevertheless clear that, in conjunction with other forces, it does bear a relationship to delinquency.

The current inquiry has led us to three major conclusions:

(1) The basic morphologic differentiation of the physique types is accompanied by differences in the incidence among them of certain traits, some of which are actually associated with delinquency, others potentially so.

(2) Differences in the physical and temperamental structure of body types bring about some variation in their response to environmental pressures.

(3) Differences in the incidence of certain traits among the physique types, as well as divergences in their reactions to the environment, are reflected in certain differences in the etiology of delinquency among the body types.

Thus, even if other researchers should confirm our finding that
60 per cent of delinquents (at least in disorganized urban areas) are of the mesomorphic body type, thereby suggesting a focus in prophylactic and therapeutic endeavors on the mesomorphs in the child population, the special characteristics of the other physique types point to the need of some diversity of approach to the prevention and treatment of antisocial behavior in boys of different body structures. There is enough evidence of differences in clusters of traits and sociocultural factors that have a selective influence on the delinquency of the body types to warrant taking into account variations in bodily structure in the planning of general programs of prevention and control and in applying therapeutic measures for the individualized treatment of delinquents.

Need for New Approaches

There are no nostrums or “pink pills” that will “cure” delinquency; nor, from the fact of the multiplicity and complexity of the influences that have been shown to be involved, can there be any general prophylactic agent which will prevent delinquency, as the stamping out of mosquito-breeding swamps will prevent malaria. The task of coping with antisocial behavior not only has many ramifications but is dependent on fields of science in which knowledge is as yet very imperfect, and involves almost all our social institutions.

We must move forward, however, because there is no assurance that the methods now employed in coping with delinquency either curb or “cure” it in substantial measure. Individual counseling, supportive psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, hypnoanalysis, chemotherapy, group therapy, play therapy, psychodrama, and family case work have not been adequately tested to evaluate their effectiveness; but there is already evidence to suggest that, by and large, many of the measures in use have not as yet produced sufficiently encouraging results in the very difficult task of rebuilding character. A crying need is for carefully designed experiments directed toward improving existing practices and toward the discovery of new methods of prophylaxis and therapy; and in this connection certain ideas arising out of the current inquiry may be helpful.
Physique and Management of Juvenile Delinquency

There are four major areas in which efforts in the direction of better management of delinquency are suggested by the present work: (a) Family Life, (b) Schooling, (c) Use of Leisure, and (d) Clinical Practices.

Before offering a few suggestions (intended merely as illustrative of how application of the knowledge gleaned in this inquiry might be relevant to the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency), it will help if we keep in mind a condensed formulation of the most distinguishing features of each body type as determined in this inquiry:

Mesomorphs (the bone-and-muscle physique) present a portrait of an essentially sturdy physical and nervous and emotional structure, with a tendency to express impulse in action.

Endomorphs (the soft, round physique) are less sturdy, less energetic, and less dynamic than the mesomorphs, and are more inhibited and conventional in their ideas and behavior.

Ectomorphs (linear, fragile body type) have less sturdiness and are more delicately organized than mesomorphs and present a more sensitive and aesthetic exterior to the world. They are more tense, inhibited, and conflict-ridden, bottling up their impulses and their destructive-sadistic trends.

Balanced physique. The only trait found to distinguish boys of this body type from all the others is that they are less fearful of failure and defeat. Otherwise, a clear picture does not emerge. They appear to have some characteristics of each physique.

It is the personality as a whole that is involved in behavior, not independent and dissociated fragments. Therefore suggestions regarding the management of delinquency should take account of bodily morphology with special reference to those traits found in the present work to yield a varied delinquency potential to each of the physique types, those traits and sociocultural factors demonstrated to exert an excessive criminogenic impact on one or another of the body types, and those traits and sociocultural influences which, although not shown to vary in impact on the physique types, are nevertheless criminogenic (see Chapters XI, XII, XIII, XIV).
Family Life

A striking finding from the current inquiry is the considerable association to the delinquency of ectomorphs of such adverse conditions as absence of the mother from the home, careless personal oversight of the boy by the mother, indifference or hostility of mother and siblings to boy, emotional illness of father, unsuitable discipline of boy by father, incompatibility of parents, disunited families, families having low standards of behavior, homes lacking in cultural refinement, broken homes, rearing by parent substitutes.

On the basis of this knowledge, preventive and rehabilitative efforts can be improved, for example, by a recognition of the excessive effect on ectomorphs of deprivation of a confidence-inspiring father figure, so necessary for the achievement of integration and a balanced attitude toward authority. Although this is a serious handicap to any boy, it is even more crucial to ectomorphic youngsters, probably because this sensitive physique type requires more reassurance of love and security than, say, the mesomorphs. In handling ectomorphs who are potential delinquents or already frankly delinquent, it may, for example, be even more necessary than in the case of other body types to include their parents in psychotherapy, teaching them what is involved from a mental hygiene point of view in their attitudes and practices, and, if necessary, even to provide parental adjuncts whom nature has endowed with therapeutic personalities.2

In respect to the delinquency of mesomorphs, on the other hand, we have found that growing up in disorderly households where family group recreations are lacking and play facilities are meager has a greater bearing on the delinquency of mesomorphs than on other body types. In dealing with mesomorphic boys, therefore, stress has to be placed on means of making their homes less explosive and of providing vigorous, exciting, but socially acceptable, avenues of recreation for them in order to forfend antisocial escapades to which boys of this body build might otherwise be attracted in seeking outlets for their natural vigor and dynamism.

As regards endomorphs, the lesser influence on their delinquency
than on that of the other body types of such conditions as careless household routine, working mother, incompatibility of parents, lack of family group recreations, meager recreational facilities in the home, might well be kept in mind in order to avoid a stress on conditions and influences that do not have too great a bearing on the delinquency of endomorphs. The only aspect of the family life of endomorphs (within the compass of the present inquiry) that appears to have a greater association with their delinquency (in contrast with boys of balanced type) is a lack of a close attachment to them of the other children in the family. This would seem to suggest that they are in particular need of warmth and affection from their peers.

On the whole, in dealing with pre-delinquent or delinquent endomorphs, those sociocultural factors that were found to be generally criminogenic (see Chapter X, “Common Ground of Criminogenesis”) are the ones to which attention must be largely directed.

As is true of endomorphs, so of boys of balanced type, the sociocultural factors that are generally criminogenic must be taken into account in dealing with them, since there is evidence that some of the factors that have a special bearing on the delinquency of one or more of the other physique types exert less of an influence on the delinquency of boys of balanced type (low conduct standards in the family, incompatibility of parents, and lack of attachment of brothers and sisters).

These few suggestions are meant only as illustrations of the need for sharpening preventive and therapeutic efforts in the light of the special needs of each physique type.

However, in keeping in mind the special needs of boys of the different physiques, we must not overlook the pervasive criminogenic influences that have a similar impact on all the body types and the general preventive measures which they suggest. Many crucial differences were found in Unraveling between the family life of the delinquents and non-delinquents which call for constructive efforts to improve family life. Since, in Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency and Delinquents in the Making, we have already discussed their implications for the management of juvenile delinquen-
cy, there is no need to repeat them here, except to re-emphasize that little progress can be expected in the prevention of delinquency until family life is strengthened and enriched by a large-scale, continuous, and pervasive program designed to bear all the resources of mental hygiene, social work, education, and religious and ethical instruction upon the cradle of character, the home. Experimentation must be directed to the discovery of means to break the vicious circle of character-damaging influences on children exerted by parents who are themselves the distorted personality products of pathogenic parental influences. A tremendous multiplication of psychiatric, social, pastoral, and educational resources to improve the basic equipment of present and prospective parents for assumption of a wholesome parental role is indispensable to the control of delinquency.

Schooling

What do the findings of the current inquiry suggest as regards the need for reorienting school programs to meet the special needs of boys of the different body types? The facts derived from Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency suggest that emotional disturbance rather than intellectual deficiency is the fundamental root of maladaptation to school life, expressing itself in a disharmony of relationship between the boy and the small society of the school which often continues into the larger society whose code is the law. Because of the early age of onset of delinquency, it becomes clear that the school stands in the front line of a community-wide attack on antisocial behavior, especially in the opportunity for its early recognition.

Our current findings suggest a need for (a) some re-emphasis in teacher training programs; (b) adaptation of school curricula to meet the special needs of youngsters of the different body types; and (c) experimentation with screening devices that take into account the variations in the influence of certain traits and sociocultural factors on the development of antisocial behavior in the different body types.
Training of Teachers. It would seem of value to create an awareness in teachers and school counselors of fundamental divergencies in the temperamental equipment of children of the various body types. For example, because of the excessive sensitivity of ectomorphs, teachers and counselors might unwittingly cause particular damage to them unless alerted to the special needs of children of this physique and temperament. Because of the pathologic parent-child relationships prevailing in most families of delinquents, such youngsters have difficulty in finding in their own fathers an affectionate, sympathetic, and understanding adult around whom to weave the ideals, values, and standards of behavior that are incorporated in them through identification with and emulation of parents—a process that is at the core of character and of respect for authority.

We have elsewhere suggested that perhaps young adult male teachers are needed in greater numbers, even in the kindergarten and early grades; perhaps husband-wife teams of teachers would provide a more natural and warm emotional climate in the classroom.

Adaptation of Curricula. In the light of differences in the characteristics of boys of the various body types and of their selective response to certain delinquency-inducing sociocultural influences, it becomes evident that forcing all types of children into a single academic mold is likely to result in increased tension, frustration, and revolt. To cite but a few of the traits in which each of the body types differs from one or more of the others (see Chapters XI, XII, XIII, XIV), the need for diversification of school activity is suggested by the strength and uninhibited motor response to stimuli of mesomorphs; the greater submissiveness, sensuousness, and conventionality of endomorphs; the greater aestheticism, feeling of inadequacy, and emotional instability of ectomorphs. If the school is to function in the network of crime preventive agencies, obviously a broader range of curricula must be devised to enlist the interest and take into account the distinctive needs of boys of the various body types.

As regards the management of boys already delinquent, the flexi-
bility of school programs is also important. For example (see Exhibit 19), although delinquents in general are far more behind grade for their age than non-delinquents, *mesomorphic* delinquents are found to be clearly more so than delinquents of balanced type and probably than endomorphs; and although many delinquents want to leave school as early as possible, *mesomorphs* are found to be much more eager to do so than endomorphs or ectomorphs.

**Exhibit 19. SCHOOL HISTORY OF DELINQUENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wants to Leave School</th>
<th>Two or More Years Banned</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>206</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesomorphs</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ectomorphs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endomorphs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Significance of Differences between Physique Types**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meso-Endo</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meso-Ecto</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meso-Balanced</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endo-Ecto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endo-Balanced</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecto-Balanced</td>
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More intensive study of other aspects of school activities would no doubt disclose other distinctive inclinations and needs of the different physique types.

**Screening of Delinquents.** The importance of identifying pre-delinquents before they are fully embarked on delinquent careers is gaining recognition. In the application of screening devices the school is in the "front line," because, by and large, it is in a position to reach all children before maladapted behavior expresses itself overtly or, if already in evidence, before it becomes too deeply rooted. A prime need therefore is to distinguish at school entrance between those children who are headed for delinquency and those who are not likely to embark on criminal careers; and also to distinguish
true forerunners of delinquency from merely transient phenomena of healthy experimentation with reality. Bits of maladapted behavior during the first few years of life are not necessarily symptomatic of future delinquency.

Our pioneer effort in the construction of three screening devices and several validations of one of them encourages us to recommend experimentation with such instrumentalities as a basis for a wide and comprehensive prophylactic attack on the growing scourge of juvenile delinquency. It therefore becomes pertinent to raise the question as to whether, and how, the newly established dimension of physique type in the patterning of delinquency modifies and/or enhances the development and usefulness of screening devices.

How does the knowledge gained in the current inquiry regarding the role of physique in delinquency assist, if at all, in identifying pre-delinquents? Examination of the traits found in Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency to be highly associated with delinquency reveals that by and large these do not vary significantly in their impact on the delinquency of the body types. In the screening device based on the five traits of character structure derived from the Rorschach Test—social assertiveness, defiance, suspiciousness, destructiveness, and emotional lability—only destructiveness varies in association with the delinquency of the physique types, being much more criminogenic when occurring in mesomorphs than in ectomorphs. Of the five traits of temperament based on psychiatric findings—adventurousness, extroversion, suggestibility, stubbornness, and emotional instability—only emotional instability varies in its influence on the delinquency of the physique types, it also being more likely to result in delinquency when occurring in mesomorphs than in ectomorphs.

In contrast to these findings, however, of the five sociocultural factors in Unraveling which comprise a screening device for distinguishing pre-delinquents from non-delinquents—discipline of boy by father, supervision of boy by mother, affection of father for boy, affection of mother for boy, and family cohesiveness—only one,
lack of affection of father for boy, was not found in the present inquiry to be more largely associated with the delinquency of one body type than of the others. It is to be noted that all four of the sociocultural factors which do play a selective role in the delinquency of the body types have more to do with impelling ectomorphs to delinquency than mesomorphs and/or endomorphs (see Tables 95, 98, 103, and 104).

Thus it will be seen that the efficacy of the first two of the three screening devices developed in connection with Unraveling is largely independent of body build, but that the third table would appear to have an even greater prognostic power in the case of ectomorphic boys than when applied to boys irrespective of body build.

Although the above findings point to the likelihood of enhancing even further the usefulness of the screening instrumentality as regards boys of ectomorphic physique beyond its already quite satisfactory power, there would appear to be no particular urgency for this, especially in view of the fact that the added problem of somatotyping children as a preliminary to screening them for their delinquency potential might discourage its use. However, once a pre-delinquent has been identified, the additional knowledge that certain sociocultural factors exert an even more harmful influence on ectomorphs than on other body types should serve to diversify prophylactic and therapeutic efforts in accordance with the special vulnerabilities of each body type.

Were it to appear desirable, however, there are some additional findings in the current inquiry that might serve as a basis for developing separate screening devices for boys of each physique type, designed to establish their vulnerability to delinquency even more accurately than do the prediction tables in Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency. For example, in the case of mesomorphs, we have found a cluster of three traits (feeling of inadequacy, emotional instability, and emotional conflicts) which, more markedly than any other pattern of traits within the compass of the current inquiry, distinguish delinquent from non-delinquent mesomorphs (90.5%:9.5%). In addition to this are two aspects of the home environment (careless
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household routine and lack of family group recreations) which in combination most sharply differentiate delinquent from non-delinquent mesomorphs (78.1%:21.9%). (See Appendix E.)

As regards ectomorphs, there appears to be a combination of two traits more sharply distinguishing delinquent from non-delinquent ectomorphs—extreme restlessness in early childhood and receptive trends (85.7%:14.3%); and a cluster of four sociocultural factors—rearing in homes of low conduct standards, in homes lacking cultural refinement, in families lacking cohesiveness, and by fathers whose discipline of the boy is other than firm and kindly—that in combination more sharply distinguish delinquent from non-delinquent ectomorphs than any other cluster of sociocultural factors within the compass of the present inquiry (91%:9%). (See Appendix E.)

As regards endomorphs and boys of balanced type, there is no specific cluster of traits that significantly differentiate endomorphic delinquents from non-delinquents; and no pattern of sociocultural factors that significantly distinguishes delinquent from non-delinquent endomorphs. (See Appendix E.)

Although it does not appear to be too necessary to organize the findings concerning the mesomorphs and ectomorphs into formal screening instrumentalities, school personnel and others should find the trait and factor clusters suggestive in designing preventive and therapeutic services.

Use of Leisure

In Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency differences in the use of leisure among delinquents as compared with non-delinquents were revealed. The recreational preferences of delinquents are for risky and adventurous energy outlets, reflected not only in excessive truck-hopping, keeping late hours, bunking out, but also in seeking play places at a considerable distance from their homes, and hunting for exciting locales of risk and adventure such as railroad yards and waterfronts. These tendencies are also reflected in the greater extent to which the delinquents have serious street accidents and, vicariously, in their much more frequent movie attendance. Most of the delinquents run
around in gangs or crowds, and many prefer companions older than themselves. There is also strong evidence that delinquents dislike the confinement of playgrounds, supervised recreations, or attendance at boys' clubs or community centers, which they rarely join of their own volition.

Apart from this, what do our current findings suggest about the special recreational needs of the different physique types? A few ex-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exhibit 20. LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES OF NON-DELINQUENTS</th>
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<tr>
<td>Percentages of the Respective Physique Type Totals</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Mesomorphs</th>
<th>Endomorphs</th>
<th>Ectomorphs</th>
<th>Balanced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runs Around with a Crowd</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoys Competitive Sports</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislikes of Supervised Recreations</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>62.7%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefers Adventurous Some Activities</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steals Rides/Hops Trucks</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeks Recreations in Distant Neighborhoods</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plays on Waterfronts</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>6</td>
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amples will illustrate the point (see Exhibit 20): Although delinquents in general tend to have more companions than non-delinquents, a breakdown by physique type reveals that mesomorphs and boys of balanced physique are more likely than endomorphs and ectomorphs to have many playmates. Such constitutional preferences
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need to be taken into account in the planning of recreational programs. To push ectomorphs and endomorphs into group activities would obviously "go against the grain." Although delinquents have somewhat less interest in competitive sports than non-delinquents, boys of mesomorphic and balanced physique are found in general to have greater preference for such activities than do ectomorphs and endomorphs. This is also illustrative of the need for tailoring recreational activities to meet the special needs of the different body types.

Youngsters in today's culture have ample leisure; and unless channels of legitimate energy-outlet are provided it is natural that uninhibited drive-tendencies may result in delinquency. Especially in the case of mesomorphs, opportunities need to be created not only in the home or in school, but in the community, for adventuresome yet socially harmless physical activity in the company of other boys, as diversions from antisocial expression of the strong drives of this body type, keeping in mind that mesomorphic boys typically "live by action." A basic need in preventing antisocial aggression in mesomorphs is the provision of "moral equivalents" for the acts of aggressive energy which are especially easy, congenial, satisfying, and even necessary to boys of this vigorous physique.

Some boys prefer quieter and less aggressive recreational outlets. For example, endomorphs have less need for adventuresome activities than mesomorphs. This is evidenced by the lower proportion who have the urge to steal rides and hop trucks, by their less frequent seeking of recreations in neighborhoods distant from their homes, and by less playing on waterfronts. And ectomorphs have more dislike of supervised recreations than do boys of balanced physique.

In planning their programs, boys' clubs, camps, settlement houses, and other recreational agencies obviously need to take into account divergencies of preference related to differences in basic constitutional nature; and to educate the boys themselves to appreciate that there are varieties of recreational preferences related to temperamental needs and physical and mental abilities.
Clinical Practices

Psychotherapists also might well incorporate into their treatment of pre-delinquents and delinquents some of the findings of this and similar research.

It has been shown that the delinquency potential of *mesomorphs* is especially high in that (compared to one or more of the other physique types) they possess some traits (e.g., physical strength, social assertiveness, uninhibited motor response to stimuli) which if improperly channeled might lead to delinquency and criminalism. This has to be taken into account not only by all those engaged in broad preventive efforts, but by therapists dealing with individual pre-delinquents and delinquents.

Clinically, in the treatment of *mesomorphs* already delinquent, it should be helpful, together with other data relevant to the understanding and treatment of socially maladapted children, to consider the characteristics especially impelling mesomorphs to delinquency. That susceptibility to contagion, low verbal intelligence, feelings of not being taken care of, destructiveness, destructive-sadistic trends, feelings of inadequacy, emotional instability, and emotional conflicts play a special criminogenic role in a physique in which they do not usually occur in excess is an important source of insight that should help clinicians to understand what they and their associates must take into account in the treatment of mesomorphic delinquents in order to provide satisfying emotional support and physical outlets for them.

*Endomorphs*, also, present some special problems for the clinician. Because of lower vitality than that possessed by mesomorphs, a lesser tendency to resolve their tensions in action, greater conventionality, and greater submissiveness to authority, their delinquency potential is not nearly as great as that of mesomorphs. But certain traits found in fact to have an excessive criminogenic impact on endomorphs need to be taken into account by those called upon to treat them for distortions of personality, character, or conduct. Among the influences especially related to the delinquency of endomorphs are cyanosis, ambivalence to authority, feeling of not being able to manage
one's own life. The first of these is a reflection of some neurologic disturbance and is therefore a medical concern; of the other two traits, the first may require psychiatric attention, and both need constructive channeling.

Ectomorphs, too, require specialized clinical attention. Their sensitiveness, their excessive inclination to emotional conflicts, their tendency to keep their affective tensions bottled up, and the relative deficiency among ectomorphs generally of an outflowing motor tendency, gives them a far lower delinquency potential than mesomorphs. To lessen the chances of this potential becoming actual may often require intensive psychotherapy and special instruction to the parents and teachers of ectomorphs. Clinically, a history of extreme restlessness in early childhood, dermographia (skin sensitivity), and receptive (oral) trends must be noted as particularly related to delinquency in this body type. On the other hand, the delinquency of ectomorphs is not especially associated with those traits that operate with excessive force on mesomorphs.

Boys of balanced type possess some of the characteristics of each of the other physiques, the only trait found to differentiate them from all the other body types being a lesser fear of failure and defeat. Since they are less acquisitive, more stable emotionally, and have less tendency to emotional conflicts than ectomorphs, and are less likely to seek outlets for tensions in action than are mesomorphs, they too present a relatively low delinquency potential. Clinically, it is well to take into account the traits having an especial impact on the delinquency of this body type: e.g., susceptibility to contagion, strong hand grip, high performance intelligence, lack of fear of failure and defeat, marked dependence on others, and sensuousness. Some or all such traits, operating with the generally etiologic ones, exert a sufficient pressure to impel boys of the balanced type in the direction of delinquency.

CONCLUSION

We wish it were possible to speak with as much confidence regarding the prevention and "cure" of delinquency as we do regarding
the traits and reactions of delinquents, incomplete as our findings are as to these. In the management of emotional and behavioral disorders, it is a far cry from diagnosis to therapy. A basic difficulty is, of course, the relative imperfection of the psychiatric and behavioral disciplines. Another difficulty (established in *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*) is that the tendency to maladaptation originates very early in life. A striking finding in that work was that half the delinquents showed persistent evidence of antisocial behavior when still under the age of eight, and nine-tenths when under the age of eleven. Therefore, it is clear that a major focus must be on the early years.

The foregoing discussion indicates that although many preventive and therapeutic indications flow from differences in the personality and temperamental makeup of boys of the different body types and require consideration in the effective management of delinquency, we must not lose sight of the *permeative* criminogenic influences that must needs be dealt with. It is particularly necessary to be realistic about the fact that there are limits to effective prophylactic action laid down by the general sociocultural situation. Our mores and wide-spread social influences are slow to change. In the meantime, children have to live in the world as it is; nor can they be made good by removing evil out of their experience. Character is not built that way and strength of character comes out of coping with evils, temptations, and problems to the best of one's ability. There is no doubt of the need of direct, repressive action against obvious evils, such as the peddling of drugs to children. But there are general cultural pressures and disharmonies and contradictions in our civilization involved in the broad and deep background of antisocial behavior that are difficult to change and can only be modified by an over-all social policy framed and projected over a long period of time by civic, political, and religious leaders.

As in *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, and in *Delinquents in the Making* based thereon, we have not attempted to go into detail about techniques to be employed in coping with the antisocial conduct of
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children. Our aim has been simply to give some illustrations of the relevancy of physique type and constitutional psychology to the problem. We must leave to social practitioners the task of more fully implementing the indications of this inquiry if they find them challenging.

The evidence of the present research, added to that of Unraveling, does not lead us to the pessimistic conclusion that persistent delinquency springs largely from the germ plasm and is inevitable. We repeat what we have previously said:13 *In delinquency we are dealing not with predestination but with destination.* We believe that imaginative and intensive experimentation with prophylactic and therapeutic measures, providing it is timely and thorough, should produce evidence that the destination of children toward delinquency is capable of change in a substantial proportion of instances. At the same time, we cannot escape the conclusion that differences in body structure can no longer be ignored in assessing the causal involvements of delinquency, and in shaping measures to cope with it.

In the final chapter we present a few etiologic hypotheses or theories in the confidence that they are worthy of further exploration.

NOTES


2. We have long believed that there is a great deal of natural talent in dealing with human beings that is going to waste. It is well known that certain persons are so endowed with "personal magnetism" or warmth, or strength of character, as to be able to exert an influence on children without necessarily being equipped with technical knowledge of child psychology. It has been found that certain social workers...
and probation and parole officers have a better success rate than others, without necessarily having a better technical education. In police departments, in school systems, and in other fields, perhaps 5-10 per cent of the personnel have this precious “X” quality. Because of the great shortage of psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers, systematic effort should be made to discover such persons and guide them into work with pre-delinquent and delinquent children. Perhaps it will be possible to evolve a series of projective and other tests through which the basic constituents can be defined and which could then be used by civil service agencies to help select and place persons naturally qualified to guide youth. Many a young police officer, for example, is better endowed to influence youth than to guide traffic. Upon selection of the men and women possessing the therapeutical personality, they could be given in-service training in the elements of mental hygiene and other disciplines that might make them understand their work better without dampening their natural abilities.

3. Chap. XXII.
4. Chap. XVI.
5. Chap. XII.
7. Unraveling, Chapter XX.
9. At least, until the experiment now going on in New York City under the auspices of the New York City Youth Board has been completed. See article by Ralph Whelan, Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Nov.-Dec., 1954), pp. 432-441, describing this experiment.