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Nikki Renee-Keller Fox

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**PATTERNS OF PARENTAL ATTACHMENT AND DELINQUENCY:
THE EFFECTS OF FAMILY VARIABLES THAT IMPACT ADOLESCENT
PROBLEM BEHAVIORS**

By

Nikki Renee-Keller Fox

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ABSTRACT

PATTERNS OF PARENTAL ATTACHMENT AND DELINQUENCY: THE EFFECTS OF FAMILY VARIABLES THAT IMPACT ADOLESCENT PROBLEM BEHAVIORS.

BY

Nikki Renee-Keller Fox

In this paper, the pattern of attachment established between parent (primary caregiver) and child is examined as a predictor of self-reported delinquent behavior. This study also assesses the relationship between the adolescent's experience with his/her parents and his/her later capacity to make affectional bonds. Is a child who experiences little family support and/or inadequate parental attachment more likely to engage in delinquency and less likely to establish positive relationships with others? An attempt will be made in this study to determine the interactive effects of family variables on adolescent problem behavior. Using the 1977 National Youth Survey of 1,725 adolescents ages 11 to 17, analysis reveals that social control variables explain only 5-8% of the variance in future delinquency. However, findings suggest that positive parent-child attachments result in fewer delinquent behaviors and impact future relationships, providing partial support for the research.

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INTRODUCTION

Family surrounds us from cradle to grave. It shapes our bodies, minds, and remains an emotional presence wherever we go (Miller, 1993). It is the wellspring for all subsequent attachments and the formative relationship in the course of which the child develops a sense of himself or herself. Throughout life, the strength and character of this attachment will influence the quality of all future bonds to other individuals (Kennell & Klaus, 1976). It is critical to socialized behavior and serves as the beginning of the continuum that affects all other aspects of our life (OJJDP, 1994).

Families are one of the strongest socializing forces in life, teaching children to control unacceptable behavior, to delay gratification, and to respect the rights of others (OJJDP, 1994). The family also serves a vital social function. Strong families produce competent children to meet the emotional needs of the parents and to serve as a viable unit economically and socially (Garbarino, 1992). Families that provide stability are better able to adapt and cope with stressful events. According to the National Commission on Children (1991), characteristics associated with strong families are comprised of clear, open, and frequent communication among family members. Additionally, families cultivate a sense of belonging to a cohesive social unit, and nurture individual strengths and self-interests. Support, recognition and respect are also important factors related to

the well-being of the family. Family provides a foundation for a youth's experience in the social world. The child who has a sense of security within the home will be better equipped with internal resources with which to explore his/her environment. A sense of belonging and security provides for higher self-esteem and reliance. Therefore, family relationships not only affect the child at home, but have a direct bearing on socialization and the child's ability to develop healthy relationships outside of the home. Families serve as social bonds that directly or indirectly influence our actions. They help support informal social control which can reduce the likelihood of criminal behavior (OJJDP, 1994). The social support theory implies that the more cohesive a family, the better individual family members function, the better communication between parents and children, the greater marital consensus and the better behavioral outcomes for children (Farrell & Barnes, 1993).

Children who feel they are an important part of the family and where intimacy in communication has been established tend to exhibit positive signs of parental attachment (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987). Secure parent-child relationships are further said to influence how children interact and react to their parents and peers. For example, strong parental attachments are positively correlated with more frequent, sociable, and positive interactions with parents and peers (Bullock, 1993), while negative family interactions are assumed to influence criminal and other negative behaviors (Jensen & Brownfield, 1983). Family functioning factors that are likely to contribute to delinquency are most generally the consequence of parental behavior, with parental behavior being causally linked to the lack of effective role models, a lack of a stable home environment, and a lack of parental

supervision. Hence, suggesting that children who perceive themselves as alienated from the family tend to be more easily influenced by their peers (Chubb & Fertman, 1992), which may explain their propensity to associate with delinquent friends (Cerkonvich & Giordano, 1987; Gove & Crutchfield, 1982). Therefore, it would seem that strong ties (attachment) to parents inhibit delinquency (McCord, 1991).

Prior research confirms that children raised in supportive, affectionate, and accepting homes are less likely to exhibit problem behavior, whereas children rejected by their parents are among the most likely to become delinquent (OJJDP Summary, 1994). Parental affection and/or the willingness to invest in children is said to be an essential underlying condition of good parenting and ultimately results in the prevention of misbehavior (Hirschi, 1969; Laub & Sampson, 1988). Hirschi's definition of effective parenting entails monitoring the behavior of children, recognizing their misdeeds, and punishing those misdeeds accordingly. Parents who cannot or will not implement these family management skills, including supervision, discipline, and attachment, are prime candidates for producing delinquent youth (Patterson & Dishion, 1985). The lack of family management skills are the most important correlates of serious, persistent delinquency (Glueck & Glueck, 1950), making direct parent-child interactions extremely powerful predictors of delinquency and other juvenile misconduct problems (OJJDP, 1994).

Another view (that of Leah Taylor) focuses on discovering the positive aspects of a family. Taylor (1985) advances the notion that families, no matter what their form, usually possess strengths that can be mobilized to mitigate delinquent behavior, but only if one

knows where and how to find the strengths. We must therefore examine the family in order to help the child. In her view, treatment of the child is merely focusing on a small part of a much larger problem. The health of a parent-child relationship is a reflection of the parents' emotional well-being. This in turn determines the developmental outcomes that are likely for children and the impact of environmental stresses and supports on the family (Melamed, 1992). Parents set the tone for a youth's future reactions to societal pressures. For example, when the developing child's setting is loving and supportive, it provides for affirmation of one's self-concept, confiding relationships, an outlet for expressive behavior, companionship, and tangible help or cognitive aid in thinking through solutions to problems (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Farrell & Barnes, 1993). On the other hand, when parents are harsh, unloving, overcritical, and unaccepting, healthy development is impeded and the child's risk for delinquency increases (OJJDP, 1994).

It is the recognition of the major role families play in the socialization process and the decay of family strengths and morals that prompted further exploration into this topic. For this reason, the study will evaluate the impact of parental attachment on reported delinquent behavior and attempt to determine whether or not a child can develop successfully in terms of social interactions and intimacy without a strong familial base (attachment).

The premise for this study is different from most existing research in that it not merely analyzes how parental attachment influences delinquency, but also attempts to demonstrate how parental attachment influences future relationships to parents, peers, and significant others. This issue is critical because it bears on the success and/or failure of

other social support systems and the impact they have on the child. For instance, if a child is inadequately attached to the parent, and this in turn impedes the child's ability to establish healthy, positive relationships, then how can society help the child develop successfully? Further, if attachment is weak during infancy and early childhood, can social agencies help families to facilitate bonds of attachment to parents? If parental attachment is not forthcoming, can rehabilitation through social intervention occur, or is prevention the only solution?

Chapter One

WHAT IS ATTACHMENT?

John Kennell (1982) defines attachment as "an affectionate bond between two individuals that endures through space and time and serves to join them emotionally" (1982, p. 2). Attachment often refers to the degree of closeness between offspring and their parents or primary caregiver. It is the bond of affection and respect for people such as parents, teachers, and friends (Rankin & Kern, 1994; Robbins, 1984). When a child has a strong and healthy bond to his parent, it allows the child to develop both trust in others and reliance on himself (Fahlberg, 1979). Human beings depend on others for their very survival during the first few years of life. A child's basic reality lies in the relationship with the family or primary care giver. "The bond a child develops to the person who cares for him in his early years is the foundation for his/her future psychological development and for his/her future relationships with others" (Fahlberg, 1979, p. 5). "It is impossible for individuals to exist independently of the influence of other people" (Garbarino, 1992, p. 12).

Along with meeting the child's physical needs, the attachment a child establishes to significant others, especially parents, is the most crucial thing that happens during infancy. In fact, research indicates that adequate physical care is not enough to lead to the development of a physically and psychologically healthy child (Ainsworth, 1985). Positive social interaction between caregiver and child contributes more to the bonds between them than the kinds of interactions that occur around meeting the child's physical needs.

Therefore, the very quality of social interactions, not routine care, is the most important aspect of parenting (Ainsworth, 1985). Furthermore, there is a strong causal relationship between an individual's social experiences with his/her parents and later capacity to make affectional bonds (Bowlby, 1979). These affect the child's ability to form close, trusting relationships throughout life, which make up the concept of attachment. In fact, the development of attachment is at the core of meeting basic social and personality needs, such as maintaining self-esteem and being affectionate towards others (Fishbein, 1984). Internalization of family norms, sense of conscience and, perhaps, even superego stem from this attachment process. Overall, attachment helps children attain their social, emotional, and cognitive development (Fahlberg, 1979). They can become more easily attached to others. This reciprocity of parent/child relationships is essential to mutual dependence and also fundamental to future attachments. Concepts that indicate the presence of reciprocity include: (1) the ability to respond to behavioral and verbal cues, (2) the types and frequency of physical closeness, (3) ways of coping with separation, and (4) the child's facility in learning to read.

According to Ainsworth (and subsequent researchers who have followed her model) there are three forms of attachment: the securely attached child, the insecurely attached child, and the avoidant/anxiously attached child. Insecurely attached children are said to result from unstable homes where parents are subject to a great deal of stress and where neglect and abuse are more common. Avoidant children (20 to 25 percent), on the other hand, come from homes where their pleas for attention are often painfully rejected (Ainsworth, 1985). In fact, parental rejection is one of the most powerful predictors of

juvenile delinquency (OJJDP, 1994), often resulting in a feeling of not needing others (Cline, 1994). However, rather than focusing on the above three categories, the focus for the purposes of this study will be on attached and insecurely attached children. Anxiously attached and unattached children will be included in the insecurely attached category. The reason for this is to avoid the confusion and lack of consensus among researchers regarding the possibility that a child can be truly unattached.

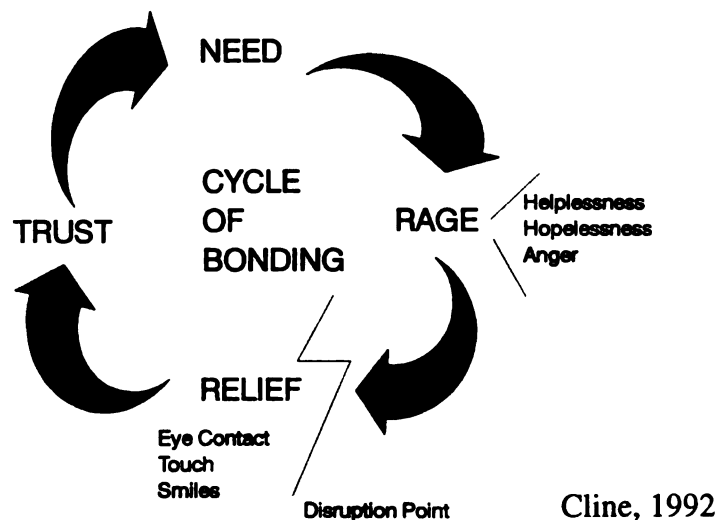
Recent research indicates that children who have more difficulty with separation are more likely to be better attached than those who do not protest. When children are firmly attached they may initially respond to separation with an innate fear and experience separation anxiety but eventually work through it and develop trust. A child with quality attachments generally has a better perspective on the world and stronger base with which to explore (Magid & McKelvey, 1987). Conversely, inadequately attached children experience anger as a result of separation and may possibly become detached. They may learn that their mother is not always accessible and that they cannot trust others to care for them. Consequently, the child may not learn to care for others and fail to develop a conscience. This is a child who has decided that he/she cannot trust others to care for them and therefore will not trust anyone (Magid & McKelvey, 1987).

A child's first relationship with his primary caregiver (birth through 16 months) sets the stage for future relationships (Cline, 1992). The child learns what he/she can expect from others. Some behaviors commonly seen in children who lack normal attachment include: 1) lack of ability to give true affection and lack of depth in relationships, 2) destructive behavior to self and others, including animals, 3) extreme control problems, 4) lack of long

term friends, and 5) stealing, gorging, or hoarding (Cline, 1992). Finally, a child who does not protest separation may be at risk for long-term attachment disorders. In fact, Bowlby claims, "the only children so far observed in such conditions who appear undisturbed (are) those who have never had any figure to whom they can become attached, or who have experienced repeated and prolonged separations and have already become more or less permanently detached" (1973, p. 52). The unattached child will experience the greatest social difficulties and will struggle when learning to build and maintain relationships of any sort (Fahlberg, 1979). In fact, unattached children have troubles relating normally with others (Bowlby, 1970). However, only 3 - 5% of children are truly unattached with the remaining experiencing attachment disorders of a lesser degree.

Children who do not bond to the primary caregiver during infancy experience an attachment disorder caused by a break in the bonding cycle (Mansfield & Waldmann, 1994). This disruption is illustrated by the diagram below: (Figure 1)

Figure 1



This essential cycle circles around hundreds of times in the first months of life and "locks in" our first associations - the foundation of personality and the ability to relate (Cline, 1992). These patterns stick with us all our lives, and although unconscious, these associations can dictate our actions. Breaks in the cycle can cause severe problems and may result in attachment disorders (Cline, 1992). For example, the cycle may be broken by a mother who cannot tend to her infant or relieve the child's pain. This inadequacy by the mother results in a lack of trust, making proper attachment impossible (Cline, 1992). Both a lack of trust and lack of attachment have far reaching, destructive influences on personality development and interpersonal relationships (Cline, 1992).

Chapter Two

ATTACHMENT AND DELINQUENCY

According to a review of research studies, the likelihood that a youth will demonstrate delinquent behavior and go on to commit crimes as an adult is strongly correlated with the quality of the child's family life. Parental rejection is one factor in particular that stands out as most likely to produce delinquency in youth (OJJDP,1994). Hirschi finds that a strong attachment tie "protects" against commitment of delinquent acts (Capuzzi, 1982; Hirschi, 1969). He argues that when parental attachment is strong, parental values (presumed to be "anti-criminal") are more readily accepted (Hindelang, 1973). He also believes that attachment to parents generates a wider concern for the approval of persons in positions of authority and, ultimately, a belief that societal norms bind one's conduct (Hindelang, 1973). Hirschi writes that delinquency is intrinsic to human nature and that conformity to societal norms must be achieved through socialization, the formation of a bond between the individual and society which is attachment (Hirschi, 1969; Wiatrowski, Griswold & Roberts, 1981). Attachment refers to the strength of one's ties to parents, peers and teachers. The premise is that individuals who are not strongly attached to others are also insensitive to their opinions. Therefore, individuals who are not bound by others' norms are free to deviate from generally accepted codes of conduct. On the other hand, juveniles who are close to their parents tend to take their feelings and opinions into account when contemplating a delinquent act. As such, attachment is essentially a social-psychological concept, involving the motivational value of social approval and imitation

(Wells & Rankin, 1988). Thus the probability of deviance increases when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken (Hirschi, 1969). In other words, when the ties that bind an individual to key societal institutions (i.e., attachment to family, school, work) are loosened, the risk of crime and delinquency is heightened (Sampson & Laub, 1994). Hirschi's bond theory states that one's attachment to significant others helps to shield against the temptation of being involved in acts of juvenile delinquency (Capuzzi, 1982). The family is a source of attachment where parents act as role models and teach their children socially acceptable behavior (Wiatrowski et. al., 1981). Delinquency is therefore said to decline monotonically with increasing levels of supervision and attachment (Sampson & Laub, 1994).

Parental attachment has fairly strong positive effects on school attachment (ties which the youth forms with significant others in school), involvement (participation in conventional activities that lead to valued success), and belief (acceptance of moral validity), implying that even adolescents who are well into their high-school years, parental attachment exerts considerable influence (Wiatrowski, Griswold & Roberts, 1981). Although the prevailing generalization is that pre-adolescent and adolescent youth move away from parents and towards peers as their primary reference group (Sarri, 1982), it was found that youth who had positive relationships with parents and/or school had fewer delinquent friends than youth with poor relationships (Capuzzi, 1982). According to results from analysis using the National Youth Survey, adolescents who are strongly attached to their parents are less prone than others to acquire delinquent friends and hence less motivated to engage in delinquency (Warr, 1993). Their fear of the potential loss of

parental approval and/or affection may be sufficient enough to deter delinquency even when pressure from peers is intense (Warr, 1993). The parent is said to be "psychologically present" (Hirschi, 1969), where the child has internalized and acts on their parents' moral inhibitions against delinquency, providing an obstacle or barrier to peer influence (Warr, 1993).

Attachment to parents has been found to have an indirect effect on delinquency, whereas peer attachment is directly related to delinquent involvement (Hindelang, 1973). It is thought that the deviant peer group serves the important function of polishing anti-social skills, instigating delinquent activities, and teaching anti-social values in addition to providing social support. The membership in a delinquent peer group is said to be the strongest predictor of subsequent increases in delinquent behavior (Patterson & Dishion, 1985). Attachment to parents, however, offsets the effects of peer influence and thus delinquency, as previously discussed. Parents act as an indirect form of social control, primarily based on affectional attachment and the child's identification to conventional persons (Wells & Rankin, 1988). Risk of delinquency lies not only in the strength of the youth's bonds to persons or groups, but also in the conventional or pro-delinquent orientations of those persons and groups to which they are bonded. Youth with weak bonds to conventional groups are more likely to be influenced by delinquent peer groups, suggesting support for direct socialization to delinquency (Elliot, Huizinga & Ageton, 1985). Conversely, individuals with strong bonds to the family and school are not likely to develop bonds to delinquent or drug-using peers and even if they did, their conventional

bonds should limit their involvement in these behaviors (Elliot, Huizinga, & Menard, 1989).

Parental behaviors which encourage social, academic, and achievement-related skills play a preventative role vis-a'-vis delinquency. Positive parenting occurs when parents communicate interest in and support for their child and express their approval, either verbally or nonverbally, of their child's prosocial behavior (Hanson et al., 1984; Krohn, Stern, Thornberry, & Jang, 1992; Pulkkinen, 1983). In contrast, weak attachment between parent and child strongly contributes to the initiation of delinquent and substance use behaviors (Gove & Crutchfield, 1982; Hirschi, 1969; Loeber & Stouthamner-Loeber, 1986; Rankin & Kern, 1994), whereas positive family relationships with high levels of parent-child involvement buffer against delinquency and drug use (Krohn et al., 1992; Loeber & Stouthamner-Loeber, 1986).

The family is the first social group to which an individual belongs and vital to healthy childhood and adolescent development. It consists of children, parents, and lifelong bonds. According to Robert Frost, "Home is the place where/when you have to go there/they have to take you in" (Frost, 1916 p. 6). A healthy home is the single most important factor in preventing delinquency (OJJDP, 1994). Children need an environment characterized by parental affection, cohesion, and involvement in their lives (OJJDP, 1994).

Chapter Three

THE NEED TO BELONG AND FUTURE RELATIONSHIPS

Social support and relationships are essential for survival, as is the need to belong (Garbarino, 1992). According to Glasser, the "need to belong" is a basic human need and can overcome survival needs, as indicated by the many people who attempt suicide due to loneliness. A child's sense of belonging, in turn, affects two personality constructs; self-esteem and locus of control (Chubb & Fertman, 1992). If a child lacks adequate social support and a sense of belonging is not established, it will affect personality development and influence behavior. Subsequently, delinquent behavior has been found to be related to adolescents' perceptions and feeling of belonging (Anolik, 1983; Duncan, 1978).

Prior research has found that there is a positive relationship between the amount of time spent in the home environment and adolescents' perception of a general sense of well-being. Subjective experiences of belonging are often more important than is "reality" in influencing a child's actions and feelings (Chubb & Fertman, 1992). If a child perceives oneself as not belonging to the family, the perception of alienation may in turn alter self-esteem, locus of control, and a sense of belonging within school and/or the community. Thus, children who feel alienated or cut off from family loved ones react differently in situations than do children who feel they belong. According to research, destructive interpersonal relationships in one's family of origin produce destructive practices in later life (Galdston, 1975). Relationship deficits with other people are a major problem of

troubled youth. There may be a tendency for children to be fearful of forming close relationships with others and to "con" or manipulate those with whom relationships are formed. Such children may have difficulty in joining peer groups and, generally, lack social skills that "normal" individuals possess. The child will resort to inappropriate behavior, social isolation, manipulation, bizarre behavior, overdependency, and intimidation as a way of handling discomfort (Pardeck & Pardeck, 1984). Bowlby's perspective regarding attachment is that patterns of interaction that develop between parent and child in childhood will be reflected in later capacity to reach out and obtain support from others. For example, childhood abuse is said to foster an inability to form supportive attachments with friends, within marriages and committed relationships (Palmieri, 1990).

Research mentions time and time again the importance of the family system on delinquency, but little is mentioned as to whether the elements of the system can be problematic for future attachment to other social support systems or if the family can be replaced. For instance, if the family is not available, can other support be beneficial? According to research, adolescents can probably benefit from becoming more active in school and community activities, social outlets that may provide the acceptance and support that the adolescent does not find at home (Chubb & Fertman, 1992). Although recreational activities can provide support, they have yet to demonstrate any effect on delinquency rates (Eldefonso, 1992). Simply consuming a youngster's time will not reduce delinquency since most delinquent acts require little time, but involvement in activities has been cited as a positive example of delinquency control. The child's

participation in recreational activities can serve as supplemental support which is associated with positive self-esteem (Eldefonso, 1983; Wells & Rankin, 1988). Further, adolescents with a strong self-concept tend to experience greater feelings of trust in their relationships with parents and peers. If the child perceives greater feelings of trust and views the parents and peers as supportive, the orientation towards them will be greater (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987). If the parents and peers represent conventional bonds and beliefs, they will act as buffers against deviant influences by providing a source of basic ties (Rankin & Kern, 1994) and the child will be less likely to engage in delinquency (OJJDP, 1994). Therefore, it would seem that although a child's involvement in outside activities does not have a direct bearing on delinquent behavior, they may indirectly influence behavior through the child's feelings of self-worth and commitment to conventional bonds.

Chapter Four

THEORETICAL JUSTIFICATION

The theoretical orientation of this study builds directly on the works of Hirschi. It focuses on Hirschi's (1969) Social Control Theory, which quickly became one of the dominant theories of delinquency. According to the theory, there are four social bonds that prevent individuals from engaging in delinquency. They are: attachment (to others, their opinions, and expectations), commitment (time, energy, and self invested in conventional activities), involvement (engrossment in conventional activities), and belief (attribution of moral validity to conventional norms; Agnew, 1985). This control theory postulates that delinquent behavior becomes more probable as an individual's bonds (attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief) to parents, peers, and social institutions weaken (Conger, 1976). Stress, which is assumed to be a universal state of man, may weaken these bonds by presenting individuals with frustrated wants and unfulfilled needs (Elliot et. al, 1989). This strain deteriorates social controls that serve to regulate behavior, and thus may motivate delinquency, although not always. Controls used to restrain the impulse to give into frustrations are invoked by both the self (internal) and others (external). These controls and internalized belief systems involve rewards and punishments to reinforce a specific behavior (Elliot, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985). Early socialization is said to be the basis for social control. The outcome of socialization is a continuum, 'concern for self and others.' This ranges from an extreme lack of concern about consequences of one's acts for oneself and other people, to a very high level of concern (McKissack, 1975). Early socialization is instilled by the parents through two

basic components - attachment and guidance (McKissack, 1975).

Hirschi identifies five elements of attachment. They include (1) time spent with parents; (2) supervision by parents; (3) intimate communication between parent and child; (4) affectional identification by juvenile with his/her parents; and (5) emotional support by parents (Conger, 1976; Hirschi, 1969). The attachment theory suggests that secure parent-child relationships influence how children interact with and react to their parents and peers (Bullock, 1993).

Hirschi submits that young people generally do not partake in illegal/deviant behavior because they have a strong bond to conventional society. The bonds consist of attachment to parents, commitment to educational or other legitimate goals, involvement in conventional activities, and belief in legitimate values (Hirschi, 1969; Trojanowicz & Morash, 1992). Hirschi suggests that it is the parents' "psychological presence" in the child's mind during tempting situations that is key to the deterrence of delinquency (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987). Even though the parents may not be present, the child perceives them as part of his/her social and psychological field. The quality of communication and closeness with the parents may cause the child to recall their opinion when contemplating an act contrary to law.

Bonding and attachment patterns first take place during gestation, throughout infancy and into early toddlerhood (Cline, 1992). Furthermore, understanding the nuances of bonding during infancy casts light on later adolescent and adult behaviors. The essence of the process is based on the infant's helplessness, a controlling person/caregiver, and difficult times. For example, if the child is hungry and begins crying, the way the parent

responds to the situation will set the tone for attachment. If the child's needs are gratified and relief is provided, the child learns to trust, creating the bond of attachment. If the cycle is broken or the child's needs are not met, he/she may become angry and resistant. The heavenly or hellish outcome is therefore dependent on the personality and motives of the controlling person, thus emphasizing the critical nature of early socialization. The destructive cycle, if repeated, will eventually create a child with an attachment disorder. (refer to Figure 1)

An infant learns in the first few months of life to feel secure or insecure, cling or explore, usually laugh or cry, becoming either a joy or an annoyance to be around (Cline, 1992). At one year, a child is either securely attached, inadequately attached, or unattached. These attachment patterns continue and by the second year of life the child's behavior is reflective of the type of parenting practiced. If insecurely attached, the child's lack of self-reliance and enthusiasm in problem solving is evident. An infant learns half of a lifetime's knowledge in the first year of life (Cline, 1992). This is based on the fact that during the first year, almost all of the visual perception, gross motor foundation, auditory organization, and fundamental social responses are organized. Cline identifies three important occurrences during the first year of life: (1) the foundation of conscience is laid down (i.e., when moms happy, I'm happy); (2) beginning of cause and effect thinking (i.e., smiling as a reflex reaction - you smile at the baby and the baby smiles back); and (3) the ability to delay gratification develops (i.e., the ability to wait). It is theorized that if a child has a stable relationship in the first 16 to 24 months of life, he/she will have the foundation for adequate attachment. Although this study does not focus directly on the early signs of

attachment, it is imperative to understand the importance of the parent - infant relationship in early socialization in order to fully understand the impact of attachment on adolescent behavior. This study will assess characteristics associated with attachment during adolescence, although attachment is presumed to be established during early infancy. The child's pattern of attachment should be reflective in the adolescent's behaviors.

DATA AND METHODS

Sample

The data for this study are based on the National Youth Survey, a longitudinal study of delinquent behavior in the American youth population. The NYS consists of seven waves of data collected from 1976 to 1986, involving a sequential design with multiple birth cohorts (Elliot, Huizinga & Ageton, 1985). The sample was obtained through a self-weighting, multistage, cluster sampling of households in the Continental U.S. This sampling procedure allowed for an equal probability of selection within the given population during each specified time period. The initial sampling in 1976 was a national probability sample of youths aged 11 to 17 and thus included seven birth cohorts (1959 - 1965). The initial sampling contained 2,360 eligible youth of which 1,725 (73%) agreed to complete interviews in the initial (1977) survey (Elliot, Huizinga & Menard, 1989). The youth participating in the survey appeared to be proportional to that group's representation in the population based on age, sex and race as established by the U.S. Census Bureau (Elliot, Ageton, Huizinga, Knowles, & Canter, 1988). The sample was not affected in any serious way by the losses over the six surveys, which was relatively small (13%) (Elliot, Huizinga, & Menard, 1989).

The present analysis uses data collected during the first wave of the NYS, which comes from interviews conducted in 1977, and asks about events that occurred in 1976. Wave I data were selected based on the respondents' ages. It captured respondents during the adolescent period (ages 11 to 17), thus allowing the opportunity to assess

the pattern of attachment at the earliest time period (Wave I). After measuring the level of attachment in Wave I, Wave II data were used to measure delinquent behavior one year later. This approach is based on the assumption that patterns of attachment are formed long before youths begin to engage in delinquency. In addition to using data from Waves I & II, data from Wave IV were also utilized in an effort to assess the child's ability to form relationships in subsequent years. For example, if a child is inadequately attached in Wave I, will they also have relationship deficits in Wave IV?

The NYS data set proved to be significantly well suited for analysis due to the unique focus of the questionnaire. The NYS, unlike most conventional questionnaires, made reference to specific relationships with family, friends, teachers, and partners. Furthermore, the NYS survey contained a variety of questions about the youngsters' relationships and attitudes towards family and others, allowing the opportunity to make comparative observations between Waves I & IV. Wave I data included questions such as, "How important have the things you've done with your family been to you?", and "How much have your parents influenced what you've thought and done?" Additionally, in Wave IV these questions were revised and extended to other relationships. These questions are of extreme importance in that they attempt to measure concepts that are central to the social control theory.

Measurement of variables

Independent variable

Attachment is measured by several qualities of family life presumed by major theorists to affect prosocial or antisocial behavior of children. Indices used in this study to measure

attachment have high face validity and correspond closely to those of Hirschi (Rankin & Kern, 1994). Measures of attachment for Wave I were divided into two dimensions: (1) time spent with parent, and (2) affectional identification by the juvenile with his/her parents. Factor analysis was used to confirm the variables selected to represent the attachment dimensions. Time spent with family is measured by questions such as, "On average, how many afternoons during the school week, from the end of school or work to dinner, have you spent talking, working, or playing with your family?", and "How often do your parents take part in or share in your school activities?" The second indicator of attachment, affectional identification, was measured through the response to such questions as: "How much have your parents influenced what you've thought and done? Do you sometimes feel alone when you're with your parents?" The youths were also asked to respond to questions about the extent of communication they have with their parents. However, due to insufficient factor loadings the communication dimension of attachment was omitted and believed to be accounted for in the other dimensions.

The attachment measures for Wave IV were devised similarly to those in Wave I, in that they were conceptually selected and then factor analyzed to identify the underlying constructs representing each dimension. The factor analysis confirmed the constructed variables for both waves: (1) affectional identification to others, and (2) time spent with others (Appendix A).

Dependent variables

Delinquency was measured by a modified version of Elliot and Ageton's (1980) self-reported delinquency scale. Modification of the delinquency scale was based on the

frequency of the offense occurring. The base indicators used by Elliot and Ageton (1980) were also identified in numerous prior studies and thus are presumed to have validity (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Hirschi, 1969; Lipton & Smith, 1983). Thirty-six individual delinquent behaviors were represented in the scale (Appendix B) by subjects that indicated how many times in the last year they committed each act. The frequencies of a full range of delinquent acts were counted (for regression analysis) and then coded (for bivariate analysis) in terms of nonoffender (0) and offender (1). Nonoffenders were those youth who reported no offenses, while offenders were those who have committed one or more offenses. The delinquency scale was further separated into status and delinquent/criminal counts, thus allowing for additional observations to be made in terms of attachment and type of delinquent activity.

Control variables

Research on family and delinquency often specifies differential effects of family factors on delinquency in terms of gender, race, age, and social class. For example, girls and younger adolescents are said to be more closely supervised and involved in family activities. Consequently, they are more likely to engage in communication with their parents and thus more likely to be influenced by family dysfunction in comparison to boys and older youth (Rankin & Kern, 1994; Van Voorhis, 1988). Since the sample is large, an attempt was made to control for gender, race, age, and social class. By entering these variables into a regression model as control variables, the direct affects of family factors on delinquency can be measured controlling for other variables that may affect attachment (see Table 1 for coding).

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Before examining the findings, it should be noted that the analytical procedure in this study progressed through three levels of analysis. The study began with a descriptive overview of the population sample and its representativeness. The second level of analysis identified bivariate relations between attachment and delinquency. The final stage of analysis entailed multivariate analysis. While controlling for the effects of the respondent's age, sex, race, and social class, the two delinquency indices were regressed on each of the attachment dimensions.

Table 1 presents the classification for adolescents in this study by age, sex and racial distribution . Census Bureau Estimates from 1976 are also provided as a tool for distribution comparisons and representativeness. The NYS figures appear to be consistent with estimates derived from the Census Bureau and are thus representative of youth aged 11-17. Adolescent males (53%) and females (47%) further appear to be equally accounted for in this study. Ethnicity, on the other hand, is generally representative of the population and consists primarily of Anglo Americans (79%), followed by African Americans (15%). The residual "other" category includes: Chicano (4%), American Indian (.5%), Asian (1%) and a small number of other ethnic groups (.2%). Table 1 data is restricted to three categories based on the mere 6% representation of other ethnic groups.

Table 1

Census Bureau Estimates, 1976*Age, Sex, and Racial Distribution of Adolescent PopulationCompared to Estimates Derived from the National Youth Survey

	NYS Estimates	Census Bureau Estimates
SEX		
Male	53%	51%
Female	47%	49%
RACE		
White	79%	84%
Black	15%	14%
Other	6%	2%
AGE		
11 year old	15%	13%
12 year old	15%	14%
13 year old	16%	14%
14 year old	15%	15%
15 year old	15%	15%
16 year old	14%	14%
17 year old	11%	15%

*Census Bureau estimates from Elliot et al., 1988

Table 2 contains the items that measure attachment in this study. The first list represents the time spent with parents dimension of attachment, while the second list of questions measure the degree of affectional identification between parent and child. The attachment measurements were created in three steps. First, 25 variables related to parental attachment were selected from the Wave I survey. The items were then conceptually classified into three distinct categories of attachment: time spent with parents, communication with parents, and affectional identification between parent and child. The divisions are further based on and similar to measures used in a number of related studies (i.e., Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Krohn et al., 1992; Rankin and Kern, 1994; Van Voorhis et al., 1988; and Warr, 1993).

Second, the 25 measures of attachment were factor analyzed. Results from the analysis identified one distinct factor for the time spent with parents and the affectional identification variables. The communication variables, however, did not load together on any factor, so they were not used in this analysis.

Finally, the factor results were used to create the attachment scales whose items and mean values are presented in Table 2. Although the communication factor was not used as an individual dimension of attachment, it is most likely accounted for within time spent with parents and affectional identification scales.

Table 2

Measurements of attachmentTime spent with parents dimension

	X(a)	Xd(b)	Xnd(c)
1. On average, how many afternoons during the school week, from the end of school or work to dinner, have you spent talking, working, or playing with the family? (d)	3.37	3.30	3.92
2. On average, how many evenings during the school week, from dinner time to bedtime, have you spent talking, working, or playing with your family? (d)	3.70	3.60	3.84
3. On the weekend, how much time have you generally spent talking, working, or playing with your family? (e)	3.51	3.44	3.88
4. How often have your parents/family taken part or shared in your school activities? (f)	2.49	2.42	2.68
5. How often have your parents/family taken part or shared in your community activities? (f)	2.62	2.57	2.69
6. How often have your parents/family taken part or shared in your activities with your friends? (f)	1.92	1.86	1.95
7. How important is it to have a family that does lots of things together? (g)	4.37	4.31	4.54
8. How are you doing at this? (h)	3.67	3.60	3.99

Affectional identification by juveniles with their parents

9. How much have your parents influenced what you've thought and done? (e)	4.13	4.09	4.31
10. How important is it to have parents who comfort you when you're unhappy about something? (g)	4.40	4.35	4.54
11. How are you doing at this? (h)	4.10	4.09	4.21

Table 2 (con't)

	X(a)	Xd(b)	Xnd(c)
12. How important is it to have your parents think your doing well? (g)	4.50	4.49	4.60
13. How are you doing at this? (h)	3.80	3.78	3.99
14. How important is it to get along well with your parents? (g)	4.73	4.70	4.79
15. How are you doing at this? (h)	3.96	3.91	4.34
16. I feel like an outsider with my family. (i)	1.90	1.87	1.72
17. Sometimes I feel lonely when I'm with my family. (i)	2.65	2.66	2.24
18. I feel close to my family. (i)	4.26	4.21	4.47
19. My family doesn't take much interest in my problems. (i)	1.89	1.86	1.82

Note:

(a) X = mean response for entire sample, (b) Xd = mean response for delinquent youth, and (c) Xnd = mean response for nondelinquent youth.

Coding:

(d) 0 - 5 (0 = everything less than once a week); (e) 1 = very little, 2 = not too much, 3 = some, 4 = quite a bit, 5 = a great deal; (f) 1 = almost never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = almost always; (g) 1 = not important, 3 = somewhat important, 5 = very important; (h) 1 = not well, 3 = O.K., 5 = very well; and (i) 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.

Table 3 presents the findings from various t tests, which show that a bivariate relationship exists between level of attachment and the likelihood of committing delinquent acts. Significant differences were found between the groups of all variables. The mean value for affectional identification and time spent with parents are higher in the nondelinquent and nonstatus offender population for both Wave I and Wave II. The factor scores in this table are z scores that distinguish the mean level of attachment in the delinquent and nondelinquent population. They have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. For example, in Wave II the delinquent child (-.0462) appears below the mean level of attachment while the nondelinquent child (.3294) appears slightly above the mean level of attachment. The same is true for status offenses, for instance, in Wave II the status offender is below the mean level of attachment (-.1240), and the nonstatus offender is above the mean level of attachment (.3146). Indications are that weaker attachments contribute to the rise in delinquency and status offenses.

Table 3

Mean level of attachment in delinquent and nondelinquent population.

	AFFECTIONAL IDENTIFICATION	TIME SPENT WITH PARENTS
	Mean	Mean
WAVE I		
Delinquent	-.0797*	-.0994*
Nondelinquent	.1836	.2079
Status	-.1521*	-.2036*
Nonstatus	.2321	.3025
WAVE II		
Delinquent	-.0462*	-.0879*
Nondelinquent	.3294	.2908
Status	-.1240*	-.1623*
Nonstatus	.3146	.2707

*p(t)<.05

In the next step of analysis age, ethnicity, sex, and social class are examined to determine if the observed differences in the four sample means can be attributed to natural variability or whether it is reasonable to believe that attachment varies by these factors. Table 4 presents the results of an analysis of variance for each of the attachment dimensions by age, ethnicity, sex and social class. It summarizes the bivariate relationships between other variables that may be related to attachment. As expected, age is shown to influence the amount of time spent with parents as well as the amount of affectional identification experienced between parent and child. According to the findings, younger children (ages 11-13) experience more affectional identification and spend more time with their parents than the older adolescents (ages 15-17). The age effect on delinquency is not surprising for as a child grows older, he/she is expected to become more independent and to need less emotional support. The children in this study who are 14 years of age appear to stand out alone, not quite fitting into either category. This may be considered a transition period for adolescents.

The child's sex also appears to have significant bearing on the time spent with parents dimension of attachment. Results clearly show that females and younger youth spend more time with their parents than older juvenile males and these findings could be attributed to the fact that girls are traditionally considered to be more fragile than boys. Boys are expected to be more independent and strong, while girls need to be protected. However, the different levels of affectional identification experienced between genders does not appear to be significant.

The differences in ethnicity are somewhat surprising. According to the findings,

nonwhites spend more time with their parents than whites. However, there are no significant differences in terms of affectional identification with parents. The findings could likely be attributed to cultural differences. For example, minority groups are often stigmatized as possessing inferior characteristics and historically suffer from multiple disadvantages, such as less opportunity in education, employment and upward mobility. Such conditions produce alienation and social isolation, causing an increase in the amount of time spent at home (Gabarino, 1992).

The only significant social class differences again appear to be in terms of time spent with parents. The lower class (-.021) and middle class (-.332) populations spend the least amount of time with their parents, while the poverty stricken families (.054) and lower middle class families (.002) spend the greatest amount of time together. It is possible that the reason poverty stricken families spend the greatest amount of time with parents is because they have little mobility without money and thus spend a great deal of time at home.

To the extent that the above factors represent different dimensions of family attachment, it is clear from the outset that a simplistic attached - unattached dichotomy would have masked some important variation among the control variables. For example, although age has a significant influence on both attachment dimensions, sex only impacts the time spent with parents dimension of attachment. Therefore, by classifying the child as attached - unattached, the different effects of the control variables on time spent with parents and affectional identification with parents dimensions of attachment would have been misleading. According to the findings in Table 4, the variation in factors are

significant enough to cause differential effects, if not controlled. It is important to identify this variation early on so that proceeding analysis will accurately measure the effect of attachment on delinquency and not a spurious relationship. For example, when measuring the effect attachment has on delinquency, it is necessary to control for extraneous variables like, age, race, sex and social class. If the analysis did not control for these variables the findings may have been misleading. However, the analysis of variance table is merely descriptive in nature, suggesting interesting patterns but offering nothing concrete. The discussion will have to turn to a more definitive form of analysis to determine the relative effects of these variables on attachment and delinquency. Regression analysis will be used to show the relationship and strength of association between these variables.

Table 4

Analysis of Variance

	AFFECTIONAL IDENTIFICATION	TIME SPENT
	Mean	Mean
SEX		
Male	-.0181	-.0613*
Female	.0206	.0697
RACE		
White	.0073	-.0587*
Nonwhite	-.0274	.2194
AGE		
11 year old	.3060*	.3519*
12 year old	.1246	.1956
13 year old	.1139	.1291
14 year old	.0128	.0064
15 year old	-.1849	-.2051
16 year old	-.2751	-.3027
17 year old	-.1550	-.2593
FAMILY INCOME		
Poverty	-.0566	.0538*
Lower	.0428	-.0209
Lower middle	.0945	.0015
Middle	.0189	-.3321

*p(t) < .05

The data in Table 5 summarizes the results of regression analysis. In order to ensure that the relationship between attachment and delinquency was not spurious, control variables were included in the analysis. A general review of the data in Table 5 reveals that the family variables, age, race, sex, and social class explain a relatively small amount of the variation in both delinquency (5%) and status offenses (8%). Although this is disappointing, it is not surprising. The explained variance could have been boosted considerably if a number of other social and demographic factors were included such as, employment status, education, or peer influence. However, the purpose of this study is not to explain all variation in delinquency, but rather, more importantly, specify the role attachment plays in delinquency.

According to the findings, age appears to be positively related to the frequency of status offenses. For example, as children age, they tend to commit more status offenses than a younger child. On the other hand, a child's sex is negatively related to delinquency. Females are less likely to become delinquent than males. Finally, Table 5 reveals that the time spent with parents dimension of attachment has a significant impact on delinquent and status offenses. Results indicate that the more time a child spends with their parents at time 1, the less delinquent they are at time 2. Affectional identification with parents, however, does not appear to have a significant impact on delinquency.

Table 5

Relation Between Family Variables, Control Variables and Delinquency.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	DELINQUENCY	STATUS
Constant	26.66	-35.09
Sex (a)	-23.07*	-1.15
Age	2.97	3.47*
Nonwhite (b)	5.24	2.65
Social Class	-.19	-.03
Affectional iden.	-5.57	-1.12
Time spent	-16.26*	-6.49*
	$r = .05$ (c)	$r = .08$

* $p(t) < .05$

Note:

(a) male = 0, female = 1, (b) nonwhite = 1, white = 0, and (c) r = percentage of explained variation

The final table presents correlation coefficients for attachment to parents during Wave I and attachment to parents and significant others in Wave IV. Results clearly show a significant relationship between dimensions of attachment during the two time periods. According to the findings, affectional identification with parents during Wave I is positively correlated to affectional identification to others in Wave IV ($r = .0772$). This means, that parental attachment early on tends to influence subsequent attachment to others. For instance, children who are positively attached to their parents exhibit similar patterns of attachment to others.

Additionally, Table 6 indicates that the time spent with parents dimensions of attachment are positively correlated. Indications are that the more time a youngster spends with his parents during early adolescent, the more time they will spend with them in the future. This also applies to the amount of time a child is likely to contribute to other relationships. If children spend time with their parents, they will be more likely to spend time with others (friend, partners, and parents.) in the years to come. Although this research only assesses relationships within a three year time period, it provides a tool for predictability and brief insight into the future.

Table 6
Correlation Coefficients for Attachment Dimensions

	Affectional(a) Parents	Affectional(b) Other	Time(c) I	Time(d) II
Affectional Parents	1.00	.0772*	.5816	.0962*
Affectional Other		1.00	.0505	.8672
Time I			1.00	.0981*
Time II				1.00

***p (t)<.05**

Note:

(a)Represents affectional identification to parents. (b)Represents affectional identification to others. (c)Represents time spent with parents during Wave I. (d)Represents time spent with others during Wave IV.

DISCUSSION

According to Hirschi's (1969) social control theory, the variables measuring parental attachment and delinquency should be negatively correlated. An examination of results generally supports this theory that measures of parent-child attachments are negatively related to delinquency. The data indicate that a significant relationship exists between the time spent with parent dimension of attachment and delinquency, thus providing tentative support for the social control theory which asserts that the quality of family life is critical to socialized behavior. However, the findings are not consistent across both dimensions of attachment. Affectional identification was not found to have a significant impact on delinquency. In other words, although the findings from this study provide justification for the conventional emphasis on parental attachment in delinquency research, it is only modest at best.

Several interesting issues are raised by these results. First, is the time spent with parents dimension of attachment sufficient enough to measure patterns of parental attachment without the affectional identification dimension? This is unlikely, however since the time spent with parents measures incorporate questions regarding the importance of time spent with parents, it goes beyond the realm of the time spent with parents dimension. Secondly, is the affectional identification with parents dimension of attachment a valid measure? It appears to be an adequate representation of parental attachment, but simply not significant as a predictor of delinquency.

Results from this study also suggest that although the time spent dimension of attachment plays a significant role in delinquency, it does not operate independently of

other social factors. In fact, as indicated in Table 4, gender, race, age, and social class are all significantly related to the amount of time spent with parents. Affectional identification with parents on the other hand is only significantly influenced by the child's age. These differences could be attributed to a number of social and cultural factors, but only account for small percentage of variation in delinquency. This suggests that there are a number of other factors unaccounted for that play a contributing role in delinquency and that, although time spent with parents appears important, it does not stand alone.

Findings in Table 5 also identify interesting effects of age and sex on the type of delinquent act committed. According to the results, as children grow older they tend to commit more status offenses. However, in terms of delinquent behavior, the findings are insignificant. This lack of consistency across offenses may be explained by the minor degree of criminality assessed by some of the status measures. For example, it is more likely that a 17 year old will lie about his/her age and/or engage in sexual intercourse than an 11 year old. The differences that resulted between a youngster's sex and likelihood of becoming delinquent can also be explained. They are most likely attributed to societal norms and upbringing. For example, girls are generally more closely supervised and spend more time involved in family activities, thus are less likely to engage in delinquency. Conversely, males tend to spend less time with their parent and consequently account for more delinquent activity.

The findings presented in Table 6, although confirmatory, need to be interpreted with caution. Even though the results indicate that a relationship exists between patterns of parental attachment in Wave I and patterns of attachment with others in Wave IV, it is

important to realize that the purpose of this analysis was to assess the effects of early attachment on attachments to others in subsequent years. Problems exist in the selected time periods for measurement. For instance, attachment was initially measured between the ages of 11-17 and although it captures the youngsters during adolescence it measures attachment over a fairly broad range of individuals. For example, attachment patterns of an 11 year old may be considered a measurement of early attachment, but the 17 year old assessed during that same birth cohort is nearing adulthood. Additionally, the measurement of attachment to others was only taken 3 years later which may not represent an adequate assessment of future relationships. For example, although the 17 year old is now 20, the 11 year old is still an adolescent, which means they have yet to experience many forms of relationships (i.e., relationships with partners). Finally, measurements of attachment were strictly based on social factors and rarely took psychological factors into consideration.

Future research should build on this study in two ways, first, by including both social and psychological factors when assessing patterns of attachment and second, by considering the impact early attachment has on a child's ability to form relationships to counselors, probation officers, and other social agents. This could provide professionals with a useful tool when developing approaches to social intervention. If a child cannot establish a trusting working relationship with a professional can treatment be effective?

Appendix A

Relationship Measurements

Time spent with others

1. On average how many weekday afternoons, Monday through Friday, from the end of school or work to dinner, have you spent with your friends?
2. On average how many weekday evenings, Monday through Friday, from dinnertime to bedtime, have you spent with your friends?
3. On weekends how much time have you generally spent with friends?
4. How many evenings in an average week, including weekends have you gone on dates, to parties, or to other social activities with your friends?
5. How important has it been to have dates and go to parties and other social activities?
6. On average, how many afternoons, Monday through Friday, from the end of school or work to dinner, have you spent playing, talking, or working with your family?
7. On average, how many weekday evenings, Monday through Friday, have you spent playing, talking, or working with your family?
8. On the weekends, how much time have you generally spent playing, talking, or working with your family?
9. How often have you taken part in family activities such as birthday parties, holiday dinners, and traditional times?
10. How important have the things you've done with your family been to you?
11. On average how many hours a week are spent doing things with the family?

Affectional Identification with Others

1. How much have your friends influenced what you've thought and done?
2. How much have your parents influenced what you've thought and done?
3. How important is it to get along with your parents?
4. How are you doing at this?
5. How important is it to have your parents think you do things well?

Appendix A (con't)

6. How are you doing at this?
7. How important is it to have your teacher think your good?
8. How well are you doing at this?
9. How important is it to have parents who comfort you when you're unhappy about something?
10. How are you doing at this?
11. I feel close to my friends.
12. My family doesn't take much interest in my problems.
13. I often feel like nobody at school cares about me.
14. I feel like an outsider with my family.
15. My friends don't take much interest in my problems.
16. Sometimes I feel lonely when I'm with my friends.
17. Even though there are lots of students around, I often feel lonely at school.
18. I feel close to my family.
19. I don't feel that I fit in very well with my friends.
20. Sometimes I feel lonely when I'm with my family.
21. I don't feel as if I really belong at school.

Measurements of attachment**Time spent with parents dimension**

1. On average, how many afternoons during the school week, from the end of school or work to dinner, have you spent talking, working, or playing with the family?
2. On average, how many evenings during the school week, from dinner time to bedtime, have you spent talking, working, or playing with your family?

Appendix A (con't)

3. On the weekend, how much time have you generally spent talking, working, or playing with your family?
4. How often have your parents/family taken part or shared in your school activities?
5. How often have your parents/family taken part or shared in your community activities?
6. How often have your parents/family taken part or shared in your activities with your friends?
7. How important is it to have a family that does lots of things together?
8. How are you doing at this?

Affectional identification by juveniles with their parents

9. How much have your parents influenced what you've thought and done?
10. How important is it to have parents who comfort you when you're unhappy about something?
11. How are you doing at this?
12. How important is it to have your parents think your doing well?
13. How are you doing at this?
14. How important is it to get along well with your parents?
15. How are you doing at this?
16. I feel like an outsider with my family?
17. Sometimes I feel lonely when I'm with my family?
18. I feel close to my family?
19. My family doesn't take much interest in my problems.

Appendix B

Self-Reported Delinquency Scale

How many times in the last year have you:

- 1. Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members?**
- 2. Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school?**
- 3. Purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to you (not family or school)?**
- 4. Stolen (or tried to steal) a motor vehicle, such as a car or motorcycle?**
- 5. Stole something (or tried to steal) something worth more than \$50?**
- 6. Stolen (or tried to steal) something between \$5 and \$50?**
- 7. Stolen (or tried to steal) things worth less than \$5?**
- 8. Knowingly bought, sold or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things)?**
- 9. Carried a hidden weapon other than a pocket knife?**
- 10. Attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her (aggravated assault)?**
- 11. Been involved in gang fights?**
- 12. Sold marijuana or hashish?**
- 13. Sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, and LSD?**
- 14. Had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will (sexual assault)?**
- 15. Been paid for sexual relations (prostitution)?**
- 16. Broke into a building/vehicle?**
- 17. Stolen money or other things from your parents or other members of the family?**
- 19. Hit (or threatened to hit) a teacher or other adult at school?**

Appendix B (con't)

20. Hit (or threatened to hit) one of your parents?
21. Hit (or threatened to hit) other students?
22. Been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place (disorderly conduct)?
23. Begged for money or things from strangers (panhandled)?
24. Been drunk in a public place?
25. Made obscene phone calls?
26. Hitchhiked where it was illegal to do so?
27. Used force to get money or things from other students?
28. Used force to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school?
29. Used force to get money or things from other people (not students or teacher)?
30. Taken a vehicle for a ride (drive) without owners permission (joyride)?
31. Thrown objects (such as snowballs, rocks, or bottles) at cars or people?

Status offense scale

1. Ran away from home (truancy)?
2. Lied about your age to gain entrance or to purchase something for example, lying about your age to purchase liquor or get into a movie?
3. Cheated on a school test?
4. Skipped classes without an excuse (school truancy)?
5. Been suspended from school (school incorrigible)?
6. Had sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex?

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