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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate two general questions. First, to what extent are males and females similar regarding delinquent involvement, and second, to what extent can theories of delinquency be generalized in explaining the delinquent involvement of both males and females.

Particular focus was given to the self-reported delinquent behaviour of youths in a middle-sized Canadian city (Edmonton, Alberta). The study group consisted of all tenth grade students attending two academic high schools in Edmonton. The data was analyzed in such a way that three alternative theories of delinquency could be examined. The first two theories, family deficiency theory and peer deficiency theory, were selected from sex-specific sociological theories, while the third theory, control theory, was selected from general theories of juvenile delinquency. The ability of these theories to predict the delinquent involvement of males and females was tested with the Edmonton sample. The dependent variable, delinquency, was measured by categorizing responses to a self-reported delinquency check list similar to the one employed by Hirschi (1969). The conclusions of the study will be summarized according to

the respective chapters dealing with the data analysis.

Chapter three indicated that ungovernability types of offences are not particular to either sex, but rather both males and females report similar involvement in these offences. However, when a general index of delinquency was used variation was observed in both the amount of delinquency and the types of delinquent acts reported. The data indicated that while males report more delinquent involvement than females, female delinquent involvement is substantially lower than that reported by official sources. Similarly, the sex ratios for each of these offences showed that the male-female differences in the types of delinquent acts committed are not as great as official sources have indicated.

The fourth chapter indicated that family deficiency theory was not entirely specific to female delinquency. Many of the relationships examined were identical for males and females, and some ran in a direction opposite to that predicted by family deficiency theory (e.g. some relationships are stronger for males than for females). However, there was some support for the proposition that family variables are more strongly related to delinquency among females than among males.

The fifth chapter indicated that peer deficiency theory was not supported by the Edmonton data. In many cases, there was no sex differences and where there were differences the relationships tended to be stronger for males than for females.

The sixth chapter found support for the proposition that control theory provides a better explanation of delinquent involvement for male and female delinquency than do the sex-specific theories. However, there were sex differences among the relationships examined that could not be accounted for by the control variables. On the basis of these findings, it was concluded that future research should include a modification of these variables in order to take these differences into account, rather than continuing with atheoretical research based on an a prior assumption that different theories are required for male and female delinquency.

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CHAPTER 1

STUDY INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH OVERVIEW

This chapter will involve a review of the literature concerning female delinquency including a discussion of the types of concepts that have been developed to explain female delinquent behaviour. Following this discussion, the background of the general research problem for this study will be outlined.

THEORIES OF FEMALE DELINQUENCY

The general emphasis in sociological investigations of juvenile delinquency in the past has been on male juvenile delinquency. In contrast, little attention has been paid to the characteristics and etiology of female juvenile delinquency. The theoretical schemes that have been developed to account for female delinquent behaviour have relied heavily on biological and psychological concepts. The application of these concepts in developing a perspective of female delinquency will become quite apparent in the following discussion of these writings.

Biological Theories

Biological explanations have been a common form of explanations for female delinquency from Lombroso's "atavisms" in the early 1900's to the Glueck's "diseased anti-social misfits" of the mid-thirties to Cowie, Cowie, and Slater's "chromosomal theory" of the late sixties.

In a manner analogous to the search by the Gluecks (1956) and others for a linkage between body types and male delinquency, various researchers have suggested that body type is related to delinquency among females.

However, they are not as clearly formulated as male delinquent body types. For example, female delinquents have been characterized in the literature as masculine (Lander, 1963; Cowie et al, 1968) and physically overdeveloped (Bingham, 1923; Pollak, 1950). A more recent parallel between male and female offenders within a biological framework is found among studies of chromosomal abnormality. For example the alleged association between the double Y chromosomal constitution and male criminality (Fox, 1971) has led to a similar investigation for chromosomal abnormality among females (Klein, 1973), but no relationship was found for female deviancy.

Biological explanations of female delinquency usually include references to the physiological effects of menstruation on deviant behaviour. In fact, the psychological and emotional responses of women and girls to this cycle

have invoked writers of every era to make a direct relation to deviant acts (Lombroso, 1911; Pollak, 1950; Dalton, 1961; Konopka, 1966; Scutt, 1974).

Psychological Theories

Psychological interpretations constitute one of the most popular forms of explanations for female delinquency. Studies finding a relationship between psychological aberrations and female delinquency are numerous (Otterstrom, 1946; Butler, 1965; Cowie et al, 1968). For example, the finding that psychiatric abnormality and morbidity are more frequently found among delinquent girls than delinquent boys is a common one (Epps, 1951; Gibbons, 1959, 1971; Walker, 1965; Cowie et al., 1968; d'Orban, 1972; Reckless, 1973).

The psychological variables which are allegedly related to female delinquency vary widely. For example, female delinquents have been described as deceitful and sly (Pollak, 1950; Sandhu and Irving, 1974), revengeful (Konopka, 1966), and manipulative (Reiss, 1960; Butler, 1965), as passive and passionless (Thomas, 1928; Grosser, 1951), but yet promiscuous (Cavan, 1969; Vedder and Sommerville, 1970).

Like biological explanations of female delinquency, psychological explanations continue to influence present

writing on female deviancy. This is clearly evident in major contemporary works which are still relating female psychopathology with female delinquency (Konopka, 1966; Cowie, Cowie and Slater, 1968; Pollak and Friedman, 1969; Vedder and Sommerville, 1970).

Sociological Theories

Sociological explanations fare no better than biological and psychological explanations in providing a realistic account of female delinquency. They suffer as well from vagueness, superficiality, and inconsistency. These deficiencies are reflected in the typical explanations of female delinquency such as: delinquency in girls is a symptom of homosexuality (Gibbons, 1957; Cowie et al, 1968), an escape from an unhappy home situation which necessitates the need to obtain substitute affection from boys (Halleck and Hersko, 1962; Reige, 1972; Gibbons, 1976), a result of unsatisfactory relationships with the same and the opposite sex (Cohen, 1955; Cavan, 1966; Vedder and Sommerville, 1970), and a maladjustment of or rebellion against sex roles (Morris, 1964; Sandhu and Irving, 1971; Adler, 1975).

Two of the more common sociological explanations have been selected from these writings to represent the sex-specific theories of delinquency. They will be discussed in more detail in chapters four and five.

GENERAL PROBLEM BACKGROUND

As we have pointed out, female delinquency generally has been viewed as an "abnormal" phenomenon. This tendency to rely on theories which imputed some pathological difference to the female delinquent led to categorizing female delinquency as separate and distinct from male delinquency (Reckless, 1961; Cowie et al, 1968; d'Orban, 1972; Sandhu and Irving, 1974). The inevitable result was the accumulation of "special" theories of female delinquency rather than general theories of juvenile delinquency which included both boys and girls. With the "specialization" of the female delinquent and the generally poor quality of empirical research underlying such theories (Chesney-Lind, 1973; Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973; Rasche, 1974), a sociological perspective of female delinquency has yet to be adequately developed. Therefore, one of the major areas of concern for the present research is to determine whether such specialization is justified. That is, are unique causal mechanisms involved in the causation of female delinquency or can the delinquency of both males and females be subsumed under the same general theory.

Evaluating the generalizability of a theory is a particularly important consideration for delinquency research. First of all, most theories of criminal deviance have assumed rather than tested for generalizability. The importance of

testing this assumption for both male and female subjects is becoming increasingly evident with recent research which suggests that this neglect will have serious methodological consequences for most contemporary deviance theories. An obvious consequence for these deviance theories is that they may only be special theories, but special theories of male deviance.

If we accept the premise that one of the aims of science is to develop general theories which subsume as many different empirical phenomena as possible, the importance of determining the generalizability of a theory of delinquency is apparent. With this goal in mind, it is particularly interesting to observe the general stand taken in the field of delinquency. For example, Cowie et al. claim that "delinquency in the two sexes is such a different phenomenon, in its causes and its manifestations, that in planning and reporting an investigation the two sexes should never be compounded" (1968: 23).

The view that different causal mechanisms are involved in the delinquency of males and females has typically been based on official statistics concerning the nature and amount of delinquency committed by males and by females. As we shall see, more recent studies based on self-report data have led to rather different conclusions. In view of these considerations, the controversy over sex-specific versus general theories of delinquency is not an issue that can be

ignored any longer in theories of juvenile delinquency.

The present research, then, will address itself to two major issues: the sex differences in delinquent behaviour, and the ability of sex-specific and general theories of delinquency to predict male and female delinquency. For the purpose of this analysis, three alternative theories will be tested. Two sex-specific theories have been drawn from the general sociological perspective of role-expressive theories, and they will be referred to as family deficiency theory and peer deficiency theory. The competing model is represented by a form of social control theory. That is, Hirschi's formulation of control theory, a theory which claims to be a general theory of delinquency.

In determining the ability of the alternative theories to predict delinquency, the analysis will focus on the causal mechanisms involved. In other words, are there different causal mechanisms operating in producing male and female delinquency as sex-specific theories suggest, or are there similar causal mechanisms operating in producing both male and female delinquency. This analysis, then, will involve a comparison of the correlates of delinquency of males and females for each of these theories. In order to determine the similarities and differences between the self-reported delinquencies of males and females, we shall look at the frequencies and types of delinquencies committed.

THE STUDY

This study attempts to go beyond the traditional (sex-specific) explanations of female delinquency by proposing a general theory which explains delinquent involvement in terms of the ties an individual has to conventional society.

In chapter two the design of the study is outlined. The statistical criteria for data evaluation are discussed along with the rationale for the statistical procedures selected for analysis of the data. A brief discussion of the demographic characteristics of the study population is then presented.

Chapter three compares official and self-report data and points out the discrepancies between these data sources in describing male and female delinquency. Following this analysis, the findings of the self-report data from the Edmonton study will be presented.

Chapters four and five outline the sex-specific theories of delinquency. Chapter four deals specifically with family deficiency theory and chapter five with peer deficiency theory. Each chapter explores its particular perspective including the rationale for each of the variables involved, how they are operationalized and the results of empirical testing with the Edmonton sample of male and female high school students.

The basic argument of sex-specific theories is

that different theories are required to explain male and female delinquency. This assertion is tested using both family deficiency theory and peer deficiency theory as an example of a sex-specific theory of delinquency.

In chapter six the general theory of delinquency is outlined along with the rationale and operationalization of the variables involved. It explores the problem of the generalizability of control theory. The results of the ability of control theory to predict delinquency involvement of both males and females is a theoretically important one in that it purports to be a general theory of delinquency.

The concluding chapter, chapter seven, is divided into three parts: (1) the general purpose, plan, and procedures of the study; (2) the findings relevant to the hypotheses tested, and (3) the limitations of these findings and the general conclusions concerning the nature of self-reported delinquency for males and females.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY DESIGN

The data used in this study were gathered by Kupfer (1966) in Edmonton in the spring of 1965. In this study, self-administered questionnaires were completed by all tenth grade students attending the two senior high schools serving the highest socio-economic areas of the city. Completed questionnaires were returned by 571 males and 583 females (see Table 1).

Random sampling procedures were not employed in this study due to certain situational constraints. To check for possible biases this might have caused, Kupfer made very thorough analyses of the relationships between delinquency and both age and class¹. He found that these relationships were very weak².

The data in Kupfer's study came from two sources: school records and the questionnaires completed by the students. The school records provided certain demographic data in addition to information on academic achievement test scores, grade point averages, and school conduct.

An extensive pre-test questionnaire was developed by Kupfer which included a full range of items that had

proven useful in U.S. studies of adolescence and delinquent behaviour³. Kupfer's primary objective in administering the pre-test was to remove the American biases. The questionnaire was pre-tested on two grade eleven sociology and psychology classes at a high school within the geographical area of the study group. In addition, each student was requested to identify any problems in answering the questionnaire. On the basis of these results, the final questionnaire was constructed.

The final ten-page questionnaire was administered on May 27 and June 2, 1965 by members of the University of Alberta Sociology Department in each home room of the two schools involved. The team administering the questionnaires were given instructions concerning the study design, the researcher's approach to the class, and the school situations.

STATISTICAL CRITERIA FOR DATA EVALUATION

Measure of Association: "Gamma"

The respondent group was essentially a total enumeration of all tenth graders in the two schools studied. They were not a representative sample of all tenth graders in the city since they came from the two high schools serving many of the city's higher socio-economic neighbourhoods and census tracts. Although we could speculate that they might be considered a sample of higher status Canadian High School

youth, there are no meaningful grounds for such an assertion. Hence, general tests of significance have not been employed. For generalizations beyond the sample on statistical inference grounds, it is required that certain assumptions be met. One is that there should be a random sample from a defined population. The data presented here are presumed to have relevance for Canadian youth beyond the study group, but the present sample cannot provide good estimates of sampling variability. Thus, further research will have to be done to determine the scope of the relationships discovered in the present population.

Measures of association have been used to test the degree to which the variables examined were related. Gamma gives one idea of how well one can predict ordering on one variable from ordering on another. Gammas will be reported for each of the relationships examined, and the strength of these relationships have been determined on the following criterion:

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Low Association | - Gamma from $-.10$ to $+.10$ |
| Moderate Association | - Gamma from $-.11$ to $-.30$ and $+.11$ to $+.30$ |
| High Association | - Gamma from $-.31$ and higher $+.31$ and higher |

Since these measures are markedly affected by the marginal distributions, the original tables will be presented where appropriate.

In addition to gamma, patterns of percentage distributions will be noted and differences between percentages pointed out in comparing self-reported delinquency for boys and girls.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY POPULATION

In setting the stage for subsequent analysis, some general demographic characteristics of the study population have been carried out. In many respects, the study group was a homogeneous population. This should be remembered when considering the findings and relating them to other groups that have been studied. In general, the study group can be characterized by the following characteristics:

1. Predominately 15 and 16 years old;
2. Fairly non-mobile geographically;
3. Largely local (born in Edmonton and Alberta);
4. Having parents who are long-term residents of Canada;
5. Having mostly non-working mothers;
6. Living with mother and father (or step-parents);
7. Having parents relatively inactive in organizations;
8. Having parents above average in education.

None of these factors were clearly associated with the delinquency index as defined for both the sex-specific and general theories of delinquency.

TABLE 1

ENROLLMENTS AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS IN TWO
EDMONTON HIGH SCHOOLS: TENTH GRADERS

| | School A | School B | Total |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Total Enrollment | 718 | 477 | 1,195 |
| Total Research Participants | 696 | 460 | 1,156 |
| Percentage of Total | 96.9 | 98.6 | 96.7 |
| Absentees | 22 | 17 | 39 |
| Percentage of Total | 3.1 | 1.4 | 3.3 |
| Incompletes ^a | 34 ^b | 4 | 38 ^c |
| ----- | | | |
| Male Enrollment | 351 | 241 | 592 |
| Male Research Participants | 340 | 231 | 571 |
| Female Enrollment | 367 | 236 | 603 |
| Female Research Participants | 356 | 229 | 585 |
| Percentage of Total Males | 96.9 | 95.9 | 96.5 |
| Percentage of Total Females | 97.0 | 97.0 | 97.0 |

^a Incomplete means (in almost every one of the thirty-eight cases) that the last page of the questionnaire was not completed. Few, if any, items were omitted by any of the respondents on any of the completed pages.

^b Incompletes in School A were distributed in sixteen of the twenty-three classes involved.

^c Absentees were approximately equally divided among boys and girls; whereas incompletes were mostly boys.

FOOTNOTES

1. Delinquency has been described as primarily a characteristic of lower class youth living in lower social status urban areas. The assertion is based on studies that have utilized official court or police records. However, a growing apprehensiveness has been manifested by many sociologists in utilizing official records as an indicator of delinquency, especially for comparing the relative incidence of delinquent acts among the youth of different social classes. Many inadequacies have been revealed in official data, including a notable class bias (Kupfer, 1967: 1-2).

A number of studies have revealed that delinquent behaviour was common among youth of all social classes. These studies, though conducted at different times, in different places, and with different designs, substantiated the inadequacies of official delinquency data. They revealed that illegal behaviour was not confined to the lower social strata, and that it was quite extensive in higher social strata. The recent use of self-report delinquency scales has confirmed the weaknesses of official data. For example, Nye, Short and Olson (1958) stated that: "It is the opinion of the writers that the use of a measure of reported delinquent behaviour rather than official records of delinquency will yield results somewhat different from

those supporting the traditional conceptions of the status distributions of delinquency (Kupfer, 1967: 3). In summarizing some of the conclusions from a conference evaluating some fifteen studies which had used the self-report instrument, Deutscher noted, "Many studies have failed to demonstrate any association between the socio-economic status of juveniles and the incidence of delinquent behaviour" (Kupfer, 1967: 3).

2. Kupfer found a very low association between social status and delinquency. Although a slightly higher proportion of lower than higher social status youth were in the delinquent category, the percentage differences were low varying between 5 and 7 percentage points. Similarly, when status area was examined, he found that youths living in the higher social status areas were just as likely to be classified as delinquent (46%) as were youths living in the lower social status areas (44%).
3. Although Kupfer's questionnaire could be modified for the present research, there were certain constraints imposed upon the measurement design. For this reason, some of the measures might appear to be weak. Naturally, this is one of the drawbacks of utilizing a secondary source of analysis. Generally, however, the questionnaire items appeared to be a fairly reliable measure of the variables comprising the alternative theories for the present research.

CHAPTER 3

OFFICIAL AND SELF-REPORT DATA

A COMPARISON OF OFFICIAL AND SELF-REPORT DATA

The development of most delinquency theories in the past was largely influenced by certain statistical trends in official data. Since that time many deficiencies have been identified in this data source, including a notable class bias (Cohen and Short, 1961; Kituse, 1962; Goldman, 1963). In addition, the recent use of self-report studies has confirmed the weaknesses of official data (Nye, 1958; Short and Olson, 1958; Short and Nye, 1957-58; Vaz, 1965; Arnold, 1965), and has given support to the contention of a sex bias in official reports (Terry, 1970; Cohn, 1970; Nagel and Weitzman, 1971; Chesney-Lind, 1973, 1974; Babcock, 1973; Singer, 1973; Klein and Kress, 1976). In view of the fact that sex differences in delinquency have been interpreted primarily on the basis of official rather than self-report data, and that there are contradictory findings between these data sources, a comparative analysis of these findings is required.

Official differences regarding sex differences in the amount of delinquency committed by boys and girls show a fairly consistent picture. For example, a cross-sectional

survey of official statistics in Toronto (Landau, 1975), in the U.S. (Cavan, 1969), and in England (Cowie et al., 1968) all report a male-female arrest ratio of 4 or 5 to 1. This ratio has been steadily declining in the past two decades. For example, the sex ratio for all offences decreased from 8.2:1 in 1959 to 7:1 in 1969, and dropped even further to 4.8:1 in 1973. However, in Canada at least, the nature of the offences officially recorded has changed very little. Canadian statistics do show a slight increase in girls' participation in property offences (without involving violence). For example, there is a percentage increment of 14.9% from 1959 to 1969 for this offence. Generally, however, Canadian statistics provide little evidence to support the pattern of girls' greater involvement in aggressive and serious types of offences which has been found in the U.S. (Adler, 1975).

Self-report studies claim that official statistics underestimate the amount of female involvement in delinquency. Major self-report studies in the U.S. have found that these sex ratios are considerably smaller than official ratios (Liazos, 1974). Specifically, Clark and Haurek (1967) found a mean ratio of 2.5:1 for the industrial city they studied. Although Gold (1970) does not provide such a measure for his Flint, Michigan sample, the ratio he computed on the basis of his data was 2.7:1. Hindelang (1971) found a ratio of 2.6:1 in the Oakland high school he studied, though this measure is based on those engaging in the delinquent act at least once rather than based on the frequency of the acts

committed. Linden (1974) reported a ratio of 2.3:1 for a study of Richmond, California adolescents.

Similar discrepancies are found between official data and self-report data with respect to the kinds of delinquent activities boys and girls commit. According to official statistics female delinquency is viewed as centering primarily around "waywardness offences", e.g. incorrigibility, running away, truancy, and sexual misbehaviour; while male delinquency is viewed as consisting largely of property offences and offences against the person, e.g. theft, assault, and vandalism (Wattenberg and Saunders, 1954; Gibbons and Griswold, 1957; Barker and Adams, 1962; Morris, 1964; Cowie et al, 1968; Konopka, 1966; Cavan, 1969; Vedder and Sommerville, 1970). These statistics have been produced from a variety of sources such as police arrests, court referrals, and correctional institutions.

Wattenberg and Saunders' (1952) study illustrates the types of offences that girls and boys are generally apprehended for by the police. Although the findings are quite dated, this study is cited because their observations parallel many other reports from a variety of places. Comparisons between girls and boys in the Detroit police data show that most of the girls had been apprehended for incorrigibility, sexual delinquency, or truancy, whereas most of the boys were in trouble for burglary, assault, and malicious mischief. When age was controlled, it was found that girls under 13 years were principally involved in

shoplifting. This finding led to the common observation that it is the youngest girls which show the most similarity to boys in terms of the kinds of offences committed. Boys in all age categories were involved in property offences, while girls at puberty reverted to the more characteristic sex and sex-related offences.

The character of male and female juvenile court referrals is shown in a study by Gibbons and Griswold (1957) of court cases in Washington state between 1953 and 1955. The juvenile court referrals showed offence patterns that were consistent with those in the Detroit police cases. For girls, 46.1% were charged with running away or ungovernability, and 9.8% were classified as "sex delinquents". In contrast, 64.3% of the boys were charged with theft or malicious mischief. Like the Wattenberg and Saunders study, these investigators found that the youngest girls showed the most similarity to boys in terms of their offences, e.g. 35.4% of those girls under 13 years had been involved in theft (Gibbons, 1976: 176).

Reckless (1967) also supported many of these findings. He reported that about 50% of the girls, in contrast to only 20% of boys, were referred to court for "non-criminal" offences often defined as "waywardness" offences, e.g. incorrigibility, running away, truancy, and sex misbehaviour. Reckless observed that while boys were definitely acted upon by society for offences against property, girls were not.

A Canadian study by Nease (1966) showed similar findings. In the juvenile court population, 52% of the boys and 70% of the girls were known to the court for only minor offences. This finding was reversed, however, in the "medium-high delinquency rate area" where auto theft among boys and assault among girls precipitated court action (1966: 140). In the highest delinquency rate area twice as many boys were charged with delinquency for major rather than minor theft; and, during that year, only one girl appeared in court in connection with major theft. Nease observed that burglary and auto theft were not common among girls, but rather, Canadian girls like many of the American delinquents are sent to court for minor conduct offences such as discipline-related offences. For example, one-half of the girls in this study were sent to court for discipline problems.

According to more recent Canadian court statistics, a girl is much more likely than a boy to be brought to juvenile court and convicted of a "status offence" for behaviour which does not contravene the Federal Criminal Code but is illegal when it is committed by a juvenile. Chief among these status offences are "incorrigibility" and "immorality". Of all those found delinquent, girls are more likely than boys to be found guilty of disorderly conduct, truancy, and offences against the Liquor Control Act, as well as of immorality and incorrigibility. Boys are much more likely to be found delinquent in acts which would be prosecuted under the Federal Criminal Code, such as breaking and entering,

automobile theft, and interference with property (Giffen, 1973). Boys and girls appearing in juvenile court stand a roughly equal chance of being found delinquent, an unchanging 75-85% from 1927 to the present (Urquhart, 1965). But of those juveniles found delinquent, girls have a much higher likelihood than boys of being put into an institution and even have a much higher risk of incarceration than adult female offenders (Urquhart, 1965).

A similar indication of male and female offences was found among studies of institutionalized offenders. A California Youth Authority Report on first commitment during 1967 reported the same pattern of delinquent activities. Boys were involved in auto theft, forgery, burglary, and robbery in 43.4% of the cases, while only 13.8% of the girls were involved in these offences. Two-thirds of the female wards were involved in incorrigibility, running away, and sex offences, while only 14.8% of the male wards participated in these delinquent activities. Nease (1966) reported similar findings in Hamilton training schools. Two-thirds of the girls were classified as "incorrigibles" with only two-fifths of the boys classed in this category. In that particular year, no girls were sent to training schools for theft nor for offences against property. In contrast, half of the boys were committed for theft, and the remainder were offences against the person (with the exception of incorrigible offences).

On the other hand, self-report studies have found that female delinquents are more diversified and more similar to male delinquents than official statistics have indicated (Short and Nye, 1958; Clark, 1961; Clark and Haurek, 1966; Wise, 1967; Gold, 1970; Hindelang, 1971 and Linden, 1974).

Short and Nye's (1958) comparison of self-reported delinquency among high school females and training school females in a western state showed that large numbers of girls admitted to skipping school, defying parents, and stealing items of small value. They admitted participating in these activities at least once or twice. Where the high school girls differed from those in training school was in the frequency of involvement in petty theft and in serious offences.

Wise (1967) reported similar findings among the self-reported delinquencies of middle-class girls and boys in a Connecticut high school. Contrary to official statistics which indicated that sex offences and ungovernability were the typical female delinquencies, Wise's self-reported data showed that sex offences were committed equally by boys and girls and that proportionately two of every three delinquencies of ungovernability were male offences (1967: 186). Wise also observed that theft was not the typical male offence. There were few reports of other "male" offences such as assault and vandalism, but when these offences were reported

greater sex differences were found. For example, the sex ratios for assault and vandalism were 4:1 and 2.5:1, respectively. The most common offences for girls were reported as alcohol offences, petty theft, and sex offences. However, the sex ratios for these offences were very similar among boys and girls. On the basis of her findings, Wise concluded that "in the middle class boys commit more delinquencies, more frequently, than girls, yet more middle class girls commit delinquencies than official statistics would suggest, and middle class boys and girls engage in essentially noncoercive, nonviolent forms of delinquent behaviour and participate about equally in sex and alcohol delinquencies" (1967: 187).

Other information on "hidden delinquency" among middle class girls is found in studies of shoplifting. Cameron's (1964) study indicated that shoplifters were predominately adult women, and among those under 18 years, the number of males and females were roughly equal. Robin (1963) reported a parallel investigation in Philadelphia which involved three major department stores. He found that 58.1% of the detected shoplifters were juveniles with 60.7% of those apprehended being female. These studies suggest that shoplifting is a fairly common form of hidden delinquency among female offenders, particularly middle class girls.

In another self-report study, Clark and Haurek (1966)

listed 38 misconduct items, and asked the respondents to indicate the frequency of their involvement in such activities. They found that the sex ratio was higher than the official 4:1 generally reported for only four items "hung around a pool hall, bar or tavern; thrown rocks, or sticks or any other things in order to break a window, street light, or things like this; broke or helped to break up the furniture in a school, church or any other public building; and broken or helped to break down a fence, gate, or door on another person's property" (Linden, 1974: 178). For offences categorized as major theft, the sex ratio was only 1.4:1. These offences included stealing such items as auto parts, money over \$1.00, bicycles, and so on. This is a particularly important offence category because it includes about 40% of the juvenile court cases, and the sex ratio is far less than we would expect on the basis of official data (Linden, 1974: 179).

In their account of the sex differences between official statistics and self-report data, Clark and Haurek found that the sex ratios were higher for chronic offenders (admission of an offence four or more times in the past year) in 30 of the 33 items. However, the sex ratios were still considerably lower than that indicated by official data. For example, the sex ratio for major theft among chronic offenders was only 1.9:1. Surprisingly enough, they did not include the major official female offence category

in the study, e.g. sex offences.

A later study by Hindelang (1971) included this offence category. In this study, the male-female ratios were largest for promiscuous sexual behaviour, gambling, theft of items worth more than \$10.00, and group fist fighting. The ratios were smallest for cheating on school exams, hit and run accidents, heroin use, drinking, using LSD, methedrine or mescaline, using false ID, and sniffing glue. Regarding sexual activities, nearly five times as many males as females have engaged in promiscuous sexual behaviour at least once. For all 24 delinquent activities reported, the average male-female ratio of those engaging in the act at least once was 2.56:1. This ratio is notably smaller than that found in official records. Gold (1970) reported similar findings, especially with respect to involvement in sexual behaviour.

Gold's study on teenagers in Flint, Michigan, presented a profile of female delinquency as quite similar to that of boys, although there were differences in the frequency of delinquency. The teenage girls in Flint admitted to many more kinds of offences than the usual sex and sex-related ones. In Gold's data, running away, incorrigibility, and fornication accounted for only 8% of the girls' delinquent activities. For boys, these activities accounted for only slightly less, e.g. 6%. Gold, like Pollak (1950) suggested that girls might have concealed more offences than boys, especially fornication. But even correcting for this under-reporting

would not have altered the conclusion that ungovernability offences cannot be considered typically female ones.

Linden's (1974) data from the Richmond Youth Project showed comparable results. The sex ratio in this study ranged from 1.7:1 for theft under \$2.00 to 3.5:1 for theft from \$2.00 to \$50.00. The ratio for all offences combined was 2.3:1. However, these findings cannot be strictly compared to previous self-report studies because it did not include the total number of offences committed.

SELF-REPORT DATA AND THE EDMONTON STUDY

The data source for the Edmonton study was based on self-report data. Information on delinquent behaviour was developed from the self-admissions of each student with reference to a checklist of potentially delinquent activities. Initially, two scales were used. One scale tested the assumptions of sex-specific theories of delinquency which defined delinquent involvement in terms of the sex role, e.g. female and male offences (see Table 2). This index will be referred to as the ungovernability delinquency index in reporting these findings¹. The other scale tested the assumptions of a general theory of delinquency which defined delinquent involvement in a similar way for both boys and girls (see Table 4). The general index essentially replicated Hirschi's delinquency scale.

The items composing these indices were based on the number of acts committed during the previous two years. The

indices were then categorized according to the frequency of the delinquent act committed, e.g. none, one, two, three or more. For the general index, these categories were used throughout the data analysis, while for the ungovernability index one of the categories was eliminated since there were so few offenders in that category, e.g. none, one, and two or more.

In contrast to the findings of official data sources, the percentages of males and females who have committed these offences are almost identical (with the exception of staying away from home overnight without permission. In addition, the ratio of males to females who admitted committing one or more of the delinquent acts at least once was 1.05:1. If we look at the frequent offenders, we can see the same similarity between males and females. Fifty-one point six percent of the males and 51.8% of the females report involvement in two or more of the delinquent acts. Thus, despite the alleged differences in male and female offences, self-report delinquency of the "ungovernability" types of offences are extremely similar (see Table 3).

The general index of delinquency showed sex ratios similar to previous self-report studies (Clark and Haurek's mean ratio of 2.5:1, Gold's 2.7:1, Hindelang's 2.6:1, and Linden's 2.3:1). With the exception of the number of females involved in serious theft and auto theft, the ratios are

fairly similar. The ratio of males to females who admitted committing one or more of the delinquent acts at least once was 2.58:1 (see Table 5). If we look at frequent offenders, we observe greater differences in delinquent involvement for males and females. Twenty-nine point two percent of the males and 7.4% of the females report involvement in three or more of the delinquent acts. Thus, despite the differences alleged by official data, in particular, the sex differences in types of delinquencies, self-reported delinquency in Edmonton appears to be fairly similar for males and females.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AMONG EDMONTON
MALES AND FEMALES FOR UNGOVERNABILITY DELINQUENCY INDEX

| Delinquent Acts | Males | Females | Ratio |
|--|-------|---------|--------|
| Stayed away from home overnight without permission | 16.8 | 7.9 | 2.1:1 |
| Defied parents authority to their face | 45.6 | 46.7 | 1.02:1 |
| Ran away from home | 7.1 | 8.6 | 1.2:1 |
| Ever disobeyed your parents | 95.4 | 93.2 | 1.02:1 |
| Overall index | | | 1.05:1 |

Males N = 571, Females N = 583

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF FREQUENCY OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY FOR
UNGOVERNABILITY DELINQUENCY INDEX

| Delinquent Acts | Male | Female |
|-----------------|------|--------|
| None | - | - |
| One | 48.4 | 48.2 |
| Two or More | 51.6 | 51.8 |

Male N = 571, Female N = 583

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AMONG EDMONTON
MALES AND FEMALES FOR GENERAL DELINQUENCY INDEX

| Delinquent Acts | Male | Female | Ratio |
|---|------|--------|--------|
| Taken little things (less than \$2.00) | 60.1 | 33.3 | 1.8:1 |
| Taken things of medium value (between \$2.00 and \$50.00) | 14.1 | 5.6 | 2.5:1 |
| Taken things of large value (over \$50.00) | 2.4 | 0.2 | 12:1 |
| Stolen a car | 5.9 | 0.7 | 8.4:1 |
| Purposely damaged property | 40.3 | 16.0 | 2.5:1 |
| Taken part in group fights | 25.7 | 8.7 | 2.9:1 |
| Beat up anyone | 40.9 | 8.9 | 5:1 |
| Overall Index | | | 2.58:1 |

Male N = 571, Female N = 583

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF FREQUENCY OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AMONG
EDMONTON MALES AND FEMALES FOR GENERAL DELINQUENCY INDEX

| Delinquent Acts | Male | Female |
|-----------------|------|--------|
| None | 24.3 | 53.2 |
| One | 25.2 | 30.9 |
| Two | 21.2 | 8.6 |
| Three or More | 29.2 | 7.4 |

Male N = 571, Female N = 583

FOOTNOTES

1. Since the "ungovernability" delinquent index failed to find any real sex differences in the commission of these particular acts, the general index of delinquency will be used to test the research hypotheses of the alternative theories.

CHAPTER 4

SEX-SPECIFIC THEORY: FAMILY DEFICIENCY THEORY

INTRODUCTION TO SEX-SPECIFIC THEORIES¹

In general, sex-specific sociological theories of female delinquency can be characterized as role-expressive theories. The common theme among these writings is that female deviance occurs as a result of an illegitimate expression of legitimate role expectations and opportunities (Weis, 1976). This notion initially emerged out of such works as Thomas (1923) who proposed that delinquent girls were merely expressing their femininity, although in an illicit fashion. Rather than "masculinizing" their role through involvement in deviant activities as in Lombrosian and Freudian thought, this view portrayed women and girls as affirming their sexual identities. Grosser (1952) offered a more complete statement of this view with his delineation of delinquent behaviour on the basis of "role-expressive versus role-supportive" behaviour.

Grosser suggested that boys are disproportionately involved in stealing because theft is functional for them, e.g., they can demonstrate their masculinity through stealing.

In contrast, girls are less involved in theft because it cannot be role-expressive (functional) for them. Rather, if they do steal, it is more often for role-supportive reasons, e.g., stealing cosmetics. According to Grosser, girls are more often involved in illicit sexual relationships or in aggravated family relationships because these activities are more closely related to the functions of the female role, albeit in a delinquent manner.

Later proponents of this view used a similar line of theorizing to account for sex differences both in the amount of deviance as well as in the nature of the deviant acts. They suggested that women and girls are less likely to be detected in their deviant acts because such activities are usually extensions of their traditional female role, e.g., promiscuity; and because of the inherent nature of the female sex as being timid, conforming, and deceitful (Otterstrom, 1946; Pollak, 1950; Clark and Haurek, 1966). More recent theorists identified the "opportunity" factor as a basic determinant for sexual differences in delinquent involvement (Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973; Simon, 1975). Simply, women and girls do not have the same opportunities to commit deviant acts because of the very definition of their role functions which places them beyond the realm for advancement whether it be in the straight or criminal worlds (Klein and Kress, 1976).

Although role-expressive theories have dominated the development of a sociological perspective of female

delinquency, this is not to say that such theories provide the most realistic account of female delinquency. On the contrary, role-expressive theories of deviancy are receiving strong criticism both for the sexist stereotypes that such an orientation perpetuates and for the gap between theoretical speculation and empirical testing of a more comprehensive system of hypotheses (Klein, 1973; Klein and Kress, 1976; Harris, 1976; Weis, 1976).

The unsatisfactory outcomes of this kind of theorizing have led not only to the neglect of women and girls in crime and delinquency but also to the neglect of their social, economic, and political situation. Such theories have paid little attention to such substantive social concerns, as social conflicts, political maneuvers, law violations, and enforcement (Turk, 1971). For example, self-report studies on the treatment of the female juvenile reinforce these concerns with their findings that the female delinquent is more severely sanctioned at all stages of the criminal justice system from the initial reporting to the administration of dispositions (Klein and Kress, 1976).

Role-expressive theories have tended to reduce most explanations of female delinquency to simple, single explanatory statements rather than toward providing a sound theoretical framework for a general theory of juvenile

delinquency. Besides conceptual deficiencies is the observation that many of the studies supporting these theories are not methodologically sound. For example, sex-specific theories of delinquency have tended to rely heavily on official data sources. As we have pointed out in the previous chapter, many limitations have been found in official data sources (Hagan, 1977).

With these considerations in mind, we will turn to the sex-specific theories selected for the Edmonton study. This chapter will explore the assumptions of family deficiency theory, including the operationalization of the theory and the results of empirical testing with the Edmonton sample. Chapter six will follow a similar format with the other sex-specific theory, peer deficiency theory.

FAMILY DEFICIENCY THEORY

The family deficiency theory is one of the most widely shared sociological interpretations of female delinquency. It proposes that delinquency in girls occurs as a result of a disorganized (deficient) family situation. According to this theory, girls and boys react differently to a defective family situation. Apparently, this difference exists because girls are assumed to have stronger ties to the family, and because parents are expected to have greater control over their daughters than their sons. Coupled with the notion that the family is the girl's primary source

of need gratification (unlike boys who depend more heavily on peers), it should logically follow that a disorganized family situation will have greater consequences for girls than boys in precipitating delinquent behaviour.

Consistent with their theory is the proposition that girls' delinquency takes the form of "substitute need gratification" and "acting out" behaviour. Specifically, the former refers to the observation that girls become involved in sexual delinquencies as a result of attempts to obtain adequate love and affection that is missed in the home; the latter refers to other observations that girls become involved in episodes of truancy or running away from home as a result of expressing pent-up feelings of tension and/or hostility in response to a troubled home situation. Simply, the theory suggests that girls' delinquencies are directed toward a faulty family situation.

The family deficiency theory is based on the notion that delinquency is caused by the interaction of certain structural factors such as family composition and employment of the mother, with various psycho-sociological aspects of the family such as parental relationships and supervision. Numerous studies have found a relationship between employment of the mother (Nye, 1958; Dentler and Monroe, 1961) and broken homes (Monahan, 1962; Morris, 1964; Cockburn and Maclay, 1965; Reige, 1972) with delinquent behaviour. Likewise there have been several studies regarding the effects

of unsatisfactory parental relationships and delinquency (Goode, 1953; Short and Nye, 1962; McCord and McCord, 1964; Stott, 1965). Differences between boys and girls on the basis of parental relationships have received corroboration from studies which report that quarrelsome and negligent homes lead to more delinquency in girls than boys (Wattenberg and Saunders, 1954-55; Barker and Adams, 1962). Furthermore, many studies indicate that the effects of "father absence" are more acute for females than males. These studies which have been based primarily on official data show an association between parental physical and psychological deprivation and female delinquency (Nease, 1966; Adamek and Dager, 1969; Cloninger and Guze, 1970; Lang, Papenfuhs and Walters, 1976).

Most studies of the relationship between family characteristics and female delinquency emphasize the relationship between parental supervision and delinquency (Nye, 1958; Gold, 1970). The rationale for the selection of this variable as central to an explanation of female delinquency rests on the following assumption. Girls are more carefully supervised by their parents than adolescent boys and the "normal", well-integrated family is able to shield girls more effectively than boys from delinquency-producing influences of the neighbourhood and peer group. For girls, the well-integrated family is able to give

adequate supervision while the disorganized family is not (Toby, 1957). Thus, girls who come from disorganized families will be expected to receive greater exposure to criminogenic influences than girls who come from well-integrated families.

These studies are representative of many of the investigations carried out on the family and female delinquency. Nearly all of them conclude that female delinquents come from broken or disorganized homes and that female delinquency is a tension-management response to conditions of parent-child disharmony (Gibbons, 1976). Consistent with a sex-specific orientation, this theory implies that family variables will be more strongly related to female delinquency than to male delinquency, and that male and female delinquency will involve different kinds of delinquent behaviour.

In testing the assumptions of this theory, two dimensions of the family will be considered: family relationships and family control. Family relationships refer to both the structural aspects of the family, such as family composition, and certain psychosociological aspects of the family, such as the affective component of family relationships. To test this theory then, two major propositions have been formulated:

PROPOSITION 1: The relationship between family relationships and self-reported delinquency is stronger for girls than for boys.

Hypotheses:

1. The relationship between broken homes and self-reported delinquency is stronger for girls than for boys.
2. The relationship between absence of father and self-reported delinquency is stronger for girls than for boys.
3. The relationship between perception of home as unattractive and self-reported delinquency is stronger for girls than for boys.
4. The relationship between perception of family as unsuccessful and self-reported delinquency is stronger for girls than for boys.
5. The relationship between perception of parental communication as unsatisfactory and self-reported delinquency is stronger for girls than for boys.

PROPOSITION 2: The relationship between deficient family control and self-reported delinquency is stronger for girls than for boys.

Hypotheses:

1. There is a stronger relationship between lack of parental discipline and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.
2. There is a stronger relationship between lack of home responsibilities and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.
3. There is a stronger relationship between lack of parental supervision and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

OPERATIONALIZING FAMILY DEFICIENCY THEORY

Deficient Family Relationships

The first concept, "family composition", refers



to the structural status of the family. To measure family composition the following item was used:

"Whom do you live with?"

Mother and Father, Mother and
Stepfather, Father and Stepmother,
Mother, Father, Other

The three remaining concepts measure the psycho-sociological status of the family: "family attractiveness", "family success", and "family communication". To measure "family attractiveness" the following three items were used:

"When you grow up and have your own family,
how would you feel if you lived the way your
family does now?"

Very Satisfied, Somewhat Satisfied,
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied,
Somewhat Dissatisfied, Very Dissatisfied

"How important is it for you to please your
parents?"

Great Importance, Some Importance,
Little or No Importance

"Do you feel free to bring you friends home?"

Most of the Time, Some of the Time,
Very Little of the Time, None of the
Time

It was assumed that these questions would tap the adolescent's evaluation of his/her home life. These indicators proved useful in previous studies (Kupfer, 1966) where each item showed that youths who perceive their

families attractive are less likely to be delinquent than those who do not.

To measure "family success", two indicators were used:

"Would you name and briefly identify any three people whom you look up to and admire. People who have an influence on how you think and behave. Persons who typify the kind of person you would like or try to be."

Parent, Other Adults, Peers

"How do you feel about the neighbourhood you live in?"

Very satisfied, Somewhat satisfied,
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied,
Somewhat dissatisfied, Very dissatisfied

The view here is that family success (as measured indirectly by adolescent's satisfaction with his/her neighbourhood) will provide the adolescent with a more effective role model for patterning his/her behaviour, and therefore decreasing the likelihood of delinquent behaviour. Kupfer found a consistent association between selecting one's own parent as a role model and low delinquency involvement.

To measure "family communication", two separate indices were constructed: a maternal communication index and a paternal communication index. They were made up of the following questions which were asked for both mother and father:

"Does your mother (father) want you to tell her when something is worrying or bothering you?"

Very sure, Fairly sure, Fairly sure
will not, Very sure will not

"Generally when something is worrying or bothering you, do you feel it will help you to talk to your mother (father) about it?"

Very sure, Fairly sure, Fairly sure
will not, Very sure will not

"How many of you problems do you talk over with your mother (father)?"

All, Most, Some, Few, None

"When you think of what is right and wrong, do you feel that you and your mother (father) agree?"

Always, Usually, Sometimes, Never

Because of the emphasis that this theory places on the role of the father in producing delinquency, especially father-daughter relationships, it was necessary to measure these variables separately. However, a combined index was also used as a general measure of parental communication. These items were initially selected from Nye's study on the family and delinquent behaviour which Kupfer later modified for his research. In both Nye's and Kupfer's work, these items proved highly reliable. The reliability analysis for the present study found Alphas of .61 (boys) and .73 (girls) for the

maternal communication index; Alphas of .70 (boys) and .64 (girls) for the paternal communication index; and Alphas of .74 (boys) and .73 (girls) for the general communication index.

Deficient Family Control

Family control refers to how parents actually control their children's activities. Parents exercise it as they impose certain restrictions as time allowed away from home, choice of companions, and type of activities. They accomplish controls by keeping children within the confines of the home, by forbidding certain behaviour outside the home, and by disciplinary practices. In order to examine the sociological implications of this dimension of the family, three concepts were defined: "parental discipline", "home responsibilities", and "parental supervision". To measure "parental discipline", a rule index was constructed from the following items:

"Some parents have rules for their teenagers, while others don't . . .

Circle each item for which your parents have definite rules or expectations."

Time for being in at night
 Amount of dating
 About going steady
 Time spent watching T.V.
 Time spent on homework
 Against running around with certain
 boys and girls

Eating dinner with the family
 How to spend your money
 Other rules
 No rules for any of the above items

To measure the concept, "home responsibilities",
 a job index was constructed from the following items:

"Which of the following jobs do you do
 regularly around home?"

Wash or dry dishes
 Keep your own room clean
 Take out refuse
 Car care
 Lawn care or snow shovelling
 General cleaning
 Errand running
 Babysitting
 Washing or ironing
 Household maintenance and/or improvement
 Other

To measure the concept, "parental supervision",
 two indicators were used. The first indicator was a measure
 of parental control over the child's friends and whereabouts.
 It was made up of the following items:

"How many of your close friends do you parents
 know?"

Most, Some, Very Few, None

"When you go out at night, do you tell your
 parents where you are going?"

Most of the time, Some of the time,
 Very little of the time, None of the
 time

The second indicator is mother's employment.

Employment of the mother becomes an important consideration in terms of the reduced social control of the parent that it brings about. This indicator is measured by the following item:

"Does your mother have a paid job outside the home?"

Yes (full-time)

Yes (part-time)

No

A comparison will be made between mothers who work part-time with those who work full-time, since some researchers (Gluecks, 1957) have found that adolescents whose mothers worked sporadically were more likely to be delinquent than mothers who worked regularly.

RESULTS

Hypotheses 1 - Deficient Family Relationships

There is a stronger relationship between broken homes and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

The relationship between broken homes and self-reported delinquency appears to be considerably stronger for girls ($\Gamma = .19$) than for boys ($\Gamma = .01$). Seventy-seven point five percent of the boys and 53.2% of the girls who came from broken homes reported committing

one or more delinquent acts, while 75.5% of the boys and 45.5% of the girls who came from intact homes reported committing this number of acts (see Table 6, 7).

Hypotheses 2

There is a stronger relationship between absence of father and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

Similarly, the relationship between absence of father and self-reported delinquency appears stronger for girls ($\Gamma = .18$) than for boys ($\Gamma = .00$). Seventy-seven point three percent of the boys and 51.5% of the girls whose father is absent reported committing one or more delinquent acts in comparison to 75.5% of the boys and 45.5% of the girls coming from intact homes who reported committing this number of acts. In contrast, there is a stronger relationship between absence of mother and self-reported delinquency for boys than for girls. Eighty-seven point five percent of the boys and 57.1% of the girls whose mother is absent reported committing one or more delinquent acts (see Tables 8, 9). However, the low number of respondents from this category must be taken into consideration when observing this relationship.

Hypothesis 3

There is a stronger relationship between perception of home as unattractive and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys

All three of the measures of family attractiveness showed a stronger relationship with self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys (see Table 10). The first two indicators, family satisfaction and importance of pleasing parents, showed a similar relationship for boys and girls with gammas of $-.14$ and $-.15$ for boys and $-.28$ and $-.24$ for girls, respectively. The third indicator, feeling free to bring friends home, was moderately related to self-reported delinquency for girls while virtually no relationship was found for boys. The measure of association for this relationship showed a gamma of $-.24$ for girls and a gamma of $.05$ for boys.

Hypothesis 4

There is a stronger relationship between perception of family as unsuccessful and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

The two measures of family success showed similar relationships with self-reported delinquency for boys and girls (see Table 11). Moderate associations were found with gammas of $-.20$ for boys and $-.12$ for girls on the item concerning selection of parents as behaviour

model and self-reported delinquency with gammas of $-.14$ and $-.25$ for boys and girls, respectively, on the item concerning neighbourhood satisfaction and self-reported delinquency. Selection of parent as a behaviour model was more strongly related to self-reported delinquency for boys than for girls, while satisfaction with one's neighbourhood was more strongly related to self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

Hypothesis 5

There is a stronger relationship between perception of unsatisfactory parental communication and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

The relationship between the three communication indexes and self-reported delinquency are very similar for boys and girls (see Table 12). All of these relationships have moderate associations with delinquent involvement. Specifically, the gamma for the general family communication index and self-reported delinquency showed a gamma of $-.23$ for both boys and girls. Similar associations were found for the maternal and paternal communication indexes and self-reported delinquency with gammas of $-.21$ and $-.20$, respectively, for boys and gammas of $-.24$ and $-.18$ respectively for girls.

Hypothesis 1 - Deficient Family Control

There is a stronger relationship between lack of parental discipline and self-reported

delinquency for girls than for boys.

There was virtually no relationship found between the indicator for parental discipline, number of parental rules, and self-reported delinquency for either boys or girls. Seventy-five point two percent of the boys and 47.5% of the girls who had a high number of parental rules admitted committing one or more delinquent acts, while 77.3% of the boys and 41.9% of the girls who had no parental rules admitted committing the same number of acts (see Tables 13, 14). Weak associations were found between this indicator and self-reported delinquency with gammas of $-.08$ for boys and $.02$ for girls.

Hypothesis 2

There is a stronger relationship between lack of home responsibilities and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

The second measure of family control, number of home responsibilities, was also unrelated to self-reported delinquency for boys and girls (see Tables 15, 16). Seventy-six point seven percent of the boys and 48.4% of the girls who had a high number of home responsibilities reported committing one or more delinquent acts, while 76.5% of the boys and 47.2% of the girls who had a low number of home responsibilities reported committing the same number of acts. Very weak associations for this

relationship were found with gammas of $-.03$ for boys and $.04$ for girls.

Hypothesis 3

There is a stronger relationship between lack of parental supervision and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

The first indicator for parental supervision showed a moderately strong association with self-reported delinquency for boys and girls (see Table 17). The relationship between this indicator, number of close friends parents know, and self-reported delinquency showed a gamma of $-.18$ for boys and $-.30$ for girls. The relationship of the other indicator, informing parents when going out with self-reported delinquency showed the highest associations with a gamma of $-.37$ for boys and a gamma of $-.54$ for girls.

The relationship of the third indicator, working mother, and self-reported delinquency showed a low association for boys and girls with gammas of $-.01$ and $-.05$, respectively (see Tables 18, 19). Whether the mother was working full-time or part-time did not appear to be a very strong factor affecting the extent of delinquent involvement for either boys or girls. Seventy-nine point six percent of the boys whose mothers worked full-time versus 69.1% of the boys whose mothers worked part-time reported committing one or more delinquent acts. Similarly, 50% of the girls whose mothers worked full-time versus 44.7% of the girls whose

mothers worked part-time reported committing one or more delinquent acts.

In summary, we can state that:

1. Youth who perceive their families as unattractive are more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. The relationship is somewhat stronger for girls than for boys for all three indicators.
2. Youth who perceive their families as unsuccessful are more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. The relationship is similar for both boys and girls, although this varied by the indicator used.
3. Youth whose parents exercised little discipline are not more likely to be delinquent than those who did not. This finding was the same for both sexes.
4. Youth whose parents delegated few home responsibilities are not more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. This finding was the same for both sexes.
5. Youth whose parents exercised little supervision over their time and activities are more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. The relationship is similar for both boys and girls, although it is somewhat stronger for girls than for boys.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Family Relationships

With regard to relationships with parents, family deficiency theory argues that girls are more dependent upon their family relationships than are boys who are not as closely supervised by their families and who have an extensive network of peer contacts. According to this view, deficient family relationships will be more important in female delinquency than in male delinquency.

The relationships are in the same direction for all of the variables measuring family attractiveness, family success, and family communication except for the indicator, feeling free to bring friends home, where there was a weak, positive relationship with self-reported delinquency for boys. However, there is considerable variation in the strength of these relationships for the sexes. For example, the relationship between all of the variables measuring family attractiveness and self-reported delinquency are stronger for girls than for boys, while for the family communication variables these relationships are almost identical. The relationship between the family success variables and self-reported delinquency did not indicate any definite pattern for one sex or the other. For example, the relationship between the indicator, selection of parent as a behaviour model, and self-reported delinquency was stronger for boys than for girls while the relationship between satisfaction with one's neighbourhood was stronger for girls than for boys.

Family Control

The relationship between the family control variables and self-reported delinquency varied somewhat for boys and girls. Negligible relationships were found between the indicators measuring parental discipline and home responsibilities with self-reported delinquency for both boys and girls.

The three indicators measuring parental supervision were all related to self-reported delinquency, and this relationship was stronger for girls than for boys as was predicted by the theory.

In conclusion, the data presented for family deficiency theory supported the theory only in part. Although many of the relationships were identical for the two sexes and a few ran in a direction opposite to that predicted by family deficiency theorists (e.g. some relationships are stronger for boys than for girls), there was some support for the proposition that family variables were more strongly related to delinquency among females. Overall, however, these differences were small and not consistent. In particular, when we consider that the sex differences in the kinds of delinquency committed by males and females are not found in studies using self-reported delinquency, the position of the family deficiency theorists receives only weak support. The sex differences found in this data then do not appear to provide sufficient evidence to justify separate theories of delinquency causation for boys and girls.

TABLE 6

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
BROKEN HOME FOR EDMONTON MALES

| Delinquent Acts | Intact Home | Broken Home |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Three or more | 28.9 (143) | 32.4 (23) |
| Two | 22.3 (110) | 14.1 (10) |
| One | 24.3 (120) | 31.0 (22) |
| None | 24.5 (121) | 22.5 (16) |

Gamma = .01, N = 565

TABLE 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
BROKEN HOME FOR EDMONTON FEMALES

| Delinquent Acts | Intact Homes | Broken Homes |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Three or more | 6.3 (30) | 11.7 (11) |
| Two | 7.7 (37) | 13.8 (13) |
| One | 31.5 (151) | 27.7 (26) |
| None | 54.5 (261) | 46.8 (44) |

Gamma = .19, N = 573

TABLE 8

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
FAMILY COMPOSITION FOR EDMONTON MALES

| Delinquent Acts | Mother & Father | Mother Stepfather | Father Stepmother | Mother | Father |
|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Three or more | 28.9 (143) | 25.0 (3) | 42.9 (3) | 31.8 (14) | 37.4 (3) |
| Two | 22.3 (110) | 25.0 (3) | 14.3 (1) | 9.1 (4) | 25.0 (2) |
| One | 24.3 (120) | 16.7 (2) | 29.6 (2) | 36.4 (16) | 25.0 (2) |
| None | 24.5 (121) | 33.3 (4) | 14.3 (1) | 22.7 (10) | 12.5 (1) |

Gamma = .00, N = 565

TABLE 9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
FAMILY COMPOSITION FOR EDMONTON FEMALES

| Delinquent Acts | Mother & Father | Mother Stepfather | Father Stepmother | Mother | Father |
|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Three of more | 6.3 (30) | 16.7 (2) | 28.6 (2) | 8.8 (6) | 14.3 (1) |
| Two | 7.7 (37) | 8.3 (1) | -- | 16.2 (11) | 14.3 (1) |
| One | 31.5 (151) | 25.0 (3) | 42.9 (3) | 26.5 (18) | 28.6 (2) |
| None | 54.5 (261) | 50.0 (6) | 28.6 (2) | 48.5 (33) | 42.9 (3) |

Gamma = .18, N = 573

TABLE 10

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY
ON FAMILY ATTRACTIVENESS ITEMS BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Satisfaction with the way the family lives | -.14 | -.28 |
| Importance of pleasing parents | -.15 | -.24 |
| Feeling free to bring friends home | .05 | -.24 |

TABLE 11

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY
ON FAMILY SUCCESS ITEMS BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Selection of parent as a behaviour model | -.20 | -.12 |
| Satisfaction with one's neighbourhood | -.14 | -.25 |

TABLE 12

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY ON
FAMILY COMMUNICATION ITEMS
BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Index of family communication | -.23 | -.23 |
| Index of maternal communication | -.21 | -.24 |
| Index of paternal communication | -.20 | -.18 |

TABLE 13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
NUMBER OF PARENTAL RULES FOR EDMONTON MALES

| Delinquent Acts | 0 Rules | 1-2 Rules | 3-9 Rules |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Three or more | 30.3 (20) | 35.1 (67) | 25.5 (80) |
| Two | 18.2 (12) | 20.4 (39) | 22.3 (70) |
| One | 28.8 (19) | 20.4 (39) | 27.4 (86) |
| None | 22.7 (15) | 24.1 (46) | 24.8 (78) |

Gamma = $-.08$, N = 571

TABLE 14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
NUMBER OF PARENTAL RULES FOR EDMONTON FEMALES

| Delinquent Acts | 0 Rules | 1-2 Rules | 3-9 Rules |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Three or more | 3.2 (2) | 9.5 (14) | 7.2 (27) |
| Two | 14.5 (9) | 6.8 (10) | 8.3 (31) |
| One | 24.2 (15) | 31.1 (46) | 31.9 (119) |
| None | 58.1 (36) | 52.7 (78) | 52.5 (196) |

Gamma = .02; N = 583

TABLE 15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
NUMBER OF HOME RESPONSIBILITIES FOR EDMONTON
MALES

| Delinquent Acts | 0-3 Jobs | 4-5 Jobs | 6-9 Jobs |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Three or more | 36.0 (19) | 25.6 (63) | 29.1 (55) |
| Two | 17.6 (14) | 23.2 (57) | 21.2 (40) |
| One | 22.8 (31) | 25.6 (63) | 26.5 (50) |
| None | 23.5 (32) | 25.6 (63) | 23.3 (44) |

Gamma = $-.03$, N = 571

TABLE 16

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
NUMBER OF HOME RESPONSIBILITIES FOR EDMONTON
FEMALES

| Delinquent Acts | 0-3 Jobs | 4-5 Jobs | 6-9 Jobs |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| Three or more | 5.6 (8) | 8.0 (18) | 8.0 (17) |
| Two | 6.9 (10) | 8.0 (18) | 10.3 (22) |
| One | 34.7 (50) | 29.2 (66) | 30.0 (64) |
| None | 52.8 (76) | 54.9 (124) | 51.6 (110) |

Gamma = .04, N = 583

TABLE 17

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY ON FAMILY CONTROLITEMS BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Number of close friends parents know | -.18 | -.30 |
| Informing parents when going out | -.37 | -.54 |
| Working mother | -.01 | -.05 |

TABLE 18

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
WORKING MOTHER FOR EDMONTON MALES

| Delinquent Acts | Works Full Time | Works Part Time | Does Not Work |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Three or more | 33.3 (36) | 24.7 (24) | 29.2 (106) |
| Two | 20.4 (22) | 22.7 (22) | 20.9 (76) |
| One | 25.9 (28) | 21.6 (21) | 26.2 (95) |
| None | 20.4 (22) | 30.9 (30) | 23.7 (96) |

Gamma = $-.01$, N = 568

TABLE 19

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND
WORKING MOTHER FOR EDMONTON FEMALES

| Delinquent Acts | Works Full Time | Works Part Time | Does Not Work |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Three or more | 10.6 (14) | 6.4 (6) | 6.5 (23) |
| Two | 9.1 (12) | 6.4 (6) | 9.0 (32) |
| One | 30.3 (40) | 31.9 (30) | 30.6 (109) |
| None | 50.0 (66) | 55.3 (52) | 53.9 (192) |

Gamma = -.05, N = 582

FOOTNOTES

1. The usage of the term, "theories" for the sex-specific explanations of female delinquency was not meant to imply that an established theoretical perspective had been developed. Rather, these explanations were largely based on a number of papers which were often quite unrelated, and so an attempt was made to synthesize them to outline a particular theory.

CHAPTER 5

SEX-SPECIFIC THEORY: PEER DEFICIENCY THEORY

INTRODUCTION TO PEER DEFICIENCY THEORY

Another common explanation of female delinquency is peer deficiency theory. This explanation proposes that female delinquency occurs as a result of deficient peer relationships. For example, this theory would argue that female delinquency, particularly sexual delinquency, occurs because a girl does not obtain affection in the home and because she does not have a network of the same sex peers to turn to as a substitute (Gibbons, 1976). The only choice which remains for her is to try to get affection through her relationships with boys. In order to compete for their attention, she must offer something in return, and sexual delinquency is often the result. Peer deficiency theory then is basically concerned with the relationship between ties to peers and delinquency. Various studies have examined the association between the peer group and delinquency in girls.

Wattenberg and Saunders (1954-55) studied peer group relations between a sample of boys and girls on data

from the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department. This data was produced from personal interviews with the adolescents, home visits, and information on the neighbourhood. Some of the findings they reported on neighbourhood activities were as follows: twenty-six percent of the girls, in contrast to 8% of the boys, were classified as "lone wolves"; regarding gang or group activity they found that 33% of the boys belonged to an identifiable gang or regular group, whereas less organization was found on the part of girls, i.e. only 14%.

In general, Wattenberg and Saunders portrayed the delinquent girl as having poorer interpersonal relations than boys. For example, girls, in contrast to boys, were viewed by the police as more quarrelsome and less given to group activities. This was also observed in their relations with other adults. The police officers assigned the label of "antisocial" to 9% of the girls but only to 1% of the boys. At school 14% of the boys but 28% of the girls were observed as expressing unfriendly attitudes toward teachers. This picture of the female delinquent carried over into the neighbourhood where 12% of the boys, but 27% of the girls were considered to have failed in getting along with their neighbours.

These findings are consistent with more recent studies which claim that there is no companionship factor

associated with female delinquency and that girls are "loners" in their delinquency (Reiss, 1960; Barker and Adams, 1962; Morris, 1965; Cavan, 1969). Such studies have been largely responsible for the common view of the female delinquent as being excessively lonely, low in self-esteem, estranged from adults, displaying less socially adequate responses to frustrating situations, more quarrelsome, having poorer interpersonal peer relationships, and as generally more 'antisocial' than the male delinquent (Konopka, 1966; Reige, 1972).

Complementing the assertion that girls are loners in their delinquency is the suggestion that girls' lack of companionship with peers of the same sex is related to their delinquency. Their general conclusion is that female delinquency is a need fulfillment response to a lack of emotional support with peers of the same sex (Gibbons, 1976). Inevitably, this need for affection is met through her associations with opposite sex thereby giving rise to the view of female delinquencies as sex-related, e.g. sexual promiscuity, incorrigibility, and ungovernability types of offences (Vedder and Sommerville, 1970).

In summary, these studies are representative of many of the investigations concerning the relationship of the peer group and female delinquency. Their general conclusion is that female delinquents are loners in their delinquency and

that female delinquency is a need-fulfillment response to deficient peer relationships. Like family deficiency theory then, this theory also defined female delinquency in terms of ungovernability types of offences.

In testing the assumptions of peer deficiency theory, four components of the peer group will be examined: affiliation, recreation, support, and status. These components identify the basic functions of the peer group, and they will be used to determine the extent to which girls lack a supportive relationship with their peers, and whether this has any bearing in producing their delinquency. To test this theory then, the major proposition has been formulated as follows:

PROPOSITION 1: The relationship between deficient peer relationships and self-reported delinquency is stronger for girls than for boys.

Hypotheses:

1. There is a stronger relationship between lack of close friends and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.
2. There is a stronger relationship between associations with delinquent friends and self-reported delinquency for boys than for girls.
3. There is a stronger relationship between lack of recreational involvement with peers and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.
4. There is a stronger relationship between lack of peer group support and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.
5. There is a stronger relationship between lack of peer group status and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

DEFICIENT PEER RELATIONSHIPS

The first component of the theory, affiliation refers to two concepts, "association with conventional peers", and "association with delinquent peers".

To measure "association with conventional peers", two indicators were used: one, a general index of the number of close friends, and the other, a specific index of the number of friends of the same sex. For example, the following item was used:

"How many close friends, either male or female, do you have?"

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| Males | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | more |
| Females | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | more |

To measure "association with delinquent peers", the following item was used:

"Think of the friends you have been associated with most often. Were (or are) any of them ever in trouble with the law?"

Most, Several, Very Few, None

The recreational component of the theory refers to two concepts, "involvement in youth culture" (Kupfer, 1966) and "recreational interests". Involvement in youth culture reflected the hedonistic or pleasure-oriented activities of adolescence. To measure this concept, the following items regarding teenage goals were combined into a index, (reliability coefficient, Alpha = .70 for boys and .72 for girls):

"Among your friends, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular?"

- Be a good dancer
- Have sharp, modern clothes
- Stir up a little excitement
- Have money
- Smoke
- Be able to drive a car
- Drink
- Have knowledge of movies and singing stars
- Be good at sports
- Date regularly
- Be attractive or good looking

To measure the other orientation, "adult cultural values", a number of items were combined to form an index (reliability coefficient, $\text{Alpha} = .47$ for boys and $.52$ for girls) which reflected more conventional goals:

"Among your friends, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular?"

- Have a good reputation
- Be a good student
- Live up to religious ideals
- Be a nice guy
- Be obedient and respectful to those in authority

The response categories for both of these indices were: Very important, Important, Somewhat important, and Not at all important.

To measure the concept, "recreational interests", a number of items were used which considered the adolescent's participation in school organizations, extra-curricular school activities, and team sports. These items were combined,

as follows, in an index of recreational interests
(reliability coefficient, Alpha = .48 for boys and .50
for girls):

"Which of the following clubs and organized
activities in your school are you a member
of?"

- Booster
- Language
- Science
- Sports
- Hobby
- Student Council
- School paper or yearbook
- Drama, Art, or Dance
- Religious

"Not counting club meetings, how many extra-
curricular school activities have you attended
this year?" (competitive games, socials, etc.)

None, One or two, Three to five, Six to
ten, More than ten events

"Which of the following teams are you a member
of?"

- Football
- Basketball
- Track
- Swimming
- House League Teams
- Other

The support component of the theory refers more
to the emotional or intrinsic satisfactions of belonging to
a peer group. It is defined by three concepts: "affectional
identification with peers", "duration of contact with peers",
and "feelings of social isolation". To measure "affectional

identification with peers", the following items were used:

"How important is it for you to be accepted and liked by other students?"

Great importance, Some importance,
Little or no importance

"Would you name and briefly identify any three people whom you look up to and admire? People who have an influence on how you think and behave. Persons who typify the kind of person you would like to or try to be."

Parents, Other Adults, Peers

An indirect measure of this concept may be obtained from knowing the amount of time the adolescent spends with his friends. To measure the concept, "duration of contact", the following indicators were used:

"About how many evenings a week do you spend some time with your friends?"

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

"About how many afternoons a week do you spend time with your friends right after school?"

1 2 3 4 5

In order to determine whether there are obstacles to the adolescent's achievement of support through his/her affiliation in a peer group, an index (Kupfer, 1966) tapping feelings of social isolation was constructed from the following items (reliability coefficient, Alpha = .40 for boys and .47 for girls):

"A young person really stands alone in this world?"

"Our world is basically an unfriendly place."

"You can't depend on young people."

"Your can't depend on adults."

Agree strongly, Agree, Uncertain,
Disagree, Strongly disagree

The status component of the theory is of particular importance in identifying whether an adolescent occupies a low status among his peers. Such status is viewed as a determinant in delinquency causation. Three concepts have been selected to define the adolescent's status among his/her friends: perceived status in school, dating, and popularity.

To measure "perceived status at school", the student was asked to indicate his/her position relative to the centre of things at school:

"Suppose this circle represented the activities that go on in school, how far from the centre of things are you?"

(1 to 5 rings away)

In order to determine whether there was a difference between "perceived status" and "desired status" and delinquency, the following item was used:

"Now, in this circle, place a check where you would like to be?"

(1 to 5 rings away)

To measure the concept, "dating", both the adolescent's attitude toward dating and his/her frequency of dating were considered. This was made up from the following items:

"Among your friends, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular?"

Date regularly . . .

Very important, Important,
Somewhat important, Not at all
important

"Do you date?"

No

Yes, about once a month or less

Yes, once every two or three weeks

Yes, about once a week

Yes, about twice a week

Yes, about three times a week or more

To measure "popularity", an indicator was used which involved elections to student office. Since the peer group is viewed as a major vehicle through which the adolescent can meet his "status" needs, items which tap his success in meeting these needs are deemed particularly relevant. Leadership positions, as represented by student office, would seem to be a case in point. This item read as follows:

"Have you ever been elected to any student office (class, school, or team) by your classmates in high school?"

Yes, No

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1 - Deficient Peer Relationships

There is a stronger relationship between lack of close friends and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

The relationship between the indicator, number of close friends (both male and female), and self-reported delinquency was in the same direction for both boys and girls (see Tables 21, 21), through this relationship was stronger for boys than for girls. Sixty-nine point four percent of the boys and 34.2% of the girls who have few close friends reported committing one or more delinquent acts, while 82.1% of the boys and 49.5% of the girls who have many close friends reported committing this number of acts. A moderate association was found for boys with a gamma of .20 and a weaker association was found for girls with a gamma of .12.

When the relationship between the indicator, number of friends of the same sex, and self-reported delinquency was examined, a greater difference in delinquent involvement was observed between the sexes (see Tables 22, 23). A moderate relationship was found between this indicator and self-reported delinquency for boys, but virtually no relationship was found for girls. Specifically, 71.2% of the boys and 44.8% of the girls who have few close friends of the same sex reported committing one or more delinquent acts,

while 76.8% of the boys and 47.7% of the girls who have many close friends of the same sex reported committing this number of acts. The gammas for this relationship were .17 for boys and .02 for girls.

Hypothesis 2

There is a stronger relationship between associations with delinquent friends and self-reported delinquency for boys than for girls.

The relationship between the indicator, number of delinquent friends, and self-reported delinquency was extremely similar for boys and girls (see Tables 24, 25). Sixty-nine point four percent of the boys and 39.4% of the girls who have few delinquent friends reported committing one or more delinquent acts, while 81.8% of the boys and 62.2% of the girls who have many delinquent friends reported committing this number of acts. A high association was found for this relationship with almost identical gammas for boys (gamma = .45) and girls (gamma = .46).

Hypothesis 3

There is a stronger relationship between lack of recreational involvement with peers and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

The relationship between the indicator, activities oriented to youth culture, and self-reported delinquency was similar for both boys and girls (see Table 26). A moderate

association was found for boys with a gamma of .26 and for girls with a gamma of .21.

The relationship between the second indicator, involvement in activities oriented toward adult cultural values, and self-reported delinquency was in the same direction for boys and girls, though somewhat stronger for boys than for girls. Moderate associations were found with a gamma of $-.20$ for boys and a gamma of $-.13$ for girls.

The relationship of the last indicator, recreational interests, with self-reported delinquency was negligible for both boys and girls. Extremely weak associations were found with gammas of $.02$ for boys and $.05$ for girls, respectively.

Hypothesis 4

There is a stronger relationship between lack of peer group support and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

The relationship between the first indicator, importance of being liked by other students and self-reported delinquency was much stronger for girls than for boys (see Table 27). A moderate association was found for girls with a gamma of $-.17$, while an extremely weak association was found for boys with a gamma of $-.04$.

In contrast, the relationship between the second

indicator, selection of peers as behaviour model, and self-reported delinquency was much stronger for boys than for girls. A moderate association was found for boys with a gamma of .12. Virtually no relationship was found for girls (gamma = .02).

The next indicators measuring the amount of time spent with friends with self-reported delinquency was strongly related for both boys and girls. Fairly high associations for the number of afternoons spent with friends per week (gamma = .32) and for the number of evenings spent with friends per week (gamma = .27) were found for boys. Weaker associations were found for girls with gammas of .19 and .21 for these respective items.

The relationship between the last indicator, feelings of social isolation, and self-reported delinquency were similar for boys and girls, though a slightly stronger relationship was found for girls. Moderate associations were found with a gamma of .13 for boys and a gamma of .17 for girls.

Hypothesis 5

There is a stronger relationship between lack of peer group status and self-reported delinquency for girls than for boys.

All of the items concerning, perceived distance from the centre of school activities, were virtually unrelated

to self-reported delinquency for both boys and girls (see Table 28).

The relationship between the dating items and self-reported delinquency were similar for both boys and girls, especially the item, importance of dating regularly to be popular. Moderate associations were found for this item with gammas of .28 for boys and .26 for girls. However, a considerably higher association was found between the indicator, amount of dating, and self-reported delinquency for boys than for girls. A gamma of .42 was found for boys and a gamma of .29 for girls.

The relationship between the indicator for peer group status, election to student office, and self-reported delinquency was found to be moderately related for girls with a gamma of $-.14$ while virtually unrelated for boys with a gamma of $.01$.

In summary, we can state that:

1. Youth who have many close friends are more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. This relationship exists for both boys and girls, though it is stronger for boys than for girls. When the relationship is examined between close friends of the same sex and self-reported delinquency, a similar relationship is found for boys, but not for girls. Ties to peers of the same sex appears to be virtually unrelated to female delinquency.
2. Youth who have delinquent friends are more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. This relationship exists for both boys and girls.
3. Youth who endorse hedonistic goals and activities (e.g. stirring up a little excitement and drinking)

are more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. This relationship is similar for both boys and girls, though slightly stronger for boys.

4. Youth who spend much of their spare time with their friends are more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. This relationship is similar for both boys and girls, though somewhat stronger for boys.
5. Youth who have feelings of social isolation are more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. This relationship is similar for both boys and girls, though slightly stronger for girls.
6. Youth who date frequently are more likely to be delinquent than those who do not. This relationship is similar for both boys and girls, though stronger for boys particularly regarding the amount of dating.
7. The two factors which were found to be related in a different fashion to the delinquent involvement of boys and girls were the importance of being liked by other students and the selection of peers as behaviour model. The former item was more strongly related to delinquency for girls, and the latter item more strongly related to delinquency for boys.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Peer Relationships

With regard to ties to peers, peer deficiency theory argues that girls have weaker ties to their peers than boys. In particular, they have weaker ties to peers of their own sex than do boys. According to this view, these factors will be more important in female delinquency than in male delinquency.

Contrary to the predictions of peer deficiency theory, ties to peers are similarly related to male and female delinquency, though generally stronger for males. In addition,

ties to peers of the same sex appears to be unrelated to female delinquency. Lack of support then is given for both the notion of the female delinquent as a loner in her delinquency and the notion that lack of ties to the same sex peers is conducive to her delinquent involvement.

Regarding the variables measuring recreational involvement and peer group support, these relationships were found in the same direction for both boys and girls though they were consistently stronger for boys than for girls. The strongest associations among these items and self-reported delinquency were found for the indicators, activities oriented toward youth culture and the amount of time spent with friends.

Several of the variables measuring peer group status failed to find a relationship with self-reported delinquency for either boys or girls. However, the items pertaining to dating showed the strongest relationship with self-reported delinquency for both boys and girls, though these relationships were stronger for boys than for girls.

Of all the peer tie items, the variable which appeared to have the greatest impact on both male and female delinquency was ties to delinquent friends. Although fewer girls reported delinquent involvement than boys (60.8% of the girls versus 30.6% of the boys did not commit any delinquent acts), the relationship between ties to delinquent

friends and self-reported delinquency showed the highest associations with almost identical gammas of .45 for boys and .46 for girls.

In conclusions, the data presented concerning the relationship between deficient peer relationships and female delinquency do not support the theory. Several measures of peer ties were used in testing the assertion that lack of ties to peers is more important in female delinquency than in male delinquency. In many cases, there were no sex differences and where there were differences the relationships tended to be stronger for males than for females. Like family deficiency theory, the sex differences found in testing this theory do not appear to warrant separate theories of delinquency for boys and girls.

TABLE 20

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND TOTAL
NUMBER OF FRIENDS FOR EDMONTON MALES

| Delinquent Acts | 0-2 Friends | 3-6 Friends | 7 or More Friends |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Three or more | 22.2 (16) | 26.5 (82) | 36.3 (69) |
| Two | 13.9 (10) | 21.0 (65) | 24.2 (46) |
| One | 33.3 (24) | 25.6 (79) | 21.6 (41) |
| None | 30.6 (22) | 26.9 (83) | 17.9 (34) |

Gamma = .20, N = 571

TABLE 21

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND TOTAL
NUMBER OF FRIENDS FOR EDMONTON FEMALES

| Delinquent Acts | 0-2 Friends | 3-6 Friends | 7 or More Friends |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Three or more | 3.8 (3) | 7.9 (24) | 8.0 (16) |
| Two | 3.8 (3) | 9.5 (29) | 9.0 (18) |
| One | 26.6 (21) | 30.9 (94) | 32.5 (65) |
| None | 65.8 (52) | 51.6 (157) | 50.5 (101) |

Gamma = .12, N = 583

TABLE 22

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND NUMBER
OF FRIENDS OF THE SAME SEX FOR EDMONTON MALES

| Delinquent Acts | 0-2 Friends | 3 or more Friends |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Three or more | 22.9 (27) | 30.9 (140) |
| Two | 17.8 (21) | 22.1 (100) |
| One | 30.5 (36) | 23.8 (108) |
| None | 28.8 (34) | 23.2 (105) |

Gamma = .17, N = 571

TABLE 23

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND NUMBER
OF FRIENDS OF THE SAME SEX FOR EDMONTON FEMALES

| Delinquent Acts | 0-2 Friends | 3 or More Friends |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Three or more | 8.6 (15) | 6.8 (28) |
| Two | 8.6 (15) | 8.6 (35) |
| One | 27.6 (48) | 32.3 (132) |
| None | 55.2 (96) | 52.3 (214) |

Gamma = .02, N = 583

TABLE 24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND TIES
TO DELINQUENT FRIENDS FOR EDMONTON MALES

| Delinquent Acts | No Delinquent Friends | Delinquent Friends |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Three or more | 15.1 (43) | 42.8 (122) |
| Two | 19.4 (55) | 23.2 (66) |
| One | 34.9 (99) | 15.8 (45) |
| None | 30.6 (87) | 18.2 (52) |

Gamma = .45, N = 569

TABLE 25

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND TIES
TO DELINQUENT FRIENDS FOR EDMONTON FEMALES

| Delinquent Acts | No Delinquent Friends | Delinquent Friends |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Three or more | 3.0 (12) | 16.8 (31) |
| Two | 5.3 (21) | 15.7 (29) |
| One | 31.1 (123) | 29.7 (55) |
| None | 60.8 (240) | 37.8 (70) |

Gamma = .46, N = 581

TABLE 26

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY ON RECREATIONAL ITEMSBY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Index of activities oriented to youth culture | .26 | .21 |
| Index of activities oriented toward adult cultural values | -.20 | -.13 |
| Index of recreational interests (school-related) | .02 | .05 |

TABLE 27

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY BY PEER SUPPORTITEMS BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Importance being liked by other students | -.04 | -.17 |
| Selection of peers as behaviour model | .12 | .02 |
| Amount of time spent with friends: | | |
| Number of afternoons/week | .32 | .19 |
| Number of evenings/week | .27 | .21 |
| Index of social isolation | .13 | .17 |

TABLE 28

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY ON STATUS ITEMS BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Perceived distance from the centre of school activities | .00 | .08 |
| Proximity desired to school activities | -.04 | .06 |
| Discrepancy between perceived and desired distance | .02 | -.06 |
| Importance of dating regularly to be popular among friends | .28 | .26 |
| Amount of dating | .42 | .29 |
| Election to student office | .01 | -.14 |

CHAPTER 6

CONTROL THEORY

INTRODUCTION TO CONTROL THEORY

Having discussed the sex-specific theories of delinquency, the last theory to be examined will be a general theory of delinquency. Control theory has been selected as the competing model not only because it claims to meet this criterion, but also because it is the theory of delinquency which has received the most empirical support to date (Sykes and Matza, 1957-64; Reckless and Shoham, 1963; Ball, 1965; Short and Strodtbeck, 1965; Down, 1966; Polk and Halferty, 1966; Hirschi, 1969). Moreover, control theory has shown a reasonable measure of success at predicting delinquency involvement among both males and females (Hindelang, 1973; Linden, 1974; Jensen and Eve, 1976).

According to the control theory perspective, the major step in delinquency involvement is a loosening of the controls which bind an individual to the conventional system. If an individual does not have these ties, then he does not have to consider the consequences of his actions

to the conventional system. Once the potential delinquent is set "adrift" in this way (Matza, 1964), delinquency becomes a possible, although not a necessary alternative.

Thus, control theorists see the delinquent person as being "relatively free of the intimate attachments, the aspirations, and the moral beliefs that bind most people to a life within the law" (Hirschi, 1969).

This conception of delinquency then does not require any special motivation to deviate. Mechanisms such as structurally-induced strain or adherence to a system of values which demands that its members violate the norms established by the larger society are unnecessary. All men are presumed to have certain desires which can be met either by legitimate or illegitimate means. While other factors are involved, the major variable which control theorists use to explain why some of us deviate is the strength of our ties to the conventional system--our "stake in conformity". Conformity rather than deviance, is seen as problematic. Everyone is a potential deviant since control theory does not assume that all men are moral and always bound to follow group norms. According to control theorists it is possible for men to violate the rules in which they believe (Sykes and Matza, 1957). Consequently, the central focus of control theory is on the processes which bind men to the social order.

Hirschi's version of control theory describes the individual's bond to society (stake in conformity) in terms

of four distinct processes: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. These processes are specifically defined for the adolescent in relation to the three institutional settings that he is most closely affiliated with, that is, the family, the school, and the peer group. As a general theory of delinquency, control theory assumes that the factors which bind the individual to the social order operate in a similar fashion for both boys and girls. From this perspective, the differences which exist in the amount of delinquency committed by males and by females are due to differential exposure to these criminogenic factors.

In explaining the sex differences in delinquency from the control perspective some theorists postulated that girls have stronger attachments to belief systems, e.g. the law (Harris, 1976), while others suggested that girls are more accepting of the law as morally binding because of their lesser involvement or exposure to law enforcement processes than boys (Turk, 1969). Yet, others (Hewitt, 1970) proposed that girls have stronger commitments to conventional goals because they are more successful in achieving these goals than boys (Hewitt assumed differential norm commitments between boys and girls, e.g. home versus school). A more common explanation is that girls have stronger attachments to their parents

than boys because of the greater parental control or supervision generally exercised over girls in our society (Sutherland and Cressey, 1970; Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973).

TESTING CONTROL THEORY

The overall objective in testing Hirschi's theory as a general theory of delinquency is to determine whether it provides a better causal account of the sex differences in delinquency than do the specific theories. As a general theory of delinquency, this theory implies that the social bond variables will operate in a similar fashion for both male and female delinquency, even though the amount of delinquency may vary between the sexes.

In testing control theory, the interest will be in measuring the adolescent's bond to various social control agents and agencies. Specifically, this will entail the adolescent's attachment to his/her parents, school, and peer group; his/her commitment to educational and occupational goals; his/her involvement in conventional activities; an his/her belief in authority. On the basis of these elements of the bond, the basic propositions of control theory have been formulated as follows:

PROPOSITION 1: If attachment to parents is weakened, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

Hypotheses:

1. The greater the child's participation in his/her parents social and psychological fields, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
2. The greater the parents participation in the child's social and psychological fields, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
3. The greater the child's concern for parental opinion, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
4. The greater the child's respect for his/her parents, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
5. The greater the psychological presence of parents when considering an act contrary to the law, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

PROPOSITION 2: If attachment to the school is weakened, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

Hypotheses:

1. The more successful the child perceives he/she is in school, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
2. The more positive the child's attitude is toward school, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

PROPOSITION 3: If attachment to conventional peers is weakened the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

Hypotheses:

1. The higher the stakes in conformity among the child's peers, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

2. The greater the psychological presence of parents when the child is with his/her peers, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
3. The greater the child's association with conventional peers the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
4. The greater the feeling of respect for persons in authority among the child's friends, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

PROPOSITION 4: If commitment to conventional goals is weakened the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

Hypotheses:

1. The higher the educational aspirations of the child, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
2. The more highly the child is oriented toward educational achievements, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
3. The more the child invests into the achievement of educational goals, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
4. The higher the occupational aspirations of the child, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
5. The more highly the child is oriented toward an adult status, the greater the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

PROPOSITION 5: If involvement in conventional activities is low, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

Hypotheses:

1. The greater the child's participation in academic school-related activities, the

lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

2. The greater the child's participation in (non-academic) school-related activities, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

PROPOSITION 6: If belief in authority is weakened, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

Hypotheses:

1. The greater the child's concern for the beliefs of conventional persons, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
2. The greater the child's respect for the law, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.
3. The greater the child's attachment to a belief system, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

OPERATIONALIZING CONTROL THEORY

In measuring an adolescent's bond to various social control agents and agencies, the three institutions that are emphasized in the composition of this bond are family, school, and peers. Hirschi uses these institutions to explain the adolescent's behaviour, and in doing so he identifies four avenues by which the adolescent relates to them: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. In operationalizing this theory, an attempt will be made to show how Hirschi explains the relationship of these elements of the bond to delinquent behaviour.

Attachment to Parents

Hirschi's study of the process through which attachment to parents works against the commission of delinquent acts led to the formulation of four major concepts. These four concepts can be identified within the following passage:

"the more the child is accustomed to sharing his mental life with his parents, the more he is accustomed to seeking or getting their opinion about his activities, the more likely he is to perceive them as part of his social and psychological field, and the less likely he would be to neglect their opinion when considering an act contrary to law--which is, after all, a potential source of embarrassment and/or inconvenience to them" (Hirschi, 1969, p. 90).

The first concept is "mutual participation in the child's social and psychological fields." Hirschi's reasoning is that, if the child does not discuss his activities with his parents, he is not sharing his inner world with them; as a result, the child will not be concerned with the perception of his/her parent's reaction to his behaviour because he does not see them as part of his private world. Equally important to Hirschi's theory is the parents' communication with their child. For if parents do not communicate their feelings about their child's behaviour to him/her, they have removed an important source of potential concern for the child. To measure "mutual participation

in the child's social and psychological fields", two indices were constructed: Index A, where the primary focus is on the child's communication to his parents, (reliability coefficient, Alpha = .69 for boys and .60 for girls), and Index B, where the primary focus is on the interchange of communication between parent and child (reliability coefficient, Alpha = .58 for boys and .57 for girls).

Index A:

"How many of your problems do you talk over with your mother/father?"

All, Most, Some, Few, None

"Generally when something is worrying or bothering you, do you feel that it will help to talk to your mother/father about it?"

Very sure, Fairly sure, Fairly sure will not, Very sure will not

Index B:

"Does your mother/father want you to tell her/him when something is worrying or bothering you?"

Very sure, Fairly sure, Fairly sure will, Very sure will not

"When you think of what is right and wrong, do you feel that you and your mother/father 'agree'?"

Always, Usually, Sometimes, Never

According to Hirschi's theory then the focus of the communication rather than the fact of communication is the crucial factor in determining whether the child will recall his parents when a situation of potential delinquency arises. The focus of this communication involves parental opinions of behaviour which identifies the second concept in parental attachment.

The assumption underlying the concept, "concern for parental opinion", is that the child does consider the reactions of parents to his/her behaviour. In considering parental reactions, the child determines what consequences these reactions will have for him. Simply, the salient question is: "Does the child care what his parents think?" To measure "concern for parental opinion" the following item was used:

"How important is it for you to please your parents?"

Great Importance, Some Importance,
Little or No Importance

This concept is closely inter-related with the third concept, the child's "respect for his parents". For the extent to which the child cares about what his parents think will be strongly affected by his affectional identification with his parents. To measure the concept, "child's respect for parents", the following two items were used:

"When you grow up and have your own family, how would you feel if you lived the way your family does now?"

Very Satisfied, Somewhat Satisfied,
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied,
Very Dissatisfied

"Would you name and briefly identify any three people whom you look up to and admire? People who have an influence on how you think and behave. Persons who typify the kind of person you would like to or try to be."

Parents, Other Adults, Peers

This brings us to the last concept, "psychological presence of parents", which ties all of the former concepts together: For without this 'indirect' parental supervision, the impact of parental communications, reactions, and opinions would have little consequence for the child when contemplating a delinquent act. Specifically, "psychological presence of parents" refers to the situation where the adolescent is faced with the temptation to commit a crime, and to whether the child will give any thought to parental reactions. If the child does not consider parental reactions, he/she is thus free to commit the act. Hirschi operationalizes psychological presence in an indirect way because he assumes that the child who thinks his parents know where he is and what he is doing is the one most likely to consider his parent's reactions. Obviously, this is a form of indirect supervision since parents do not actually restrict the adolescent's activities nor do they necessarily know where the child is.

However, the child is supervised to the extent that he feels he is being supervised. To measure the concept, "psychological presence of parents", the following item was used:

"When you go out at night, do you tell your parents where you are going?"

Always, Usually, Sometimes, Seldom,
Never

In essence, the process through which attachment to parents works against the commission of delinquent acts can be summarized as the child's communication, thinking, respect, and awareness of his parents. That is, for parents to be effective agents of control, the child and the parent must first communicate with each other on a personal basis. In this process, the child develops an awareness of parental opinions and expectations concerning his behaviour. Consequently, the child is aware of the consequences of his potentially delinquent behaviour for the parents. Secondly, in weighing the consequences the child decides how much he cares about what his parents think. This is, in turn, strongly influenced by the degree of respect (affectional identification with parents) the child has developed for his parent throughout the communication. If these conditions are all met, when the child is faced with the temptation to commit a delinquent act, the parent will be psychologically present providing the necessary 'moral

authority' to make such temptation highly unlikely. Thus, according to Hirschi, the moral element in attachments to parents resides directly in the attachment itself (1969: 88).

Attachment to School

The school, a major institution for the child between the conventional family and the conventional world of work and marriage, constitutes the other process which works against the commission of delinquent acts through the child's attachment, involvement, and commitment. The process of attachment to the school is defined by three concepts.

The first concept, "academic competence", is included because it contributes to the understanding of the theoretical location of other variables in this process, not because control theory depends on the relation between academic competence and delinquency. That is, academic competence operates through the elements of attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief to produce delinquent acts (1969: 113). For example, the incompetent person is less concerned about the consequences of delinquency because his ties to the conventional social system have already been weakened because of his academic incompetence. To measure the concept, "academic competence", the adolescent's perception of his school ability was tapped.

Control theory views the more subjective measure of "self-perceived academic competence" as important in the causation of delinquency. First, the child who does well in school is less likely to commit delinquent acts. But, the child who sees him/her self as capable of doing well in school is also likely to find school 'tolerable' and 'relevant' to his/her future. This holds regardless of the child's ability as measured in some more objective way. The logical relation here is that objective ability strongly influences subjective self-assessments. Thus, the more competent the child thinks he/she is, the less likely the child will commit delinquent acts. To measure the concept, "self-perceived academic competence", the following item was used:

"If you were doing the very best you could, where do you think you would stand in your grade?"

Honours, Somewhat Above Average,
About Average, Somewhat Below Average,
Very Much Below Average

The next link in the chain from academic competence and success in school is the child's bond to the school (Hirschi directs his focus primarily on the element of attachment here). The concept defining this attachment to the school is the child's "attitudes toward the school". Two indicators were used to measure "school attitudes":

one dealing primarily with the school itself, and the other dealing with the school teacher specifically:

"Some people like school and some do not.
How would you rate your own feelings?"

Like a Lot, Like Fairly Well, Don't Care,
Generally Dislike, Dislike Very Much

"How important is it for you to be liked by
your teachers?"

Great Importance, Some Importance,
Little or No Importance

These questions are germane to control theory because they measure the child's attachment to a conventional 'controlling' institution (the school) and to a conventional person in a position of 'impersonal authority' (the teacher). Thus, the child who does not like school and who does not care what teachers think about him is to this extent free to commit delinquent acts. Since positive feelings toward controlling institutions and persons in authority are the first line of social control, withdrawal of such sentiments will neutralize their moral force. According to control theory, this neutralization is a major link between lack of attachment and delinquency. If the child feels no emotional attachment to a person or institution, the rule of that person or institution tends to be denied legitimacy.

Attachment to Conventional Peers

Control theory asserts that attachment to conventional peers decreases the likelihood of delinquent behaviour. That is, the lack of attachment to conventional peers weakens the child's bond to conformity which makes him/her more susceptible to forming delinquent peer relationships. Here, companionship with delinquents is an incidental by-product of the real causes of delinquency. A basic assumption of control theory is that adolescents who have high stakes in conformity will tend not to befriend peers whose stakes are low since they are more likely to get into trouble. This constitutes the first concept in the process through which attachment to conventional peers works against the commission of delinquent acts, i.e., "stakes in conformity". This concept will refer to the stakes in conformity of the adolescent's best friend. To measure "stakes in conformity", the following item was used:

"Do you think your best friend will ever go to University?"

Definitely, Very Likely, Unlikely,
Definitely Not, Already in University

Stakes in conformity is also affected indirectly by the adolescent's attachment to parents in that the concern for parental opinion is a determinant of these stakes, and thus, will encourage the development of

conventional peer relationships. The second concept then is "parental opinion of friends". To measure this concept the following item was used:

"How many of your close friends do your parents know?"

Most, Some, Very Few, None

This brings us to the third concept, "association with conventional peers". To measure this concept, the following item was used:

"How many close friends, either male or female, do you have?"

Males 1 2 3 4 5 6 more

Females 1 2 3 4 5 6 more

Attachment to conventional friends increases the likelihood of conformity not only because it encourages the commitment to conventional goals, but also because it encourages a greater commitment to conventional belief systems. To measure this concept, "concern for authority", the following indicator was used:

"Among your friends, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular - be obedient and respectful to those in authority?"

Very Important, Important, Somewhat Important, Not At All Important

Commitment to Conventional Goals

Hirschi's commitment to conventional goals consists of three career lines: educational, occupational and passage to adult status. The educational and occupational career lines represent the pursuit of conventional goals, while the passage to adult status defines a lack of commitment on the part of the adolescent.

Educational Goals - In control theory, aspirations are the key factor in producing conformity. Aspirations are viewed as constraints on delinquency because it is assumed that such pursuits would preclude the attainment of conventional goals. So, when a person loses the desire to achieve such goals, he/she is to that extent free to commit deviant acts without the 'normal' concern for the consequences of such acts. The first concept then is "educational aspirations". To measure this concept, the following item was used:

"Let's think for a minute about school plans.
How far would you like to go in school?"

- To finish 10th grade
- To finish 11th grade
- To finish 12th grade
- To go to a business or technical school
- To go to a college or university
- To graduate from college or university
- To earn an advanced degree
- To quit as soon as I can

Hirschi does not feel that discrepancies between educational

aspirations and educational expectations is significant or important in delinquency causation. However, to measure educational expectations, the following item was used:

"How far in school do you think you will actually go?"

- To finish 10th grade
- To finish 11th grade
- To finish 12th grade
- To go to a business or technical school
- To go to a college or university
- To graduate from college or university
- To earn an advanced degree

The second concept in the process of commitment to educational goals is the "adolescent's achievement orientation". It is expected that the adolescent's educational aspirations will covary with his/her level of achievement; that is, the higher the educational aspirations, the greater the motivation to achieve. To measure "achievement orientation", the following items were used:

"How important is it for you to get a university education?"

Great Importance, Some Importance,
Little or No Importance

"How important is it for you to earn high grades?"

Great Importance, Some Importance,
Little or No Importance

The level of achievement orientation should, in turn, affect the extent to which the adolescent is committed to the educational system. This commitment is defined by the concept, "educational investments". "Educational investments" examine the adolescent's current efforts toward the achievement of conventional goals. This concept stands in contrast to the former which accentuate the adolescent's future prospects, and it adds a necessary reality component to 'aspirations'. To measure the adolescent's current educational success, the following items were used:

"How much time, on the average, did you spend studying outside of school hours during last week?"

Less than 1/2 hour a day
 About 1/2 hour a day
 About 1 hour a day
 About 1-1/2 hour a day
 About 2 hours a day
 About 3 hours a day
 More than 3 hours a day

"Have you ever skipped school without a legitimate excuse?"

Very Often, Several Times, Once or
 Twice, Never

Occupational Goals - One's chances for success in the system is also defined by Hirschi in terms of occupational goals. However, he does not think that the distinction between education and occupational commitment is a critical one, since both should reflect a commitment to conventional

society, and thus, a deterrent to delinquent activity. The basic assumption remains the same, whether educational or occupational, aspirations are viewed as constraints on delinquency. Why occupational goals are included at all is that the one is assumed to be a necessary counterpart of the other. That is, in our society at least, education is virtually a necessary condition for a high-status occupation. To measure the concept, "occupational aspiration", the following item was used:

"What kind of job would you like to have as an adult?"

Requires University, Requires Business/
Technical Training, Requires High School

Like educational expectations, occupational expectations are not considered to be an important distinction in delinquency causation. However, to measure occupational expectations the following indicator was used:

"What do you think are your chances of ever getting that kind of job?"

Very Good, Good, Fair, Poor, Very Poor

Claims to Adult Status - Claims to adult status is viewed as an orientation toward adult activities. It does not necessarily require an actual indulgence in these activities. Rather, to claim this right is an indication that the child's bond to conventional society is weakened and thus leaves him/her free to commit

delinquent acts. The first indicator measures the adolescent's attitude toward the transition to adult status. The item that is used is as follows:

"Teenage is the very best time of life."

Agree Strongly, Agree, Uncertain,
Disagree, Strongly Disagree

Hirschi's explanation is that "those adolescents who see high school and the years immediately following as a period of relative happiness are most likely to commit delinquent acts during this time" (1969: 163). In other words, he/she has prematurely reached adulthood (premature completion of an educational career) without its responsibilities (delayed entrance into a low-status occupation).

The second indicator seeks to determine "orientation toward adult status" by examining the adolescent's participation in adult activities. An index of adult-oriented activities was composed from the following items (reliability coefficient, Alpha = .51 for boys and .49 for girls):

"Among your friends, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular?"

Smoke
Be able to drive a car
Drink
Date regularly

Very Important, Important, Somewhat
Important, Not At All Important

Although dating is generally considered to be a normal

adolescent activity, it has been found to be related to delinquent activity. It has been established that early heterosexual activity is predictive of low subsequent social status, and that such activity indicates a "claim to adult status". The adolescent committed to education presumably delays entrance into the dating game, thereby prolonging his adolescence.

The general assertion is that if the adolescent claims the right to smoke, drink, date, and drive a car, he is more likely to commit delinquent acts. Hirschi states, "To claim the right to act contrary to the wishes of adults is to express contempt for their expectations, which is to free oneself for the commission of delinquent acts" (1969: 166).

Involvement in Conventional Activities

Analysis of involvement in conventional activities parallels previous analysis of attitudinal commitments to conventional success goals. Such activities presumably are largely the consequences of such commitment. Involvement as an element of the bond to conventional society then is of importance in that it reinforces commitment to conventional goals. Assuming commitment supercedes involvement, it will follow that the adolescent committed to educational goals will become involved in school-related activities. Similarly adolescents with a weak commitment to educational goals will be more likely to become involved in outside activities, as

adult related activities. The concept that is defined in the process of how the element of involvement works against the commission of delinquent acts is the child's "participation in conventional activities". This concept is defined primarily in terms of the child's involvement in school-related activities. The first indicator of this concept is concerned with school-work, and is measured by the following item:

"How much time, on the average, did you spend studying outside of school hours during last week?"

Less than 1/2 hour a day
About 1/2 hour a day
About 1 hour a day
About 1-1/2 hours a day
About 2 hours a day
About 3 hours a day
More than 3 hours a day

The second indicator is concerned with those activities organized by the school (unacademic, but school-related). To measure this variable the following item was used:

"Which of the following number of clubs and organized activities in your school are you a member of?"

None, One, Two or More

Belief

The final component of the bond is the adolescent's belief in the conventional normative system, that is, the extent to which the adolescent believes he/she should obey the rules of society. The adolescent's belief acts as a moral

obstacle to the commission of delinquent acts. The basic assertion is that the less the adolescent believes he/she should obey the rules of society, the greater the probability that he/she will commit delinquent acts.

The first concept in the process through which belief in authority works against the commission of delinquent acts is "concern for the beliefs of conventional persons". The rationale underlying this concept is that the absence of effective beliefs is the result of weak attachment to conventional others. To measure such attachments, the adolescent's concern for those persons in positions of both personal and impersonal authority was examined. The indicators for this concept are as follows:

Personal Authority

"How important is it for you to please your parents?"

Great Importance, Some Importance,
Little or No Importance

Impersonal Authority

"How important is it for you to be liked by your teachers?"

Great Importance, Some Importance,
Little or No Importance

"Among your friends, which of the following are important to do in order to be popular?"
Be obedient and respectful to those in authority."

Very Important, Important, Somewhat
Important, Not At All Important

If there is a lack of concern for the reactions of those in positions of personal authority, then this lack of concern will generalize to others who hold positions of impersonal authority.

The chain of causation so far is from attachment to conventional persons, through concern for approval of persons in positions of personal and impersonal authority. The next concept in this chain is "belief in the moral validity of the law".

"Belief in the moral validity of the law" is measured by an indicator which examines the adolescent's concern for the morality of delinquent acts. The item that was selected read:

"It's okay to achieve a worthy goal in any way-good or bad."

Agree Strongly, Agree, Uncertain,
Disagree, Strongly Disagree

The last concept which completes this chain is "attachment to a belief system". To measure this concept two indirect measures were used: an anomie index and a normlessness index. The rationale underlying the utilization of these measures is that these states are strongly indicative of a lack of attachment and commitment to a conventional belief system: moreover they free the adolescent to engage in delinquent behaviour.

The Anomie Scale was composed of the following five items:

"Most public officials (people in public office) are not really interested in the problems of the average man."

"These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on."

"Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself."

"In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better."

"Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow."

Agree Strongly, Agree, Uncertain,
Disagree, Strongly Disagree

Reliability coefficient, Alpha = .47 for boys and .53 for girls.

The Normlessness Scale was composed of the following seven items:

"It's okay to achieve a worthy goal in any way - good or bad."

"A young person doesn't have clear cut standards to follow."

"All behaviour standards are relative."

"Young people are often puzzled about the true meaning of life."

"Today one can only be sure that there's nothing to be sure of."

"With so many religions around, one can't know which to believe."

"Few young people are law-abiding."

Agree Strongly, Agree, Uncertain,
Disagree, Strongly Disagree

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1 - (Attachment to Parents - See Table 29)

The greater the child's participation in his/her parent's social and psychological fields, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the index of communication measuring the child's participation in the parent's social and psychological fields (Index A) and self-reported delinquency was very similar for both boys and girls. Moderate associations were found with gammas of $-.20$ for boys and $.23$ for girls.

Hypothesis 2

The greater the parent's participation in the child's social and psychological fields, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the index of communication measuring the parent's participation in the child's social and psychological fields (Index B) and self-reported delinquency was also very similar for boys and girls. Moderate associations with a gamma of $-.27$ for boys and

a gamma of $-.24$ for girls were found.

Where the relationship of the former indicator and self-reported delinquency was slightly stronger for boys, this relationship was slightly stronger for girls. However, when these indices were combined to form a general communication index (reliability coefficient, $\text{Alpha} = .74$ for boys and $.73$ for girls), these marginal differences were completely eliminated. Identical gammas of $-.23$ were found between this indicator (Index C) and self-reported delinquency for both boys and girls.

Hypothesis 3

The greater the child's concern for parental opinion, the lower the probability for his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator, importance of pleasing parents, and self-reported delinquency was fairly similar for boys and girls although somewhat stronger for girls. Specifically, moderate associations found with gammas of $-.15$ for boys and $-.24$ for girls.

Hypothesis 4

The greater the child's respect for his/her parents, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the first indicator, satisfaction with the way the family lives, and self-reported delinquency was moderately associated for both

boys and girls. However, girls again had a stronger association than boys with gammas of $-.28$ and $-.14$, respectively.

In contrast, the relationship between the second indicator, selection of parent as role model, and self-reported delinquency was stronger for boys than for girls. A moderately strong association was found for both with a gammas of $-.20$ for boys and $-.12$ for girls.

Hypothesis 5

The greater the psychological presence of parents when considering an act contrary to the law, the lesser the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The indicator measuring indirect parental supervision showed the strongest relationship with self-reported delinquency in relation to all of the variables measuring parental attachment. High associations were found for both boys and girls with gammas of $-.37$ and $-.54$, respectively. Moreover, this indicator, informing parents when going out at night, was more strongly related to delinquency among girls than among boys.

Hypothesis 1 - (Attachment to School - See Table 30 for Summary)

The more successful the child perceives he/she is in school, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator of self-perceived academic ability and self-reported delinquency

was similar for both boys and girls, although this association was stronger for boys than for girls. Specifically gammas of $-.26$ for boys and $-.17$ for girls were found.

Hypothesis 2

The more positive the child's attitude toward school, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the first indicator, likes school, and self-reported delinquency was considerably stronger for boys than for girls. A high association was found for boys with a gamma of $-.41$ for boys and a moderate association for girls with a gamma of $-.17$. However, the relationship between the second indicator, importance of being liked by teacher, and self-reported delinquency was more similar among boys and girls. Moderate associations were found with a gamma of $-.23$ for boys and a gamma of $-.18$ for girls.

Hypothesis 1 - (Attachment to Conventional Peers - See Table 31 for Summary)

The higher the stakes in conformity of one's friends, the lower the probability of the child's committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator, best friend going to university, and self-reported delinquency was identical for boys and girls. Moderate associations were found with gammas of $-.22$.

Hypothesis 2

The greater the psychological presence of parents when the child is with his/her peers, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The indicator, number of close friends parents know, and self-reported delinquency was related in a similar way for both boys and girls. However, this relationship was considerably stronger for girls than for boys. A high association was found for girls with a gamma of $-.30$, and a moderate association for boys with a gamma of $-.18$.

Hypothesis 3

The greater the child's association with conventional peers, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator, number of close friends and self-reported delinquency was found in a different direction for boys and girls. An inverse relationship was found for girls although it was rather a low association (gamma = $-.09$), while a direct relationship was found for boys which showed a moderate association (gamma = $.22$).

Hypothesis 4

The greater the feeling of respect for persons in authority among the child's friends, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator, importance of obeying authority among one's friends, and self-reported delinquency was fairly similar for boys and girls. A moderate association was found for boys with a gamma of $-.23$ and a high association for girls with a gamma of $-.30$.

Hypothesis 1 - (Commitment to Conventional Goals -
See Table 32 for Summary)

The higher the educational aspirations of the child, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator, desired education and self-reported delinquency was very similar for boys and girls. A moderate association was found for boys with a gamma of $-.27$ and a slightly higher association for girls with a gamma of $-.31$. Similar associations were found between the indicator, expected education, and self-reported delinquency though this relationship is considerably stronger for girls (gamma = $-.39$) than for boys (gamma = $-.23$).

Hypothesis 2

The more highly the child is oriented toward educational achievements, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the first indicator, importance of a university education, and self-reported delinquency was similar for boys and girls. Moderate associations were found with a gamma of $-.23$ for boys and a gamma of $-.28$ for girls. The relationship of the

second indicator, importance of high grades, and self-reported delinquency was similar, although stronger for girls. Moderate associations were also found for this relationship, with a gamma of $-.16$ for boys and a gamma of $-.26$ for girls.

Hypothesis 3

The more the child invests into the achievements of educational goals, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship of the first indicator, amount of time spent studying, and self-reported delinquency was fairly similar for boys and girls. Moderate associations were also found with girls having a slightly stronger association with a gamma of $-.26$ than boys with a gamma of $-.20$.

The indicator measuring a low educational investment, skipping school without a legitimate excuse, and self-reported delinquency was the strongest association among all of the items measuring commitments to conventional goals. High associations were found with a gamma of $.47$ for boys and a gamma of $.46$ for girls.

Hypothesis 4

The higher the occupational aspirations of the child, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator, desired

occupation, and self-reported delinquency was identical for boys and girls. A moderate association was found with a gamma of $-.17$. A similar relationship was found for the indicator, expected occupation, and self-reported delinquency with a gamma of $-.19$ for boys and a gamma of $-.21$ for girls.

Hypothesis 5

The more highly the child is oriented toward an adult status, the greater the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator, orientation toward adult activities, and self-reported delinquency, were similar for boys and girls although a stronger association was found for boys with a gamma of $.29$. However, a moderate association was also found for girls with a gamma of $.20$.

The second indicator, favourable attitude toward transition to adult status, was similarly related to self-reported delinquency among boys and girls. Moderate associations were found with boys having a slightly higher gamma of $.18$ than girls with a gamma of $.11$.

Hypothesis 1 - (Involvement in Conventional Activities - See Table 33 for Summary)

The greater the child's participation in academic activities, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

A similar relationship was found between the indicator, amount of time spent studying and self-reported delinquency. A slightly higher association was found for girls with a gamma of $-.26$. However, a moderate association was also found for boys with a gamma of $-.20$.

Hypothesis 2

The greater the child's participation in (non-academic) school-related activities, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator, membership in school-organized activities, and self-reported delinquency was stronger for boys than for girls. Specifically, a moderate association was found for boys with a gamma of $-.12$ and a low association for girls with a gamma of $-.03$.

Hypothesis 1 - (Belief in Authority - See Table 34 for Summary)

The greater the child's concern for the beliefs of conventional persons, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the first indicator, importance of pleasing parents, and self-reported delinquency was similar for both boys and girls although somewhat stronger for girls. A moderate association was found for boys with a gamma of $-.15$, while for girls a higher association of gamma equal to $-.24$. The relationship between the second indicator, importance of being liked by teacher, and self-

reported delinquency was stronger for boys than for girls. Moderate associations were found with a gamma of $-.23$ for boys and a slightly lower gamma of $-.18$ for girls.

The relationship between the last indicator, importance of obeying authority, and self-reported delinquency was similar among boys and girls although slightly stronger for girls. A moderate association was found for boys with a gamma of $-.23$ and a high association for girls with a gamma of $-.30$.

Hypothesis 2

The greater the child's respect for the law, the lower the probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship between the indicator, concern for the morality of delinquent acts, and self-reported delinquency was identical for boys and girls. A moderate association was found with a gamma of $.19$.

Hypothesis 3

The greater the child's attachment to a belief system, the lower probability of his/her committing delinquent acts.

The relationship of the first indicator, anomie index, and self-reported delinquency was identical for boys and girls. A moderate association was found with a gamma of $.16$. The relationship of the second indicator, normlessness index, and self-reported delinquency were almost identical. Again, moderate associations were

found with a gamma of .17 for boys and a gamma of .18 for girls.

In summary, we can say that:

1. The attachment to parent items were all moderately related to delinquency for both boys and girls. The measures for intimacy of communication with parents showed the most consistent relationship, while the measure for indirect parental supervision showed the strongest relationship for both boys and girls. In general, many of these relationships were slightly stronger for girls than for boys.
2. Similarly, the attachment to school items were all moderately related to delinquency for both boys and girls. These relationships were consistently stronger for boys than for girls. However, in Table 32, it was shown that school-related items measuring commitment to conventional goals were to some extent more strongly related to delinquency among girls than boys.
3. Most of the items measuring the strength of the adolescent's bond to conventional peers showed fairly similar relationships with delinquency for both boys and girls. The most consistent relationship appeared between the item, best friend going to university, while the strongest relationship appeared between the item, importance of obeying authority among friends, and delinquency for both boys and girls. These relationships generally were slightly stronger for girls than for boys. One indicator, number of close friends, did not appear to be related to delinquency for either boys or girls. For boys a direct relationship was found, while for girls the inverse was found.
4. The items measuring commitment to conventional goals were related to delinquency in a similar way for boys and girls, though these relationships were generally stronger for girls than for boys. The most consistent relationships among boys and girls were found for the items measuring occupational aspirations and expectations with delinquency, though stronger relationships appeared between the items measuring educational aspirations and expectations for both boys and girls. The indicator showing the strongest relationship with delinquency for both boys and girls was the one measuring educational investments, that is, whether the adolescent has ever skipped school without an excuse. The differences between the sexes and delinquent involvement appeared greater on the items measuring achievement orientation and participation in adult activities. Specifically, the indicators,

importance of university education and importance of high grades, were more strongly related to delinquency for girls, while the index of participation in adult activities was more strongly related to delinquency for boys.

5. The relationship between the items measuring involvement in conventional activities and self-reported delinquency showed more varied findings between boys and girls. The first indicator, amount of time spent studying, was similarly related to delinquency for boys and girls, though a somewhat stronger relationship was found for girls. However, while a moderate relationship was found between the item, membership in school-organized activities, and delinquency for boys, virtually no relationship was found for girls.
6. The items measuring the adolescent's belief in authority showed fairly similar relationships with delinquency for boys and girls. The item showing the strongest relationship with delinquency for boys and girls was the importance of obeying authority. Almost identical relationships were found for all of the items, concern for the morality of delinquent acts, anomie index, and normlessness index, with delinquency for boys and girls. The greatest differences between boys and girls appeared on the items, importance of pleasing parents and importance of being liked by teacher, and delinquency. A stronger relationship was found for girls on the former item, while a stronger relationship was found for boys on the latter item.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The social bond variables in the Edmonton study were able to support the control perspective, especially the adolescent's ties to the family and to the school. These variables have received empirical support from a substantial number of studies (Nye, 1958; Gold, 1963; Hindelang, 1973; Biron, 1974; Linden, 1974; Jensen and Eve, 1976). Nye discussed the importance of the social control functions of the family. His data supported the hypothesis that delinquent

behaviour develops as consequence of the breakdown of family controls over the teenager. Gold identified the importance of the attitude of a youth toward his parents in relation to the boy's involvement in delinquency. When the family ceases to be attractive to the boy, it loses many of its control functions (Kupfer, 1966).

The school is also a very pervasive influence in the adolescent's life. One important aspect of the school is its role in passing judgement on the adolescent's performance. Those who are successful are given prestige by teachers, parents and other adults as well as by their own peers (Hargreaves, 1967; Polk and Richmond, 1972). It has been found that school has an impact on delinquency involvement which is independent of the ties a boy has with conventional and deviant others (Hirschi, 1969; Polk and Schafer, 1972). However, poor school performance increases the likelihood that a boy will have delinquent friends and a child who is strongly attached to the school will be more likely to be on good terms with conventional others. Thus it appears that those who are more strongly tied to the school have a greater stake in conformity and are less free to deviate because of that attachment (Linden, 1974).

The Edmonton data found fairly similar relationships between the social bond variables and delinquency for boys and girls. Some of these relationships will be discussed briefly in relation to other research investigating the sex

differences in delinquency from a control perspective, particularly ties to parents and to the school.

The Edmonton data indicated that ties to parents are generally more strongly related to female than to male delinquency, while other studies report slightly stronger relationships in favour of the male (Hindelang, 1973; Linden, 1974; Jensen and Eve, 1976). However, Linden (1974) does report a stronger relationship between one of these variables, parental supervision, and delinquency for girls than for boys.

There was some inconsistency among the Edmonton findings testing ties to school and delinquency as some of the indicators were more strongly related for boys while others for girls. In other studies (Linden, 1974; Jensen and Eve, 1976), the findings more clearly indicated that school ties have more of an impact on male delinquency than on female delinquency. All of these findings, however, conflict with those of Gold (1970) who found that school performance was related to delinquency among boys but not among girls.

In conclusion, control theory does seem to offer a better explanation of delinquency than do the sex-specific theories¹. However, as previously discussed, some differences do exist (e.g. parental tie variables) such as parental supervision showed a stronger relationship with delinquency for girls, while school tie variables such

as self-perceived academic ability showed a stronger relationship with delinquency for boys. These sex differences which the social bond variables do not take into account suggest that we cannot make a prior assumption that different theories are required for the study of male and female delinquency. The implication that this has for future research is that some modification of control theory should be made in order to take into consideration the apparent sex differences in male and female delinquency.

TABLE 29

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY ON PARENTAL
TIES ITEMS BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|--|-------------|---------------|
| Intimacy of communication from child to parent: Index A | -.20 | -.23 |
| Intimacy of communication from parent to child: Index B | -.27 | -.24 |
| Intimacy of communication with parents: Index C | -.23 | -.23 |
| Importance of pleasing parents | -.15 | -.24 |
| Satisfaction with the way the family lives | -.14 | -.28 |
| Selection of parent as role model | -.20 | -.12 |
| Informing parent when going out | -.37 | -.54 |

TABLE 30

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY ON SCHOOLTIES ITEMS BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Self-Preceived academic ability | -.26 | -.17 |
| Likes school | -.41 | -.17 |
| Importance of being liked by teacher | -.23 | -.18 |

TABLE 31

GAMMAS OF SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY ON
PEER TIES ITEMS BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Best friend going to university | -.22 | -.22 |
| Number of close friends parents know | -.18 | -.30 |
| Number of close friends | .22 | -.09 |
| Importance of obeying authority among friends | -.23 | -.30 |

TABLE 32

GAMMAS ON SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY
ON COMMITMENT TO CONVENTIONAL GOALS

BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Education aspiration | -.27 | -.31 |
| Educational expectation | -.23 | -.39 |
| Importance of a university education | -.23 | -.28 |
| Importance of earning high grades | -.16 | -.26 |
| Amount of time spent studying | -.20 | -.26 |
| Skipped school | -.47 | -.46 |
| Occupational aspiration | -.17 | -.17 |
| Occupational expectation | -.19 | -.21 |
| Participation in adult activities (Index) | .29 | .20 |
| Favourable attitude toward transition to adult status | .18 | .11 |

TABLE 33

GAMMAS ON SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY ON
INVOLVEMENT IN CONVENTIONAL ACTIVITIES

BY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Amount of time spent studying | -.20 | -.26 |
| Membership in school-organized activities | -.12 | -.03 |

TABLE 34

GAMMAS ON SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCYON BELIEF IN AUTHORITYBY SEX

| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
|---|-------------|---------------|
| Importance of pleasing parents | -.15 | -.24 |
| Importance of being liked by teacher | -.23 | -.18 |
| Importance of obeying authority | -.23 | -.30 |
| Concern for the morality of delinquent acts | .19 | .19 |
| Anomie Index | .16 | .16 |
| Normlessness Index | .17 | .18 |

FOOTNOTES

1. Linden (1974) tested several of the control variables on a sample of 675 white females and 1,588 white males who were respondents in the Richmond Youth Project. He found that the control variables explained a substantial proportion of the variance in the amount of delinquency committed by males and females.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The concluding chapter will be divided into three parts: (1) the general purpose, plan and procedures of the study, (2) the findings relevant to the hypotheses tested, and (3) the limitations of these findings and general conclusions concerning the nature of self-reported delinquency for boys and girls.

THE GENERAL PURPOSE, PLAN, AND PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

This study was designed to investigate two general questions. First, to what extent are boys and girls similar regarding delinquent involvement. Second, to what extent can theories of delinquency be generalized in explaining the delinquent involvement of both boys and girls.

The study group consisted of all tenth grade boys and girls attending of the highest academic high schools in the city of Edmonton, Alberta, during the 1964-65 school year. Among the students attending these two schools were boys and girls from the five highest socio-economic census tracts in the city, as reported in the 1961 decennial Dominion

Census. The data was collected by Kupfer in the spring of 1965 for the completion of his doctoral thesis, "Middle Class Delinquency in a Canadian City". Altogether, 571 boys (97%) and 585 girls (97%) filled out the questionnaires.

Information on delinquent behaviour was developed from the self-admissions of each student with reference to a check list of potentially delinquent activities. This material was patterned after Hirschi's (1969) self-reported delinquency scale. For the purpose of testing both sex-specific and general theories of delinquency, two scales were used: (1) testing the assumptions of sex-specific theories of delinquency which defined delinquent involvement in terms of the sex role, e.g. female and male offences; and (2) testing the assumptions of a general theory of delinquency which defined delinquent involvement in a similar way for both boys and girls.

The data analysis centered around testing the assumptions of sex-specific and general theories of delinquency. A series of hypotheses were developed for the sex-specific theories (family and peer deficiency theories), while an established set of hypotheses were used for the general theory based on Hirschi's formulation of control theory.

THE FINDINGS WHICH ARE RELEVANT TO THE HYPOTHESES TESTED

The propositions for each of the alternative theories will be stated as they were basically presented

and tested in the study, and the findings summarized according to the respective theory.

Family Deficiency Theory

PROPOSITION 1 - The relationship between deficient family relationships and self-reported delinquency should be stronger for girls than for boys.

PROPOSITION 2 - The relationship between deficient family control and self-reported delinquency should be stronger for girls than for boys.

The data presented for family deficiency theory supported the theory only in part. Although many of the relationships were identical and a few ran in a direction opposite to that predicted by family deficiency theory (e.g. some relationships are stronger for males than for females), there was some support for the proposition that family variables are more strongly related to delinquency among females. On further examination, however, these differences were found to be rather small and inconsistent. In particular, when we consider that the sex differences in the kinds of delinquency committed by males and females are not found in studies using self-reported delinquency, the position of the family deficiency theorists is not well supported. In conclusion, the sex differences found in this data do not appear to provide sufficient evidence to justify separate theories of delinquency causation for

males and females.

Peer Deficiency Theory

PROPOSITION 1: The relationship between deficient peer relationships and self-reported delinquency is stronger for girls than for boys.

Like family deficiency theory, this theory was not well supported by the data. Several measures of peer ties were used in testing the assertion that lack of ties to peers is more important in female delinquency than in male delinquency. In many cases, there were no sex differences and where there were differences the relationships tended to be stronger for males than for females. Both the notion that females are loners in their delinquency and the notion that female delinquency occurs as a result of lack of ties to same-sex peers were unsupported by the data. In conclusion, the sex differences found in this data also do not appear to provide sufficient evidence to justify separate theories of delinquency causation for males and females.

Control Theory

PROPOSITION 1: If attachment to parents is weakened, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

PROPOSITION 2: If attachment to the school is

weakened, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

PROPOSITION 3: If attachment to conventional peers is weakened, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

PROPOSITION 4: If commitment to conventional goals is weakened, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

PROPOSITION 5: If involvement in conventional activities is low, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

PROPOSITION 6: If belief in authority is weakened, the probability of committing delinquent acts increases for both boys and girls.

The proposition that control theory would provide a better explanation of female delinquency than do any of the sex-specific theories which have been proposed appeared to be supported by the data. The Edmonton data found fairly similar relationships between the social bond variables and delinquency for boys and girls. Specifically, the variables that are related to delinquency involvement in boys are related in a very similar fashion to girls, though the strength of these relationships varied somewhat.

However, there were sex differences among the relationships examined that could not be accounted for by the control variables. On the basis of these findings, it was concluded that future research should include a modification of these variables in order to take these differences into account, rather than continuing with

atheoretical research based on a prior assumption that different theories are required for male and female delinquency.

LIMITATIONS

One limitation concerns the applicability of these findings to other youth in Canada. These findings were specific to two schools in one Canadian city. Their relevance to other Canadian youth can also be questioned in view of the fact that this study was carried out in 1965. This is of particular importance where female delinquency is concerned, since many observers believe that the nature and extent of female deviance has changed considerably over the last ten years (Adler, 1975). However, research by Weis suggests that these changes are not nearly as dramatic as commonly believed and that the nature of both male and female delinquency has remained fairly stable, even though the amount of delinquency may have increased. Looking at self-report studies which cover the period 1960-1971, Weis concluded that "the mean sex ratios across all delinquent acts and for theft and aggression items have not changed in the direction predicted by the 'liberation' theories for this time period. The sex ratios across all offences are relatively stable from 1960-1971 . . . (These findings) corroborate the longitudinal analyses of UCR arrest data for females" (1976: 24).

Another limitation involves the measure of delinquency utilized. Only data on self-reported delinquency was available. Another measure of delinquency, such as officially recognized delinquent behaviour, would have increased the reliability of these findings.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This research adds support to existing theoretical formulations--Hirschi's theory of social control, and replicates many of Hirschi's findings. It was also able to cast doubt on the traditional theories of female delinquency.

The general conclusions that we can draw from the study are somewhat ambiguous. First of all, the sex-specific theories (family and peer deficiency theories) which have been proposed to explain female delinquency are not well supported by the data. Second, the general theory (control theory) appeared to provide a better explanation of male and female delinquency than did the sex-specific theories. Third, in testing control theory sex differences were found among the relationships examined that were not accounted for by the control variables. Perhaps, the most reasonable conclusion is that the degree of success which control theory had in predicting male and female delinquency indicated that it may be possible to generalize explanations of delinquency to both sexes.

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APPENDIX

STUDENT OPINION SURVEY

May, 1965

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

INSTRUCTIONS: Answer each question by circling the number to the right of the correct response or that which most closely reflects your attitude. Where specific responses are not provided, answer as specifically and briefly as possible. Be sure to answer every question.

1. Sex..... Male..... 1
Female..... 2
2. Your age..... Years: _____ Months: _____
3. As well as you can None..... 1
remember, how many Once..... 2
different times has your Two or three times..... 3
family moved since you Four times or more..... 4
were in the seventh grade?
4. Where was your father
born?.....
(Be as specific as possible)
5. Where was your mother
born?.....
(Be as specific as possible)
6. Where were you born?.....
(Be as specific as possible)
7. What is or was your
father's occupation?.....
(Name the occupation and
type of company involved)
8. Does your mother have a Yes (full-time)..... 1
paid job outside the Yes (part-time)..... 2
home?..... No..... 3
- If yes, what kind of a
job is it?.....
(Be as specific as possible)

9. How long have you lived at your present address?... _____ years
10. How long have your lived in Edmonton?..... _____ years
11. Do your parents belong to any of the following types of community organizations or clubs in Edmonton? (Circle as many as apply for each parent.).....
- | | Father | Mother |
|--|--------|--------|
| A church..... | 1 | 1 |
| A chamber of commerce... | 2 | 2 |
| A hobby or recreational club..... | 3 | 3 |
| Women's Junior League... | 4 | 4 |
| A country club..... | 5 | 5 |
| A service club (e.g. Masons, Kiwanis)..... | 6 | 6 |
| An ethnic club or organization..... | 7 | 7 |
| A church sponsored club or organization..... | 8 | 8 |
| None to my knowledge.... | 9 | 9 |
12. What name is given to the section of the city in which you live? (e.g. Windsor Park, etc.)..... _____
13. Which course are you taking in high school? (Circle the answer).....
- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Business education..... | 1 |
| Three year matriculation..... | 2 |
| Four year matriculation..... | 3 |
| General Program..... | 4 |
| Other _____ | 5 |
14. Please indicate the amount of formal education which your father and mother have had?.....
- | | Father | Mother |
|--|--------|--------|
| Less than grade nine..... | 1 | 1 |
| Finished grade nine..... | 2 | 2 |
| Some high school..... | 3 | 3 |
| Finished high school..... | 4 | 4 |
| Technical or trade school.. | 5 | 5 |
| Some college or university..... | 6 | 6 |
| Finished university (Bachelor's degree)... | 7 | 7 |
| Some graduate or professional school..... | 8 | 8 |
| Earned an advanced degree | 9 | 9 |

15. Which of the following clubs and organized activities in your school are you a member of? (Circle as many as apply).....
- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Booster..... | 1 |
| Language..... | 2 |
| Science..... | 3 |
| Sports..... | 4 |
| Hobby (Stamp, coin, etc.)..... | 5 |
| Student Council..... | 6 |
| School paper or year book..... | 7 |
| Drama, Art, or Dance..... | 8 |
| Religious..... | 9 |
16. Not counting club meetings, how many extra-curricular school activities have you attended this year? (e.g. competitive games, socials, etc.)....
- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| None..... | 1 |
| One or two..... | 2 |
| Three to five..... | 3 |
| Six to ten..... | 4 |
| More than ten events..... | 5 |
17. Which of the following teams are you a member of? (Circle as many as apply).....
- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Football..... | 1 |
| Basketball..... | 2 |
| Track..... | 3 |
| Swimming..... | 4 |
| House League Teams..... | 5 |
| Other..... | 6 |
- (Specify)
18. Have you ever been elected to any student office (class, school, or team) by your classmates in high school?.....
- | | |
|----------|---|
| Yes..... | 1 |
| No..... | 2 |
19. How much time, on the average, did you spend studying outside of school hours during last week? (Circle one).....
- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| None or almost none..... | 1 |
| Less than 1/2 hour a day..... | 2 |
| About 1/2 hour a day..... | 3 |
| About 1 hour a day..... | 4 |
| About 1-1/2 hours a day..... | 5 |
| About 2 hours a day..... | 6 |
| About 3 hours a day..... | 7 |
| More than 3 hours a day..... | 8 |
20. Do you have a paid job?... Yes.....
- | | |
|----------|---|
| Yes..... | 1 |
| No..... | 2 |

If yes,

1. What type of job is it?.....

(Specify)

2. How many hours are involved each week?.....

3. About how much money do you receive weekly?.....

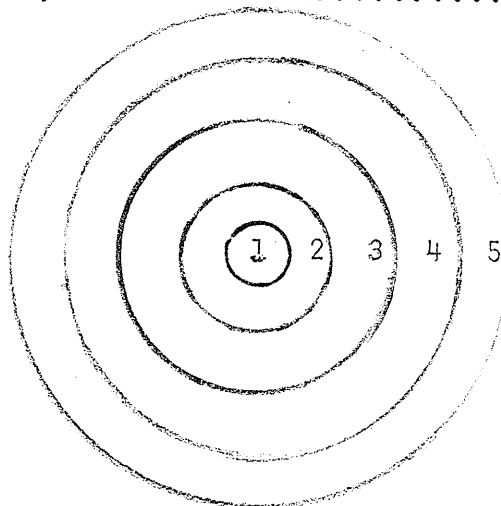
21. Will you have a paid job for part or all of the summer?....

Yes--part of the summer..... 1
 Yes--all of the summer..... 2
 No--a job, but not paid..... 3
 No--none at all..... 4
 Will be attending summer school..... 5

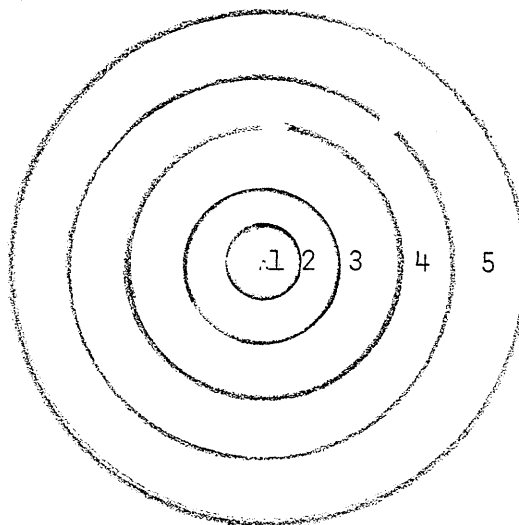
22. Do you expect to pass all your June examinations?.....

Yes, all..... 1
 No, most of them..... 2
 No, few of them..... 3
 No, none of them..... 4

23. Suppose this circle represented the activities that go on in school, how far from the centre of things are you?.....
 (Place a check over the number)



24. Now, in this circle, place a check where you would like to be.....



25. Some people like school and some do not. How would you rate your own feelings?.....
- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Like school a lot..... | 1 |
| Like school fairly well..... | 2 |
| Don't care one way or the other | 3 |
| Generally dislike school..... | 4 |
| Dislike school very much..... | 5 |
26. Did you enjoy the 9th grade more than you are enjoying your present grade?.....
- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Ninth grade more..... | 1 |
| Ninth grade less..... | 2 |
| Both the same..... | 3 |
27. With respect to marks in your high school this year, how would you classify yourself compared to all students in your grade?.....
- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Honours..... | 1 |
| Somewhat above average..... | 2 |
| About average..... | 3 |
| Somewhat below average..... | 4 |
| Very much below average..... | 5 |
28. If you were doing the very best you could, where do you think you would stand in your grade? Where do your parents rank your ability?.....
- | | You | Parent |
|------------------------------|-----|--------|
| Honours..... | 1 | 1 |
| Somewhat above average..... | 2 | 2 |
| About average..... | 3 | 3 |
| Somewhat below average..... | 4 | 4 |
| Very much below average..... | 5 | 5 |
29. Is there a teacher in this school that you feel you could go to if you needed advice or help on an important personal question?.....
- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Yes--one..... | 1 |
| Yes--more than one..... | 2 |
| No--none..... | 3 |
30. Among the following items, what does it take to get to be important and looked up to by other students here at school? (Place a "1" in the space by the item you think is most important; a "2" by the item you think is next most important, etc., until you have ranked all six items.)..
- | | |
|--|---|
| Coming from the right family... | — |
| Being a leader in activities... | — |
| Having a nice car..... | — |
| Earning high grades--honours or merit..... | — |
| Being a good athlete..... | — |
| Being in the leading crowd..... | — |

31. Do you belong to any church or community sponsored groups, organizations, or clubs? (Not school sponsored, e.g. hockey, scouts, guides, etc.).....
- Yes..... 1
- No..... 2
- If yes, about how many such groups?..... 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 or more
32. Do you date?.....
- No..... 1
- Yes, about once a month or less 2
- Yes, once every two or three weeks..... 3
- Yes, about once a week..... 4
- Yes, about twice a week..... 5
- Yes, about three times a week or more..... 6
33. Are you going steady?.....
- Yes..... 1
- No..... 2
34. Do your parents approve of dating at your age?.....
- Yes..... 1
- No..... 2
35. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?.....
- | | Agree
Strongly | Agree | Disagree | Disagree
Strongly |
|---|-------------------|-------|----------|----------------------|
| There is only one real love for a person..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| True love is known at once by the person involved.. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| True love will last forever..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Teenagers should be encouraged to develop their own special way of life (e.g. in dress, music, etc.)..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Teenagers are entitled to their fun even if it is not altogether to adult taste..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
36. What is your favourite radio station?.....
-

37. How often do you go to the movies?.....
- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Never, almost never..... | 1 |
| About once a month or less... | 2 |
| About once every two weeks... | 3 |
| About once a week..... | 4 |
| About twice a week..... | 5 |
| More than twice a week..... | 6 |

38. Have you seen the following movies?

| | Yes | No |
|---------------------|-----|----|
| Sylvia..... | 1 | 2 |
| Sound of Music..... | 1 | 2 |
| Mondo Cane..... | 1 | 2 |
| Fanny Hill..... | 1 | 2 |

39. About how many hours on the average did you listen to the radio or watch T.V. last week? (Circle one for each media.).....

| | Radio | T.V. |
|--------------------------|-------|------|
| None or almost none..... | 1 | 1 |
| About 1/2 hour a day.... | 2 | 2 |
| About 1 hour a day..... | 3 | 3 |
| About 2 hours a day..... | 4 | 4 |
| About 3 hours a day..... | 5 | 5 |
| About 4 hours a day..... | 6 | 6 |

40. How many magazines have you bought within the last month?.....

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 or more

41. How many records have you bought in the last month?.....

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 or more

42. Do you belong to a church or synagøgue?.....

Yes..... 1

No..... 2

If yes, what denomination or religion is it? (Be specific, name the church)

43. How often do you and your parents attend religious services?.....

| | You | Fat. | Mot. |
|--------------------|-----|------|------|
| Every week..... | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Almost every week. | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Twice a month..... | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Once a month..... | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Almost never..... | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Never..... | 6 | 6 | 6 |

44. Do you attend a young people's religious group?.....
- Yes..... 1
No..... 2
45. Think of the friends you have been associated with most often. Were (or are) any of them ever in trouble with the law?.....
- Most were..... 1
Several were..... 2
Very few were..... 3
None were..... 4
46. Do your parents or friends think you are headed for trouble with the law?.....
- | | Parents | Friends |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| Definitely yes..... | 1 | 1 |
| Probably..... | 2 | 2 |
| They are not sure. | 3 | 3 |
| Unlikely..... | 4 | 4 |
| Definitely no..... | 5 | 5 |
47. Do you think that you will ever be taken to adult court sometime for getting into trouble? (Other than for traffic offenses).....
- Definitely yes..... 1
Probably..... 2
Not sure..... 3
Unlikely..... 4
Definitely no..... 5

48. Please read each of the following statements. Indicate whether or not you agree or disagree with the comment.

| | Agree Strongly | Agree | Uncertain | Disagree | Disagree Strongly |
|---|-------------------|-------|-----------|----------|----------------------|
| 1. Adolescence is a difficult time of life | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. A young person really stands alone in this world..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. I don't get invited out as much as I like..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. Most young people seldom feel lonely... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. Real friends are easy to find..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. One can always find friends if he is friendly..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. Our world is basically an unfriendly place..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. You can't depend on young people..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. You can't depend on adults..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. Young people are generally friendly and helpful..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. It's O.K. to achieve a worthy goal in any way--good or bad..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. People's ideas are constantly changing. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. A young person doesn't have clear cut standards to follow..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. All behaviour standards are relative... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. Young people often are puzzled about the true meaning of life..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. Today one can only be sure that there's nothing to be sure of..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. With so many religions around, one can't know which to believe..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. Most young people do follow society's rules..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. Few young people are law-abiding..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. Most public officials (people in public office) are not really interested in the problems of the average man..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of self..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | Agree Strongly | Agree | Uncertain | Disagree | Disagree Strongly |
|--|-------------------|-------|-----------|----------|----------------------|
| 23. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. Teenage is the very best time of life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

49. Some parents give their sons and daughters spending money; others don't. Which of these statements is true of you?...
- | | |
|---|---|
| I never get money from my parents..... | 1 |
| I get money when I need some.. | 2 |
| I get a regular allowance of _____ each week..... | 3 |

50. Whom do you live with?.....
- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Mother and father..... | 1 |
| Mother and stepfather..... | 2 |
| Father and stepmother..... | 3 |
| Mother..... | 4 |
| Father..... | 5 |
| Other _____ | 6 |

(write in)

51. Some parents have rules for their teenagers, while others don't.....
(Circle each item for which your parents have definite rules or expectations.)
- | | |
|---|----|
| Time for being in at night.... | 1 |
| Amount of dating..... | 2 |
| About going steady..... | 3 |
| Time spent watching T.V..... | 4 |
| Time spent on homework..... | 5 |
| Against running around with certain boys and girls..... | 6 |
| Eating dinner with the family. | 7 |
| How to spend your money..... | 8 |
| Other rules..... | 9 |
| (Specify) _____ | |
| No rules for any of the above items..... | 10 |

52. Among your friends, which of the things below are important to do in order to be popular?

| | Very Important | Important | Somewhat Important | Not at all Important |
|--|----------------|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Be a good dancer..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Have sharp, modern clothes..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Have a good reputation..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. Stir up a little excitement..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. Have money..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. Smoke..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. Be able to drive a car..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. Drink..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9. Have knowledge of movies and singing stars..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 10. Be a good student..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 11. Live up to religious ideals..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

- | | Very Important | Important | Somewhat Important | Not at all Important |
|---|----------------|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 12. Be a nice guy..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13. Be good at sports..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 14. Date regularly..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 15. Be attractive or good looking..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 16. Be obedient and respectful to those in authority..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
-
53. How many of your close friends do your parents know?.....
- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Most of them..... | 1 |
| Some of them..... | 2 |
| Very few of them..... | 3 |
| None of them..... | 4 |
-
54. Do you feel free to bring your friends home?.....
- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Most of the time..... | 1 |
| Some of the time..... | 2 |
| Very little of the time..... | 3 |
| None of the time..... | 4 |
-
55. How many close friends, either male or female, do you have? (Ones you spend a lot of time with.).....
- | | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| Males | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | more |
| Females | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | more |
-
56. Does your group of friends have a special name?.....
- | | |
|----------|---|
| Yes..... | 1 |
| No..... | 2 |
-
57. When you go out at night, do you tell your parents where you are going?.....
- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Always..... | 1 |
| Usually..... | 2 |
| Sometimes..... | 3 |
| Seldom..... | 4 |
| Never..... | 5 |
-
58. a) About how many evenings a week do you spend some time with your friends?.....
- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
-
- b) About how many afternoons a week do you spend time with your friends right after school?.....
- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

59. Which of the following jobs do you do regularly around home?.....
- | | |
|---|----|
| Wash or dry dishes..... | 1 |
| Keep own room clean..... | 2 |
| Take out refuse..... | 3 |
| Car care..... | 4 |
| Lawn care or snow shovelling..... | 5 |
| General cleaning..... | 6 |
| Errand running..... | 7 |
| Babysitting..... | 8 |
| Washing or ironing..... | 9 |
| Household maintenance and/or improvement..... | 10 |
| Other | 11 |
- (Specify)
60. How do you feel about the neighbourhood you live in?.....
- | | |
|---|---|
| Very satisfied..... | 1 |
| Somewhat satisfied..... | 2 |
| Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied..... | 3 |
| Somewhat dissatisfied..... | 4 |
| Very dissatisfied..... | 5 |
61. When you grow up and have your own family, how would you feel if you lived the way your family does now?.....
- | | |
|---|---|
| Very satisfied..... | 1 |
| Somewhat satisfied..... | 2 |
| Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied..... | 3 |
| Somewhat dissatisfied..... | 4 |
| Very dissatisfied..... | 5 |

Recently a number of studies have been done asking young people how important certain values and goals in life are to them. Would you indicate how you feel about the importance of these ideals in your life. Each item is followed by three choices which indicate the degree of importance which the value has for you.

62. How important is it for you to:

| | Great Importance | Some Importance | Little or No Importance |
|--|------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Be able to stay out of trouble..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Be able to handle any trouble that comes your way. | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 3. Be physically and emotionally tough..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 4. Be clever enough to outwit people..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. Get the lucky breaks in life..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 6. Be your own boss..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 7. Get your share of fun and excitement in life..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 8. Prove your ability to be trusted on your own merits | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 9. Learn things which will be useful in the future... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 10. Pass up things now to achieve things in the future | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 11. Plan ahead as much as possible..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 12. Keep out of fights and rough stuff..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 13. Make good use of free time..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 14. Be very careful with things that belong to others. | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 15. Get a high school education..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 16. Get a university education..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 17. Get a technical school education..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 18. Be liked by your teachers..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 19. Earn high grades..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 20. Get married by the time you're 18 or 19..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 21. Please your parents..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 22. Be accepted and liked by other students..... | 1 | 2 | 3 |

The following questions are about your mother. (If you are not living with your mother, answer them about your stepmother, foster mother, aunt, or grandmother.)

63. Does your mother want you to tell her when something is worrying or bothering you?.....
- | | |
|---|---|
| I'm very sure <u>she does</u> | 1 |
| I'm fairly sure <u>she does</u> | 2 |
| I'm fairly sure <u>she doesn't</u> .. | 3 |
| I'm very sure <u>she doesn't</u> | 4 |
| I don't live with my mother or any adult woman..... | 5 |

If you circle #5, skip questions 64, 65, 66.

64. Generally when something is worrying or bothering you, do you feel it will help you to talk to your mother about it?.....
- | | |
|---|---|
| I'm very sure <u>it will help</u> | 1 |
| I'm fairly sure <u>it will help</u> ... | 2 |
| I'm fairly sure <u>it won't help</u> .. | 3 |
| I'm very sure <u>it won't help</u> | 4 |
65. How many of your problems do you talk over with your mother?
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| All of them..... | 1 |
| Most of them..... | 2 |
| Some of them..... | 3 |
| Few of them..... | 4 |
| None of them..... | 5 |
66. When you think of what is right and wrong, do you feel that you and your mother.....
- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Always agree..... | 1 |
| Usually agree..... | 2 |
| Sometimes agree..... | 3 |
| Never agree..... | 4 |

The following questions are about your father. (If you are not living with your father, answer them about your stepfather, foster father, uncle, or grandfather.)

67. Does your father want you to tell him when something is worrying or bothering you?....
- | | |
|---|---|
| I'm very sure <u>he does</u> | 1 |
| I'm fairly sure <u>he does</u> | 2 |
| I'm fairly sure <u>he doesn't</u> | 3 |
| I'm very sure <u>he doesn't</u> | 4 |
| I don't live with my father or any adult man..... | 5 |

If you circle #5, skip questions 68, 69, 70

68. Generally when something is worrying or bothering you, do you feel it will help you to talk to your father about it?.....
- | | |
|---|---|
| I'm very sure <u>it will help</u> | 1 |
| I'm fairly sure <u>it will help</u> ... | 2 |
| I'm fairly sure <u>it won't help</u> .. | 3 |
| I'm very sure <u>it won't help</u> | 4 |
69. How many of your problems do you talk over with your father?.....
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| All of them..... | 1 |
| Most of them..... | 2 |
| Some of them..... | 3 |
| Few of them..... | 4 |
| None of them..... | 4 |

70. When you think of what is right and wrong, do you feel that you and your father.....
- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Always agree | 1 |
| Usually agree..... | 2 |
| Sometimes agree..... | 3 |
| Never agree..... | 4 |
71. What kind of job would you like to have as an adult?.....
-
- (Be as specific as possible)
72. What do you think are your chances of ever getting that kind of job?.....
- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Very good..... | 1 |
| Good..... | 2 |
| Fair..... | 3 |
| Poor..... | 4 |
| Very poor..... | 5 |
73. How would you like to have your father's (stepfather's or guardian's) job or one similar to it?.....
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| I'd like it..... | 1 |
| I'd neither like or dislike it..... | 2 |
| I'd dislike it..... | 3 |
74. If you wanted to, how difficult would it be for you to qualify for a job like your father's?.....
- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Very difficult..... | 1 |
| Difficult..... | 2 |
| Not very difficult..... | 3 |
| Not difficult at all..... | 4 |
75. How much do you know about what your father's job is like and what he does at work?.....
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| A great deal..... | 1 |
| Have some knowledge..... | 2 |
| Very little..... | 3 |
| Nothing really..... | 4 |
76. Look at these six job characteristics. Rank each of these characteristics in terms of their importance to you for a future job. (Place a "1" in the space by the item you think is most important on a job; a "2" by the item you think is next important, etc., until you have ranked all six items.).....
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| The security of steady work. | — |
| The opportunity for promotion..... | — |
| The enjoyment of the work itself..... | — |
| Friendly people to work with | — |
| A high income..... | — |
| Excitement and challenge.... | — |
77. Some people say that every person in Canada has an equal chance to get the job he wants. Other people say that some persons have a better chance to get the jobs they want. How about you? Do you have.....
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| A better chance..... | 1 |
| An equal chance..... | 2 |
| Or a worse chance..... | 3 |

78. Let's think for a minute about school plans. How far would you like to go in school? (Circle one).....
- | | |
|--|---|
| To finish 10th grade..... | 1 |
| To finish 11th grade..... | 2 |
| To finish 12th grade..... | 3 |
| To go to a business or technical school..... | 4 |
| To go to a college or university..... | 5 |
| To graduate from college or university..... | 6 |
| To earn an advanced degree.... | 7 |
| To quit as soon as I can..... | 8 |
79. Describe briefly your father's attitude towards your continuing school after this year. _____
80. Describe briefly your mother's attitude towards your continuing school after this year. _____
81. Do you have any friends who probably will quit school before they graduate from high school?.....
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| One..... | 1 |
| Two or three..... | 2 |
| Four or more..... | 3 |
| None..... | 4 |
82. Do you think your best friend will ever go to University?.....
- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Definitely..... | 1 |
| Very likely..... | 2 |
| Unlikely..... | 3 |
| Definitely not..... | 4 |
| Already in university..... | 5 |
83. a) How far in school do you think you will actually go?.....
- b) How far in school do you think you should go in order to be a success or happy in life?.....
- | | a
Actually | b
Actually |
|---|---------------|---------------|
| Finish 10th grade..... | 1 | 1 |
| Finish 11th grade..... | 2 | 2 |
| Finish 12th grade..... | 3 | 3 |
| Graduate from business or technical school.... | 4 | 4 |
| One or two years of junior college or university..... | 5 | 5 |
| Graduate from college or university..... | 6 | 6 |
| Earn an advanced degree (Masters or Doctors)... | 7 | 7 |

84. Have any of your older brothers or sisters gone to college?.....
- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Yes..... | 1 |
| No..... | 2 |
| Have none..... | 3 |
| They're still in school.. | 4 |

85. Would you name and briefly identify any three people whom you look up to and admire. People who have an influence on how you think and behave. Persons who typify the kind of person you would like to or try to be.
- | | | |
|----------|--------|------------|
| 1. _____ | (Name) | (Identify) |
| 2. _____ | (Name) | (Identify) |
| 3. _____ | (Name) | (Identify) |

86. INSTRUCTIONS: Recent studies suggest that everyone breaks some laws, rules, and regulations during his or her lifetime. Some break them regularly, other less often. Below are some that are frequently broken. Circle those that you have broken during the 9th and 10th grade.

| | Very Often | Several Times | Once or Twice | Never |
|---|------------|---------------|---------------|-------|
| 1. Driven a car without a driver's licence or permit? (Not including driver's training.)..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Taken little things (worth less than \$2.00) that did not belong to you?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Bought or drank beer, wine, or liquor? (include drinking at home)..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that did not belong to you?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. Skipped school without a legitimate excuse..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. Have you ever stayed away from home over night without permission?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. Defied your parents' authority to their face?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. "Ran away" from home?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9. Taken things of medium value (between \$2.00 and \$50.00) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 10. Every disobeyed your parents?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 11. Used force (strong arm methods) to get money or things from another person?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 12. Taken things of large value (over \$50.00)?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13. Stolen a car?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 14. Taken part in group fights?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 15. Ever "beat up" any other kids?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 16. Cheated on exams or assignments?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 17. Read literature (magazines or books) your parents would object to?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

- | | Very Often | Several Times | Once or Twice | Never |
|--|------------|---------------|---------------|-------|
| 18. Entered a place of amusement without paying?.. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 19. Have you gambled for money?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 20. Smoked?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
87. Young people in Canada as elsewhere are restricted in many activities because of their age. Would you indicate how you feel about the following restrictions as they relate to Canadian young people in Alberta? The number in the bracket indicates the legal age at which the activity can be done. (Circle the response which most closely resembles your opinion and, where necessary, fill in the blank.)
- The age for driver's licence should be: (16).....

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Left the way it is | 1 |
| Raised to | 2 |
| Lowered to | 3 |
| Completely unspecified.... | 4 |
 - The age of drinking should be: (21)

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Left the way it is..... | 1 |
| Raised to | 2 |
| Lowered to | 3 |
| Completely unspecified.... | 4 |
 - The age for entrance to adult restricted movies should be: (18).

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Left the way it is..... | 1 |
| Raised to | 2 |
| Lowered to | 3 |
| Completely unspecified.... | 4 |
 - The age at which one can drop out of school should be: (15).....

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Left the way it is..... | 1 |
| Raised to | 2 |
| Lowered to | 3 |
| Completely unspecified.... | 4 |
 - The age at which one can marry without parents consent should be: (21).....

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Left the way it is..... | 1 |
| Raised to | 2 |
| Lowered to | 3 |
| Completely unspecified.... | 4 |
 - The age at which a boy is considered an adult in the eyes of the law and can be tried as an adult should be: (16).....

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Left the way it is..... | 1 |
| Raised to | 2 |
| Lowered to | 3 |
| Completely unspecified.... | 4 |