

ADOLESCENT DEVIANCE AS A FUNCTION OF PARENTS,
PEERS, AND COMMUNITY INFLUENCE

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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: Adolescent Deviance as a Function of Parents, Peers, and Community Influence.

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Recent studies conflict as to the relative importance of parents and peers as causal agents in juvenile misbehavior. Hirschi and other proponents of social control theory see parental bonding as preventing involvement in delinquency; Sutherland, Short and others envision youth as having differential learning opportunities, and see deviant peers and other negative learning opportunities in the community as more contributory to participation in antisocial acts. Part of the discrepancy in findings relative to these two perspectives has to do with the differences in the way concepts are measured, based on different areas of interest. This study attempts to contrast social-emotional measures of parental influence with measures of parental control (knowledge, supervision, communication and discipline) in an effort to demonstrate the importance of the effect of parental control on deviant behavior. In

addition, peer influence is analyzed in considerable detail in order to determine more specifically how peers influence deviance. Parental control and peer influence are examined in a model which allows for both to influence deviance directly; the model also allows for indirect effects of parents on school and peers since parents are expected to influence deviance directly as well as through the influence that parents have on school and friends.

A total of 246 youth of both sexes between the ages of 14 and 21 in Washington, D.C. were interviewed. The sample included youth on probation to the D.C. Superior Court, youth involved with the Inter-Agency Center for PINS (because of truancy, running away or ungovernability), and youth enrolled in the Center's summer employment program. Their level of involvement in deviance was measured by using a modified form of the Elliott and Ageton self-reported delinquency scale.

In general, youth were found to be more influenced by peers than parents. Having friends who smoked pot influenced deviance as did having friends who were reliable.

Parental control had no significant deterrent effects on deviance for boys although mother's knowledge of the youth's activities and associates decreased overall deviance among girls. Mother contributed to deviance when she supervised too much. Indirectly, mother reduced deviance by being knowledgeable of the youth's friends, which discouraged involvement with deviant peers.

School experiences were found to have some limited significant affects on some types of deviance, but not as an extension of the parental bonding process.

Negative community influences encouraged deviance indirectly by encouraging involvement with deviant peers.

This study supports differential association theory, but does little to encourage pursuing parents as a major influence in adolescence. The findings need replication with a white adolescent population to determine their usefulness in explicating a general theory of deviance.

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INTRODUCTION

The origins of juvenile crime have long been of interest to sociologists, as evidenced by the volumes of literature devoted to the subject. Every conceivable element in society has been attributed at one time or another with contributing to the delinquency problem. The proliferation of theories spans a wide range of orientations. Social, psychological, cultural and even biological factors have provided a base for one or another explanation.

While it is recognized that no single theory can explain all delinquency, the hope remains that we can reach a point where we can explain the majority of acts defined as delinquent within the same theoretical context. To do so requires abandoning the search for a single cause, thus saving energy formerly devoted to discounting one theory in behalf of another, and turning our attention instead to deciding which theories are incompatible and which can be merged in the interest of developing a general theory of delinquency.

The incidence and nature of the phenomenon have changed over time. For example, beliefs about the inverse relationship between social class and delinquency, formerly believed confirmed, have since been challenged, with some contending that value differences between the classes are merging (Rubin, 1976), reducing the usefulness of social class as an explanatory variable. Others feel it is still a useful predictor of delinquency (Thornberry & Farnworth, 1982). Likewise, theorists in the delinquency field who have traditionally limited their samples to males, (since they committed the

majority of delinquent acts) have been forced to reevaluate in light of increases in female juvenile crime (Harris, 1977).

Evaluation of existing theory requires that we recognize changes over time, and take into account potential differences that may continue to exist relative to age, sex, race and social class, rather than assuming they are incidental. If there is a greater proclivity among males, blacks and lower class youth to become delinquent, we must explain why deviance is higher in these groups than in others, and why one individual becomes involved in deviance while another under similar social circumstances does not. While no theory can explain the behavior of every individual, it should be as exhaustive as possible, and investigations of the exceptions are informative.

A general theory should also encompass both negative and positive aspects of the learning process which affect youthful behavior; i.e., it should include both those influences that deter deviance as well as those that contribute directly to it. It may be that the presence of some factors along with the absence of others ultimately decides the direction a youth will take. And it should take into account the possible changes in levels of influence across stages of individual development. For example, parental influence may be limited in its impact to preadolescence, while peers continue to have a direct influence throughout adolescence, as do other adults in the community.

Finally, efforts to advance theories of delinquency should focus on those factors that can be influenced towards constructive

change. To quote Dr. Peter Lejins, "There is no point in selecting as cause something that cannot be altered or manipulated in any way" (Vedder, 1954: 8). Thus, this study is aimed at those forces affecting individual behavior that are most amenable/accessible to change. Parents or peer groups can be worked with in a therapeutic way to redirect their deviant influence; providing greater social mobility for the lower class is more difficult.

Peer and parent influence are the primary causal factors with which this study is concerned. It is an attempt to resolve theoretical differences as well as to expand our understanding of appropriate measures of parent/peer influence (considered here to be essential to advancing social control and socialization theory). Sutherland and Hirschi's concepts of differential association and social bond will come under scrutiny in the process.

"Both peers and adults probably exert influence upon adolescents. If this be the case, one research problem is to determine the various spheres of influence and their respective potencies. A second more basic problem is to specify the mechanism by which influence is exerted ..." (Dager et al., 1968: 24). This study attempts to do both by looking at what combinations of experiences at home, in school and with friends affect deviant behavior.

The basic orientation of this study reflects several assumptions. First, socialization experiences of early childhood continue to affect the youth in adolescence to the extent that parents are consistent in the way they behave towards the youth as he/she grows up. In keeping with Hirschi (1969), socialization is viewed as an

ongoing process, the attenuation of which can free an adolescent to become involved in deviant behavior. Second, this attenuation is a necessary but not sufficient explanation of youthful deviance. Other forces in the environment--in particular, peers--are critical to a full explanation. In keeping with Aultman and Wellford's advice, this study focuses "on the role which controls from others play in determining whether a youth will become delinquent" (1979: 324). It relies both on social control theory and differential association to explicate the dynamics of peer and parent-child relationships, using them in a complementary way rather than competing, in keeping with the need for integration of theory. The purpose is to demonstrate the significance of parents and peers in a causal sequence resulting in deviance.

The school and neighborhood provide the setting for interaction with others who may reinforce or undermine parental and peer influence. Influences within the community, especially within the school, will also be examined in an effort to determine the extent to which the community contributes to or deters deviance.

Most recent studies have adopted the premise that neither parents nor peers alone cause delinquency; rather it is a process in which both are involved. What remains unanswered is whether parental influence affects deviance directly or only indirectly through school or peers. That is, can parents alone control their children so that, regardless of school or peer experiences, deviance is averted, or can they only prevent deviance by controlling the

school and peer experiences? Another issue is the relative importance of the emotional aspects of parent-child relationships (love/concern) versus the supervision and communication aspects, which represent what parents do to control their children versus how they may feel about them.

Specific aspects of peer relations also need additional examination. Is the number of friends which a youth has more or less important than the quality of the relationship? To what extent is the presence of adult criminals in the community a negative influence?

The study also examines whether different causal mechanisms may be operating with different types of deviance, i.e., is one model possible for all types of deviant behavior or are modifications required, depending on the type of deviance involved?

This study differs from many in that: 1) it focuses exclusively on a black population, whereas most recent studies have been of white or largely white populations; 2) it attempts to evaluate the behavior of males and females within the same theoretical context; and 3) it includes PINS behavior as part of the behavior to be explained. (PINS or Persons in Need of Supervision is the term used in Washington, D.C. for status offenders or youth involved in truancy, running away and ungovernable behavior.)

The term "deviance" rather than delinquency is used in this study to include status offenses (which no longer are included in the definition of delinquent). This allows us to make full use of the range of theories and findings on delinquency available over the past 40-50 years.

Official data indicate that crime rates are highest in black urban areas. Explaining deviant behavior in these areas will add significantly to our overall understanding of the phenomenon and thus our ability to control and treat it.

The study is motivated by a belief that only by understanding the causes of deviant behavior will we know how and where to intervene to prevent youthful deviance. Services for youth offenders have shifted their focus. For example, programs geared to intervening with the peer group as a whole, such as the old gang worker programs (designed on the premise that no individual in a highly structured group could be redirected unless the entire group was redirected), have all but disappeared. Research documenting the importance of peer group influence may signal the return to these or similar methods of service. Likewise, any elaboration relative to the effects of differences in family interaction patterns on a child's delinquency will have implications for intervention.

Of equal, if not greater importance is the scientific knowledge to be gained with inquiry into the process of socialization. To what extent can peers alter the behavior patterns supported by parents? Do school experiences in general reinforce efforts by parents to direct their children's behavior or does school serve primarily as an arena for increased peer influence? If even preliminary answers can be obtained to these questions, the effort will be justified.

The focus of this study is more social-psychological than sociological in that it is concerned with why some individuals

commit delinquencies and not others; it is more a micro than macro approach, utilizing individual rather than social indicators for empirical support. It is concerned with combining those concepts that have proven most predictive, reconciling their differences and integrating them into a single theoretical model, if possible. No theory to date has been able to explain the majority of delinquent behavior, so little can be gained by remaining committed to any single theory.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The model which serves as the basis of this study combines several divergent viewpoints in the literature. Some explanation of these viewpoints and their development is warranted. Relevant literature includes studies dealing with early socializing experiences within the family and studies having to do with cultural or social experiences outside of the home.

Historical Perspective

The early studies dealing with the relationship between an individual's socialization experiences and delinquency are useful to the extent that they identify early socialization as a multifaceted process. A youth may become delinquent because he is unsocialized or because he is socialized within a delinquent group. But the process of becoming socialized was considered a psychological one by early writers. Individuals were seen as either having or not having a "shell of inhibition" (Hewitt and Jenkins, 1945). The usefulness of this approach was limited by its failure to explain the origins of this shell or to view delinquency within the context of the larger society. But it does suggest that a developmental approach is needed; that is, early socialization can be viewed as a

first step (usually the responsibility of the family) without which other social influences will have little meaning. However, given that most delinquents are not psychotic (that is, they are not little unsocialized beings) we must look to other studies for direction in explicating other social forces affecting delinquency besides the family.

Redl (1945) suggested that a youth became delinquent because "he refused to identify with exactly that substratification of society which the parents or law enforcing middle class represents." (Redl, 1945: 372). This subgroup identification might occur on a class basis, (relative to differing class values), on a developmental basis (peer culture identification versus adults), or on a neighborhood gang basis (or some combination of these). In other words, an individual may be socialized into a wrong subset of society. Again, it is not clear why this occurs, but it does suggest that there are external forces in the social environment which may cause a youth to deviate, and that deviance is not just the product of defective early socialization. This issue is important for this study since we attempt to allow for the impact of parents as the early socializers while recognizing that cultural/environmental influences may alter parental influence.

The importance of social/cultural factors is supported in the literature through the work of Shaw and McKay (1942), Jeffrey (1959) and others. They viewed delinquency as a normal outcome of urban slum conditions. This helped put delinquency in a social context and explained why some social groups are more inclined towards

deviance than others. They differed in the extent to which they saw slums as disorganized (Shaw and McKay, 1942) or organized around a value system that is simply different from the rest of society (Miller, 1958; Kobrin, 1951). But they agree that it makes little difference how parents behave in a lower class area since delinquency is an inevitable and normal outcome of growing up in such an area.

The dichotomy in the literature between those who saw juvenile crime as a product of defective socialization and those who saw it as a product of the social/cultural conditions of the environment has provided part of the impetus to our study, which attempts to examine whether delinquency is a result of early training and conditioning by parents or to exposure to delinquent associates or some combination of the two.

Typologies

One way this controversy was avoided in the literature was to propose a typological approach which allowed for different explanations to be related to different types of behavior. This was the approach taken by Lindesmith and Dunham (1941) and later by Gibbons and Garrity (1960). Lindesmith and Dunham proposed a continuum, with the "individualized criminal" on one end and the "social criminal" on the other. The distinction was between those who commit crimes for reasons that are personal and private as opposed to those that are socially motivated. Further, they said, slum conditions alone do not produce serious crime; rather it is the influence of an already developed criminal culture.

This allowed for the possibility that inadequate or incomplete socialization could cause some types of deviance while exposure to a criminal subculture could create others. Gibbons and Garrity took a similar approach by distinguishing between the delinquent who is antisocial as opposed to asocial. The asocial delinquent, they suggested, usually committed delinquent acts alone, while the antisocial or prosocial delinquent was subculturally influenced and more likely to commit delinquent acts with others. Gang offenders were seen as a distinct type from the "pre-psychotic/behavior problem children". This suggests that there may be some types of deviant behavior which are products of inadequate socialization alone, and subcultural or group influence is not involved in the explanation of such deviance. This allows for parents alone to cause deviance, apart from whatever peer influences may be operating.

Differential Association

There may also be more to peer influence than simply whether delinquent youth commit acts alone or with others.

Sutherland (1947) contended that criminal behavior is learned in interactions with other people, and adult criminals are a part of the learning environment that determines delinquency, as are delinquent peers. His concept of differential association asserts that, when persons become criminal, they do so due to integration and assimilation of criminal behavior patterns and attitudes in relative isolation from anti-criminal patterns. Presumably, high crime areas offer more learning opportunities favorable to law violation.

Sutherland stressed the importance of intimate personal groups as the setting where criminal techniques, drives and motives are learned. Studies influenced by his work have focused primarily on peer groups as the place where this learning occurs.

Findings relative to the importance of group membership differ. For example, Hindelang (1976) did not find strong support for the notion that most delinquency is a group phenomenon. Instead he found that "substantial percentages of many types of delinquent acts are reportedly committed always or usually alone" (Hindelang, 1976: 114). Erickson and Jensen (1977) found that the tendencies to commit delinquencies with others seem to vary from offense to offense. "Drug offenses tend to have the highest group violation rates while status offenses have the lowest." And, "Females may be proportionately more likely to commit offenses in a group context than males" (1977: 264).

Case studies were used by Reiss and Rhodes (1964) to measure group influence; they found that adolescents belong to a variety of cliques over time and that rarely are delinquent offenses committed with more than three friends, thus weakening the belief in the large gang as a pervasive influence. Their study of white males, ages 12 to 16, does show a relationship between committing a given delinquent act and having friends who have also committed that act. However, "the correlation varies with kind of delinquent behavior and is far from perfect for any kind." (1964: 84) (Stealing seems to be more a group offense, whereas running away from home usually is a single act.) They found a substantial number of triads where

only one or two members of the triad committed the same kind of delinquency, and found that the more serious offenses are least likely to show triadic uniformity.

Participation in a group as a potential source of pressure towards deviance is to be examined in this study, as is the size of group membership. Support for differential association depends on showing that youth who become deviant have friends who are deviant, and that there is a tendency for deviants to associate in groups more than nondeviants.

Both Johnson(1979) and Hepburn (1976) found a direct relationship between having delinquent associates and delinquent behavior. But they were not measuring whether delinquent acts were committed alone or with others, but whether peers influenced the commission of these acts. Whether or not peers were present or absent does not necessarily decide peer pressure. Rather it is a question of whether peers approve or disapprove of a youth's delinquent acts, and therefore encourage and reinforce delinquent involvement.

Sutherland proposed four factors that affect differential association: frequency, duration, priority and intensity of relationships. Short (1957) arrived at ways of measuring these as follows. Intensity was taken into account by examining the subjects' definition of their best friends as delinquent, ("Have any of your best friends been delinquents while they were your best friends?") Frequency was defined as how often a youth has contact with delinquent peers; duration was the longevity of the relationship, and priority concerned relative importance of friends to the youth.

Short examined intensity as a factor in the delinquency of an institutionalized population, and found a strong positive relationship. He also looked at adult/criminal associations, in keeping with Sutherland's (1947) contention that adult criminals are part of delinquent learning opportunities. He found that association with adult criminals is "clearly more closely related to delinquent behavior among our boys than it is for our girls" (Short, 1957: 238).

It is important in studies of differential association that all four aspects be examined. Most studies have established a relationship between being delinquent and having delinquent friends (intensity); however, little has been done to determine whether the duration and frequency of contacts makes any difference, especially as compared to a nondelinquent group of friends. These issues will be raised in this study.

A related issue concerns whether peer influence is generic or specific. The need to look at specificity of behavior relates to Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) theory that related different types of peer and adult criminal associations to involvement in different types of delinquency. Does the specific type of friends' deviance makes any difference in the type of acts a youth engages in?

Cloward and Ohlin(1960) contend that lower class culture gives rise to three distinct types of delinquent subcultures or groups. These different subcultures bring with them different role requirements and specific sets of norms which members consider binding on their conduct. The nature of the role requirements or necessary

behavior associated with each of the subcultural types is: 1) criminal--disciplined and utilitarian forms of theft; 2) conflict--the instrumental use of violence; 3) retreatist--participation in illicit consummatory experiences, such as drug use. Different conditions of social organization are theorized to be associated with each type.

The first type of subculture, the "criminal" subculture, arises where there is a high degree of social organization, thought to exist in the old established slum areas. That is, learning and the performance of a criminal role is rewarded by the neighborhood at each age level. Also, the carriers of criminal and conventional culture are closely bound with one another. Thus, the child learns, step by step, criminal values and techniques. Criminal subcultures arise in neighborhoods where "racketeers" are covertly permitted by official agents; that is, there are adult criminal models available to adolescents.

The "conflict" subculture, on the other hand, is associated with a lack of social organization; Cloward and Ohlin characterize it as having little integration of different age levels, evidence of which is the narrow range of ages of members within such groups. Also, this subculture is seen as detached from all institutionalized (criminal or conventional) systems of opportunity and social control. Most often this kind of subculture arises in areas where there is a high degree of transiency and instability, such as lower class housing projects where there is a high degree of mobility. The authors hypothesize that the conditions necessary for the existence

of this subculture are an unorganized community where social controls are weak and that cannot provide access to legitimate means, and where criminal opportunities are also not available. In this case, adolescents turn to violence in search of status.

Retreatist subcultures also supposedly arise in disorganized areas, but they involve some integration of the criminal and conventional systems in that there must be opportunities available for securing drugs. Cloward and Ohlin portray the adolescent retreatist as one who has not been successful in achieving his goals either by legitimate or illegitimate means; they are "double failures". Usually they are dropped by the main subculture after a period of time when their strong drug habit effects their prowess. They then join together to form a retreatist subculture.

The relevance of this typology for the present study is that it suggests that both peers and adults are important to determining not only whether a youth becomes deviant, but what form this deviance takes. Other adult criminals from whom to learn criminal techniques must be present for the adolescent to become involved systematically in theft misbehavior. However, adolescent peers rather than adults have the most influence over youth involved in violence (or assaultive behavior). Adolescents involved in drug use are generally rejected by others, and are minimally influenced by either peers or adult criminals. We will attempt to confirm that the type of misbehavior that a youth participates in is not only a product of having deviant peers available to reinforce and teach deviance, but whether adult criminals are available as a part of the learning opportunities that are accessible.

According to Cloward and Ohlin, the conditions that give rise to delinquency are related to how the youth sees himself in relation to future life goals. They suggest that delinquency occurs when adolescents internalize conventional goals, but are faced with limited legitimate access to these goals, and have others with similar problems available with whom to join in seeking a solution. (Deviant friends and criminal adults are part of the illegitimate opportunities that are differentially accessible.)

We will test the extent to which availability of legitimate opportunities in an issue in why deviance occurs. But following Johnson and others, we hypothesize that how well a youth is doing in school is an issue, not because it represents accessibility to future goals, but because it represents positive rewards from teachers and peers in school which helps to deter involvement in deviance.

We will be investigating illegitimate opportunities in the youths' environment relative to exposure to deviant associates as individuals and group members as well as availability of negative adult influences as they contribute to the deviance of youth. These are expected to intervene in creating deviance in the absence of positive home and school experiences.

Social Ability or Disability

Part of Sutherland's theory of differential association is that youth are selected for participation in crime, and that only

those with satisfactory social skills that enable them to interact in small personal groups will be recruited for participation. Other authors (most notably, Short and Strodtbeck, 1965) contend that part of the reason youth become involved in deviance is that they are not accepted in conventional circles and resort to deviance in response to this rejection.

Hansell and Wiatroski (1981) suggest that these two points of view represent competing theories which they label the social disability and social ability models. They urge a resolution to these competing theories, which our study attempts to do by resolving the following issues:

- 1) Do deviants have more friends than nondeviants? If the social disability model is correct, deviants would be expected to have fewer acquaintances. (The social ability model envisions no difference on this dimension).

- 2) Stability of peer relations--Using the social disability model, we would expect deviant peer relations to be unstable, while the social ability model asserts that deviant social relations resemble normal peer relations. Stability of relations is also an issue in the temporal ordering of peer relations as cause. Less stability in peer relationships of deviants implies that they become involved with other deviants for reinforcement of their deviant patterns, meaning deviant friends come after deviant involvement rather than before.

- 3) Size of group or clique--The socially able would be expected to have a well developed group identity, implying a small close

knit unit, while, if socially disabled, deviants would be less inclined to identify with a group.

4) Multiplexity--This has to do with the extent to which relationships involve multiple roles and functions. Deviants are expected to have compartmentalized relationships with the same individual rarely fulfilling more than one function, making close intimate relationships less likely, in contrast to nondeviants or socially able deviants. For example, if youth have the same friends at home and in school, it would strengthen relationships and the ability of peers to influence each other. This is at least in part reflected in the amount and frequency of interaction that occurs. For those youth who attend school with the same youth who live in their neighborhood, there is an opportunity for more interaction and therefore the potential for a stronger bond. But most public schools in urban communities today serve a much wider area than the immediate community, which reduces the chance for repeated contact with the same peers. This introduces a greater element of choice in the selection of friends for most adolescents, but may also reduce intimacy.

The issue of multiplexity becomes difficult to test in cases where youth do not go to school in their neighborhood since there is often no choice involved in whether one has the same or different friends in school as in the neighborhood. Multiplexity can be tested, however, by frequency of contact, in which case we should expect socially disabled deviants to have less frequent contacts, while no difference would be expected between deviants and nondeviants if the social ability model holds.

According to the social ability model, the only real difference to be expected between deviants and nondeviants is in whether friends/ acquaintances hold to conventional or deviant norms. Testing direction of peer influence, number of friends, stability of peer relations, size of groups or cliques, and frequency of contact will help to elaborate these two countervailing theories.

Community Influence

Friday and Hage (1976) stated that the total activity and intimacy provided by the youth's "support system" determines conformity or deviance. The support system may include kin other than parents, contacts at school, contacts at work and neighbors in the community.

The extent to which older adults influence youth is a function, at least in part, of the solidarity of the community in which the youth lives. It may also be a function of the extent to which the community is consistent in the way it deals with its youth. Harry (1974) found a relationship between social class and delinquency only in white working-class neighborhoods. He concluded that, because of segregation, most black communities are heterogeneous by virtue of the inability of upwardly mobile blacks to move out. This suggests that differing value systems often coexist in the black community. It also means that there is less consistency in the message which is conveyed to young people.

Suttles (1968) suggested that whether or not an individual relies on and trusts others in his neighborhood is often reflected in whether he perceives his neighborhood to be a community. This can be measured by whether the individual associates a name with his neighborhood (e.g., "Pigtown", "Little Italy") and whether there are distinct boundaries associated with this name.

Short and Strodtbeck (1965) asserted that there are differences in the extent to which community institutions work together to control youthful behavior and that this is related to whether they define themselves as a community. Based on their study of gangs, they concluded: "The institutions of lower class white communities --the churches, families, political entities, even settlement houses and other welfare establishments are more capable of concerted effective action than is the case for Negroes" (Short and Strodtbeck, 1965:115). Negative adult influence are more available to black areas, while positive concerted action to control "the excesses of their young people" are less available.

Bursik and Webb (1982) also contended that delinquency may be a result of the relative stability of black versus white urban communities. In tracing the distributional patterns of delinquency in Chicago from the studies of Shaw and McKay to the present, they showed the way in which the radical changes in city neighborhoods that took place between 1950 and 1960 altered delinquency rates. The dramatic quick changes that occurred during this time period, while it involved a change from white to nonwhite, would have occurred regardless of the group involved since it allowed no time for

cultural transmission, resulting in a breakdown in the institutions of social control. "During the time it takes to stabilize and establish a community, delinquency is more likely" (Bursik and Webb, 1982: 40). This is their explanation of why delinquency was highest between 1950 and 1960 (when the most rapid changes were occurring) and why it declined somewhat between 1960 and 1970 when these communities began to reestablish themselves.

Stability of community is measured in this study by looking at longevity of residence and whether a name is associated with neighborhood of residence. Criminal subcultures presumably are most likely in more stable neighborhoods. So availability of others from whom to learn criminal techniques would be expected to be associated with long term residency. Evidence of community identity as well as availability of criminal others will be tested in order to reevaluate the impact of residence on deviance.

The Family Revisited

Throughout the 60's, family variables were virtually ignored in favor of group or subcultural explanations of delinquency. Some work was done on the effects of unstable households and broken homes on delinquency (Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Solcum and Stone, 1963), although often done "after the fact" (measuring the number of delinquents coming from such environments). If we are to demonstrate the importance of the family as a precursor of other social influences causing deviance, we must be sure we are focusing on those aspects of the family that are most salient.

Some studies point to parental absence as a significant factor. Eisner (1969), using official statistics, confirmed a higher delinquency rate in homes with only one (or no) parents, but demonstrated that this changed significantly when race is controlled. He found a higher rate of delinquency among Negro boys from two parent homes than from one(or no) parent homes. He concluded, "Absence of a parent is an independent factor leading to an increased risk of juvenile delinquency only in a culture in which the norm is a nuclear family. In other cultures it may not be a relevant factor, or it may have the opposite effect." (Eisner, 1969: 56).

Reckless, Dinitz and Murry (1957) were concerned with why some youth did not become delinquent in areas that were thought to breed delinquency. By looking specifically at the 'good boy' in a high delinquency area (the exceptions to the rule), they were able to shed some light on those factors that prevent deviant involvement where it would otherwise be expected to exist. They found that the presence or absence of the father in the home was not as significant as might be expected. Mothers were largely relied upon for emotional support and supervision. It was the mother's ability to isolate the youth from the pervasive delinquent patterns characteristic of the area that was important; close maternal supervision in a relatively nondeviant stable family setting enabled these mothers to "insulate" their youth from involvement in delinquency. "On the whole, there appeared to be close parental supervision of the boys' activities and associates, an intense parental interest in the

welfare of the children, and a desire to inculcate them with nondeviant attitudes and behavior patterns." (Reckless et al, 1957: 22). In addition to differences in patterns of family interaction, they found only a handful of these "insulated" boys had any delinquent companions. The social background (social class position, financial means) of the "insulated" boys indicated little to distinguish them from other families in the same residential area; however, the evaluations of the teacher, mother, and boys indicated that there was a great deal of solidarity and cohesiveness in the family situation. Both the mothers and the boys evaluated their families quite favorably. Less than five percent of the boys felt any lack of attention from their parents and were satisfied with their home discipline.

Further evidence of the importance of parents as "insulators" was provided by Scarpitti et al. (1960), who followed up the group studies by Reckless et al. four years later. They found that the insulated boys remained isolated from law violating friends and continued to report favorable attitudes towards parents, school and themselves.

Although not often cited, Sutherland (1947) also credited the family with having a major role in delinquency. He said that there are three principal conditions giving rise to a delinquent individual:

"First, a child may assimilate within the home by observation of parents or other relatives the attitudes, codes, and behavior patterns of delinquency. He then becomes delinquent because he has learned delinquency at home.

Second, a child may be driven from the home by unpleasant experiences and situations or withdraw from it because of the absence of pleasant experiences, and thus cease to be a functioning member of an integrated group...He does not on this account necessarily become a delinquent. The important factor is that this isolation from the family is likely to increase his association with delinquency, which is the primary factor in delinquency. Third, the home may fail to train the child to deal with community situations in a law-abiding manner. This failure may be due to either complete neglect of training or to overprotection. In either case he fails to develop inhibitions against delinquency which are supposed to be developed in the family life" (Sutherland, 1947: 164).

This recognition that a variety of family situations could result in delinquency was helpful, but it was not until 1969 that a clear conceptualization of the importance of parents was expounded.

Travis Hirschi, (1969) utilizing Durkheim's concept of anomie, offered an approach which seemed to account not only for individual differences in deviant behavior but group differences as well. Hirschi, following Durkheim, theorized that, through socialization, social bonds were established that tie the individual to the conventional normative order. When the bond to society is weak or broken, the individual is free to commit deviant acts without normal concern for the consequences. These bonds are likely to be stronger in middle-class communities than lower-class (characterized as highly disorganized) because family, school and other institutions work together to maintain them. But they are not class determined.

According to Hirschi's theory, socialization is not a static process but a dynamic one; he sees one's bonds to society as varying over persons and over time. This differs from those who see social goals and values as "once internalized, always internalized". Hirschi

suggests that we trace the socialization process throughout the developmental stages to adulthood. He states, "If the bond to the person is weakened, the probability of delinquent behavior increases; if the bond is strengthened, the probability of delinquent behavior declines" (Hirschi, 1969:88).

Hirschi identifies four elements that bond the individual to society:

attachment - the links or affective ties that an individual has with others;

commitment - recognition of the individual's position in society and what costs are involved in deviating; commitment relates to aspirations and involves one's investment in conventional behavior;

involvement - the extent to which one is engrossed in conventional activities and routines (making opportunities for delinquent activities less frequent);

belief - the value the individual places on conventional norms.

This study deals with the issue of attachment in the form of closeness between parent and child, degree of identification, and teacher-child relationships. Commitment and involvement are dealt with relative to the youth's school investment. The study does not deal with belief since the focus is on the social milieu of the youth. While we acknowledge that the origins of values and attitudes

need to be investigated, limits had to be set and we chose instead to focus on the other aspects of the bonding process.

The bonding process that Hirschi describes involves both internal and external controls. It includes a desire to please as well as a fear of sanction. Desire to please relates to the closeness between parent and child and degree of identification. Hirschi states: "The closer the child's relations with his parents...the lower his chances of delinquency" (Hirschi, 1969: 94). In the absence of attachment to parents, the youth is freed from conventional ties, the outcome of which may be delinquency. Fear of sanction, or external controls, on the other hand, depends heavily on communication, and it is important that the communication be reciprocal. "If the child does not communicate with his parents, if he does not tell them of his activities, then he does not have to concern himself with their imagined reactions to this behavior. If, by the same token, they do not tell how they feel about his behavior, this too frees him from an important source of potential concern" (Hirschi, 1969: 128).

Hirschi pays considerable attention to the emotional bonds (or attachment) between parent and child, but social control theory also suggests that the parents' efforts to limit the youth activities is an important part of this process. Yet too few studies have looked at the impact of the affective tone of the parent-child relationship in contrast to other aspects such as communication and supervision. These are the aspects we want to examine.

Some of the studies that do deal with these issues include Biron and LeBlanc's (1977) study of "home-based delinquency" (that is, ungovernability, running away and other antisocial behavior committed against the family unit). They looked at the structural aspects of the family (mother's employment, number of children, family cohesion or intactness) as predictive of delinquency, as well as other aspects of the family environment, namely discipline, communication and supervision. The structure of the family has only a small impact on home-based delinquency, whereas the effect of supervision and communication was strong and direct. They suggested that this may be due to a time differential, whereby structural circumstances may have been prevalent for a number of years, whereas the youth's perception of the supervision he is now receiving has an immediate effect. They were concerned with the high percentage of unexplained variance, however, (81% for males and 76.7% for females), and suggested that "although family components are important in explaining deviant behavior, other factors have to be sought outside this primary group so as to obtain a better understanding of this behavior" (Biron and LeBlanc, 1978:161.)

Harriet Wilson (1980) studied both status offenders and delinquents in an effort to establish the effects of parental supervision on their behavior. Using a preteen population, she found parental supervision to be more important than what she called social handicap (inadequate housing and clothing, size of family, father's employment situation, residence in the inner city or suburb) in determining self-reported misbehavior. She concluded, "One can

state with some confidence that parents who are lax in the supervision they give their children are highly likely to produce delinquents in areas that have high offender rates" (Wilson, 1980: 215).

Gove and Crutchfield (1982) looked at both punishment and closeness. They found that parents who do not get along with their children (are not close) tend to minimize the extent to which they supervise or discipline the behavior of their children, and this lack of supervision or discipline contributes to lack of knowledge of friends, which is also related to misbehavior. This effort to look at both internal controls (closeness) and external controls (communication, supervision and discipline/punishment) represents a more complete test of Hirschi's theory than others that deal only with one or the other.

While Hirschi generally focused on parents as the primary source of bonding, he did recognize that a boy's choice of friends are reflective of his "stake of conformity". "Children unattached to their parents are much more likely to have delinquent friends, and delinquency of companions is strongly related to delinquency" (Hirschi, 1969: 108). But Hirschi did not see delinquent peers as having much impact. Parents were seen as the primary agents in Hirschi's bonding process. Consequently most tests of Hirschi's theory discounted peer influence in favor of parents. A few, however, did not see social control theory as contradictory to differential association theory and attempted to combine them, as this study has done.

For example, Linden and Hackler (1973) combined these two theories. They used the term "affective ties" to measure the ties youth have with non-delinquent youth, delinquent youth and their parents. They found that the stronger the ties with parents and non-delinquent youth, the less likely the youth is to engage in delinquency as compared to those with strong ties to delinquent youth.

Poole and Regoli's study (1979), using measures similar to Hirschi's, also showed the importance of the interaction between parental support and delinquent friends in explaining delinquency. "Delinquent friends made a greater difference in delinquent involvement for adolescents who have weak family support than for those who have strong family support" (Poole and Regoli, 1979: 172). By failing to provide disapproving feedback, the parents free the child for delinquent involvement. Conversely, attachment to parents minimizes the impact of delinquent associates.

Norland et al.'s (1979) study showed that parental supervision and peer support (i.e., encouragement from friends to break the law), both affected delinquent involvement, but the results varied by sex and type of offense. Controlling for sex, they found a direct effect of family supervision on status and property offenses for males, whereas for females, indirect effects occurred through peer support for all three types of offenses (status, property, aggressive delinquency). In other words, family behavior affected male misbehavior directly, but female misbehavior more indirectly through reduced social support from friends. This indicated that

not only must the specifics of parental behavior be explicated, but indirect effects must also be delineated, especially relative to the way parents' behavior affects peer support.

Hirschi unfortunately failed to include any significant number of blacks in his study, and most studies testing his theory have failed to include blacks. One exception was Linden and Hackler (1973) who concentrated on a lower class population (youth ages 13 to 15 in a low-cost housing project); however, their study failed to include females and focused on affective ties between parents, friends and delinquent youth rather than what parents do to limit the youth's behavior.

Studies that include black males and females and deal with the broad range of issues raised by Hirschi are almost nonexistent, which helped prompt this effort. That is, we need to determine not only whether parents and peers are necessary to an explanation of deviance, but what precisely are the mechanisms that make parents affective in the bonding process, and even more specifically, what mechanisms are most affective with black youth.

Integrative Efforts

Unfortunately, efforts to evaluate the importance of peers and parents have not looked at all aspects of these two support systems, and the value of the results has thereby been limited. This has led to debate over whether either parents or peers alone can explain the phenomenon or whether, and in what instances, both are required.

Jensen (1972) states, "What goes on in the family situation appears to have a significance of its own which is not encompassed by the differential association perspective." Linden and Hackler (1973) agree that lack of parental support can cause delinquency directly.

Johnson (1979), however, found no direct relationship either between parental attachment and delinquent associates or between parental attachment and delinquent involvement. Johnson argued that the effect of parental attachment occurs through other intervening variables which in turn affect one's associates, and thus one's delinquency. Johnson admitted to including very few blacks or youth from slum areas in his sample which may account for the poor showing of parents in generating delinquent behavior. Or it may be that the way he measured family variables, focusing on love and concern rather than discipline or supervision, may have limited the significance of parents. He concluded that the effect of parental attachment is to influence the degree of the child's attachment to school.

He found a strong direct effect of school success on delinquency as well as an indirect effect of school success on attachment to school and on delinquent associates. (See Appendix 0.) His findings documented "the importance of school performance in determining adolescent friendship choices" (Johnson, 1979: 105). However, delinquent associates were not merely another effect of school and parent ties, but rather they played an active role in producing

(or preventing) law violation. Or as Elliott et al. state, "Delinquent behavior must be supported and rewarded by social groups if it is to persist" (Elliott et al., 1979: 13). This seemed to call for inclusion of friends' influence in school in the present study.

Matseuda (1982), in another integrative effort included four background variables in his causal model--age, SES, whether or not the home was intact, and the youth's perceptions of trouble in his neighborhood. All of these he felt were important to testing differential association relative to social control theory. He examined parental supervision, both because of its importance to social control theory and in keeping with differential association theory, which posits that supervision negatively affects delinquency since it reduces exposure to delinquent associates. Peer relationships were examined, both relative to the opportunity for learning behavior patterns favorable or unfavorable to delinquency (measured by number of delinquent friends) and as a direct cause of delinquency (measured by whether a youth wants to be like his friends). He used the same sample of predominately white males used by Hirschi to compare these theories. He found the effects of SES and broken home to be trivial. The effect of friends on attitudes toward the law was stronger than parental supervision in explaining deviant behavior. He suggested that we pursue concepts associated with differential association theory more rigorously in light of his findings.

The weight of the evidence emerging from these integrative efforts is in favor of the importance of peers in the delinquency process. This may be because of the lack of attention in these studies to how parents control behavior. Whether the youth can talk to parents and what kind of limits they set may have more of an impact on the youth's behavior than the emotional content of the relationship. It may also be related to the type of populations used. It seems we ought not to eliminate parental factors as having a direct effect until we have looked more closely at these aspects of parenting (in particular, communication and supervision) simultaneous with looking at other community influences (via the school and neighborhood) and different aspects of peer associations, especially as they relate to that population with which we need to be most concerned, namely inner city black youth. We need to understand when and under what conditions parents can be effective insulators, preventing their young people from association with those who would teach and reinforce their deviant attitudes and behavior, and if the parents' failure to control their youth necessarily leads to association with deviant others. And we need to determine the relative importance of communication, supervision and discipline in this insulating process.

School

While a number of studies have looked at different aspects of the school experience as it relates to delinquent behavior, few

have concerned themselves with whether school variables have an independent effect on delinquency or are merely an extension of parental bonding efforts. And different aspects of the school experience have been examined without regard to which may have more or less explanatory power.

Friday and Hage (1976) stressed the importance of teachers in reinforcing conventional socialization and providing positive social control. "The teacher may reinforce the youth's identity or...alienate that youth from the socialization and norm transmission of the school" (1976: 357).

Johnson's study (1979) did not deal with teachers' influence but rather with the relationship between the individual's attachment to school and delinquent behavior (via the delinquent associates). He said that the inability to achieve educationally may be one mechanism through which school failure leads to detachment from school; that is, lack of school success affects attachment which is important in explaining delinquent behavior since it encourages association with others in the same boat.

Rankin (1980) pointed out that many socializing functions formerly carried out by the family are now assumed by the school. His study evaluated whether school factors are differentially related to delinquent behavior by sex or age. A total of 385 seventh through eleventh grade girls and boys were included in his sample (very few, unfortunately, were black). The following relationships were found to be significant: 1) Those students who believed their chances of graduating were very bad, bad, or fair were more likely

to be delinquent than those who responded "very good"; and 2) the association between attitudes toward school and delinquency was greater for girls than for boys, i.e., the inhibiting effect of school factors on delinquency is just as great (if not greater) for females than it is for males.

Wiatrowski et al, also report findings that relate school success to avoidance of deviance. They state, "Students of low ability and social class are less committed to conventional goals, presumably because those goals are beyond their reach, and that as a consequence... these students are free to engage in delinquent behavior" (1981: 525).

The school, like the family, is viewed as a socializing agent. The question is whether these two are causally linking. That is, does the school simply serve to reinforce values taught at home or does it have an impact of its own, independent of the family situation? One way of determining this is by testing family and school influence within a model which allows each to have a direct and indirect effect. The model for this study will attempt to do this.

Sex/Age/Race Differences

Much of the literature in the past has assumed that social circumstances differed by race, age and sex. Different explanations were thought to be required for whites, women and younger youth. Since the involvement of such populations in delinquency was so rare, it was often assumed that the problems of these groups were

mental or emotional rather than socially instigated. As each of these three groups have become more involved in delinquency, it has required a reexamination to determine whether the existing social theories are useful in explaining delinquency here as well.

Sex

Harris stated, "Existing theories ought no longer be considered general theories unless and until they not merely 'take account' of the sex variable, but instead, start with it" (1977: 5). Women have made gains in a number of crime areas, and while their increased involvement in these crimes may partly reflect a change in law enforcement practices or statistical coverage, it is likely that a real increase is occurring. In fact, James and Thornton (1980) documented that female delinquency has changed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Traditionally, females have been more involved in victimless crime (especially status offenses and sex related offenses) and rarely were involved in group behavior, but this no longer appears to be the case. Steffensmeier and Cobb (1981) found that larceny accounts for the greatest gains in female crime.

According to Smith (1979), the ratios of male to female deviance, using self-report indices, are smaller than noted in current official data. He found an overall ratio of 1.4 to 1 for self-report data compared to 6 to 1 for official statistics. This seems to imply that, while men may be arrested and prosecuted more than women, women are now committing a significant number of crimes

themselves. Why female crimes is on the rise, especially relative to male delinquency, remains unexplained.

Previous studies are tainted by their inattention to females, and studies including black females are almost non-existent. The question is whether these studies can still be useful in arriving at a general theory that takes account of both sexes. For example, is differential opportunity theory applicable? Datesman et al. (1975) tested this using a sample made up of 34% blacks and 66% whites, and found the relationship between perceived opportunity and delinquency to be stronger for females than males, but they believed that success may be defined differently by the two sexes. For example, females may be more concerned about interpersonal relationships while boys are concerned with whether they are moving toward desired goals; that is, whether they are achieving educationally or occupationally. If this is the case, we would expect friends to be especially important in whether girls become involved in deviance and school success to be more of a factor for boys.

Giordano (1978) looked at what types of social networks seem to be associated with high levels of delinquency involvement on the part of adolescent females. She included in her sample girls from a state institution as well as a random sample from an urban high school in a lower class area. The sample was evenly divided between blacks and whites. In general, she found that those who were part of a regular group were more likely to be delinquent, and that the more leisure time spent in the group, the more likely the girl was to be delinquent.

These studies are helpful in recognizing the importance of individual friends and peer groups to deviant girls who were once viewed as loners. Efforts to examine the dynamics of peer relations are thus appropriate to an explanation of deviance among females as well as males.

But what about social control theory? Is it useful here, especially relative to differences in the extent to which parents relate differently to each sex? Canter (1982) found that family variables predict delinquency better for males than females. For example, males from broken homes are more delinquent in her sample than males from intact homes, and the difference is greater than for girls from broken versus intact homes. This gives credence to the proposition that broken homes reduce parental supervision, which increases delinquent involvement, especially among males.

Gove and Crutchfield found that boys tend to be more reactive to dissolution of the family. "Boys appear to be more reactive to poor role models or the absence of role models, whereas girls appear to be somewhat more reactive to the nature of parent-child interaction" (Gove and Crutchfield, 1982: 316).

Simons et al. (1980) proposed that, "As parents begin to reject their daughters as often as they do their sons, as teachers commence to label girls negatively as they do boys, as females obtain the access to illegitimate opportunities that males presently have, and so on, the disparity between the sexes in terms of delinquency will disappear." (1980: 48). We are led to conclude that the processes which lead to delinquency are similar for males and females. But

the strength of the effects may differ. Males react more intensely to lack of parental or school support, while girls react more to negative peer pressure. If we are to accept this point of view, however, we must first test it with a population that includes blacks and females, since most of the studies cited have had limited numbers of both.

Age

Whether peers, parents or other adults are more dominant in the process of influencing deviant behavior may be a function of age. As Rosenberg points out, "The older child is much more likely to trust his own judgment (or that of his best friends). The younger child...tends to attribute absolute truth...to his seniors" (1973: 834). Only found a significant relationship between parental communication and delinquency among younger subjects but not in the older group, leading her to conclude that, "One's bond to society (via parents) is most influential in deciding behavior early in adolescence before peers become the dominant influence" (1978: 95).

Johnson's (1979) failure to find any relationship between attachment to parents and delinquent behavior among the older youth he studies (10th graders) lead him to call for a longitudinal study that could evaluate the expected greater impact of parents at age 12 or 13 as compared to the greater impact of peers at 14 or 15. Clearly, age cannot be ignored as a variable influencing the strength

of the effect of peers and parents. This study will attempt to demonstrate stronger effects of parents on younger youth and peers on older youth.

Race

By and large, recent studies that have utilized self-report scales have had largely white samples. Studies using official data and those testing subcultural theories included mostly blacks since subcultures were seen as a lower class phenomenon. Johnson (1979) had very few blacks in his study, and Hirschi (1969) confined his analysis to the white adolescent boys in his sample. Nationwide random samples such as Bachman's (1969) and Canter's (1982) and those using school classes as their setting (Simons et al., 1980; Poole and Regoli, 1979; Reiss and Rhodes, 1964) also included too few blacks to allow proper analysis by race.

Natalino documented technical as well as conceptual problems with this approach and advises that "we must examine self-report data from black adolescents themselves, not extrapolations from their white counterparts" (1982: 65). The technical problems have to do with the operationalization of such variables as "broken home" and "social class" which are "not meaningful in the context of black experience" (Jensen, 1982: 66). Using the principal wage earner to define social class fails to take into account the variety of income sources that are evident in black families, as well as the differences between those whose low income is temporary

(unemployed father) versus those for whom poverty is a more chronic problem. The concept of broken home presents problems because of the high rate of black children not living with two parents, which the Urban League reports to be almost four times as likely for black youth as white youth. (In 1980, 41.7% of all black families were headed by a female as compared to 11.9% of all white families) (National Urban League, 1983).

Surveys taken in schools do not capture data from dropouts or institutionalized youth. Problems in reading ability reduce black responses on written questionnaires, and the use of white interviewers may contribute to a variety of biased results generated by incomplete and misunderstood responses. Too few studies are available to document the black experience, which is part of the justification for this study.

Deviance Versus Delinquency

One other theoretical question must be resolved before proceeding; we must define what is meant by delinquency versus deviant behavior. Prior to the 60's, those behaviors now defined as status offenses were included within the definition of delinquency. Now these offenders are considered a breed apart. In 1958, Miller defined delinquency to refer to behavior or acts committed by individuals within specified age limits which if known to official authorities could result in legal action. The definition shifted as the law changed. Then a youth who ran away from home, was truant

from school or otherwise disobedient towards his/ her parents (un-governable) was subject to the same legal action as a youth who stole or committed any other like act. Now these youth are legally labeled "CINS" in Maryland (Children in Need of Supervision or PINS (Persons in Need of Supervision) in Washington, D.C. and their behavior is legally distinct from delinquency (defined as any act punishable as a crime at the adult level). While PINS continue to be a problem to their parents, they are no longer to any great extent processed through the juvenile justice system, although the police remain involved at least with the runaways for whom missing persons complaints are filed. Nevertheless, it is still a group worthy of our theoretical attention since it is not uncommon for PINS later to reappear in the system as delinquents, and it is necessary if we are to test the validity of earlier findings.

PINS are often referred to as status offenders because their acts are punishable only because of their status as juveniles (under age 18 in most states). Their offenses are also referred to as victimless crimes since no one other than themselves (and their parents) is hurt by their actions. Drug and alcohol abuse are also considered victimless crimes, and to this extent, bear a resemblance to status offenses.

The removal of status offenses from the definition of delinquency was largely based on the assumption that such behavior presented no clear and present danger to society. "Only the individual juvenile and perhaps the parents are injured by such offenses, not the public" (Ketchum, 1961: 651).

Others (Thomas, 1976) argue that PINS misbehavior or involvement in status offenses leads to involvement in delinquencies. Such offenders should be of public concern in the interest of delinquency prevention, since PINS behavior is likely to escalate to more serious offenses. Establishing whether PINS are involved only in misbehavior which is injurious to themselves or in delinquent activities for which they have not gotten caught is critical to determining once and for all whether they should be treated similarly or as a separate group.

Thomas (1976) found a high recidivism offense rate among PINS. Of those in the sample first charged with a status offense, 37.9% came back to court on a second charge, as compared to 28.3% recidivism rate for the total sample. Further he found, "not only that a substantial number of status offenders subsequently became involved in misconduct that is more serious, but also that a significant number of those appearing before the court on status offenses have previously been charged with more serious types of delinquency" (Thomas, 1976: 445). Males are more likely to reappear as are older youth, he found, and females are a little more likely to reappear as status offenders.

Rojeck and Erickson explored the notion of a progressive career escalation, and state, "There is a marked propensity for multiple offenders to be arrested for substantially more property crimes and fewer status offenses (excluding runaway offenses)...However, in comparing the remaining three arrest categories (persons, other crimes, and runaway), the differences between onetime and multiple

offenders are negligible" (1982: 24). Thus, there appears to be evidence of offense specialization for property offenders and runaway offenders, but not other types of offenses. This study will attempt to reaffirm that status offenses go hand in hand with delinquent participation.

The term "deviance" is more accurate than delinquency in describing the subject of this study since it includes a wide range of antisocial acts from PINS behavior to armed robbery. Anticipating that the etiology of minor misbehavior may be different from serious delinquency, we will explore sub-types of deviance within this study.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FOCUS OF THE STUDY

As the primary socializing agents, parents have the first opportunity to influence or control their child's behavior. If the mechanism of control that they utilize are effective, they can isolate the child from deviant peer influences and negative adult influences and prevent his/her involvement in deviance (along the lines suggested by Reckless et al., 1957). This study will attempt to demonstrate this by providing support for the following hypothesis:

H₁: Deviant behavior is negatively related to parental control.

Support for this hypothesis would help to reaffirm Hirschi's (1969) concepts and to challenge findings supporting peers as having a stronger influence than parents.

Defining Parental Control

Most studies (Wiatrowski et al (1981); Johnson (1979)) focus on the "closeness" between parent and child and identification (whom the child emulates), ignoring the concrete efforts of parents to control the child's activities. I use the term "parental control"

rather than "parental attachment" to stress the fact that the study will be concerned with what parents do relative to their children. Attachment is not expected to be a significant predictor of deviance. Parental control is defined as those things which a parent does to be aware of and limit the youth's activities and associates.

Parents affect their child's behavior by what they fail to do as well as what they do. Norland (1979) suggests that an unawareness of the youth's activities is associated with deviance. This lack of knowledge interferes with the parents' ability to control their children effectively, making the intervening role of peers more influential in the delinquency process. Knowledge of a youth's activities is essential, gained usually through communication. And knowledge or awareness of a youth's activities provides guidance as to how much and what kind of supervision is needed. Knowledge is a product of communication and contributes to good supervision. Discipline is the manner in which parents react to violations of expectations, while supervision is the on-going monitoring which parents undertake to insure their child's conformance to expected behavior. Knowledge and communication on the one hand and supervision/discipline on the other represent what parents do and fail to do to control their children's behavior.

Knowledge comes about when children make parents aware of their activities and associates (without this information necessarily being solicited); communication is more the responsibility of the parent who attempts to elicit information as to what the child is doing. Supervision and discipline are both initiated by the

parent usually in response to inappropriate behavior. Discipline differs from supervision in that specific limit-setting is usually implied, while supervision entails general "policing" of the youth. Knowledge, communication, discipline and supervision are all expected to be negatively related to deviant behavior in my model.

Peer Influence

If parents are weak in the controls they impose on their youth, peer influences may have an effect on deviance. Another way to state this is to hypothesize that:

H₂: To the degree that parent control is present, youth will not associate with deviant peers.

This suggests that there is an indirect effect of parental control on deviance through reduction of deviant peer influence (along with the direct effect suggested by H₁).

Within the community, deviant peers are an important part of the process of becoming deviant. In order to test peer influence, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H₃: Deviant behavior is heightened when friends support deviant acts.

This allows for a direct relationship between having deviant associates and involvement in deviance.

To test this hypothesis, we define the term "peer support" as the extent to which friends are accessible as well as whether they

are themselves deviant, and thus, more inclined to encourage and reinforce deviance (In keeping with Sutherland's theory, 1947). Accessibility includes a number of quantitative as well as qualitative issues relative to peer associates. Quantitatively, we would expect a youth with more friends and more interaction with those friends to be more influenced by them. But we would also expect that the more intense the relationship is with friends, the more the youth would be influenced by them. Intensity of peer relationships includes closeness, duration, or stability of relationships, and perceived reliability of friends; interaction aspects include the number of friends a youth has, how often he/she sees them, and whether he/she relates to peers in a group or in an individual context. This is consistent with Homans (1950) who sees closeness as a direct product of amount of interaction.

The following sub-hypotheses are included in our overall test of peer support:

- H_{3a}: There is a positive relationship between involvement in deviance and the number of deviant friends a youth has.
- H_{3b}: Deviants will have more stable peer relations than non-deviants.
- H_{3c}: Deviants will have more contact with friends than non-deviants.
- H_{3d}: Deviants will feel closer to their friends and rely on them more.

These hypotheses relate to the social ability/disability controversy.

In order to follow up Cloward and Ohlin (1960) and others such as Short and Strodtbeck (1965) who see the peer group as having a greater influence than individual friends, we must also test the following:

H_{3e}: Youth who are members of groups will be more deviant than youth who are not members of groups.

Follow up to Cloward and Ohlin also requires that we look not only at whether deviant youth have deviant friends, but the specific nature of the deviance. Therefore, we will also be looking at whether deviant peer influence is offense specific or generic in nature.

In general, we are predicting that deviant youth will have more deviant friends, see them more often, usually in groups, and rely on them more for support. These relationships tend to be substituted for the lack of positive relationships elsewhere; that is, this dependence on friends is a response at least in part, to the lack of family ties.

Community Influence

In addition to parents and peers, youth relate to other adults in the community. In the case of school, we would expect that this influence would be largely positive. On the other hand, a high crime area may have a number of adult criminals who exert a negative influence. The effect of each of these influences will be tested via the following hypotheses:

H₄: The more satisfied a youth feels with school, the less likely he/she is to be involved in deviant activities.

H₅: There is a relationship between involvement in deviance and knowledge of others in the community who are involved in crime.

School Satisfaction

School satisfaction serves as an intervening variable in the model. Good grades, athletic skills, physical attractiveness, all play a part in acceptance by peers in school as well as recognition by teachers and other school personnel. But it is not clear whether positive attitudes toward school result in good grades and acceptance by teachers and conventional peers or whether how one is received in school (and the labelling effect) is what determines grades and friends (via a self-fulfilling prophesy). However, it is reasonable to suggest that the extent to which a youth feels satisfied with his school experience reflects his experience with teachers and conventional peers in school. School satisfaction is defined as the degree to which a youth is attached to school and teachers.

School satisfaction is an important variable, not only because the school is the locus for reinforcing previous parental socializing efforts, but because it causes frustration for those who do not expect to achieve their aspirations. School satisfaction is included

in the model to test whether school serves to bond the youth closer to conventional or non-conventional others. Whether legitimate future opportunities are or are not being frustrated is also considered.

Grades reflect whether a youth is rewarded by conventional adults and conventional peers in school. A youth with bad grades is likely to feel rejected by both, and consequently to associate with others with bad grades who are likewise experiencing failure and more likely to reinforce deviant behavior. When a youth is involved in school, school work will be a topic of discussion between these friends. In addition to grades, whether a youth likes school, feels teachers are interested in him, tries hard, and cares what teachers think are important to school satisfaction.

The school is seen as intervening after parents and before peers in determining deviant behavior. This is in keeping with Hirschi and others who see the school experience as reinforcing the bonding process established by parents. Theoretically, if one is involved in school and has friends with whom school experiences are shared, there is less likelihood that deviant friendships will develop in the neighborhood or community, so we also expect school satisfaction to affect deviance indirectly by reducing deviant associations. Thus, school has direct and indirect effects in our model and intervenes between parents and youth in reducing deviance.

Community Influence

Whether or not the community is a negative or positive influence is reflected at least partially in the amount of crime in that area. It is also reflected by whether others are available from whom to learn crime. In addition to looking at the amount of crime in the area, the individual can be asked if he/she knows of law-breakers in the community. While his awareness of their existence does not mean that he necessarily associates with these criminals, it is an indication that such an opportunity does exist. Like parental control, negative community influence is seen as having an impact on peer relations, only in this case it is expected to contribute to having deviant friends. That is, long term learning experiences are associated with exposure to criminals/law-breakers, along the lines that Sutherland suggests. Negative community influence is defined as having knowledge of (and thus, the opportunity to associate with) others who break the law.

As envisioned, the model allows for each of the major factors--parents, peers, school and community to contribute directly to deviance as well as having mediating effects. The model attempts to take into account the major actors that influence youth as well as how they mutually contribute towards deviance or conventionality.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Background

The opportunity to conduct this study came about through my involvement with the D.C. Superior Court, which obtained a CETA grant from the Department of Employment Services (DOES) to operate a summer employment program for PINS youth in the summer of 1981. In addition to the regular summer jobs that DOES made available to youth, DOES provided funding for special groups. The Superior Court applied for this grant in order to enable the Inter-Agency Center for PINS (for whom they have oversight responsibility) to obtain summer jobs for the youth served through this Center. The funds were to be used to provide staff to recruit special jobs for these PINS, place the youth in the jobs, supervise them over the eight-week summer job period, and provide special services as needed by this select population, including counseling and educational/tutorial services. Since it was uncertain how many PINS youth would apply for the program, it was agreed that DOES could refer youth to the PINS program, if all the job slots recruited were not filled by PINS youth.

Although the summer employment program was undertaken by the Court primarily to serve PINS youth, computer problems prevented

many of the PINS youth from actually entering the program, and the bulk of the participants in 1981 were youth referred by DOES whose behavior by and large was exemplary. When I was asked to return for a second summer and operate the program in 1982, it seemed a good opportunity to conduct a study, using some of these summer program youth as a nondeviant control group. This time, however, more PINS were expected to be enrolled in the program.

Since it was a summer program, it offered the opportunity to interview the youth twice, which I initially intended to do, but this plan was abandoned because the time period between the beginning to the end of the summer was insufficient to expect the kind of significant changes in relationships to justify a panel study. This meant using a static group comparison, and relying on logic as the primary basis for establishing cause in lieu of any means of tracing the actual course of events.

It was anticipated that the summer program would serve 125 PINS youth and 125 youth to be referred by DOES. The D.C. Superior Court indicated its willingness to allow me to interview a randomly selected group of 125 probationers as well. These three equal-sized groups were to provide me with the data needed.

Sample Description

Geographical Distribution

In 1980, the D.C. Superior Court Annual Report contained a breakdown of referrals by wards where their caseload of juveniles

lived. From this breakdown, it appeared that the youth involved in official juvenile misbehavior were evenly distributed in three of the four quadrants of the City. An even number lived in the northwest, northeast, and southeast, but less than 1% of the juvenile offenders lived in the southwest area (see Appendix A). This area is dominated by Georgetown and surrounding light industry and has minimal housing available for low-income families. Since community of residence is an issue, it seemed reasonable to concentrate attention on the three areas of the City (the Northwest, Southeast and Northwest) where the bulk of the residents involved in deviance lived, and exclude youth from this Southwest sector as a way of controlling for the influence that the amount of crime in the area might have on a youth's misbehavior.

Probation Sample

Any youth on probation for a delinquent offense was to be included in the sample of probationers. PINS were not excluded, but they were not expected to appear as part of this sample since the few PINS that are placed on probation are usually served through the PINS Inter-Agency Center, and I expected to pick them up through the Center or through the summer program.

Initially the probation youth were to be selected from a roster available through the Courts, but this was abandoned since the most recent roster available was three months old and contained no addresses. Instead, access to probationers was facilitated by the fact that they came into one of three decentralized offices

periodically to report to their probation officers. Office supervisors made names and addresses available of youth they felt fit into the study, based on the age and living situation of the youth.

It was necessary to have addresses in order to send letters to parents asking permission for their youth to participate in the interview, a procedure which probation staff felt was extremely important. A letter was sent to the youth and to the parent(s), and the youth were asked to bring the parents' letter with them when they came in for their next probation appointment if they were willing to participate. Interviewers were stationed at each of the three probation offices from mid-August through September to interview the youth who came in and were willing to take part. During that time, only a small number of females were seen, reflecting the small percentage of females on probation; but no way could be found for facilitating contact with more female probationers. Of the probation sample, only nine (or 10.7%) were female. However, this is the same percent as is represented in the overall probation caseload.

In the initial round of sending letters to parents, 150 letters were sent to parents of probationers, 50 in each of the three quadrants included in the study. But interviewers were also able to interview youth who did not receive letters when they came to the office with their parents. It was difficult to keep track of who responded to letters, giving us no accurate response rate, but interviewers indicated that fewer than one in ten of the youth who came into the offices refused to be interviewed or could not be

interviewed because of lack of parent permission. A total of 88 interviews were obtained in this way.

A pool from which the probation sample was drawn included a total of 4,012 PINS and Delinquency Cases, handled by the Juvenile Division of the D.C. Courts in 1982. Of these, 76.4% were delinquent cases; 16.9% had to do with drug sale or use, and 6.7% involved PINS and Inter-state Compact cases. Of the delinquent and drug cases, 89.4% were male, and 10.6% were female. Of the PINS/Inter-state Compact cases, 53% were male and 47% were female.

The inclusion of the probationers in the sample was to insure that the study group included youth involved in other than trivial acts of deviance. We could not obtain a random sample of youth since we had neither the time or money sufficient to get a large enough random sample to insure enough deviants to allow valid comparisons with non-deviants. Utilizing probationers as a source for the deviant group insured that youth whose behavior is sufficiently serious to be considered deviant would be included in the study.

By using probation youth rather than youth who have been institutionalized, we minimized the effect that contact with the juvenile justice system might have on behavior. Although probationers have been formally processed, they have not been removed from the community where the influences I was interested in studying would presumably continue to operate, and their behavior has not been influenced by the experience of being in an institution.

The PINS Sample

Although I anticipated getting the bulk of PINS interviews from PINS youth in the summer program, it seemed advisable to utilize the program's involvement with the Inter-Agency Center for PINS to obtain additional PINS interviews.

The Inter-Agency Center for PINS was created in 1979 to serve those youth whose PINS behavior brought them to the attention of the juvenile court (for running away, truancy or incorrigibility/un-governability). Because of changes in law and policy, these youth were not deemed to be appropriate for formal court processing, but the courts were sympathetic to the parents and families who were asking for help in dealing with them. A variety of agencies joined together to establish this Center, with the Washington Urban League providing administrative staff and support services, while the Court and several private agencies provided counseling staff. The purpose of the Center is to serve as a central referral source for parents, schools and police personnel who deal with truants, runaways and ungovernable children. The Center serves as well as the central intake office for the Court where PINS cases are concerned, taking referrals from the Court and referring them to needed services. With a total staff of six, little more can be done other than to serve as an information and referral service, although staff does provide some direct service via short term counseling, including counseling over the phone.

As of May, 1982, the Center had about 1,500 cards on file of cases they had handled. A random sample was selected from these files. All cases of youth who lived in the southwest area and who did not fit my age criteria for the study (under age 14 or over age 21) were eliminated from the sample. In addition, the sample was restricted to those whose PINS behavior had occurred within the past year since this was the time reference to be used in the self-report deviancy items of the questionnaire. This resulted in a list of 784 names. From this list, a 50% sample was chosen, and letters were sent to the youth and his/her parents, asking the youth to come in to the PINS center for an interview, and to bring the parents' letter, giving him permission to participate. Thus, 392 letters were sent, and 42 youth came in for interviews. The poor response rate (10.7%) was partly a product of the poor addresses available through the Center, as well as the fact that Saturday was the day used for interviewing since we began while the youth were still in school (late June). As far as we could tell, there were no differences between those who responded and those who did not, although we had no systematic way of confirming this.

DOES Sample

The Department of Employment Services operated a summer program each year through 1982, of which the PINS program was one small part. Admission to the Summer Program required submission of an

application by April, verification of family income, and presentation of a Social Security card. The allowable family income to participate in 1982 ranged from a low of \$4,860 for a single person family to a high of \$14,790 for a family of six.

The process of applying for the summer program was time limited, requiring planning on the part of the participants and some persistence if they were to be accepted. Nearly twice as many applied to DOES as were accepted. Whether the youth in the DOES summer program were "typical" of D.C. inner city youth in general is uncertain. Their initiative tends to put them in the category of more conventional youth, and thereby are a legitimate source for non-deviants. Aside from the PINS Center-referred youth and a few specially selected for our program, the youth in our program appeared to be no different from other youth in the DOES summer program. The Does program served both males and females, but the greater availability of clerical jobs resulted in more females being served by the program.

The DOES summer program served youth ages 14 through 21. Because job sites wanted older youth (ages 16 and over), more older youth were enrolled in the program. The youth were divided into two groups for program purposes, one with youth ages 14 and 15 and the other, ages 16 and over. Younger youth spent two days at the job site, while older youth spent three days; in this way the same job slot could be used by two youth. This age breakdown was maintained in the study when dividing older and younger youth. The theoretical rationale for maintaining this age breakdown was that

older youth (age 16 and over) are not required to attend school. This conceivably could affect responses to school-related questions.

The Summer Employment Program youth were interviewed when they came in to participate in the counseling and educational components of the program (two days/week) or when they came in for paychecks. One hundred nine (109) interviews were obtained from the total of 243 enrollees in the PINS Summer Employment Program. Some were eliminated because they had been out of high school for more than one year, making the school-related questions irrelevant. Several of the youth had previously been institutionalized and were living in group homes rather than their own homes. They also were not interviewed. Some were not interviewed because they were not available as a result of being placed with employers who chose to have them at the job site fulltime rather than coming to the Center program. Several refused to participate, and two were excluded since they were not black (one Filipino and one Caucasian).

Sample Changes

As the summer program began to take shape, it became clear that Employment Services was once again not going to fulfill their promises to insure that PINS youth referred to them would be returned to our program. As of two days before the beginning of the program, less than half of the 100 PINS youth referred to DOES were enrolled in the summer program.

It also became apparent that the only affiliation that some of the PINS youth had with the PINS Center was that they came with a friend to the Center to sign up for the summer job program. To

label them as PINS was clearly inappropriate. Even those who were identified as bonafide PINS (i.e., known to the Center as a result of engaging in PINS behavior) were not a homogeneous group. Some of them presented serious disciplinary problems, while others were very well behaved, causing one to wonder why their parents ever felt they needed the intervention of the PINS Center in the first place. It became clear that these youth did not fit neatly into a deviant or nondeviant category.

Likewise, as interviewing began with the summer Program Enrollees, we realized that this portion of the sample also was a mixed group that could not easily be classified as deviant or nondeviant. A great deal of control was required by staff to handle some of the enrollees while others required little or no supervision.

A modification in the plan seemed to be required. Instead of using the original designations--PINS, Summer Program, Probationer--as the breakdown of the sample, I began looking instead at whether the youth admitted during the interview to having been to court. This seemed a more valid way of discriminating between deviants and non-deviants. My plan changed to defining the nondeviant group on the basis of the absence of a court appearance and the deviant group as those who admitted to at least one court appearance. By balancing these two groups, I could be reasonably sure of ending up with a continuum of behavior.

The number of probationers to be interviewed was determined at the end of the summer program on the basis of the breakdown of those admitting to or denying any court experience among those

interviewed to that point (PINS and summer program participants). By making these two groups equal, I hoped to obtain a wide range of deviant activities. Probationers insured that the deviant end of the continuum would be represented. Forty-five PINS and summer enrollees indicated some court experience, so that a goal of 80 probationer interviews was set in order to reach 125 with some court experience. In this way, we hoped to end up with a spectrum of deviant and non-deviant activities among those interviewed.

A total of 246 interviews were obtained. One hundred and nine were Summer Program Participants, 49 PINS Center youth, and 88 probationers; 113 indicated that they had never been to juvenile court, while 133 indicated that they had been officially handled at least once (see Table I). A total of 136 males and 110 females were interviewed; 78 younger youth were included and 168 older youth (see Tables II and III).

The PINS sample represented about 5% of the youth between ages 14 and 21 served by the Center between May, 1981 and May, 1982 (42 of 784). The probation sample represented about 10% of the population served by the probation staff of the family division of the D.C. Court (or 88 of the 852 youth placed on probation in 1982). In 1982, DOES served a total of about 10,000 youth, so that the youth interviewed for the study represents about .6% of this population.

Table I

TYPE OF RESPONDENT BY JUVENILE COURT EXPERIENCE

N=246

Been to Court	Probationer	PINS	Summer Program	
Never	0	36 73.5%	77 70.6%	113
Once	41 46.6%	6 12.2%	12 11%	59
Twice	21 23.9%	4 8.2%	8 7.4%	33
Three or More Times	26 29.5%	3 6.1%	12 11%	41
	88	49	109	246

TABLE II

TYPE OF RESPONDENT BY SEX

N=244

	Male	Female	
No Court Experience	32 / 23.7%	81 / 74.3%	113
Some Court Experience	103 / 76.3%	28 / 25.7%	131
	135	109	244

TABLE III

TYPE OF RESPONDENT BY AGE

N=244

	Ages 13-15	Ages 16-21	
No Court Experience	38 / 49.4%	75 / 44.9%	113
Some Court Experience	39 / 50.6%	92 / 55.1%	131
	77	167	244

Income Uniformity

There was no income criterion either for participation in the PINS Center program or for being on probation as there was for summer program participants. Yet it appeared that there were no significant differences in the income levels of the families of these three groups. While no data were obtained on family income, the employment information on mother's occupation was compared for the three groups (see Table IV). Mother's occupation was used rather than father's because few respondents lived with father and/or knew his job status (101 did not know whether he worked or not). But only 5 did not know whether mother worked. In 86 cases they indicated that she does not work; 15 knew she worked but did not know her occupation, and 145 knew her occupation. The group where most mothers were employed in management jobs was the summer employment enrollees, for whom the limited income criteria were operating. This gives some indication that income levels for PINS Center youth and probation youth were not higher than summer program participants, and may even have been lower, especially for probationers, most of who did not obtain summer jobs, and who have the highest proportion of mothers who were not working. In other words, if the group with the highest number of professional workers meets the low income criteria associated with CETA, those with the least number of professionals are likely to have even lower incomes. Add to this that the other groups (families of PINS and probationers) did not have the youth's income to help, it is likely that income

TABLE IV

TYPE OF RESPONDENT BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATION

	Professional, Technical, Managerial	Clerical, Sales and Service	Unskilled	Not Working	
Probationers	10 / 12.5%	36 / 45.0%	2 / 2.5%	32 / 40%	80
PINS Center	5 / 11.6%	20 / 46.5%	3 / 7%	15 / 34.9%	43
Summer Program	24 / 22.2%	32 / 29.7%	13 / 12%	39 / 36.1%	108
	39	88	18	86	231

here was less. Professional occupations like nursing were heavily occupied by the professional mothers (medicine and health is the largest of the professional categories) and are low income, which helps explain this situation. To the extent that social class is an issue in the literature, this is important since it verifies that we are dealing largely with lower-class youth here, at least in terms of income.

Race

Based on the previous years' experience, I knew that most if not all the youth I would be studying would be black. The inner city of the District of Columbia is now largely black. In 1980, according to the Urban League figures, 70.8% of the population of Washington, D.C. was black. My sample was all black.

Data Collection

Because of the limited reading skills of many inner city youth, face to face interviewing was the optimal method of data collection. The questionnaire was designed and precoded to accommodate the interviewer.

Pre-Testing

Questions were taken from a number of prior studies (see Appendix B for some of the sources of these questions). In one way or another, almost every question contained in the major studies

was included in my questionnaire. Additionally, young people (friends and relatives) in the same age range as I planned to study (14 to 21) were consulted as to those aspects of parent and peer relations which they thought were most important in whether they or their friends got in trouble. This influenced the selection and wording of the questions. Wording was further refined by administering the questionnaire to a number of youth who had participated in the summer program the year before. This was done with the assistance of fellow graduate students whom I had recruited to help me with the interviewing. Following this pretest, their comments and suggestions, as well as those of the youth, were incorporated into the interview schedule.

Interviewing

The questionnaire began with a series of neutral questions (see Appendix C) in order to give the interviewer time to make the respondent feel at ease before the questions about deviant activities were asked.

On questions related to parents, the respondent was given a chance to identify a substitute parent if a step-parent or other relative was in the home and/or serving in the parent role. There were a total of 52 parent questions, but where there was only one parent and no substitute, the youth answered only 26 parent-related questions.

In addition to general questions about friends, respondents were asked to identify friends by first name or initials. Following Hansell and Wiatrowski (1981), an effort was made to obtain a measure of multiplexity by asking them to name both their friends in school and their friends in the neighborhood. Comparisons would presumably reveal to what extent the same friends served the same roles and functions.

As someone who has worked with black youth extensively, I was acutely aware of the advantage that a black interviewer would have in establishing rapport with the youth, which was necessary to gain their cooperation in being interviewed and assure honesty in their responses. A total of six persons other than myself conducted interviews, five of whom were black. Only 62 of the 246 interviews were conducted by white interviewers. The other white interviewer and I limited our interviewing efforts to the summer program participants and PINS youth who would be less likely to be suspicious or fearful of talking about their misbehavior to us.

Most interviews (202) were conducted during the summer months when youth were not in school, although some of the probationers were interviewed after returning to school in the fall. This was necessary because of the small number visiting probation offices during the summer when staff were on vacation. And some PINS were interviewed in early June before school was out for the summer. It was important to be as consistent as possible on this in order to insure that school questions were answered from the same perspective, i.e. we assumed that responses during summer break would reference

the previous school year and not be influenced by daily occurrences in school. In this way, the data would give a better overall perspective to their school experiences.

While originally I intended to use the staff of the summer program to assist with the interviewing, the demands of the program prohibited their taking time away from the program to do this, and outside help was necessary to complete these interviews. This proved to be the better approach since it eliminated any potential pressure on youth to be interviewed. Had program staff interviewed them, some youth would have felt that keeping their summer job depended on their participating, and they might even have felt compelled to give the "right" answers so as not to offend their program counselor. Having interviewers from outside of the program made the process more voluntary and responses more honest.

Both the PINS youth and probationers were given the incentive of \$3.00 for participating in the interview. This incentive was not given to the summer program youth since they were on salary during the time they were being interviewed. The pay incentive proved more of an inducement for the probationers than PINS since there was no cost associated with participating in the interview for the probationer--the majority were coming to the office to see their probation officer anyway. Most of the PINS Center youth, however, paid carfare in order to come in for the interview at the PINS Center, and this probably contributed to the poor response rate.

Confidentiality

Limiting the study to one interview rather than two as originally planned reduced the opportunity for drawing causal inferences, but increased our ability to guarantee confidentiality. It eliminated the need to attach case numbers to each interview or to maintain a master list of respondents. No records were kept of who actually was interviewed. All identifying information such as birthdates and parents' place of employment was removed from the questionnaire once the coding was complete.

As indicated, parents' signatures were obtained in order to insure that no youth was pressured into participating or answering questions that he/she could not handle. In the case of PINS and probationers, consent was in the form of a parental signature affixed to letters sent to all who we asked to participate; in the case of summer youth employment enrollees, approval was obtained when the parents appeared the first day of the summer program or for those not present the first day, when they accompanied youth to the central program site for different reasons, including obtaining paychecks. It was stressed at the outset and throughout the interview that participation was voluntary.

It was made clear at the beginning of the interviews with the PINS and probationers that the interviewer was not a part of the staff of these programs. This point was stressed along with the fact that the research was an independent effort, not undertaken for these programs. This was done to insure that respondents felt

no coercion to participate, as well as to encourage more honest responses than might have been obtained if respondents felt their answers could be reported to their probation officers or otherwise used against them.

When asked to name their friends and the deviant acts that their friends committed, only initials or first names were used. This was done to put at rest any concerns that respondents might be "ratting" on their friends.

Coding

Once the interviewing was complete, a codebook was developed, coding undertaken, and computer entry begun. Development of the codebook was straightforward, since much of the questionnaire was pre-coded. Coding was spot-checked for reliability prior to computer entry. The U.S. Census system of categorizing occupations was used for coding occupations. By using the full list (over 600 categories) rather than general categories, there was less need for interpretation by the coder. For example, it becomes clear from the detailed list that if "painter" is the occupation, "structural work" is the code, since painting, plastering, and the like are specified under this general category. Although the complete occupational list was used to code, only general categories (36) are contained in the codebook (see Appendix D). This allowed for detail in coding without extending the codebook excessively.

A list of schools in the D.C. area was also available to the coder, and from this list, it was easily discernible which schools were "special" and which, "regular".

Dependent Variables

Deviant behavior is the overall dependent variable; it incorporates both PINS offenses and chargeable delinquent offenses. While self-reported deviant activity is the primary measure of the dependent variable, we asked the youth about their police and court contacts as well. This provided the opportunity to make comparisons between the official experiences (via contact with police and courts) and reports about overall behavior (via response to the self-report scale) as a primary means of checking the reliability of self-report information.

Court/Police Contacts

Reason for court contact and police pickup were coded according to the general scheme utilized by the D.C. Superior Court in recording juvenile delinquency cases. For example, the 1982 D.C. Superior Court Annual Report gives the following breakdown for delinquency cases (see Appendix M):

Acts Against Persons	1,169
Acts Against Property	1,898
Acts Against Public Order	677

Acts against persons include assault, homicide, pocketpicking/purse snatching, rape and robbery, while acts against property include burglary, larceny and unauthorized use of an automobile. Acts against public order include sale/possession of narcotics.

Burglary is defined by the FBI Uniform Crime Report as unlawful entry of a structure to commit a felony or theft, and therefore belongs among property offenses, as does larceny, defined as the taking away of property from the possession of another where no use of force, violence or fraud occurs. Robbery is the taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care, custody or control of a person by force, and belongs in the personal offense category, as does armed robbery.

In coding reasons for being picked up by police and court contact, major and minor personal, property, PINS and drug offenses represented the sub-categories. The reason for separating major from minor offenses related to our plan to provide a scheme for differentiating less serious from more serious offense patterns. Where more than one offense was listed, only the most serious offense was coded. This meant that often this code did not reflect the general nature of a youth's misbehavior. However, it is doubtful that what a youth is charged with in juvenile court necessarily reflects his overall behavior in any case. Often the charge is designed to build a solid court case, and does not reflect the total behavior of the youth which warranted charging him in the first place. Any analysis using the type of offense for which the youth was charged must bear this limitation in mind.

Self-report Scales

Ageton and Elliot (1979) developed a scale of self-reported delinquency and drug use that has served as the primary measure of delinquent involvement for most recent studies. It serves as the basis for measuring deviant behavior in this study as well. Their scale contains 47 items, of which 27 were selected for use in this study. It was necessary to reduce the number of items in order to keep the questionnaire within a reasonable time frame to administer. This was done by eliminating some offenses (lying about your age, cheating on school tests, hitchhiking, having sexual intercourse, joyriding, buying liquor and making obscene phone calls) which are generally not considered serious enough to warrant official action. Several were collapsed (e.g., drunk and disorderly became one instead of two). The reduced scale focused on those activities that are most commonly referred to juvenile court.

According to Short and Nye, (1957) a self-report scale achieves face validity only if all of the offenses to which a youth is asked to admit are violations of the law or offenses for which adolescents could be adjudicated. Inasmuch as this was the primary criterion I used in selecting questions for inclusion in my questionnaire, I achieved face validity.

Ageton and Elliott (1979) believe that the real distinction in understanding delinquents may be between those reporting a high number of non-serious offenses versus those reporting at least five serious offenses. Their point is that the response categories must

be precise enough to determine the approximate number of times an act is admitted in order to distinguish relatively minor involvement from repeat offenders. Usually the highest category on self-report scales is "three or more times" which fails to do this. To avoid this problem, items in the self-report scale had the following response options: 1) Never, 2) Once or twice, 3) More than twice, but less than ten times, and 4) More than ten times.

A sheet was given out to the respondent at the point that the self-report questions began, indicating the response options. This sheet was used as a helpful reminder, and removed the necessity for the interviewer to read these four response categories for each of the 27 items included in the self-report scale.

Respondents were asked how many times within the past year, they committed certain acts. The use of a short time reference was considered important to insuring that those acts to which they admitted were recent enough to be meaningful as a measure of their involvement in deviance. My use of one year as the time frame allowed the youth to think back over the past school year, whereas six months was considered too short a period of time.

Developing a Weighting Scheme

All deviant acts are not equally serious. In order to investigate the extent to which an escalation in anti-social activities is causally different from continuous minor misbehavior, (i.e., to differentiate serious delinquency from prankishness or those acts

associated with normal adolescent rebelliousness), some system for weighting the more serious offenses in the self-report scale was needed. Weighting allows us to arrive at an overall deviance score that reflects degree of seriousness of acts committed. The ability to identify more extreme offenders may be relevant for tests of theoretical propositions. At the same time, sub-types can be distinguished and examined relevant to frequency of specific kinds of behavior.

Seriousness of offense is a social matter, not fixed, but varying as social values vary. It is for this reason that any system for weighting offenses for seriousness must rely on collective judgments as to what different groups deem to be more or less serious. These subjective measures are used, as Turner suggests, in lieu of any objective standard of seriousness (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1975: VII).

Beginning in the late 50's, Sellin and Wolfgang devised a system for scaling severity of criminal offenses that has stood up under replication and remains the most sophisticated method available for measuring seriousness of criminal events. They drew 141 offense silhouettes (i.e., profiles of commonly committed acts) from the full range of crimes handled by the Uniform Crime Reports. The offenses ranged across the whole continuum from truancy to rape and murder. They included simple offenses like disorderly conduct as well as more complex offenses like armed robbery, where a single label conceals a variety of behaviors. The silhouettes varied in the degree of bodily harm inflicted on victims as well as the value

of property stolen or damaged. They also assumed, "That the presence of intimidation, the means of intimidating a victim, and the method used to inflict harm are variables of importance..." (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1975: 124). Their offense categories distinguishing between use of a gun, knife, blunt instrument, fists or verbal intimidation. Additionally, they dealt with issues such as whether force was or was not used to accomplish the offense. The intent was to include every known scenario that could occur at the scene of a crime.

Based on review of police files, they were able to group offenses committed by juveniles into two main classes: first, offenses involving the infliction of some physical harm on the victim or causing loss or destruction of property; and secondly, offenses against persons that did not result in any harm to them or to their property, including offenses that disturbed public order, the juvenile status offenses, and those of a consensual or conspiratorial nature. The latter were not considered as important as the first group. Such things as truancy and incorrigibility were included because of their comparative value; that is, they provided a base of nonserious offense types against which to compare other more serious offenses. They considered bodily injury and property theft and damage the most important, verifiable, and valid categories for a seriousness index.

University students of both sexes, police and juvenile officers and juvenile court judges were used to score the 141 offenses from which the scale was derived (see Appendix E). Students were used

because they were considered to have typical middle-class values. Additionally, police officers were, as guardians and executors of the law, thought to reflect middle-class values, as do judges. In lieu of a random sample of the entire population, these groups were seen as a valid representation of community sentiment or of the "collective conscience". The final scale was developed using students to assess and assign scores to the scale. Sellin and Wolfgang conclude that "although unconstrained in their use of the magnitude scale assignments, all of the raters tend to so assign the magnitude estimations that the seriousness of the crime is evaluated in a similar way, without significant differences, by all the groups..." (1975: 55).

A number of studies have validated the work of Sellin and Wolfgang and have demonstrated that the consensus they found on the seriousness of criminal offenses is real and stable over individual respondents. Of greater importance, however, in establishing the usefulness of this system was the issue of whether the elements in the scale are additive, i.e., can the scale be used to assess the seriousness of events where an offender commits multiple offenses or where multiple offenders commit single or multiple offenses. Wellford and Wiatrowski (1975) conducted research to test the assumption of additivity. Students were asked to score a series of simple to complex events, using Sellin's and Wolfgang's offense descriptions. If additivity was to be supported, raters had to indicate that an event involving two crimes was twice as serious as an event involving one crime (two assaults versus one assault).

Wellford and Wiatrowski were able to provide a high degree of support for the assumption of additivity.

Scale Construction

The Ageton and Elliott self-report items do not contain the same degree of detail that are included in the Sellin and Wolfgang offense descriptions. The value of property stolen is indicated in some of the theft items, but the extent of injury to the victim is not detailed since the questions are very general. However, the Sellin and Wolfgang offenses can be collapsed and used to arrive at a seriousness index for the Ageton and Elliott items. This was done by first determining which of the 141 offenses were comparable to the Elliot and Ageton items included in my questionnaire (see Appendix F).

The range of mean scores reported by Sellin and Wolfgang for the Penn State students was then examined. (The student's mean scores were used rather than police scores since Sellin and Wolfgang's ultimate scores derived from students' ratings.) A mean for this range of means was then arrived at, like offenses were grouped together, and a whole number applied, ranging from 1 to 7, for each of the antisocial activities items in my questionnaire.

The only problem with this approach is that Sellin and Wolfgang's ratings are somewhat dated, it seems, since selling marijuana is considered more serious by the raters than selling heroin. The dangers associated with pot were relatively unknown when these

ratings were done, and this, along with the fact that pot smoking was just beginning to be fairly widespread, probably contributed to its being rated so high. Now that more is known about marijuana and its use is more common, it is likely that a repeat of this rating system would find it rated lower. However, in lieu of another system, Sellin and Wolfgang's system is being used as the basis for weights. By utilizing whole numbers rather than actual means, we hope to equalize some of the minor differences which might emerge if the ratings were updated. Since we must also make judgments about some of the offenses not specifically dealt with by Sellin and Wolfgang, using whole numbers helps in arriving at a weighting system where the values are reasonably balanced relative to one another.

The end product of this weighting system is that the most serious offenses received a weight of seven while the least serious offenses receive a weight of one. A total score was completed by multiplying the code for number of times committed by the weight for each item and adding the 26 scores. Thus the total score for each respondent included a measure of the seriousness of the deviant acts admitted to by the youth, as well as frequency of acts committed. Possible scores ranged from zero (admission to none of the offenses) to a high of 304.5 (or the equivalent of admitting to committing all of the offenses at least 10 times). The mean for the scale (DEVSCALE) was 35.03. If respondents failed to answer any of the items in the scale, they did not receive a scale score and were not included in the analysis of overall deviance. This occurred in 38 cases.

The item having to do with having sex with someone against their will (ASLTSEX) was omitted altogether from the scale because the question was ambiguous. It was not clear from the wording that this was intended as a rape question. Only one youth admitted to this offense.

The validity of the overall scores on the self-report deviancy scale is substantiated by the relationships between the SDS (self-reported delinquency scale) scores and admitted experience with the police and courts. Presumably a youth who is more involved in deviance would also become know to the courts and be more likely to be picked up by police for some offense. The relationship between court experience and scores on the self-reported scale is .52, significant at the .000 level; the relationship between the self-report scale and police pick-up is .39, significant at the .03 level.

In addition to analysis of overall deviance in which this weighting scheme is used, I broke down the scale into sub-types and made comparisons in order to see if different types had the same or different antecedents. Weights were not used in the sub-type analysis since type of offense rather than seriousness was the issue here.

Consistent with prior studies (Johnson, 1979; Liska, 1973) and with the FBI Uniform Crime Data, acts involving interpersonal aggression need to be distinguished from property offenses, i.e., those involving a victim as compared to those with no victim present. The differing findings of previous studies involving drug offenses

and status offenses also make it clear that these two sub-types need to be examined separately. Seven categories or sub-types are arrived at as the dependent variables in this study: PINS offenses, drug selling, acts against persons (both serious assault and minor personal offenses), theft, and major theft. Pot smoking, which is not a part of the total deviance scale, is also considered one of these sub-types. The subcategories of deviance were arrived at through a factor analysis involving the 26 items in the scale (see Table V). Five of the seven PINS items factored together along with one item relating to minor vandalism (VANDLTRW) (Factor 4). Running away from home (PINSRUN) and prostitution (PROSTIT) formed a separate factor (Factor 6). Arguing with parents, (PINSARG), staying out late (PINSLATE), skipping school (PINSSKIP), disobeying teachers (PINSSCH), getting suspended (PINSSRNP), minor vandalism (VANDLTRW), running away (PINRUN), and PROSTIT all fit the general definition of victimless crimes in that it is the youth who suffers from school offenses, conflicts with parents, prostitution and the like, and there is no injury to another intended. These eight items in Factor 4 and Factor 6 were combined to make a PINS sub-type.

Hitting/threatening to hit a parent (PINSHIT) factors with hitting a teacher or other adult (ASLTADLT) and drunk/disorderly (DISORD). These offenses are conceptually different from PINS offenses in that there is potential victimization involved. Hitting or threatening to hit a parent or teacher (PINSHIT) or other adult (ASLTADLT) clearly involve a victim; DISORD (being drunk or rowdy

TABLE V - FACTOR ANALYSIS ON DEVIANCE

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
PINSARG	.083	.064	-.136	<u>.417</u>	.275	.013
PINSLATE	.108	.188	.27	<u>.601</u>	.069	.03
STOLONE	<u>.705</u>	.067	.259	<u>.264</u>	.049	.101
PINSHIT	-.03	.141	.01	.021	<u>.601</u>	.015
PINSSKIP	.243	.042	.309	<u>.539</u>	<u>.165</u>	.279
STOLCAR	.212	.077	<u>.567</u>	<u>.087</u>	.177	-.054
ASLTADLT	.26	.207	<u>.151</u>	.05	<u>.51</u>	.101
VANDLTRW	.17	.295	-.01	<u>.332</u>	-.023	.097
PINSRUN	.099	.142	.017	<u>.273</u>	.299	<u>.559</u>
PINSSPND	.269	.236	.215	<u>.393</u>	.201	-.048
VANDLPRP	<u>.388</u>	.303	.147	<u>.288</u>	.123	.034
STOLEFTY	<u>.631</u>	.184	.46	.073	.223	.131
DRUGHCL	<u>.018</u>	.317	<u>.488</u>	.118	.108	-.161
BESTL	.241	.183	<u>.532</u>	-.071	-.03	.312
ASLTSERS	.121	<u>.501</u>	.165	.15	.256	.143
ASLTGANG	.141	<u>.58</u>	.201	.139	.222	.095
ASLTSTOL	.489	<u>.362</u>	.355	.134	.053	.13
DISORD	.056	<u>.25</u>	.262	.088	<u>.282</u>	.10
WEAPON	.082	<u>.65</u>	.127	.188	-.047	-.004
DRUGPOT	.136	<u>.441</u>	.602	.167	.252	.17
STOLEFVE	<u>.605</u>	.032	-.064	.129	.043	.05
STOLEBET	<u>.831</u>	.053	.18	.155	.072	.116
PINSSCH	<u>.253</u>	.187	.12	<u>.49</u>	.369	-.015
ASLTHOLD	.105	<u>.475</u>	.433	-.006	.081	.123
PROSTIT	.187	<u>.274</u>	.039	-.065	.036	<u>.442</u>
ASLTWPN	.006	<u>.706</u>	.196	.057	.284	.113

TFT	ASLT	MFTT/ DRUG	PINS	MINPERS	PINS
Minor theft/ Property	Assault	Major theft/ Drugs		Minor Personal	
N= 234	N=240	N=244	N=223	N=235	

in a public place) implies outward aggression and potential victimization. The latter three are considered a separate category (MINPERS) from the other minor/PINS offenses.

The analysis also produced two factors involving theft offenses. One factor (Factor 1) included buying/selling stolen goods (STOLONE), stealing something worth more than \$50 (STOLEFTY), messing up someone's property (VANDLPRP), using force to steal something (ALSTSTOL), stealing an item worth \$5-\$50 (STOLEBET), and stealing an item worth less than \$5 (STOLEFVE). Using force to steal something (ASLTSTOL) scores high in the assault factor (Factor 2) as well as among theft offenses; it is considered more appropriate to the assault category. The five remaining items were combined to form the theft scale (TFT).

Stealing a car (STOLCAR) and breaking and entering (BESTL) combine on Factor 3 with selling hard drugs (DRUGHCL) and selling pot (DRUGPOT). However, in order to make comparisons between use and sale of drugs, the two drug items were maintained as a separate subcategory. (DRUGHCL + DRUGPOT = DRUG). STOLCAR and BESTL become a second theft category. Since stealing a car and breaking and entering are serious offenses, this subcategory is considered major theft (labelled MFTT in the analysis).

Factor 2 contains assault offenses. Using force to steal something (ASLTSTOL) is combined with the other assault offenses which involve attacking someone (ASLTSERS), gang fighting (ASLTGANG), using a weapon in a holdup (ASLTHOLD), using a weapon to hurt someone (ASLTWPN) and carrying a deadly weapon (WEAPON); these items were summed to create an assault scale (ASLT).

Thus, we arrive at six subtypes of deviance: PINS (PINS), minor personal offenses (MINPERS), minor theft (TFT), major theft (MTFT), drug selling (DRUG), and assault (ASLT). These are used for subtype analysis, while their weighted counterparts make up the overall scale (DEVSCALE) (see Appendix G). Smoking pot is also analyzed similarly, and as such, represents a seventh sub-type.

Independent Variables

There are four sets of independent variables. We are primarily concerned with the effect of parents and peers on deviance, but will be looking at school and community experiences as well.

Parents

The questions asked relative to parents' influence fall into four categories:

1. Parental control, which consists of all the efforts parents make to be aware of and limit their child's activities so as to prevent his/her getting into trouble. Communication, knowledge, supervision and discipline all fall under this concept.
2. Identification/closeness to parents.
3. Degree of family integration.
4. Parents' attitude towards friends.

Since only 130 respondents answered questions relating to father, the emphasis in testing these concepts focused on the youth's relationship with his/her mother.

Initially, correlations were examined to determine whether the items that we expected to relate conceptually in fact did so empirically. Then a factor analysis was conducted to reaffirm that we were putting the appropriate items together. Finally we computed the reliability of the scales, using Chronbach's alpha coefficient. A coefficient of .50 was considered the minimum acceptable to combine items in a scale.

Parental Control

It became clear in examining the correlations and factor analysis (Table VI) that the questions relating to parental control were not measuring the same thing, but rather different aspects of parental behavior. While all four--communication, knowledge, supervision and discipline--may all reflect ways parents behave towards their adolescents, each represents a different aspect of that behavior and each must be treated as a separate concept.

Communication

Three questions attempt to measure the extent to which there is communication between parent and child:

1. How much do you tell your mom about what happens to you?
(MOMHAPS)
2. How often do you talk to your mom about school work?
(TALKMOM)

TABLE VI
 FACTOR ANALYSIS - MOTHER VARIABLES

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
STRCTMOM	-.033	.034	.073	.09	<u>-.369</u>
MOMLATE	-.019	<u>.52</u>	-.227	.19	-.117
MOMHANGS	.119	<u>.622</u>	.032	.055	.003
MOMHAPS	<u>.439</u>	-.097	-.225	.147	.044
MACRFW	.06	.191	-.041	-.053	<u>-.66</u>
MOMFRDS	.055	-.407	-.227	.122	.014
MOMNIT	.051	.053	<u>-.66</u>	-.071	-.11
MOMWITH	.004	-.009	<u>-.64</u>	-.046	.047
MOMYNGR	.011	.105	.062	.068	<u>.418</u>
TALKMOM	<u>.412</u>	.009	-.031	.126	-.12
MAHMWK	-.02	.127	.072	<u>.774</u>	.015
MOMHRT	<u>.889</u>	.119	.078	-.243	.067
MOMBUSY	.057	-.148	.041	.15	-.071
LIKEMOM	.256	-.052	-.097	.17	.02
	MOMTALK	MOMSUP	MOMKNOW	----	MOMDISC
	N=228	N=233	N=226		N=216

3. How often do you have heart-to-heart talks with your mom? (MOMHRT)

These three factor together, (see Table VI, Factor I), are positively and significantly correlated, (see Table VII), and when combined in a scale (MOMTALK), they achieve an alpha of .57.

One other communication variable was not included in the analysis. The question relating to whether mom was too busy to listen to their problems (MOMBUSY) was not useable because there was no variance; 173 of the 235 (73%) who answered this question felt mom was never too busy to listen to their problems. That is not to say that she listened or that they shared concerns, only that they did not think she was too busy.

Knowledge

Two variables measure whether mother knows about the youth's activities. MOMNIT measures whether mother knows where the respondent is at night, and MOMWITH indicates whether she knows with whom the youth is spending time. The two are strongly correlated ($r = .43$), and together had an alpha of .60. They were combined in a single scale (MOMKNOW).

Discipline

Knowledge and communication alone do not represent control. The parent must act on the knowledge by setting some limits via

TABLE VII
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES RELATING TO MOTHER

	MOMIAPS	TALKMOM	MOMHRT	MOMNIT	MOMWITH	STRCTMOM	MOMYNGR	MACRFW	MOMLATE	MOMHANGS
MOMHAPS		.26***	.38***	.27***	.22***	-.05	.03	.07	.07	-.04
TALKMOM			.33***	.17**	.15*	.08	.08	.12*	.04	.10
MOMHRT				.15**	.12*	-.04	-.03	-.001	.08	.14*
MOMNIT					.43	-.02	.17**	.16**	.20***	-.003
MOMWITH						.04	.03	.03	.10	.01
STRCTMOM							.13*	.27***	.08	.04
MOMYNGR								.24***	.04	-.08
MACRFW									.29***	.17**
MOMLATE										.33***
MOMHANGS										

Level of Significance * < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

N's range from 216 to 235

discipline and supervision. Three questions were included in the questionnaire to measure the parents' discipline of the youth. One, "In general, how strict would you say your mother is?" (STRCT-MOM) is present-oriented. "When you were younger was your mom more strict/less strict/ about the same?" (MOMYNGR) is a retrospective question. "Does your mom give a curfew so you know what time you are supposed to be home?" (MACREFW) offered a specific measure of discipline; that is, this represents one tangible way she limits the youths' activities. The relationship between MOMYNGR and STRCT-MOM is weak ($r = .135$), but the other two correlations are reasonably strong. When considered together, the three achieve an alpha of .45. Although this causes some concern about the reliability of the scale, each of these measures seems to be a valid reflection of whether the youth perceives the parent as setting limits or disciplining him/her; therefore they were summed to form a discipline scale, MOMDISC.

Questions asking how mother would react if the youth broke the law or stole something (BROKMOM and STOLMOM) were also intended to measure discipline. Almost all of the respondents (71.5% in the case of BROKMOM and 72.8% with STOLMOM) said that mom would "get upset" if they brought home something stolen or broke the law. They generally ignored the other response options which were available as a second choice, including "punish you".

Questions relating to whether mother would punish them because of lateness or getting high (MOMPUNLT and MOMPUNHI) failed because there were too many missing cases, with many of the respondents

indicating that the questions was inappropriate because they did not get high or come home late (70% did not answer the question relating to getting high and 63% did not have a problem with mother because of lateness). Thus, these were not useable as measures of discipline.

Supervision

Two variables were worded such that they offer some measure of parents' efforts to supervise their youth. MOMLATE asks, "How often does your mom discuss with you where you are going and how late you can stay out at night?" MOMHANGS asks, "How often does your mom talk to you about who you hang out with?" While these seem to overlap with the communication items, they are distinguished by the fact that mother initiates the action, whereas communication involves both mother and child. As such, supervision involves more policing or monitoring by mother. These two variables correlate strongly, ($r = .33$), and achieve an alpha of .50 as a scale, and were summed to form the supervision scale, MOMSUP. The question relating to whether mother supervises whether the youth does homework (MAHMWK) could not be included because, of the 232 who responded to this item, 187 (80.6%) felt mom always encourages them to do their homework.

Several other parental measures are included in the path model as additional factors that indicate ways in which parents influence their youth's deviant behavior.

Attitude Towards Friends

"How does your mom feel about most of your friends?" (MOMFRDS) measures maternal approval of friends. It indicates whether mother and peers together support the conventional behavior of the youth, or whether they are at odds in their influence over him or whether mother even knows the youth's friends. Mom's approval of friends is expected to predict less deviance among respondents, whereas ambiguity (not sure), disapproval, or lack of knowledge of friends should predict in the direction of more deviance. This variables could not be included in the other scales because it does not correlate highly with them. It is conceptually distinct in that it is an attitude, not an act, on the part of the mother.

Closeness

The following questions all have to do with closeness between mother and youth.

1. In general, how much do you think your mom cares about you? (MONCARES)
2. How close do you feel to your mother? (MACLOS)
3. Which of the terms best describes the way your mom acts towards you? (Worries about you/Is reasonable/Nags you/Doesn't care)
4. How much does your mom care about how you are doing in school? (MOMSCH)

The lack of variance makes each item less useful than anticipated. That is, 193 youth say they are very close to mom (81.4%) and 209 (88%) feel she cares a great deal about them. Of the multiple

responses available, the majority (68%) feel that "worries about them" best describes the way mom acts towards them. In responses on the MOMSCH question, 223 or 90.7% feel mom cares "a lot" about how they are doing in school (as opposed to none or some).

Lack of variance eliminated all but the question having to do with identification ("How much would you like to be the kind of person your mother is?") from the list of useable variables related to closeness. LIKEMOM is to some extent a reflection of closeness or caring, and is included in the path analysis. It is social-emotional, and as such, provides a contrast with the more instrumental measures included in parental control.

Family Integration

Following Dager et al., (1982) measures of family integration were used to supplement parental control and to provide a test of family influence not specific to mother. "Do the members of your family like to hear about each others' experiences" (LIKHEAR) and "Can you confide in members of your family?" (CONFIDE) are useful as general communication variables, whereas "How much influence do you have in family decisions (INFLUENC), "Do members of your family cooperate in getting things done" (COOPFAM), "Would you say your family is a happy family" (HAPPY) reflect the extent to which the youth feels a sense of unity or interdependence with his family. Combining these five family integration variables produces an alpha of .64 (Scale = FAMINT). Although similar in some respects to the

parent control variables, they do not correlate highly with them (see Table VIII), are theoretically different, and are useful regardless of the configuration of the family. They are descriptive of family relationships and, to some extent, of feelings of family members towards each other. All of the items in Dager's Family Integration Scale were not used because of our need to condense the questionnaire. Instead we selected those items most related to previous studies, and those not dealt with elsewhere in the questionnaire.

Peer Support

Five issues provide the basis for our analysis of peer relationships--number of friends, stability of friendships, reliability of friends, their "groupness" and direction of friends' influence.

Number of Friends

The questionnaire looked at both the respondents' friends in school and in the neighborhood. However, in the interviews it became apparent that many youth did not go to school in the same neighborhood where they lived, which affected their options for having the same friends in both settings. Although both school friends and neighborhood friends were available as measures of number of friends, for purposes of the analysis, it seemed more reasonable to rely on number of neighborhood friends as the primary

TABLE VIII
CORRELATIONS - PARENT/FAMILY VARIABLES

	MOMKNOW	MOMSUP	MOMTALK	MOMDISC	MOMFRDS	FAMINT	LIKEMOM
MOMKNOW		.12	.28	.13	.21	.14	.13
MOMSUP			.10	.19	-.19	.04	.01
MOMTALK				.13	.15	.35	.28
MOMDISC					.02	.03	.05
MOMFRDS						.11	.17
FAMINT							.28

N's range from 198 to 235

measure of quantity of friends since it allowed for more meaningful analysis with other community-related questions. Youth are more likely to change schools by virtue of moving up in the school system than they are to change neighborhoods, and we have a way of controlling for change in neighborhood via the question, "How long have you lived where you live now or near here within one mile?" (LGHNEIG). No similar control was included for changing schools. Therefore, we concentrated on neighborhood friends in our analysis.

Closeness

We attempted to measure closeness to friends via a question asking "How much do your friends care about you?" (FRNDSCAR), and the questions asking respondents to indicate how close they are to each friend they listed. These measures proved to have insufficient variance. Most youth feel they are very close to most of the friends they name (67.4% of first friends named are "very close"; only nine are not close to this friend). The mean number of friends to whom they are very close is 1.71 or about 2 of the 34 friends named, on the average. They vary in the extent to which they think their friends care about them, but mostly between "some" (46%) and "not very much" (44.6%); only 21 (9.4%) feel their friends care about them "a lot". Both measures were discarded and no measure of closeness to friends was included in the analysis.

Stability

Respondents were asked to indicate how long they have known each friend named. While very few respondents have friends whom they have known less than one year (the mean is more than three years), there is sufficient variance among the remaining three categories (more than one year but less than three, at least three but less than five years, more than five years) to make this a viable measure of the stability of peer relationships. Thus, average length of time they have known neighborhood friends (AVLONG) serves as our measure of stability of peer relations. It was arrived at by adding the response for each friend named and dividing by number of friends named.

Frequency of Interaction

The amount of interaction between friends was measured by asking youth how often they saw each of the friends they named. But again there was insufficient variance in these responses, with most youth seeing both sets of friends every day (74.5% saw first neighborhood friends named every day and results were similar for other friends). Number of times they see neighborhood friends was not used due to this lack of variance.

Groupness

Our interest in subcultural theory prompted our asking each respondent whether each of the friends he/she named was or was not a part of his/her group. By adding all of the responses relative to neighborhood friends and dividing by number of neighborhood

friends, we arrived at an average "groupness" of friends named. This measure is important in testing whether being a part of a group has more effect on deviance than individual friends.

Reliability

The extent to which friends are considered to be reliable was measured via the question asking how many of the kids the respondent hangs out with can he/she count on in the case of a serious problem or emergency (CNTONFRD), and "How many would you say would back you up even if you were doing something wrong?" (BAKUPWRG). The two were strongly correlated ($r = .49$), and when combined in a scale (PRRELY), produced an alpha coefficient of .66.

Direction of Friends' Influence

Direction of peer influence involves the three questions asking, for each friend named, how often this friend skips school/steals things/ beats up people. Average number of friends who often/sometimes/never skip school, steal things, beat up people was computed by adding scores for each friend named and dividing by the number of friends. Another question asked how often the respondent's friends smoke pot (FRNDSPOT). Use of pot is fairly common in this sample, (50% do smoke pot), and there is sufficient variance to include this measure. Questions relating to alcohol use were abandoned because of lack of variance. Few admit that they use alcohol (84.8% of those who responded said they never drink alcohol).

"How often do your friends ask you to do things which are against the law?" (ASKBRLW) measures whether friends attempt to involve the respondent in deviance, but it suffered from lack of variance. The variance is between "never" (59.6%) and "sometimes" (28.3%), with only 28 (12.1%) saying that friends ask them to break the law often or all the time. It was, therefore, excluded from the analysis.

Direction of peer influence (how often friends smoke pot, skip school, beat up people and steal) along with number of friends, their reliability, groupness, and stability are our measures of peer support. Correlations between these measures (see Table IX) indicate that appropriate combinations were made where conceptually logical.

School Influence

The measures dealing with school influences include:

LIKSCH = "In general, how much do you like school?"

CARETECH = "How much do you care what teachers think?"

TRYHARD = "Do you usually/sometimes/never try very hard in school?"

AVGRADE = "What would you say is your average grade in school?"

DISCWRK = "How often do you discuss homework with your friends when you are in school?"

TECHINT = "Would you say that teachers are or are not interested in your work?"

TABLE IX .

CORRELATIONS - PEER VARIABLES

N's range from 190 to 239

FRNDSPOT	AVKDSKP	AVKDSTS	AVKDHIT	NMNGHFRS	AVGP	PRRELY	AVLOW
FRNDSPOT	-.003	.21	.16	.10	.05	.07	.02
AVKDSKP		.12	.38	-.01	.09	.03	.08
AVKDSTS			.26	.53	.12	.05	.09
AVKDHIT				.08	.13	.11	.14
NMNGHFRS					.10	.25	-.05
AVGP						.03	.19
PRRELY							.15

Attachment/Involvement

Whether a youth likes school (LIKSCH) is a direct reflection of whether a youth feels satisfied with school and is influenced by what goes on there. Also, caring what teachers think (CARETECH) is indicative of his/her attachment to school, as is whether he tries hard (TRYHARD). It is conceptually logical to combine LIKSCH, CARETECH, TRYHARD in a single scale and together they produce a reliability coefficient of .58; the scale combining these four variables is called ATTSCHE. Whether the youth sees school as important or a waste of time was included in the questionnaire as a measure of school attachment, but most (89.7%) acknowledge that school is important, and only 24 youth (10.3%) are willing to state that it is a waste of time or aren't sure. A wider range of response options might have made this a more useful question.

School attachment (ATTSCHE) is the only scale among the measures of school influence. Grades, teacher's interest and peer support are single indicators.

Grades

Grades in school do not necessarily reflect how a youth feels about school, but rather how successful he is in school. A number of studies have found grades to be highly predictive of delinquency. It will be utilized in our analysis as well.

Relationship to Teachers/Peers

A youth's preception of how teachers feel towards him is measured by whether he thinks teachers are interested in his work. The extent to which he discusses homework with friends in school reflects whether he thinks his friends share in his interest in school. These questions are used as measures of his perception of the support he receives from teachers and friends in school, i.e., whether they provide positive or negative reinforcement towards conventional or deviant behavior. They could not be combined because empirically they are only weakly correlated ($r = .02$) (see table X).

School attachment, teacher's interest, grades and positive peer relations in school serve as our measures of school influence.

Trust in People

The "Trust in People" scale was abandoned because the responses are almost uniform in displaying a sense of distrust among respondents. For example, 224 of the respondents believe people will take advantage of you, and 202 believe "you can't be too careful" as opposed to "most people can be trusted". The lack of variance in these items undermines their value.

TABLE X

CORRELATIONS - SCHOOL VARIABLES

N= 230 to 234

	AVGRADE	LIKSCH	TECHINT	TRYHARD	CARETECH	DISCWRK
AVGRADE		.34	.12	.20	.19	.04
LIKSCH			.18	.32	.32	.02
TECHINT				.12	.16	.02
TRYHARD					.30	.07
CARETECH						.12

	AVGRADE	ATTSCH	TECHINT	DISCWRK
AVGRADE		.33	.12	.04
ATTSCH			.21	.09
TECHINT				.02

Differential Opportunity

The differential opportunity variables (educational/occupational aspirations and expectations) also suffer from lack of variance. Of those who responded, 98.7% believe their chances are fair or good of reaching their educational goals; only 1.3% believe their chances are poor. The same pattern holds for occupational expectations; 97.7% think their chances are fair or good of achieving their occupational goals; and expectations are also biased by the fact that very few of the probationers and PINS had summer jobs. Only one-fourth of the probationers and PINS had summer jobs versus 100% of the summer program youth. Any attempt to look at the influence of a work experience on deviance would be biased by this discrepancy, and therefore was not undertaken.

Our ability to look at social class as a variable influencing differential opportunity was lost by our failure to include some measure of standard of living, specifically income or source of income. The extent of missing data for parents' occupation make this variable unuseable. No occupation was given for 146 fathers and 101 mothers.

Education of parents is largely limited to high school, with only 37 of the mothers and 25 of the fathers having gone beyond high school. Education is not known for 56 of the mothers and 145 of the fathers. Using the information we did obtain on education and occupation, it appeared that our sample was generally lower class, and no real distinctions were identifiable.

Community Influence

Several nominal variables were included in an effort to measure differences in the neighborhoods in which youth lived. The first, "Is there a name for the neighborhood you live in now?" (NAMNEIG) was an effort to see if the youth envisioned their neighborhood as a community. Presumably those communities more capable of collection action would see themselves as a community and would associate a name and boundaries with their neighborhood.

Two questions relating to access to illegitimate opportunity within the neighborhood were asked. "Do you know people in this neighborhood who break the law?" (KNOBRKLW) was an attempt to see whether youth knew law-violators in their neighborhood. Respondents were next asked the number of people known to them who they think are law-breakers (NOBRKLW). The number of people they know who break the law is included in the path model as a measure of the criminal influences a youth experiences in his/her community.

AREA was included in the questionnaire in order to confirm that an equal balance between the high crime areas was maintained. Slightly more from the southeast area were included than the other two areas, but the difference is relatively minor and not expected to have any effect. Zipcode was included in order to test whether differences in type of crime could be ascertained, based on place of residence. It was hoped that an analogy could be made between zipcode and police wards so that the type of crime dominant in an area could be examined relative to type of crime admitted to by the

youth. Should a pattern emerge, it would lend support for the importance of the learning process in developing specific delinquent patterns of behavior.

PATH MODEL

Based on preliminary data analysis, scales were created where possible and the path model was redesigned to take into account those items which empirically could not be combined. The revised model contains scales for the four measures relating to parental control and the measure of family integration. Identification, attitude towards friends, and negative community influence are measured by single items, since only one indicator was found to be useable for each. Similarly, with the intervening variables, only school attachment consists of multiple indicators in a scale. The other three (AVGRADE, TECHINT, DISCWKR) are measured by single items. All of the peer support variables derive from single indicators, except reliability.

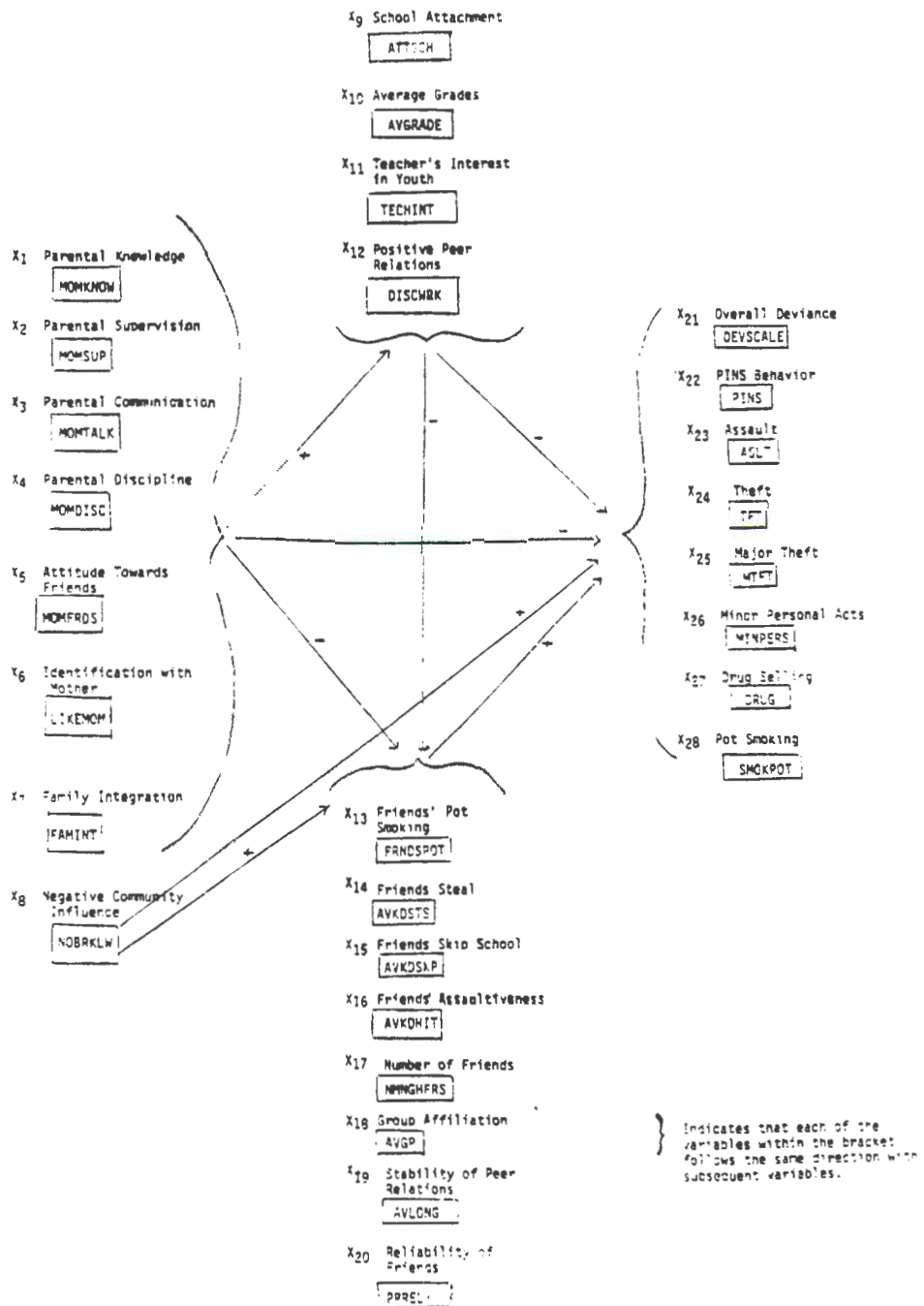
Collinearity

Correlations were examined as to the relationships between variables within each major concept to be sure that collinearity was not a problem, i.e. that each of the variables was measuring a separate concept. In no case did any of these correlations exceed .53, removing any concern regarding multicollinearity (see Appendix H).

The path model that emerged is depicted in Figure 1.

Path Model

Figure 1



CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Basic Characteristics/Descriptive Data

The sample consists of youth from within and outside of the juvenile justice system. Those within (probationers) make up 35.8% of the sample; those on the fringe of the system (PINS) make up 19.9% of the sample; and those outside of the system make up the rest (44.3%). All are black and living in high juvenile crime areas. The group is 55% male and 45% female. The mean age is 16, with older youth (16 and over) dominating the sample slightly (68.3% are 16 or over). Most (205 or 83.3%) live with their mother, while father is present in only one-third of the homes. Most (63%) have working mothers. And 224 (91.1%) indicated they expect to go to college, although their parents have generally not gone beyond high school.

Household Composition

A major factor in the amount of parental support provided to an individual in our sample relates to whether one or both parents are present in the home. Only 28.5% (70 youth) live with both natural parents (see Appendix I). This compares unfavorably to the national average; the National Urban League places at 54% the number of black married-couple families in the U.S. in 1980.

One hundred thirty-five respondents (54.9%) live with mother only, while only seven (2.8%) live with father only. However, Natalino (1972) points out that the absence of the natural father in a black home may not mean lack of male influence. In order to look at male influence, I combined those cases where the youth reported either the presence of father or an uncle, grandfather or stepfather in the home. This raises the number of homes with a father-figure present from 77 (70 where both parents are present plus seven where father only is present) to 102 (41.5%). It still leaves 60% or 144 cases where no father figure is in the home. Of these, 123 are headed by mother. The remainder (21) are headed by an older sibling, grandmother or other adult.

The Urban League found in 1980 that 42% of all black families were living in households headed by females (defined as having no husband). The higher incidence of female-headed households in our sample (50%) is probably related to the low income status of our sample. (While no income data were obtained, the income qualification for entry into the summer program verifies the lower income of at least this portion of the sample.)

But does father's absence affect deviance? To determine this, analysis of variance was used to compare means for each of the sub-types of deviance. First, comparisons were made relative to absence or presence of father or stepfather in the home. Then means for each subtype of deviance were compared relative to presence or absence of another adult male other than the father in the home. (That is, homes where there was a uncle or grandfather

present were compared to homes where no male adult relative was present). The presence/absence of father did not make a significant difference for any of the sub-types (although it came close for PINS). When comparisons were made for presence/absence of another adult male in the home, PINS is significant. (See Table XI). However, youth having an adult male present in the home tend to score higher on self-reported PINS misbehavior. Theft scores also are significantly higher for those with an adult male (other than father) present. This may be because these adult males are themselves involved in deviance and negatively influence the young person, or they may attempt to control the youth (as might be the case with grandfather), but because they are not the father, the youth resents the interference and rebels more. These findings must be viewed cautiously, however, since the group having an uncle or grandfather in the house is small (26 or 12.5%).

Relatives

The total number of other relatives other than parents who are available to provide support to the youth is an issue in the literature. For example, Natalino (1972) says that "clusters of kin" help fulfill parenting functions in families where a formal marital tie may never have existed. Therefore, I looked both at other relatives in the home as well as availability of other relatives living in the neighborhood. (Neighborhood was defined as living within a one mile radius of the youth's home.) This effort was undertaken to see if these clusters of kin existed and/or had any effect.

TABLE XI

ADULT MALE INFLUENCE ON DEVIANCE

	Mean Scores							
	DEVSCALE	PINS	MINPERS	TFT	MTFT	ASLT	DRUG	SMOKPOT
Father Present	30.84	5.85	.41	3.38	.29	1.92	.51	1.00
Father Absent	37.02	7.01	.64	5.28	.32	1.90	.59	1.04
F Prob.	.27	.06	.15	.08	.76	.97	.62	.80
Other Male adult Present	39.98	8.29	.69	7.33	.17	1.59	.43	1.17
Other Male adult Absent	34.32	6.39	.55	4.31	.33	1.95	.58	1.00
F Prob.	.47	.03*	.54	.04*	.28	.53	.54	.50
	N=208	N=222	N=235	N=234	N=244	N=240	N=242	N=244

*Significant at <.05 level.

The mean for the total number of people living in the home was 5.25, including mom and the siblings. Siblings would be expected to affect negatively the amount of time the parent or parents could devote to the respondent. The mean of number of siblings living in the homes of our respondents was 2.1. Thus, slightly over two other people are living in the home besides mother and the two siblings, on the average. This consists of grandparents, nieces, nephews, and other miscellaneous relatives.

When comparing number of people living in the home relative to means on the deviance subscales, we find no significant differences at the .05 level. Means also do not differ significantly relative to number of siblings. (see Appendix J).

The majority of our respondents do not have other relatives in the neighborhood. The mean is 1.3. There were no significant differences in the means on the subscales when availability of relatives was examined. (see Appendix K).

In general, size of family membership seems to have no significant effects on deviance.

Work Status

Employment status of parents is important because it can affect the amount of time a parent or parents spends with children, and thus the amount of parental control. In homes where both parents were present, 68.6% of the mothers were working. In homes

where only the mother was present, 65.2% of the mothers were working. The presence or absence of father did not seem to have much effect on mother's working status.

According to the Urban League, 59.6% of black wives now work. Our figure is slightly higher which, again, is probably related to the overall lower income of our sample families.

Comparing means on the deviance sub-scales, we find no significant differences related to whether mother is or is not working. Only 143 youth report whether their father is or is not working. However, among these, having a working father does make a difference in one instance, i.e., youth with a working father tend to score higher on drug selling than those where father does not work (see Table XII).

Of the 145 cases where the youth knows mother's occupation, 39 (26.9%) are in professional, technical or managerial positions. In only 100 cases do the youth know what their fathers do; 24 (34%) are categorized as working in professional positions. The majority of women work in clerical, sales or service occupations (69%) compared to 36% of the men in these positions; 40% of the men, on the other hand, work in processing, machine trades, benchwork, structural work, i.e., those positions usually considered blue collar. As expected, females dominate in positions that traditionally have been low salaried. The means on the subscales tend to be consistently lower for youth whose mother is employed in a technical or professional position. In only one case is the relationship between type of occupation and deviance mean scores significant.

TABLE XII

RELATIONSHIP OF WORK STATUS/OCCUPATION TO DEVIANCE

Mean Scores

Work Status	DEVSCALE Overall deviance	PINS	MINPERS Minor pers.	TFT theft	MTFT Major theft	ASLT Assault	DRUG Drug Selling	SMOKPOT Smoking pot
Mother Working	36.72	6.84	.65	5.20	.36	1.97	.60	1.13
Mother Not Working	32.51	6.32	.45	3.84	.23	1.87	.54	.83
F Prob.	.45	.40	.20	.19	.22	.87	.74	.86
Father Working	33.62	6.34	.63	4.36	.31	1.99	.74	1.19
Father Not Working	31.89	7.18	.46	4.20	.17	1.33	.17	.94
F Prob.	.59	.33	.44	.91	.29	.19	.02*	.80
Occupation								
Mother-Technical, Professional	21.98	6.31	.21	2.86	.21	1.23	.26	.76
Mother-Clerical, Sales, Service	43.12	7.33	.83	6.44	.37	2.31	.72	1.14
Mother-Unskilled	31.11	6.50	.75	4.94	.64	1.50	.78	1.50
F Prob.	.10	.20	.03*	.09	.29	.38	.21	.11
Father-Tech., Prof.	52.92	7.67	.87	7.52	.42	3.43	1.17	.88
Father-Clerical, Sales, Service	27.86	5.20	.36	3.75	.20	.75	.72	1.30
Father-Unskilled	30.25	5.96	.41	4.16	.32	1.73	.39	1.13
F Prob.	.21	.32	.46	.33	.93	.07	.11	.73

Youth with mothers in clerical, sales and service jobs tend to score higher on minor assaultive behavior and disorderly conduct (MINPERS). There are no significant relationships where father's occupation is concerned.

Social-Emotional Relationships

Several variables lacked sufficient variance to be included in the path analysis but were examined to test their value for future study. Responses to the question, how close is respondent to mother (MACLOS) were coded so that those who were "very close" were compared to those "not close" or "kind of close". Most youth (193) are very close to mother, while 39 are "kind of" close and 5 are not close at all. Being very close to mother proves significant for youth involved in PINS misbehavior and minor assaultive/disorderly misbehavior (MINPERS). (Correlation between PINS and closeness is $-.12$, significant at the $.04$ level, and between MINPERS and closeness, $r = -.16$, significant at the $.01$ level). Closeness does seem to help prevent minor misbehavior.

How much the youth thinks mom cares (MOMCARES) was similarly recoded dichotomously; 209 think mom cares a great deal, while 24 think she cares "pretty much" and 4 think "not very much" is more appropriate. None think she doesn't care at all.

MOMCARES relates significantly to MINPERS ($r = -.20$, $p = .002$) and to drug selling ($r = .11$, $p = .04$). It is interesting that this last relationship is positive. Having a mother who cares has an undesirable effect on his/her drug selling.

Looking at responses to the question relating to whether the respondent wants to be like mother (LIKEMOM), we find that most respondents in the sample have a strong identification with mother. (The mean is 3.03 on a scale of 4.0). And they have families that tend towards high integration. (Mean is 14.3 of maximum possible scale score of 19.0 on the family integration scale.) Further analysis of the socio-emotional content of relationships will be discussed in the path analysis.

School

Of those returning to school in the fall, most (149) will be attending regular public school, 17 will be in a special public school, nine will be in private school, 25 will be in technical schools, and 12 will be in college. Twelve are not sure where they will be attending school, but indicate that returning to school is what they plan to do. Of the 22 who are not planning to return to school in the fall, 15 finished and seven dropped out. These seven dropped out between the seventh and tenth grade, with none of the seven going beyond the tenth grade.

According to the Urban League, the dropout rate for youth 14-17 years old in 1980 was 4.5%. Our sample compares favorably with 2.8%. Education is important to these youth, it seems, since 162 (65.9%) indicate they want at least to enroll in college and 147 of these hope to finish college.

National statistics indicate that, in 1980, the proportion of blacks 18-24 enrolled in college was 28%. Yet 65.9% of our sample indicate that they want to go to college (FARSCH). If even half of these youth actually do achieve college enrollment, they will have surpassed their parents' educational achievement, and as first-generation college students, will benefit in achieving overall improved income levels as compared to their counterparts who choose to go to work right out of high school.

The high educational goals of our sample are sufficiently homogeneous that they do not help us explain deviance. But nonetheless they help us to discount the notion of a lesser commitment to education among the lower class in general, and blacks, in particular.

Parents' own educational experience does not seem to influence their youth's educational achievement to any great degree. That is, when comparing the youth's grades in school (AVGRADE) to mother's education (broken down by less than high school, high school, high school or beyond high school) we find no relationship ($r=.01$).

The average grade in school is a "C", with 47.6% of the sample stating that this is the grade they usually get in school. Grades relate non-significantly to educational aspirations ($r = .13$) or educational expectations ($r = .19$).

Peer Relations

Three to four friends is the mean number of friends named by respondents. The mean number of neighborhood friends named was

3.92, versus 4.07 school friends. Males and females do not differ dramatically in the number of friends they have in school and in the neighborhood. Of the males who responded, 58.5% had three or fewer neighborhood friends, compared to 54.7% of the females. Of those naming school friends, 58.5% of the males had less than four school friends, while 64% of the females fell into this category. Boys are consistent in the number of friends they maintain in each setting, whereas the girls seem to have slightly fewer school friends. But the differences are small.

Only 31 youth do not list any friends as members of their group, i.e. they do not consider themselves a part of any group. The majority of youth (85.8%) do consider themselves and at least some of their friends to be part of a group. The mean "groupness" is .78, which is closer to 1.0 (member) than 0, (Not a member), indicating that on the average, most friends are considered a part of the youth's group. The mean number of friends that the youth considers a part of his group is 3.08. In other words, the average group size is four, including the respondent. This does not differ significantly for males and females (3.13 for boys and 3.02 for girls) so that each seems to have almost the same number of group friends. The small number in groups implies the absence of gang influence to the extent that gangs have generally been associated with large numbers. However, this assumes that being a member of a group means the same thing as being a member of a gang. (This assumption may not be totally appropriate, but it is one we are

willing to make, since gangs are usually described as being sizeable and there is no evidence here that youth associate with large numbers.)

Neighborhood friends listed by youth are not new to them. Few (less than 10%) list friends they have known for less than one year. (The mean is 5.2, with 5 being the code for "At least three years, but less than five years." The mode is 6 or "Five years or more".) There is enough variance in the responses on this variable to use it in the regressions, but the variance is in the three categories relating to having known friends at least one year. The fact that, on the average, most friends are not new implies that friendships do not shift and change quickly.

Community of Residence

Most of the respondents are long term residents of Washington, D.C. Only one youth has lived in D.C. less than one year. The vast majority (175 or 71.1%) have lived here most of their lives (15 years or more). However, only about one-third of this group (91) have lived in the same neighborhood for this extensive a period of time. Twenty-one have lived in their present neighborhood less than one year, and 104 (43%) have lived in their neighborhood five years or less.

Sutherland (1947), Suttles (1968) and Short and Strodbeck (1965) all suggest that the community in which a youth lives can be a negative or positive force, either supporting conventional or

unconventional behavior. Presumably if there is no sense of community, there would be no collective conventional effect; that is, there are fewer mechanisms for controlling the influx of drugs or other crime into the area. The question, "Is there a name for the neighborhood you live in now?" was an attempt to see if the designation of a name, as one index of existence of a community, was related to the level of deviance. In administering this question, it appeared to this interviewer that the question was not always understood by youth. Occasionally a response like "18th Street" would be given. The ambiguity of responses such as this, along with the large number of missing values (33), limited the value of this item. However, in the interest of evaluating the concept from an exploratory point of view, I examined the correlations between each of the subtypes of deviance and NAMNEIGH (whether the youth associates a name with his neighborhood) (See Table XIII). I found a significant relationship for PINS, MINPERS and SMOKPOT. Living in a neighborhood where there is sufficient sense of community to associate a name with it does help to deter PINS misbehavior, smoking pot, and being involved in minor personal offenses.

While NAMNEIGH represents the positive influence of a community, KNOBRKLW (knowing people who break the law) represents the negative side, since this may provide an opportunity to learn the values and skills necessary to law violation.

We find that of the 206 youth who respond, 136 (66%) indicate that they do know people who break the law. On the average, they know at least three people who are lawbreakers. (The range is from

none to over 20.) Knowing people who break the law has a significant relationship with every subtype of deviance other than major theft and minor assaultive behavior (MINPERS). Involvement in theft, assault, PINS and drug sale and use are all related to knowing people who break the law. (See Table XIII).

Knowing people who break the law does not seem to have much to do with whether one associates a name with his/her community. There is no significant relationship between these two variables. The correlation between knowing people who break the law and associating a name with the community is .08. One cannot, therefore, assume that having a sense of community is necessarily associated with an absence of law violators, or that living in a neighborhood with a sense of community necessarily reduces contact with criminals and/or other delinquents. We will be looking at the negative influence of others who violate the law in more detail in our path analysis.

One other way of determining whether there is any community influence is to evaluate the type of crime in a given area relative to the misbehavior which youth report. Information on zipcodes where the youth live was collected for this reason. The respondents live in 18 different zipcodes. Of these, seven have enough respondents (15 or more) to make comparisons. Originally my intent was to compare type of crime the youth reported to the type of adult crime dominant in that area. However, data available through the FBI Uniform Crime Report do not provide information on where adult criminals live, only where they are arrested, making it impossible

TABLE XIII

COMMUNITY INFLUENCE AND DEVIANCE

	Correlations							
	DEVSCALE	PINS	MINPERS	TFT	ASLT	HTFT	DRUG	SMOKPOT
NAMNEIGH	-.11 p=.08	-.18 p=.01*	-.14 p=.02*	-.04 p=.30	-.04 p=.28	-.07 p=.16	-.04 p=.27	-.11 p=.02*
KNOBRKLW	.22 p=.001*	.26 p=.000*	.09 p=.085	.23 p=.000*	.20 p=.001*	.09 p=.09	.15 p=.01*	.20 p=.001*

* Significant at .05 level or better.

N's range from 189 to 206, reflecting fluctuation in missing data.

to compare presence of adult criminals in an area to level of juvenile crime in that area. However, an attempt was made to see if any patterns existed relative to overall crime rates. Comparing means on the deviance subscales for each of the seven zipcodes, we find that none of the relationships was significant, although theft and major theft are relatively high in zipcode 20009. (See Table XIV). This zipcode is within the first police district, where the highest number of property and violent crimes occur. (See Appendix L). This district is adjacent to the downtown business district, and according to the Office of Criminal Justice and Planning and Analysis, "provides criminals with the anonymity necessary for successfully perpetrating certain types of crimes." (1980: 24). Thus, the high theft in this area may be a reflection not of negative community influence in terms of adult criminals, but of residence near an area where crime is easier to perpetrate. It should be noted, however, that zipcode 20001 is also in this police district, and means on theft and major theft are low for this zipcode, and zipcode 20002, which is also high in theft, is not a part of this district or adjacent to the area. No clear patterns emerge and no support is provided for the notion of community influence towards a specific type of crime. Thus, we are unable to provide much support for ecological patterns of criminality.

TABLE XIV

ECOLOGICAL PATTERN OF DEVIANCE

Means on Self-Reported Sub-Scales

Zipcode	N	DEVSCALE	PINS	MINPERS	ASLT	TFT	MTFT	DRUG	SMOKPOT
20001	23	34.78	6.83	.73	2.05	3.00	.09	<u>.77</u>	1.13
20002	31	23.37	6.07	.33	1.62	4.43	.29	.40	.71
20003	16	21.93	4.80	.13	.75	3.13	.19	.25	<u>1.20</u>
20009	19	<u>40.71</u>	6.61	.35	1.89	<u>6.82</u>	<u>.68</u>	.63	.89
20019	52	29.48	6.76	.56	1.86	2.59	.29	.42	1.08
20020	29	37.25	6.17	.74	<u>2.18</u>	6.19	.44	.68	1.03
20032	23	32.89	<u>7.42</u>	<u>.95</u>	1.82	3.60	.13	.45	1.13

Deviant Behavior Patterns

Before examining the explanatory value of the variables in our study, we need to examine the deviant characteristics of our sample to justify that they do represent a continuum of deviant behavior.

In terms of court experience, the PINS and summer program samples are more alike than the PINS and probationers; 73.5% of the PINS youth and 70.6% of the summer program youth have never been to court, whereas all of the probationers have been to court. (See Table I). Thirty percent of the probationers have been to court three or more times compared to 6.1% of the PINS youth and 11% of the summer program youth. The probation sample is dominated by males, whereas there are more females in the summer program. Thus, it is not surprising that most of the females (74.3%) have never been to court whereas most of the males (76.3%) have. (See Table XV). About the same proportion of older youth as younger youth have been to court at least once (55% versus 50.6%).

Although the reason or reasons for going to court are not necessarily an accurate indicator of the dominant behavior of a youth, it is reasonable to expect a youth to be charged or picked up by police as a result of acts done more frequently. Very few youth in fact go to court for PINS or drug offenses; the majority in our sample who have gone to court at least once were charged with a personal or property offense. Of the 131 who admit to having gone to juvenile court at least once, 12% gave a codeable reason. (See Table XVI). Females go to court for PINS offenses

TABLE XV

JUVENILE COURT EXPERIENCE BY SEX

	Male	Female	
Never	32 23.7%	81 74.3%	113
Once	42 31.1%	16 14.7%	58
Twice	27 20%	5 4.6%	32
Three or More	34 25.2%	7 6.4%	41
	135	109	244

JUVENILE COURT EXPERIENCE BY AGE

	Ages 13-15	Ages 16-21	
Never	38 49.4%	75 44.9%	113
Once	22 28.6%	36 21.6%	58
Twice	9 11.7%	23 13.8%	32
Three or More	8 10.3%	33 19.7%	41
	77	167	244

TABLE XVI

REASON FOR GOING TO COURT BY SEX

	Males	Females
PINS Offenses	1	4
Minor Property	16	7
Major Property	42	4
Minor Personal	8	7
Major Personal	26	4
Minor Drug	6	0
Major Drug	3	0
Total	<hr/> N = 102	<hr/> N = 26

more than males, while males dominate in drug offenses. The primary reason males go to court is for major property offenses, while females are prosecuted for minor personal and minor property offenses.

The pattern changes slightly relative to reason for being picked up by police. There are more PINS involved here as a result of 24 being picked up for hooking school. Unfortunately there are more missing values also; 150 respond that they have been picked up by police at least once, and 12% give a codeable reason. (See Table XVII). Females again are picked up more for PINS offenses, while minor and major property offenses bring police attention to deviant males.

As to overall self-reported scores, means are low compared to maximum scores possible (See Table XVIII A). But on the average, youth admit to committing at least one offense in the PINS, assault and theft categories. (See Table XVIII B).

The least common offenses committed (less than 40 admit to doing it at least once) include stealing a car, breaking and entering (which together make up major theft or MFTT), selling heroin or other hard drugs, and drunk and disorderly, hitting a parent, (two of the three minor personal offenses), armed robbery, and prostitution.

The most common offenses (more than 150 admit to committing the offense at least once) include arguing with parents, staying out late, skipping school and getting suspended from school (in other words, PINS offenses).

TABLE XVII

REASON FOR BEING PICKED UP BY POLICE BY SEX

	Males	Females
PINS Offense	8	20
Minor Property	24	5
Major Property	22	2
Minor Personal	11	8
Major Personal	11	7
Minor Drug	11	0
Major Drug	3	0
Total	<hr/> N = 90	<hr/> N = 38

TABLE XVI IIA

SELF-REPORTED DEVIANCE SCORES BY SEX/AGE

(Maximum Score Possible on DEVSCALE = 304.5)

Mean Scores		
	DEVSCALE	
Males	47.06	N=108
Females	19.86	N=82
F Prob.	.000 ***	
Ages 12-15	31.83	N=62
Ages 16-21	36.69	N=122
F Prob.	.38	

TABLE XVIII B
AVERAGE SCORES ON DEVIANCE

I. Weighted Means

Variable Name	Maximum Score Possible	Range of Scores	Mean	No. of Missing Cases
PINSXTOT	43.5	0 - 35	9.80	23
ASLTTOT	102	0 - 102	10.00	6
TFTTOT	63	0 - 63	10.13	12
MTFTX5	30	0 - 20	1.54	2
UNGOV	24	0 - 18	1.86	11
DRUGX7	42	0 - 42	3.96	4
DEVSCALE	304.5	0 - 211	35.03	38 N=208

II. Unweighted Means

				No. of Items	
PINS	24	0 - 17	6.63	8	N=223
ASLT	18	0 - 18	1.91	6	N=240
TFT	15	0 - 13	4.70	5	N=234
MTFT	6	0 - 4	.31	2	N=244
MINPERS	9	0 - 6	.57	3	N=235
DRUG	6	0 - 6	.57	2	N=242
SMOKPOT	3	0 - 3	1.03	1	N=244

In the overall scores on the self-report scale, only 10 youth (three males and seven females) admit to nothing; 208 of the youth (with 38 missing) admit to arguing with their parents or some other minor offense at least once.

Theoretically youth who reach the level of probation have been involved in deviance more frequently and acts of a more serious nature than other youth, and this should be reflected in higher scores on self-admit scales. Generally, this pattern holds for our sample. The means on the subscales for the youth on probation are higher than the other youth in our sample. However, the differences are not significant for selling drugs, smoking pot or minor personal misbehaviors (MINPERS). Here the scores for the summer participants are almost as high. As expected, PINS youth score almost as high as probationers on PINS offenses. (See Table XIX).

Age/Sex Differences

As part of the descriptive phase of our study, we need to look at how the characteristics of our sample differ by age and sex. For example, do females continue to be involved in offenses of a minor nonviolent nature? Is there any pattern to the types of offenses committed by older youth or males? Are the differences we find in male/female official data reflective of overall behavior? Understanding the age/sex characteristics of our sample is important to understanding the results of the path analysis.

TABLE XIX

MEAN ON DEVIANCY SUB-SCALES BY TYPE OF RESPONDENT

Type of Respondent	DEVSCALE	ASLT	TFT	PINS	MINPER	DRUG	SMOKPOT	MTFT
Probationer	47.01	2.55	8.01	7.79	.56	.65	1.10	.47
PINS Center	32.58	1.58	3.49	7.24	.67	.46	.92	.15
Summer Program Participant	26.06	1.54	2.54	5.27	.53	.55	1.03	.25
F Prob.	.00*	.04*	.00*	.00*	.78	.69	.68	.03*

* Significant at least at the .05 level.

N's range from 208 to 244

Sex Differences

Females have traditionally been less involved in most types of delinquency and more involved in status offenses than males. The literature has begun to examine how the ratios between males and females have changed relative to different types of offenses as well as seriousness levels. Differences have been found between official statistics and unofficial data, with self-reported data indicating greater involvement among females than official records would lead us to expect. This partly has to do with the fact that females tend to commit the less serious offenses, and therefore are less likely to be caught and prosecuted. Still they do commit some proportion of the more serious offenses, which theory must ultimately take into account.

One of the ways of examining misconduct by sex is by looking at sex ratios. Our sample of probationers has a ratio of 9:1, consistent with delinquency statistics for the District of Columbia (89% of the delinquent offenses which result in official action via probation in the District were committed by males as opposed to 11% by females).

Ratios based on official statistics have been reported in the literature to range from 6:1 (Smith, 1979) to 3.6:1 (Canter, 1982), whereas the range for self-reported data goes from 4:1 to 1.2:1.

Comparing official statistics (taken from D.C. Superior Court Annual Report, 1982) to those admitting to at least one offense on the self-report sub-scales, we can see that girls are more involved

in deviance than official data would lead us to expect. (See Table XX).

Although females are involved in more acting out than is indicated by court statistics, they remain less involved in delinquency from the standpoint of overall frequency as well as relative seriousness of offenses; i.e., in no case do more females than males admit to committing any of the offenses, and the gap is greatest for major theft. The ratio between official and self-report data is most similar for drug sale (4:1 versus 3.4:1). This would imply that drug statistics (unlike other official data) are a true reflection of actual behavior.

Self-report information regarding drugs indicates that of 134 males, 46 indicate they have sold pot at least once compared to 12 of the 109 females; 16 males admit to selling heroin and hard drugs versus four (4) females. When combined, we find that 50 males admit to selling either pot or hard drugs versus 12 females (37.3% of the males versus 11.1% of the females). As to pot use, 45.5% of the males and 55.5% of the females never smoke pot. Of the males, 22% smoke pot more than once/week compared to 14.5% of the females (or a ratio of 1.5:1). Whereas females are almost as likely to be involved in pot use as males, they are not as involved in drug selling.

The ratio of males to females where official PINS data are concerned is different than that for delinquents. In D.C. in 1982, males made up 53% of the PINS who were formally processed and females 47%, or a ratio of 1.13:1. The ratio of those admitting to

TABLE XX

OFFICIAL/SELF-REPORT RATIOS BY SEX

Type of Offense	Official Stat's Ratio (Male to Female)	Self-Report Ratio
Acts Against Persons	9:1	
Assault - ASLT		1.8:1
Acts Against Property	9:1	
Theft - TFT		2.3:1
Major Theft - MTFT		5.5:1
Acts Against Public Order	4:1	
Use of Drugs - SMOKPOT		1.5:1
Sale of Drugs - DRUG		3.4:1

some PINS misbehavior (versus none) on the PINS self-admit scale is 1.04:1. Males tend to be closer to females in PINS involvement than official data would indicate.

In addition to official data, individual admissions of official contact are worth examining. Of our total sample, 131 youth admit to having been to juvenile court at least once (76% of the males and 26% of the females, or a ratio of about 3:1). Of the total sample, 150 admit to having been picked up by the police at least once (80.9% of the males and 36.7% of the females). Caution should be used in comparing this last statistic, however, since many youth go directly to court, and do not necessarily confront the police in the process. For example, most PINS get to court via parents or the school (in the case of truancy). (The exception is the runaway where police may be involved is a missing persons complaint is lodged.) Likewise, all delinquent charges do not necessarily involve police contact, as in the example of a youth who gives himself up or simply receives a summons to court without requiring the police to pick him up. Thus, a youth might go to court without having been picked up by the police and vice versa, e.g., some of the youths report being picked up by police for truanting and then are simply taken home. Nevertheless, the male/female ratio for police pick up is 2.2:1. Males have more contact with police and courts than females, but the gap is smaller than official records would lead us to expect.

Age Differences

We find our sample to be less balanced by age than by sex. Although the PINS sub-sample is equally balanced, the summer program

subsample has 2.7 times as many older as younger youth, and the probation sample has twice as many older as younger youth. Job programs generally serve the 16 and over youth, and probation youth tend to be older because they are generally not formally processed until they have come before the system several times.

The 1982 statistics for the D.C. Superior Court provide the following breakdown for age by type of offense: (Eliminating those under 12):

	Younger (13 to 15)	Older (16+)	Ratio
Acts Against Persons	513	565	1:1.1
Acts Against Property	767	942	1:1.2
Acts Against Public Order	181	483	1:2.7
PINS Offenses	55	16	3.4:1

Comparing official ratios to related sub-scales, we find that older youth consistently admit more to involvement in all sub-types of deviance except minor personal offenses (MINPERS) (See Table XXI); minor personal offenses represent the more aggressive of the minor PINS-related offenses. It coincides with official PINS statistics where younger youth dominate. This is not surprising since it is the kind of behavior that is officially processed among younger youth.

There is more major theft reported by older youth than we might expect, based on official data, but there is less drug sale

TABLE XXI
OFFICIAL/SELF-REPORT RATIOS BY AGE

Type of Offense	Ratios (Younger to Older)	
	Official Stat's	Self-Report Data
Acts Against Persons	1:1.1	
Assault - ASLT		1:1.2
Acts Against Property	1:1.2	
Theft - TFT		1:1.1
Major Theft - MTFT		1:2.3
Acts Against Public Order	1:2.7	
Drug Sale - DRUG		1:1.8
Drug Use - SMOKPOT		1:2.5
PINS Offenses	3.4:1	
PINS		1:1.01
Minor Personal Offenses		1.4:1

and use; that is, there is more of a balance between older and younger youth especially on use of drugs than official statistics would indicate. There is also more of a balance where PINS-related activities are concerned. However, the self-report scales consist of collective activity, while official statistics only reflect the particular charge for which the youth was brought into the system. Older youth may be involved in more PINS activity, but also are involved in other offenses; authorities usually overlook PINS charges in favor of more serious charges among older youth. And drug use may be overlooked until it becomes chronic (when youth get older) and/or the youth becomes involved in sales as opposed to use only.

Offense Specialization

Now let us look at whether any patterns emerge relative to type of offense. This can be done by comparing scores on the deviance subscales to each other as well as comparing what the respondents report relative to official contact with what they report relative to their overall deviance. If patterns emerge, it would provide evidence of offense specialization among our youth and tend to indicate not only that criminal behavior is learned, but that this learning is specific rather than general. Wolfgang and other delinquency authorities contend that no such specialization exists (See Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Repeat Offenders: June, 1984, 14).

In order to examine degree of offense specialization, I examined all of those questionnaires where more than one offense was listed among the reasons for going to court. Of 73 who admitted to having been charged more than once in juvenile court, 23 (or 31.5%) admitted to offenses which did not all fall into the same category, i.e. they did not consistently come back to court for the same type of offense. The rest (50 or 68.5%) came back on subsequent charges that were of the same general type (personal, property, PINS, drugs) as their first charge. This is lower than Rojek and Erickson's (1982) findings, where 53% came back for a crime other than the type originally charged, but it is still of importance that as many as one-third do not follow the same offense pattern.

The overall sample shows no specialization to the extent that the correlations between the scores on the deviance subscales are all relatively strong, i.e., many of the youth who admit to one type of offense also admit to another. (See Table XXII). The strongest relationship is between assault offenses and drug selling, while the weakest relationship is between PINS offenses and major theft.

When the sexes are examined separately, we find that the correlations for males remain relatively strong while several correlations for females are weak. The relationships between smoking pot and major theft and between smoking pot and theft among females are not significant at the .05 level. However, this is not surprising since so few females admit to property offenses. This seems to support the idea that females tend to "specialize" in minor offenses, while males are involved across the board.

TABLE XXI I

CORRELATIONS - DEPENDENT VARIABLES - TOTAL SAMPLE

	ASLT	DRUG	PINS	TFT	MTFT	MINPERS	SMOKPOT
ASLT	--	.67	.53	.48	.47	.48	.32
DRUG			.43	.37	.57	.42	.44
PINS				.53	.27	.44	.40
TFT					.47	.30	.34
MTFT						.29	.28
MINPERS							.27

CORRELATIONS - DEPENDENT VARIABLES - MALES ONLY

	ASLT	DRUG	PINS	TFT	MTFT	MINPERS	SMOKPOT
ASLT	--	.59	.51	.41	.43	.41	.31
DRUG			.36	.33	.57	.40	.44
PINS				.41	.25	.37	.40
TFT					.41	.23	.38
MTFT						.30	.33
MINPERS							.30

CORRELATIONS - DEPENDENT VARIABLES - FEMALES ONLY

	ASLT	DRUG	PINS	TFT	MTFT	MINPERS	SMOKPOT
ASLT	--	.75	.50	.53	.48	.67	.30
DRUG			.38	.31	.59	.50	.43
PINS				.56	.21	.45	.37
TFT					.47	.50	.12
MTFT						.45	.11
MINPERS							.21

Drugs

Questions dealing with both sale and use of drugs were included in the questionnaire, but the response categories for the use questions differed from the items dealing with sale of drugs. The sale questions asked how many times in the past year a youth was involved in selling drugs, while the use questions asked how many times a week a youth smoked pot or drank alcohol. The relationship between use of pot and sale of pot was strong ($r = .55$), whereas the relationship between use of pot and sale of hard drugs was weaker (.22). There was no question pertaining to the use of hard drugs in the self-report scale, although it was included in reasons for going to court and police pickup.

It is clear that this sample is more inclined towards drug use (especially marijuana) than alcohol use. Of the 244 who responded, 201 or almost 82% never drink alcohol; only 9 indicate that they drink more than once/week. By contrast, 122 indicated that they never smoke pot (50%); half admit to smoking pot, and of these, 46 indicate that they smoke pot more than once/ week.

For the most part, those picked up by police for a drug offense were picked up for selling or using minor drugs. Of the 144 who admit to having been picked up by police, 11 indicate that they were picked up for a minor drug offense (using or selling pot, hash, alcohol); three admit that they were picked up for a major drug offense (selling or using coke, heroin, LSD). Of these 14, three indicate on the self-report items that they have never sold

either pot or hard drugs, which means that 11 have sold pot or hard drugs, and this is probably the reason they were picked up.

This is consistent with juvenile court statistics that indicate that more youth are referred for sale of narcotics than for possession of drugs. In 1982, 144 youth were referred for possession of pot versus 225 for sale of narcotics. This is a change from 1980 when more youth were referred for possession of marijuana (304) than were referred for sale of narcotics (52).

According to the Office of Criminal Justice Plans and Analysis, drug violation is the only area of increased juvenile arrests in the recent past in the District. They state, "Juvenile arrests for drug law violations peaked in 1979 and declined slightly in 1980. However, from 1977 to 1980 juvenile arrests for these violations show an increase of 42.5%" (OCJPA, 1980: 19).

Overall, juvenile arrests have been declining consistently since 1975; the fact that drug violations have not followed the same trend as other juvenile offenses underscores the importance of analyzing drug offenses as a separate category.

Explaining Deviance

By regressing each of the seven subtypes of deviance on all prior variables, the direct effects of the intervening and exogenous variables were determined. Then regressions were run to determine the indirect effects by first regressing the exogenous variables on the intervening variables, and then using Alwin and Hauser's (1975) method to derive reduced form coefficients. In each case,

sex, age, and length of time that the youth lived in his neighborhood were controlled.

The regressions were run with father present/absent as a control, but results were unaffected. Also whether respondent plans to return to school in the fall (SCHFALL) was introduced as a control with the school variables, but was found not to be significant and dropped.

Pairwise deletion of missing data was used in the regression to insure retention of as many cases as possible.

The results of these regressions will be presented for each subtype of deviance in an effort to evaluate whether all are similarly motivated or etiologically different. The direct effects of the exogenous and intervening variables on each subtype will be discussed, as well as the indirect effects. Since causal factors are expected to vary by age and sex, older and younger youth and males and females will be analyzed separately, after presenting results for the whole sample. Table XXIII reports the results of the regression analysis that was conducted for overall deviance as well as the seven sub-categories for the total sample.

Overall Deviance (Devscale)

The weighted total of deviant acts to which a youth admits needs to be examined because it allows for analysis of general misbehavior. It is especially useful in adding to our understanding of those youth who are involved in a variety of different types of

TABLE XXIII
DIRECT EFFECTS OF INDEPENDENT ON DEPENDENT VARIABLE
TOTAL SAMPLE

N=190

Independent Variables		Betas - Dependent Variables							
		Overall Deviance	PINS	Minor Personal	Theft	Major Theft	Assault	Drug Selling	Pot Smoking
Parental Control	Knowledge (MOMKNOW)	-.06	-.17*	.09	.03	-.04	.05	-.03	-.07
	Supervision (MOMSUP)	.15**	.16**	.12	.12	.10	.08	.01	-.004
	Communication (MOMTALK)	-.01	.01	-.07	-.07	-.08	.06	-.02	-.09
	Discipline (MOMDISC)	-.09	-.01	-.08	-.09	-.17*	-.07	-.09	-.06
Mothers' Attitude Towards Friends (MOMFRDS)		-.14*	-.17**	-.03	-.10	.07	-.09	-.07	-.02
Family Integration (FAMINT)		-.09	.01	-.03	-.06	.08	-.04	-.02	.1**
Identification with Mother (LIKEMOM)		-.06	-.17**	-.11	.03	-.03	-.08	-.08	.10
Knowledge of Law-breakers (NOBRKWLW)		.12*	.15*	.003	.09	-.06	.13	.07	.06
School Involvement	Attachment (ATTSCH)	.01	-.17*	-.09	.04	.01	-.11	-.10	-.01
	Grades (AVGRADE)	-.13*	-.14*	-.07	-.12	-.08	-.12	.01	-.09
	Peer-sharing (DISCWK)	-.06	.02	.11	-.05	.01	-.02	-.09	.06
	Teachers' Interest (TECHINT)	-.17**	-.05	-.18*	-.08	-.06	-.15*	-.14	.06
Peer Support	Friends' Use of Pot (FRNDSPOT)	.23***	.21***	.16*	.15*	.13	.14	.22**	.50***
	Friends Steal (AVKDSTS)	-.004	.06	-.02	.09	-.07	.05	-.07	-.02
	Friends Skip School (AVKDSKP)	.15**	.09	.12	.04	.15	.10	.22**	.01
	Friends Beat up People (AVKDHT)	.06	.03	.17*	.05	.03	.04	-.02	.01
	Number of Friends (NMNGHFRS)	-.06	.04	.05	-.15	-.01	-.003	-.05	-.03
	Av. Group Friends (AVGP)	.11	-.01	.01	.10	-.06	.06	.11	.07
	Stability of Peer Relations (AVLONG)	-.01	-.04	-.12	-.16*	-.01	.03	-.04	-.10
	Reliability (PRRELY)	.15*	.02	.14	.19**	.15	.22**	.25***	.14*
Control Variables	SEX	-.26***	-.10	-.01	-.32**	-.23**	-.17*	-.13	.01
	AGE	.005	.06	.01	.05	.12	.05	.10	.20**
	Neighborhood Residence (LGTHNEIG)	-.11*	-.15	-.11	-.08	-.08	-.16*	-.12	-.07
R ²		.53	.53	.27	.39	.23	.35	.34	.44

* < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

misbehavior. By utilizing the weighting scheme described earlier, we are able to introduce seriousness as a dimension of deviance. Youth scoring high on DEVSCALE are admitting to more deviant acts and acts of a more serious nature.

The variables that have the strongest direct effects on overall deviance are those relating to peer influence. The single variable with the strongest direct effect is FRNDSPOT (having friends who smoke marijuana). Two other peer variables also have a direct effect. Having friends who are reliable and who skip school also contribute to deviant involvement. Having deviant friends is supported throughout the literature as a factor in deviance. What is important about these findings is that reliability of friends is also positively associated with deviance. This disputes Hirschi (1969) and Kornhauser's (1978) contention that deviant youth are socially disabled and do not trust or rely on each other. Instead it suggests a strong interdependence among deviant youth.

The number of friends that a youth has shows no significant direct effect. And having friends who steal or beat up people (AVKDSTS, AVKDHIT) does not affect total deviance. Nor does whether they are members of the respondents' group.

Parents, school and others in the community directly affect deviance, which would indicate that a youth can become deviant as a product of the behavior of adults in his environment regardless of the kind of peer relations the youth has.

Mother directly affects deviance through her methods of supervision (MOMSUP) and her attitude towards the respondents' friends

(MOMFRDS). However, while her approval of friends has a negative effect, her supervision has a positive effect. The more mother approves of friends, the less likely the respondent is to be deviant. But the more mother inquires as to the youth's activities and associates, the more deviance. If mother does not know the youth's friends and must inquire about them, it appears to have a detrimental effect.

Teachers directly deter deviance by being interested in the youth, and having good grades has a negative effect.

Indirect effects are reported in Tables XXIVA and XXIVB. They help to answer the question raised in the literature as to whether involvement with deviant friends is a byproduct of lack of positive adult support (especially parents). The path model proposes that adults do indirectly affect deviance through peers, and our results support this. Being knowledgeable of a youth's activities (MOMKNOW) affects having friends who smoke pot and skip school. These relationships are in the expected negative direction; that is, having a knowledgeable mother detracts from having deviant friends and therefore deviance. Having a strict mother (MOMDISC) contributes towards having reliable friends. However, reliability is positively associated with deviance. So more discipline leads to stronger peer ties which leads to more deviance. This is not as expected.

Knowing people who break the law does not necessarily reflect association with adults. Peers may also be included. Thus, it is not surprising that knowing law-breakers leads to having friends who

TABLE XXIVA
DIRECT EFFECTS OF PRIOR VARIABLES ON INTERVENING VARIABLES

TOTAL SAMPLE

N=190

Prior Variables	Intervening Variables - Betas - Peer Support							
	Pot Smoking Friends	Friends Who Steal	Friends Who Skip School	Friends who Beat Up People	No. of Friends	Av. Groupness	Stability of Relations	Reliability
Parental Knowledge Supervision Control Communication Discipline	-.22**	-.08	-.20*	-.03	-.02	-.08	.27***	-.11
	.03	.02	-.04	.07	.04	.08	-.01	-.03
	.04	.03	-.07	-.05	.15*	.16	-.19*	.11
	-.10	-.03	-.01	.05	-.03	.06	-.09	.15*
Mothers' Attitude Toward Friends	-.05	-.02	.03	-.01	.08	.11	.06	-.07
Family Integration	-.01	-.01	.12	-.03	.08	-.06	.25***	.07
Identification	-.13	.05	.04	-.02	.06	.02	-.09	.06
No. of Law-breakers Known	.17*	-.004	.06	.03	-.04	-.05	-.13	.22**
School Attachment Grades Involvement Positive Peers Teachers' Interest	-.06	.07	.09	-.20*	-.10	.02	.05	.07
	-.02	-.03	.07	.03	.18**	-.19*	.02	-.03
	-.20**	-.05	-.03	-.04	.10	.30***	-.03	-.10
	.01	.01	.001	.05	-.15	-.08	-.06	.04
Control Length of Time in Neighborhood Variables Sex Age	.07	.02	-.11	.12	.11	-.13	.11	-.04
	.11	-.06	.13	-.12	.07	-.03	-.01	-.12
	.08	-.01	-.04	.04	-.03	-.06	.10	-.02
R ²	.25	.39	.24	.29	.45	.27	.29	.25

* .05 ** .01 *** .001

TABLE XXIV B

INDIRECT EFFECTS - TOTAL SAMPLE

Dependent Variable	Exogenous Variables	Indirect Effects via		Indirect Effect as Proportion of Total Effects
		School	Peers	
Minor Personal Offenses MINPERS	MOMKNOW	-.01	-.13X	.80
	MOMSUP	.01	.01	.14
	MOMTALK	-.03	.04	.06
	MOMDISC	-.02	.01	.11
	MOMFRDS	-.02	.004	.48
	FAMINT	-.03	.01	.43
	LIKEMOM	-.03	.01	.11
	NOBRKLW	.03	.09	.94
PINS	MOMKNOW	-.02	-.11	.43
	MOMSUP	.002	.03	.16
	MOMTALK	.08X	.002	.86
	MOMDISC	-.03	-.02	.83
	MOMFRDS	-.02	-.004	.11
	FAMINT	.04X	.01	.50
	LIKEMOM	-.01	-.003	.05
	NOBRKLW	.02	.05	.32
DRUG Drug Selling	MOMKNOW	.003	-.12	.80
	MOMSUP	.02	.02	.77
	MOMTALK	-.04X	.04X	.20
	MOMDISC	-.02	.02	.03
	MOMFRDS	-.02	-.01	.29
	FAMINT	-.02	.045X	.33
	LIKEMOM	.01	-.01	.05
	NOBRKLW	.01	.10	.60
SMOKPOT Pot Smoking	MOMKNOW	-.02	-.17	.73
	MOMSUP	-.01	.05	.91
	MOMTALK	-.03	.05	.18
	MOMDISC	-.01	-.02	.30
	MOMFRDS	.01	-.05	.62
	FAMINT	-.01	-.02	.18
	LIKEMOM	.003	-.05	.63
	NOBRKLW	.001	.11	.64

X Indicates effects are counteracting each other, distorting value of coefficients.

TABLE XXIV B (cont.)

Dependent Variable	Exogenous Variables	Indirect Effects		Indirect Effects as Proportion of Total Effects
		School	Peers	
Assault ASLT	MOMKNOW	-.01	-.10X	.17
	MOMSUP	.01	.03	.33
	MOMTALK	-.06	.01	.86
	MOMDISC	-.025	.02	.08
	MOMFRDS	-.01	.01	.08
	FAMINT	-.03X	.06X	.74
	LIKEMOM	-.01	.01	.04
	NOBRKLW	.02	.07	.41
Theft TFT	MOMKNOW	-.01	-.11X	.68
	MOMSUP	.01	.02	.19
	MOMTALK	-.04	.07	.84
	MOMDISC	-.01	.02	.20
	MOMFRDS	.02	-.02	.04
	FAMINT	-.002	-.02	.25
	LIKEMOM	.01	.001	.25
	NOBRKLW	.01	.08	.05
Major Theft MIFT	MOMKNOW	-.003	-.07	.64
	MOMSUP	.01	.003	.09
	MOMTALK	-.02	.01	.11
	MOMDISC	-.002	.01	.02
	MOMFRDS	.005	-.03	.46
	FAMINT	.001	.02	.30
	LIKEMOM	.006	.001	.20
	NOBRKLW	.004	.07X	.60
Overall Deviance DEVSCALE	MOMKNOW	-.01	-.12	.68
	MOMSUP	.02	.03	.25
	MOMTALK	-.05X	.01	.67
	MOMDISC	-.01	.02	.12
	MOMFRDS	-.001	-.004	.03
	FAMINT	-.01	.05	.64
	LIKEMOM	.003	-.01	.14
	NOBRKLW	.02	.08	.45

X Indicates effects are counteracting each other, distorting value of coefficients.

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smoke pot and who can be relied on, both of which lead to more deviance for the respondent.

Similar results are obtained using Alwin and Hauser's (1975) method of calculating indirect effects. Figures in Table XXIVB represent the difference between the total effect minus the direct effects for each set of variables. The results tend to support the importance of the indirect effects of MOMKNOW (mother's being knowledgeable of the youth's friends and whereabouts) and NOBRKLW thorough peers. Mother's being knowledgeable reduces peer support which in turn reduces deviance. Knowing people who break the law encourages involvement with deviant peers and reliance on friends and this increases deviance.

The strongest indirect effects of the family variables through school are those that have to do with communication between mother and youth (although distorted somewhat by changing signs). Attachment to school and grades seem to go up where communication is good, resulting in less deviance (see Table XXV). But the reduced form coefficient is small, suggesting that mother's effort at controlling her child affect peer relations more than school involvement.

PINS

PINS misbehavior resembles overall deviance in some respects. Having friends who smoke pot once again has the strongest direct affect. But having friends who skip school is not significant.

TABLE XXV
EFFECTS OF EXOGENOUS ON INTERVENING VARIABLES
TOTAL SAMPLE

N=198

Exogenous Variables	Intervening Variables - School Involvement			
	School Attachment	Average Grades	Teachers' Interest	
Parental Control	Knowledge (MOMKNOW)	.06	.11	-.04
	Supervision (MOMSUP)	.01	.01	-.09
	Communication (MOMTALK)	.25***	.22**	-.01
	Discipline (MOMDISC)	.15*	.03	-.01
Mothers' Attitude Towards Friends	.10	-.09	.09	
Identification with Mother	.05	-.01	.07	
Family Integration	.19**	.06	-.02	
No. of People Known who Break the Law	-.03	-.06	-.10	
Control Variables	Length of Time in Neighborhood	-.10	-.03	-.05
	Sex	-.05	.08	.06
	Age	.14*	-.02	.03
R^2	.25	.12	.05	

* < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

Mom's approval of friends, identifying with mom, and having a mom who is knowledgeable of the respondent's friends and activities are all significant and negative; that is, they lead to less PINS behavior. Mom's supervision has a positive effect on PINS, as does knowing people who break the law.

Unlike overall deviance, the length of time a youth has lived in his community (LGTHNEIG) has no significant effect on PINS activities. Knowing people who break the law (NOBRKLW), however does effect PINS behavior.

Average grade has a significant direct negative effect on PINS behavior as does ATTSCH (attachment to school); both are consistent with findings of earlier studies.

As to indirect effects, mother's being knowledgeable of the youth's activities reduces peer support which reduces deviance.

Minor Personal Offenses

Minor personal offenses are related to PINS in that two of the three offenses which make up this variable are chargeable as PINS offenses. Hitting/threatening to hit a parent/teacher come under the general rubric of ungovernability. These, along with drunk/disorderly, make up MINPERS. They are relatively minor offenses. But the same variables do not explain both PINS and MINPERS, indicating that this more aggressive behavior differs from the more passive

PINS offenses. For instance, having friends who beat up people (AVKDHIT) is significant with MINPERS but not PINS. This is not surprising since having friends who are antagonistic towards others would be expected to contribute toward involvement in minor personal misbehavior. Both youth involved in PINS and minor personal offenses have friends who smoke pot.

Whereas there are several parent variables significant with PINS, none of the parent variables are significant with MINPERS.

Whether the youth perceives teachers to be interested in his work is significant here. As expected, youth who do not think teachers are interested in them are more likely to be assaultive towards them.

As to indirect effects, it should be noted that none of the parental control or other family-related variables affects teacher's interest (See Table XXV); that is, parents do not directly affect MINPERS behavior or indirectly affect it through teachers. The small reduced-form coefficients support this lack of indirect effects through school. But the coefficients indicate that there are some indirect effect through peers. When mother is knowledgeable of a youth's activities and associates, the youth is less likely to have deviant friends or to commit minor personal offenses.

THEFT

Theft is largely a male activity, as reflected in the large beta for sex associated with this sub-scale. Only the variables

having to do with peer relations are significant for theft. Having friends who are reliable is significant and positively related, as is having friends who smoke pot. One other peer variable is significant--whether friends have been known for a long time has a negative effect on theft. The less time friends have been known, (i.e., the less stable the youth's friendships) the more involvement in theft.

While mother has no direct influence, she influences theft involvement indirectly through her knowledge of the youth's activities and associates. The more knowledge, the more stable the friendships, the less theft.

Having friends who steal (AVKDSTS) does not have a significant effect on theft activity, while knowing people who break the law has indirect effects through peers. This would imply that deviant peer influence is generic rather than specific.

Major Theft

Major theft does not share any significant effects in common with theft except sex. Neither peer variables nor school variables have any significant direct effects on major theft.

Parents have direct effects through mother's discipline (negative). The more strict mother is, the less likely the youth will be involved in major theft.

It is somewhat surprising that a parent variable is the only one having a significant direct effect on major theft while school

variables have none. Parental influence rather than school influence would have been expected to diminish as youth get involved in serious offenses like major theft, which is associated with age. Older youth tend to be more involved in this offense, yet this behavior is more influenced by parents than school or peers.

Drug Selling

Parental effects are not significant for drug selling while peer influence is strong. Reliability of friends has a positive influence on drug selling, as does having deviant friends who smoke pot and skip school. The strength of the peer variables where this offense is concerned is somewhat surprising since persons involved with drugs have been envisioned in the literature as loners. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) use the term "retreatist" to describe drug subcultures. The strength of peer reliability (beta = .25 for PRRELY) disputes the absence of strong peer relations among those involved in selling drugs, and the reduced-form coefficient for knowing is people who break the law (NOBRKLW) is strong, indicating that knowledge of lawbreakers also contributes to involvement in drug selling by influencing involvement with deviant peers. Knowing people from whom to obtain drugs is necessary to drug involvement as a source of supply. Deviant peers are likewise important as potential buyers. The effect of knowing people who break the law is largely indirect in this case.

Pot Smoking

Neither sex nor length of time in the neighborhood are significant factors in smoking pot, although age is, with pot smoking being an activity largely of older youth. Having friends who smoke pot dominates in explaining this phenomenon (beta = .50). Reliability of friends is important, with smoking pot being associated with more reliance on friends.

School has no direct effects on selling drugs or on smoking pot.

Family integration is positively associated with smoking pot. This is puzzling since having a happy cooperative family would not be expected to contribute to involvement in smoking pot.

Indirect effects include a negative effect of having a knowledgeable mother (MOMKNOW) through peers, i.e., having a mother who is knowledgeable of the youth activities and friends deters a youth from association with others who smoke pot which decreases pot smoking as it does selling drugs.

Knowing people who break the law has the same positive indirect effect through peers as it did on drug selling (See Table XXIVB).

Assault

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) used the term "conflict subculture" to describe assaultive gangs, which they believed arose because of an absence of any community controls (either of a conventional or

criminal nature). Yet "groupness" is not significant for assault offenses in our sample. Youth who score high on assault do rely on their friends, but they do not differ in the extent to which they see these friends as members of their group. Nor do they have friends who beat up people (AVKDHIT is not significant).

No parent variables are directly significant, although teacher's interest has a direct negative effect. None of the exogenous variables have any significant effects on teacher's interest, indicating that teacher's are responding independent of the family situation.

Summary - Total Sample

Our exogenous variables do best in explaining PINS behavior and smoking pot. They are least effective in explaining major theft.

Having deviant friends is important since having friends who smoke pot is a factor in every type of deviance except major theft and assault. But whereas having friends who "beat up people" was expected to be characteristic of youth who are involved in assault, this does not occur; nor is having friends who steal associated with theft. Having friends who skip school is significant for overall deviance and drug selling, but not PINS. It would appear that having friends who share general deviant attitudes and values is more important than having friends who can teach specific criminal skills.

Supervision is the only parent variable which affects overall deviance, and the effect is positive. Perhaps supervision is seen as nagging, which alienates a youth from home and pushes him towards deviant friends. In this case, it may be reactive rather than causal, occurring after youth are already involved in deviance.

On the other hand, having a mother who is knowledgeable of the respondent's activities and friends seems to prevent involvement with deviant others, and thus, deters deviance. Whether mother is knowledgeable of her child's activities has an indirect effect by decreasing peer support. (Reduced from coefficients exceed .10 in all cases except major theft).

Grades reduce PINS and overall deviance, but have no effects on other sub-types. Teacher's interest has a direct effect on overall deviance and personal offenses (MINPERS and assault). Relationships in school do not deter participation in theft or drug offenses. Indirect effects through school are generally small for all subtypes.

There is an unexpected positive effect of family integration on pot smoking. Perhaps families that are generally happy tend to ignore pot smoking, which has the effect of contributing toward its use.

Analyzing Sex Differences

The path model was run separately for males and females for all of the subscales and smoking pot (See Table XXVIA & B). Then

TABLE XXVI A
DIRECT EFFECTS OF INDEPENDENT ON DEPENDENT VARIABLE

MALES ONLY

N= 108

Betas - Dependent Variables

Independent Variables		Overall Deviance	PINS	Minor Personal	Theft	Major Theft	Assault	Drug Selling	Pot Smoking
Parental Control	Knowledge (MOMKNOW)	-.000	-.10	.08	.01	-.11	.07	-.07	-.02
	Supervision (MOMSUP)	.21*	.13	.09	.16	.23*	.13	.07	.004
	Communication (MOMTALK)	-.08	-.01	-.14	-.14	-.05	-.09	-.08	-.16
	Discipline (MOMDISC)	-.14	-.03	-.03	-.09	-.16	-.07	-.10	-.06
Mothers' Attitude Towards Friends (MOMFRDS)		-.08	-.15	.02	-.07	.26*	.003	.03	-.03
Family Integration (FAMINT)		-.04	.02	.01	-.03	.18	.05	.11	.23*
Identification with Mother (LIKEMOM)		-.05	-.18	-.15	.04	-.09	-.15	.01	.06
Knowledge of Law-breakers (NOBRKLV)		.16	.20*	.08	.17	-.05	.14	-.02	.06
School Involvement	Attachment (ATTSCH)	-.04	-.20*	-.05	-.05	-.04	-.01	-.07	.01
	Grades (AVGRADE)	-.13	-.17	-.05	-.09	-.15	-.16	.05	-.06
	Peer-sharing (DISWRK)	-.09	.02	.001	-.15	-.02	-.06	-.13	.06
	Teachers' Interest (TECHINT)	-.17*	-.06	-.08	-.02	-.10	-.13	-.19	.08
Peer Support	Friends' Use of Pot (FRNDSPOT)	.27**	.23**	.14	.18	.16	.16	.32**	.52***
	Friends Steal (AVKDSTS)	.13	.06	-.02	.25*	.02	.12	-.07	.08
	Friends Skip School (AVKDSKP)	.20*	.08	.09	.04	.21	.13	.31**	.10
	Friends Beat up People (AVKDHT)	.07	.03	.19	.02	.05	.06	-.06	-.13
	Number of Friends (NMGHFRS)	-.25*	-.01	.07	-.33**	-.15	-.15	.15	-.13
	Av. Group Friends (AVGP)	.12	-.03	.06	.16	-.11	.09	.10	.12
	Stability of Peer Relations (AVLONG)	-.03	-.07	-.20	-.20*	-.04	.03	-.03	-.13
Reliability (PRRELV)		.10	-.08	.05	.25*	.13	.13	.15	.18*
Control Variables	SEX	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	AGE	.13	.20*	.07	.18	.25	.12	.15	.25**
	Neighborhood Residence (LGTHNEIG)	-.15	-.16	-.02	-.09	-.10	-.13	-.09	-.13
R ²		.55	.54	.24	.43	.29	.31	.38	.50

* < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

TABLE XXVIB
DIRECT EFFECTS OF INDEPENDENT ON DEPENDENT VARIABLE

FEMALES ONLY

N= 80

Betas - Dependent Variables

Independent Variables		Overall Deviance	PINS	Minor Personal	Theft	Major Theft	Assault	Drug Selling	Pot Smoking
Parental	Knowledge (MOMKNOW)	-.31**	-.28*	.17	-.08		-.03	-.01	-.19
Control	Supervision (MOMSUP)	.17	.23*	.15	.17		.10	-.08	.07
	Communication (MOMTALK)	.16	-.002	-.05	.14		.25*	.03	-.12
	Discipline (MOMDISC)	.03	.02	-.17	-.07		-.02	.01	-.05
	Mothers' Attitude Towards Friends (MOMFRDS)	-.10	-.14	-.05	-.02		.003	-.10	-.05
	Family Integration (FAMINT)	-.03	.08	-.12	.01		-.13	-.10	.05
	Identification with Mother (LIKEMOM)	-.16	-.23*	-.02	-.07		.03	.14	.21
	Knowledge of Law-breakers (NOBRKWLW)	.26**	.18	-.10	.18		.12	.21	.07
School	Attachment (ATTISCH)	-.03	-.11	-.18	.04		-.30*	-.22	-.05
Involvement	Grades (AVGRADE)	-.26*	-.16	-.05	-.16		.04	-.01	-.15
	Peer-sharing (DISCWRRK)	-.06	-.02	.20	.11		.04	-.04	.15
	Teachers' Interest (TECHINT)	-.05	-.04	-.29*	-.19		-.05	-.08	.09
Peer Support	Friends' Use of Pot (FRNDSPOT)	.12	.13	.22	.11		.20	.08	.43***
	Friends Steal (AVKDSTS)	-.13	.14	-.13	-.12		-.09	.05	-.13
	Friends Skip School (AVKDSKP)	.06	.06	.18	.02		-.03	.01	-.09
	Friends Beat up People (AVKHIT)	-.06	-.03	.16	-.05		-.05	.09	.25*
	Number of Friends (NMGHFRS)	.32*	.13	.06	.13		.16	-.04	.06
	Av. Group Friends (AVGP)	.04	-.01	-.04	.04		.02	.14	.03
	Stability of Peer Relations (AVLONG)	-.14	-.03	.004	-.07		.06	-.08	.04
	Reliability (PRRELV)	.23*	.14	.23*	.11		.42***	.38***	.06
Control Variables	SEX	---	---	---	---		---	---	---
	AGE	-.05	-.04	.001	-.04		.07	.07	.16
	Neighborhood Residence (LCTHNEIG)	-.14	.01	-.23*	-.15		-.31***	-.20	-.05
	R ²	.57	.50	.43	.30		.56	.48	.49

* < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

comparisons were made between the sexes, using the unstandardized coefficients. (Table XXVII).

Overall Deviance

Having friends who smoke pot is again significant for males in a positive direction, as is having friends who skip school. It seems that deviant boys have friends who smoke pot and skip school.

Neither of these are significant for girls, but having friends they can rely on is. Deviant girls seem to rely more heavily on their friends than non-deviant girls. Number of friends is the only peer variable that is significant for both sexes, but its effect is in the opposite direction for males and females. There is a negative relationship between number of friends for boys while number of friends is positively related to girls' deviance, and the effect is stronger for boys than girls.

Mother has an influence with boys in that the more she supervises them, the more likely they are to be deviant. Identifying with mother (LIKEMOM) and having a mother who is knowledgeable of where she goes and with whom (MONKNOW) helps reduce deviance among girls.

Teacher's interest reduces deviant involvement among boys, while good grades are a deterrent for girls. Also, girls are more inclined toward deviance if they know people who break the law.

Indirectly, boys are most affected by the impact that knowing others who break the law has on their peer relationships. Knowing

TABLE XXVII

UNSTANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS
DIRECT EFFECTS BY SEX

	B Overall deviance DEVSCALE		B PINS		B Minor Personal Offenses		B Theft	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Knowledge	-.001	-4.91**	-.25	-.65*	.05	.11	-.02	-.13
Supervision	4.72*	2.88	.32	.58*	.06	.97	.83	.33
Communication	-1.62	2.03	.03	-.05	-.08	-.02	-.62	.20
Discipline	-3.48	.37	-.86	.044	-.02	-.90	-.51	-.11
Attitude Toward Friends	-2.83	-2.44	-.55	-.49	.024	-.05	-.03	-.05
Family Integration	-.55	-.29	-.03	.13	.004	-.051	-.10	.012
Identification	-2.25	-4.85	-.79	-1.02*	-.19	-.022	.39	-.24
Know Law-breakers	2.68	2.84**	.37*	.29	.04	-.04	.65	.22
Attached to School	-.86	-.52	-.49	-.27	-.03	-.11	-.25	-.07
Grades	-7.20	-9.97*	-.98	-.90	-.07	-.07	-1.09	-.72
Peer-sharing	-4.57	-2.20	.12	-.11	.09	.28	-1.72	.46
Teachers Care	-9.29*	-2.01	-.34	-.23	-.13	-.42*	-.28	-.80
Friends Pot	8.91**	2.40	.80**	.41	.14	.18	1.31	.25
Friends Skip	12.05*	2.53	.51	.38	.16	.29	.55	.11
Friends Hit	4.68	-4.07	.23	-.24	.38	.33	.33	-.31
Friends Steal	4.64	-3.33	.24	.52	-.017	-.13	1.99*	-.35
No. of Friends	-3.58*	2.91*	-.19	.17	.027	.02	-1.07**	.14
Groupness	13.81	3.03	-.31	-.11	.20	.12	3.97	.31
Stability	-1.50	4.18	-.31	-.13	-.25	.005	-1.93*	-.24
Reliability	1.99	3.07*	-.17	.28	.027	.12*	1.05*	.16
Sex	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Age	11.47	-2.55	1.91*	-.36	.18	.003	3.56	-.28
Time in Neighborhood	-4.09	-2.65	-.47	.04	-.009	-.17*	-.53	-.33
N=	106	81	108	84	108	82	108	82

TABLE XXVII

UNSTANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS
DIRECT EFFECTS BY SEX

	Pot Smoking SMOKPOT		Major Theft MTFT		Drug Selling DRUG		Assault ASLT	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Knowledge	-.015	-.13	-.06		-.06	.01	.14	-.04
Supervision	.003	-.05	.12*		.07	-.04	.23	.15
Communication	-.93	-.066	-.019		-.05	.009	-.13	.27*
Discipline	-.04	-.29	-.99		-.08	.004	-.16	-.069
Attitude Toward Friends	-.03	-.05	.19*		.029	-.09	-.05	.055
Family Integration	.91*	.02	.47		.04	-.04	-.05	-.11
Identification	.07	.27	-.081		.018	.16	-.51	.08
Know Law-breakers	.03	.03	-.03		-.023	.82	.19	.11
Attached to School	.009	-.03	-.009		-.049	-.13	-.02	-.41*
Grades	-.077	-.25	-.20		-.06	-.006	-.70	-.37
Peer-sharing	.08	.23	-.01		-.22	-.05	-.22	.096
Teachers Care	.12	.14	-.095		-.32	-.11	-.57	-.22
Friends Pot	.51***	.37***	.13		.36**	.06	.40	.35
Friends Skip	.18	-.16	.29		.64**	.03	.65	-.06
Friends Hit	-.27	.56	.088		-.13	.17	.34	-.23
Friends Steal	.09	-.14	.003		-.096	.05	.35	-.17
No. of Friends	-.057	.021	-.049		-.07	-.02	-.17	.11
Groupness	.40	.10	-.30		.39	.37	.78	.07
Stability	-.17	.049	-.038		-.059	-.11	.11	.09
Reliability	.10*	.034	-.058		.09	.19***	.20	.49***
Sex	---	---	---		---	---	---	---
Age	.69**	.38	.13		.17	.04	.26	.097
Time in Neighborhood	-.11	-.04	-.05		-.079	-.14	-.28	-.49**
N=	108	82	108		108	86	108	86

people who break the law is positively related to peer support. (See Table XXVIII). The strongest indirect effects for girls is the effect of mother's knowledge of their activities on school, which helps to reduce deviance.

PINS

Having friends who smoke pot is the strongest beta for PINS misbehavior among boys; it is also the only peer variable that is significant for this type of behavior among boys. Girls' involvement in PINS is unaffected by any of the peer variables.

Mother has no direct effect on boys' PINS behavior, while girls are negatively influenced when they identify with mother. The relationship between identification (LIKEMOM) and PINS for girls is negative.

Mother's supervision again contributes towards PINS misbehavior for girls. But girls who have a mother who is knowledgeable of their activities and friends are less likely to be involved in PINS behavior.

Attachment to school negatively affects boys' PINS behavior, but none of the school variables are significant for girls.

None of the reduced form coefficients are very strong where males' PINS activity is concerned, while mother's knowledge of activities and friends does have an indirect effect on girls through school.

TABLE XXVIII
INDIRECT EFFECTS BY SEX OF RESPONDENT

Dependent Variable	Exogenous Variables	Males		Females	
		Indirect Effects via School	Indirect Effects via Peers	Indirect Effects via School	Indirect Effects via Peers
Minor Personal Offenses MINPERS	MOMKNOW	.02X	-.08X	-.11	-.09
	MOMSUP	-.004	.01	.03	.05
	MOMTALK	-.04	.002	-.002	.07X
	MOMDISC	.01	.04	-.05	.06
	MOMFRDS	-.02X	-.02	-.06	-.01
	FAMINT	-.02	-.05X	.002	.12X
	LIKEMOM	.01	.06	-.07	-.08
	NOBRKLW	.02	.09	.04	.11X
PINS	MOMKNOW	.02	-.06	-.07	-.125
	MOMSUP	-.03	.04	.03	.01
	MOMTALK	-.13	.001	.05X	.01
	MOMDISC	-.02	-.02	-.05	-.03X
	MOMFRDS	-.035	-.03	-.003	.01
	FAMINT	-.05	-.05X	-.02	.02
	LIKEMOM	.04	-.005	-.04	.05
	NOBRKLW	.03	.03	.01	.06
DRUG Drug Selling	MOMKNOW	.05	-.07	-.08	-.13
	MOMSUP	.001	.04	.03	.03
	MOMTALK	-.04	.02	-.045	.08
	MOMDISC	-.03	-.03	-.05	.07
	MOMFRDS	-.04	-.001	-.03	-.06
	FAMINT	-.01	-.05	-.03	.08
	LIKEMOM	.04	.02	-.03	-.01
	NOBRKLW	.04	.13X	.01	.10
SMOKPOT Pot Smoking	MOMKNOW	-.05	-.12	-.04	-.13
	MOMSUP	-.02	.125	.01	-.07
	MOMTALK	-.01	.11	-.02	.03
	MOMDISC	.01	.01	-.04	-.02
	MOMFRDS	.015	.03X	-.01	-.01
	FAMINT	.02	-.09	-.02	.08
	LIKEMOM	.03	-.06X	-.04	-.12
	NOBRKLW	.00	.14	.02	.08

X Indicates effects are counteracting each other, distorting value of coefficients.

TABLE XXVIII (cont.)

Dependent Variable	Exogenous Variables	Males		Females	
		Indirect Effects via School	Peers	Indirect Effects via School	Peers
Assault ASLT	MOMKNOW	.03	-.01	-.12	-.07
	MOMSUP	.01	-.003	.04	-.02
	MOMTALK	-.05	-.07	-.05	.001
	MOMDISC	-.025	.03	-.08X	.07X
	MOMFRDS	-.04	.06X	-.04	-.08X
	FAMINT	-.03	-.01	-.03	.09
	LIKEMOM	-.05	.07	-.07X	.03
	NOBRKWL	.05	.12	.05	.10
Theft TFT	MOMKNOW	-.01	-.01	-.06	-.04
	MOMSUP	.025	-.03	.02	-.04
	MOMTALK	.06	-.07	.005	-.01
	MOMDISC	-.02	-.05	-.02	-.01
	MOMFRDS	-.02	-.08	-.004	-.02
	FAMINT	.004	-.05	.02X	-.02
	LIKEMOM	.06	.08	-.06	.01
	NOBRKWL	.02	.10X	.02	.03
Major Theft MIFT	MOMKNOW	.01	-.07X	X	
	MOMSUP	-.01	.02		
	MOMTALK	-.03	.02		
	MOMDISC	-.01	-.01		
	MOMFRDS	-.02	-.04		
	FAMINT	-.001	-.10		
	LIKEMOM	.04	.10		
	NOBRKWL	.02	.12		
Overall Deviance DEVSCALE	MOMKNOW	-.01	-.03	-.08	-.02
	MOMSUP	-.01	.02	.04	-.02
	MOMTALK	-.06	-.06	-.05	-.03
	MOMDISC	-.03	-.05	-.04X	.01
	MOMFRDS	-.04	-.07	.02	.02
	FAMINT	-.02	-.07	-.01	.06X
	LIKEMOM	.05X	.08X	-.05	.06
	NOBRKWL	.05	.14	.00	.04

X Indicates effects are counteracting each other, distorting value of coefficients.

Males involved in PINS seem to be more influenced by school and peers, whereas girls are influenced by mother.

Minor Personal Offenses

None of the peer variables has a direct effect on the minor personal offenses of boys. Girls committing minor personal offenses, on the other hand, have friends who are reliable.

None of the parental control variables have direct effects on either sex where minor personal offenses are concerned.

Boys' involvement in this offense is not significantly affected by school experiences. However, teachers affect girls' minor acts since teacher's interest is negatively related to minor personal offenses.

None of the variables explain boys involvement in this offense while school and peers do seem to influence girls' involvement.

Assault

Boys involved in assault are not influenced by friends while assaultive girls have friends who they can rely on.

Mother affects girls' involvement in assault, but not boys. Communication is a contributory influence for girls. No other parental factor is significant. The more mother communicates, the more likely the girl is to be assaultive.

School effects are limited to girls also. School attachment helps to prevent girls' involvement in assault.

Length of time the youth has resided in the neighborhood is negatively related to assault for girls, but has no significant effect on boys' assaultiveness. Girls are more influenced towards assaultive behavior when they are new to the neighborhood. Like minor personal offenses, none of the exogenous variables have significant direct effects where boys' involvement in assault is concerned.

Major Theft

Sex differences could not be analyzed for major theft because so few girls admit to this type of offense. (Only six girls admit to having been involved in either car theft or breaking and entering). Boys' major theft is not influenced by friends inasmuch as none of the peer variables are significant.

Mother's supervision has a positive effect on major theft, as does having a mother who approves of one's friends.

Indirect effects are largely through peers; knowing people who break the law increases peer support and contributes towards major theft.

Theft

Although having friends who steal was not significant for theft for the total sample, it is for boys' theft. Boys who steal

are influenced by having friends who steal. They also have fewer friends (NMWGHFRS is negative) and less stable friendships (AVLONG is negative). But boys feel their friends are more reliable than do youth not involved in theft. Girls' theft, on the other hand, is not influenced significantly by any of the peer support variables. None of the family variables or school variables has a significant effect on theft for either sex. In fact none of the variables are significant for girls, and only peer variables are significant for boys.

Pot Smoking

Smoking pot among boys is strongly influenced by having friends who smoke pot (beta = .52). Reliable friends are also a contributing factor. Girls who smoke pot have friends who smoke pot, but they also have friends who beat up people. Reliability is not an issue for girls where pot smoking is concerned. Direction of influence is more important than any other peer quality for girls.

Surprisingly, there is a positive effect of family integration on boys' pot smoking. Parental control has no significant effects for the sexes where pot smoking is concerned.

There is an absence of any school effects on pot smoking for both of the sexes. School experiences do not deter pot smoking for either of the sexes.

Indirect effects are largely through peers for both sexes; knowledge has a negative effect while supervision and communication

have a positive effect on boys through peers; knowledge and identification with mother negatively affect girls through their impact on peers' support. The indirect effect of MOMKNOW is the only family effect that the sexes share in common where pot smoking is concerned.

Drug Selling

Having deviant friends (who smoke pot and skip school) influence boys' drug selling. Girls who have reliable friends are more involved in selling drugs.

Parental variables have no significant effects where involvement in selling drugs is concerned for either of the sexes.

School variables are also not significant. Only friends directly influence drug selling.

Summary of Sex Differences/Similarities

Having deviant friends seems to be more of a factor for boys than girls, since having friends who are involved in deviance has an effect on several sub-types of deviance among boys, but affects only pot smoking among girls. On the other hand, having reliable friends is more important to girls than boys.

Mother's influence on the sexes is totally different, with mother having some deterrent effects in some cases on girls, but

contributory effects only on boys. Family has no influence on either sex where minor personal offenses, drug selling, and theft are concerned.

School effects are limited to PINS behavior among boys and minor personal offenses and assault among girls. School does not appear to have any deterrent effect on pot smoking, drug selling or theft for either sex.

Negative community influences (knowing people who break the law) contribute to overall deviance for boys and PINS behavior among girls.

Length of time in the neighborhood is not a significant factor for any of the male offenses but does help to explain personal offenses among girls.

Analyzing Age Differences

In the regression for the total sample, age proved to be significant for pot smoking only. Nevertheless, separate analyses were conducted for younger (15 and under) and older (16 and over) respondents. Among older youth, boys are most likely to be the offender (unless the offense is smoking pot or minor personal misbehavior); among younger youth, girls are as likely to be the offenders as boys.

Overall Deviance

In general, deviance among older youth is influenced by having friends who smoke pot. Younger youth, on the other hand, are not affected by friends (see Tables XXIXA & B).

Mother has no effect on deviance among older youth. Mother's supervision positively affects deviance among younger youth, and identification with mother has a negative effect. Parent variables are clearly more of a factor in the deviance of younger youth than older youth.

Knowing people who break the law strongly influences younger youth but not older youth.

Indirect effects are through peers for older youth (see Table XXX). Having a knowledgeable mother negatively affects peer relations. Knowing people who break the law also contributes towards having deviant friends among older youth. Indirect effects are through school and peers for younger youth but mostly through peers for older youth.

PINS

Older PINS youth are influenced by having friends who smoke pot. Younger PINS youth are not affected by peers.

Having a mother who knows where the youth is and with whom has direct and indirect negative effects for younger youth but only

TABLE XXIX A
DIRECT EFFECTS OF INDEPENDENT ON DEPENDENT VARIABLE

YOUNGER YOUTH ONLY

N=62

Betas - Dependent Variables

Independent Variables		Overall Deviance	PINS	Minor Personal	Theft	Major Theft	Assault	Drug Selling	Pot Smoking
Parental	Knowledge (MOMKNOW)	-.19	-.27*	.28	-.10		-.21	-.47	.03
Control	Supervision (MOMSUP)	.19*	.24*	.12	.12		.05	.21	-.10
	Communication (MOMTALK)	-.14	-.01	-.19	-.20		-.004	-.29	-.02
	Discipline (MOMDISC)	.05	.10	-.17	-.17		.10	.17	.10
Mothers' Attitude Towards Friends (MOMFRDS)		-.14	-.05	-.08	.00		-.12	.02	-.12
Family Integration (FAMINT)		-.02	-.14	-.05	.08		-.01	.21	.02
Identification with Mother (LIKEMOM)		-.23*	-.23	-.02	-.08		-.25*	-.22	.01
Knowledge of Law-breakers (NOBRKLW)		.33***	.22*	.13	.31*		.34**	.27	.17
School Involvement	Attachment (ATTSCH)	-.22	-.37**	-.10	-.04		-.24	-.27	.03
	Grades (AVGRADE)	-.001	-.03	-.08	.02		.02	.22	-.14
	Peer-sharing (DISCWRK)	-.14	.04	-.01	.06		-.32*	-.18	.01
	Teachers' Interest (TECHINT)	.05	-.02	-.11	-.02		.13	.09	.04
Peer Support	Friends' Use of Pot (FRNDSPOT)	-.02	-.01	.15	.12		-.15	-.10	.52**
	Friends Steal (AVKDSTS)	.17	.11	-.03	.27		.19	.14	.09
	Friends Skip School (AVKDSKP)	.10	.17	.20	-.05		.09	.09	.05
	Friends Beat up People (AVKDHIT)	.06	-.12	.26	.22		.09	-.27	-.02
	Number of Friends (NMNGHFRS)	-.11	-.13	.21	-.16		-.03	-.14	.03
	Av. Group Friends (AVGP)	.16	.01	.04	.14		.09	.17	.26*
	Stability of Peer Relations (AVLONG)	-.11	-.09	-.20	-.17		-.07	.12	-.11
	Reliability (PRRELY)	.11	.07	.02	.05		.16	.07	.10
Control Variables	SEX	.01	.11	.05	-.15		.06	.14	.08
	AGE	---	---	---	---		---	---	---
	Neighborhood Residence (LGTHNEIG)	.01	.00	-.11	-.19		-.02	.16	-.04
R ²		.78	.69	.46	.59		.62	.49	.48

* < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

TABLE XXIX B
DIRECT EFFECTS OF INDEPENDENT ON DEPENDENT VARIABLE
OLDER YOUTH ONLY

N = 122

Independent Variables		Betas - Dependent Variables							
		Overall Deviance	PINS	Minor Personal	Theft	Major Theft	Assault	Drug Selling	Pot Smoking
Parental	Knowledge (MOMKNOW)	-.03	-.14	-.01	-.04	-.04	.10	.06	-.12
Control	Supervision (MOMSUP)	.14	.14	.11	.12	.14	.11	-.02	.03
	Communication (MOMTALK)	-.03	-.01	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.02	.02	-.09
	Discipline (MOMDISC)	-.12	-.05	-.07	-.13	-.18	-.09	-.09	-.09
Mothers' Attitude Towards Friends (MOMFRDS)		-.10	-.18*	-.04	-.10	.13	-.03	-.06	.002
Family Integration (FAMINT)		-.03	.15	-.02	-.06	.07	.004	-.02	.23*
Identification with Mother (LIKEMOM)		-.06	-.24*	-.12	.00	-.06	-.02	.12	.10
Knowledge of Law-breakers (NOBRKLW)		.07	.14	-.01	.10	-.06	.05	.04	.05
School Involvement	Attachment (ATTSCH)	.11	-.08	-.07	.09	-.06	-.07	-.13	.01
	Grades (AVGRADE)	-.18*	-.17*	-.08	-.15	-.09	-.18	-.002	-.10
	Peer-sharing (DISCWRK)	-.08	-.05	.13	-.11	-.05	.07	-.05	.08
	Teachers' Interest (TECHINT)	-.22**	-.08	-.22*	-.10	-.04	-.19*	-.14	.06
Peer Support	Friends' Use of Pot (FRNDSPOT)	.25**	.22**	.15	.14	.14	.21*	.27**	.52***
	Friends Steal (AVKDSTS)	-.09	.06	-.04	.03	-.09	-.06	-.06	-.11
	Friends Skip School (AVKDSKP)	.13	.04	.05	.01	.17	.08	.26	-.03
	Friends Beat up People (AVKD HIT)	.04	.07	.16	.03	.03	.004	-.01	.04
	Number of Friends (NMNGHFRS)	-.07	.04	.02	-.17	-.01	-.01	-.08	-.04
	Av. Group Friends (AVGP)	.12	.02	.01	.11	-.05	.07	.08	.04
	Stability of Peer Relations (AVLONG)	-.03	-.13	-.10	-.14	-.04	.03	-.10	-.10
Reliability (PRRELV)		.14	-.02	.17	.22*	.14	.21*	.27**	.13
Control Variables	SEX	-.34***	-.19*	-.01	-.35***	-.30**	-.22*	-.20*	-.02
	AGE	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Neighborhood Residence (LGTNEIG)	-.15*	-.11	-.13	-.07	-.07	-.19*	-.21*	-.08
R ²		.52	.52	.25	.40	.27	.35	.41	.43

* < .05 ** < .01 *** < .001

TABLE XXX
INDIRECT EFFECTS BY AGE OF RESPONDENT

Dependent Variable	Exogenous Variables	Younger Youth Indirect Effects via		Older Youth Indirect Effects	
		School	Peers	School	Peers
MINPERS Minor Personal Offenses	MOMKNOW	-.07	-.19	.02	-.11
	MOMSUP	.003	.14	-.01	-.02
	MOMTALK	.10	-.01	.002	.05X
	MOMDISC	.04	.08	-.02	.02
	MOMFRDS	-.03	-.01	-.02	.01
	FAMINT	-.02	.04	-.05	.01
	LIKEMOM	.02	-.04	-.04	.01
	NOBRKLW	-.01	.00	.04	.11X
PINS	MOMKNOW	.09	.01	.02	-.13
	MOMSUP	.01	-.01	-.03	.02
	MOMTALK	.12	.005	-.07X	.04X
	MOMDISC	.04	-.03	-.02	-.02
	MOMFRDS	.01	-.01	-.03	-.02
	FAMINT	.03	.00	-.05	-.01
	LIKEMOM	.015	.01	.01	-.003
	NOBRKLW	.004	.05	.02	.07
Drug Selling DRUG	MOMKNOW	.02	.06	.03	-.18X
	MOMSUP	.00	-.09	-.02	.01
	MOMTALK	.002	-.02	-.04	.09
	MOMDISC	.04	-.09	-.02	.03
	MOMFRDS	.03	.06	-.03	.001
	FAMINT	.002	.03	-.05	.025X
	LIKEMOM	.02	.04	.02	-.004
	NOBRKLW	.01	-.01	.02	.14
SMOKPOT Pot Smoking	MOMKNOW	.06	-.31X	-.001	-.11
	MOMSUP	.003	.07	-.02	.02
	MOMTALK	-.06	-.07	-.04X	.11X
	MOMDISC	.03	-.01	-.001	-.03
	MOMFRDS	.05X	.08	.000	-.05X
	FAMINT	-.04	-.05	-.01	-.01
	LIKEMOM	.01	-.12X	.02	-.07
	NOBRKLW	-.004	.05	.01	.14

X Indicates that effects are counteracting one another, distorting the value of

TABLE XXX (cont.)

Dependent Variable	Exogenous Variables	Younger Youth Indirect Effects via		Older Youth Indirect Effects via	
		School	Peers	School	Peers
Assault ASLT	MOMKNOW	-.05	-.04	.02	-.08
	MOMSUP	.06	.02	-.02	.004
	MOMTALK	-.08X	.02X	-.03	.06X
	MOMDISC	-.08	.02	-.02	.01
	MOMFRDS	.04	-.02	-.02	-.01
	FAMINT	.01	-.01	-.05	.06
	LIKEMOM	.015	-.05	-.02	-.05
	NOBRKLW	.00	-.02	.04	.10
Theft TFT	MOMKNOW	-.03	.05	.02	-.08
	MOMSUP	-.02	.09	-.02	.01
	MOMTALK	-.04	.03	.04	.09X
	MOMDISC	-.02	.21X	.01	.04
	MOMFRDS	-.01	-.01	.01	-.01
	FAMINT	-.04	-.03	-.01	-.03
	LIKEMOM	.02	-.04	.05	.005
	NOBRKLW	-.01	.02	.02	.07
Major Theft MTFT	MOMKNOW	/		.01	-.09
	MOMSUP	/		-.02	-.01
	MOMTALK	/		-.05	.02
	MOMDISC	/		-.01	.01
	MOMFRDS	/		-.02	.00
	FAMINT	/		-.03	.02
	LIKEMOM	/		.03	-.01
	NOBRKLW	/		.01	.08X
Overall Deviance DEVSCALE	MOMKNOW	-.05	-.08	.03	-.11
	MOMSUP	.02	.04	-.02	.01
	MOMTALK	-.08	.01	-.02	.08X
	MOMDISC	-.06X	-.004	.01	.01
	MOMFRDS	.02	.00	.01	-.004
	FAMINT	-.02	.02	-.02	.01
	LIKEMOM	.02	.01	.04	-.02
	NOBRKLW	-.01	.01	.03	.10

X Indicates that effects are counteracting each other, distorting the value of the coefficients.

indirect effects on older youth; the indirect effects are through school for younger youth and through peers for older youth. Supervision has a positive effect on younger PINS, which means it contributes to PINS misbehavior among younger youth. In both age groups, youth who identify with mother are less inclined towards PINS behavior and the effect is only slightly stronger for younger youth (see Table XXXI). Attachment to school is significant with younger youth, while grades influence older PINS behavior (both negatively).

Minor Personal Offenses

None of the peer support variables are significant for either age group where this offense is concerned.

Family variables also have no significant effects on either group.

While teacher's interest has a deterrent effect for older youth, school has no effect on younger youth involved in this offense type. None of the variables explain minor personal offenses among younger youth and only teachers are significant with older youth.

Theft

Deviance of friends does not effect theft for either age group, but younger youth involved in theft have more reliable

TABLE XXX I

UNSTANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS
DIRECT EFFECTS BY AGE

	Overall Deviance		PINS		Minor Personal		Theft	
	B Younger	B Older	B Younger	B Older	B Younger	B Older	B Younger	B Older
Knowledge	-3.62	-.56	-.64*	-.34	.14	.005	.31	-.17
Supervision	4.33*	3.00	.67*	.34	.072	.076	.89	.55
Communication	-2.22	-.63	-.019	-.012	-.08	-.02	-.52	-.14
Discipline	1.01	-2.65	.25	-.12	-.089	.047	.03	-.61
Attitude Toward Friends	-4.09	-3.59	-.16	-.69*	-.06	-.04	.019	-.71
Family Integration	-.23	-.44	-.22	.23	-.02	-.08	.16	-.19
Identification	-8.43*	-2.65	-1.18*	-1.11*	-.02	-.15	-.50	.002
Know Law-breakers	4.61***	1.13	..	.24	.05	-.04	.71*	.34
Attached to School	-3.66	2.76	-.79**	-.23	-.043	-.055	-.11	.51
Grades	-.041	-9.33*	-.22	-.99*	-.10	-.13	.13	-1.64
Peer-sharing	-6.43	-3.90	.22	-.26	-.01	.20	.48	-1.16
Teachers Care	.2.04	-11.80**	-.097	-.45	-.13	-.37*	-.13	-1.10
Friends Pot	-.46	7.77**	-.042	.76**	.10	.15	.55	.92
Friends Skip	5.62	7.32	1.16	.26	.29	.09	-.44	.08
Friends Hit	3.76	2.92	-.93	.49	.41	.49	1.37	.20
Friends Steal	5.23	-3.05	.45	.21	-.07	-.04	2.24	.37
No. of Friends	-1.25	-.99	-.18	.059	.063	.007	-.31	-.49
Groupness	16.77	12.39	.19	.24	.10	.02	2.47	2.47
Stability	-4.51	-1.07	-.44	-.57	-.21	-.13	-1.15	-1.21
Reliability	2.01	2.53	.15	-.039	.009	.09	.14	.83*
Sex	.75	-26.46***	.93	-1.64*	.08	-.012	-1.73	-5.87***
Age	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Time in Neighborhood	-.12	-4.12*	.009	-.33	-.06	-.11	-.73	-.41

TABLE XXXI

UNSTANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS
DIRECT EFFECTS BY AGE

	Pot Smoking		Major Theft		Assault		Drug Selling	
	B Younger	B Older	B Younger	B Older	B Younger	B Older	B Younger	B Older
Knowledge	.017	-.08		-.02	-.19	.18	-.30***	.04
Supervision	-.06	.02		.07	.09	.15	.15	-.02
Communication	-.01	-.05		-.014	-.008	-.02	-.15	.01
Discipline	.055	-.06		-.089	.17	-.17	.11	-.06
Attitude Toward Friends	-.09	.003		.099	-.25	.11	-.017	-.01
Family Integration	.007	.098*		.02	-.004	.01	.079	-.01
Identification	.01	.13		-.06	-.72*	-.15	-.25	.17
Know Law-breakers	.07	.03		-.02	.34**	.075	.12	.02
Attached to School	.01	.004		-.035	-.14	-.11	-.14	-.11
Grades	-.20	-.17		-.10	.05	-.70	.36	-.004
Peer-sharing	.02	.12		-.05	-1.05*	.25	-.25	-.08
Teachers Care	-.05	.09		-.05	.32	-.90*	.12	-.26
Friends Pot	.40**	.50***		.09	-.29	.49*	-.09	.28**
Friends Skip	.09	-.06		.22	.30	.39	.15	.51**
Friends Hit	.08	-.08		.05	.47	-.047	-.52	-.02
Friends Steal	-.04	-.12		-.07	.45	-.13	.14	-.07
No. of Friends	.01	-.02		-.02	-.015	-.02	-.049	-.04
Groupness	.78*	.14		-.099	.79	.52	.58	.27
Stability	-.12	-.12		-.036	-.22	.065	.16	-.13
Reliability	.05	.75		.057	.22	.32*	.04	.16**
Sex	.11	-.06		.53**	.34	-1.40*	.30	-.55*
Age	---	---		---	---	---	---	---
Time in Neighborhood	-.02	-.07		-.04	-.064	-.42*	.12	-.19*

friends. Neither age group is affected by family factors where theft is concerned. School is not significant in the theft of either group. Knowing people who break the law influences the theft of younger youth, and having reliable friends affects older youth.

Major Theft

Since there were only eight younger youth who admitted to committing a major theft, only older youth could be analyzed.

Family, school and community variables are not significant and do not help to explain major theft among older youth.

Assault

Older youth involved in assaultive behavior have friends who smoke pot and are reliable. Friends are not an influence on assault among younger youth, although knowing people who break the law is.

Older youth are not influenced to commit assault by parental behavior while younger youth are influenced by mother when they identify with her.

Teacher's interest deters older youth from assault, and having friends in school with whom to discuss work prevents younger youth from involvement in assault. These two age groups have no significant variables in common, indicating that those factors leading to

assaultive behavior among younger youth are different from those which influence older youth.

Drug Selling

Although there were only 10 younger youth who admitted to selling drugs, I included them in the analysis. Friends are an influence with older youth where drug selling is concerned (having friends who smoke pot, skip school and are reliable are all significant). Younger youth are not influenced by their friends where drug selling is concerned.

Family plays a strong role in involvement in drug selling among younger youth via mother's knowledge of the youth's activities and associates, but it has no effect with older youth.

School has no direct effects for either group. Parents are clearly more of an influence with younger youth where drug selling is concerned, while peers influence older youth.

Pot Smoking

Having friends who smoke pot is an influence with older and younger youth involved in pot smoking. The effect is slightly stronger on older youth (see Table XXXI). Groupness is also a factor for younger youth. Family does not act as a deterrent to pot smoking directly with either younger or older youth, although having an integrated family contributes to the problem with older

youth. Indirectly having a knowledgeable mother helps by decreasing involvement with deviant friends. School has no significant impact on either age group in their involvement in smoking pot.

Summary of Age Differences/ Similarities

Having deviant friends influences drug offenses, PINS and assault among older youth, but only pot smoking among younger youth. Reliability of friends is an influence on older youth with some offenses but does not influence younger youth.

Family influences several types of misbehavior among younger youth but only PINS among older youth, whereas school is more of an influence with older youth than younger ones.

Indirect effects are through peers for older youth and through both school and peers for younger youth.

In general it seems that older youth are more influenced by friends and younger youth by family.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

No patterns emerge that allow us to conclude that either parent or peers are exclusively dominant in causing deviance among black youth. Relationships with mother and peers both have some significant effects on overall deviance for the total sample. When males/females and older/younger youth are analyzed separately, we find that some of the parent, peer and school variables are significant for males, females and younger youth. But there are no significant effects of parent variables on older youth. Peers are clearly the more important influence on older youth.

The indicators do not always take the direction expected, however. Mother's supervision and family integration sometimes contribute to deviance rather than deterring it. And the results vary from one sub-type to another. Our variables have no significant effect on some sub-types. It is clear that adolescent deviance is not an unidimensional phenomenon, and different sub-type do need to be analyzed separately.

FAMILY SUPPORT

The hypothesis that posits a direct negative relationship between parental control and deviance receives very little support in our study except with PINS offenses. Mother's supervision is significant for overall deviance among males and younger youth, but

the relationship is always in a positive direction; that is, the more mother supervised, the more deviance. One explanation for this is that supervision is viewed by youth as "nagging" or "policing", and occurs after the fact. In other words, as youth begin to get into trouble, to stay out late, etc., mother begins asking them where they have been and with whom. This may result in a climate of distrust between parent and youth, which served to increase rather than decrease involvement in deviance. In this case, the causal ordering proposed for supervision seems to be incorrect, and mother's efforts at supervising are a result of deviant involvement rather than causing it.

Other than with PINS behavior, the parental control variables behave in the expected direction but are significant in only two instances. Mother's discipline helps deter major theft for the total sample, and having a mother who is knowledgeable of the youth's activities and associates reduces drug selling among younger youth. The fact that parents fail to have much of an influence among older youth supports Conly's findings that view parental influence as limited to pre-adolescence or early adolescence. Contrary to Gove and Crutchfield (1982), family factors do not seem to have a greater influence on males. None of the family factors have a significant negative effect on males when the sexes are analyzed separately, while having a knowledgeable mother is significant for girls' overall deviance and PINS behavior. Mothers actually contribute to the overall deviance of boys via supervision.

Hirschi (1969) saw communication as an important ingredient in the social bonding process. Our findings do not support this. Communication is significant only in one case--assault among girls. And here not only does it not contribute to conventional bonding for girls, it actually has a positive effect, contributing to girls' assaultive behavior. Our communication measures suggest that mother activates the interaction. Perhaps when mother must elicit information by initiating "heart-to-heart" talks, the youth feels imposed upon to tell information that she does not wish to share. This may be another form of "policing". As such, it may be occurring after the girl is already getting into assaultive behavior, rather than coming before this involvement, and like supervision, may be misplaced in the model.

Having a mother who is strict (and has even become more strict over time) helps to prevent major theft for our total sample. This effect does not continue to be significant, however, when the ages and sexes are isolated. Nonetheless, it helps to justify retaining discipline as a useful variable to be investigated further.

Parental Control versus Warmth/Concern

Although we have hoped to demonstrate that the social-emotional aspects of parenting are less important to explaining deviance than the structural aspects (parental control), we were not successful. Most of the measures of caring and concern between parent and child suffered from lack of variance. However, family integration and

identification with mother reflect family ties which can be compared to our findings on parental control. We find that both of these variables have some significant effects, although family integration is not in the expected direction.

Family integration contributes to pot smoking among youth, which is contrary to what we expected. Perhaps there are older siblings who themselves smoke pot and encourage this activity, or it may be that the attitudes of family members do not discourage this activity because they do not consider pot smoking to be deviant or a matter requiring their attention. Unfortunately we did not measure family attitudes toward different types of deviance, and therefore cannot verify this latter possibility.

The fact that family integration has so few significant effects reduces our confidence in Reckless et al.'s (1957) findings of a negative relationship between family solidarity and delinquency. But it may be that our measures of family integration do not adequately measure family solidarity. Or it may be that isolating a youth from deviant influences via close ties to family is more difficult, and thus less likely to occur than when Reckless et al. conducted their study. In any case, it does not appear that having an integrated family assures non-deviance for youth, at least not for those in our sample.

Identification, on the other hand, does have some deterrent effects in that identification with mother reduces PINS offenses and assault among girls. It has no effect on males when the sexes

are isolated. Identification with same-sex parent is not an apparent option for many of the males in our sample, given the low percentage of homes with father present. This has to be taken into account in evaluating the importance of identification as a causal factor in our model. The absence of father did not prove significant, yet identification with same-sex parent is a deterrent influence for girls. The absence of an appropriate role model may have a greater effect on girls' behavior than boys. Obviously we need more sophisticated measures of identification and availability of role models (than our one-item measure provides) if this is to be explored further.

Indirect Effects

It was also hypothesized that lack of parental control would lead to more involvement with deviant friends, and thus indirectly to deviance. This is supported in that having a mother who is knowledgeable of the youth's activities and friends negatively affects peer support in a number of instances. (MOMKNOW has the strongest indirect effect of the family variables, and the effect is through peers for overall deviance). MOMKNOW is the only variable of any magnitude having indirect effects among the family variables for all of the sub-types. So having a mother who is knowledgeable of what the youth is doing does seem to help reduce deviant peer support.

The absence of indirect effects through school for the total sample indicates that most of the effects of school are direct and not strongly influenced by parental behavior. This conflicts with Johnson's (1979) findings that parental influence is largely through influencing attachment to school.

DEVIANT OTHERS

We hypothesized that support from deviant others was necessary to a full explanation of deviant involvement. Our findings support this in that some form of deviance among friends (in particular, having friends who smoke pot) is associated with most sub-types of deviance (except major theft and assault).

Number of friends did not prove significant for the total sample, but did when the sexes were isolated; deviant boys have fewer friends than non-deviant boys and deviant girls have more. This may be because deviance is less socially acceptable for girls, and they need more social support to become involved.

Having friends who are members of your group is important in only one instance--pot smoking among younger youth. This contradicts Erickson and Jensen (1977) who found delinquency to be group-related. It also conflicts with Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) theory that links delinquency to subcultural behavior.

There are mixed findings relative to specificity of direction of peer influence. The direction is offense-specific where boys' involvement in theft is concerned. And having friends who hit

people affects minor personal offenses. But having friends who beat up people does not predict assaultive behavior nor does having friends who skip school directly influence PINS behavior (of which truancy is one offense).

Stability of friends is a factor with boys' theft only. That is, boys who are involved in theft have less stable friendships (i.e., of shorter duration) than non-deviant boys. This is the opposite direction from that which was predicted. It lends support to Hansell and Wiatrowski's (1981) social disability model of deviant peer relations where boys' theft is concerned. However, the lack of significant effects of stability elsewhere indicates that deviant youth are no more or less socially able than non-deviant youth.

Reliability of friends is significant in a positive direction in a number of instances, especially with older youth and females. The fact that reliability of friends is important gives credence to the contention that deviant youth are not socially disabled since they are willing to trust and depend on one another (even though they do not seem to trust anyone else in the community, based on their response to the Rosenberg scale). The fact that reliability is more often significant than stability leads us to conclude that the social ability model is probably more appropriate in a general description of peer relations among our deviant sample than the disability model.

The fact that reliability of friends is more important to older youth supports Rosenberg's (1973) contention that peers are more important to older youth. It does not lend support, however,

to the second part of this statement that younger youth rely more on parents, at least where the prevention of most forms of deviance are concerned. This could, of course, be related to the fact that our youth are not that young. It may be that documenting reliance on parents among younger youth depends on including pre-adolescents in the sample and following their behavior into adolescence.

Our findings relative to peers support Johnson's (1979) findings of a strong relationship between deviant peer associates and involvement in deviance. It also reinforces Matseuda's (1982) urging that we concentrate on differential association in explicating causes of deviance, at least if we plan to focus on an adolescent population. For example, we need to understand why deviant peers are not significant where major theft and assault are concerned. How does involvement in these offense types differ relative to peer relations from the other sub-types?

School

Teachers have a significant influence on older youth (TECHINT is nowhere significant with younger youth, but negatively affects overall deviance, minor personal offenses and assault among older youth). Of the four school variables included under school satisfaction, teacher's interest is the least affected by family variables. (Indirect effects are negligible.) This would seem to imply that some of the actors in the life of the adolescent (most notably teachers) have a socializing affect independent of parents

or family. That is, teachers do not necessarily become interested in a youth because his parents are supportive of him/her. In fact, the opposite may be true. They may be more inclined to be interested because he has no family support or no longer is influenced by family. This would explain the strength of this variable with older youth. The findings, however, conflict with Hirschi's theory (1969). Hirschi suggests that teachers are part of a bonding process that begins with parents and is reinforced by teachers in school. Our findings would indicate that teachers do not just reinforce values instilled at home, but have an effect of their own. Teachers' influence seems to be distinct from whatever impact parents may have and occurs in late adolescence rather than early adolescence.

Whereas teachers' interest and grades influence older youth's deviance directly, school mediates parental effects on younger youth. There are indirect effects of parents through attachment to school and grades with younger youth and females (via communication and knowledge especially). This lends some support to Johnson's findings of a relationship between attachment to parents and attachment to school for younger youth. Apparently younger youth can be interested in school and care what a teacher thinks even though they are not affected by whether the teacher reciprocates by showing interest in them, perhaps because they do have reinforcement at home for their positive attitudes toward school. Older youth, on the other hand, who presumably lack this parental reinforcement, are helped to avoid deviance when teachers show an interest in them

or they receive good grades. But overall, grades are not as predictive of deviance in our total sample as Rankin (1980) and Johnson (1979) would lead us to expect, especially with serious offense types.

Having friends in school with whom to discuss school work was included in the model with the expectation that peers in school were part of a conventional influence away from deviant involvement. However, having friends with whom to discuss school work has a direct effect in only one case--assault among younger youth. The correlation between teacher's interest and discussing work with friends in school is small. It would appear that peer relations in school and relationships with teachers have independent effects. Again, the chain of reinforcement anticipated by Hirschi (from parents to school and conventional peers) receives little support.

Our findings relative to school generally do not support Rankin's (1980) contention that school has a greater impact on girls. It has an impact on personal offenses among girls and PINS behavior among boys, but no significant effects where property and drug offenses are concerned for either sex. The fact that school does not have a greater impact may be related to the fact that our sample is an inner city sample where support in school may be less likely than among the white samples which provide the basis for most of the prominent studies which found school experiences to be useful predictors of deviant involvement. That is, the inner city school experience for black youth may be qualitatively different from the white experience in terms of social support for conventional behavior.

Community

The effects of knowing people who break the law (access to illegitimate opportunity) are limited to younger youth and affect PINS offenses primarily. This would indicate that other criminals are less important to the indoctrination of youth into a life of crime than Sutherland (1937) or Cloward and Ohlin (1960) would have us believe.

Negative influences via other law-breakers are not present to any significant degree with the serious delinquent offenses (such as theft and drug selling) where they would appear to be most needed (for fencing stolen goods and obtaining drugs). Their influence with younger youth and minor offenses implies that, to the extent that other law violators have any influence, it is in a general way to influence youth who are being initiated into deviance. Thus, their influence is more generic than specific and is appropriately placed in the model in coming earlier than peers in the influence that it has.

Short (1957) contends that association with adult criminals is more of a factor in boys' behavior than girls. The opposite seems to be the case with our sample since knowing people who break the law is significant for girls' overall deviance, but only PINS behavior among boys. Indirect effects of knowing people who break the law are strong for males (through peers), however.

Whereas the effect on girls of knowing others who break the law is to increase their overall deviance, the effect on boys is to encourage their involvement with deviant peers.

It seems that girls rely more than boys directly on others who break the law. Although other law-breakers may be adults or peers, in the case of females this probably is older males or other adults since so few deviant females are available for support.

Knowing people who break the law comes very close to being significant with drug selling among females. Adult criminals are usually the primary source of drugs. Our ratios indicate that girls are disproportionately involved in drug offenses relative to other offenses. This tends to support our notion that adults are the reference point for females relative to her contact with other law-breakers, whereas males' contact with others who break the law probably includes peers and adults. The specific influence of adult criminals needs to be explored further, especially relative to female deviance.

Length of time in the neighborhood is a significant factor in the deviance of older youth and females. Where significant, the relationship is negative; that is, youth who have been in the neighborhood less time are more likely to be deviant. This would seem to conflict with Sutherland's (1947) learning theory approach that requires long-term residence in a community if this learning is to take place. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) also expect access to illegitimate opportunities to depend on being known and accepted, which would seem to require more time in the community, not less. Nonetheless, this relationship is negative.

When a youth is new to a neighborhood, he often has to "prove himself" to be accepted by peers (both conventional and deviant

peers seem to require this). The fact that length of residence is significant with personal offenses may mean that proving him/herself involves physical confrontation. To be accepted by deviant friends, demonstrating one's ability to handle oneself physically may be the prerequisite. This is not inconsistent with the absence of significant findings for "groupness" (deviant youth are no more or less "groupy" than nondeviants), but explains why assault is higher among those new to the neighborhood. The process of involvement of the youth, in this case, is not one of intense learning so much as it indicates a willingness to commit assaultive acts if it insures peer acceptance. Peers, thus, may be important, not as an initial cause of deviance, but as a secondary source of reinforcement, which is nonetheless essential to the continued involvement of the youth in deviance.

VALIDATING THE MODEL

The model can be said to be validated in those instances where the variables predict in the direction anticipated. This does not occur in a number of instances. Parental supervision, stability of peer relations, family integration and communication, where significant, do not behave as predicted. This may indicate that we failed to predict the correct causal ordering, or it may mean that our theoretical base does not sufficiently deal with the complexities of peer/parent relationships as they impact on black youth.

Causal Ordering

In lieu of a longitudinal approach, there is clearly no way of knowing which variables come before deviance and which come after. But logic requires that some of the variables remain as they are in the model. For example, family integration would not logically be an effect of deviance even though it may positively relate. On the other hand, the fact that maternal supervision behaves in the opposite direction from maternal knowledge and discipline suggests that it should be causally reordered.

School variables also may be out of order. For example, good grades may be a product of the fact that the youth has remained trouble-free. Teachers may simply be reinforcing conventional behavior rather than helping to deter deviance.

The fact that having friends who smoke pot is important to explaining deviance helps to encourage continuing to view deviant peers as antecedents to deviant involvement since pot smoking seems to require some learning and reliance on others from whom to secure the drug. Also, the significance of reliability of friends implies dependence on friends, without whom deviant involvement would not occur. Nonetheless whether friends are involved initially in causing deviance or follow after initial involvement (as an important reinforcement and cause of continued involvement) is not clear.

Re-Designing the Model

In an effort to re-examine the model, we eliminated all insignificant variables and those that did not behave as predicted. The results are reported in Table XXXII. The fact that maternal knowledge, discipline, and approval of friends remain significant for at least some types of deviance suggests that we cannot ignore parental influence, especially since maternal knowledge also seems to impact indirectly on peer relations. But the fact that parental control variables are only able to explain PINS behavior and major theft diminishes our faith in their explanatory usefulness. Conversely the strength of the peer variables suggests that we should give priority to investigating peer relations, as Johnson (1979) and Matseuda (1982) suggest, at least in studies that focus on adolescents. If parental influence is to be demonstrated to have antecedent effects, it will probably be necessary to focus on a pre-adolescent population which consequently could be followed as they enter adolescence.

Limitations of the Study

The most severe limitation of this study is the size of the sample. The inability to stratify the probation sample to include more females proved especially limiting. It meant that effects of sex and age could not be simultaneously examined, but each had to be looked at separately. The limited number of deviant girls

TABLE XXXII

DIRECT EFFECTS - REVISED MODEL

TOTAL SAMPLE

N=205 to 217

Independent Variable		Betas - Dependent Variables							
		Overall Deviance	PINS	Minor Personal	Theft	Major Theft	Assault	Drug Selling	Pot Smoking
Parental Control	Knowledge		-.26***						
	Discipline					-.20**			
	Mothers' Attitude Towards Friends	-.17**	-.17**						
	Identification with Mother		-.15**						
	No. of law-breakers Known	.14*	.17**						
School Involvement	Attachment		-.16**						
	Av. Grades	-.19***	-.14*						
	Teachers' Interest	-.16**		-.23***			-.24***		
Peer Support	Friends Smoke Pot	.28***	.21***	.18**	.26***		.29***	.52***	
	Friends Skip School	.19***					.22***		
	Friends Beat Up People			.21**					
	No. of Friends				-.11				
	Reliability	.11			.18**	.24***	.25***	.14*	
Control Variables	Sex	-.28***			-.37***	-.23***	-.19**		
	Age							.17**	
	Length of Time in Neighborhood	-.14*					-.13*		
R ²		.49	.49	.15	.27	.12	.19	.21	.36

and younger youth meant that some forms of deviance (in particular, major theft) could only be examined relative to participation of males and older youth. To get enough females and younger youth in a sample who have committed serious offenses would have required not only a larger sample, but one that included youth where deviance might be likely. Given a different time frame for collecting the data, we might have made attempts to include more of the females on probation, for example. Ability to access youth coming to Court would be a desirable way to approach this, assuming enough time to access a larger number of such youth.

The absence of fathers in the homes of our sample also restricted our ability to examine parental effects. Future studies need to adjust for this if the impact of fathers' absence or presence is to be investigated. A much larger sample with some system of stratifying for inclusion of those homes with father present might manage this.

Nowhere in our study do we investigate parents' attitudes towards deviance. Parents may in some instances be encouraging deviance because they do not necessarily view it as deviant (as might occur with pot smoking or truancy). Measures need to be developed that will allow us to take into account how the youth perceive their parents' attitudes and values relative to different deviant acts.

Wording of the questions proved problematic in several instances. Discipline should have been expanded so that physical

discipline could have been distinguished from other forms of discipline (to see if there is any link between abuse and deviance), and various styles of discipline should have been included to see if an authoritarian approach necessarily has a different impact from an over-protective approach.

We also failed to include questions in the self-report deviance scale on the use of hard drugs. The question relating to use of pot proved sufficient to analyze this form of deviance, but there was no way of analyzing hard drug use or to compare use of hard drugs to sale of drugs.

Finally, questions relating to friends were lacking in some respects. The sex of the friends that the youth identified should have been collected in order to make comparisons as to whether same-sex friends affected youth differently from opposite-sex friends. And the inclusion of retrospective questions, designed to pinpoint the timing of deviant peer associations relative to deviant involvement, might have helped with the problem of causal ordering relative to peer associations.

Future Studies

This study focused on areas of Washington, D. C. where juvenile crime is high. It also was limited to blacks. Both reduced the external validity of the study. However, it was necessary to understand differences here first, especially given the absence of

such studies in recent literature. However, it would now be valuable to make comparisons with low crime areas and white youth. It would be particularly interesting to see if having deviant friends who smoke pot is as important to deviant involvement in white communities as it is here.

Our study found the variables affecting the sexes differently. Are these differences related to the availability of role models in the black community? Would these differences persist among white youth or would the greater availability of fathers in the home alter some of these effects? Perhaps some variables need to be examined in the context of what is the norm for the community from which the sample comes. That is, absence of father may not be an issue for blacks because it is the norm, while it may make a distinct difference in white communities where it is not the norm.

This study has added to our understanding of friendship patterns to the extent that large groups do not appear to exist among youth in the D. C. area. And being a part of a group has no more or less influence on deviant youth than it does on non-deviant youth. The dynamics of small peer configurations need to be understood, but this will not necessarily help us understand deviant behavior. Understanding the greater reliability of deviant youth on their friends will presumably help us more.

SUMMARY

This study has demonstrated several major weaknesses with social control theory. Parents' influence does not appear to be as

great as peers during adolescence. Hirschi's notion that social bonding begins with parents and is reinforced in school gains little support. Instead there seems to be a transition during adolescence away from parents towards peers and school as the primary source of social influence.

Support for differential association theory is somewhat tentative. While deviant peers seem to be a part of the process of being involved in deviance, there is no evidence from this study that an organized system of illegal learning opportunities, as suggested by Sutherland, is necessarily a part of this process. In fact, the stronger effects of peers among older youth tends to indicate that deviant friends are collected along the way to reinforce deviance; that is, deviant others reinforce rather than initiate deviant involvement.

Hirschi understates the importance of the relationship between peer associations and mother's influence on peer relations. Our study suggests that looking at how parents influence peer relations is more important than the way in which the school supports parental bonding efforts.

Whereas Hirschi emphasized the failure of the family to prevent delinquency through inadequate or incomplete bonding, we find that parents also contribute to their children's deviance by supervising them inappropriately. In other words, parents may not be a part of the cause, but they may be a factor in the escalation of deviant involvement in some cases.

The fact that there is little consistency from one sub-type to another in those factors which are explanatory makes drawing conclusions difficult. While peer influence is most useful, even peer variables do little to help us understand involvement in major theft. It may be that there are factors that influence deviance that were unforeseen by this study or that the dynamics of parents and peer relations have not been disclosed sufficiently.

What is clear is that parent and peer relationships are extremely complex, and that our expansion of knowledge in this field will depend on explicating these details in a far more intense manner than has been done. We must become current as to what are those forces that are most influential today. And we must be willing to invest sufficient time to understand how those forces change over time. This will help us to understand whether past findings were inaccurate or simply no longer apply. But the energy will be well spent if we can develop an understanding of deviant behavior among adolescents.

APPENDIX A

EXHIBIT X: JUVENILE RATE OF REFERRALS — WARDS WHERE CRIMES WERE COMMITTED

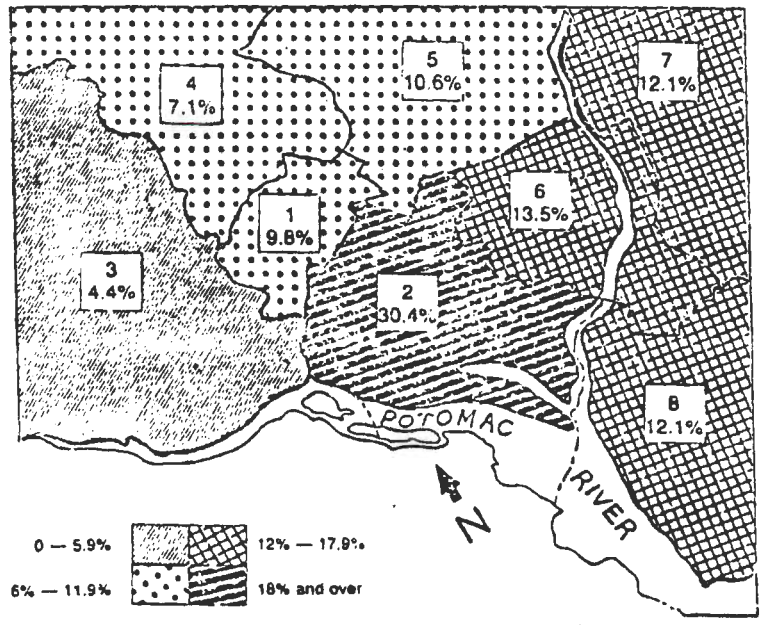
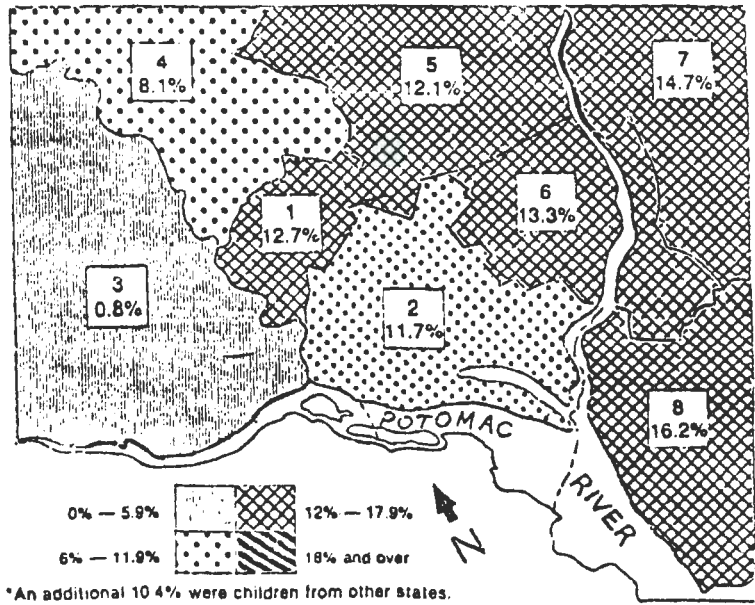


EXHIBIT XI: JUVENILE RATE OF REFERRALS — WARDS WHERE JUVENILES RESIDE*



*An additional 10.4% were children from other states.

APPENDIX B
SOURCES OF QUESTIONS

PEER SUPPORT

Norland uses two questions to measure the relative amount of "social support" for delinquent behavior:

- (1) How often do your best male friends ask you to do something that is against the law?
- (2) How often do your best female friends ask you to do something which is against the law?

Scores were summed to provide a measure of social support.

Linden and Hackler identify four variables which they think should be taken into account in the relationship between a youth and his associates:

- (1) The closeness of the actor to each of his associates. How much he is concerned about their approval or esteem?
- (2) The visibility of his action to each of his associates. How likely are they to know about his actions?
- (3) The responsiveness to his action of each of his associates. How much would a given action affect their general esteem for him?
- (4) The behavioral preferences of each of his associates. (This determines the direction of peer influence).

They use the following question to measure these variables:

"Now think of three or four kids you know who sometimes (almost never) get into trouble. Adults would say these kids are 'wild' ('O.K.') or maybe even 'bad' ('nice'). If these kids were your close friends, would they be just the way you want them to be?"

Appendix B (cont.)
Parental Support

Hepburn's five items comprising his scale of family support are:

- (1) I enjoy talking over my plans with my parents
- (2) I can confide in my parents.
- (3) My parents make me feel trusted.
- (4) My parents don't try to understand my problems.
- (5) My parents are always picking on me.

The inter-item correlation coefficients ranged from .24 to .55 and the item to scale coefficients range from .64 to .76.

Hirschi's questions relating to attachment to parents include:

- (1) Do your parents make rules that seem unfair to you?
- (2) Do your parents check to see whether you have done what they tell you to do?
- (3) Do your parents know who you are with when you are away from home?
- (4) Do your parents ever ask about what you are doing in school?
- (5) Has your mother met your friends?

Norland's "parental supervision" questions are:

- (1) Does your mother know where you are when you are away from home?
- (2) Does your father know where you are when you are away from home?
- (3) When you go out in the evening on school nights, about what time do your parents want you to get home?

APPENDIX B (cont.)

Wiatrowski et al. rely on the following to measure parent-child Closeness:

- (1) How close do you feel to your mother?
- (2) How much do you want to be like the kind of person your mother is?
- (3) How close do you feel to your father?
- (4) How much do you want to be like your father when you are an adult?

Johnson uses several indices related to Parents:

A. Attachment to Parents

- (1) I'm closer to my father than are most people my age.
- (2) When I have problems I confide in my father.
- (3) When I have free time I spend it with my father.

B. Caring what parents think

- (1) Do you care what your father/mother thinks of you?

C. Love/Concern of parent for child

- (1) It has been hard for me to please my father.
- (2) My father has ridiculed or made fun of my ideas.
- (3) My father has trusted me.
- (4) My father has seemed to wish I were a different type of person.

APPENDIX C

No. _____

Name of Interviewer: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Type of Respondent: (Check One)

- Probationer
 PINS Center - Random
 PINS Center - Summer Program
 DOES Referral - Summer Program

INTRODUCTION:

I am _____ from the University of Maryland Department of Sociology. I am doing a study in the D.C. area to find out more about the way young people think and feel today.

(For those from probation roster or PINS roster not in summer program)

Your name was selected at random from the list of kids (on probation/known to the PINS Center). But noone (in the Probation Department/at the PINS Center) has anything to do with this study, and we are in no way connected with the Police or Courts.

(For those in the summer program)

All of the youth in the summer program are being asked to participate in this study.

(For all)

By answering these questions you will be helping us to understand young people better and to plan better programs for teenagers in the future.

Noone will find out your answers to these questions, and in fact your name will not be used in any way. Do you understand?

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Case Code No. _____

(Note to interviewer: Mark one, do not ask)

1. Male

2. Female

(If not black, indicate what race _____)

1. First, how many years have you lived in the District of Columbia?

_____ years

2. What is the zipcode for the address where you live now?

3. Is there a name for the neighborhood you live in now? _____

4. Do you know any people in this neighborhood who break the law? _____

If so, about how many? _____

5. How long have you lived where you live now or near here (within 1 mile)?

_____ years

6. Which of the areas of the City is this?

_____ Northeast

_____ Northwest

_____ Southeast

_____ Southwest

7. What was your age at last birthday?

What is your birthdate? _____

8. Are you planning to return to school in the fall?

Yes _____

No _____

What school? _____

Did you drop-out?

What grade? _____

Yes _____

NO _____

In what grade? _____

Did you graduate?

Yes _____ No _____

9. Do you have a job?

1. Yes

NO

What kind of job is it?

Are you looking for a job?

Yes _____ No _____

10. Please list all of the people who presently live in your household. (Please check all that apply AND list the number, where more than one)

- _____ 1. MOTHER _____
- _____ 2. FATHER _____
- _____ 3. SISTER _____
- _____ 4. BROTHER _____
- _____ 5. UNCLE _____
- _____ 6. AUNT _____
- _____ 7. GRANDMOTHER _____
- _____ 8. GRANDFATHER _____

9. OTHER (Please ask to specify. If name is given, ask if this is a relative. If not, ask who this person is.)

11. How many other relatives of yours live in your neighborhood? _____ (ASK ONLY IF NOT LIVING WITH MOTHER OR FATHER)

12. Which of the people listed above acts like your mother? _____

13. Which of the people listed above acts like your father? _____

14. Does your mother (or substitute) work?

1. Yes

2. No

What is her occupation? (What does she do?)

Page 3

Where does she work? _____

What was the last grade your mother completed in school?

N/A

15. Does your father (or substitute) work?

Yes

NO

What is his occupation?(What does he do?)

Where does he work? _____

What was the last grade your father completed in school?

N/A

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU AND YOUR PARENTS DEAL WITH EACH OTHER. (If not living with parents, use whoever is serving as substitute mother or father where it says "mom" or "dad". If noone seems to be filling this role or they have only one parent or parent substitute, use N/A for the questions relating to that parent and move on to the next section).

(Move on to Q. 40 if noone seems to be filling the role of mother)

16. In general, how strict would you say that your mother (or substitute mother) is?

2. Very strict

1. Kind of strict

0. Not very strict

8. Not sure

9. N/A

17. How often do you talk to your mom about school work?

3. All the time

2. Often

1. Sometimes

0. Never

N/A

18. If you broke the law but didn't get caught and your mom found out, would she:

3. Punish You

2. Ignore It

1. Get Upset

0. Be pleased you didn't get caught

N/A

Page 4

19. How much do you think your mom cares about how you are doing in school?

2. A lot.

1. Some

0. Not very much

8. Don't know/
Not sure

9. N/A

20. Which of these terms best describes the way your mom acts towards you?

3. Worries about you

2. Is reasonable

1. Nags you

0. Doesn't care

9. Don't know

21. How often does your mom discuss with you where you are going and how late you can stay out at night?

2. All the time

2. Often

1. sometimes

0. never

8. DK/NS

9. N/A

22. How often does your mom talk to you about who you hang out with?

3. All the time

2. Often

1. sometimes

0. never

8. DK/NS

9. N/A

23. How often do you have heart-to-heart talks with your mom?

3. All the time

2. Often

1. Sometimes

0. Never

8. DK/NS

9. N/A

24. Would you say your mom is too busy to listen to your problems?

3. All the time

2. Often

1. Sometimes

0. Never

8. DK/NS

9. N/A

25. How much do you tell your mom about what happens to you?

3. A great deal

2. Most

1. Some

0. Not much

8. DK/NS

9. N/A

26. Does your mom encourage you to do your homework?

3. All the time

2. Often

1. Sometimes

0. Never

8. DK/NS

9. N/A

27. Does your mom set a curfew so that you know what time you are supposed to be home?

3. All the time

2. Usually

1. Sometimes

0. Never

8. DK/NS

9. N/A

Page 5

28. Do you ever stay out at night longer than you are supposed to?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never No answer

(If never, OMIT) 29. When you stay out too late, does your mom punish you?

3. All the time 2. Usually 1. Sometimes 0. Never N/A

30. How does your mom feel about most of your friends?

2. Approves 1. Doesn't know them 0. Disapproves 8. Don't know

31. If you brought home something that was stolen, would your mom?

2. Get upset 0. Ignore it 1. Be happy if she liked it 3. Punish you 8. Don't know

32. Do you ever get high?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never No answer

(If never, OMIT) 33. Does your mom punish you when you get high?

3. All the time 2. Usually 1. Sometimes 0. Never 7. Doesn't know N/A

34. Does your mom know where you are going to be when you go out at night?

3. All the time 2. Usually 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. Not sure 9. N/A

35. Does your mom know who you are going to be with when you go out at night?

3. All the time 2. Usually 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. Not sure 9. N/A

36. When you were younger, was your mom?

2. More strict 1. About the Same 0. Not as strict 8. Not sure 9. N/A

Page 6

37. In general, how much do you think your mom cares about you?

3. A great deal

2. Pretty much

1. Not very much

0. Not at all

8. Don't know

38. How much would you like to be the kind of person your mother (or substitute) is?

3. A great deal

2. Pretty much

1. Not very much

0. Not at all

8. Don't know

39. How close do you feel to your mother?

2. Very close

1. Kind of close

0. Not close at all

8. Don't know

(BELOW ARE THE QUESTIONS HAVING TO DO WITH FATHER OR FATHER SUBSTITUTE. IF NOONE IS FILLING THAT ROLE, GO ON TO Q. 64)

40. In general, how strict would you say that your father (or father substitute) is?

2. Very strict

1. Kind of strict

0. Not very strict

8. Not sure

41. How often do you talk to your dad about school work?

3. All the time

2. Often

1. Sometimes

0. Never

8. Not sure

9. N/A

42. If you broke the law but didn't get caught and your dad found out, would he?

2. Get upset

1. Ignore it

3. Punish you anyway

0. Be pleased you didn't get caught

8. Not sure

43. Do you think your dad cares about how you are doing in school?

2. A lot

1. Some

0. Not very much

8. DK

9. N/A

Page 7

44. Does your dad know who you are going to be with when you go out at night?

3. All the time 2. Usually 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

45. How often does your dad discuss with you where you are going and how late you can stay out at night?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK 9. N/A

46. How often does your dad talk to you about who you hang out with?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

47. How often do you have heart-to-heart talks with your dad?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

48. Would you say your dad is too busy to listen to your problems?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

49. How much do you tell your dad about what happens to you?

3. A great deal 2. Most 1. Some 0. Not much 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

50. Does your dad encourage you to do your homework?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

51. Does your dad set a curfew so that you know what time you are supposed to be home?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

52. Do you ever stay out at night longer than you are supposed to?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

Page 8

(IF ANSWER TO PREVIOUS QUESTION IS "NEVER", OMIT Q.53)

53. When you stay out too late, does your dad punish you?

3. All the time 2. Usually 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

54. How does your dad feel about most of your friends?

2. Approves 1. Doesn't know them 2. Disapproves 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

55. If you brought home something that was stolen, would your dad?

2. Get upset 0. Ignore it 1. Be happy if he liked it 3. Punish you 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

56. Do you ever get high?

3. All the time 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. DK/NS 9. N/A

(If answer to Q.57 is "never", omit Q58)

57. Does your dad punish you when you get high?

7. Doesn't Know 3. All the time 2. Usually 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. NS 9. N/A

58. Does your dad know where you are going to be when you go out at night?

3. All the time 2. Usually 1. Sometimes 0. Never 8. NS 9. N/A

59. When you were younger, was your dad?

2. More strict 1. About as strict 0. Not as strict 8. NS 9. N/A

60. Which of these terms best describes the way your dad acts towards you?

3. Worries about you 2. Is reasonable 1. Nags you 0. Doesn't care 8. NS 9. N/A

61. In general, how much do you think your dad cares about you?

3. A great deal 2. Pretty much 1. Not very much 0. Not at all 8. NS 9. N/A

Page 9

62. How much would you like to be the kind of person your father (or substitute) is?

3. A great deal 2. Pretty much Not very much 0. Not at all 8. DK 9. N/A

63. How close do you feel to your father?

Very close Kind of close Not close at all. N/A

AND NOW FOR SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY IN GENERAL

64. Do the members of your family cooperate in trying to get things done?

3. Very well 2. fairly well not too well poorly Don't know N/A

65. Can you confide in members of your family?

3. Always 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never Not sure N/A

66. Would you say your family is a happy family?

3. Always 2. Usually 1. Sometimes 0. Never NS/DK N/A

67. How much influence do you feel you have in family decisions that affect you?

2. A lot 1. Some 0. Not very much NS/DK N/A

68. Do the members of your family like to hear about each others' experiences?

3. Always 2. Often 1. Sometimes 0. Never NS/DK N/A

Page 10

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT SCHOOL AND YOUR FRIENDS.
(If not in school, go on to Q. 78)

69. In general, how much do you like school?

3. A great deal 2. pretty well 1. Not very much 0. Not at all N/A

70. Would you say that most of what you do in school is important or a waste of time?

0. Waste of time 1. Not sure 2. Important N/A

71. What would you say is your average grade in school?

4. A 3. B 2. C 1. D 0. F N/A

72. Would you say that most of the time the teachers are or are not interested in your work?

3. Not interested 1. Not sure 2. Interested N/A

73. Do you usually sometimes never try very hard in school?

74. How much do you care what teachers think?

3. A great deal 2. Pretty much 1. Not very much 0. Not at all N/A

75. How far in school do you think you would like to go?

_____ Finish High School

_____ Some college

_____ Finish college

_____ Graduate School

76. What do you think are the chances that you will go as far
in school as you would like to go?

2. Good 1. Fair 0. Poor 8. Not sure 9. No answer

77. How often do you discuss homework with your friends when you are in school?

3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never 9. N/A

page 11

78. What job or occupation would you eventually like to have?

79. What do you think are the chances that you will end up with the type of job that you would like?

2 Good 1. Fair 0. Poor 8. Not sure 9. No answer

80. How often do you smoke pot?

3. More than once/week 2. About once/week 1. Less than once/week 0. Never

81. How often do your friends smoke pot?

3. More than once/week 2. About once/week 1. Less than once/week 0. Never

(Ask only if answer to 80 is positive)

82. Do you think you would smoke pot even if your friends did not?

2. Yes 1. Maybe 0. No 9. No answer

83. How often do you drink alcohol?

3. More than once/week 2. About once/week 1. Less than once/week 0. Never

84. How often do your friends drink alcohol?

3. More than once/week 2. About once/week 1. Less than once/week 0. Never

(Ask only if answer to 83 is positive)

85. Do you think you would drink alcohol even if your friends did not?

2. Yes 1. Maybe 0. No 9. No answer

86. In general, how much do you think your friends care about you?

2. A lot 1. Some 0. Not very much 8. Not sure

92. Please list all the kids you hang out with after school (You can include people you just named and kids you hang out with on weekends and summers)

Name	How long have you been hanging around with him/her?	How close are you to this person? (2) Very close (1) Kind of (0) Not very	Is he/she a member of your group?	How many times/week do you see this person?	Please indicate when they sometimes(1), often(2), never(0):		
					Skip School	Steal Things	Beat People

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

93. Some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say you can't be too careful in your dealings with people. How do you feel about it?

_____ Most people can be trusted

_____ You can't be too careful

94. If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you.

Agree

Disagree

Don't know

Page 14

95. Would you say that most people are more inclined to help others, or more inclined to look out for themselves?

0. _____ To help others.

1. _____ To look out for themselves.

96. No one is going to care much what happens to you, when you get right down to it.

1. Agree

0. Disagree

8. Not sure

97. Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.

0. Agree

1. Disagree

8. Not sure

FINALLY WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT DIFFERENT THINGS KIDS YOUR AGE SOMETIMES DO. REMEMBER NOONE WILL KNOW WHAT YOUR ANSWERS ARE TO THESE QUESTIONS.

HOW MANY TIMES IN THE PAST YEAR HAVE YOU:

98. Gotten into an argument with your parents?

(Hand respondent the next sheet, and ask him to give you the number that corresponds with his response. This number should be recorded on the line. Use this code sheet for the next 26 questions.)

0. _____ Never
1. _____ Once or twice
2. _____ More than twice, but not as many as 10 times
3. _____ More than 10 times
8. _____ Don't know/Not sure
9. _____ No answer

Page 15

98. Stayed out late at night without your parents' permission?

99. Knowingly bought, sold or held stolen goods?

100. Hit or threatened to hit one of your parents?

101. Skipped school without a legitimate excuse?

102. Stolen (or tried to steal) a motor vehicle, such as a car or motorcycle?

103. Hit or threatened to hit a teacher or other adult at school or on the job?

104. Thrown object (such as rocks or bottles) or shot BB's at cars or people?

105. Stayed away from home for more than a day without your parents knowing where you were?

106. Got suspended from school?

107. Messed up or destroyed public property or property belonging to someone else?

Page 16

108. Stole or tried to steal something worth more than \$50?

109. Sold hard drugs, such as heroin ("Horse"), cocaine ("coke"), or LSD("acid")?

110. Broken into someone's house and taken things?

111. Attached somebody with the idea of seriously hurting him/her?

112. Been involved in gang fights?

113. Used force (strong-arm methods) to take money or other things from someone else?

114. Been drunk or rowdy in a public place?

115. Carried a hidden weapon (other than a pocket knife)?

Page 17

116. Had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will?

117. Sold marijuana or hashish ("pot", "grass", "hash")?

118. Stolen things worth \$5 or less?

119. Stolen or tried to steal things worth between \$5 and \$50?

120. Disobeyed teachers or other school officials?

Page 18.

121. Used a weapon in a hold-up?

122. Been paid for having sexual relations
with someone?

123. Used a weapon (such as a gun or knife) to hurt somebody?

JUST A FEW MORE QUESTIONS NOW

124. Have you ever been picked up by the police? Yes _____ No _____

(If yes) What were you doing at the time? _____

125. Have you ever had to go to juvenile court?

0. Never

1. Once

2. Twice

3. Three or more times

What was the charge or charges?

Thank you very much for helping us with this study. If you would like any more information on the study, please feel free to contact Ms. Evelyn Slaght, at 727-3631.

SLAGHT DEVIANCY STUDY - 1982

Cara 01
Cols. 1-3

RESPID 1: Respondent ID Number - Card One

Enter the respondent's identification number in the upper right hand corner of the cover sheet.

Cara 01
Col. 4

CARDNO 1: Card Number One

Enter the card number "1" in a one digit field (no missing value possible).

Cara 01
Col. 5

WHOINTW: Name of Interviewer

Use the following code:

- 1 = Black female, including Rosetta Price, Glendora Williams, Karen Buster, Amina Webb
- 2 = Black male, including Al Banks, Othello Harris
- 3 = White female, including Evelyn Slight, Marcella DePeters, Kim Carr
- 4 = Other (none of above names)
- 9 = No Answer

Card 01
Col. 6

DATEINTW: Date of Interview

- 1 = Before June 13
- 2 = June 14 through August 31
- 3 = After September 1
- 9 = No Answer

Cara 01
Col. 7

TYPRESP: Type of Respondent

In the following coding, all summer program respondents, whether PINS or DOES referrals are combined in the same code:

- 1 = Probationer
 - 2 = PINS Center - Random
 - 3 = Summer Program
 - 9 = NA
-

Card 01
Col. 8

SEX: Sex of Respondent

- 1 = Male
- 2 = Female

- 9 = Not Checked/No Answer

Card 01
Col. 9

YRSDC: How many years respondent has lived in Washington, D.C.?

Use the following code:

- 1 = Less than one year
- 2 = One to two years
- 3 = Three to five years
- 4 = Six to nine years
- 5 = Ten to fourteen years
- 6 = Fifteen or more years

- 9 = No Answer

Card 01
Cols. 10-14

ZIPCODE: Zipcode for present address

Enter the five digit code of the respondent's zipcode.

Card 01
Col. 15

NAMEIGH: Name for the neighborhood where respondent lives now.

Use the following code:

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

- 9 = NA

Card 01
Col. 16

KNOBRKWLW: Does respondent know people who break the law?

Use the following code:

- 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No

 - 8 = Do not know/Not Sure
 - 9 = NA
-

Card 01
Col. 17

NOBRKCLW: How many people does respondent know who break the law?

Use the following code:

- 1 = None
- 2 = One to two
- 3 = Three to five
- 4 = Six to ten
- 5 = Eleven to fifteen
- 6 = Sixteen to twenty
- 7 = More than twenty (a lot)

- 9 = NA

Card 01
Col. 18

LGTHNEIG: How long has respondent lived in present neighborhood?

Use the following Code:

- 1 = Six months or less
- 2 = Seven months to 11 months
- 3 = One year to 23 months
- 4 = Two to five years
- 5 = Six to ten years
- 6 = Eleven or more years

- 9 = NA

Card 01
Col. 19

AREA: Which area of the City is this?

Use the following code:

- 1 = Northeast
- 2 = Southeast
- 3 = Northwest
- 4 = Southwest
- 5 = Other

- 9 = NA

Card 01
Cols. 20-21

RESPAGE: Age of respondent at last birthday

Enter two digit number.

Card 01
Col. 22

SCHFALL: Does respondent plan to return to school in the fall?

- 1 = Yes
 - 2 = No

 - 9 = NA
-

Card 01
Col. 23

WHATSCH: If yes, what school?

Use the following code: (See attachment for specific schools)

- 1 = Public - regular
- 2 = Public - special
- 3 = Private (including parochial)
- 4 = Technical (special skills related)
- 5 = College

- 9 = NA/DK

Card 01
Cols. 24-25

SCHGRADE: What grade?

Use the following code:

- 01 = GED preparation
- 02 = Special/non-graded
- 03 = Third grade
- 04 = Fourth grade
- 05 = Fifth grade
- 06 = Sixth grade
- 07 = Seventh grade
- 08 = Eighth grade
- 09 = Ninth grade
- 10 = Tenth grade
- 11 = Eleventh grade
- 12 = Twelfth grade
- 13 = College level
- 14 = Do not know/Not sure

- 99 = NA

Card 01
Col. 26

DROPOUT: If no, did you drop out?

Use "9" if planning to return to school.

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

- 9 = N/A

Card 01
Cols. 27-28

LSTGRAD: Last grade attended before dropping out.

Use the following code:

- 01 = GED preparation
- 02 = Special/non-graded
- 03 = Third grade
- 04 = Fourth grade
- 05 = Fifth grade
- 06 = Sixth grade
- 07 = Seventh grade
- 08 = Eighth grade
- 09 = Ninth grade
- 10 = Tenth grade
- 11 = Eleventh grade
- 12 = Twelfth grade
- 13 = College level
- 14 = Do not know/Not sure

- 99 = NA

Card 01
Col. 29

GRAD: If no, did you graduate?

Use the following code:

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No
- 9 = N/A

Card 01
Col. 30

HAVJOB: Do you have a job?

Use the following code:

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No
- 9 = N/A

Card 01
Cols. 31-32

JOBKIND: If yes, what kind of job is it?

Use the following code:

- 01 = Architecture, engineering and surveying
 - 02 = Mathematics and physical science
 - 03 = Life sciences
 - 04 = Social sciences
 - 05 = Medicine and health
 - 06 = Education
 - 07 = Museum, library and archival sciences
 - 08 = Law and jurisprudence
 - 09 = Religion and theology
 - 10 = Writing
 - 11 = Art
 - 12 = Entertainment
 - 13 = Administrative specialization
 - 14 = Managers and officials
 - 15 = Miscellaneous professional, technical and managerial
 - 16 = Stenography, typing, filing and related clerical
 - 17 = Computing and account recording
 - 18 = Production and stock clerks
 - 19 = Information and message distribution
 - 20 = Miscellaneous clerical
 - 21 = Sales occupations
 - 22 = Domestic service
 - 23 = Food and beverage preparation and service
 - 24 = Lodging and related service
 - 25 = Barbering, cosmetology and related
 - 26 = Amusement services
 - 27 = Miscellaneous personal service
 - 28 = Apparel and furnishings service
 - 29 = Protective services
 - 30 = Building and related service
 - 31 = Agricultural, fishing and forestry
 - 32 = Processing occupations
 - 33 = Machine trades
 - 34 = Benchwork
 - 35 = Structural work
 - 36 = Other (including PINS unspecified or summer only)
- 99 = N/A
-

Card 01
Col. 45

GRANDPA: Grandfather
0 = Not checked
1-4 = Indicate number

Card 01
Cols. 46-51

OTHERLIV: Other persons in household besides those listed above.

The first three digits should represent the type of other person in this household, while the last three digits are the number in that category of "other".

- 1 = Stepfather
- 2 = Stepmother
- 3 = Stepsisters
- 4 = Stepbrothers
- 5 = Nieces
- 6 = Nephews
- 7 = Cousins
- 8 = Other
- 9 = N/A

Card 01
Cols. 52-53

NEIGRELS: How many other relatives live in your neighborhood?

Use two digits to indicate the number

- 00 = None
- 01-29 = The number of relatives indicated
- 99 = Do not know/Not sure

Card 01
Col. 54

MOMSUB: Who serves as substitute mother?

Use the following codes:

- 0 = No one
- 1 = A sibling
- 2 = An adult relative
- 3 = Friend/neighbor
- 4 = Other

- 9 = NA

Card 01
Col. 55

SUBDAD: Substitute Father

Use the following codes:

- 0 = No one
 - 1 = Sibling
 - 2 = Adult relative
 - 3 = Friend
 - 4 = Other (including own father who does not live at home)

 - 9 = NA
-

Card 01
Col. 56

MOMWRK: Does mother work?

Use the following codes:

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

- 9 = NA

Card 01
Cols. 57-58

MOMJOB: If yes, what occupation/place of employment? (Code even if unemployed, but occupation is indicated)

Use the following codes:

- 01 = Architecture, engineering and surveying
 - 02 = Mathematics and physical science
 - 03 = Life sciences
 - 04 = Social sciences
 - 05 = Medicine and health
 - 06 = Education (including day care)
 - 07 = Museum, library and archival sciences
 - 08 = Law and jurisprudence
 - 09 = Religion and theology
 - 10 = Writing
 - 11 = Art
 - 12 = Entertainment
 - 13 = Administrative specialization
 - 14 = Managers and officials
 - 15 = Miscellaneous professional, technical and managerial
 - 16 = Stenography, typing, filing and related clerical
 - 17 = Computing and account recording
 - 18 = Production and stock clerks
 - 19 = Information and message distribution
 - 20 = Miscellaneous clerical
 - 21 = Sales occupations
 - 22 = Domestic service
 - 23 = Food and beverage preparation and service
 - 24 = Lodging and related service
 - 25 = Barbering, cosmetology and related
 - 26 = Amusement services
 - 27 = Miscellaneous personal service
 - 28 = Apparel and furnishings service
 - 29 = Protective services
 - 30 = Building and related service
 - 31 = Agricultural, fishing and forestry
 - 32 = Processing occupations
 - 33 = Machine trades
 - 34 = Benchwork
 - 35 = Structural work
 - 36 = Other

 - 99 = N/A
-

Card 01
Cols. 59-60

MOMSED: Last grade mother completed?

Use the following codes:

- 01 = Sixth
- 02 = Seventh
- 03 = Eighth
- 04 = Ninth
- 05 = Tenth
- 06 = Eleventh
- 07 = Twelfth
- 08 = Some college
- 09 = Completed college
- 10 = Advanced degree
- 11 = GED
- 12 = Other

- 99 = N/A

Card 01
Col. 61

DADWRK: Does father work?

Use the following code:

- 1 = Yes
- 2 = No

- 9 = NA

Card 01
Cols. 62-63

DADJOB: If yes, what occupation/place of employment?

Use the following code:

- 01 = Architecture, engineering and surveying
- 02 = Mathematics and physical science
- 03 = Life sciences
- 04 = Social sciences
- 05 = Medicine and health
- 06 = Education
- 07 = Museum, library and archival sciences
- 08 = Law and jurisprudence
- 09 = Religion and theology
- 10 = Writing
- 11 = Art
- 12 = Entertainment
- 13 = Administrative specialization
- 14 = Managers and officials
- 15 = Miscellaneous professional, technical and managerial
- 16 = Stenography, typing, filing and related clerical
- 17 = Computing and account recording
- 18 = Production and stock clerks
- 19 = Information and message distribution
- 20 = Miscellaneous clerical
- 21 = Sales occupations
- 22 = Domestic service
- 23 = Food and beverage preparation and service
- 24 = Lodging and related service
- 25 = Barbering, cosmetology and related

Card 01
Cols. 62-63 Con't.

26 = Amusement services
27 = Miscellaneous personal service
28 = Apparat and furnishings service
29 = Protective services
30 = Building and related service
31 = Agricultural, fishing and forestry
32 = Processing occupations
33 = Machine trades
34 = Benchwork
35 = Structural work
36 = Other

99 = N/A

Card 01
Cols. 64-65

DADSED: Last grade father completed.

Use the following code:

01 = Sixth
02 = Seventh
03 = Eighth
04 = Ninth
05 = Tenth
06 = Eleventh
07 = Twelfth
08 = Some college
09 = Completed college
10 = Advance degree
11 = GED
12 = Other

99 = N/A

END CARD ONE

Card 02
Cols. 1-3

RESPID2: Respondent's ID Number - Card Two

Enter the three digit respondent identification number in the upper right hand corner of the sheet.

Card 02
Col. 4

CARDNO2: Card Number Two

Enter the card number "2" in a one digit field.

Card 02
Col. 5

STRICTMOM: How Strict is Respondent's Mother?

Use the following code:

- 3 = Very strict
- 2 = Kind of strict
- 1 = Not very strict

- 8 = Do not know/Not sure
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 6

TALKMOM: How Often Does Respondent Talk to Mom about School Work?

Use pre-code:

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

- 9 = NA

Card 02
Cols. 7-8

BROKMOM: If Respondent Broke the Law Mom would.

Use code designated below, but in a two digit field, a second answer may be entered in the second digit. If no second answer, enter "9" in second digit.

- 3 = Punish you
- 2 = Ignore it
- 1 = Get upset
- 4 = Be pleased you did not get caught

- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 9

MOMSCH: How Much does Mom Care about School?

Use pre-code:

- 3 = A lot
- 2 = Some
- 1 = Not very much

- 8 = Do not know/not sure
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Cols. 10-11

MOMACTS: How Does Mom Act toward Respondent?

Use pre-code, but in a two digit field, enter a second answer in the second digit. If no second answer, enter "9" in second digit.

- 3 = Worries about you
- 2 = Is reasonable
- 1 = Nags you
- 4 = Does not care

9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 12

MOMLATE: How Often Does Mom Discuss Where Respondent Goes and How Late?

Use pre-code:

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

8 = Do not know/not sure
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 13

MOMHANGS: How often does mom talk about who respondent hangs out with?

Use pre-code:

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

8 = Do not know/not sure
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 14

MOMHRT: How often does respondent have heart-to-heart talks with mom?

Use pre-code:

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

8 = Do not know/not sure
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 15

MOMBUSY: Is mom too busy to listen to problems?

Use pre-code:

- 1 = All the time
- 2 = Often
- 3 = Sometimes
- 4 = Never

- 8 = Do not know/not sure
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 16

MOMHAPS: How much does respondent tell mom about what happens?

- 4 = A great deal
- 3 = Most
- 2 = Some
- 1 = Not much

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 17

MAHMK: Does mom encourage doing homework?

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 18

MACRFW: Does mom set a curfew?

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Usually
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 19

STAYOUT 1: Does respondent ever stay out at night?

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

- 9 = NA
-

Card 02
Col. 20

MOMPUNLT: When out late, does mom punish respondent?

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Usually
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 21

MOMFRDS: How does mom feel about most friends?

- 3 = Approves
- 2 = Does not know them
- 1 = Disapproves
- 8 = Do not know/not sure (including approves some, disapproves others)
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Cols. 22-23

STOLMOM: If respondent brought home something stolen, mom would . . .

Use code below, but in a two digit field, a second answer may be entered in the second digit. If no second answer, enter "9" in second digit.

- 1 = Get upset
- 2 = Ignore it
- 3 = Punish you
- 4 = Be happy if she liked it
- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 24

GETHI 1: Does respondent get high?

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 25

MOMPUNHI: Does mom punish respondent when high?

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Usually
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never
- 7 = Mom does not know
- 8 = Don't know
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 26

MOMNIT: Does mom know where respondent is at night?

4 = All the time
3 = Usually
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 27

MOMWITH: Does mom know who respondent is with when out at night?

4 = All the time
3 = Usually
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 28

MOMYNGR: When younger, was mom . . .

3 = More strict
2 = About the same
1 = Not as strict

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 29

MOMCARES: How much does mom care?

4 = A great deal
3 = Pretty much
2 = Not very much
1 = Not at all

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 30

LIKEMOM: How much would respondent like to be like mom?

4 = A great deal
3 = Pretty much
2 = Not very much
1 = Not at all

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 31

MACLOS: How close does respondent feel to mom?

- 3 = Very close
- 2 = Kind of close
- 1 = Not close at all

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 32

STRCTIDAD: How strict is respondent's father?

- 3 = Very strict
- 2 = Kind of strict
- 1 = Not very strict

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 33

TALKDAD: How often does respondent talk about school to dad?

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

- 9 = NA

Card 02
Cols. 34-35

BROKDAD: If respondent broke the law and dad found out he would . . .

Use code designated below, but in a two digit field, a second answer may be entered in the second digit. If no second answer, enter "9" in second digit.

- 3 = Punish you
- 2 = Ignore it
- 1 = Get upset
- 4 = Be pleased you did not get caught

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 36

DADSCH: Do you think dad cares about school?

- 3 = A lot
- 2 = Some
- 1 = Not very much

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 37

DADWITH: Does dad know who with when out at night?

4 = All the time
3 = Usually
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 38

DADLATE: Dad discusses where respondent going and how late?

4 = All the time
3 = Often
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 39

DADHANGS: How often does dad talk about who hang out with?

4 = All the time
3 = Often
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 40

DADHRT: How often does respondent have heart-to-heart talks with dad?

4 = All the time
3 = Often
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 41

DADBUSY: Is dad too busy to listen to problems?

1 = All the time
2 = Often
3 = Sometimes
4 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 42

DADHAPS: How much does respondent tell dad about what happens?

4 = A great deal
3 = Most
2 = Some
1 = Not much

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 43

DADHWK: Does dad encourage doing homework?

4 = All the time
3 = Often
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 44

DADCRFW: Does dad set a curfew?

4 = All the time
3 = Usually/often
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 45

STAYOUT2: Does respondent stay out later than supposed to?

4 = All the time
3 = Often
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 46

DADPUNT: When late, does dad punish respondent?

4 = All the time
3 = Usually
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 47

DADFRDS: How does dad feel about most friends?

- 3 = Approves
- 2 = Does not know them
- 1 = Disapproves

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Cols. 48-49

STOLDAD: If respondent brought home something stolen, dad would . . .

Use code below, but in a two digit field, a second answer may be entered in the second digit. If no second answer, enter "9" in second digit.

- 1 = Get upset
- 2 = Ignore it
- 3 = Punish you
- 4 = Be happy if he liked it

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 50

GETHI2: Does respondent get high?

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 51

DADFUNHI: Does dad punish respondent when high?

- 4 = All the time
- 3 = Usually
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

- 7 = Dad does not know
- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 52

DADNIT: Does dad know where respondent is at night?

- 4 = All the time
 - 3 = Usually
 - 2 = Sometimes
 - 1 = Never

 - 8 = DK/NS
 - 9 = NA
-

Card 02
Col. 53

DADYNGR: When younger, how strict was dad?

3 = More strict
2 = About the same
1 = Not as strict

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Cols. 54-55

DADACTS: Which describes how dad acts? (More than one response is allowed)

3 = Worries about you
2 = Is reasonable
1 = Nags you
4 = Does not care

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 56

DADCARES: How much do you think dad cares?

4 = A great deal
3 = Pretty much
2 = Not very much
1 = Not at all

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 57

LIKEDAD: How much would respondent like to be like dad?

4 = A great deal
3 = Pretty much
2 = Not very much
1 = Not at all

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 58

DADCLOS: How close to father?

3 = Very close
2 = Kind of close
1 = Not close at all

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 59

COOPFAM: Do members of family cooperate in trying to get things done?

4 = Very well
3 = Fairly well
2 = Not too well
1 = Poorly

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 60

CONFIDE: Can you confide in family members?

4 = Always
3 = Often
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 61

HAPPY: Is family happy?

4 = Always
3 = Usually
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 62

INFLUENCE: How much influence in family decisions?

3 = A lot
2 = Some
1 = Not very much

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 63

LIKHEAR: Do members like to hear about each other's experiences?

4 = Always
3 = Often
2 = Sometimes
1 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 64

LIKSCH: How much does respondent like school?

- 4 = A great deal
- 3 = Pretty well
- 2 = Not very much
- 1 = Not at all

9 = N/A

Card 02
Col. 65

IMFWAST: Is what respondent does in school important or a waste of time?

- 1 = Waste of time
- 2 = Not sure
- 3 = Important

9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 66

AVGRADE: What is the average grade in school?

- 5 = A
- 4 = B
- 3 = C
- 2 = D
- 1 = F

9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 67

TECHINT: Are teachers interested or not interested in work?

- 1 = Not interested
- 2 = Not sure
- 3 = Interested

9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 68

TRYHARD: Does respondent try hard in school?

- 3 = Usually
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 69

CARETECH: Does respondent care what teachers think?

- 4 = A great deal
- 3 = Pretty much
- 2 = Not very much
- 1 = Not at all

9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 70

FARSCH: How far in school does respondent want to go?

- 1 = Finish high school
- 2 = Some college
- 3 = Finish college
- 4 = Graduate school
- 5 = Other (including technical training/GED)

8 = DK/NS

9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 71

GOFAR: What are chances of going as far in school as respondent wants?

- 3 = Good
- 2 = Fair
- = Poor

8 = DK/NS

9 = NA

Card 02
Col. 72

DISQWRK: How often does respondent discuss homework with friends in school?

- 3 = Often
- 2 = Sometimes
- 1 = Never

9 = NA

Card 02
Cols. 73-74

KINDWRK: What job or occupation would respondent eventually like to have?

- 01 = Architecture, engineering and surveying
- 02 = Mathematics and physical science
- 03 = Life sciences
- 04 = Social sciences
- 05 = Medicine and health
- 06 = Education
- 07 = Museum, library and archival sciences
- 08 = Law and jurisprudence
- 09 = Religion and theology

Card 02
Cols. 73-74 Con't.

- 10 = Writing
- 11 = Art
- 12 = Entertainment
- 13 = Administrative specialization
- 14 = Managers and officials
- 15 = Miscellaneous professional, technical and managerial
- 16 = Stenography, typing, filing and related clerical
- 17 = Computing and account recording
- 18 = Production and stock clerks
- 19 = Information and message distribution
- 20 = Miscellaneous clerical
- 21 = Sales occupations
- 22 = Domestic service
- 23 = Food and beverage preparation and service
- 24 = Lodging and related service
- 25 = Barbering, cosmetology and related
- 26 = Amusement services
- 27 = Miscellaneous personal service
- 28 = Apparel and furnishings service
- 29 = Protective services
- 30 = Building and related service
- 31 = Agricultural, fishing and forestry
- 32 = Processing occupations
- 33 = Machine trades
- 34 = Benchwork
- 35 = Structural work
- 36 = Other

- 99 = N/A

Card 02
Col. 75

JOBCHANC: What are the chances of ending up with job liked?

- 3 = Good
- 2 = Fair
- 1 = Poor

- 8 = DK/NS
 - 9 = NA
-

END OF CARD TWO

Card 03
Cols. 1-3

RESPID3: Respondent ID Number - Card Three

Enter the three digit respondent identification number in the upper right corner of the page.

Card 03
Col. 4

CARDNO3: Card Number Three

Enter the number "3" in a one digit field.

Card 03
Col. 5

SMOKPOT: How Often does respondent smoke pot?

- 3 = More than once/week
- 2 = About once/week
- 1 = Less than once/week
- 0 = Never

- 9 = NA

Card 03
Col. 6

FRNDSPOT: How often do respondent's friends smoke pot?

- 3 = More than once/week
- 2 = About once/week
- 1 = Less than once/week
- 0 = Never

- 9 = NA

Card 03
Col. 7

RESPPOT: Would respondent smoke pot even if friends did not?

- 2 = Yes
- 1 = Maybe
- 0 = No

- 9 = NA/ not appropriate

Card 03
Col. 8

DRNKALC: How often does respondent drink alcohol?

- 3 = More than once/week
 - 2 = About once/week
 - 1 = Less than once/week
 - 0 = Never

 - 9 = NA
-

Card 03
Col. 9

FRNDSALC: How often does respondent's friends drink alcohol?

- 3 = More than once/week
- 2 = About once/week
- 1 = Less than once/week
- 0 = Never

- 9 = N/A

Card 03
Col. 10

RESPALC: Would respondent drink alcohol even if friends did not?

- 2 = Yes
- 1 = Maybe
- 0 = No

- 9 = N/A

Card 03
Col. 11

FRNDSCAR: How much do friends care about respondent?

- 3 = A lot
- 2 = Some
- 1 = Not very much

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = N/A

Card 03
Col. 12

ASKBRLW: How often do friends ask respondent to break the law?

- 3 = All the time
- 2 = Often
- 1 = Sometimes
- 0 = Never

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = N/A

Card 03
Col. 13

CNTONFND: How many kids can respondent count on in case of an emergency?

- 0 = None
 - 1 = One or two
 - 2 = Three to five
 - 3 = Six to ten
 - 4 = More than ten

 - 8 = DK/NS
 - 9 = N/A
-

Card 03
Col. 14

BAKUPWRG: How many would back up respondent even if wrong?

0 = None
1 = One or two
2 = Three to five
3 = Six to ten
4 = More than ten

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 03
Col. 15

BRAGFRDS: When in trouble, does respondent brag to friends?

3 = All the time
2 = Often
1 = Sometimes
0 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 03
Cols. 16-17

NMSCHFRS: Name all the kids who are respondent's friends in school.

Under column headed "name", enter number of names listed in a two digit field.

01 - 12 = The number listed
99 = NA

Card 03
Cols. 18-29

LENGTH1-12: How long has respondent known this person?

For each person listed, indicate length of time known, using the code below. In a 12 code field, if fewer than 12 friends are listed, enter "9" after the last name as often as necessary to complete the field of 12.

1 = Less than three months
2 = Four to six months
3 = More than six months, but less than one year
4 = At least one year, but less than three years
5 = At least three years, but less than five years
6 = Five years or more

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 03
Cols. 30-41

CLOSE1-12 : How close is respondent to this person?

Use pre-code and enter after each name. In a 12 code field, use "9" if no name is listed, as often as necessary to complete the field of 12.

- 3 = Very close
- 2 = Kind of close
- 1 = Not close at all

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 03
Cols. 42-53

GROUP1-12 : Is friend a member of respondent's group?

Use code below for each name listed. If no name, enter "9" as often as necessary to complete the field of 12.

- 1 = Yes, member (including "sometimes")
- = No, not a member/no group

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 03
Cols. 54-65

SEEL-12 : How many times a week does respondent see this person when in school?

Use code below for each name listed. If no name, enter "9" as often as necessary to complete the field of 12.

- 5 = Every day
- 4 = Every other day (including 3-4 times)
- 3 = Once or twice/week
- 2 = Once/week
- 1 = Less than once/week

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

End of Card Three

Card 04
Cols. 1-3

RESPID4: Respondent's ID Number - Card Four

Enter the three digit respondent identification number in the upper right hand corner of the page.

Card 04
Col. 4

CARDNO4: Card Number Four

Enter the card number "4" in a one digit field.

Card 04
Cols. 5-16

SKIPL-12 :Indicate whether school friend skips school.

Using pre-code, enter code for each name listed. If no name, enter "9" as often as necessary to complete the field of 12.

2 = Often
1 = Sometimes
0 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 04
Cols. 17-28

STEALS1-12 :Indicate whether school friend steals things.

Enter pre-code for each name. Enter "9" if no name up to field of 12.

2 = Often
1 = Sometimes
0 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 04
Cols. 29-40

BEATUP1-12 : Indicate whether school friend beats up people.

Enter pre-code for each name. Enter "9" if no name up to field of 12.

2 = Often
1 = Sometimes
0 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 04
Cols. 41-42

NMNGHFRS: List all of the kids respondent hangs out with after school.

Under column headed "name", enter number of names listed in a two digit field.

01 - 12 = The number of names listed
99 = NA

Card 04
Cols. 43-54

LONG1-12 : How long has respondent known this person?

For each name, indicate length of time known, using the code below. In a 12 code field, if fewer than 12 names are listed, enter "9" after the name as often as necessary to complete the field of 12.

- 1 = Less than three months
- 2 = From four to six months
- 3 = More than six months, but less than one year
- 4 = At least one year, but less than three years
- 5 = At least three years, but less than five years
- 6 = Five years or more

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 04
Cols. 55-66

LIKE1-12: How close is respondent to this person?

Use pre-code after each name. In a 12 code field, use "9" if no name is listed as often as necessary to complete the field of 12.

- 3 = Very close
- 2 = Kind of close
- 1 = Not close at all

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

END OF CARD FOUR

Card 05
Cols. 1-3

RESPID5: Respondent's ID Number - Card Five

Enter the three digit respondent identification number in the upper right hand corner of the sheet.

Card 05
Col. 4

CARDNO5: Card Number Five

Enter the card number "5" in a one digit field.

Card 05
Cols. 5-16

GRPKID1-12: Is the kid the respondent hangs out with a member of the respondent's group?

Use code below for each name listed. If no name, enter "9" as many times as necessary to complete the field of 12.

1 = Yes, member (including sometimes)
2 = No, not a member/no group

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 05
Cols. 17-28

XSEEL-12: How many times per week does respondent see this person?

Use code below for each name. Enter "9" as often as necessary to complete the field of 12.

5 = Every day
4 = Every other day
3 = Once or twice per week
2 = Once per week
1 = Less than once/week/sometimes

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 05
Cols. 29-40

KIDSKP1-12: Indicate whether the kids respondent hangs out with skip school.

Use pre-code for each name, but enter "9" where less than 12 kids are listed.

2 = Often
1 = Sometimes
0 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 05
Cols. 41-52

KIDSTL1-12: Indicate whether the kids the respondent hangs out with steal things.

Enter pre-code for all names listed and "9" where no name up to a field of 12.

2 = Often
1 = Sometimes
0 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

Card 05
Cols. 53-64

KIDHIT1-12: Indicate whether the kids the respondent hangs out with beat up people.

Use pre-code for all names and "9" until field of 12 is complete.

2 = Often
1 = Sometimes
0 = Never

8 = DK/NS
9 = NA

END OF CARD FIVE

Card 06
Cols. 1-3

RESPID6: Respondent's ID Number - Card Six

Enter the three digit respondent identification number in the upper right hand corner.

Card 06
Col. 4

CARDNO6: Card Number Six

Enter the number "6" in a one digit field.

Card 06
Col. 5

TRUSTPE0: Does respondent think you can trust people or not?

Use the following code.

- 1 = Most people can be trusted
- 2 = You can not be too careful

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 6

TAKADV: Does respondent think people will take advantage?

Use the following code:

- 1 = Disagree
- 2 = Agree

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 7

INCLINED: Does respondent think most people are more inclined to help others or look out for themselves?

- 1 = Most people are inclined to help others
- 2 = Most people are inclined to look out for themselves

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 8

NONECARE: Respondent thinks no one cares much what happens to him/her.

- 1 = Disagree
- 2 = Agree

- 8 = DK/NS
 - 9 = NA
-

Card 06
Col. 9

NATOUUP: Respondent thinks human nature is fundamentally cooperative.

- 1 = Agree
- 2 = Disagree

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 10

PINSARG: How many times in the past year has respondent gotten into an argument with parents?

Use pre-code.

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but not as many as ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 11

PINSLATE: How many times in the past year did respondent stay out late at night?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than 10 times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 12

STOLONE: How many times respondent knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods.

- 0 = Never
 - 1 = Once or twice
 - 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
 - 3 = More than ten times

 - 8 = DK/NS
 - 9 = NA
-

Card 06
Col. 13

PINSHIT: How many times in the past year did respondent hit or threaten to hit parents?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 14

PINSSKIP: How many times in past year did respondent skip school?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 15

STOLCAR: how many times did respondent steal motor vehicle?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 16

ASTADLT: How many times did respondent hit or threaten to hit a teacher or other adult?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 17

VANDLITRW: How many times did respondent throw objects or shoot BB's at cars or people?

- 0 = Never
 - 1 = Once or twice
 - 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
 - 3 = More than ten times

 - 8 = DK/NS
 - 9 = NA
-

Card 06
Col. 18

PINSRVN: How many times did respondent stay away from home without parents' knowledge?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 19

PINSSPND: How many times did respondent get suspended from school?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 20

VANLPRP: How many times did respondent mess up public property?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 21

CRIMLEFTY: How many times did respondent steal something worth more than \$50?

- 0 = Never
 - 1 = Once or twice
 - 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
 - 3 = More than ten times

 - 8 = DK/NS
 - 9 = NA
-

Card 06
Col. 22

DRUGHCL: How many times did respondent sell hard drugs?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 23

BESTL: How many times did respondent break into someone's home and take things?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 24

ALSTERS: How many times did respondent attack someone with the idea of hurting them?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 25

ASLTGANG: How many times has respondent been involved in a gang fight?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 26

ASLTSTOL: How many times did respondent use force to take something from someone else?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 27

DISORD: How many times has respondent been drunk or rowdy in a public place?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 28

WEAPON: How many times has respondent carried a weapon?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 29

ASLTSEX: How many times did respondent have sex with someone against their will?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 30

DRUGPOT: How many times did respondent sell pot or hash?

- 0 = Never
 - 1 = Once or twice
 - 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
 - 3 = More than ten times

 - 8 = DK/NS
 - 9 = NA
-

Card 06
Col. 31

STOLEFVE: How many times did respondent steal things worth \$5 or less?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 32

STOLEBET: How many times did respondent steal something worth between \$5 and \$50?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 33

PINSSCH: How many times did respondent disobey teachers or other school officials?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 34

ASLTHOLD: How many times did respondent use a weapon in a hold-up?

- 0 = Never
 - 1 = Once or twice
 - 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
 - 3 = More than ten times

 - 8 = DK/NS
 - 9 = NA
-

Card 06
Col. 35

PROSTIT: How many times has respondent been paid to have sexual relations?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 36

ASLTWPN: How many times has respondent used a weapon to hurt somebody?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once or twice
- 2 = More than twice, but less than ten times
- 3 = More than ten times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Col. 37

POLPICK: Has respondent ever been picked up or charged by the police?

- 1 = Yes
- 0 = No

- 9 = NA

Card 06
Cols. 38-39

WHATFOR: If yes, what was respondent doing at the time? (Code most serious, if more than one.)

Use the following code.

- 01 = Hooking school, suspension from school
- 02 = Defying parents/being out too late
- 03 = Running away from home
- 04 = Minor property offense, including minor theft, shoplifting, driving without a license, vandalism, buying or holding stolen goods.
- 05 = Major property offense, including breaking and entering, car theft, major theft (over \$50), burglary.
- 06 = Minor personal offense, including carrying/pulling a weapon, disturbing the peace, prostitution, drunk and disorderly, fighting, robbery.
- 07 = Major personal offense, including assault, rape, murder or attempted murder, armed robbery
- 08 = Minor drug offense - using or selling pot, hash, alcohol
- 09 = Major drug offense - using or selling coke, heroin, LSD
- 10 = Other

- 99 = NA

Card 06
Col. 40

JUVCT: Has respondent ever had to go to juvenile court?

- 0 = Never
- 1 = Once
- 2 = Twice
- 3 = Three or more times

- 8 = DK/NS
- 9 = NA

Card 06
Cols. 41-42

CHARGE: What was the charge or charges? (Code most serious, if more than one.)

- 01 = Hooking school, suspension/expulsion from school.
- 02 = Defying parents, including staying out late.
- 03 = Running away from home
- 04 = Minor property offense, including minor theft, shoplifting, driving without a license, vandalism, buying or holding stolen goods, trespassing.
- 05 = Major property offense, including breaking and entering, car theft, major theft (over \$50), burglary.
- 06 = Minor personal offense, including carrying/pulling a weapon, robbery, prostitution, drunk and disorderly, gang fighting, disturbing peace, robbery.
- 07 = Major personal offense, including assault, rape, murder or attempted murder, armed robbery.
- 08 = Minor drug offense - using or selling pot, hash, alcohol
- 09 = Major drug offense - using or selling coke, heroin, LSD
- 10 = Other

- 99 = NA

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WHATSCH	4
WHOINTVW	1
XSEEKID	31
YRSDC	2
ZIPCODE	2

141 Offense Versions Used in the Scaling Analysis

OFFENSE NUMBER	OFFENSE DESCRIPTION
1.	The offender stabs a person to death.
2.	The offender robs a person at gunpoint. The victim struggles and is shot to death.
3.	The offender forcibly rapes a woman. Her neck is broken and she dies.
4.	The offender kills a person by reckless driving of an automobile.
5.	The offender forces a female to submit to sexual intercourse. The offender inflicts physical injury by beating her with his fists.
6.	The offender forces a female to submit to sexual intercourse. No physical injury is inflicted.
7.	The offender drags a woman into an alley, tears her clothes, but flees before she is physically harmed or sexually attacked.
8.	The offender robs a person of \$1000 at gunpoint. The victim is shot and requires hospitalization.
9.	The offender robs a victim of \$1000 at gunpoint. The victim is wounded and requires treatment by a physician but no further treatment is needed.
10.	The offender robs a victim of \$1000 at gunpoint. No physical harm occurs.
11.	The offender, armed with a blunt instrument, robs a victim of \$1000. The victim is wounded and requires hospitalization.
12.	The offender with a blunt instrument robs a person of \$1000. The victim is wounded and requires treatment by a physician but no further treatment is needed.
13.	The offender, armed with a blunt instrument, takes \$1000 from a person. No physical harm is done.

OFFENSE NUMBER	OFFENSE DESCRIPTION
14.	The offender, using physical force, robs a person of \$1000. The victim is hurt and requires hospitalization.
15.	The offender robs a person of \$1000 by physical force. The victim is hurt and requires treatment by a physician but no further treatment is required.
16.	The offender, using physical force, robs a victim of \$1000. No physical harm is inflicted.
17.	The offender threatens to harm a victim if he does not give money to the offender. The victim hands over \$1000 but is not harmed.
18.	The offender robs a victim of \$5 at gunpoint. The victim is shot and requires hospitalization.
19.	The offender robs a person of \$5 at gunpoint. The victim is wounded and requires medical treatment but no further treatment is required.
20.	The offender robs a victim of \$5 at gunpoint. No physical harm occurs.
21.	The offender with a blunt instrument robs a person of \$5. The victim is wounded and requires hospitalization.
22.	A victim is robbed of \$5 by an offender with a blunt instrument. The victim is wounded and requires treatment by a physician but no further treatment is needed.
23.	The offender, armed with a blunt instrument, robs a victim of \$5. No physical harm is inflicted.
24.	The offender, using physical force, takes \$5 from a victim. The victim is hurt and requires hospitalization.
25.	The offender, using physical force, robs a person of \$5. The victim is hurt and requires treatment by a physician but no further treatment is required.
26.	The offender takes \$5 from a person by force but inflicts no physical harm.
27.	The offender threatens to harm a victim if he does not give his money to the offender. The victim gives him \$5 and is not harmed.
28.	The offender fires a gun at a victim who suffers a minor wound that does not require medical treatment.
29.	The offender with a gun wounds a victim. The wound requires treatment on one occasion by a physician.
30.	The offender wounds a person with a gun. The victim lives but requires hospitalization.
31.	The offender stabs a victim with a knife. The victim does not require medical treatment.
32.	The offender stabs a victim with a knife. The victim is treated by a physician but requires no further treatment.
33.	The offender wounds a person with a knife. The victim lives but requires hospitalization.
34.	The offender wounds a person with a blunt instrument. The victim requires no medical treatment.

APPENDIX E (cont)

OFFENSE NUMBER	OFFENSE DESCRIPTION	OFFENSE NUMBER	OFFENSE DESCRIPTION
35.	The offender wounds a person with a blunt instrument. The victim is treated by a physician but requires no further treatment.	60.	The offender forces open a cash register in a department store and steals \$5.
36.	The offender wounds a person with a blunt instrument. The victim lives but requires hospitalization.	61.	The offender trespasses in a railroad yard, wrenches loose some fittings worth \$5, and steals them.
37.	The offender beats a victim with his fists. The victim lives but requires hospitalization.	62.	The offender steals \$1000 worth of merchandise from the counter of a department store.
38.	The offender breaks into a residence, forces open a cash box, and takes \$1000.	63.	The offender trespasses in a railroad yard and steals tools worth \$1000.
39.	The offender breaks into a residence, forces open a cash box, and steals \$5.	64.	The offender steals merchandise worth \$5 from the counter of a department store.
40.	The offender breaks into a residence and steals furniture worth \$1000.	65.	The offender trespasses in a railroad yard and steals a lantern worth \$5.
41.	The offender breaks into a residence and steals \$5.	66.	While in a public building during office hours, the offender breaks into a cash box and steals \$1000.
42.	The offender breaks into a department store, forces open a safe, and steals \$1000.	67.	The offender trespasses in a city motor pool lot and wrenches off \$1000 worth of accessories from city cars and trucks.
43.	The offender breaks into a department store, forces open a cash register, and steals \$5.	68.	The offender breaks into a parking meter and steals \$5 worth of nickels.
44.	The offender breaks into a department store and steals merchandise worth \$1000.	69.	The offender trespasses inside a publicly owned building, rips from the wall and steals a fixture worth \$5.
45.	The offender breaks into a department store and steals merchandise worth \$5.	70.	The offender walks into a public museum and steals a painting worth \$1000.
46.	The offender breaks into a public recreation center, smashes open a cash box, and steals \$1000.	71.	The offender trespasses on a city-owned storage lot and steals equipment worth \$1000.
47.	The offender breaks into a public recreation center, smashes open a cash box, and steals \$5.	72.	The offender steals a book worth \$5 from a public library.
48.	The offender breaks into a school and takes equipment worth \$1000.	73.	The offender trespasses on a city-owned storage lot and carries off equipment worth \$5.
49.	The offender breaks into a school and steals \$5 worth of supplies.	74.	The offender picks a person's pocket of \$1000.
50.	While the owner of a small delicatessen is phoning, the offender breaks into the cash register and steals \$1000.	75.	The offender picks a person's pocket of \$5.
51.	The offender forces open the glove compartment of an unlocked automobile and takes \$1000.	76.	The offender breaks into a locked car, steals, damages, and abandons it.
52.	The offender snatches a handbag containing \$5 from a person on the street.	77.	The offender breaks into a locked car and later abandons it undamaged.
53.	The offender enters an unlocked car, forces open the glove compartment, and steals personal belongings worth \$5.	78.	The offender breaks into a locked car, steals it, but returns it undamaged to the place where he stole it.
54.	The offender steals two diamond rings worth \$1000 while the owner of a small jewelry store is not looking.	79.	The offender steals, damages, and abandons an unlocked car.
55.	The offender steals \$1000 worth of merchandise from an unlocked automobile.	80.	The offender steals an unlocked car and abandons but does not damage it.
56.	The offender steals a bicycle which is parked on the street.	81.	The offender steals an unlocked car and returns it undamaged to the place where it was stolen.
57.	The offender illegally enters a backyard and steals a bicycle.	82.	The offender beats a victim with his fists. The victim is hurt but requires no medical treatment.
58.	The offender breaks into a display case in a large jewelry store and steals \$1000 worth of merchandise.	83.	The offender beats a person with his fists. The victim is treated by a physician but requires no further medical treatment.
59.	The offender trespasses in a railroad yard, tears loose \$1000 worth of equipment, and steals it.	84.	The offender signs someone else's name to a check and cashes it.
		85.	The offender embezzles \$1000 from his employer.

OFFENSE NUMBER	OFFENSE DESCRIPTION
86.	The offender embezzles \$5 from his employer.
87.	The offender knowingly passes a check that is worthless.
88.	The offender knowingly buys stolen property from the person who stole it.
89.	The offender, while being searched by the police, is found in illegal possession of a gun.
90.	The offender is found firing a rifle for which he has no permit.
91.	The offender illegally possesses a knife.
92.	The offender gets customers for a prostitute.
93.	The offender runs a house of prostitution.
94.	The offender is a prostitute in a house of prostitution.
95.	The offender, a prostitute, has sexual intercourse with a customer.
96.	The offender, a prostitute, offers to have sexual intercourse with a customer.
97.	The offender has sexual intercourse with his stepdaughter.
98.	A brother has sexual intercourse with his sister and thereby both become offenders.
99.	The offender runs his hands over the body of a female victim, then flees.
100.	The offender shows pornographic movies to a minor.
101.	Two male offenders willingly have anal intercourse.
102.	The offender forces a person to submit to anal intercourse.
103.	The offender offers to submit to anal intercourse.
104.	The offender, a married male, has sexual intercourse with a female not his wife.
105.	An unmarried couple willingly have sexual intercourse.
106.	The offender exposes his genitals in public.
107.	The offender with immoral intent tries to entice a minor into his automobile.
108.	The offender, over 16 years of age, has intercourse with a female under 16 who willingly participates in the act.
109.	The offender sells heroin.
110.	The offender sells marijuana.
111.	The offender possesses heroin.
112.	The offender has marijuana in his possession.
113.	The offender administers heroin to himself.
114.	The offender smokes marijuana.
115.	A juvenile illegally possesses a bottle of wine and thereby becomes an offender.
116.	The offender runs a house where unlawful sale of liquor takes place.
117.	The offender is intoxicated in public.
118.	A juvenile is found drunk on the street, thereby becoming an offender.
119.	The offender is a customer in a house of prostitution.

336 Measurement of Delinquency

OFFENSE NUMBER	OFFENSE DESCRIPTION
120.	A group continues to hang around a corner after being told to disperse by a policeman and thereby become offenders.
121.	The offender disturbs the neighborhood with loud, noisy behavior.
122.	The offender is a customer in a house where liquor is sold illegally.
123.	An offender prowls in the backyard of a private residence.
124.	The offender has no residence and no visible means of support and thereby becomes an offender.
125.	The offender is engaged in a dice game in an alley.
126.	The offender runs a house where gambling occurs illegally.
127.	The offender is a customer in a house where gambling occurs illegally.
128.	The offender takes bets on the numbers.
129.	The offender performs an illegal abortion.
130.	The offender telephones a victim and threatens bodily harm.
131.	A juvenile plays hooky from school and thereby becomes an offender.
132.	The offender turns in a false fire alarm.
133.	The offender trespasses in a railroad yard.
134.	A juvenile is reported to police by his parents as an offender because they are unable to control him.
135.	A juvenile runs away from home and thereby becomes an offender.
136.	The offender defaces and breaks public statues causing \$1000 damage.
137.	The offender throws rocks through windows.
138.	The offender sets fire to a garage.
139.	The offender kidnaps a person. One thousand dollars ransom is paid but no physical harm is inflicted on the victim.
140.	The offender wilfully makes false statements under oath during a trial.
141.	The offender makes an obscene phone call.

APPENDIX F

DEVIANCY WEIGHTING SCHEME

Comparison of the 26 items in the questionnaire with Sellin and Wolfgang's rating scheme results in the following:

My Item	Analogous S&W Items	Range of S&W Mean Scores	Mean of S&W's Scores	Suggested Weight
1. ASLTWPN	28-36	6.82 - 8.16	7.54	7
2. ASLTHOLD	8-13,18-23	5.36 - 8.34	7.19	7
3. DRUGPOT	110	7.91	7.91	7
4. DRUGHCL	109	6.45	6.45	7
5. ASLTSTOL	14-16,24-26	5.64 - 7.16	6.42	6
6. ASLTSERS	37,82,83	5.45 - 6.36	5.78	6
7. STOLFTY	50,51,54,55,58,59 62,63,66,67,70,71	5.00 - 6.58	5.73	6
8. BESTL	38-40	4.36 - 5.83	5.34	5
9. STOLCAR	76-81	4.18 - 7.33	5.15	5
* 10. VANDLPRP	136	4.73	4.73	4
** 11. STOLEBET	None			4
12. STOLONE	88	4.45	4.45	4
13. ASLTADLT	None			4
14. ASLTGANG	None			4
15. WEAPON	89,91	2.64 - 5.08	3.86	4
16. STOLEFVE	52,61,65,66,69,72 73,86	2.27 - 4.08	3.43	3

* The suggested weight for VANDLPRP is lower than the mean seems to justify, but this results from the difference in wording between S&W's item which associates vandalism with \$1000 worth of damage and mine which refers to "messing up public property"

** Because this item refers to theft between \$5 and \$50, it has to be scored between STOLEFTY AND STOLEFVE.

APPENDIX F (cont.)

My Item	S&W's Items	S&W's Range	Mean	Suggested Weight
17. PROSTIT	95,96	2.73 - 3.66	3.19	3
18. VANDLTRW	137	2.98	2.98	3
19. DISORD	117,118,121	1.40 - 2.54	1.98	2

Sellin and Wolfgang include truancy, running away and an incorrigibility item in their 141 items. The incorrigibility item relates to being out of control of parents. This is being made analogous to the PINSHIT item (Hitting a parent) in my questionnaire. This is being considered the most serious of the PINS offense, using S&W's score of 2.42 as the maximum PINS score and relating all other PINS items to this. The following results:

20. PINSHIT	2.42	2.42	2
21. PINLSPND			2
22. PINSSCH			1.5
23. PINSRUN	1.82		1.5
24. PINSSKIP	1.82		1.5
25. PINSLATE			1
26. PINSARG			1

APPENDIX G

CREATED DEVIANCY VARIABLES

No. of Variables	New Variable	How created
8	PINSXTOT	Add VANDLTRW and PROSTIT and weight by 3. (PINS3) Weight PINSSPND by 2 (PINS2). Combine PINSSCH, PINSRUN, and PINSSKIP and weight by 1.5 (PINS15). Add PINSLATE and PINSARG (PINS1). Add PINS3+PINS2+PINS15+PINS1.
6	ASLTTOT	Combine ASLTWPN and ASLTHOLD and weight by 7. Combine ASLTSTOL and ASLTSERS and weight by 6. Combine WEAPON and ASLTGANG and weight by 4. Add the three variables derived from these combinations.
5	TFTTOT	Weight STOLEFTY by 6. Combine VANDLPRP, STOLBET, STOLONE, and weight by 4. Weight STOLEFVE by 3. Add the three variables. (STOLEFTY6+GENX4+GENX3).
2	MTFTX5	Combine BESTL and STOLCAR and weight by 5.
2	DRUGX7	Combine DRUGHCL and DRUGPOT and weight by 7.
3	UNGOV	Combine PINSHIT and DISORD and weight by 2. Weight ASLTADLT by 4. Add the two variables derived from this.
26	DEVSCALE	Add ASLTTOT+PINSXTOT+TFTTOT+MTFTX5+DRUGX7+UNGOV

APPENDIX H
CORRELATIONS - EXOGENOUS TO EXOGENOUS AND TO INTERVENING VARIABLES (N= 190 to 239)

	MOMKNOW	MOMSUP	MOMTALK	MOMDISC	MOMFRDS	LIKEMOM	FAMINT	NOBRKLW	ATTSCH	AVGRADE	DISCWRK	TECHINT
MOMKNOW		.12	.28	.13	.21	.13	.14	-.12	.19	.21	.01	.001
MOMSUP			.10	.19	-.19	.01	.03	.07	.04	.07	-.01	-.11
MOMTALK				.11	.15	.28	.35	-.10	.39	.28	.11	.02
MOMDISC					.03	.05	.03	-.10	.16	.11	.06	-.003
MOMFRDS						.17	.11	-.15	.19	-.01	-.02	.12
LIKEMOM							.28	-.15	.21	.09	-.12	.10
FAMINT								-.06	.32	.15	-.02	.04
NOBRKLW									-.11	-.11	.06	-.14
ATTSCH										.32	.09	.21
AVGRADE											.04	.12
DISCWRK												.02
FRNDSPOT	-.27	.02	-.12	-.19	-.13	-.17	-.10	.25	-.19	-.14	-.15	-.08
AVKDSTS	-.18	.04	-.05	-.08	.002	.07	.05	.05	-.07	-.06	-.03	-.11
AVKDSKP	-.18	-.03	-.02	-.07	.07	.06	.12	.04	.04	.04	-.04	.05
AVKDHIT	-.26	.07	-.05	.01	-.05	-.03	-.01	.11	-.17	-.07	-.06	-.02
NMNGHFRS	-.10	.06	-.06	-.01	.02	.08	.06	.06	-.10	.09	.08	-.20
AVGP	-.05	.09	.11	.07	.10	.01	.05	-.03	.01	-.15	.27	-.11
AVLONG	.19	-.01	.02	-.06	.13	.00	.26	-.08	.11	-.01	-.03	-.03
PRRELY	-.04	.05	.08	.12	-.05	.09	.18	.20	.09	.04	-.06	-.04

APPENDIX I

I. PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF FATHER IN THE HOME

	Frequency	Relative Freq (Pct.)
Living with neither parent	34	13.4%
Living with both parents	70	28.5%
Living with mother only	135	54.9%
Living with father only	7	2.8%

II. PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF ADULT MALE IN THE HOME

	Frequency	Relative Freq (Pct.)
Living with neither parent nor adult male relative	21	8.5%
Living with both parents/ or mother and adult male (incl. step-father)	82	33.3%
Living with mother only and no adult male present	123	50.0%
Living with father or other adult male only (no mother)	20	8.1%

APPENDIX J

RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF RELATIVES IN THE HOME TO DEVIANCE

Number of Siblings	DEVSCALE Overall deviance	PINS	MINPERS Minor personal	TFT Theft	MTFT Major Theft	ASLT Assault	DRUG Drug Sales	SMOKPOT Smoking Pot
None	38.03	7.28	.63	5.55	.14	1.96	.56	1.08
One to Two	35.60	6.67	.63	5.11	.39	1.89	.58	.97
3 - 4	27.42	6.10	.48	2.59	.24	1.82	.55	.93
5 or more	38.63	6.11	.35	4.87	.35	2.03	.53	1.28
F Prob.	.56	.56	.60	.23	.21	.99	.99	.56

Total Number in Home	DEVSCALE	PINS	MINPERS	TFT	MTFT	ASLT	DRUG	SMOKPOT
One through three	33.6	6.23	.49	4.65	.25	1.71	.53	.91
4 - 6	33.92	6.66	.70	3.50	.38	2.13	.70	1.11
7 - 10	36.90	7.38	.42	6.83	.32	1.84	.25	1.19
11 or More	48.00	8.25	.00	11.00	.25	1.25	.75	1.50
F Prob.	.90	.50	.35	.09	.64	.74	.36	.41

N=206

N=220

N=233

N=232

N=242

N=240

N=240

N=242

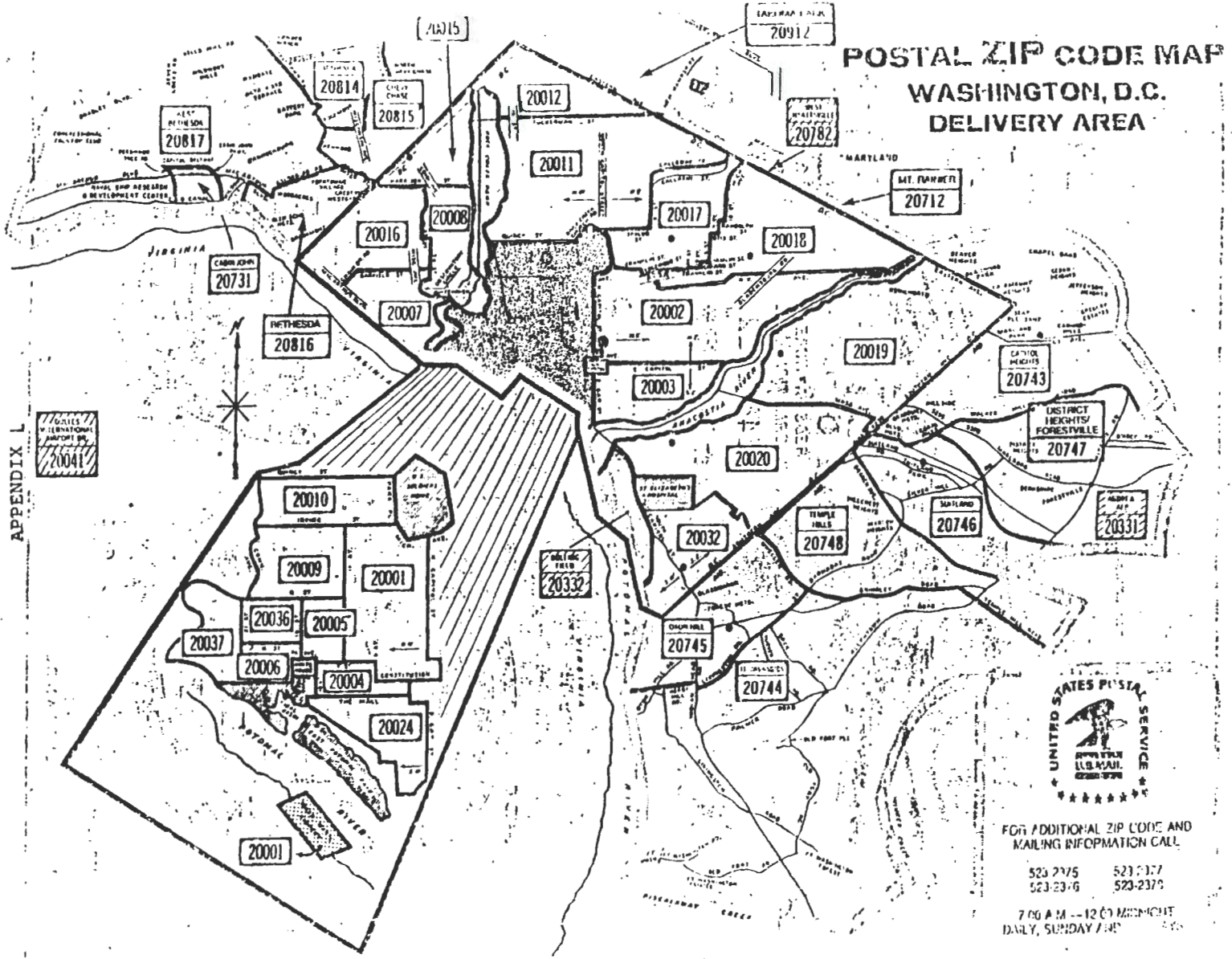
APPENDIX K

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIVES AND DEVIANCE

Number of Relatives in Neighborhood	DEVSCALE Overall Deviance	PINS	MINPERS Minor Pers.	TFT Theft	MTFT Maj.Theft	ASLT Assault	DRUG Drug Sale	SMOKPOT Pot Smoking
None	34.82	6.63	.46	4.85	.31	1.87	.56	.95
1 - 2	31.28	5.75	.67	3.81	.34	1.71	.65	1.12
22 - 3	43.56	8.33	.89	4.64	.25	2.33	.42	1.17
4 - 5	42.04	6.86	.71	7.53	.33	2.80	.40	1.00
6 or more	33.11	6.67	.44	3.56	.22	1.77	.33	1.67
	.87	.46	.57	.58	.99	.77	.92	.48
	N=189	N=202	N=215	N=213	N=223	N=219	N=221	N=224

POSTAL ZIP CODE MAP WASHINGTON, D.C. DELIVERY AREA

APPENDIX L



FOR ADDITIONAL ZIP CODE AND MAILING INFORMATION CALL

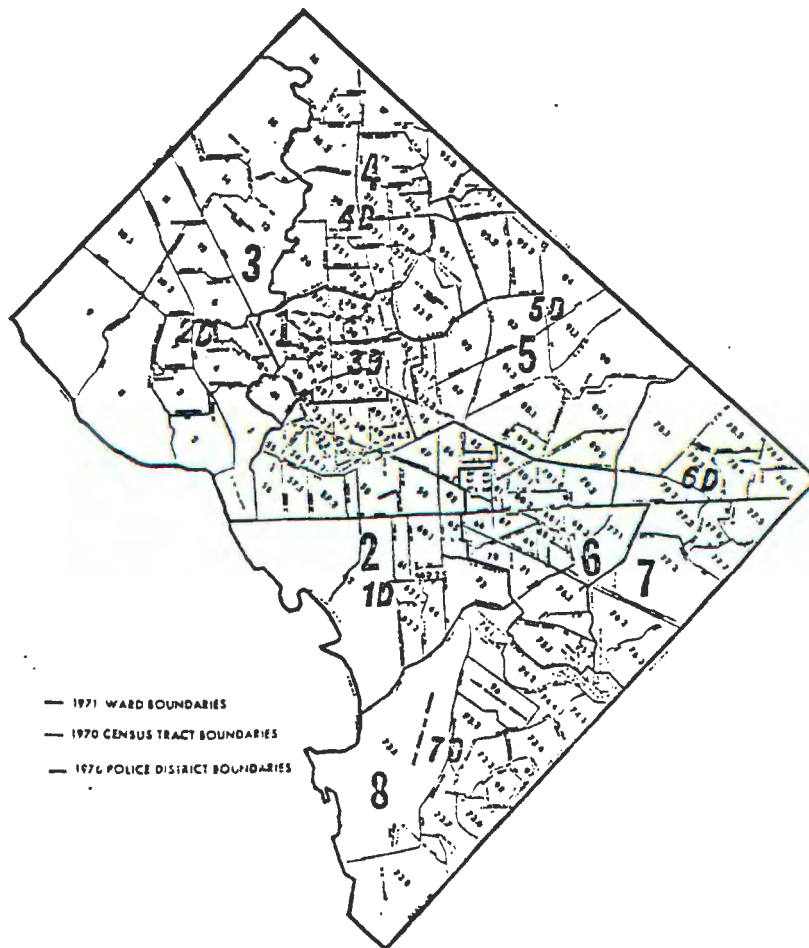
523-2775 523-2377
523-2376 523-2379

7:00 A.M. - 12:00 MIDDNIGHT
DAILY, SUNDAY 7:00 - 11:00

APPENDIX L (cont.)

Geographic Patterns in Reported Crime

The District of Columbia is divided into seven police districts that serve as the administrative centers for recording information on offenses, responding to and investigating reports of crime, and arresting suspects.



MAP 6A

WARDS, POLICE DISTRICTS, AND CENSUS TRACTS
IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SOURCES: OFFICE OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, STATISTICAL SERVICES DIVISION, "DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: 1970 CENSUS TRACTS AND 1971 WARDS," AUGUST 1970; METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT, MANAGEMENT PLANNING, RESEARCH, AND DEVELOPMENT DIVISION, "MAP OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OUTLining THE GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES OF THE SEVEN POLICE DISTRICTS," MAY 1976.

PREPARED BY: OFFICE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE PLANS AND ANALYSIS

APPENDIX M
TABLE 27
JUVENILE REFERRALS [BY AGE]

1982

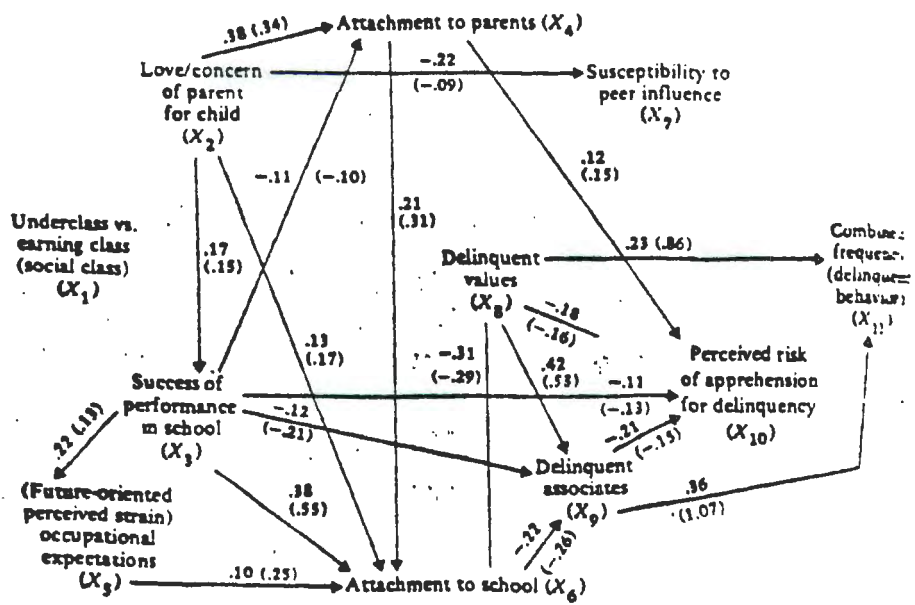
	Age										Total
	Under 9	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17 and Over	
Acts Against Persons	7	3	7	19	55	120	134	259	275	290	1,169
Assault:											
Aggravated	3	1	1	8	21	36	49	95	81	96	391
Simple	—	—	1	4	8	21	9	32	35	27	135
Homicide	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3
Pocket Picking/Purse Snatching	—	—	—	1	8	6	6	15	14	20	70
Rape	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	6	2	12
Robbery:											
Armed	—	—	1	1	4	8	20	28	19	32	113
Force and Violence	4	2	4	5	11	36	35	65	99	87	348
Attempted	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	9	12	9	38
Other	—	—	—	—	5	9	9	13	6	17	59
Acts Against Property	5	14	23	49	98	180	202	385	462	480	1,898
Burglary I	—	—	1	2	3	14	13	22	28	44	127
Attempted Burglary I	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	3	4	3	13
Burglary II	1	7	8	18	25	46	50	102	111	109	477
Attempted Burglary II	1	—	—	2	4	4	4	10	10	9	44
Larceny:											
Grand	—	2	1	1	7	11	18	26	55	48	169
Petit	2	2	2	10	27	47	43	55	87	87	362
Unauthorized Use of Auto	—	—	—	1	5	15	32	77	97	122	349
Other	1	3	11	15	26	41	42	90	70	58	357
Acts Against Public Order	1	—	3	2	7	15	62	104	191	292	677
Narcotics:											
Sale/Possession	—	—	—	1	2	1	15	24	67	115	225
Possession of Marijuana	—	—	—	—	—	1	7	20	41	75	144
Other	1	—	3	1	5	13	40	60	83	102	308
PINS	—	1	—	4	4	17	22	16	11	5	80
Beyond Control	—	—	—	1	2	5	8	4	4	3	27
Runaway from Home	—	—	—	3	2	4	6	5	6	—	26
Truancy from School	—	1	—	—	—	8	8	7	1	2	27
Interstate Compact	3	2	1	3	5	9	23	36	50	56	188
Total	18	20	34	77	169	341	443	800	989	1,123	4,012

APPENDIX N

TABLE 26
SUMMARY OF DELINQUENCY AND PINS CASES
[BY SEX AND REASONS FOR REFERRAL]

	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
	1975			1976			1977			1978			1979			1980			1981			1982		
Acts Against Persons	2,313	2,080	233	2,039	1,815	224	1,892	1,504	188	1,873	1,474	199	1,812	1,452	160	1,330	1,184	146	1,253	1,093	160	1,189	1,052	117
Acts against Property	3,302	3,074	228	3,218	2,987	219	2,945	2,668	279	3,048	2,784	264	2,846	2,615	231	2,223	2,010	213	2,021	1,901	120	1,898	1,752	146
Acts Against Public Order	993	856	137	981	805	176	839	522	117	791	668	123	779	653	126	765	675	90	698	602	96	677	544	133
PINS and ISC	604	263	341	590	230	360	474	222	252	370	189	201	336	163	173	413	168	245	351	188	185	268	142	126
Total	7,212	6,273	939	6,826	5,847	979	5,750	4,914	836	5,882	5,095	787	5,573	4,883	690	4,731	4,037	694	4,323	3,762	561	4,012	3,490	522
Ratio of Boys and Girls		87%	13%		86%	14%		85%	15%		87%	13%		88%	12%		85%	15%		87%	13%		87%	13%

APPENDIX O



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