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Value-identification: a study of the behavior patterns of identical twins

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VALUE-IDENTIFICATION: A STUDY OF THE BEHAVIOR PATTERNS OF IDENTICAL TWINS

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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Sociologists have long concerned themselves with anti-social behavior of human beings living in groups. This concern is well taken, since sociology studies the social institutions, the social structures, and the processes of social life as these relate to social organization. Likewise, sociology is concerned with the mores, folkways, social values, norms, and standards. These are the social ingredients of society whereby the behavior of the individual members is controlled in the interest of the stability of the social order. However, all members of society do not adhere to these forms of social control, and it is at this point that sociology becomes concerned with the study of non-conformity behavior.

Non-conformity behavior is relative in that this behavior runs counter the value premise of the society in which the behavior takes place, and the social values of a society are constantly changing and being re-defined. Behavior considered non-conforming twenty years ago would not be considered as such today, and many of the acts considered non-conforming today will not be considered as such twenty years hence.

In this study, non-conforming behavior is viewed from the standpoint of the value identification of two boys who are identical twins. One of the boys has exhibited behavior of a conforming nature, while the other has exhibited behavior of a non-conforming nature. This study aims to examine the place of the process of socialization on the part of the twins, and how it came to foster different value identifications.

It is hoped that this study will serve as a method of study in the sociological investigation of behavior problems, and that it will serve as a guide to further research in the area of criminology.
I am indebted to Dr. Mozell C. Hill, whose helpful advice and criticisms have guided the preparation of this study; to Dr. John Reid, who read and constructively criticized each chapter, and whose ideas and suggestions for improving the study were invaluable; and to Nick and Bill, whose understanding and interest made the study possible.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem.—It is the problem in this study to determine from the life experiences of identical twins the nature of their differential identification with opposing value systems. The behavior patterns of one of the twins who will be referred to as Nick, indicate an identification with delinquent social values, while his twin brother, Bill, has identified with non-delinquent social values. Nick's behavior has been characterized by stealing, running away from home, vandalism, truancy, and stabbing. On the other hand, Bill does not drink, does not associate with known delinquent boys, and he has not been implicated in any activities of a delinquent nature.

Neither boy has been arrested for any act, but the distinction between the boys is made on the basis of the operational definition given to non-conformity and conformity behavior. Bill and Nick are nineteen years old. They have spent their entire lives in their home with their parents and other relatives, within the same general neighborhoods in Northeast Atlanta, Georgia.

Working Hypotheses.—Since Bill and Nick are members of the same family, residing in the same neighborhoods, and being identical twins, some assumptions can be made. These assumptions are: (1) that for the social values as held by the family and members of the neighborhoods, the boys had an equal chance for accepting delinquent or non-delinquent social values, (2) that Nick and Bill's identification with contrary social value systems is contingent upon the degree to which the boys' associations with differently value-oriented groups fulfilled their desires for status and
recognition, and (3) that the persistency of Nick and Bill's associations
with groups with different value orientations tended to counter the boys' 
tendencies to identify with social values that are exhibited by groups that
do not satisfy their desires for status and recognition.

Other corollary questions which will, more or less, guide the purpose
of this study are: What are the interests, attitudes, and values of the
boys? What is the nature of the social milieu of the boys? What are the
boys' social relationships with their family and with each other? How did
the boys relate to school? What were their interests in school? What were
the boys' relationships with other children in school? In the neighborhood?
Who did the boys confide in? Who comprised their friendship groups? What
clubs or organizations did the boys participate in or belong to? What roles
did the boys play in these clubs and organizations? Who, in the boys' ex-
periences, did they like or dislike most? What are the boys' attitudes
toward work? What crises have members of the family faced? What were the
family members' reactions to these crises?

To the extent that these questions can be answered, some idea of the
developmental process through which emerged the boys' self-conceptions and
self-images can be realized. By gaining insights into the development of
self-conceptions and self-images, one can better understand the frame of
reference by which individuals come to view the world around them. How one
copes with a situation depends, to some extent, upon the body of social
values that one has incorporated into his personality organization through-
out the course of life experiences. If human behavior can be understood,
partially, in light of the individuals' value systems; to some extent, that
behavior can be modified and controlled.
Data and Methodology.—The source of the data for this study is two young adult males who are referred to in this study as Nick and Bill. Nick and Bill are identical twins, and these boys were born and reared in an area of Atlanta commonly referred to as "Buttermilk Bottom". The parents of the boys are living together and have been married since 1935. Bill and Nick have three half sisters and one half brother on their mother's side from a previous marriage, and the boys have no half sisters or brothers on the father's side from a previous marriage.

Bill and Nick have been known to the investigator for seventeen months, and they have been observed by the investigator for eleven months of that time. From these observations, Bill and Nick's behavior appeared to follow opposing patterns. These observations further indicated that the boys' present behavior patterns bore some relationship to a continuity of social experiences that might aid in explaining the nature of their differential identification. Nick has identified, to some extent, with delinquent social values, while Bill has identified, to some extent, with non-delinquent social values. Bill and Nick's desires for status and recognition, their attitudes, values, habits, and interests were learned in their social-psychological experiences with members of the family, members of their friendship and neighborhood groups, and other primary groups.

In order to recapitulate the crucial experiences in the life histories of Bill and Nick, thorough and complete life-histories were collected for the two boys in terms of their family background, pre-adolescent, adolescent, and young adult experiences. This information was collected over a period of six months by means of frequent interviews with Bill and Nick, with members of their family, available private and public records on the
boys, and the boys' own written life stories. The interviews were unstructured and in the form of informal "get togethers", wherein the investigator had certain questions answered in the course of the conversation. Data of this nature was especially important in securing additional information, and in substantiating fragmentary data in the written life stories.

Due to the nature of the interview situation, the investigator's memory was heavily taxed, and the accuracy of the data, to a considerable degree, depends upon the efficiency of the investigator to recall important aspects of the conversation. Some information were written during the course of the interview; but in other instances, the information was written after the interview, and in so doing, more pertinent information could be collected.

In the study of identical twins, there are numerous methodological advantages. In this connection, Healy and Bronner state that,

...the study of differences in the behavior tendencies of twins is of profound interest because, certain variables being automatically eliminated, better evaluations can be made of the causes of differences. When twins are compared we need not be concerned ... as we have to be when studying siblings who are not twins ... with age differences, with influences of the physical environment which may not be the same for children of different ages, with differences in ordinal position of the children in the family, with differences in parental attitudes at various periods due to health conditions, age, changes, and so on.\(^1\)

As a result of studying identical twins, as in the case of this study, not only age and certain environmental factors are controlled for Nick and Bill, but also biological factors of their pre-natal development.

Definition of Terms.—Any study, if it is to proceed smoothly, must chart its course in terms of defining clearly the terms which may, for lack

of clarification, render the entire study ambiguous. Non-conformity behavior may be defined in many ways, but for this study it will be referred to as activity or activities that threaten or tend to threaten the fundamental social values of American society. Social values are defined as circumstances of living, objects or things that are cherished by a majority of the members of the American society. Conformity behavior is defined as activity or activities which support the fundamental social values of the American society. Delinquent behavior, for this study, has reference to activities on the part of Bill and Nick for the commission of which the boys can be convicted by a court of law.

If non-conformity behavior is viewed as running counter to the social values of the American society, then social values must be viewed as an absolute standard against which non-conformity and conformity behavior can be measured. Since, there are no absolutes in science, the closest approximation to a standard of values is the criminal laws from which the behavior of Bill and Nick will be considered conformity or non-conformity.

Frame of Reference.—The point of view adopted in this study is that the conformity or non-conformity behavior of Bill and Nick is normal learned behavior. Bill and Nick's behavior tendencies were learned in their associations with members of their primary socializing groups which have defined


2 See the argument for the legal definition of criminality in Paul Tappan, "Who is the Criminal," American Sociological Review, XII (February, 1947), 197.
for the boys proper status-giving conduct. The behavior patterns of Bill
and Nick can better be understood in light of the course of past experiences
the boys have had throughout their lives within their primary groups. In
this connection, W. I. Thomas points out that,

...it appears that behavior traits and their totality as repre-
sented by the personality are the outcome of a series of defini-
tions of situations with the resulting reactions and their fixa-
tion in a body of attitudes or psychological sets. Obviously,
the institutions of a society, beginning with the family, form
the character of its members almost as the daily nutrition forms
their bodies, but this is for everybody, and the unique persona-
ality is closely connected with certain incidents or critical
experiences particular to himself, defining the situation, giving
a psychological set, and often determining the whole life-direction.

In another connection, Thomas makes this observation,

The family is the smallest social unit and the primary defining
agency... His wishes and activities begin to be inhibited; and
gradually, by definitions within the family, by playmates, in
school, in the Sunday school, in the community, through reading,
by formal instruction, by informal signs of approval and dis-
approval, the growing member learns the code of his society.

Related Studies.—Thomas and Znaniecki, in their study of the Polish
peasants, showed that the individual learns the attitudes and values of his
group within cultural and group defined situations. The family, the play
group, the school, and the community, are the primary defining agencies;

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1 See D. R. Taft, "Testing the Selective Influence of Areas of Delin-
quency," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVIII (March, 1933), 699-712;
Marshall B. Clinard, "The Process of Urbanization and Criminal Behavior:
A Study of Culture Conflicts," American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII (Sep-
tember, 1942), 202-13; Solomon Kobrin, "The Conflict of Values in Delin-
quency Areas," American Sociological Review, XVI (October, 1951), 653-61;


4 W. I. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl (Boston, 1923), pp. 41-42.

5 W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and
America (New York, 1927).
and it is within these group situations that the individual acquires the rules, the group norms, goals, and expectations with reference to the regulating of the wishes. These authors posited four wishes toward whose satisfaction the individual is constantly striving. They are: (1) the wish for recognition, (2) the wish for security, (3) the wish for mastery, and (4) the wish for response. The wishes of the individual become gratifiable within certain cultural and group defined limits, e.g., the desire for wealth and recognition may be satisfied by swindling or murdering in one group, whereas, in another group the wish may not be accomplished by these means. The cultural and group definition of the situation is not only antecedent in the explanation of the legal codes, but the cultural and group definition of the situation also determines the role and status of the law-abiding or the law-violating individual.¹

The crystallization of the attempts to seek social correlates with rather than causes for non-conformity behavior was credited to the studies made by Clifford Shaw and his associates. Shaw² showed that there existed a relationship between the incidence of delinquency and the ecological patterns of the city of Chicago. Shaw and his associates were led to postulate the idea of "delinquency areas" within which the rate of delinquency was high in comparison to other areas of the city. The delinquency areas tended to correspond to certain indices of social disorganization such as poor homes, broken homes, high infant mortality rates, families on relief,

¹ See the case of the "Missionary prostitute" in W. I. Thomas, op. cit., p. 57.
mental disorders, the number of Negro and foreign-born families, etc.\(^1\)
Shaw held that this relationship was not the cause of delinquency, but that the causes of delinquency lay in certain pathological factors accompanying these variables. In other words, the individual learns the pattern of behavior through his associations with members within the delinquency areas. Non-conformity behavior is learned within these areas in much the same way as conformity behavior is learned in non-delinquency areas. Non-conformity behavior is, for the individuals residing within delinquency areas, meaningful, purposive and normal behavior.\(^2\)

Further study by Shaw and his associates revealed that certain commonalities were present in the social experiences of their delinquent subjects.\(^3\)
The essential aspect of Shaw's "natural history"\(^4\) of delinquent behavior is the nature and the quality of the individual's associations with members of the family, play, and neighborhood groups, in whose behavior is exemplified delinquent behavior patterns. Through the process of socialization, the delinquent individual acquires the habits, ideas, attitudes, values, and the way of life of his primary groups.

Kobrin\(^5\) investigated various studies of delinquency areas in an effort to show that there existed a duality of value systems in areas of high rates of delinquency with which the individuals residing in these areas come to identify, and which tends to guide these individuals activities in terms of

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\(^1\) Clifford R. Shaw, and others, op. cit., p. 161; Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas (Chicago, 1932).
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 211.
\(^4\) See Clifford R. Shaw, The Natural History of a Delinquent Career (Chicago, 1931).
conventionality or criminality. Kobrin's study revealed that there is non-delinquent activity on the part of some boys who reside in delinquency areas, and that there are boys who participate in delinquent activity during the early part of their lives and who do not become adult offenders. Individuals living in these areas may exhibit occasional delinquent behavior, at other times persistent delinquent behavior, and at still other times, persistent non-delinquent behavior. Kobrin showed that delinquent individuals as well as non-delinquent individuals living in delinquency areas internalize elements of both value systems. This is exemplified in the hostility and aggression displayed by delinquent individuals in these areas against the conventional world symbols and representatives. According to Kobrin's study, conventional world symbols would have negative meaning for delinquent individuals if these individuals had not identified, to some extent, with conventional social values. Thefts committed in schools, defiance of school officials, etc., indicate that conventional social values have some meaning for delinquent individuals; and likewise, delinquent social values have some meaning for the non-delinquent individuals living in delinquency areas.

Peters, studying the attitudes of delinquents and non-delinquents, found that there was a relationship between one's attitudes toward himself and his attitudes toward others. Delinquents tended to like themselves much less than do non-delinquents. Peters' study also showed that delinquents disliked other people much more strongly than non-delinquents. The "other people", according to Peters, include members of the delinquents' 

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1 James S. Peters, "Socio-Egoentrism in Delinquents and Non-Delinquents," (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, Department of Sociology, Purdue University, 1955).
own family, the school or other social institutions, the law, and even
members of their own peer group, the group to which they strive to conform.

Remmers and Radler\(^1\) studied 2500 American teenagers, and these investiga-
gators reaffirmed the findings of Shaw's studies, in that Remmers and Radler
found that the family and the peer group furnish the child with his standards,
values, and frame of reference by which the child judges his own behavior
and the behavior of other people. The investigators also found that the in-
fluence of the peer group when pitted against the influence of the family
in the control of the teenagers' behavior, is primary and sometimes, over-
whelming. If the peer group is delinquent, the individuals' behavior will
be largely guided in the direction of delinquent activities.

Sutherland,\(^2\) in his study of the professional thief, showed that the
individual's delinquent behavior grew out of the individual's social con-
tacts with other delinquent individuals. The frequency and persistency of
the individual's contacts with delinquent individuals determine the extent
of delinquency. Indices of social disorganization are significant in delin-
quency behavior only to the extent that these factors facilitate "differen-
tial association" among delinquent individuals.

Riess\(^3\) studied 1110 delinquent recidivists and non-recidivists in an
effort to determine the relationship between social and personal controls,
and the incidence of delinquent behavior. Riess' study showed that the
delinquent recidivists are less often than non-recidivists members of social

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2 Edwin H. Sutherland, The Professional Thief (Chicago, 1938).
3 Albert J. Riess, Jr., "Delinquency as the Failure of Personal and Social Controls," American Sociological Review, XVI (April, 1951), 196.
groups and live in a social milieu which is characterized by norms and effective techniques in producing conformity behavior, that delinquent recidivists less often accept or submit to the controls of social groups which enforce conformity behavior, and that delinquent recidivists are less often persons with mature ego ideals which guide their behavior in terms of non-delinquent group expectations.

Although these studies do not deal specifically with the problem at hand, they will furnish the framework out of which insights into the problem of value-identification might be gained. From the writer's review of the literature on the problem of value-identification, there have not been any studies made on the problem dealing with identical twins.
Advantages.--The most significant advantage of the life-history method is that through its use the investigator is able to secure a continuous picture of the individual's life experiences, and the social situations out of which developed the individual's meanings and subjective interpretations of these social experiences. Beginning with the birth of the subject, the life-history furnishes the investigator with a complete narration of the individual's socialization and interactional processes, out of which emerge the individual's ideas, habits, attitudes, values, roles, status, and expectations. The life-history method gives to the social investigator of personality development an awareness of the seemingly unimportant occurrences in the life pattern of his subjects which have, for the subjects, significant implications for the understanding of the subjects personality formation. Furthermore, the life-history method not only renders a full picture of the subject's socio-psychological and cultural conditioning, but also a full picture of the biological and hereditary aspects of the subject's personality development.¹

Disadvantages.--Critics of the life-history methods point to the difficulty of establishing the validity and the reliability of the method due to the relative absence of standardization as the chief disadvantage of the method.² The difficulty of comparing and correlating the findings of the life history method with the findings derived from data secured by other

¹ John Dollard, Criteria for the Life History (New Haven, 1935).
² Ibid., pp. 67-80.
methods, the difficulty of treating the data secured by the life history method quantitatively, and the introjection of the investigator's own biases coupled with the allurement to generalize from a few cases, are indeed, well founded disadvantages of this method. The matter of bias in the use of the life history method in this study is treated in the subsequent section.

**Biases**

Biases are the conscious or unconscious tendency on the part of the investigator to determine the course of the study by the injection of factors other than those that would be produced by chance. Therefore, the investigator, himself, constitutes the repository from which spring many of the preconceptions and predilections interwined in a study. The investigator brings to the research situation his values, attitudes, interests, emotions, in other words, his whole personality system which not only influence the selection of the problem, but the interpretation of the data as well. The "objective attitude" of the investigator should be viewed as "more or less" rather than "all or nothing", for when objectivity is viewed as "all or nothing", the investigator is given the illusion that his study is bias-free. The investigator, then, does more to distort the reliability of his study than if he had made explicit his biases. By making known his biases, the investigator not only cues the reader, but places himself in a position to control his biases.

**Personal.**—The personal biases of the investigator making this study can be classified into two types. The first type is a racial-moral one

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which involves an over-concern for non-conforming Negro youths. As a Negro, reared in a small southern town, could the interests of the investigator in this problem stem from his own social experiences? Are the deprivations associated with the investigator's early childhood experiences responsible for his sympathetic attitudes toward attempting to understand non-conforming Negro youths? Would the investigator be as concerned with White non-conforming youths? The investigator has acquired a certain image of the Negro's position in the American society, and has internalized a body of social values that furnish the frame of reference by which the investigator makes value judgements as to what is "good" or "bad" or what constitutes a social problem and what does not. Should young boys steal or should they stay out late at night? Should young boys curse or should they gamble? These and similar questions reveal the investigator's racial-moral biases connected with this study.

The second type of bias is closely related to the previously stated type. This bias may be seen to involve traces of pessimism with respect to the problem at hand. The investigator's standard of values has been learned in his associations with members of his family, play group, school, church, etc. The standard of values incorporated into the personality organization of the investigator may not be in line with the standard of values held by the boys in this study. This fact may result in painting a dark picture of the behavior of Nick and Bill because their behavior does not fit snugly into the investigator's scheme of values. The mere assumption of an optimistic attitude toward Nick and Bill's behavior in an effort to compensate for a pessimistic attitude would render the same type of distorted conclusions.
Evaluative Terms.--In this study, there are certain terms which besides being scientifically hazy in meaning, are terms which express, in and of themselves, the value premise upon which the terms rest. Terms such as "delinquency", "delinquents", "non-conformity", "conformity", and many others used throughout this study represent valuations in terms of a culturally held standard of values. Whether defined legally or sociologically, the fact of their evaluative character is not at all altered. The mere redefinition of such terms can only benefit in greater confusion for the reader, and in producing illusions of scientific advancement on the part of the investigator.

In the midst of biases and valuations, there is yet hope of attaining real scientific objectivity in this study, but only in so far as the investigator admits his as well as other biases inextricably woven into the study. The investigator is, then, in a better position to better control as well as eliminate some of the weaknesses.
Description of Neighborhood.—The lives of Nick and Bill were spent almost entirely in communities that have been long considered slum areas of the city of Atlanta, Georgia, and which are still recognized as "Buttermilk Bottom". The houses in this area are of the wooden frame type and in dire need of repairs and reconstruction. Some of the houses are duplexes within which live two, three, or more families with four or more children per family. Within a half block of the birthplace of Nick and Bill and where the twins spent the first nine years of their lives, were located three known petty prostitution houses, one bootlegger, and a junkyard. There was a relative absence of street lighting, and the street on which Nick and Bill lived was originally an alley. Garbage and rubbish are abundantly disposed by the residents into any convenient places.

The largest churches in terms of the Negro population in the city of Atlanta, are located in the general neighborhood. In addition to the larger churches, there are numerous smaller churches of various denominations, and cults and ascetic groups.

Schools in the general neighborhood include one high school and one elementary school. Besides the schools, there are located in Nick and Bill's neighborhood, one Y.M.C.A., branch, a Girls' and a Boys' Club, a city housing project, the city hospital, and the city police station.

Buttermilk Bottom lies adjacent the Atlanta central business areas, and this makes for continuous infiltration of large commercial and manufacturing establishments into the previous residential area. The process of infiltration of large business concerns has destroyed the line of demarcation as to
the business area and the residential area. Consequently, many of the homes are located in the rear of manufacturing establishments and vice versa.

The individuals residing in this neighborhood are of the lower socio-economic group, and this factor makes for a low rate of home ownership, and an increased number of individuals on public relief. When the individuals are not working, as on Saturdays and Sundays, their chief source of recreation is loitering on street corners, drinking, playing checkers, dice, pool, and cards, sex adventures, cursing and fighting.

Residential History.—Nick and Bill were born in the Buttermilk Bottom area in 1938. The family, then, lived in a twelve unit apartment house with two rooms per apartment. There were six members in the family at this time. In 1947, the family moved to a city housing project, where they resided until 1954. The family, then, moved from the housing project to their present residence.

Family Profiles

Father.—The father was born in a small rural town in the northeast section of Georgia in 1889. The early part of his life was spent at his home where he, upon coming of age, was the chief wage-earner in his family after the death of his father, which took place when he was six year old. He remained at his home to care for his mother after his elder brother had left home to live in Chicago. He remained at his home until the death of his mother in 1919. In 1921, the father moved from the farm to Athens, Georgia. His first marriage took place in Athens, however, this marriage was terminated by the death of his wife eight months after the marriage without children. Following the death of his first wife, the father moved to Atlanta the same year, where he took a job in a Five and Ten Cent Store.
He worked at this job as a porter until the store was dissolved in 1934. The father met and married his present wife in 1935, and by this marriage Nick and Bill were born. From 1934 until 1940, the father was temporarily unemployed. In 1940, he acquired permanent employment at a cotton mill in Atlanta, and at this job, the father worked until 1955. Since 1955, the father has worked at a restaurant in Atlanta.

In his relationships with other members of the family, the father is a stern figure. He occupies a tyrannical position in the family wherein he considers himself the authoritarian. Members of the family are to obey him without question. With respect to the father relations with the twins, the father has punished the boys sparingly but severely. His punishment of Nick has been more frequent and severe than has been his punishment of Bill, because of Nick's apparent disrespect for his authority.

The father does not drink, smoke, or swear; and in his relationships with Nick and Bill, he has expected the same type of behavior from them. He has never attended school, but his attitude toward school is favorable in that he has stressed an education for Nick and Bill. The father does not belong to a church, although he belonged to the Baptist church while he was residing in his hometown.

Mother.—The mother was born in a small rural town in the central part of Georgia in 1909. She moved to Atlanta during the early periods of the Depression of 1929. The mother's first marriage took place in 1925 while she was residing in her hometown, and to this marriage were born four children. The mother's first marriage was disrupted in 1932 when her husband deserted the family. Her first child by this marriage was born in 1933, and the same year, the mother and her family moved to Atlanta.
The mother's employment has been fragmentary due to child rearing and frequent illnesses. Her activities have been largely confined to the home except for a job as a maid during the latter part of World War II. This job was terminated by a growing deafness condition. In 1947, this deafness condition resulted in the mother's becoming totally deaf.

The mother is affiliated with the Church of Christ, and she is a devout worshipper of the church. The mother's educational training extended through the fourth grade, however, she is in favor of education for young people of modern times. Church going and bible reading are the chief interests of the mother.

The mother's relationship to the father is kind and submissive. The arguments that have taken place between the mother and the father have resulted in the mother's surrendering her position to the father. In the disciplining of the twins, the mother has rendered the bulk of the punishment. Her punishment of the twins has not been commensurate, but the mother's over-punishment of Nick has been in an effort to dispel his defiance of parental "authority". The following statement by the mother indicates the mother's relationship to the other members of the family.

John have been a good provider for this family. When we was all out of work I used to worry a lots about making ends meet; but he would tell me not to worry we will find a way somehow, and we would. He don't smoke or drink, and he never come in cussin and raisin sand with us. I can't hardly remember him whipping these boys. He mostly leave that to me. He believed in talking to them cause he said you don't do a thing but drive them away when you whip them. We hardly ever fuss any, except when he git after me about dipping snuff. He say I'm always talking about the Bible and dipping snuff at the same time, but I don't see any harm in that cause God look at the heart.

Siblings.—Nick and Bill's family includes one half brother, and three half sisters on the mother's side. The elder half brother is thirty-two
years old. He has lived with the family for ten years, from 1935-45. Although, the elder half brother, Willie, lived with the family for this length of time, he spent part of this time with relatives in Detroit. When Nick and Bill were seven years old, Willie moved to Detroit permanently. His relations with the family and with Nick and Bill were those of mutual acceptance. Nick and Bill considered Willie as a big brother; and since his residency in Detroit, Nick and Bill have considered their half brother's home a possible place of future residency.

The two elder half sisters, Martha and Clara, are thirty and twenty-seven years old, respectively. Since the mother felt that the presence of step-children in the home would disrupt her marriage, the elder half sisters were moved to Chicago to live with the mother's brother. Martha and Clara often made visits with their mother, which tended to make their presence in the home, more or less, as visitors or guests. Bill has visited his half sisters in Chicago, and his relations with them have been more favorable than Nick's relations with his half sisters. Nick's relations with his half sisters are not unfavorable, but rather indifferent.

The younger half sister, Annie, is twenty-five years old, and her presence in the home took place after the mother had practically lost her ability to hear. Her activities in the home have largely been replacements for those the mother formerly performed. Annie's relations with the other members of the family have been favorable, and her services have been appreciated. Annie was married in 1947, and by this marriage one son was born. In 1948, the marriage ended, and Annie and her son were accepted into the home. Bill and his half sister, Annie, have had a close relationship. Bill became interested in learning to dance, and it was Annie who taught him. Nick's contacts with his half sister, Annie, have been less frequent than those
of Bill.

The family, also included a nephew who lived with the family after his mother was convicted of murdering her husband in 1942. The nephew, Jimmy, was one year younger than Nick and Bill. His presence in the home was that of a brother to Bill. Jimmy was resented by Nick. Being the object of Nick's parents' sympathy, Jimmy was also the object of Nick's indignation. Jimmy remained with the family until 1950, when he left to live with Clara, who was married and was living in Chicago.

Discussion.—The influence of Nick and Bill's family was predominantly rural due to the parents' rearing. Consequently, many relatives resided in the home for periods of time. The authoritarian attitude of the father toward child rearing and the mother's lenient attitudes toward one of the twins, made for differences in the administration of discipline. The favoritism of the parents toward Bill and Jimmy tended to produce extreme jealousy in Nick, and to distort his conception of his family group. The parents' favoritism toward Bill and his nephew also tended to intensify Nick's hostility toward his twin brother and his nephew. These factors aided in producing emotional disturbances in Nick which tended to make Nick feel emotionally alienated from his family group. The presence of delinquent elements in the neighborhood exhibited to Nick a source of attachment.

There is not a record of delinquency on the part of Nick and Bill's parents, nor is there exhibited in the behavior of the parents any activities of a non-conforming nature. Both parents have been hard-working. The parents came to Atlanta, after having spent their childhood, adolescence, and young adult years in their rural hometowns. The attitudes, traditions, beliefs, ideas, and interests of the parents were incompatible with the way of life adopted by Nick and Bill. The conflicts produced in Nick
and Bill by the rural-moral demands of their parents, coupled with the parents' favored attitudes toward Bill were factors in his delinquent group ties.

Personality Profiles of the Twins

School Records

Bill.—Bill was started to elementary school in 1944, at the age of six years. Bill was an average student in his courses, his deportment in school was rated by his teachers as "good", his ability to get along with other children as "excellent", and his attendance as "regular". Although these terms cloud the character of Bill's elementary school record, some indications as to Bill's interests and the development of his social values may be gained.

Bill, at the start of his school career, resented school and was indignant toward the authority of his teachers. There were, however, no clear expression of aggression toward school officials on the part of Bill. Bill established friends with the other children in school without difficulty. The friends that Bill had made in his neighborhood associations were, also some of his classmates. Throughout his elementary school career, Bill had three fights with other children of his age group in school. The first fight took place when Bill was eight years old. The first fight involved a girl of the same age, and the two other fights involved boys when Bill was eleven and thirteen years old. These fights did not result in Bill's being expelled because these fights did not come to the attention of the school officials. The fight which took place when Bill was eleven years old was instigated by a derogatory remark made by one of Bill's friends concerning Bill's mother. The fight that took place when Bill was thirteen
concerned a girl whose friendship was disputed between Bill and one of his seventh grade classmates. All of these fights ended without harm being exacted against either participant.

Bill's ambitions in elementary school were to become a doctor, and he spent much of his time reading and solving arithmetic problems. In these subjects, Bill did his best work. Athletics interests him least of his school activities. By the time Bill had reached high school, his ambitions had changed. He became interested in dancing, and possibly a career on the stage. Bill's ability to dance gained additional friends for him as he went to high school. His emphasis upon dancing, parties, and girls tended to lessen his interests in subject matter in high school. After completion of the tenth grade, Bill decided to end his school career, and concentrate entirely on becoming a night club entertainer.

Nick.—Nick began his school career at the age of six years, at the same time his brother Bill has begun. His elementary school teacher termed his deportment as "excellent", his ability to associate with other children as "good", and his attendance as "excellent". Nick was the center of his friendship group, because of his alertness, and his tendency to "stand up" for his friends. His earlier association with members of his age group in his neighborhood had gained him friends who continued the friendship after entering school. Nick, although considered by his teachers as a perceptive student, lacked the motivation to concentrate on subject matter. His position in his group and his relationships to his peer group members made it necessary for Nick to emphasize athletic prowess. After his third year in elementary school, Nick began to become interested in becoming a boxer. Attempting to box, playing basketball, and shooting marbles detracted from his ability to do satisfactory class-room work, and directly led to his
being denied graduation from elementary school until he had demonstrated the ability to do high school work.

Nick was talkative and demonstrated excessive energy in his relationships with his teachers and friends. He erased the blackboard, cleaned off the teacher's desk, and did various other chores in the classroom at the least insistence from the teacher. Nick's elementary classmates resented him for his alertness, however, his ability to defend himself himself discouraged his classmates' inclinations to challenge him about it. His fights with other boys, however, were frequent, but not serious. The incidences were seldom brought to the teacher's attention.

Nick's interest in attending high school was for a chance to participate more fully in sports. Upon entering high school, Nick joined the boxing team, and within one year, he had gained the city championship for his division. Classroom work was of negative interest to Nick, who had now begun, what he considered to be, his life career.

Nick's attendance in high school was more irregular than had been his attendance in elementary school. Although, Nick spent the majority of his time at school, his classroom participation was decreased, and more time was spent at the gymnasium. The same kind of attachment Nick had made with his elementary school teacher, he made with the athletic coach in high school. Nick remained in high school though the tenth grade, and had begun the first half of the term in his junior year. At this time, Nick's interest in school had completely disappeared.

Work Habits

Bill—Bill's first attempt at securing a job was when he was eleven years old. This job was throwing papers for a local newspaper concern.
Bill's social contacts at school had widened to include girls, his father's job afforded the family the necessities of living, so Bill's paper job was an effort to make extra spending money for himself. The father and the mother were dissatisfied with Bill's job, because of the nature of the influences that would play upon him as a paperboy. Partially due to his parents' insistence, and partially due to the early hours at which he had to report for work, Bill quit this job after working for five months. Bill's next job was that of a delivery boy in a small grocery store. Bill was fifteen years old when he took this job. He worked at this job after school and full time during the summer vacation. Because his salary on this job was fifteen dollars per week, Bill gave his mother five dollars each week during the summer, although the parents did not insist that he give them anything. Bill worked on the delivery job until he was seventeen years old. Bill was unemployed until he was able to secure a job through his father's influence. This job was working at a local restaurant which Bill took at the age of nineteen, and which he presently holds.

Nick.—Nick has never held a job. His parents have insisted that he secure a job, but Nick's argument has been that there are no jobs for him. The money that Nick secures for his spending purposes is borrowed from his brother, who also frequently demands that Nick secure a job. Nick's concentration on sports, and particularly boxing, does not leave him time for a job.

Parent-Child Relationships

Bill.—Bill's relationships with his parents have been emotionally warm and rewarding. His mother has been quarrelsome, but never severe with Bill. As a young child, Bill cried as a reaction to his mother's quarrels, which generally elicited a sympathetic response from the mother. The mother's
punishment of Bill has been more in the form of reprimands rather than physical punishment. In Bill's associations with other children in the neighborhood and in the school, his mother and father warned him against associating with the "wrong" boys. This admonition was parental and sympathetic, and sometimes, over-protective.

In the granting of favors to the twins, Bill's mother and father were more generous toward Bill than toward Nick. The explanation for the parents' generosity was that Bill was more obedient and compliant than Nick. The father stipulated certain hours that the twins had to be home at nights, when the twins were between the ages of nine and fifteen years old. Bill's compliance with his father's rule elicited praise and favors from the parents which Bill subtly resented, for fear that his brother and his peers would designate him by derogatory names.

From early childhood, Bill's parents have praised him for his tendency to make known his whereabouts to them. At the age of nineteen, Bill advises his parents before leaving home that he can be found at a definite address. Even, while on dates with his girlfriends, Bill advises his parents as to his destination and the possible hour of his return home.

From Bill's present job, he receives a salary of thirty dollars per week, and of this salary, Bill gives his family twelve dollars each week. His parents have not asked that Bill share his salary with the family, although the father's salary needs supplementing. Bill voluntarily accepted this responsibility.

Nick.--From childhood, Nick's parents have judged him by Bill's standard. Physical punishment was usually exacted against Nick by both parents, and especially the father, for his violations of their authority. Nick's scholastic achievements in school were compared by the parents with those
of Bill, and Nick's deficient grades in subject matter were usually the source of the parents' condemnation. Nick's interests in athletics were characterized by the parents as "foolishness".

During the day hours, Nick leaves home and returns late at nights, usually after the family has gone to sleep. This reduces the parents' opportunities to argue with him about his loafing.

At the age of ten, after a severe punishment from his mother concerning his fight with his nephew, Nick decided to run away from home. He was away from home for two days; and upon his return, Nick was surprised to find his parents happy that he had returned. Nick did not attempt to run away from home again.

Nick has never held a job; and the fact that his brother has held three jobs, and his brother has contributed some of his earnings to the family, his parents have often condemned his inability to get a job. His parents have compared his negative contributions with the contributions of Bill.

Choice of Associates

Bill.—Bill's associates in and out of school have included three boys of his age group. One of the boys was his nephew, who resided in Bill's home until he was ten years old, and the other boy was the son of a deacon in his mother's church. The latter boy has maintained a friendship with Bill that has persisted throughout their lives. Although, Bill has had other friends, these two boys have formed his intimate friendship group. These boys dated girls together, went to parties together, went to movies, and spent most of their leisure time together. None of Bill's friends were known to have delinquent records or to participate in delinquent activities.

In school, Bill associated with other boys and girls, and was member and vice president of a social club comprising his classmates. After his
school career, Bill associated with his lone friend or he spent his time alone. In the home, Bill confided in his half sister, Annie, who also taught him how to dance.

Nick.—Nick's associates included larger number of boys, sometimes, as many as twelve were members of his intimate friendship group. From the age of eight years, Nick and his associates formed raiding parties and designated themselves the "Night Raiders". These boys went through the neighborhoods upsetting garbage cans, pulling clothes from clothes lines, breaking windows, and stealing. Many of Nick's friends in his Buttermilk Bottom neighborhood accompanied Nick to elementary school, and five of the boys were Nick's friends in high school.

After elementary school, Nick became associated with a group of boys of which five of the nine members had juvenile court records ranging from truancy to petty stealing. The members of this group which later came to call themselves the "Dragons", were found to have been unemployed. The "Dragons" spent their time gambling for pennies, loafing, stealing hub caps from parked automobiles, cutting automobile tires and convertible car tops and burglary. The "Dragons" disintegrated after one member of the group married, two were sent to reform schools, one was seriously injured in an attempted robbery, and one volunteered for military service. Since the breakup of the group, Nick associates with one remaining member of the group, Sam, who is eighteen years old. Nick and Sam spend their time loafing together, sex adventures with their girl friends, and occasionally gambling with younger boys in the neighborhood.

Discussion

From the fore-going documentation of the school records, work habits,
parent-child relationships, and choice of associates for Nick and Bill, a few insights might be gained into the boys' personality formation and the personal and social factors involved in their identification with different social value systems.

Nick's relationships with his teachers tended to indicate that he sought a response from his teachers that would compensate for his feeling of inadequacy in the home and in his relationships with his parents. Because his parents obviously favored Bill, Nick resented his brother and everything connected with him. His parents' insistence that he should secure a job as his brother Bill had done, tended to strengthen Nick's reactions to their demands. His interest in boxing and in a boxing career tended to give Nick the assurance that he could, perhaps, one day become rich, and that in so doing, he would outshine his brother, Bill, and would gain his parents' approval. Being emotionally detached from his family group, and residing in neighborhoods which offered the opportunities to become emotionally attached to street gangs, Nick sought companionship, warmth, and affable response from the members of a delinquent group.

Bill, on the other hand, experienced a warm relationship with his parents. Although, the over-protective sentiment Bill's parents had for him altered his relationships with Nick and his peer group, the parental favoritism of Bill did not tend to alter his relationships with his family and his own peer group. Because it was from these groups that Bill derived the gratification of his desires for status, recognition, mastery, and response, the unfavorable opinions of group members other than his family and peer groups had negative significance for Bill's personality development.
Health Conditions

Bill.—Bill was born a normal birth. He weighed six and one half pounds at birth. Bill was breast-fed from birth until he was thirteen months old. During infancy, Bill contracted measles, rash, whooping cough, colds, and meningitis. The latter illness contained Bill for two months. At the age of four, Bill contracted pneumonia. During this illness, Bill was not expected to live. Bill overcame these illnesses, and was not stricken with illnesses until he was nine years old, when defective teeth plagued him for four years. After extracting his last defective tooth himself, Bill has not had another serious illness. Presently, Bill is five feet, seven inches tall, and weighs one hundred and thirty pounds.

Nick.—Nick was born a normal birth, weighing six and one half pounds at birth. Nick was breast-fed for two months, and because of milk deficiency on the part of the mother, and Bill's more urgent need for the mother's breast, Nick was placed on a bottle. He was weaned from the bottle at fifteen months of age. Nick, during infancy, contracted measles, colds, and trash. During childhood, Nick contracted chicken pox, whooping cough, colds, and a stomach ailment. The latter ailment, Nick overcame during his elementary school years, and since this ailment, Nick has not had a serious illness. Nick, at the age of nineteen, is five feet, seven inches tall and weighs one hundred and thirty-two pounds.

Developmental History

Bill.

6 years Bill and his brother played together. Bill and his brother had the same friends in the Buttermilk Bottom neighborhood. Together, the boys had quarrels with other boys in the neighborhood. Bill
7 years started to school and made friends. Bill and his brother began arguing over the parents favoritism toward Bill. Bill associated with his nephew his friend John. His mother began taking him to church with her. Bill's illnesses during these years included common colds and influenza. He was three feet and one inch tall, and weighed seventy-one pounds.

8 years Bill's activities in school increased. He participated in a school play entitled, Columbus, and in another play in which he played the part of a doctor. Bill became interested in becoming a doctor. Bill's family moved from Buttermilk Bottom to a public housing project. He missed his playmates at his previous residence. He returned frequently to his previous neighborhood to shoot marbles and to make sling-shots with his old playmates.

9 years Bill's half sister came to live with the family, and Bill became interested in learning to dance. Defective teeth restricted Bill's winter activities to inside the home.

10 years Bill's half sister, Annie, separated from her husband, and she and her two year old son came to reside permanently with Bill's family. Annie taught Bill how to dance, and he began going to the Community Center to teenage dances. Bill and his brother, Mick did not associate with the same group of boys during these years. Bill associated with John, and became interested in John's sister. Bill had his first sexual intercourse with this girl. Bill's father stipulated that Bill come home by eleven o'clock at night. Bill was reprimanded by his father for violating his rule. Bill became interested in becoming a night club entertainer. His interests in school began to decrease.
15 years Bill became affiliated with a group of students in high school who resided in Bill's neighborhood. This group organized into a social club of which Bill was elected vice president. Out of school, Bill associated with his friend, John, and with John's sister. Bill began staying out late at night, and his father began talking to him about his late hours. Bill began to smoke, and to drink beer occasionally. Bill began to consider terminating his school career and volunteering for military service. Bill stopped school.

16 years Bill roamed the street with his friend, John, who had also stopped school. Bill and John began looking for employment, but without success. Occasionally, Bill and John played basketball and softball with the smaller boys in the neighborhood. Going to dances and parties formed Bill's chief interests. Bill secured employment at a local restaurant, where he is employed presently. Bill resides in his parents' home. The family has moved from the housing project to an address in the general area of Buttermilk Bottom. Bill's plans are to secure sufficient money to enable him to go to Detroit.

Nick.

6 years Nick and his brother played together with other children in the neighborhood. Shooting marbles and making sling-shots were his favorite pastimes. Nick and his friends began fighting with the White children that lived in the neighborhood. Nick began to steal candies and small amounts of money from a neighborhood service station. Nick was not detected by the police officials,
8 years However, Nick's activities were reported to his parents by Bill. Nick's parents severely punished him. Nick began to resent his twin brother, Bill. Nick did not suffer any illnesses during these years. His height was three feet, and his weight was seventy-eight pounds.

9 years Nick began breaking windows in the neighborhood with his slingshots. The mother punished Nick for these acts and began cautioning him about his friends. Nick ran away from home. Two nights later, Nick returned. He was not punished upon his return. The family had moved into the public housing project, and

10 years Nick began associating with a group of eleven boys. The group was called the "Night Raiders", and their activities included breaking windows in vacant and sometimes occupied apartments, stealing hub caps, and smearing windshields of parked automobiles. Nick became interested in boxing. His interest in school decreased.

12 years Nick began to associate with boys who had delinquent court records. Nick learned to gamble, and his activities with this group kept him out of the home until twelve o'clock at night.

13 years His parents' reaction was in the form of severe punishment, and in comparing his behavior with that of his brother, Bill. Nick's interest in boxing increased. His school interest was secondary to boxing. Nick and Bill associated infrequently outside of the home. Nick and his group became known as the "Dragons". When out of school, Nick and the group gambled for pennies and nickles. Nick played basketball, softball, horse-shoe, and other games.
with the group, when the boys were idle. At night, Nick and
the group hi-jacked tires, hub caps, and other detachable
automotive parts, employing a small panel truck one of the
boys was able to bring home from his job at a laundry. Nick
was not the leader of the "Dragons". The leader, Jack, re-
sented Nick, and resented by Nick. Nick seriously stabbed
Jack after an argument in a dice game. Nick's parents talked
with him about his friends, and Nick agreed to quit the group.
The group was broken up after being detected by law-enforce-
ment officials. Nick was not with the group on this occasion.

Nick stopped school after the completion of the eleventh grade.
He sought employment, but he was unsuccessful. Sam, the only
remaining member of the "Dragons" excluding Nick, is Nick's
intimate friend. The two boys gamble, play sports together,
and date girls together. Nick still resides at his parents' home, and he and his brother, Bill, are good pals, but they
seldom associate outside the home.

The Boys' Own Story

Bill

...Mama and all of them always said that I was sort of quiet be-
cause I never did give them any trouble or anything like that. I
got in a few squabbles with some of the boys that lived on our
street, but that was all. After I got up some size, I never did
go out for that kind of stuff. I was not scary though, but I
just didn't go out looking for a fight to get into. When me and
my brother were about eight or nine years old, my brother used
to think that my daddy liked me better than he did him, I don't

Information for Bill's story was secured through Bill's autobiography
and the narration of his life to the investigator.
think it was so. To me he liked us about the same, I guess. My brother wasn't around daddy and mamma as much as I was. We would argue a lot about that, because daddy would come home with some candy and stuff, and he would give it to me. My brother just wasn't around to get any of it. And by the time he would get home, me and my nephew would have it eat up. My brother wouldn't jump on me, because he thought that daddy would beat him, he would jump on my little nephew. He would get a beating for sure, then. Mamma would always say that our nephew didn't have a father and a mother, so we should be nice to him. I tried to be nice to my nephew when mamma and daddy were around, but sometimes I would slap him or something like that when daddy and mamma were gone to work. I would make sure I had pleased him up by the time mamma and daddy got home.

We were living over on Blank Street, I liked it all right. I didn't get into many fights with the kids over there. Sometimes, the boys across the street would take my sling-shot and me and my brother would go over to get it back, but my brother would do most of the talking. We would squabble a little, but it wasn't much to it. Most of the time, I would stay with my sister, Annie, after she came to live with us for good.

My mamma like to go to church, and I remember the first time I went. She took me and my nephew. We were about seven or eight years old at the time, and we got a lot of fun out of seeing the people shout and go on. I remember one time my mamma started to shout, and me and my nephew didn't know what to do. I grabbed her by the dress, but I couldn't hold her, so a man came up and set her down. I don't think I got much out of going, because I was just going to be going. Daddy used to say that there was just as many devils in the church as there was on the outside, so he wouldn't go. He would make mamma so mad by saying that. I went pretty regular for a while, but I think what made me stop was when I was about nine years old. Mamas preacher came by our house, and when he left, daddy said that he was so drunk that he couldn't hardly walk. So I started thinking about that thing, and it bothered me for a while, then I said to myself that daddy was right. So I got to the place where I would get on my bicycle and ride across to the West Side. I go sometimes now, but that is because mamma is always begging me to go with her.

When I was nine years old and we had just moved in the project, mamma got to the place where she could hardly hear anything. She went to Grady, but they said they didn't know what it was. I don't think that that bothered me too much, because mamma was hard of hearing for a long time. Sometimes, I feel sorry for her because she can't hear what we are saying, you know, when we are just sitting around the house. I think it bothers her because she can't get a job and help out, but I don't think that daddy ever worry about that, or he don't say anything about it.
I always had lots of friends, but John was my best friend. John lived in the project, too, so every morning I would go by to get him on my way to school. Sometimes, we would ride our bicycles to school, and then after school, we would ride them around the neighborhood. I guess I spent most of my time either shooting marbles, and riding the bicycle. I remember I had been in school about two years, and my teacher asked me about being in a play. I liked doing that, because it help me to get to know some of the other kids. I did so well in that play that my teacher asked me to be in another play. In this play, I was a doctor. I remember I used to go around telling everybody that I wanted to be a doctor in real life. I don't think that I would be a doctor now if I had the money. I would like to buy a little restaurant. I might do it one of these days. The first thing I'd do if I made any money would be to buy a house for mamma and daddy, then, I'd get a car. I just believe I would like that kind of work.

My first girl friend was John's sister. She was the first girl I ever... I was fourteen then, and she was about thirteen. She was nice, and know all of the boys in school and around here used to want to get next to her, but I was just too powerful. She still lives here now, but she's got a baby now. One summer, she went to New York, and when she got back, some joker had knocked her up. That thing sure hurt me. I still like her, but you know, I don't like her like I used to.

I never had many jobs. My first job was throwing papers when I was eleven years old. I soon quit because I had to get up too early in the morning. My next job was working for a ole Jew. I delivered grocery for him. I wasn't making much money, so I quit and I didn't get another job until I started working at the restaurant. I don't like working there, because I don't have any time off, but I make pretty good. I give mamma and daddy some of my money, but they don't make me give them anything. I know they need it. What I wish I could do is go to Detroit and get a good job. Those guys really make good money up there, that's what I want to do....

Nick

...I remember when I was about six years old, me and my brother played a lot together. Where we lived over on Blank Street, there was always a lot of kids to play with on our street. We got together and shot marbles and made sling-shorts and things like that. We'd fight with some of the white boys down the street from us, and sometimes we fight among ourselves, but that was just for fun. Daddy and mamma used to tell me not to go out fighting with the white boys, but as soon as daddy and mamma went to work or somewhere, I would go down there or they would come up to our apartment. We would start playing, and the next thing you know, we would be fighting. That's where I found out
that a ole cracker couldn't fight. I used to knock them down, and they would go home hollering. Then, when they all got together, the would call us "niggers". That would make me mad.

I guess I got along pretty good with mamma and daddy, but sometime I could hear them talking about me getting into trouble. Daddy would tell mamma that she had better watch me, because I was getting with the wrong crowd. I think daddy thought that mamma was paying more attention to the other relatives than she did to me. Daddy used to say that he couldn't tell us apart, but he was lying, because when he brought stuff home, a lot of times I wouldn't get any of it. I remember one of the worse whippings I ever got was because daddy heard me and my brother arguing about that. He got the fire stick, and I thought he was going to kill me just because I said that. Daddy would argue with me, and sometimes, he would beat me, but it was mamma that whipped me all of the time. She would whip me about anything. I remember, there was a family that lived in the apartment house where we lived. This family had a daughter, and one day, I told her that I want some . She went back and told my mamma about it. Mamma beat me about that. And just to think, that same girl gave me some , when we were about thirteen, and she didn't tell anybody about it.

When I was about nine years old, I wanted a bicycle, but my daddy said that I didn't need a bicycle. They got my brother a bicycle, and one day, I took my brother's bicycle, and my mamma whipped me, so I decided to leave home. Another boy across the street decided to go with me. The first night we were out we slept on somebodys porch all night. Happen it wasn't wintertime, and we didn't get very cold. The next day, we didn't know where we were going, so we just walked around. We got so hungry that we started to go back home. We told a lady that lived on Old Wheat Street that we were hungry, so she gave us something to eat. We thought we were going to get a job and make some money, and then we would catch a train. We got with an ole man selling vegetable, and we told him that we would help for an apple a piece, (each) so he said O.K. When we left him that evening, we had three apples a piece. That night we didn't have anyplace to sleep, so we walked around until about eleven o'clock, then we decided to go back home. We were scared we were going to get another whipping for running away. When we got home mamma and daddy were out looking for us, and my friends daddy. They wanted to know what happened, so we told them that some men picked us up and carried us off, and dropped us, and we had to walk all the way back home. I didn't get a whipping for that.

When we moved to the project, I didn't like to live there at first. The kids used to call me the "shadow" because me and my brother look so much alike. I used to go back to our old neighborhood and play with the kids over there. After I started boxing, I made friends in the project, then, because they wanted to use my boxing gloves. I started liking boxing so good that my
teacher in high school said he wanted to take me and make me a good boxer. I didn't care too much about school except to go to the gym and spar around. I liked the little girls, too.

After I got to know some fellows in the project, I started going around with a bunch of boys that was called the "Dragons". I knew the boys stole and things like that, but I wasn't going to let them get me into any trouble. Most of the times when I went out with them, I would tell them to count me out, so a lot of times I would just sit in the truck. And then, sometimes, I wouldn't go out with them. Mamma and daddy used to tell me that those boys were the wrong crowd, but it was a lot of fun being around them, though. When I was seventeen years old, me and Jack got into it right there behind the Center. All the boys were scared of Jack. We were shooting crap and Jack said that I was cheating, so he threw a bottle at me and missed me. I took out my knife and tried to do him in. He went to the hospital for a while for that, and since that I haven't had any more trouble out of Jack. Didn't anything happen to me, because everybody knew that I was right.

After that I slacked off from going out with the fellows for a while, but after about two months I got tired of being around the house, so I decided to start going out with them again. It just happened, one night I wasn't with them, and they had been out hi-jacking a lot of stuff. They ran over a red light, and the cops ran them down and found all of that stuff in the truck. All of them ended up at jail. Some of them got out on bond, but the others had to go to reform schools, and some are serving time. Me and Sam are about the only ones left, and we just fool around here doing nothing. I'd like to make me some money, but this hard work just ain't for me. Maybe I'm just lazy, but that's the way I feel about it....

Summary Discussion

The presentation of the life-history materials of Nick and Bill tends to indicate that the differential identification of the boys is far from clear. Many of the boys social experiences are similar and took place in similar social situations. Certain family, health, and peer group factors tended to predispose the boys to somewhat different social situations from which the boys conceptualized somewhat differently their needs for status, recognition, response, and mastery. For the boys, these needs became gratifiable in terms of the manners in which the boys respective groups defined appropriate behavior.
Nicks denial of parental love and affection, his health conditions, and his own conception of his rejection, tended to compel Nick to seek parental surrogates. His attachment to his teachers, his repudiation of his parents demands to sever his relationships with a semi-delinquent group, and his strong need for status and response, rendered Nick susceptible to any influences which tended compensate for his feelings of inferiority.

Bill's unhealthy physical conditions, his parents over-protective attitudes toward him, and his own interpretations of these factors, tended to restrict Bill's associations with other members of his age group. Bill's loyalty to his family group predominated his relationships with and his conceptions of his peers opinions of him.

TAT Profiles of the Twins

Considering the chief disadvantage of the life history technique, that of the difficulty of establishing the reliability of the life history, a projective test was administered to the twins, in an effort to compare the findings of one technique with the findings of another. The test was administered by the investigator, however, the interpretation of the stories was done by psychological experts.

The selection of the Thematic Apperception Test preceded along the lines of the basic assumptions made in this study, and the purposes which this study set out to realize. The TAT furnishes the content and the dynamics of interpersonal relationships to an extent suitable to the securing of complete life histories. In this study, what is sought is the experiential background of identical twins which includes their internalizations of their parent-child, child-child, and peer group relationships,
and the extent to which these internalizations have sponsored differential identifications with value systems. The TAT does this, in addition to revealing the fears, anxieties, unconscious needs, and the id-ego-superego structure of the testees. The TAT, likewise, reveals the nature of the testees personality problems.

Description of the Pictures.—The following pictures were presented to the subjects:

3 BM On the floor against a couch is the huddled form of a boy with his head bowed on his right arm. Beside him on the floor is a revolver. (This picture reveals the boys latent homosexuality and possible depressed states.)

4 A woman is clutching the shoulders of a man whose face and body are averted as if he were trying to pull away from her. (This picture reveals male-female relationships)

6 BM A short elderly woman stands with her back turned to a tall young man. The latter looking downward with a perplexed expression. (This picture reveals mother-son relationships.)

7 BM A gray-haired man is looking at a younger man who is sullenly staring into space. (This picture reveals father-son relationships.)

8 BM An adolescent boy looks straight out of the picture. The barrel of a rifle is visible at one side, and the background is the dim scene of a surgical operation, like a reverie-image. (This picture reveals aggressive tendencies.)

9 BM Four men in overalls are lying on the grass taking it easy. (This picture reveals man-man relationships, fears, and drives.)

12 M A young man is lying on a couch with his eyes closed. Leaning over him is the gaunt form of an elderly man, his hand stretched out above the face of the reclining figure. (This picture reveals the relationship of a younger man to an older man.)

13 MF A young man is standing with downcast head buried in his arm. Behind him is the figure of a woman lying in bed. (This picture reveals sexual conflicts and economic deprivations.)

17 BM A naked man is clinging to a rope. He is in the act of climbing up or down. (This picture reveals fears and homosexual feelings.)
18 BM A man is clutched from behind by three hands. The figures of his antagonists or invisible. (This picture reveals male anxiety.)

Interpretation

Bill.--Bill is a person who behaves in an ingratiating manner in ordinary circumstances but who has marked passive-aggressive conflicts. He is, perhaps, slightly less constricted, and a little more expressive. His, also, is a world dominated by talion morality. Paternal figures are seen as relentlessly stern and unyielding. Maternal figures are avenging and rejecting. He has strong hedonistic impulses, but these are checked and crushed by his fears of punishment. Much of his emotional energy is poured into sado-masochistic channels. A little more obviously than Nick, he has prominent passive, feminine identifications. Denial is a defense in this case. He also has strong, unresolved oral erotic impulses. He is quite unelastic in meeting changing situations, and tends to react in stereotyped, not always altogether appropriate ways. Whatever potential he has in the direction of empathy is marred by his passivity and depression. He feels implicitly that any outward reaching by him is doomed to failure and that he will always be rejected.

Nick.--Nick is an individual who may be superficially ingratiating, but who suffers from marked passive-aggressive conflicts. He has no mature identifications, although he feels that others help him at times. This is seen to be in magical, incomprehensible ways; he does not understand or appreciate how or why they do, nor is there any evidence of his

Analysis and interpretation of the T. A. T.'s by Koff Psychiatric Clinic, Atlanta, Georgia.
giving in return. He appears to be a solitary person with no real empathy for others. He has a variety of submissive loyalty to mother figures, as much because of a sense of threat from them as because of any positive feeling for them. He views women as domineering if not downright castrating. He has a dull feeling of trauma at the hands of his father who is at best, no help to him. He is oppressed by talion morality in which there are no positive or constructive motivations, but only punishment inexorably meted out for wrongdoing. He has strong feelings of guilt arising from unconscious conflicts, and in various unwitting ways invites punishment from others because of this. He also is quite ready to pass out punishment to others. The result is rather marked sadomasochism with powerful unconscious conflict over death wishes. He feels lost and forlorn; he views the world as a wild, dismal, threatening place from which the only escape is death. He is a mildly depressed, highly constricted personality. His principal defense is massive repression. If pushed he would be likely to develop a dissociative reaction. The overall picture is one of passive-aggressive character with fixations at the oral and phallic levels and with hysterical defenses.


CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND TENTATIVE HYPOTHESES

Aims of the Study.—This study set out to find, through the use of the life history technique, the nature of the identification with different social value systems on the part of two young adult males who are identical twins. The basic assumptions in the study are: (1) that the social values as held by the family and members of the neighborhoods in which the twins have lived, the twins had an equal chance for identifying with delinquent or non-delinquent social values, (2) that the twins' identification with contrary social value systems is contingent upon the degree of their associations with members of groups with different value orientations and the extent to which these groups satisfied their desires for status, recognition, and response, and (3) that the persistency of the twins' associations with members of groups with different value orientations tended to counter their acceptance of social values that are exhibited by groups that do not satisfy their desires for status, recognition, and response.

Findings of the Study.—The findings of the study are as follows:

(1) There appears to be a duality of social value systems in the twins' social experiences, as seen by delinquent influences of the neighborhoods and the conforming influences of the family.

(2) Nick and Bill's acceptance of social values is similar, in that the family's social values were not completely repudiated by Nick or Bill. Nick's behavior patterns tend to indicate stronger non-acceptant attitudes toward the family's social values than do Bill's.

(3) The denial of parental response to Nick tended to lead directly to his associations with members of a delinquent group. Nick's associations with a delinquent group gave him the status, recognition, and response he lacked in his family group.

(4) The incompleteness of the twins' identifications with either delinquent or non-delinquent social value systems is indicated by the
meanings each twin gives to the symbols of the delinquent and non-delinquent value systems.

Discussion of the Findings.--From the time that the child is introduced into a world of other human beings, the influences of his socio-psychological world began to make important inroads into his biological nature. The biological needs of the individual become gratifiable in socially prescribed ways. There develops, through the socialization process, a system of socio-psychological needs. Social status, recognition, response, social approval or disapproval, and a host of others become as important to the individual as hunger, thirst, or sex. The family, the play group, neighborhood, and community groups are of primary significance for the individual, because it is within these groups that the individual makes his first human associations, and out of these associations the emerging social needs are first satisfied.

The socio-psychological conditioning of the individual in his primary groups gives the individual his conception of "right" and "wrong", his attitudes toward himself and others, and his personality. The kind of personality, attitudes, values, habits, interests, and ideas the individual adopts are directly contingent upon the nature, frequency, and persistency of the individuals social relationships with members of his primary groups.

Nick, who had experienced, to some degree, a more hostile relationship with his parents, tended to develop an aggressive attitude toward conformity social values as represented by the family group. His ties with his family were never severed, and it appears that his family ties served as counterbalances for his possible complete identification with delinquent social values. This appears to be responsible for the feelings of guilt and self-condemnation that Nick expressed subtly in his life story.
Reliability of the Findings.—The data secured by the interviews are sound, but limited in scope. The data secured through the use of official records are sound. The data secured through the use of the Thematic Apperception Test compare favorably with the life history materials, which aided in increasing the reliability of the findings.

Findings (2), (3), and (4) are supported by an abundance of data, and the evidences are sound. Finding (1) is supported by substantial data, but the scope of the data is limited.

Methodological Suggestions.—Because of the controlled atmosphere of studying identical twins, invaluable insights can be gained into the nature of personality problems. It is always a temptation to over-generalize from the study of a few cases employing life histories. However, if a representative number of such studies are made, wherein one of the twins is a known delinquent and the other a known non-delinquent, significant generalizations about the causes of delinquency can be drawn from such cases.

Contributions of the Study.—This study cannot boast of having added substantially to the body of sociological materials relative to the problem, however, it does point up the significance of studying identical twins from the standpoint of their continued life experiences and social relationships.
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Books


Articles


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APPENDIX A

MCK'S RESPONSES TO THE PICTURES

3. The lady and her husband had been arguing over his running around with other women, so she got mad with him and shot him. She started thinking about what the police was going to do to her when they caught her. She got so scared that she took the pistol that she had dropped on the floor and shot herself. When the police got there, they found both of them lying on the floor dead. (Long pause)

4. This lady is in love with this man. She couldn't do without him, but he had other things on his mind. He thought mainly about other women. He went to a night club with another woman and his wife found out about it; so when he got home, started to ask him questions about where he had been and who he had been with. He wouldn't tell her where he was or anything. He got tired of her nagging him, so he decided to get a divorce from her. He is thinking about how nice it feels to be free again and to do what he wants to do.

6. This man has a problem on his mind. He was in love with a girl, and he was engaged to marry her. His mother didn't like the girl, so she (elderly woman) told him to forget about the girl. Several months later, this man and his girl friend met again at a dance. His girl friend asked him why he didn't want to marry her. He told her what his mother thought about her. His girl friend wanted to know what he thought about her. He told her that he loved her in spite of what his mother thought about her. This man and his girl friend finally got married.

7. This young fellow is in love with a girl, but the girl is not in love with him. She was in love with another fellow; so, this young
fellow came to the older fellow for advice. The younger fellow does not know whether to give up his girl friend or to have a quarrel with the girl's lover. He asked the older fellow to tell him what to do about it. The older fellow told him to give the girl a lot of nice presents; and if she accepted the presents, she would accept him, too. The young fellow did what the older fellow told him to do, but the girl still didn't like him. After a few years, the girl married the fellow she was in love with. The young fellow had to give her up. He started liking another girl.

All of this is in the mind of this boy. He is thinking about all of this. The boy has been sick, and he had a serious operation from being shot with a shot-gun. He was a member of a club (gang); and the guy that shot him was a member of another club. The boys in this boy's club didn't like the boys in the other guy's club, so they started fighting. This boy got shot, and all of the fellows in his club began to worry about whether he was going to die or not. The guys in the other club began to worry, too; because they didn't want to get into any trouble. This boy was in the hospital for four months. He recovered from the wound, and he told his mother that he would never join another club.

The boy has run away from home, and he has traveled several days through the woods. He wanted to get away from his daddy. His daddy mistreated him a lot, so the boy went away. The boy saw a smoke in a little camp, and he wanted to know what could it be. He went up close to see. There were loafers. He woke up the loafers, and they wanted to know where he was going. He told them that he had run away from home. One of the loafers began to talk to him, and the loafer told him that if he had a home he would appreciate it and wouldn't run away. The loafer convinced
the boy that he was wrong for leaving home. He thought it over carefully; and late that night, the boy slipped away from the loafers and started back to his home.

12 MW. This guy went to this man for him to put him in a deep, deep sleep. The man wanted to forget about his troubles. At first, the man did not believe that the other man could do it; so he decided to let the man try it. He told the man that he didn't ever want to come back again, so the man (crouched figure) put the other man to sleep. After he put him to sleep his people (relatives) came to tell the man to bring him back. He brought the man back, and the man went home with his relatives.

13 MF. This guy killed this woman for love; and after he had killed her, he began to think about all of the things that she had done to him. He didn't have anymore feelings for her, because she liked other men. He felt that if he couldn't have her, no other man would. He felt that the only way he could get rid of his troubles was to kill her. He began to tell himself about what was going to happen to him. Was he going to the electric chair or to the gas chamber. Either way, he didn't have anything to live for. She was the only woman he loved. He went down to the police station and gave himself up.

17 BW. This man was lost in a swamp, and he stayed there for a long time. A lot of people began looking for him, but they could not find him. The Air Force sent out planes to try to find him. While he was lost, he got so hungry that he couldn't walk. He fell into a hole and couldn't get out. He started to think about his wife, and that he would not leave her again if he could get back home. She was nice to him, but he wasn't very nice to her. While he was thinking, a helicopter came over him and they saw him in the hole. They threw out a rope to him, and he began to climb up on it.
He climbed almost to the top, but he was so hungry that he couldn't hold on to the rope much longer. The guys in the helicopter tried to help him, but they couldn't reach him. He fell down and he was killed.

18 EM.—The man was out walking one night and some men jumped on him. They stole all of his money. Some man (only the hands are visible) came along and saw that the man was in trouble. He decided to help him find his way home. The man was so injured on the inside that he couldn't remember where he lived. His friend went in his pocket and got his billfold. He found out where the man lived. The man didn't have any money, so his friend put him in a cab and paid the cab fare. The man went on home, but he didn't find his money.
Bill's Response to the Pictures

3 BM. This was during the war, and this lady's husband was in the Army. One day, she got a letter that her husband had been killed in action. She was really in love with her husband; and when she found out that he had been killed, she fell on her knees. She began to grieve and pray because she is broken-hearted. She is saying that she will never marry anybody else in the world. She left the town and started living in another town. She was so much in love with her husband that she never married again.

4. This lady is this fellow's girl friend, and he thinks that she has been running around with another guy. He came to her house that night, and he asked her whether she had seen the other guy. She told him that she had seen the other guy, but that she was not in love with him. He didn't believe what she said, so he started out to get in trouble with the other guy. She is trying to keep him from going, because she is afraid that he will be killed. He is the only one she loves. He doesn't pay any attention for a while, but she makes him understand it. Then, he doesn't go out to see the guy.

6 BM. This fellow was married to this lady's daughter, and she left him because she said that he tried to be a big timer. (Playboy) He stayed around home wondering where she was, so he decided to go to his mother-in-law's house. When he got there, his mother-in-law told him that she didn't want to see him again. The mother-in-law does not like him because he has mistreated her daughter. The mother-in-law has come to a decision. He decides to leave the house and never to go back again, so he walks out with
a sad look on his face, and he never sees his wife again.

7 BM. The son (younger man) has a problem about his marriage which is not going so good. He decided to go to talk it over with his father. The son did not know what to do about his marriage. He doesn't know whether to stay with his wife or to leave her, because he doesn't love her anymore. He (younger man) has found another woman that he loves very much. The son does not know what to do. He is worried. His father is telling the son that if it were him, he would stay with his wife. The father is stern and he has reached his decision about it. The father is not going to change his mind, so the son is thinking about what his father has told him. The father is waiting to see what the son is going to say about it. The way the son has his mouth, he must have agreed with his father. The son is still not sure of just what to do. (Long pause) The father is not going to change his mind about what he has said.

8 BM. The young fellow's family is wealthy, and they went out on a vacation on a lake. While they were out there, some men tried to capture this young fellow. Another man saw them, and he came to help this young fellow out. The other guys saw him coming, and they shot him. Then, the other guys ran off. This guy was in such serious condition that they could not rush him to the hospital. They put him in a small house and started to operate on him right there. The fellows who are operating on him know what they are doing. They put a light up over the man so that they can see what they are doing. They have a jug full of blood hanging up for the transfusion. The police came, and they are talking the young fellow about what happened. He is telling the police that whatever happens his father will take care of it. His father is rich, and will pay for all of the bills.
28. All of these guys who are sleeping try to be slick. They are pickpockets, gamblers and everything. Everytime they steal something, they go out in the woods and stay until everything is all right. Then, they do the same thing again. They are nothing but tramps, because they don't care anything about working or doing anything like that. They just want to steal and sleep. One day, this young boy was out in the swamp getting wood for his mother, and he tipped up on these tramps. They did not see him, so he looked at them for a long time. Then, he went back to the house and told his mother about it. She called the police and told them about the tramps' stealings. The police came out and caught all of them while they were asleep.

12 H. People said that this man was a fake, so he decided to show the people that he was not a fake by hypnotizing this lady. This lady was in the audience, and she didn't believe that this man could do it. She volunteered to come up and to let him hypnotize her. She is in a deep dream, and the man is telling her a lot of things to do while she is in the dream. She walked all around and talked about things that he told her to talk about. Then, all of the began to holler for him to bring her back, because they thought that she was dead. The man began waving his hands over her face and trying to bring her back. He finally brought her back, and she went back in the audience with her husband. Everybody was shocked over his success. They did not ever call him a fake again.

13 AF. The woman and the man were in love with each other, but she got so that she didn't care about him. She began to run around with other men and began staying out late at night. Her boyfriend was really in love with her, and he didn't like what she was doing. He was jealous of her, too. He went to her apartment and saw her in the bed with another man, so he
took his pistol and killed her. (pause) The other man got away. After he killed her, he is sorry that he has done it; because he loved her, but he saw that that was the best thing to do. He has lost the only one he ever loved, he is thinking to himself that he did it while he was mad. Now that he has come to his right senses, he is grieving over her. He is really sorry for what he has done.

17 Bh. This fellow's friend was good in climbing up ropes. One day, he went up this rope, and while he was up there, he couldn't come back down the rope. All of the people began to tell this fellow that his friend was in trouble, and that he should go up there and help him down. This fellow (climber) is not as good as his friend, so he is scared that both of them are going to fall. That is why he is looking the way he is. Everybody in the tent is quiet, because they don't want to excite this man and make him fall. Finally, he gets up to where his friend is, and he catches him around the waist and starts back down the rope. By that time, some other men got a big net and put it up under them. They told this fellow to turn loose the rope and just fall in the net. He did, and this guy saved his friend's life.

18 Bh. This man was a stag (solitary drunkard); and he has been to a midnight party. He started drinking, and he didn't realize how much he was drinking until he got up to go home. He fell to the floor; and every time he tried to walk out of the door, he would fall down. One of his friends told him that he was too drunk to go home by himself, and that he would help him home. His friend is trying to hold him up, so he has this drunk guy's coat all ruffled up. His friend took him to his car and carried him home.