

XXXII:28

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between psycho-
logical and social
factors affecting
maladjustment

HELSINKI 1972

THE RELATION BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGICAL AND
SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING MALADJUSTMENT

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The subjects of this study were boys aged 12 ... 18 whom the Protective Education Office of the Helsinki Municipal Child Welfare Board sent to a reception home run by the Office at Outamo, 75 kilometres west of Helsinki, between 1961 and 1968.

The object of investigation is the aggravated social maladjustment of these youths - a topic of considerable public interest nowadays - which appears in forms difficult to treat in such institutional pupils. Boys of this kind are few in ratio to the population. Society has charged the child welfare authorities with the duty of controlling, alleviating and, if possible, curing aggravated forms of maladjusted behaviour.

The theoretical part of the present study deals with different forms of maladjusted behaviour. The empirical part is a study of the interaction between psychological and social factors that have led to the maladjustment, and presents a method of estimating the need for care.

PART I

THEORETICAL REVIEW

The original purpose of protective education was to deal with "bad" or "immoral" behaviour. In the old days, behaviour was judged to be "bad" on moral grounds alone. Little effort was made to distinguish between different forms of bad behaviour. Nowadays we differentiate between the asocial, the antisocial, problem children, the emotionally disturbed, the socially maladjusted, the acutely neurotic, etc.

What is maladjustment?

At a seminar organized by the European Office of the United Nations in 1962, it was recommended that the term "delinquency" should not be equated with emotional disturbance or maladjustment.

All the same, it is difficult to draw the line. Several studies in which delinquency has been compared with neurotic behaviour (Levy 1932, Karpman 1937, Bennett 1960, Cattell 1967) have revealed, on the one hand, that the forms of behaviour mentioned above are not clinical entities and, on the other hand, that there is considerable overlap between them. In this study I shall use the term "aggravated maladjustment". The point is that when behaviour is found to be problematic, wide variations are possible; in other words, different aspects may combine to form different totalities, regardless of what we call the elements.

Apart from delinquency, the subjects of this study had abused intoxicating substances (alcohol, dope, etc.), played truant, become vagrants, failed to stay in their

jobs, experienced difficulties at school, and displayed aggressive behaviour, disturbances in human relations, etc. I shall therefore review research and theories on these forms of maladjustment.

DELINQUENCY

Research on delinquency (like other forms of behavioural research) is related to current levels of knowledge - as noted by Robison (1960). Research trends have been classified in different ways. Anttila & Törnudd (1970) distinguish the following: biologically oriented research, criminal anthropology, the criminal tendency theory and psychiatric theories; sociological research includes theories of social disorganization, conflict, subcultures, anomie, and those of the socialist school. They also mention a trend to regard delinquency as learned behaviour. According to Anttila & Törnudd, modern criminology can call on any form of sociological or behavioural science, and even methods taken from other disciplines, if they are felt to answer to the purpose.

Criminological research focuses not only on statistical studies on the quantity and classification of crimes committed, but also on their nature as a social institution. Criminal behaviour appears in every type of society. Certain social needs, such as the role of crime in delineating norms and channelizing aggressivity, seem to perpetuate delinquency. Sometimes crime helps to create new models of behaviour and even leads to legal amendments (Anttila & Törnudd 1970).

Here I shall review certain research results and theories that relate closer to the problems of the extreme cases that form the object of my study.

There are numerous studies on the incidence of delinquent behaviour. Elmhorn (1960) has studied the delinquency of boys of primary-school age (7-16 years) in Stockholm. In reply to her questionnaire, 89 % of the boys said they had committed at least one of the offences listed, but that only 3.1 % of these cases had come to the attention of the police and only 7.1 % to that of their parents. According to Anttila & Jaakkola (1969) the corresponding ratio was 3 - 7 % for theft but only 1 % for abuse of alcohol. Only a small proportion of the offences had been reported. This proportion varied for different offences.

Several studies (Elmhorn 1960, Sveri 1966, Törnudd & Vartiovaara 1966, Anttila & Jaakkola 1966) have revealed another interesting feature: the age distribution for certain offences follows a given pattern. The largest number of offences is committed by minors aged 10-20, with a peak around 14-16; thus the peak roughly coincides with the age of puberty. Although this observation is important in assessing delinquent behaviour as a whole, it does not help much at the individual level.

Martti Kaila (1950) noted that the earlier the age at which the first offence is committed, the greater is the probability of recidivism. But on comparing this finding with the age distribution referred to above, it is clear that age in itself has no decisive effect.

Ahto (1959) elucidated a connection between personality traits and delinquency: despite the wide variations in the total numbers of delinquents from 1943 to 1950, the curve for those diagnosed as psychopathic was fairly smooth. The upswing occurred only in regard to those described as "having psychopathic tendencies" or being "quite normal". Neither did the curve for the moderately

subnormal vary, whereas changes were noted for the mildly subnormal and "below average intelligence". Ahto concluded that, among the delinquents, there was a hard core of youths severely retarded in personality and/or intelligence, upon whose delinquency environmental factors have little effect; the fluctuations occurred among the less disturbed.

On studying boys taken in by the Helsinki authorities for protective education, it can be seen that their numbers and the ratio committed to institutions have been almost constant, whereas the number of reported offences grew steadily throughout the 1960's. This can be attributed partly to an increase of opportunities to commit offences.

A theory related in part to the above findings has been presented by Gustav Jonsson (1967). His empirical material comprised 315 patients of a child-psychiatric institution, aged 7 - 15. He personally examined three generations: grandparents, parents and children.

His theory is as follows: having experienced the same frustrations and misfortunes as their children during their own childhood, the parents of delinquents make their children more likely to suffer similar adversities. Jonsson calls this "a social and psychological frustration covering three generations". So the problem is one of "social heredity". He also feels that biological heredity plays a part. He refers to studies indicating certain social determinants on the one hand, and genetic factors on the other.

If his assumption is correct, this means that severely exceptional individuals form a hard core which does not change much; few are able to lift himself out of the rut, and for every one that does so there is another

to take his place. He goes on to assume that the process is cumulative, each new generation being more severely exceptional than the last.

Saksida's (1958) theory starts out from frustration. He derives his theory from needs directed towards the achievement of given goals. He distinguishes three cases:

1) The need generates emotional tension which lasts until the goal is attained. He calls this the "motivational mechanism".

2) If an unsurpassable obstacle prevents the goal from being attained, the individual experiences tension for which he continually seeks release - for instance, by offending against the norms (delinquency). Owing to the pleasure this gives him, he repeats the act. This creates a form of reaction that Saksida calls the "frustration stereotype".

3) Both mechanisms may combine so that a frustration stereotype turns into a motivational mechanism. Then the original effect becomes the cause of the new behaviour.

Saksida's study of the causes of frustration pointed to physical and psychic underdevelopment as the underlying reason. In over 90 % of his cases a poor home background was the cause (mother away between ages 1 - 5, father continually absent, inconsistent upbringing, squabbling parents, quarrels between parents and children). In his empirical study he attributed 25 % of the cases of delinquency to the motivational mechanism, 35 % to the frustration stereotype and 32 % to both combined; 8 % were unclassified.

In all the above studies frustration is assumed to be

due to external social pressure. Von Goldstein has a theory by which a child brain-damaged in early childhood experiences his environment in a different way from others. He found the following to be specific symptoms: oversensitivity to stimuli, inability to concentrate, inability to estimate distances accurately, reduced capacity for communication, social disturbances, and a lower threshold for stress. Lempp (1964) calls this state the "early-childhood exogenic psychosyndrome". The syndrome paves the way for secondary neurotization: the environment's reaction (that of the child's parents, companions, etc.) to the child itself becomes maladjusted. Thus children with brain damage suffered in early childhood create their own pathological environment.

In a wide material comprising different forms of exceptional behaviour (Torold 1969), brain damage was found to account for 8 - 38 % of the cases, basing on "anamnestic risk factors". In the studies based on EEG's the figures varied between 0.8 % and 93.6 %. At the Outamo Reception Home, I myself found risk factors indicative of damage to the central nervous system in 42 % of the inmates between 1961 and 1964.

According to Destunis (1961), 17 % of the reported delinquents displayed endocrinological disturbances.

Clinical studies of delinquents attempt to take not only the individual but also his home environment into account. They have revealed fairly consistent features: the external and internal break-up of the family structure, exceptional behaviour by many of the parents, the inability of the children examined to form emotional human relationships owing to personality traits, and disturbances in early childhood, difficulties at school and with other children, etc. (Saari 1951, Salo 1956, Sebek 1958, Bennett 1960,

Gordan & Näs 1969).

Very few factorial analyses have been made. Following a study of clients at child guidance clinics, Hewitt & Jenkins (1946) were able to put names to three behavioural syndromes: the Unsocialized Aggressive, Socialized Delinquent and Overinhibited Child. Similarly Jenkins & Glickman (1947) distinguished the Unsocialized Aggressive and the Socialized Delinquent as forming two syndromes, their third syndrome they called the Disturbed Delinquent. Quay's (1964) study resulted in four factors: the Socialized Sub-Cultural, the Unsocialized Psychopathic, the Disturbed Neurotic and Inadequacy-Immaturity.

Summary of studies and theories

Thanks to the wide attention paid to it by Society, delinquency has been studied by scientists in several behavioural and sociological disciplines. It has also been analyzed by age groups. It seems that we are reaching a stage at which investigators are able to take individual, social and socio-structural factors into account simultaneously. But there is still difficulty in formulating theories, so different research results have only a limited applicability. Application is hampered by the fact that individual results are linked to limited theories. Other obstacles include discrepancies in terminology and a lack of valid classifications of social variables. Furthermore it is only in recent years that any account has been taken of the part played by hidden (unreported) delinquency - and this only to a limited extent. This aspect, however, can be utilized in estimating the ratio of known cases to the unknown.

In almost all the studies, delinquency is treated as a separate form of behaviour, though it is unique only in

an administrative and juridical sense. This misleading impression of homogeneity should be borne clearly in mind in analyzing research on delinquency. The term "exceptional" is used in two senses: some regard exceptional behaviour as behaviour contrary to accepted norms (Allardt & Littunen 1964), others look on exceptionality as a clinical state, exceptional behaviour differing qualitatively from "normal" behaviour. The latter concept is associated with morbidity. The "normal-exceptional" dimension in this case has little to do with the quantity of exceptional behaviour.

I N T O X I C A N T S

Another important field of behaviour is the abuse of intoxicants. By "intoxicants", in the present material, are meant alcoholic drinks, industrial solvents (thinners, varnishes, trichloroethylene, rubber-based glues, model aeroplane glues, felt pen solvents, petrol/gasoline), tranquilizers and sleeping pills (antihistamines, bromides) and amphetamines (used increasingly towards the end of the 1960's). Sometimes combinations of these substances are abused.

Delinquency and the abuse of intoxicants are subject to different administrative controls. Offences against person and property hurt the community more than intoxicants. With certain exceptions, abuse in itself is not a punishable offence. Alcoholism is regarded nowadays more as a disease that calls for tolerance and care.

Alcoholism is commonest around the age of 40 and decreases sharply after this age. Crime reaches its peak between 14 and 16 years. So, there is a clear difference.

The drinking habits of boys in Helsinki were studied in

1961 (Monthly Statistical Bulletin, Helsinki, No. 4/1961). It was found that only 6 % of all the 18-year-old boys studied had never touched alcohol; the figure for the 14-year-olds was 41 %. So a large number of youths begin taking alcohol at puberty, but drinking at that age is an occasional habit and mainly confined to beer and wine. Most of the 14-year-olds drank at home under the control of their parents. The 18-year-olds usually drank outside the home.

One per cent of the 18-year-olds had got into trouble with their teachers for taking alcohol and 5 % with the police. 1... 2 % of different-aged boys had come to the attention of the child welfare authorities.

Industrial solvents are sniffed. This habit has grown since the late 1950's. It is usually epidemic: it starts in a teen-age group, the number of abusers grows to 20 - 30 and then rapidly decreases until only 1 - 2 of the group remain permanent sniffers.

Drug addicts are far less than alcoholics in number. The incidence among minors (including experimenters) varies between 11 and 20 % according to different studies (Hernesniemi 1969, Teräväinen 1969, Danielson et al. 1970). It is mostly found in towns.

Human relations in alcoholic families have been studied by Cork (1970), among others, who pointed out that up to then only the alcoholics themselves had been studied, not their families. Her material comprised 115 children, one or both of whose parents were alcoholics. She found that many of the parents had experienced fear and conflict in their youth and had not received the help they had expected from their parents or other adults, so they felt themselves isolated from their contemporaries.

Tähkä (1966), studying the personality of alcoholics, found that they had an accentuated need to be cared for and a lower than normal capacity to withstand frustration, anxiety or a discontinuance of the satisfaction of their needs. The mothers were overprotective and possessive, and thus prevented their sons from becoming independent. The fathers were weak, distant and unable to identify themselves with others. This seemed to lead at an early age, in the sons, to impaired self-assurance, imperfect male identification, and inhibitions of sexual and aggressive needs.

The picture given by sniffers (Elosuo 1969, Määttänen 1969) is similar to that of alcoholic families, but even rougher: the fathers were often alcoholics and harsh towards their children. The mothers were overprotective, tied their children to their apron strings and displayed other personality disturbances. In general, sniffers are unable to cope with life.

According to Takala (1957), alcoholism is usually due to frustration, anxiety and running away from stressful situations. He considers that alcoholism is a way of avoiding anxiety - for some, the most important. All the studies referred to above emphasize the importance of anxiety as a motive and include descriptions of environmental factors liable to lead to stress.

Numerous studies have also been made of compulsive alcoholism (Meri 1959), as opposed to alcoholism due to external stress. Kaila (1963) puts forward the view that alcoholism is caused by brain damage due to alcoholic poisoning, which permanently impairs the abuser's judgement and leads to impulsive and uncontrolled behaviour. Elosuo (1969) assumes the same for sniffers. There has also been discussion on heredity. Westling (1969) thinks that, where

alcoholism runs in families, it could be studied both as an identification phenomenon and as a hereditary tendency.

Factorial analyses have been made by Markkanen (1963), Tapaninen (1966) and Kiviranta (1969). Markkanen isolated an Early-Symptoms factor. Early Symptoms (habitual drinking with hangovers in youth, loss of memory) are later associated with social complications and low income. The factor also has a variable that shows that alcoholics tend to marry women older than themselves. Another noteworthy factor included the following variables: Dominance-Flexibility, Self-Agrandizement in a group, Maladjustment, Aggressivity and Self-Centred Striving for Achievement.

According to Tapaninen, leisure pastimes indicative of mental and physical passivity, especially those associated with town life and youth, are conducive to heavy drinking.

Kiviranta's study was based on a comparison between an Alcoholics Anonymous group and alcoholics' clinic and alcoholics' welfare institution groups. In each group he found an Asocial Behaviour and Sanctions factor. Another important factor was Anxiety. Though some of the factors were found to contain a variable for Aggressivity, this variable was difficult to interpret.

D I F F I C U L T I E S A T S C H O O L

Protective education is also applied to cases in which a child, through his own or his parents' fault, plays truant, misbehaves or disobeys school rules, or is not amenable to school discipline.

The incidence of truancy has been studied by Danielson

et al. at Gothenburg in Sweden. 34 % of their subjects reported having played truant at some time (89 % of those who regularly abused intoxicants had been absent from school without a valid reason).

In a study by a Helsinki Municipal Youth Committee (1969), 0.84 % of those of compulsory school age were reported as verified or suspected habitual truants. Cases were commonest in the 3rd, 7th and 8th forms (grades) of primary school. Here again, one cannot help being struck by the small number of reported cases (in Helsinki), compared to those admitted by the children themselves (in Gothenburg).

64 % of the Helsinki truants were registered with the Protective Education Office and 53 % had been investigated in a child guidance clinic study. The Youth Committee report hints at social insecurity and deficient upbringing at home among those in the upper forms. It also discusses how far misbehaviour at school is symptomatic of maladjustment later in life. A study by Järvenpää (1968) dealt with the prognostic significance of poor marks for "conduct" and "care and attention to detail" at primary and vocational schools. It concluded that such poor marks indicated some risk of later maladjustment.

In a country-wide questionnaire to teachers, Cavonius (1955) found the following reasons for failure to be promoted (make the grade) at the end of the school year: lack of talent 50 %, laziness 55.4 %, poor concentration 56.5 %, maladjustment at school 13.1 %, poor health 6.3 %, social and economic reasons 7.4 %, bad home environment or upbringing 21.3 %.

So it is clear that - apart from such obvious factors as lack of talent or illness - difficulties at school

are associated with the home environment and with other factors detrimental to adjustment.

R U N N I N G A W A Y A N D V A G R A N C Y

Running away and vagrancy are subjective modes of behaviour often open to interpretation. Running away from home or an institution seems to be fairly common, varying from minor escapades to long-term absences liable to lead to vagrancy and thievery.

Running away is a special cause of anxiety for institutions because it is often associated with crimes against person and property (mostly cars). Most Finnish institutions report seasonal fluctuations in its frequency.

At Outamo, a sharp difference can be seen before and after 1963: 70 - 75 % of the pupils on the average ran away every year in 1961-63, and only 22.5 % in 1964. There was an even clearer difference in the annual number of day's detention in isolation: 900 and 70 per year. Before December 1963 discipline was very strict. In 1964 the climate became more permissive, flexible and conducive to friendly contacts between pupils and staff.

Saari (1952) says that fugitives are usually more mature than non-fugitives and often at the critical point of puberty. Many fugitives from institutions had also run away from home.

A rare and interesting form of running away described by Haller (1957) is running away in the twilight state (during a "black-out"). Haller calls this phenomenon "poriomania". A similar phenomenon is referred to by Lennox (1960).

In his factorial analysis, Quay (1964) put running away into his Inadequacy-Immaturity factor, together with pilfering in a group and incapacity to cope with complicated situations.

Most studies seem to treat running away as a separate and unique mode of behaviour.

A G G R E S S I V E B E H A V I O U R

Aggressivity by itself does not constitute legal grounds for applying protective education in Finland. But obviously, aggressive behaviour often leads to social conflict when combined with other forms of maladjustment.

There are no data on the frequency of aggressive behaviour classified by degrees of intensity. It is probable that aggressivity towards inanimate objects and persons alike is far commoner than officially comes to the attention of the authorities.

Christianssen (1955) noted that control of aggressive tendencies in approved schools was deficient. He compared a "criminal" group with a "non-criminal" group, using a Rosenzweig picture-frustration test, and found that the extropunitive reaction of the "criminals" was significantly greater.

Takala (1957) finds that aggressive behaviour increases and becomes more primitive, powerful, hostile and externalized when alcohol is drunk to excess, though there are wide individual variations in this respect.

In factorial analyses, aggressivity is usually associated with the abuse of intoxicants (Quay 1964, Kiviranta 1969). Quay calls one of his four factors the Unsocialized

Psychopathic. This factor contains the following variables: aggressivity, argumentativeness, authoritative threatening, verbal aggressivity and the belief that others are dishonest.

S O C I A L I Z A T I O N

The methods of protective education include re-education and special education. These methods have always been applied in conformity with current ideas, as is only natural. Siren (1965), in a sociologically oriented study (observation by participation), strongly criticized institutional education and pointed out the inconsistencies between the stated aims and reality. She laid special emphasis on the differences between the norms of the staff and of the pupils.

In recent years empirical research has been made into pedagogy which may, on the one hand, help develop special education in the future and, on the other, help place the exceptional individual in Society by providing data on normal distributions.

Takala & Niskanen (1963) have studied the attitudes of upper-form primary school pupils towards school, society and work. They found that upper-class town children, boys in general and pupils with poor marks were more critical of society and its authorities. Town boys in the 7th and 8th forms of primary school (most of the more talented have by this time gone on to secondary school in Finland) felt a growing resistance to school discipline, adult control and restrictions, and a growing approval of brittle-hard forms of antisocial behaviour. I personally feel that all these forms of behaviour can be found in aggravated maladjustment.

Mäkinen's (1964) and Annika Takala's (1965) studies on values norms and attitudes have brought to light certain basic factors associated with ethical values. Annika Takala's Subculture factor included bad language, staying out late at night, drinking in the courtyard, and illegal car driving. Another factor included insulting others, "baiting", and "telling tales to teacher". Breaking School Rules included displays of aggressivity towards teachers and the school. The Dishonesty factor contained pilfering and dishonesty in money matters. Law Breaking included riding a moped while drunk, stealing or "borrowing" a car, and not paying for goods taken. Though A. Takala's study was based on a normal material, precisely the same factors manifested themselves in the subjects of the present study. The difference was one of degree: my subjects displayed them in such an aggravated form that Society reacted to them. The questions that remain are: where do the limits of tolerance lie in different communities (town, country, upper and lower strata, etc.) and how far do the differences in these limits contribute to who or who not is sent to institutions such as the Outamo Reception Home?

Toukoma (1969) has studied the way in which the attitudes and valuations of those who are caught differ from those of other young people who live under similar conditions but have not come to the attention of the child welfare authorities. He found that boys brought up in middle-class homes who had been caught for delinquency or "bad behaviour" were actually better adjusted than those living under the same conditions who had not displayed antisocial symptoms. In working-class families his finding was somewhat contrary: neurotic traits appeared in asocial boys and not in the non-delinquent, whereas no such difference was found in middle-class boys. The upbringing of the asocial working-class boys had been significantly more

restrictive than that of the normal group, and again no such difference was found in the middle-class boys.

Toukomaa further divided his subjects into three value-judgement classes, basing on a list of 30 heroes whom the subjects graded according to how much or little they admired them. The first class admired traditional "tough guys", the second thieves and pilferers, and the third vandals, hard drinkers, etc. In Toukomaa's opinion, the first class were comparable to Helasvuo's (1966) "delinquent personalities", whose socialization calls for an adjustment of personality traits and attitudes. The second class represented delinquency due to circumstances, and possibly temporary. The "bad behaviour" and delinquency of the third class (which included all the middle-class boys) was a mask for underlying good behaviour, though many of these youths were the most disturbed.

According to Jaakkola (1966) the risk of being caught is significantly greater in lower socio-economic strata, even though there are no systematic differences between the actual frequency of delinquency in the various social classes. The subjects of the present study at Outamo did not differ greatly from the total population of Finland (Rauhala's classification, 1966) as regards the social stratification of their parents. On the other hand, I did find differences in norms between social strata - differences that should be taken into account in planning their education.

As well as demonstrating the importance of attitudes and norms in themselves, the above studies indicate essential differences between social strata, which mean that goals should be adjusted accordingly in administering welfare and formulating welfare policies.

PROTECTIVE EDUCATION
BY THE HELSINKI MUNICIPAL
CHILD WELFARE BOARD

Protective education was split off as a separate administrative branch of the Board in 1943, when the Protective Education Office was set up and a post established for a youth welfare officer. Since then, the Office has expanded according to requirements.

The following table shows the cases handled by the Protective Education Office in 1961-68, the period of my study. The table is based on annual reports of the Helsinki Municipal Child Welfare Board:

TABLE 1

Year	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Reports of arrivals	2 482	2 504	2 773	2 504	3 840	3 236	3 068	3 125
Number of boys to which the reports refer	1 674	1 659	1 758	1 644	1 674	1 806	1 916	1 627
Number of boys sent to Outamo	52	45	58	42	45	48	64	63

There was a steady growth in the number of reports, but not in the number of boys. The growth of intake by the Outamo Reception Home was due to the addition of a new section to the home.

About 70 % of the reports came from the police, 6 % from other authorities, 6 % from parents and 0.5 % from the boys themselves. Some 57 % of them concerned delinquency, 21 % the abuse of intoxicants, 9 % running away

and 4 % difficulties at school.

The figures in the above table do not include all the cases handled by Helsinki school social workers (179 in 1968), nor do they encompass all those for which police procedures were employed. The latter means that the cases were handled by the police but not brought before courts of law. In 1968 there were 3 452 police processes, of which 506 concerned boys under 18. The vast majority (91 %) related to traffic offences and/or car thefts.

The Helsinki Protective Education Office most often applies open care (advice, guidance, case studies, supervision, financial assistance, arranging jobs and/or housing, etc.). Less than 10 % of the cases involve institutionalization. Minors taken into custody with or without the consent of their parents amount to 5 ... 6 %.

The above figures only represent cases that have come to the knowledge of the child welfare authorities. It is difficult to judge the quantity of these reported cases in ratio to all cases of misdemeanour. Toukoma (1967) in Tampere has estimated the ratio as 5.7 % in respect of 12 ... 17 -year old delinquents and maladjusted, whether reported or not. Elmhorn (1960), in a study of all crime in Stockholm, states that 3.1 % of offences by schoolchildren came to the knowledge of the police and 7.1 % to that of their parents. Toukoma's figure lies roughly half-way between these two percentages and it may be approximately correct because the child welfare authorities receive reports from several sources, as we have seen above. In any case, only a small percentage comes to official notice.

The Protective Education Office assesses every case individually. Most of them are handled on the spot with

simple procedures. If the problem cannot be solved simply, it is studied in depth by consulting parents, teachers, etc., and/or by referring the case to a child guidance clinic, hospital or child welfare institution. Very few cases result in taking into custody.

Taking away from home includes placements in both private homes and institutions. At present, Helsinki runs three protective education reception homes and an Observation Centre for temporary placements. The Outamo Reception Home takes in mostly 12 ... 18 -year-old boys. The Helsinki reception homes transfer 15 - 30 % of their pupils to State approved schools annually.

As an experiment the Outamo Reception Home began private-home placements instead of institutionalization for severely maladjusted youths in 1964. The experiment proved a success and this procedure has since been extended to other reception homes and carried out on a larger scale.

THE OUTAMO RECEPTION HOME 1961 - 68

The Outamo Protective Education Reception Home lies 75 km west of Helsinki in the Lohja rural commune. It was planned exclusively as a reception home. It started with two sections for 15 pupils each. A new 18-place section was opened in 1966, bringing the total number of places up to 46.

Its purpose is to assess the welfare needs of severely maladjusted boys and plan their education and care. It runs an upper primary school (6th - 8th forms, ages 12 - 16) which follows the general primary-school curriculum for Helsinki, but with the accent on metal work and joinery.

The staff comprises a director, psychologist, special

teachers, social workers, youth workers, nurses and household staff. An important part is played by team case studies. Each section meets once a week to review the behaviour and changes in circumstances of every boy generally, and to study the cases of two boys in depth. Thus there are three (often more) discussions in depth on every boy during his 3 - 6 months' stay.

Special attention is paid to welfare services for the boys and their families, and the problems of every individual boy are dealt with in as much detail as possible. At one time, punishments for breaking the rules were often such as to conflict with the boys' therapeutic needs and hamper contact between inmates and staff.

It is obvious that a rapidly developing institution will change considerably in a period as long as that considered here (1961-68). So it is difficult to measure the effect of institutional care. As stated earlier, between 1961 and 1963 the Home followed the old-fashioned punitive line. Since then there has been more emphasis on give-and-take which led, among other things, to an immediate drop in the numbers of boys running away.

In her observation-by-participation study, Siren (1967) analyzed the atmosphere of the Home, specially from the point of view of the boys. So far only a short description of the study has been published, which does not cover her ultimate targets.

PART II

EMPIRICAL STUDY

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE STUDY

The present study represents applied research; that is to say, it will be attempted to draw conclusions regarding the assessment of the welfare needs of severely maladjusted children and youths, and the planning of their future welfare.

The aim is to give a general picture of the behaviour of the severely maladjusted boys at Outamo. Consequently, it will include abundant detail. Its approach is inductive, and intended to clear the ground for future research. In the first stage, a short list of variables will be formed to aid the description. In selecting this short list, the purpose is to find variables that will enable a multi-dimensional picture of their total behaviour to be given.

With this end in mind, I have combined methods of clinical research (a large number of heterogeneous variables) with those of factorial analysis. Here it should be noted that, although the study has produced an abundance of detail that could be presented direct, or in the form of two- or multi-dimensional tables, such a large number of variables is not necessary in a study of this kind, specially seeing that there are plenty of earlier studies with numerous variables, and a lot of detail is known.

The second stage will be to study correlations between the short-listed variables by multi-variable factorial analytical methods. This is a very important part of the study. The interest lies not in explaining a given form

of Behaviour, such as delinquency or abuse of intoxicants, but in analyzing the total behaviour of the individual and finding out what part single modes of his behaviour play in this totality.

The third aim is to study the possibility of assessing individual welfare needs basing on the data collected, by viewing the problems of the individual against those of the group.

Though the material represents extreme cases, it is not entirely clear how it has been selected. Thus it is difficult to generalize about my results. Instead, I will try to find ways of identifying the factors in the total behaviour that are psychologically important for an individual, and of determining which of these factors can be influenced so as to improve his adjustment.

In practice, this often means looking for factors that can be influenced so as to break the vicious circle of the interaction between the maladjusted individual and his often equally maladjusted family. If ways can be found to do this, welfare can be made cheaper and far more effective, simply by ceasing to apply measures that are either ineffectual or wrong to the extent that they aggravate the maladjustment.

Börjeson (1966) has found that the less the community reacts to exceptional behaviour, the better the final results are.

As stated earlier, studies on hidden maladjustment have indicated that only a fraction of the maladjusted come under the "protection" of Society. But even though my institutional material is not generally representative, I hope that my findings will be applicable to all maladjusted

children, regardless of whether their maladjustment has come to official notice or not.

THE MATERIAL

There were altogether 319 boys at the Outamo Reception Home between 1961 and 1968 (the number of cases was slightly larger because some of the boys were inmates on two or more occasions). The material of my study consists of 106 boys - 30 % of the total.

I was unable to include all 319 boys in my material because not all of them could be tested in the way necessary for my purpose. Although the final material included only those who could be so tested, it displayed approximately the same distributions as regards age, subsequent placements, delinquency after release, abuse of intoxicants, intelligence and family background as the 93 boys selected by Taisto Orre for his pedagogic paper in 1961-63 and the 90 boys, also from Outamo, selected by Pertti Harju for his laudatur paper in 1965-67.

The average age of my material was 14 years 8 months and 11 days - about four months younger than the average age of all the 319 boys at Outamo during the period. The age distribution was approximately the same in both materials. My pupils were born between 1945 and 1955 - most of them between 1947 and 1955.

The average stay at Outamo of the 319 boys was 113 days, that of my material 137 days. The main reason for the difference was that the boys in my material had not been tested sufficiently before coming to Outamo and so had to stay somewhat longer for tests and observation.

The total material and mine were very similar as regards

their first placements on leaving Outamo: about 36 % (36.9 and 35.3 %) were sent home, 12 % placed in other private homes and 4 % went to youth homes. The biggest difference was in approved-school placements: 43.7 % of my material went to approved schools, as against 35.8 % of the total material. But for all placements in institutions (hospital, prison, etc.), the percentages of the two materials were very similar.

The family background of my material and of Orre's and Harju's was almost the same. Seemingly unbroken families accounted for 38 % - the same in all three studies. The percentages for psychologically united families were considerably less - only 11 % in Harju's study, for instance. As Orre, Harju and myself did not use the same bases of determination, our figures are not comparable. My figures were more closely comparable to that obtained by Reino Salo in Vaasa, in which a classification based on 15 factors produced only 2.5 % for psychologically united families.

Of my 106 boys, 50 % committed no recorded offences for two years after leaving Outamo, 22.6 % committed one, 11.7 % two, 8.5 % three and 13.3 % four or more.

Owing to the complexity of the boys' problems, I was unable to extract a fully representative sample from the material. Seeing further that it is impossible to present anything but the roughest relationships with the total population of Helsinki of the same age distribution - or even with those subject to protective education - I would have been unable to extract a sample even for form's sake.

COMPILATION AND SELECTION OF VARIABLES

The purpose of a pioneer study is to compile variables covering as many as possible of the data available. So where data existed, I used them.

The variables were extracted mainly from the records of the Outamo Reception Home, which included all the data available on each pupil for his life before coming to Outamo and for his stay there. Data after leaving Outamo were obtained from the Criminal Register of the Ministry of Justice and from the central card index of the Helsinki Police. Information on siblings was obtained mainly from the files of the Helsinki Municipal Child Welfare Board and the Social Psychiatrist's Office.

In a study of this kind, variables are bound to differ in quality and measurability. Some can be expressed numerically (dates, frequencies of occurrence, marks awarded at school, steps taken). Data from psychological tests can be given in original points or indexes derived from them. But variables depicting the quality of human relationships or behaviour are based on subjective estimates. Here it is an advantage if notes taken at the time of the observations are simple descriptions or accounts of events; leave the assessments to later. This makes observations from different sources comparable, which improves the reliability of the final results.

Most of the variables on the boys' life before and at Outamo were qualitative and thus required qualitative scaling. Where the material permitted this, I tried to form scales suitable for multi-variable methods.

In classifying the variables, I attempted to follow

procedures used in other studies. Many variables, however, appear to have been formed on the "throw-away" principle - purely for the cases in point - which reduces their comparability. At this stage, it did not seem possible to adhere to the classifications of other investigators.

The variables were grouped in two ways. First I listed and numbered them: I started with background variables depicting the boys' fathers, mothers, siblings, development and behaviour before institutionalization (Variables 1-100), followed by those depicting events at the institution (Nos. 101-135) and those depicting known events after leaving the institution (136-168). A fourth group consists of variables for the results of tests made at Outamo (Nos. 169-261). Of the 261 variables formed at this stage, I included 240 in my multi-variable analyses.

The same variables were then grouped according to delinquency, abuse of intoxicants, relations between the boys and their families, aggressive behaviour, running away and difficulties at school at each of the three phases of the boys' life (before, at and after the institution).

Mathematical treatment began with correlation matrixes. These were used to eliminate - a) variables whose correlation with others was almost non-existent, b) some of the variables that had strong mutual correlations and almost the same contents as others. I then analyzed the principal components. This method was employed because it was impossible to define the problem in advance exactly, and because the number of variables was very large.

I began with 25 principal components, rejecting the variables whose loadings did not rise above 300 for the first 15 principal components. Where two alternative

variables existed, I usually eliminated that whose distribution was the weaker. This method of elimination is based on the fact that principal-component analysis brings out the most important variables for the first few components. After treating 99 valid variables, I made a check run to recompare 50 valid but rejected variables with the 50 best accepted variables. The check run revealed only five rejected variables with loadings so high that it was worth substituting them for the five weakest variables previously selected.

This gave me 100 variables - the upper limit of most library programs. From here I checked the invariance of the factors produced by Varimax rotation. The factor analyses were made in series of 5 ... 25 factors, simultaneously varying the number of variables. The structure of the factors proved to be very stable; instability appeared in only a few variables.

At the elimination stage I made a combined total of 160 principal-component and Varimax-rotation runs. This enabled me to describe the behaviour of the boys with the aid of 81 variables, including 58 background, institutional and after-the-institution variables, and 23 test variables, whose names appear below with the factors.⁺

Interpretation is based on 14-factor analysis (Varimax rotation). Selection was based on careful comparison between alternatives. The interpretation could have been based on 8- or 10-factor analysis. The lowest eigenvalue in the 14-factor analysis was 2 388. The explanatory percentage calculated from the sum of the eigenvalues for the 14 factors was 55.7 %.

⁺ The contents and method of compilation of the variables are given in Appendix A of the original study (in Finnish).

DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION
OF THE FACTORS

Factor 1. Aggravated Maladjustment

- 128 assessment of boy's ability to cope on his own. I^x
 125 boy's attitude towards his asociality. I
 104 adjustment to institution. I
 110 ability to plan for future. I
 109 attitude towards work at institution. I
 108 attitude towards staff. I
 140 time spent at approved school. A^x
 205 Wartegg: good/bad shape.
 111 participation in leisure activities. I
 121 mixed use of intoxicants. I
 115 number of offences. I .
 64 sniffing. B^x
 20 mother's life pattern. B

As will be seen, the variables are given in the order of their loadings - highest to lowest. This procedure will be followed for each factor.

Factor 1 comprises the variables most descriptive of aggravated maladjustment. The institution's Assessment of Boy's Ability to Cope on his Own after leaving Outamo was found to have the highest loading. In the next variable, Boy's Attitude towards his Asociality, a high score in individual cases indicated approval of asocial forms of behaviour, thus hinting at socialization within a subculture. In Adjustment to the Institution, poor adjustment reflected discord with fellow inmates, among other things. High scores indicated vagueness about future

^x Initials after names of variables:
 B background variable (life before institutionalization)
 I at the Institution (Outamo Reception Home)
 A after leaving the Outamo Reception Home

plans in Ability to Plan for Future, short attention span in Attitude towards Work at Institution, and disfavour in Attitude towards Staff.

Though their loadings were smaller, Mixed Use of Intoxicants, Number of Offences (at the institution) and Sniffing (abuse of industrial solvents) before institutionalization all correlate strongly with the fact of institutionalization.

Wartegg's test variable Good/Bad Shape fills out the picture in an interesting way (despite its positive loading it should be interpreted negatively): a bad shape indicates anxiety, resorting to primitive modes of behaviour under stress, lack of emotional control, weak motivation, depression, and rigid and narrow modes of thought.

As Factor 1 contains variables indicating disturbances in human relations (staff, fellow-inmates), passive interests, short attention span and continued institutionalization (Time Spent at Approved School after Outamo), the result is a general picture of the highly complex nature of maladjustment in its most aggravated form.

My interpretation has some points of contact with Tapaninen's study (1966), which revealed that heavy drinking was associated with passive pastimes, and Quay's (1964) factor Inadequacy-Immaturity. Nevertheless the picture given by the widely differing variables of the present study is far more varied.

Factor 2. Maladjustment of Siblings

- 92 siblings' troubles. B
 93 number of siblings taken away from home. B
 32 siblings' life pattern. B

- 98 'siblings' difficulties at school. B
- 30 number of siblings. B
- 94 number of siblings sent to approved schools. B
- 171 picture-frustration test: seeking the support of others in conflict situations.
- 207 Wartegg: adequacy.
- 75 economic state of family. B

The boys' problems are illustrated by the variable from Rosenzweig's picture-frustration test, which can be interpreted as a tendency to seek the support of another person in conflict situations, and which indicates that the maladjusted subjects of this study tended to be emotionally dependent on one of their siblings. Similarly, Wartegg's test variable Adequacy can be interpreted as a compulsion to isolate oneself, complexes in contacts with others, suppressed aggressivity and frustration owing to an inability to "emote" in a healthy way.

Factor 2 depicts the insecurity of the whole family, its helplessness to control situations and the tendency of the family to break up.

Factor 3. The Father

- 1 the father the provider. B
- 14 father's working habits. B
- 10 father's drinking habits. B
- 13 father's attitude towards boy's siblings. B
- 75 economic state of family. B
- 58 boy's attitude towards father. B
- 82 number of times father arrested for being drunk. B⁺

⁺ At the time of the study it was still a punishable offence in Finland to be found drunk in public. The law has since been amended.

- 8 father's life pattern. B
- 12 father's attitude towards boy. B
- 60 boy's attitude towards stepmother. B
- 16 boy's age when father deserted family. B

The above variables depict the negative effect of a father who neglects to or is incapable of supporting his family owing to irregular work and drinking, and thus weakens the family's economy. Father-son relationships are negative, sometimes hostile - so, too, is the father's attitude towards the boy's siblings. The final variable resulting from the family discord is the father deserting the family (or rather the boy's age at the time). The Boy's Attitude towards his Stepmother is also negative.

This factor is a good example of the multiple disturbances in human relations already apparent in the previous factors. It confirms the frequency of disturbed family background among my subjects, a background against which Jonsson's (1967) theory of social heredity was developed. The similarity of the above with Cork's (1970) picture of the father in an alcoholic family is striking.

Factor 4. Continued Delinquency

- 123 boy's attitude towards mother. I
- 141 duration of imprisonment. A
- 24 mothers' attitude towards boy. B
- 59 boy's attitude towards mother. B
- 60 boy's attitude towards stepmother. B
- 61 boy's attitude towards stepfather. B
- 149 number of types of offences. A
- 16 boy's age when father deserted family. B
- 20 mother's life pattern. B
- 27 mother's age when boy sent to Outamo. B
- 135 agreement between parents on attitude towards boy. B

Here are the variables found to be most strongly associated with Continued Delinquency - and thus the variables of greatest importance for the boys' future welfare. Duration of Imprisonment correlates direct with the Number of Types of Offences, which include serious crimes against person and property. Also directly correlated with these two are poor relations between mother and son, higher-than-average age of the mother when the boy was sent to Outamo, and sharp disagreement between the parents on their attitude towards the boy. Negative, too, are the boy's attitude towards his stepmother and -father.

Note the paradoxical inverse correlation between mother-son relations and Duration of Imprisonment: the better the relations, the longer the imprisonment. This paradox has often been noticed in the field, but no satisfactory interpretation has been found. It should be remembered, of course, that mother-son relations are only one facet of the total situation.

On studying the composition of the factor, the disunity of the family stands out clearly: the presence of step-parents indicates separation or divorce, the father's desertion confirms the picture and the clash between the parents' attitude towards their children lends added colour.

Cork found the same paradox in her study on alcoholics: a woman who was "a proper mother to her children" was liable to impose her norms on husband and sons alike. (In the case of Factor 4, it should be noted that Mother's Life Pattern included short terms of imprisonment in a few cases, which - according to this interpretation - would reduce her imposition of norms.) The assumption of imposed norms is borne out by the inverse correlation between son-stepfather relations and Duration of Imprisonment

after leaving Outamo; relations with the mother and step-father seem to lead in the same direction. It is further confirmed by the finding that, the younger the boy was when his father deserted the family, the longer was his imprisonment and also, of course, the longer the duration of his mother's influence. A possible but not inevitable interpretation is that the boy tends to identify himself with his father; the mother's influence drives both father and son in the same direction.

If this is so, the boy's delinquency should be interpreted as a reaction to frustration. The conflict leads to Saksida's (1958) frustration stereotype, in which delinquency relieves the tension but does not satisfy the basic need. The boy's behaviour (Number of Types of Offences) indicates a restlessness in which the obvious consequence of the deed (imprisonment) has little deterrent force.

Factor 5. Productivity

- 216 Rorschach: total number of responses
- 219 Rorschach: percentage of main responses to cards VIII-X
- 214 Rorschach: P % (percentage of popular responses)
- 223 Rorschach: total number of colour responses
- 197 Wartegg: cramping/expanding
- 232 Rorschach: Miale & Harrower-Eriksson index
- 222 Rorschach: strength of movement
- 230 Rorschach: strength-of-ego index

This is the only factor that contains psychological test variables exclusively. Total Number of Responses, with the highest loading, was followed closely by Percentage of Main Responses to Cards VIII-X and Total Number of Colour Responses. To some extent the three variables are technically intercorrelated. They can be interpreted as

indicating productivity. The two latter variables (219 and 223) give some indication of how environmental factors affect productivity and to what extent their effect is under the subject's control. Strength of Movement, based on Zubin et al.'s classification, can be interpreted as indicating self-respect and a capacity to cope in relations with others. It has also been assumed that movement correlates with the level of emotional control. The Strength-of-Ego Index, a variable I formed experimentally basing on Bohm's (1960) Ich-Stärke-Ich-Schwäche dimension, also received a loading (inverse correlation).

A low P % is partly due to a small Total Number of Responses. A negative loading for Miale & Harrower-Erikson's neurosis index indicates a connection between low productivity and acute neurotic tendencies.

For maladjusted children, Factor 5 is interesting mainly from a therapeutical point of view. At one end of the scale it reveals inhibitions, resorting to conventional (in this case, maladjusted) reactions and weak personality integration; at the other it depicts a more productive personality. Wartegg's Cramping/Expanding harmonizes well with the Rorschach interpretation. Cramping can be equated with introversion, difficulties with human contacts and an inability to unburden oneself adequately.

Factor 6. Overprotectiveness

239	family relations test:	mother overprotective
236	" " "	father overindulgent
244	" " "	mother overindulgent
234	" " "	father's attitude positive (in boys opinion)
16	boy's age when father deserted family.	B
64	sniffing.	B

The purpose of the family relations test is to measure the boy's emotions concerning his family. In this factor the variables Boy's Age when Father Deserted Family and Sniffing received positive loadings. The more the boy sniffed industrial solvents, the more overindulgent the father and mother were, but Sniffing correlated inversely with Mother Overprotective. To continue, the earlier in the boy's life the father deserted his family, the more overprotective the mother became; on the other hand, Sniffing was a habit the boy indulged in while the father was at home. All these findings point to discordant relations between mother and father, to which the boy reacts by sniffing. A father who is overindulgent (without the mother being either overindulgent or overprotective) does not desert the family, so the boy reacts favourably to him and sniffs. If the father is not overindulgent and the mother is overprotective, the father tends to desert the family, in which case the boy reacts unfavourably to him and does not sniff industrial solvents. Here we must bear in mind the contents of other factors that attest to the father's tendency towards asocial behaviour and thus support the above interpretation.

Seeing that Sniffing is one of the most serious problems we are faced with, it is interesting to note the complexity of the associated family interactions, all of which are important for therapy.

Factor 7. Extropunitivity

178	picture-frustration test:	extropunitive reaction
192	" " "	ego defence
174	" " "	initiative in conflict situations
94	siblings in approved schools.	B
242	family relations test:	bad relations with siblings (in boy's opinion)

- 205 Wartegg: good/bad shape
27 mother's age when boy sent to Outamo. B

The Rosenzweig variables Extropunitive Reaction (externalized aggressivity) and Ego Defence, which received the biggest loadings, both point in the same direction - that aggressivity is a defence mechanism. The stronger the aggressive tendency, the weaker is the subject's initiative. Wartegg's Good/Bad Shape accords with the Rosenzweig interpretation. Mother's Age when Boy Sent to Outamo is interesting: the older the mother, the more aggressive the boy. Similarly, the worse the boy considers his siblings' attitude to him to be, the more aggressive he is. An inverse correlation is found between Mother's Age when Boy Sent to Outamo and Siblings in Approved Schools.

According to Christianssen (1955), aggressivity is a frequent Rosenzweig test finding in approved school boys. Gatling's (1950) finding is similar. My results agree with both.

Factor 8. Abuse of Pharmaceutical Drugs

- 155 use of pharmaceutical drugs. A
215 Rorschach: F+ % (percentage of clearly visualized forms)
117 number of times boy has run away. I
198 Wartegg: blank/shaded
115 number of offences. I
149 number of types of offences. A
55 attitude towards teacher. B
135 agreement between parents on attitude towards boy. B
174 picture-frustration test: showing initiative in conflict situations

Use of Pharmaceutical Drugs after leaving Outamo, the most loaded variable, correlates closely with a high

Number of Times Boy Has Run Away, and large numbers of offences both at and after leaving the institution. The worse the boy's Attitude towards Teacher (before institutionalization), too, the more likely he is to abuse pharmaceutical drugs. The Wartegg variable Blank/Shaded reveals narrow-mindedness, a tendency towards rationalizations, inhibitions and imperfect appreciation of nuances. On the other hand, the higher the Rorschach F+ % result, the less the boy takes pharmaceutical drugs (or runs away or commits offences). And the higher his F+ %, the better his Initiative in Conflict Situations (Rosenzweig). The more the parents disagree on their attitude towards him, too, the better his Initiative, the wiser his decisions and the less he resorts to pharmaceutical drugs, delinquency, etc.

In Factor 8, therefore, quality of thinking is the decisive detail.

Factor 9. Neurotic Tendencies

- 231 Rorschach: Piotrowski index (of minor brain damage)
230 Rorschach: ego strength index
46 number of accidents. B
232 Rorschach: Miale & Harrower-Eriksson index
171 picture frustration test: seeking the support of others in conflict situations
107 aggressive behaviour. I

Negative loadings were found for the Piotrowski Index (of minor brain damage), the Ego Strength Index and the Miale & Harrower-Eriksson Index - all based on Rorschach test variables. Also negative was the frequency of Aggressive Behaviour at Outamo. The higher the Piotrowski Index, the weaker the Ego Strength Index, the more neurotic the behaviour and the cruder the modes of aggressivity. This interpretation agrees with Lempp's

findings (1964). Lemp considers that brain damage leads to a low frustration tolerance and oversensitivity, and that sufferers easily create an environment that "reacts in a maladjusted way to them". Destunis (1961), too, mentions aggressivity, inhibitions and depressivity in persons with minor brain damage.

A high accident rate correlates positively with Rosenzweig's Seeking the Support of Others in Conflict Situations - i.e. immaturity in human relations. My interpretation is based on findings of immature, unimportant and uncritical behaviour. The entire factor has a functional content. Aggressivity is a kind of defence mechanism. Isolation in this connection results not from inhibitions but from an unavoidable reaction against the environment.

Factor 10. Foster Homes

- 159 boy's attitude towards mother. A
- 36 number of foster homes. B
- 158 boy's attitude towards father. A
- 29 boy's age when mother deserted family. B
- 21 the mother the provider. B
- 60 boy's attitude towards stepmother. B

Factor 10 is of considerable practical importance. Child welfare workers in Finland talk about "football children", the ones that get kicked around from place to place. But most often, a large Number of Foster Homes simply means inefficient welfare. This factor hints at dynamic correlations which, had they been better known, could have led to some form of more permanent placement right from the start.

In her study on the motivation behind unwed mothers' decisions to have their children adopted, Rautanen (1970) refers to Cattell's (1954) statement that most of the

unwed mothers in his study had a feeling of not belonging to anyone or anything. In a family, the situation is more complicated, but the mother's motivation may in part be a feeling of not belonging. The logical step, in view of Jonsson's theory of social heredity, would be to take a closer look at the relations between the mother and her parents.

Factor 11. Emotional Disturbance

- 79 number of types of offences committed by father. B
- 76 number of offences committed by father. B
- 8 father's life pattern. B
- 207 Wartegg: adequacy
- 198 Wartegg: blank/shaded
- 197 Wartegg: cramping/expanding
- 18 number of mother's marriages. B

Variables 79, 76, 8 and 18 all intercorrelate. The Wartegg variables refer to the boy. Adequacy indicates a compulsion to isolate himself, complexes in human relations, suppressed aggressivity and an inability to emote properly. Blank/Shaded reveals a narrow-minded, emotionally poor and easily disturbed personality, Cramping/Expanding an inability to face reality, poor powers of concentration and passive resistance.

The factor contains one of the dynamic backgrounds of the boy's frustrations. It deals with the problems of the "quiet boy". The father's criminal record creates an environmental pressure to which the boy is sensitive. The mother, too, tends to react to it by getting divorce.

Factor 12. Intoxicants

- 223 Rorschach: total number of colour responses

- 12 father's attitude towards boy. B
- 121 mixed use of intoxicants. I
- 64 sniffing. B
- 38 weight at birth. B
- 135 agreement between parents on attitude towards boy. B
- 27 mother's age when boy sent to Outamo. B

The loadings of these variables are comparatively low. Rorschach's Total Number of Colour Responses can be interpreted as indicating reaction to stimuli regardless of whether the reaction is under the subject's control or not. Profuse Mixed Use of Intoxicants and Sniffing indicate uncontrolled reactions. A large weight at birth may indicate minor brain damage (Ylppö 1964, Salo 1956), an interpretation that would be borne out by the mother's advanced age at the time. If this is so, excessive abuse of intoxicants is due to a weak frustration tolerance caused by brain damage.

The better the Father's Attitude towards Boy and the less the parents disagree on their attitude, the more likely the boy is to abuse intoxicants. The paradox is only ostensible. As noted earlier, where the father abuses intoxicants, an easily frustrated son tends to imitate him - and the more so if both parents agree in their attitude. Here again are some very interesting interactions with a bearing on therapy.

Factor 13. Aggressive Behaviour

- 67 aggressive behaviour. B
- 61 boy's attitude towards stepfather. B
- 209 severity of boy's own norms (test)
- 55 attitude towards teacher. B
- 149 number of types of offences. A
- 18 number of mother's marriages. B
- 104 adjustment to institution. I

Aggressive Behaviour, the variable, correlates with Severity of Boy's Own Norms, A large Number of Types of Offences is usually connected with serious crimes against person and property. Severity of Boy's Own Norms correlates with the mother's remarriage and poor father-son relations. Poor Adjustment to Institution and an unfavourable Attitude towards Teacher before institutionalization also come into the picture.

Factor 13 depicts a rigid, inflexible attitude towards the environment. Severity of Boy's Own Norms leads to conflict. The factor must be viewed against the background of the boy's total behaviour, specially where his norms tend to be asocial.

Factor 14. Alcohol

- 63 boy's drinking habits. B
- 153 " " " A
- 10 father's drinking habits. B
- 21 the mother the provider
- 20 mother's life pattern
- 222 Rorschach: strength of movement
- 29 boy's age when mother deserted family. B
- 107 Wartegg: adequacy
- 27 mother's age when boy sent to Outamo. B

Heavy drinking by the boy correlates with heavy drinking by the father, and both correlate inversely with Mother's Life Pattern and her feeling of responsibility towards the family (Variables 21, 29). The boy's and father's drinking habits alike may be connected with the pressure of the norms imposed by a "proper mother to her sons" (Cork 1970, not her quotes. Tr.). This is borne out by the fact that, the younger the mother is, the more likely she is to desert the family.

Wartegg's Adequacy indicates anxiety, emotional reactions, bottled up aggressivity and passive resistance on the part of the boy. So the general assumption of anxiety in most studies on alcoholism is borne out here. Rorschach's Strength of Movement can be interpreted as a tendency towards self-approval; high values correlate with heavy drinking. The need felt for alcohol is due, on the one hand, to opposition to the mother and identification with the father, and on the other to a tendency towards self-approval. The picture given by Factor 14 agrees well with the trends indicated by the other factors.

CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF 14 - FACTOR ANALYSIS

Fourteen factors were chosen out of many possible bases of interpretation. Of the 240 variables I started the analysis with, 81 were found to be significant and have high loadings in the 14 factors.

Nearly all the factors include variables of different types. This added to the versatility of the interpretation - a versatility to which Markkanen (1964) attaches great importance in a study on alcoholism. By contrast, Quay's (1966) interpretation of his Delinquency factors tends to be one-sided.

The results bear out my initial hypothesis that delinquency, maladjustment, abuse of intoxicants, etc., are not homogeneous syndromes. Nevertheless, delinquency is so predominant in material of this kind and - owing to sanctions imposed on the individual - so much clearer in its effect as to attract excessively one-sided interest.

My analysis revealed the importance of certain phenomena.

To give two examples: Sniffing of Industrial solvents and Mixed Use of Intoxicants both came out considerably stronger in my analysis than has usually been the case. The same applies to the relative importance of family members: my analysis attached great weight to the influence of the father and siblings; in practice, up to now, only the role of the mother has been taken adequately into account.

It was not easy to christen the factors. Often the right name could only be found after repeated analyses. Since almost every factor was found to have social and psychological variables of comparable content, this 14-factor analysis may prove to be of benefit to terminological uniformity.

USING FACTOR SCORES TO ASSESS WELFARE NEEDS

The material in this study is an extreme group composed of widely differing individuals. Merely to call them "bad", immoral, asocial, exceptional or even maladjusted is misleading, because it gives the impression of dealing with a homogeneous group. Years of experience have convinced me that this is not so. Thus the problem now is how to bring to light the dynamic forces driving the individual so that this knowledge can be used to alleviate or cure his maladjustment.

The least reliable method is intuition. However much experience reduces errors due to intuitive assessments, the assessment (and the subject) are left too much to the mercy of the assessor's prejudices. Consequent errors are difficult to pinpoint and remedy. Earlier methods concentrate on a limited group of details believed to depict the subject's life totality.

Cattell (1965) has used the results of his questionnaire to form profiles in which each separate factor is assigned a given value. He emphasizes the need to see every detail as a part of the whole; no factor is decisive in itself.

The situation in my study resembles that in Cattell's. The first to be analyzed are variables significant in the individual's total profile, the second those that seem to be remediable by welfare or care - or else call for no action whatever, regardless of what has been the practice earlier.

I have screened 81 basic variables that can be used to depict behaviour multi-dimensionally. To enable every detail to be taken into account in assessing welfare needs, I have calculated a normalized factor score (expected mean 500.0, deviation 100.0) for each of my subjects. The score obtained by a subject for each factor is presented in the form of a profile that permits an immediate comparison between this score and the same subject's average score for all the factors. Thus it can be seen at a glance which factor is the most important for the subject. After this the individual scaled values of the variables in these significant factors can be analyzed to spot the details that are important for the individual's adjustment. Finally we can assess the details of behaviour and environment that can be improved by current methods.

The limitation of the method presented here is that the individual can only be compared to the average for the group to which he belongs. But this limitation applies to whatever method is employed.

Since performing the analysis, I have used this new method to assess the welfare needs of boys whose welfare

needs I had already assessed at Outamo earlier by the old methods. It turns out that the new method would have permitted much more accurate assessments and, in many cases, would have led to a different grading of priorities. It would also have facilitated a better choice between the welfare and placement possibilities available.

While I was a psychologist at Outamo, I had to help assess welfare needs by the methods current at the time. My experience there has convinced me that the new method will lead to the abolition of many unnecessary actions, not to mention actual errors.

S U M M A R Y

The purpose of this study was to develop a restricted but sufficiently broad system of description for aggravated maladjustment. I started with 240 variables and narrowed them down to a system containing 81 variables. The latter included 23 psychological test variables out of the 100 such variables comprised in the original tentative system. The variables in the final system can be used to depict the development and behaviour of welfare subjects, their interactions with various environmental factors and their relevant personality traits.

The totality known as "aggravated maladjustment" is extremely multi-dimensional and, in practice, difficult to describe. Here it has been analyzed with the aid of 14 factors (though other quantities of factors would have been possible). Varimax rotation was also used to check on the invariance of the factorial structure.

To assess welfare needs, a rapid and economical model has been developed that utilizes factor scores based on

14-factor analysis. This method enables the individual's problems to be studied against the background of his environment, which is seldom possible when clinical methods are used. The model can be checked critically and can easily be replicated.

Also obtained were valuable data on the use of psychological test variables in this specialist field. The analysis eliminated fully 80 % of the test variables I started with. This is a clear advance in the use of psychological tests and can form a starting point for future studies. The mutual significance of the surviving test variables in the factor interpretations enables comparisons to be made between the conceptual content of data from different kinds of sources. What is important is not so much which tests are used as what parts of the tests. The parts that revealed the quality of my subjects' emotional life and their ways of reacting proved to be the important ones here. By contrast, intelligence test variables could be eliminated entirely. The quality of thought was more important than IQ's.

The method restricts the number of points to be measured or observed, and systematizes the assessment. This means that, in future, we can pay more attention to improving the methods of measuring the variables, thus increasing their reliability to the benefit of the individual. Welfare methods found to be unnecessary can be discarded. It will be a marked step forward if we can avoid the defects of the present methods and limit action to what is absolutely necessary.

At present institutionalization is defended partly on the grounds that institutions are able to assess welfare needs. However, there is nothing to prevent the method of assessment presented here from being used before a boy

is sent to an institution. Among other things, this means that where several kinds of placement are available, the criteria for institutionalization can be analyzed critically before placing the boy in an institution.

Assuming that experiments can be made, improved methods of care and welfare can also be developed empirically. Among the advantages of the model presented here is that it permits rapid adaptation to changing circumstances.

Jonsson's (1967) theory of social heredity indicates that aggravated maladjustment is often part of a vicious circle. So even if a new method only succeeds in alleviating maladjustment in the present generation, it will reduce maladjustment in the following generation. The benefit will be cumulative; the vicious circle can be broken.

END