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The Familial Interrelationship Patterns, Socialization, and Juvenile Delinquency: An Integrated Theory and Research

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THE FAMILIAL INTER-RELATIONSHIP PATTERNS, SOCIALIZATION, AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: AN INTEGRATED THEORY AND RESEARCH

by

Alan J. Pearl

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of The Graduate College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Department of Sociology

Western Michigan University Kalamazoo, Michigan April 1985
Delinquency is widespread within American society. Americans are publicly and privately faced with high costs from delinquency. The theoretical development and research are now beginning to shed light upon the dynamics underlying delinquency. To understand and effectively deal with delinquency, more knowledge is necessary on its root causes. This dissertation is intended to provide more etiological knowledge.

Delinquent behavior is seen to be embedded within the interpersonal dynamics of the family at the level of socialization between parents and children. Essentially, the quality of the marital and parent-child dyads can facilitate or impede the socialization of youth. Socialization ineffectiveness leaves youth vulnerable to deleterious forces outside the home.

The major findings are: (a) poor parent-child relationships increase delinquency; (b) low marital adjustment significantly increases delinquency through the parent-child relationships; (c) Blacks have significantly higher delinquency independent from the family; and (d) school is a direct influence on delinquency both independent and in conjunction with the family.

When social class is controlled: (a) in high class families of
nonworking mothers, there is higher delinquency; and (b) more affluent Blacks have greater delinquency. In controlling for race, the mothers' nonemployment among White and Black families is differentially more important for school and delinquency. That is, independent of the family, the school is more responsible for delinquency of Blacks. The data on community integration indicate that among families from higher integrated communities, they have significantly greater delinquency when the mother is unemployed. For families with lower community integration, school adjustment is more significantly related to delinquency.

The major conclusions of this work are: (a) the family is an important root cause of delinquency; of primary significance is the family inter-relationships, particularly their socialization ineffectiveness; (b) poor parent-child relationships are directly related to delinquency; (c) marital maladjustment indirectly increases delinquency through the parent-child dyads by reducing their quality; (d) the school contributes to delinquency by continuing poor socialization begun within the family and by reducing school adjustment of children, especially in areas of low community integration; and (f) the delinquency of Blacks is less contingent upon the family, and more a consequence of differential experiences in school and racism in American society.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following dissertation would not have become a reality without the assistance of many people. A great amount of gratitude is extended to these individuals who helped me to organize, develop, and complete this work. Of instrumental importance to the completion of this paper has been my dissertation committee: Dr. Paul C. Friday, Chairman, Dr. Paul Wienir, Dr. Herbert Smith, and Mr. Robert Barstow. Dr. Paul Friday provided much needed guidance and support throughout this endeavor and he greatly contributed to the development and the organization of the theoretical foundation underlying this project. In the areas of statistical analyses and computer work, Dr. Paul Wienir contributed his vast knowledge and expertise which were so vitally important. Dr. Herbert Smith provided knowledge and insight into the theory and research directly pertinent to the family which is of central concern to this present study. With respect to social work, Mr. Robert Barstow gave me encouragement, direction, and the usefulness this present research will have to the treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency.

A great deal of thanks also should be given to a number of individuals who helped in the implementation of the research. Dr. Stanley Robin, Director of the Center for Sociological Research at Western Michigan University and Dr. J. Ross Eshleman, the former Chairman of the Sociology Department at Wayne State University, provided supporting letters to authenticate and stress the importance
of this present study to the families contacted within the target sample areas. Mr. Richard Sudek and Mr. Richard Bonk of the 3rd Judicial in Wayne County, Michigan provided their assistance in the photocopying of the questionnaires that were utilized in this research. In addition, the much needed data for this work would not have been collected if it had not been for the volunteer work of my students in a sociology class at Wayne State University.

Finally, my wife, Anita, and children, Stacey and Matthew, are thanked for the sacrificing of their husband and father during the extensive time period needed to complete this work, which is dedicated to them. Without their patience, understanding, and support, this dissertation would not have been completed. Additionally, my parents, Max and Gertrude Pearl, gave me encouragement and support to complete this project over the years and this work is especially dedicated to my mother and father who recently passed away.

Alan J. Pearl
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Magnitude of the Juvenile Delinquency Problem

This work is a theoretical study of juvenile delinquency. Delinquency is a serious problem in most advanced countries, including the United States. Within American society, the violation of norms by juveniles is a common occurrence. While many juvenile offenses committed by children and youth are of a serious nature, most of these misbehaviors are minor (Griffin & Griffin, 1978). The self-report studies have shown upwards of 90% of juveniles have engaged in acts that could have led to court adjudication (President's Commission, 1967, p. 55).

Juvenile delinquency is also costly to the American public. The President's Commission (1967, p. 33) estimated, at that time, that criminal violations cost our society $815 million in lost earnings, $3.9 billion from property loss, and $2 billion in other criminal offenses, resulting in public and personal losses. In addition, illegal goods and services have cost the public $8 billion. For the American taxpayer, the economic cost in operating the criminal justice system has been $4.2 billion. Within the private sector, the people have spent $1.9 billion for burglar alarms, security systems, insurance premiums, and lawyer charges.

While the economic burden of crime cannot be attributed to
juvenile delinquency alone, Griffin and Griffin (1978) have stated the costs cannot be separated, since a suspect's age is actually unknown in more than 75% of the cases. Indirectly, the total cost may be attributed to juvenile delinquency, since a great many adult criminals started by committing juvenile offenses.

Purpose and Focus of this Study

In view of the seriousness of the juvenile delinquency problem, this work is an attempt to study some possible factors of etiological significance underlying delinquent behavior in the United States. Its intent is to provide much needed knowledge and insight into the root causes of delinquency. The primary focus of this work is upon the family and its possible role in the development of juvenile delinquent behavior among our children and youth and the aim of this research is to add to the understanding of the process of becoming delinquent.

Specifically, the purpose of this study is to test a causal explanation of delinquency which directly involves family life. It is hoped that this study can contribute towards a greater theoretical understanding of the causal roots underlying the American juvenile delinquency problem. Presently, the situation exists where this is becoming a necessity; we are groping for answers that can provide constructive programs for the treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency. Certainly a greater understanding of the causal processes involved can aid immeasurably toward effective treatment and prevention programs. The times are exciting because we are on the
verge of a breakthrough; the threshold is near for the achievement of a more complete understanding of the juvenile delinquency problem, provided the quest is continued.

The Etiological Study of Delinquency

The causation of delinquent behavior has emerged as one of most frequently researched problems in all the social and behavioral sciences. Within the discipline of sociology, the decades of the 1950's and 1960's saw the problem of juvenile delinquency brought to the forefront, examined very closely, and a vast number of theories formulated for the purpose of explaining this phenomenon. This has led Cavan and Ferdinand (1975) to conclude that theoretical developments in delinquency causation are as extensive today within sociology as any other discipline.

Currently, within the field of criminology, there exists a need for an integrated causal model of juvenile delinquency. In the past, one of the most popular endeavors by criminologists has been the search for causal explanations of criminal deviance (Mannheim, 1965). This has been particularly true within the area of juvenile delinquency in the past thirty years. However, the results have tended to yield a fragmented causative model of juvenile delinquency.

There has been considerable interest by criminologists in studying the "genetic" factors underlying criminal or delinquent behavior, rather than the situational factors (Gibbons, 1971). Previous re-search on the causal dynamics of crime and delinquency has greatly tended to focus on the causal dynamics of crime and delinquency has
greatly tended to focus upon factors occurring in early childhood or years before the actual manifestation of the illegal behavior. Here, the term "genetic" should not be misinterpreted to mean only the biologically hereditary factors, although certain etiological theories and research studies have emanated from this perspective. Within this particular context, the use of the term "genetic" simply means the selection of those factors which have existed much earlier in the life history of the criminal or delinquent offender.

Criminologists have tended to neglect research into the situational factors associated with crime and delinquency. That is, those factors which may bear a direct influence upon the criminal or delinquent at the time of the actual commission of the illegal act(s). The inclusion of situational factors into theoretical and research endeavors may lead to greater insight and knowledge concerning the causal dynamics of criminal deviance than only the genetic factors previously have yielded (Gibbons, 1971). This is because the immediacy with the situational variables may be the necessary and sufficient causes of criminal and delinquent behavior. However, Briar and Piliavin (1965) have taken exception to the importance of situational factors in the causation of crime and delinquency. They have basically contended that prior commitment toward conforming behavior will prevent deviant behavior, regardless of the adverse influences inherent with the situational factors.

The distinction by Gibbons (1971) with respect to the two general levels of causative variables (the genetic and situational) underlying criminal deviance, was not really anything new. Lemert (1951) had
made a delineation between individual, situational, and systematic deviation two decades earlier. For Lemert (1951), individual deviation refers to behavioral acts stemming from internal psychic pressure which is largely equated with Gibbons' usage of the term genetic, since an analysis of the sort requires delving back into the life history of the deviant. On the other hand, situational deviation would be behavioral acts stemming from the stresses and strains located in the person's immediate environment. Of course, this is completely synonymous with the Gibbons (1971) utilization of the same term. However, Lemert (1951) had gone beyond Gibbons (1971) by including systematic deviation which is a direct result of societal response to the individual or situational deviation. This is particularly true when outside forces pose a threat to the survival of the deviant. Systematic deviation includes the development of new social roles centering around the specific deviant behavior, as well as the development of deviant subcultures.

In an even earlier article, Lemert (1948) distinguished between primary and secondary deviance. Primary deviance is the original behavior which developed from a variety of causes, such as social, psychological, cultural, and physiological sources. On the other hand, secondary deviance was the behavior resulting from the societal reaction to the primary deviance when the individual assumed and played the role of the deviant. With respect to the etiological explanations of deviance, it is important to delineate the specific kind of deviance to be explained, primary or secondary deviance (Lemert, 1948). Under primary deviance, both individual and
situational factors are included for the purpose of explaining the original development of the behavior. In contrast to primary deviance, secondary deviance includes the systematic or organized deviant behavior for scientific study which results from the societal reaction to the primary deviance. Quite obviously, secondary deviance occurs later in the sequence of events. Therefore, in order to deal with the true genesis or root causes of any form of deviant behavior (including juvenile delinquency), it is necessary to be directly concerned with primary deviance.

Within primary deviance, there are two general sets of factors which could be considered the genesis of the behavior; individual or genetic and the situation factors. However, Lemert (1951) has pointed out that the specific etiological task is not an either-or situation, but a relative combination and weighing of the forces which produce deviant behavior within these two respective etiological categories (primary and secondary deviance). Furthermore, the existence of deviant behavior in any society is not a phenomenon that just happens to occur; it is the result of the process or series of stages occurring in the life of an individual deviant, over an extended period of time (Clinard, 1974).

Today, some criminologists are seriously questioning the utilitarian value of searching for the root causes or basic underlying explanations of criminal deviance. Causal explanations of crime and delinquency are very elusive, extremely difficult to study and research and, therefore, there is only a remote likelihood for new scientific discoveries (Gibbons, 1971). The basic contention by
some is that the search for the root causes of criminal deviance could very well terminate in "blind alleys" and the extreme effort required for such activity would result in a waste of valuable professional time; time that could be better spent in other areas of concern such as the development of criminal or delinquent typologies, victimization studies, research in law enforcement, and the like. Gibbons (1971) has indicated that the search for causal explanations of adult criminality has not progressed very far at all. However, he conceded that the theoretical formulations and research studies over the past twenty years on the problem of juvenile delinquency have discovered considerably more scientific knowledge about the causal processes of this phenomenon.

Whether or not the quest for the root causes of law-violating behavior is a desirable and useful one to the field of criminology, there is some reason to look more closely at patterns of behavior that are highly associated with delinquency. Of frequent investigation, one is the family and another is the individual's self-concept.

The importance of the family is evident in the delinquency literature of the past few decades which has suggested that the physically broken home was the principle cause of delinquency (Glueck & Glueck, 1950, 1951; Monahan, 1957a, 1957b; Peterson & Becker, 1965). This notion, however, has been challenged by the realization that many youngsters become involved in delinquent acts who, in fact, come from physically intact families (Shaw & McKay, 1932; Nye, 1957, 1958; Browning, 1960; Dentler & Monroe, 1961; Rosen, 1970). Thus, the physically fragmented family, as a cause of delinquency, is an
inadequate explanation of delinquency and the focus must, therefore, penetrate deeper into the inner dynamics of family life itself (Kvaraceus, 1945; Gordon, 1962; Koutrelakos, 1971). In addition, there has really never been conclusive evidence that the physically broken home is a direct, causative factor of delinquency (Clinard, 1963).

In light of the probable insufficiency of the physically fragmented home to explain delinquency, this does not mean that other aspects of the family lack the potentiality to do so. With this apparent need to explore deeper into the family to discover its possible etiological significance for delinquency, this study wants to directly focus upon the family inter-relationship patterns; that is, the marital relationship and the parent-child dyads.

The etiology of juvenile delinquent behavior should be seen as a causal chain of events. Only some of these causal chains of events have been highlighted by the previous research.

A second major area for research has been self-concept. Many years ago, Reckless (1943) stated that sociological theories of crime and delinquency have neglected to take into account a "readiness" or "self" factor. The key importance to this present discussion is Reckless' (1943) recommendation calling for a reformulation of etiological theories pertaining to crime and delinquency, so as to take into account the differential responses by individuals to similar social pressures or situational factors. In other words, the etiological goal should be to uncover those predispositional factors of criminal or delinquent behavior which seem to leave certain individuals
vulnerable to deleterious social pressures or situational influences. Among the many sociological theories offered as explanations for criminal and/or delinquent behavior, there has existed one very important deficiency. That is, the glaring inability to satisfactorily explain why, when two persons are exposed to the same or similar social influences, one individual commits a criminal or delinquent act and the other does not (Ball, 1966).

Within this line of thought, it can be clearly seen that the real genesis or root causes of criminal or delinquent behavior more than likely exist further back in the life history of the offender. However, the researcher should not lose sight of the situational variables by excluding possible relevant ones from the causal model and, thereby, fail to test for their importance and how they may mesh with the predispositional factors.

Problems in the Search for Causes

In searching for "cause" in the social and behavioral sciences, the researcher is confronted with a situation where many possible significant variables are present. The inclusion and control of all these variables prove to be a massive and impossible endeavor within the given research design and statistical analysis being employed. Therefore, the researcher must make a selection of those variables that are considered of utmost importance for the specific study, at hand. This selection can be accomplished either in an intuitive sense or through the guidelines of previous knowledge attained from earlier research studies on the same or similar problem. However,
there is always the risk that key or important variables may still have been excluded.

As far as the problem faced by the researcher, they do not cease here, but continue to occur. This is especially the case in regards to the formulation of causal inferences from the research results. Even if one variable or factor relates quite highly with another, in a statistical sense, a causal interpretation is very difficult and hazardous to make, even on a tentative basis. This is due to possible spuriousness of the relationship between the two variables and the actual causal direction existing between them (Blalock, 1972). The problem of spuriousness emerges from the mere fact that the relationship found between the variables may not be genuine, but possibly an artifact of the research design that had been utilized. The problem of causal direction is embedded in the temporal sequence of the two variables; this is the clear determination of the antecedent variable, in terms of time. Of course, this is a necessary prerequisite for making causal inferences of any kind.

A researcher may perceive a logical time sequence between two variables which statistically appear to relate quite highly. The one variable clearly exists temporally before the other. However, even in this situation, a causal interpretation is still difficult and hazardous. The researcher must be very cautious in making causal inferences, because of possible preceding or intervening variables which may have an effect on the relationship of the two variables included in the present research design.

Lazersfeld (1946) seemed to be convinced that a causal
interpretation could be made when the researcher found the following conditions present: (a) a high statistical relationship exists between the two variables, X and Y; (b) there is a clear and logical time sequence where X is antecedent to Y; and (c) an antecedent control variable cannot statistically show a reduction in the strength or the disappearance of the originally found relationship between variables X and Y. On the same note, Hirschi and Selvin (1967) were willing to consider X a cause of Y when the following conditions were satisfied: (a) variables X and Y are shown to be statistically associated; (b) X exists before Y; and (c) the statistical association between X and Y does not weaken appreciably after the effects of other preceding variables are removed by controlling for their possible influences. Incidentally, Hirschi and Selvin's (1967) comments were specifically related to juvenile delinquency causation.

The above discussion provides for some optimism in the formulation of causal inferences. However, this author supports the contention that even under the specific conditions delineated by Lazarsfeld (1946) and Hirschi and Selvin (1967), the researcher still has to be very careful concerning causal interpretations. This is primarily due to the many possible variables or factors that may have been excluded from the present study and, thereby, they were not statistically controlled, in terms of their influences upon the relationship in question. Of course, today, the computer allows for the inclusion of many more variables within the research design that previously was possible. In addition, not all the variables included in a given research design can be judged for a logical time sequence in a clear-cut
sense which is an absolute necessity in order to establish a causal connection between any two variables.
CHAPTER II

THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM: INEFFECTIVE SOCIALIZATION, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

On a social psychological level, delinquent behavior is viewed as the consequence of ineffective socialization within the family. Law-violating behavior by children and youth may directly stem from poor or inadequate inter-relationship patterns existing between the familial members. Specifically, the quality of the marital relationship between the parental figures and/or the parent-child relationships are seen by some to play an important role in teachings. The presence of close relationships between the spouses and/or parents with their children is another condition seen to facilitate the norm-sending process. The consequence of effective norm transmission is a better internalization and commitment by children and youth to adhere to the social norms. For example, Hirschi (1969), Hindelang (1973), and Thomas et al. (1974) found that close relationships between parents and their children lead to a greater commitment by young people to the norms imparted from parents, resulting in more socially conforming behavior.

On the other hand, these same family relationships that are cold or distant may impede socialization which can result in the lack of the commitment to follow the parental normative teaching by children and youth. This could conceivably increase the probability or likelihood for young persons to violate norms, including delinquent behavior.
The Importance of Socialization

The society generates the social norms that are to be learned and internalized by its members through the process of socialization. Effective socialization by the individual societal members to these norms is vital to the social organization of the society. According to the early "functional" anthropologists, Radcliffe-Brown (1935) and Malinowski (1944), a certain minimum level of social organization is necessary and required for a society to sustain existence over time. This idea had been originally suggested by Durkheim (Nisbet, 1965) and was further elaborated upon by the "functional school" of anthropology. Specifically, the concern focuses on the societal processes which allow a society to attain various levels of social organization. Later, this minimum level prerequisite for social organization, in regards to the survival of a society, was adopted as an axiomatic proposition within the first known paradigm of sociology, structural-functionalism. This is seen in the later theoretical works of Durkheim and Parsons (Turner, 1974) which, subsequently, followed the early "functional school" in anthropology and was influenced by it.

With respect to the minimum level of social organization needed for the society to sustain existence over time, this is exceedingly difficult to argue against (Turner, 1974). Another structural-functionalist, within sociology, is willing to concede that a certain minimum level of social organization must be attained for a society to maintain a sustained existence; however, according to Merton
(1957, 1968), the particular level of social organization at any given point in time is an empirical question. The social organization level cannot necessarily be assumed and it must be scientifically investigated.

From this structural-functionalist perspective, to achieve even a minimal degree of social organization needed for existence over time, a society is greatly dependent upon the degree of consensus among the societal members and groups regarding the particular goals sought and the means or avenues used for the purpose of attaining these goals (Clausen, 1968). According to Clausen (1968), the establishment of consensus within any society emerges through the communication of shared symbols and norms; this latter bringing predictability to the behavior of individual members and groups within the society. So, the basic foundation for social organization within any society, to even a minimum extent, is the establishment of expected or predictable forms of behavior by the societal members and groups. In contrast to this consensual model, the conflict paradigm within sociology has questioned the assumption of "consensus" in society made by the structural-functional proponents. According to these conflict theorists, conflict is endemic to social systems arising from differing and opposing group interests (Mills, 1948; Dahrendorf, 1959; Simmel, 1956).

The Process of Socialization

A human being is not born with the knowledge of the expected behavioral patterns needed for appropriate social interaction, on
either an individual or group level. Other forms of living organisms (below man on the phylo-genetic scale) are born with many, different instincts; that is, biological or "built-in" programs for those behaviors necessary for survival and perpetuation of the species. For human beings, they must socially learn the needed forms of behavior to survive and adequately function within society. Perhaps, an exception to this would be the sucking instinct which now even sociologists concede as being innate among human infants.

The members of the human species are born as strictly biological organisms with absolutely no knowledge of their functioning as social beings within a societal framework. This transformation from a strictly biological organism to a social being is termed socialization. According to Elkin (1960), socialization is the process whereby human beings become social beings by learning the ways of the ongoing society and culture. Child (1954) views socialization in terms of the human organism being born with a wide range of behavior potential and influenced into a narrower range of development, depending upon societal, cultural standards. Here, the focus of human socialization has been placed upon learning by the individual. However, Aberle (1961) placed greater weight on the societal apparatus that influenced the learning on the part of the individual by providing definitions for the acceptable range of behavior. That is, the process of socialization certainly includes those forms of the societal network which teaches the individuals the necessary skills (also knowledge), motivational incentives, and social attitudes, so that they can perform the present or anticipated roles within the social group and
the superordinate society.

The process of socialization involves more than just social learning in an intellectual sense, but the actual internalization of the approved cultural ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving (Federico, 1975). Through internalization, the person learns to accept the normative teaching for himself or herself in terms of its relevancy and importance. The end product of internalization is the development of inner controls which serve to guide appropriate or socially approved behavior, whether external controls are present or not. Elkin (1960) viewed socialization as including both the intellectual awareness and the internalization of approved behavioral patterns within the person, along with the appropriate values and feelings. This does not mean that after an individual internalizes a particular norm, there cannot be any questioning, in regards to the appropriateness of the standard (Clausen, 1968). Yet, it is through the process of socialization by which individual members of society intellectually become aware of social norms, internalize them, and, thereby, provide inner controls for social behavior.

In one sense, socialization can be viewed as a method in which the society or social group forces its approved ways upon the individual societal members. To Clausen (1968), the process of socialization implies a certain degree of coercion by society or social group upon the individual. However, the concept of socialization includes social inducements for the person to conform willingly to the ongoing ways of social life, for the purpose of social rewards and support. Also, inherent within the concept of socialization is the notion that
the individual societal members can accept or reject the normative standard(s) of the social group and society. Of course, rejection is usually accompanied with the realization that some form of social sanctioning will result from the social group and/or the society, particularly if this is manifested into deviant behavioral pattern(s) and the individual is caught. Furthermore, these normative standards of the social group or the society are rarely narrow and inflexible. That is, individual variations, to different degrees, are usually allowable, depending upon the specific normative standard in question.

Socialization is conceptually defined as the process of intellectually learning and internalizing social norms by the individual societal members within social groups. The process of socialization includes the intellectual learning and internalizing of prescriptive norms (the expected behavioral patterns to be performed), as well as the proscriptive norms (the unexpected or inappropriate behavioral patterns not to be performed). In addition, social norms (both prescriptive and proscriptive) are very often attached to social roles (the general or specific parts a person plays in the society or social group). In this sense, social norms and social roles can only be analytically separated (DeFleur et al., 1974; Campbell, 1975). However, not all social norms are directly attached to social roles that people engage in, such as not knowingly allowing a door to slam into someone who is a stranger upon entering or leaving a building, or those applying to companies or corporations.
The Instruments of Socialization

In order for the process of socialization to occur, it is necessary for human beings, within a society, to interact with other people who are familiar with the ongoing ways of the society and who, themselves, have been socialized (Federico, 1975). Elkin viewed socialization as occurring in many different settings and from a multitude of social interactions with other societal or group members. However, it is important that the society does not take the chance of socialization occurring in a random and haphazard manner—the "hit" or "miss" approach—where socialization may or may not happen by interacting with other people in the society. This is essentially true with the younger members of the society (children and youth) who are the most in need of proper socialization experiences. Here, proper socialization experiences is defined as the exposure to those influences which maximize the normative teachings held by the society. Because any society vitally needs to ensure that its members receive proper socialization experiences, certain social institutions have been organized and commissioned various responsibilities, including socialization (DeFleur et al., 1974).

In the ideal sense, for the society to guarantee the socialization experiences needed to function within it, particular social institutions assume the functional responsibility of providing the kind of socialization experiences for the societal members, especially children and youth. The examples of those social institutions that have been designated by most societies in the world to provide proper
socialization experiences for children and youth are the family, school, and church. Also, other social institutions and social groups are very influential in the process of socialization both in the younger years and throughout young adulthood and adult life. The examples of the above are the peer group, the work group, the community or neighborhood, and the military. Nevertheless, it is through the mandated social institutions that socialization for children and youth is supposed to be effected. Therefore, it is through the agents of socialization (those social institutions given the responsibility) as representatives of the larger overall society to instruct and internalize the societal expectations (norms) of behavior within all the societal members, particularly the young who are the most in need of proper socialization experiences and preparation for functional participation (Federico, 1975; Clausen, 1968; Elkin, 1960).

Social Institutions and Socialization Effectiveness

Socialization effectiveness by social institutions can occur to varying degrees. The result of socialization experiences with children and youth can be viewed on a continuum from being totally unsocialized to complete or total socialization. However, Clausen (1968) warned against viewing persons at the extreme ends of this socialization continuum. The completely unsocialized individual rarely exists and no human being is ever fully socialized to meet all encountered social situations in life, even during adulthood. The completely unsocialized individual has been observed, on rare occasions, among feral children who had been isolated and deprived of the "normal"
social interactions with other human beings (DeFleur et al., 1974; Williams, 1972). However, for the overwhelming majority of people within a society, the degree of socialization falls between the extreme ends of the continuum.

Upon the socialization continuum, it would be much more realistic to delineate different gradation points of being socialized from the societal perspective. Nearly every societal member is socialized, at least to some degree, from the society's point of view. However, the individual societal members will and do vary in regards to the degree of socialization that has been reached. The effectiveness and degree of socialization can only be seen in the types of behavior exhibited by the individual (Clausen, 1968). We cannot directly observe the thoughts, feelings, and attitudes of people and they usually remain deeply embedded within the person at the subjective level. Therefore, operationally, the degree of socialization is reflected in individual behavior.

The primary goal of socialization is to provide predictable and stable patterns of behavior on which an organized society vitally depends. For the individual, effective socialization provides adaptive behavior which is compatible with the social expectations of the society (McNeil, 1969). Furthermore, McNeil (1969) viewed the achieved degree of socialization in terms of the adaptive or maladaptive behavioral patterns for the individual societal member. A relatively high degree of socialization would provide for the societal member a repertoire of behavioral actions within defined roles which are adaptive to the society. That is, there exists a congruity between
the individual's behavior and societal expectations. On the other hand, a relatively low degree of socialization would be evidenced in incongruencies between the individual's behavior and social expectations. Therefore, ineffective socialization leaves the individual without the proper internal foundation to guide behavior, creating the potential clash with the societal expectations. Here, it could be expected that many of the behavioral patterns for such individuals will be in conflict or at odds with the larger community, depending upon the degree of the socialization and social integration.

Socialization Failure and Social Deviance

When socialization fails, this can have crucial implications for the resulting internal processes and the external behavioral patterns by those societal members. This especially can be seen in regards to the behavioral control that societal members have over hostility; the expression of such hostility along socially approved or disapproved channels, and the degree of satisfaction subsequently derived by the hostile person. If an individual in society has effective inner control over hostile feelings and he or she is able to manage aggressive behavior along acceptable channels, then there are really no serious problems for the person, other societal members, or the overall society. However, when the control over internal hostility is inadequate, resulting in the dissatisfaction to either the individual and/or the society, problems can emerge for the individual, society, or both (McNeil, 1969).

First, if the inner control of hostility and the resultant
behavioral patterns satisfy the society, but not the individual, a serious inner disturbance can develop for the person in the form of a mental health problem. Second, if the control of the hostility is satisfying for the individual, but not the society, the resultant behavior may be crime among adults and delinquency on the part of children and youth, depending upon whether an ordinance, statute, or law is violated. Third, if the management of hostile feelings is not satisfying for both the individual and the society, the result can be neurotic or psychotic antisocial behavior; this may or may not be criminal or delinquent, hinging upon the nature of the antisocial behavior in terms of the existing laws within the legal jurisdiction where the behavior was displayed.

The above discussion does not imply that socialization is necessarily the inner control of hostility and aggression. However, through socialization, the individual can learn certain behavioral patterns for expressing hostility in ways which are both satisfying to the person and approved by the society. In addition, not all crime and delinquency or mental illness are the expression of hostility by the individual. Deviant behavior can also be the result of definitions acquired by the actor from various social statuses and rewards, in connection with these behavioral patterns.

Poor Socialization and Juvenile Delinquency

In a social psychological sense, poor socialization among children and youth has two very important implications for delinquency involvement:
1. The juvenile lacks the adequate inner controls needed to help guide behavior when the external controls (for example, parents) are not physically present. Even in a child's life, the parents cannot be physically present, at all times, to control the offspring's behavior. It is through the process of socialization that inner controls are supposed to develop, in order to guide and control the juvenile's overt behavior when there is an absence of the external ones.

2. The child or youth is vulnerable to the deleterious influences which can exist outside the immediate familial environment from peers or other adults in the community or the negative influences of existing social forces. In essence, poor socialization results in a situation where the juvenile can find it relatively easier to reject the normative standards intellectually taught by the parents when exposed to contradictory ones outside the family. The impact of these deleterious forces, existing within the immediate community, upon the juvenile will depend upon the extent of poor socialization; that is, the degree to which the juvenile lacks the inner controls to guide and control behavior.

When unexpected and disapproved behavior is manifested by children and youth, some of these behavioral actions are in violation of an existing ordinance, statute, or law, depending upon the legal jurisdiction where the behavior occurs. Juvenile delinquency is a socio-legal concept which defines certain antisocial acts to be illegal for children and youth. These are known as the "status offenses" which are unique to the minority status of children and
youth. However, ordinances, statutes, and laws that define criminal behavior for adults also have applicability in defining delinquent behavior for children and youth and these are referred to as the "nonstatus offenses. So, one of the alternative behavioral results from poor socialization by children and youth can be delinquent behavior (both the status and nonstatus offenses), although juvenile delinquent behavior may be the outcome of other factors.

Problems with Emphasizing Socialization

To view deviance (criminal, delinquent, or otherwise) as a product or outcome of poor socialization is to a degree warranted, but this can be a dangerous notion (Clausen, 1968; Campbell, 1975). As previously discussed, the completely unsocialized person rarely exists and no societal member is fully socialized to the point of feeling prepared and comfortable in all social interactions throughout life. Furthermore, as Clausen (1968) and Campbell (1975) have pointed out, social deviance can be the result of poor socialization; that is, the incomplete or inadequate communication of normative standards. However, social deviance can also be the result of "deviant" socialization experiences, the rational and emotional rejection of effectively imparted normative standards by the socializee, or the failure to simply learn appropriate social roles. Deviant roles can also be learned. Irrespective of the label placed upon behavioral patterns, all human behavior is learned.

In the case of the deviant socialization experiences, Thomas et al. (1974) found that the influence of deviant subcultures on youth
is directly related to the control and affectional support provided by parental socialization. That is, when parental control is high and affectional support is low, the influence of the deviant subcultures has a greater impact upon youth. In addition, this same team of researchers found rational and emotional rejection of normative standards to be related to the level of affectional support provided by the parents. Where the level of affectional support is high, the normative rejection is low which leads to more conforming behavior on the part of young people. On the other hand, where affectional support is low, youth find it easier to reject and deviate from the normative standards imparted by their parents and, thereby, engage in nonconforming behavior.

The results of Thomas et al. (1974) would, at least, tentatively indicate that the effectiveness of proper socialization experiences depends upon the affectional support received from parents, even when close parental control is applied. Furthermore, the low degree or lack of affectional support from parents during the socialization experiences can impede the effectiveness of the learning and/or the internalizing of the normative standards imparted by the parents. With poor parental socialization, the juvenile is much more vulnerable to the influences from extra-familial sources like juvenile gangs or other deviant subcultures; as a result, the young member of society finds it relatively easy to reject the parental normative standards when delinquent influences occur from outside of the family environment. So, it appears in the cases of deviant socialization or the rejection of normative standards, poor socialization is the
underlying problem that could very well be existing here. Again, it must be emphasized that this poor socialization is from the societal perspective, in regards to the normative expectations of behavior.

On the theoretical level, Hirschi (1969) and Hindelang (1973) have referred to the importance of the closeness within the parent-child relationship as being a crucial factor in the etiology of juvenile delinquency. They utilized the term "attachment" and theoretically postulated that the degree of "attachment" between the parent and child is important for the prevention of juvenile delinquent behavior. Here, the key to effective socialization from parent to child may be the closeness of "attachment" existing between the parent and child as Thomas et al. (1974) has suggested and their research has supported.

Within the parent-child relationship, Bronfenbrenner (1961) has proposed a frame of reference for the purpose of predicting behavioral differences between individuals and groups. Bronfenbrenner (1961) utilized the factors of parental control (supervision and control) and parental support (nurturance and acceptance). Along a continuum for both of these variables, there are four possibilities at the extremes: (a) high parental control and low parental support, (b) low parental control and high parental support, (c) high parental control and high parental support, and (d) low parental control and low parental support. According to Bronfenbrenner (1961), these four extremes can differentiate between deviance and nondeviance in a theoretical sense; the former being a product of these four extremes
and the latter being a product of a more optimal balance between parental control and parental support.

For juvenile delinquent behavior, Bronfenbrenner (1961) did not mention which of the four extremes is the most cogent. However, Cortes and Gatti (1972) have postulated that low control and low support is of significant importance to the causation of delinquency. High control and low support appears less significant as a factor of juvenile delinquent behavior, followed by high support and low control. The least significant of the four possible extremes is high control and high support. Here, in a theoretical sense, the parent-child relationship within the family is seen as being important for the causation of juvenile delinquent behavior, along the dimensions of parental control and parental support.

Friday and Hage (1976) have cited the lack of intimate family role relationships within industrial and postindustrial societies as being important in terms of orienting youth toward the peer group. With this increased influence of the peer group upon young people, Friday and Hage (1976) further theorized that there is an increase in the probability of youth crime offenses when young people experience a limited pattern of role relationships. Of importance to youth crime, in addition to intimate familial role relationships, these authors also mentioned the lack of intimate role relationships in the community or neighborhood (outside of the peer role relationship), the school, and work group. In addition, Friday and Hage (1976) and Friday and Halsey (1977) have suggested that the problem underlying youth crime is a lack in the reinforcement of norms between the
family, the school, the community or neighborhood and the work group upon young persons.

The Inquiry into the Location of Socialization Failure

When socialization appears to fail, the first area of inquiry logically looks to the agents of socialization and the youth's relationships within these institutions. For the purpose of discovering and describing the process whereby poor socialization occurs which can lead to juvenile delinquent behavior, it is necessary to analyze the agents of socialization, in order to determine their overall effectiveness. This means a much closer look at the socialization experiences within the family, school, church, and recreation, as well as other socialization influences such as the peer group, work group, and community or neighborhood.

Quite obviously, any single research study could not possibly include an analysis of all the socialization agents or possible influential groups in the life of children and youth; a single research study could not even hope to consider the vast multitude of aspects within one particular socialization agent. So, the next best alternative is to select a socialization agent or social group that influences socialization. This socialization agent would be the one that the researcher thinks will yield the most fruitful results, considering the nature and purpose of the inquiry, at hand. In addition, the selection of the socialization agent and those factors or variables incorporated within the study can be chosen by considering the specific problem under analysis. Also, previous knowledge and research
certainly can provide a guiding light.

The Importance of the Family as a Socialization Agent

All the agents of socialization in a child's life are important for the express purpose of imparting proper socialization experiences (those experiences which will be supportive and compatible with the societal expectations of behavior). However, it must be kept in mind that the family does begin the process of socialization. In addition, the family (particularly, the parents) has almost exclusive contact with the child at a time when it is extremely vital; that is, from birth until five or six years of age. During the first five or six years of life, a human being develops physically, psychologically, and socially in "leaps and bounds". It is early childhood when a human being develops the greatest in all areas of human development (Elkin, 1960; Federico, 1975).

In the early years of human development, the young child spends a great deal of time within the familial environment where socialization by parents is direct and symbolic. Sociologists refer to symbolic interaction as the process of role taking by which behaviors are emitted through gestures and language (Turner, 1974). Furthermore, during these early years, there is very little contact with others outside of the home. When the child begins to extend the scope of social interactions beyond the familial environment such as going to school, the young member of society is almost a total social product of the family, including the content and effectiveness of the socialization training provided by the parents and the roles, values, and
attitudes.

To stress the vast importance of the family concerning the socialization experiences in the young child's life, does not mean that the process of socialization occurs exclusively within the family group. The process of socialization is a lifetime occurrence for the societal members, lasting throughout adulthood (Clausen, 1968; Elkin, 1960). However, the family provides the new, perspective member of the society with the initial and primary exposure to the socialization process. This first exposure to the socializing influences within the familial setting is important for two major reasons: (a) the first experiences have a tremendous impact and influence upon the child (Federico, 1975) and (b) the child greatly tends to act and react later toward the other agents of socialization in a similar fashion to that of the parents, depending upon the nature and effectiveness of the familial experiences (Elkin, 1960).

Clausen (1968) referred to the generalizing effect that the family socialization experiences have in regards to the other agents of social learning, especially the school. In other words, the child goes off to school with a built-in mechanism of action and reaction which has been formed within the family setting. Such pre-conditioning seems to have tremendous implications for the ability of the school to impart socialization upon the child. The school can be properly viewed as continuing the socialization process initially begun by the family; however, there is an expectation on the part of the school that a certain level of socialization has been previously attained from the family. The primary assumption is that the child
has been socially prepared to readily adapt to the school environment (McNeil, 1962).

Therefore, the initial social experiences within the family, particularly the contact with the parents, not only predisposes the child to the future effectiveness of socialization by other societal groups and institutions, but the family continues to influence the children and youth when the other agents of socialization are supposedly at work (DeFleur et al., 1974). For example, Brookover and Erickson (1975) discovered that parents were perceived by their high school children as the most important influence presently in their life as compared to the school (including teachers) or even the peer group (including close friends). This perception was found to exist among students through the high school years.

Over the past few decades, it has become increasingly popular to blame the schools for not properly socializing the young population within the United States. The school has become a convenient target of parents and other societal members and groups for a great many of America's social problems, including juvenile delinquency. However, the family has been found to be related to the level of student achievement in both social and academic development to a far greater extent than the school (Coleman et al., 1966; Jencks, 1972). In addition, the school will be able to succeed to a greater extent with those children who are more effectively socialized to conformity within the family environment (Stark, 1975). As the previous discussion illustrates, the school contributes to the problem of poor or inadequate socialization for those young persons who have been poorly or
inadequately socialized by the family for the educational environment. However, the school appears to contribute in a passive, indirect manner by not offsetting the previously poor socialization experiences started by the family, especially the parents, and providing a continuation of the process.

Specifically, in regards to juvenile delinquent behavior, other authors have touched upon the possible and significant importance of the family in their research on the comparative scene. Vaz and Casparis (1971) found, in studying Swiss and Canadian boys, that the male youth in Switzerland are much less delinquent than their counterparts in Canada. These authors suggest one of the possible explanations for this finding could very well be the apparently great degree of family stability and cohesion existing in the Swiss home. Moreover, Kobel (1965) in comparing London and Slovenian youth found the former to be more delinquent than the latter. Again, this author possibly attributes the finding to the better quality of family life for the Yugoslavian youth as compared to the English, particularly in the urban areas. These comparative studies serve the usefulness of indicating that further scientific research within the family may help considerably to shed light upon the etiology of juvenile delinquent behavior.

In regards to socialization, the family, and juvenile delinquency, Cavan and Ferdinand (1975) summarized the importance of family socialization and delinquency very well in the following passage:

The family is the primary socializing group in society. Not only does it establish the child's basic personality, but it also introduces him to the mores
and values of the larger culture. Thus, in a variety of ways the family sets the direction for the individual's development in later life. It is her spring board into adulthood and the broader society. (p. 191)

The family appears to be important for effective socialization. Furthermore, the socialization experiences within the family environment can play a very important role in preparing youngsters for the subsequent socializing influences of the other socialization agents in the child's life, particularly in later childhood and adolescence. Additionally, an alternative behavioral pattern manifested by juveniles as a result of poor or inadequate socialization may be law-violating behavior or youth crime. There is certainly more than enough justification available here for further research exploration into the dynamics of the family life, in order to discover its possible etiological significance for juvenile delinquent behavior.

The Duality of Scientific Inquiry into the Family and Delinquency

According to Toby (1960), research endeavors into the family as it relates to the problem of juvenile delinquency and youth crime can proceed in two different directions. These two distinct problematic areas within the familial environment which have a bearing upon the development of delinquent behavioral patterns are: (a) the existence of parental rejection and neglect which causes damage to the personality development of the child, and (b) the neglect and inadequacy of parents to exert control over the behavior of their children. As a result of parental rejection and neglect, there is
seen to develop an inability or lack of impulse control by the child due to "pathological" socialization within the family unit. Toby (1960) refers to "pathological" socialization in this context as poor socialization that results in the learning and internalizing the normative standards of the broader culture or society.

Parental neglect and inability to control their children's behavior is also seen to be affected by social forces located at the macro-level of society, for example, in the social structural processes of urbanization and industrialization. Here, urbanization and industrialization are seen to effect children and youth by creating an environment conducive to greater peer orientation, giving the peer group a greater influence over youth than the parents. If these peer influences are of a nonconforming nature, then the probability greatly increases that the child or youth will behave in a delinquent manner.

Research and theory on parental rejection and neglect focuses upon the social relationship patterns within the family unit and between its members. Here, the attempt is to discover the importance of these family relationship patterns for the socialization of youth. The marital relationship between the parents, the parent-child relationship and the sibling relationship (in those families where more than one child lives) are of particular concern within this research area. Specifically, the theory and research concerns would be to pinpoint those problematic relationship patterns among the family members that directly lead to poor or inadequate socialization for the child(ren) or youth which increases the probability for
juvenile delinquent involvement outside the home. Of particular importance to this problem of the family is how socialization of children and youth can buffer the many detrimental influences existing outside the family, in the community and neighborhood.

The second problematic area of the family and delinquency (the neglect and inadequacy of parents to exert control over the behavior of their children brought about by social forces) would primarily concentrate upon the structural aspects of the family unit and the stripping away of the functions and behavioral controls over the family members, particularly in the case of children and youth. This is seen to be very crucial for the nuclear family which is the predominant form of family structure within the United States and other urbanized and industrialized societies. Here, the nuclear family is viewed as being the product of social macro-level factors, specifically from the developmental processes of urbanization and industrialization (Toby, 1960). Through the effects of urbanization and industrialization, the nuclear family is seen to emerge and it is the minimal size possible; that is, a two-generational family containing the parents of one generation and their offspring.

The Nuclear and Extended Family Structures

In analyzing the structural arrangement of the family, it has been quite popular to compare the nuclear and extended familial types. The nuclear family unit has been structurally defined as the spouses of one generation living together by themselves or with their children, if they have any, at the same residential dwelling
place (Stark, 1975; Federico, 1975). In other words, the nuclear family contains only the mother, father, and any of their children and these familial members represent only two successive generations living at the same home. On the other hand, the extended family matrix is larger and more complex than the nuclear family (Kirkpatrick, 1963; Duvall, 1971; Clinard, 1974) while the extended family is more prevalent in the world today than the nuclear family (Stark, 1975). The extended family structure contains at least two and very often several nuclear type families. That is, the extended familial structure includes numerous nuclear family arrangements within it both intra-generationally and across many generations residing at the same locality.

The extended family with its more complex and elaborate network contains more members who are designated specialized functions (division of labor) within the familial unit, as compared to the nuclear type which is more limited in terms of size. In terms of childhood socialization, the extended family matrix has two very crucial characteristics:

1. The extended family unit has more distinct possibilities for intra-family social relationship patterns between the members across many generations than would be the case for the nuclear family. This is seen as being particularly important in terms of the multitude of family members across generations who are connected with the process of socialization and the social control of children and youth.

2. The extended family usually has more adults directly involved with the process of socialization and the close supervision
of the younger generations than the structurally smaller nuclear family. That is, within the extended family, more adults can be given the direct responsibility of overseeing the behavior of children and youth as compared to the nuclear family. This is seen as a definite advantage for the extended family unit in terms of imparting and reinforcing normative standards, relating with the younger members, and supervising and controlling the behavior of the children and youth (Stark, 1975; Clinard, 1974).

To some authors, the nuclear family unit has been viewed as a weakened form of familial living, particularly with respect to the functions of socialization and social control provided for children and youth. This has been seen in terms of the miniature structure of the nuclear family brought about by the processes in modern societies, especially urbanization and industrialization and the relinquishing of functions by the nuclear family over the years to other social institutions. One of the first theoretical works in the United States to assert that there were inherent weaknesses in the American nuclear family was that of Parsons and Bales (1955). They contended that the American nuclear family has relatively broken off from its kinship network and consequently given up many of the functions to other secondary social institutions. The nuclear family has lost many of its economic, religious, political, and educational (including socialization) functions which at one time were completely reserved for the family. From a comparative point of view, these authors saw the extended family of many folk type societies as much
more functional than the nuclear family matrix of contemporary America.

The Nuclear Family as a Product in an Urban, Industrialized Society

The usefulness of delinquency theory and research on parental ability to control their children in the nuclear family as a result of urbanization and industrialization is contingent upon the adaptive ability of the nuclear family to the problems of urbanization and industrialization. Parsons and Bales (1955) asserted that the extended family unit conflicts with the demands of the industrialized labor force which strongly values social mobility and achievement. The onset toward the development of industrialization leads to the obsolescence of the extended family arrangement which is founded primarily upon ascription, particularism, and diffuseness. According to Parsons and Bales (1955), the extended family has been viewed as outmoded and nonfunctional for people living in an advanced state of urbanization and industrialization, due to two very important reasons:

1. The basic foundation of the extended family is land ownership, especially agricultural property that is passed down from one generation to the next. This agricultural land serves the purpose of providing the major source for the extended family in terms of food and/or financial income. As a society becomes more industrialized and urbanized, there is a shifting from an agricultural base of the family endeavors to the working for other people in a shop
or factory type setting. It is the owning and working of the land which the extended family is founded primarily and not the close, emotional relationships between its members.

2. With the increase in organization and industrialization, there is a reduction of close or primary inter-relationship patterns between the societal members that had existed previously in the pre-industrial and pre-urban state. This places a greater need for their existence within the family setting as a result of urbanization and industrialization. Here, the extended family breaks down into nuclear units to fulfill the now ever-increasing need of close, emotional relationships among the societal members within an industrialized and urbanized society (Stark, 1975).

Due to the outmoded nature of the extended family structure within societies experiencing the onset and growth of industrialization and urbanization, the nuclear family has been seen to emerge with its greater compatibility with the broader society, the better fulfillment of economic functions, and the tremendous need for people to secure close, emotional relationships (Parsons & Bales, 1955; Stark, 1975). However, within this context, the nuclear family can be seen clearly as a strengthening adaptation of familial living in an industrialized and urbanized society. Here, the nuclear family is theoretically viewed as a dependent variable to the emerging pressures and forces which have emanated from the processes of urbanization and industrialization (Furstenburg, 1966).

The theorized causal relationship between the level of urbanization and industrialization and the degree of extendedness of the
familial unit has been seen to be inverse; that is, the lower the level of urbanization and industrialization, the higher the degree of family extendedness (Burr, 1973). Goode (1963) contended that this causal connection between urbanization and industrialization and familial extendedness is not a linear, but curvilinear since the effect of a high degree of urbanization and industrialization does not move beyond the nuclear family. That is, the processes of urbanization and industrialization effect the nuclear family by bringing about an independent kinship network.

This curvilinear relationship between urbanization and industrialization and family extendedness seen by Goode (1963) was later challenged by Winch and Blumberg (1968). These authors contended that urbanization and industrialization should be replaced with a single variable, societal complexity. This would provide a much better continuous and ordinal variable than urbanization and industrialization affords. Furthermore, they also felt that only by considering the degree of societal complexity can a curvilinear relationship between this independent variable (societal complexity) and the dependent one (family extendedness) be truly demonstrated.

The theoretical position of Parsons and Bales (1955) and others concerning the emergence and the relatively isolated nature of the nuclear family have been severely and astutely criticized by some family sociologists. Moreover, the empirical research in this area of study does not provide any support. Litwak (1960) and Sussman and Burchinal (1962) have discussed the varied kinds of kinship relations that still exist and are functional within an industrialized
and urbanized society like the United States. This would include such kinship relational activities as telephone conversations between kinship members, financial support from kinship members outside of the immediate nuclear family, and the visitations between relatives on holidays and other occasions.

Goode (1963a) has shown that the extended family arrangement in China and Japan has been compatible with the high degree of industrialization which also has been experienced by these two nations. For Japan, the emergence of the nuclear family values began before industrialization and to a degree these nuclear family values facilitated industrialization, rather than grew out of industrialization. The modern forms of familial living is accompanied by an ideology which may even appear before the actual new familial patterns emerge—the nuclear or conjugal family arrangement (Skolnick, 1973). Reiss (1976) has contended that the extended family was not very common in the United States at all; this was primarily caused by the rapid migration patterns into our society and prevented the development of the extended family arrangement. Furthermore, it is likely that the nuclear family which existed prior to American industrialization helped to encourage and facilitate both the onset and growth of industrialization, rather than being a causal product of it.

In reference to the nuclear family, Greenfield (1961) has pointed out that the predominant family structural arrangement in Barbados is nuclear and an extensiveness of both urbanization and industrialization is absent. The hypothesized causal connection between industrialization and the nuclear family seems to have very little basis
in terms of the nuclear family's birth and existence in modern societies from an historical analysis and the state of affairs within the world today. This has led Shultz (1972, p. 335) to conclude the following in concern with the supposed causal relationship between industrialization and the nuclear family: "The small nuclear family does not seem to be necessarily related to industrialized society." 

Empirical research has not supported the assertion that the nuclear family has, under urbanization and industrialization, become a relatively isolated kinship network. Shanas et al. (1968) and Shanas (1973) found in six countries (Denmark, England, United States, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Israel) that parents and their married children live in remarkably close proximity to one another. From one-half to three-fourths of the older generation are either living with their married children or within a ten-minute reach; the predominance existing in the latter, rather than the former. Visitations between the parents and their married children are very common as well. Approximately fifty per cent of the older generational parents reported seeing one of their grown children within the past twenty-four hour period and seventy-five per cent in the past week. A Detroit study discovered that around one-half of the people visit with their relatives once per week (Sharp and Axelrod, 1956) and studies in Los Angeles (Greer, 1956) and San Francisco (Bell & Boat, 1957) found similar results. All of the previous studies cited above found family relatives to be involved in more frequent social participation as compared to co-workers, neighbors, or friends. Sauer (1975) discovered that for white older Americans, a very crucial and important factor in "morale"
is close family ties.

The American nuclear family in urbanized and industrialized areas is very characteristic of mutual aid between its members and the overall kinship network. For example, Sussman (1959) found that it is quite common for family relatives to help each other and this mutual aid does take many different forms. However, financial aid usually travels a one-way street from parents to their grown children and not the other direction. This financial aid is most often extended between the parents and their offspring when the latter reaches the first years of marriage (Schorr, 1962). On the other hand, it was found that married children much more often aid their parents by providing residential quarters and other kinds of personal services for aged parents. Noneconomic mutual aid between American kinship members include quite commonly such activities as shopping, baby sitting, advice giving, temporary accommodations while moving, assisting in times of illness, and other general types of supportive activities. Seventy per cent of the Detroit Study wives reported that they exchanged in various types of mutual aid with family relatives (Sharp & Axelrod, 1956). A New Haven, Connecticut study found that seventy-nine per cent of middle-class parents readily extend aid to their married children (Sussman, 1953). In Cleveland, Ohio, fifty per cent of the sample members admitted to receiving aid from parents or siblings and ninety-three per cent reported that they provided some kind of aid to their parents and eighty per cent to their siblings (Sussman, 1959). It has been discovered that people turn to their relatives first in times of emergency (Sussman & Burchinal, 1962).
In view of the frequent social participation between American kinship members, one author has suggested that the term "modified extended family" would be much more accurate, rather than "isolated nuclear family" (Litwak, 1960). Furthermore, it is highly doubtful the extended family has ever existed in the United States with the same or even similar functional intensity that has occurred in smaller, folk type societies (Schultz, 1972). Additionally, it is most probably the processes of urbanization and industrialization isn't directly related in a causal manner to be emergence of the nuclear family existing in many parts of the world. As a matter of fact, it appears the nuclear family is more likely to have been causally linked to the development of urbanization and industrialization than the reverse (Harris, 1969). However, Edwards (1969) makes the firm conclusion in the following statement: It seems most reasonable to conclude at this point in the study of familial change that industrialization, urbanization, and the family are independent factors which frequently interact" (p. 18). At any rate, the position maintaining that the nuclear family is a direct result of modernization forces (specifically, urbanization and industrialization) is well commented upon by Schultz (1972): "The classical view of the emergence of the conjugal (nuclear) family as a result of industrialization is clearly untenable."

In assessing the relative merits of the two mechanistic familial problems for childhood and youth socialization and control (parental rejection and neglect leading to poor socialization of children and youth and parental inability to exert control over their children's
behavior within the nuclear family structure) and hence, the juvenile delinquency problem, Toby (1960) has stated the following: "Some evidence supports both mechanisms; research is needed to distinguish the more important one" (p. 302). However, as the previous discussion on the relationship between urbanization, industrialization, and the nuclear family clearly indicates, there are very serious doubts cast upon the nuclear family as being a direct product of these two macro-level social forces. In fact, there exists a substantial body of evidence to support that the nuclear family has its own relative independency.

So, therefore, this researcher has selected to explore the first mechanistic problem of the family (parental rejection and neglect leading to poor socialization of children and youth, and consequently, juvenile delinquency) offered by Toby (1960). That is, the development of an integrated theory and research focusing upon the social relationship patterns within the nuclear family, their importance for the effective socialization of children and youth, and juvenile delinquent behavior.

Even for those skeptics who still believe that the social forces of urbanization and industrialization have very serious implications for the nuclear family's structure and function, an exploration into the social relationship patterns of the family members of the nuclear familial unit can be justified upon the following premise. By lowering the level of analysis to the family unit, a social researcher can trace the possible effects of macro-level social forces like urbanization and industrialization on the individual. This is essentially the
procedure that was adopted by Thomas et al. (1974) in regards to family socialization and the adolescent and their rationale for this approach is captured in the following words:

If the macro-movement of modernization characterized by industrialization and urbanization results in increasing differentiation and pluralization of symbolic words, then this process needs to be studied through the intermediate level and on to the interpersonal behavior level, especially in the family. (p. 82)

This team of social researchers in their analysis directly transcends from the macro-level social forces (urbanization and industrialization) to the micro-level (socialization within the interior network of the nuclear family) with hope of other sociological researchers focusing upon the intermediate or non-family factors which could conceivable link it all together.

Family Inter-Relationship Patterns

Within the interior network of the nuclear family unit, there are three types of inter-relationship patterns between the members which could possibly have a direct bearing upon the socialization of children and youth. These three kinds of nuclear familial inter-relationship patterns are (a) the marital dyad or the marriage relationship between the husband and wife, (b) the parent-child dyad or the relationship between each of the parents and their offspring or children, and (c) the sibling dyad or the relationships between the offspring provided that more than one child is living within the nuclear family unit.
The Marriage Relationship Within the Nuclear Family

The marital relationship is important to the entire operation of the nuclear family. It is the marriage relationship upon which the whole nuclear family originated and is based. This provides a difference in comparison to the extended family, because for the extended family, there exists an overwhelming emphasis upon the parent-child relationship (Skolnick, 1973). In the nuclear family, the marital dyad is so important to the very existence and functional operation that this familial form is sometimes referred to synonymously as the conjugal family; here, the emphasis is placed upon the relationship between the marital partners (Leslie, 1967). However, marriage and family living within the nuclear or conjugal unit can be viewed as separate systems in a sense; the nuclear family is seen as not coming into existence until there is the birth of the first child. Prior to this event, there only exists a marriage between a male and female which is the heterosexual union of two (monogamy) or more (polygamy) adults (Martinson, 1970).

Parsons (1959) viewed American marriage as the structural foundation underlying our entire kinship network. That is, the young adults leave their families of orientation (the family where they were born and reared) to form their own immediate family which is spatially separate from their parents. Moreover, their loyalties shift from the family of orientation and its members (parents and siblings) to the affiliated occupants (their spouse and children) of the newly formed family. Additionally, the marital dyad is formed primarily
through the motive of "love" for the other marital partner and this becomes the main motivational force for the continued existence of the marriage (Parsons, 1959; Cavan, 1969). Upon this basis, the marriage before and after the formation of the nuclear family (at the time the first offspring or child arrives) greatly depends upon the close interaction between the marital partners and the emotional satisfaction that is received from the spouse.

The particular nature and quality of the marital dyad in the nuclear or conjugal family has important consequences for the development of children and youth, because the relationship between the parents is the very foundation upon which this familial form rests. It is very often assumed that the parents in our society should form a team for the purpose of effectively raising their children. Moreover, the child-rearing function is extremely difficult with the best marriages, but becomes even more burdensome when the marital relationship suffers from instability or breaks apart (LeMasters, 1970). When marital discord and friction is evidenced to varying degrees between the parents, the child's task of growing up is further burdened and intensified; the nuclear or conjugal familial environment becomes a hostile, threatening, frightening, disorienting, and confusing place for the child, particularly when open hostility is evidenced between the parents (Mahler & Rabinovitch, 1956). In addition, even subtle exchanges of hostility between the marital partners can be easily picked up by the children. Balswick and Macrides (1975) have found that youth rebellion is much stronger within those homes where parents are unhappy concerning their
marriage. These same authors (Balswick & Macrides, 1975) further state:

Parental unhappiness may produce frustrations in the youth, resulting in aggression expressed in the form of rebelling. Where parents are perceived as being unhappy in their marital relationship the child is likely to discount them as a desirable source of authority and may even see this as an opportunity to "conquer the divided". A child may find it much easier to justify a defiant attitude toward parents who have not shown themselves to be models of contentment, than he would if his parents were getting along well. (p. 409)

Marital unhappiness between the parents no doubt leads to a certain amount or level of verbal and/or physical aggression being exchanged by the parental figures. The significance of this for the child is the open display of aggression models within the family, possibly intended by the parents. One such modeling theory of aggression sees the child or teenager deriving aggression from their parents through imitation (Bandura & Walters, 1963). In the lives of children and youth, parents are important sources of information pertaining to the overall culture or society (the bearers of the content in the socialization process) and authority figures that can be utilized for emulation. LeMaster (1970) found that mothers and fathers often cited a "good" marriage as being the most important ingredient for success in parenthood. Moreover, Mahler and Rabinovitch (1956) discovered that unhappily married mothers encountered extreme difficulties in forming close relationships with their children. The primary purpose of the nuclear or conjugal family is to provide a situation where all members can experience close human relationships.
It should not come as a shock or surprise to anyone that the marital dyad of the husband and the wife is crucially important for the childrearing function, child development, and socialization and that the marital dyad is the most important relationship within the nuclear or conjugal family for the socialization of children and youth. First, it is the very foundation of this familial form and, second, the marital dyad has definite implications for the kind of family environment experienced by the child. Specifically, in regards to socialization, the nature and quality of the marital dyad has important influences upon the family environment which can facilitate or impede the process of socialization. This can occur in three different ways: (a) by the creation of a familial environment which is conducive or detrimental to the social learning and the internalization of normative standards imparted from the parents to the child or children; (b) by the provision of relative consensus between the parents in the eyes of the child or children, thus providing a consistency in regards to the specific content of the social learning and the socialization experiences with both parents—more definitely, the norms to be learned and internalized and the approved or disapproved behavior as set down from the parents; and (c) by the influence upon the nature and quality of the parent-child relationship(s) which is (are) vitally important for social learning and the normative internalization as well as the kinds of experiences with the parents directly in socialization.

In analyzing the nature and quality of the marital dyad, there have been several different theoretical approaches. One such manner
of conceptually viewing the nature and quality of the marital dyad is through the utilization of the terms "marital happiness" or "marital satisfaction". According to Burr (1973), "marital happiness and "marital satisfaction" are one in the same and they have been conceptually defined by family sociologists as the degree to which the participants within the marriage relationship feel that their desires are being met by the matrimonial union. Furthermore, "marital happiness" or "marital satisfaction" have been looked upon as existing on two different, but not totally exclusive ways: (a) One way is for the marital partners' sentiments about the degree that their desires have been met in regards to the marriage on the whole and (b) another is to focus on the spouses' feelings about the extent to which certain specific desires have been met by the marriage within particular areas such as sex or companionship. "Marital happiness" or "marital satisfaction" at either level have been viewed to exist on a continuum from high to low. Since "marital happiness" and "marital satisfaction" are conceptually the same, the further discussions concerning either concept will adopt the usage of only marital happiness.

The concept of marital happiness has received extensive criticism from sociologists concerned with marriage and the family in recent years. Rossi (1969) greatly questions the legitimacy and meaningfulness of marital happiness in its application to the analysis of marriage or any other life situation for that matter. In addition, he viewed marital happiness as being much too personal and subjective for the crude measuring instruments presently
available to social and behavioral scientists. In addition, Lively (1969) and Schvanveeldt (1966) contended that marital happiness actually refers to a state of an individual within the marriage and not to the marital interaction which is a process in occurrence between the dyadic partners. Here, these same authors saw the concept of marital happiness to be quite inapplicable to the analysis of marriage until it has been discovered whether or not marital happiness is a result of the interactional process between the husband and the wife; and this marital interactional process can be characterized and represented by a measure of happiness from the husband or the wife. For example, it is not really known whether a high degree of marital happiness for the husband is a result stemming directly from the attainment of his desires in the marital interaction with the wife; or is the product of a good golf score stroked earlier in the day or the closure of a big deal at the office last week. Furthermore, marital happiness as indicated on a questionnaire or an interview may only be representative of a given moment in the marriage, rather than an index of the affective sentiments concerning a particular area of the marriage over time or the total feelings about the duration of the entire marital relationship.

Another approach to the analysis of the marriage relationship between the husband and wife has involved the implementation of the concept known as "marital success". Burr (1976) conceptually defined "marital success" as the degree of attainment by an individual in marriage of their particular goals for the dyadic relationship. For those married people who attain more of their respective goals within
the marriage relationship, they are considered relatively more successful than those persons attaining less of them. Here, it must be kept in mind that the goals of an individual in marriage or even those shared by the marital couple can be unique to the participants within the marriage. That is, the goals are not necessarily those of the society, any socio-economic class, any social organization, a subculture, or any particular social unit; although some or all of the marital goals may be widely shared for the marriage situation. The goals of the individual spouse or those shared by the married couple for the marriage may not be very accurate or even at a conscious level of awareness, but, nevertheless, these goals exist and provide significant importance for each of the marital partners in one way or another.

The utilization of marital success for the purpose of analyzing the marriage dyad is as equally problematic as marital happiness. According to Lively (1969), the utilitarian value of marital success rests firmly upon the delineation of criteria that can be classified and ordinally ranked. This criteria may include such items as the marriage remaining intact, the birth of offspring, or the sharing of a residence or dwelling place all which are tangible factors in existence within a marriage and can be quantitatively measured. Along the same lines, other items could be added to the list such as the consumption of material goods, a high degree of domestic cleanliness, the ability to perform certain skills in valued activities pertaining to the marriage, and the raising of attractive children. All these items certainly could be marital goals for any couple and serve as a basis to evaluate marital success; however, any, one, several, or
all of these goals also could be personal ones outside the institution of marriage. The biggest difficulty connected with the concept of marital success is the determination of what really constitutes it (Benson, 1971).

Even if the specific nature and content of marital success could be agreed upon by the experts, this set of criteria or any other would more than likely evidence a social class bias and present grave difficulties in regards to the evaluation of marital success both across socio-economic lines or in making generalizations from one social class to another (Lively, 1969). It is extremely difficult to determine specifically what criteria is involved for marital success within one social class, far less being able to apply this judgment to married couples across socio-economic boundaries.

The identifiable criteria suggested previously presents an additional problem in utilizing marital success to evaluate the state of the marriage dyad. Marital success does not have the capacity to differentiate between the different gradations present in both successful and unsuccessful marriages (Lively, 1969). The concept of marital success, at least for the criteria stated above, seems at best to yield only a dichotomy--marital success and marital failure. So, marital success does not lend itself well to the analysis of the marriage dyad along a continuum, rather than within separate, distinct categories. It is the consensus of many marriage and family researchers that the marital dyad success should be viewed on a continuum, whether marriage is looked upon implicitly or explicitly. This is because of its dynamic nature and quality of the marriage
dyad which does not remain static and the meaning of both depends upon the individuals who are involved in their own respective marital relationship.

In relation to the concept of marital success, the marriage and family literature rarely defines it clearly, often making the assumption that there exists wide agreement as to its meaning and the criteria for evaluation (Lively, 1969). As a matter of fact, many important texts during the last decade on marriage and the family (Womble, 1966; Udry, 1966; Williamson, 1966; Leslie, 1967) treat marital success as if it were synonymous with marital happiness or marital satisfaction (both concepts discussed previously) and "marital adjustment" (the next concept to be discussed). A good many texts on marriage and the family in recent years have discussed these four concepts (marital happiness, marital satisfaction, marital success, and "marital adjustment") as one in the same which certainly leads to a state of confusion (Duberman, 1974). However, back in the 1960's, Kirkpatrick (1963) found from a multitude of different studies on the topic that marital happiness, marital satisfaction, and marital success are only those important areas among many within a marriage which leads to "marital adjustment". This author has discovered in researching the literature for this dissertation that many marriage and family writers seem to exclude a discussion on marital success, even those texts and articles written in the present decade. This seems to indicate that possibly these writers feel they are discussing marital success when dealing with marital happiness, marital satisfaction, or "marital adjustment". These last three concepts--
marital happiness, marital satisfaction and "marital adjustment"—are very popularly discussed within the professional literature on marriage and the family.

Interestingly enough, most of the research which has been conducted on marital success utilized marital happiness, marital satisfaction, or "marital adjustment" scales (Stinnett & Walters, 1977). This means that marital success has been largely measured by research instruments geared to measure marital happiness, satisfaction, or "adjustment" of individuals within the institution of marriage. Certainly, it becomes extremely questionable whether marital happiness, satisfaction, or "adjustment" are really the same or even similar phenomena (Duberman, 1974). So far within this discussion, we have seen that while marital happiness and marital satisfaction may be viewed as conceptually synonymous, both of these differ considerably from marital success. Later, it will become clear that marital happiness, marital satisfaction, and marital success can be included under the concept of "marital adjustment". Therefore, it seems very reasonable to conclude the following; the same or similar measuring device cannot provide an assessment of all these marriage concepts—marital happiness, marital satisfaction, marital success, and "marital adjustment"—when by definition there exists differences in the conceptual meaning and one measuring instrument has been geared to measure only a single concept. (This can be accomplished when marital happiness and marital satisfaction is the focus of the measuring device because of their synonymous nature or "marital adjustment" because of the broadness of this concept which will be seen later.)
The concept most used by marriage and family sociologists to characterize the nature and quality of the marriage dyad is "marital adjustment". According to Cavan (1969), the notion of "adjustment" within the social and behavioral sciences means the process by which human beings work out a satisfactory solution of their need states during life on various levels—physical, psychological, and social. To Cavan (1969), "marital adjustment" was conceptually defined as the process by which a married couple resolves together solutions to their physical, psychological, and social need states from within the dyadic relationship which are satisfactory solutions to each of the marriage partners respectively. Bernard (1964) similarly has looked upon "marital adjustment" as the process in which the marriage partners are able to make functional changes within the dyadic situation. To Saxton (1972), "marital adjustment" was the process of mutual need fulfillment and the resolution of conflict between the marriage participants. Locke (1968) and Burgess et al. (1963) viewed "marital adjustment" as the spouses adaptation to each other in a particular manner for the purposes of conflict avoidance or the sufficient resolution of a present conflict and both marriage mates feel satisfied with the other one and the marriage itself. For the purposes of this dissertation, "marital adjustment" is conceptually defined as the degree to which the marriage partners have adapted to one another and the marriage situation and feel satisfied with these changes individually.

The specific dimensions of marital adjustment or any other human interpersonal adjustment for that matter have been nicely delineated
by Bernard (1964). These specific dimensions are the following:
(a) the nature and degree of the differences which exist between the
individuals involved within the specific relationship, (b) the nature
and degree of the communication that exists between the involved par-
ties, and (c) the specific quality of the interpersonal relationship
in regards to positive or negative affectivity on the part of the
individuals within the relationship and the existence of friendliness
or hostility toward the other relationship partner.

In regards to the marriage dyad, the concept of marital adjust-
ment affords for an analysis some advantages that seem to be lacking
with others, namely marital happiness, marital satisfaction, and mari-
tal success. First, marital adjustment is not an either-or concept,
yielding only a dichotomy in which to analyze the marriage dyad;
marital adjustment does fit readily on a continuum which is the popu-
larly recommended way that family sociologists have for the analysis
of the marriage, existing between husbands and wives (Bell, 1967).

Second, marital adjustment does seem to include more of the total
range in the marriage relationship which is not the case with any
of the other concepts such as marital happiness, marital satisfaction,
or marital success. These are more specialized concepts geared to
analyze a particular aspect of the marriage dyad at best (Burk, 1976).
Third, marital adjustment can be utilized to provide reference to the
continuing development of the marriage relationship which exists be-
tween the nuptial partners. A major pitfall of the other concepts
(particularly, marital happiness or marital satisfaction) seems to be
their moment or static quality; that is, the analysis of the subjective
feelings existing within each of the marriage participants at a given temporal point with the exclusion of the processional changes over the duration of the dyadic relationship (Lively, 1969). And fourth, the interactional dynamics between the husband and wife is the focal point of concern for the concept of marital adjustment, rather than the individual, subjective feelings about the marriage partner and situation only which is the focus of attention for marital happiness or marital satisfaction. Marital success focuses in primarily on the individual, subjective feelings in regards to the desires or goals for the marriage and the spouse (Burr, 1976). This last advantage afforded by the utilization of marital adjustment is crucially important, because Bernard (1964) found that husbands and wives seem first to adapt to each other and then to the marriage situation and the social roles involved.

The concept of marital adjustment does have its drawbacks as Lively (1969) has pointed out. This author maintained that the whole notion of marital adjustment has two major problems which have accompanied the concept through its utilization derived mainly from the connotative meanings of the concept. First, very often marital adjustment has been interpreted as if there exists various levels or stages of progressive development within the marriage and these levels or stages can be reached through some kind of appropriate action by the marriage couple. With this interpretation of marital adjustment, there really exists a twofold problem: (a) The researcher has a difficult time assessing the present level of marital adjustment with the emphasis being on continuity because, when the action is
stopped for analytical purposes the focus now shifts to discontinuity and a static situation is often assumed; and (b) the assumption is often made that there exists some terminal point whereby marital adjustment can be maximally attained within a given marriage relationship and the most ideal marriage now has become a reality. Lively (1969) does concede that it is entirely possible to look upon marriage as a series of points on a continuum where each point represents a particular level of adjustment. However, this author also feels that this does beg the question concerning the continuity existing from one point to the next upon the continuum. As Lively (1969, pp. 111-112) states: "Certainly the family as a 'unity of interacting personalities' is not indicated by measuring a given point in time inasmuch as each new moment necessitates changes in the interaction."

Second, it has been connotatively interpreted from the concept of marital adjustment that the periods of adjustment within a marriage are clear and distinct. According to Lively (1969), this usually is not the case and the periods of adjustment seem to lack clear and definite lines of demarcation. Also, there may be an overlapping between two periods of adjustment, thus blurring the boundary lines where one ends and the other begins.

So, in the analysis of the marriage dyad between the husband and the wife, marital adjustment appears to be the best concept in current usage to apply. Marital adjustment as a measure possesses the capacity to provide a more total or encompassing assessment of the marriage with the emphasis being upon the interactional dynamics
in existence between the dyadic partners; although the focus in interactional primarily, the concept of marital adjustment does not completely neglect the individual participant within the nuptial union in regards to the personal, subjective feelings held toward the spouse, the marriage situation itself, or the social role involvement. Additionally, marital adjustment lends itself quite easily to analyzing the marriage dyad upon a continuum which seems to capture much more of the reality in married life than a dichotomy. Therefore, with all these advantages afforded by the concept of marital adjustment, this is the concept that will be incorporated for the purpose of theoretically analyzing the marriage dyad. It is expected that the apparent drawbacks in the previous utilization of marital adjustment, as discussed here, will not seriously hamper its usage presently; this is because marital adjustment will be confined within this dissertation to only an evaluation and assessment of the past state between the marital participants with none of the connotative interpretations which have been in some cases drawn before and weakened the concept.

The Parent-Child Relationship Within the Nuclear Familial Environment

The second type of familial relationship that can have a direct bearing upon childrearing and socialization is the parent-child relationship. It certainly seems apparent that the nature and quality of the marriage dyad does have important theoretical implications for the kind of consequent relationships which are established with the
child or children. Poor adjustment maritally on the part of one or both parents, leading to an unhappiness state within the marriage, appears to predispose the parent(s) to the formation of poor or inadequate relationships with their offspring. That is, the nature and quality of the marriage dyad (the degree of marital adjustment) seems to influence to some degree, at least, the eventual relationships which will occur with the child or children. (See previous discussion pertaining to the marriage dyad and its implications for the parent-child relationship). The actual or true extent of the dependency that the parent-child relationship has, in regards to the state of the marriage dyad, is not completely known. However, it does seem quite evident that the parent-child relationship is partially dependent upon the degree of marital adjustment existing between the parents. The marriage dyad's importance for the subsequent formation of the parent-child relationship, socialization, and juvenile delinquency will be an issue to be explored directly by this study. A close personal relationship between the parent and child, which can facilitate the process of socialization, is certainly possible even when poor marital adjustment is evidenced between the parents. Also, a poor parent-child relationship for parents who are maritally well adjusted to each other is another possibility.

According to Stinnett and Walters (1977), a child's social learning and development is crucially dependent upon the nature and quality of the relationships experienced with the parents. Furthermore, it is argued that the nature and quality of the parent-child relationship directly influences the attitudes developed by the child toward their
interpersonal relations. For a small child where behavior copying or imitation is an initial and important stage in the process of socialization, Bandura and Walters (1963) found the copying or imitating behavior occurs more frequently when positive relationships exist between the adult models and the children. Furthermore, when an adult is attempting tosocially educate a child in something of importance for the child's basic orientation or future social functioning, the present theory and research lends support to the following conclusion: with all other things being equal, a positive, warm relationship between the socializer and the person being socialized will have greater effectiveness for almost every social learning situation, except where avoidance responses are being taught (Clausen, 1968).

The relationship existing between the parent and child has a direct bearing upon the degree of fulfillment experienced by the child in regards to the basic emotional needs; these basic emotional needs are more specifically love, security, acceptance, trust, self concept, and freedom. In surveying more than two hundred research studies conducted during the 1960's on parent-child relationships, Stinnett and Walters (1971) concluded that the parent-child relationship is crucially important for effective childrearing and socialization of children and youth. They further cite specific dimensional areas of the parent-child relationship that are significantly important such as parental commitment, parental supportiveness, acceptance, warmth, and love. Furthermore, Williams and Stith (1974) have discovered that the specific childrearing practices or techniques
utilized by parents are of much less significance to effective social learning than the nature and quality of the existing relationships between the parents and the child or children. In the case of adolescent socialization and family, Thomas et al. (1974), found that effective socialization evidenced by conforming behavior of adolescents is not accomplished through a high degree of parental control only; but the most important single variable leading to effective socialization is the affectional support provided by the parents for the adolescent.

Within the United States, there exists the belief that the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the parent-child relationship are more important for the mother than the father. The American male is conditioned to the idea that he has mainly an instrumental role in regards to the family and parenthood; that is, being the "breadwinner" (Williamson, 1972). Furthermore, the mother is viewed as the most important person in a child's life in regards to childcare, childrearing, and socialization. While it is certainly true that the mother has a more important and paramount role for the offspring in infancy, the father becomes crucially important for the effective childrearing and socialization in post-infancy. Friedman (1964) found the father-child relationship to be just as crucial as the mother-child to the offspring's socialization or social development. He discovered that the child's realization of the father understanding his or her behavior is of importance to the father-child relationship. However, Toby (1966) found that boys growing up in a home where it is relatively easier for the male child to identify with
the father figure are less likely to behave violently; with other things being equal, the father who provides a readily accessible figure by spending time with his son and being younger in age seems to lead to less violent behavior on the part of the male juvenile.

According to Bell (1967), most textbooks about the familial environment assumes that two parents are needed with positive relationships in regards to their children for effective socialization to take place. However, their mere presence and interaction with the children do not guarantee the effectiveness of socialization. Bell (1967) has stated the following in regards to parent-child relationships:

It seems highly probable that the most favorable family socialization occurs for children when they do have a positive and ongoing relationship with both their parents, but simply having both parents present and actively interacting with their children does not necessarily lead to positive patterns of parent-child relationships. (p. 419)

In the American culture, the child perceives the mother as being more directly connected to the family and parenthood than the father. The mother's role is much more directly centered within the family and the relationships with her children (Parsons & Bales, 1955). This is largely because of the mother's greater direct connections with the family and parenthood. As a result, Kagen (1958) found that mothers, as compared to fathers, were perceived by their children as less punitive, less controlling, less threatening, and more friendly. Here, it seems the greater presence of the mother in the home, allowing for a better quality relationship with her children, definitely influences the ways the children come to view her as
compared to the more transient father. In the American "middle class" where the fathers tend to be removed from the home the most, Winch (1952) is inclined to suggest that the mother is the preferred parent by the children, the male child is the preferred offspring of the more present mother, and the mother-son relationship is the strongest of all the possible parent-child attachments. Empirical evidence, however, suggests that this last statement made by Winch (1952) is largely incorrect. Within the family, the evidence clearly shows the mother to be a major influence upon the male and female child almost equally indicating little preference by mothers according to the sex of the child (Bell, 1967).

The parent-child relationship formed with the offspring in early childhood seems to carry over to the later childhood and adolescent years. Research studies on the manner that mothers treat their babies during infancy discovered this to relate significantly to the way the children are treated when they grow older (Hurlock, 1964). Moreover, the changes occurring in regards to the parental treatment of their children are quantitative, rather than qualitative and this extends into the adolescent years as well; that is, parents who are indulging tend to become more indulgent with their children and rejecting parents tend to become more a source of rejection to their offspring as time advances.

For many years the child has been viewed as a passive recipient of experiences occurring from within the familial environment and particularly, those connected with the parents directly from the parent-child relationship. However, in recent years the professional
assessment of the child's passiveness has changed, thus bringing about a new family interaction concept. Here, the child is seen more as an active participant in the familial environment and a source of influence upon the parents as well as vice-versa (Klemer & Smith, 1975). The empirical evidence supports this new family interaction concept and specifically, it has importance to the active influence that the child has upon the parents and the parent-child relationship. The child's influence upon the parents has been found to actually stem back to infancy. Wimberger (1965) has cited cases where the mother had anticipated a warm, cuddly infant, but instead gave birth to a nervous, tense baby. These babies seemed to resist the attentions provided by their mothers, thus provoking the mothers toward resentment. This situation, in turn, seems to have an effect upon the entire family, including the husband, through the mother's resentment. It has also been found that "difficult" babies seem to create more stressful patterns within the same parents than "easy" babies (Kysar, 1968). Chess et al. (1965) have reported that the behavior problems of children many times result from the interaction of the child's temperament with the familial environment. These authors defined temperament as the behavioral style of the individual—specifically, the characteristic tempo or pace, the energy expended, the mood, the focus, and rhythmicity. The temperament of any person makes reference to the "how" of behavior, rather than to the "what" or "why". At any rate, the infants not sleeping regularly, having irregular feeding patterns, not accepting new foods with relative ease, requiring long adjustment periods for new routines, or
going through frequent periods of crying and laughing were considered
to be "difficult" babies to their mothers; these infants tended to
cause resentful reactions from their mothers for the difficult times
they were experiencing. Chess et al. (1965) also found that in later
childhood the "slow-to-warm-up" child seemed to influence the other
members of the family, including the mother and father.

The time has passed where the child (even, the infant) is looked
upon as being only an object within the familial environment; now
the child is viewed as an actor as well as an object in the family
who definitely influences change within this intimate environment and
the parent-child relationships. However, it must be kept in mind that
the most difficult child in regards to the care and/or the formation
of parent-child relationships is an immature human being who requires
patience, understanding, and charge from the more mature parents.

The Sibling Relationship in the Nuclear Family

Finally, the third inter-relationship within the nuclear family
that can have a direct impact upon the socialization process is the
sibling relationship(s), provided a situation exists where two or
more children reside within the same home. Of the three familial
inter-relationship patterns existing within the nuclear family (the
marriage dyad, the parent-child pairing, and the sibling couplement),
the sibling relationship is the least theoretically developed and
empirically researched in regards to the influence upon socialization
effectiveness of children and youth. Even though the sibling rela-
tionship undoubtedly has some direct impact upon the family
environment, the parent-child relationships, and the marriage dyad between the parents (Klemer & Smith, 1975), the sibling relationship is probably the least consequential of all the family interactional patterns for socialization effectiveness and delinquent behavior. The Gluecks (1950) and others in studying juvenile delinquency and the family have found that the sibling relationship is of relatively lesser importance as compared to the others—principally, the marriage and the parent-child relationships. Therefore, the focus of this dissertation in theory and research will concentrate upon the marital and the parent-child relation patterns and their significance for socialization effectiveness and juvenile delinquency of children and youth.

**Summary**

Specifically, the problem can be briefly summarized in the following manner. The nature and quality of the familial inter-relationship patterns within the nuclear family unit have direct and differential influences upon the socialization effectiveness of the children and youth. That is, the kinds of relationship patterns in existence between the family members serve to impede or facilitate the norm-sending process from parents to their child or children. The specific inter-relationships existing among the nuclear family members vary in regards to the direct influences that they have upon the socialization effectiveness of the young familial members.

Of paramount importance to the nuclear family and the socialization process of children and youth, is the marriage relationship
between the parents. This is because the marriage dyadic relationship is the basic foundation of the nuclear family arrangement and its nature and quality creates the kind of stability which will exist within the familial environment. Depending upon the state of the marriage dyad between the parents, the socialization of children and youth within the nuclear family is promoted or short-circuited.

The mechanisms by which the degree of marital adjustment between the parents directly influences the socialization effectiveness of children and youth are:

1. By creating the kind of familial environment which is conducive or detracts from social learning and the internalizing of those normative standards imparted from the parents to their offspring. Children and youth need a relatively stable, harmonious, and friendly environment to interpret, understand, and accept on an internal level the normative teachings of their parents.

2. By providing a high degree of consensus between the parents in regards to the specific content of the normative standards to impart and the subsequent evaluation of their children's behavior as being acceptable or not in light of those normative teachings communicated. For socialization effectiveness to be maximized, the two parental authority figures need to present a unified stand to their children and handle them with a high degree of consistency concerning the content of the social norms to be learned and the behavioral evaluations that follow. A high degree of marital adjustment between the parents allows them to be much closer together, in order to agree upon the socialization content for their children and the later
evaluation of the behavioral acts. This situation provides a togetherness on the part of the parents in the eyes of the children, thus promoting greater effectiveness of the socialization process.

3. By permitting parents to feel relatively happy with their marriage and familial environment, so that they can find it much easier to form close, warm relationships with their children. It is through the parent-child relationship and the development of affectational ties and positive feelings between the parents and the child that makes the process of socialization salient to the recipients. A close, warm relationship pattern between the parent and child with positive affectional feeling for each other helps the child to accept the normative standards, internalize them, and feel a commitment to follow these behavioral guidelines. When parents experience severe marital adjustment problems, this can lead to a state of unhappiness for them in the family situation and make it much more difficult to relate effectively with their children. In addition, poor marital adjustment usually manifests into frequent arguing and bickering between the parents; thus, the two parental figures present themselves to their children as cold, frightening, and negative objects for attachment.

Here, theoretically, of almost equal importance to the marital relationship between the parents for familial socialization, is the parent-child relationship. However, whether or not the parent-child relationship is dependent upon the marital relationship and the degree of this dependedness is not empirically known at this time. This is an important theoretical question and is cogent to the
problem presented here. It does seem reasonable in light of the evidence available to conclude that the parent-child relationship is substantially dependent upon the state of the marriage dyad. This researcher hopes the subsequent study can cast considerably more light upon the relationship between the state of the marital dyad and the parent-child relationship within the nuclear family.

When children and youth are poorly socialized as a direct result of inadequate relationships within the nuclear family (particularly, the marital and parent-child relationships), young people have become predisposed to the involvement of unacceptable behavior to others, the community, and the society. That is, children and youth are now vulnerably exposed to whatever deleterious, precipitating forces which may exist outside of the familial environment at various societal levels and can lead them into norm-violating behavior; this includes those behavioral acts on the part of children and youth that is a violation of existing legal ordinances and statutes or the problem of juvenile delinquency. A poorly socialized juvenile venturing out from the family can be easily influenced by extra-familial social forces which can emanate from all societal levels—the macro, intermediate, and micro social levels. Here, of particular significance, would be such social forces as urbanization and industrialization from the macro-social level, poverty and bad neighborhoods from the intermediate level, and delinquent peers and gangs from the micro-social level. Poor socialization allows for these negative social forces to have an impact upon children and youth and engage in norm-violating behavior, including delinquent acts. Due to the inadequate
developments of inner controls, poorly socialized children and youth are unable or find difficulty in effectively mediating these deleterious social forces and behaviorally act in the ways that are socially conforming.

Poor family socialization of children and youth also leads to another crucial problem outside of the home. A poorly socialized child is predisposed to the possible effectiveness of other social institutions like the school, church, and recreational agencies which are supposed to support the family socialization that has taken place and further continue the socialization process. The poorly socialized child who has "turned off" the parents as authority figures because of inadequate familial relationships will not readily accept other authoritative people outside of the home. There is a generalizing by children and youth to other adults based upon the kinds of experience with the parents. Thusly, the children and youth in most need of proper socialization experiences at school, church, recreation, and the like are probably the most difficult to approach, unwilling to fit into a group setting, and not accepting of the people in charge as authority figures.
CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Before presenting the relevant literature on the problem that has been extensively discussed in Chapter II, the problem will be briefly summarized. In short, the problem is to test the theoretical assumption that juvenile delinquency is the consequence of ineffective socialization. Such a socialization failure is seen to be the result of poor or inadequate marital and parent-child relationships within the nuclear family. Such relationships could predispose youngsters to the violation of social norms, including the commission of juvenile delinquent acts. Quite possibly, as a result of poor family socialization, these young people may be differentially exposed to delinquent influences in the community or neighborhood that exist outside of the family environment. Thus, poorly socialized youth may be vulnerably exposed to the negative social forces such as poverty and bad neighborhoods, delinquent peers and juvenile gangs, and the like which can act to precipitate delinquent behavior. Furthermore, not only may poor socialization leave young persons exposed to deleterious social forces existent in the community or neighborhood, but it could also increase the difficulty that other social institutions have to continue and further the socialization process. In other words, the family may be seen to begin the socialization failure which can lead to additional socialization ineffectiveness by the school, church, recreation, and other social institutions.
that are supposed to perform the socialization function.

The literature on the family environment and family relationships is quite extensive. Here, the focus and emphasis will be on the available empirical research on the relationship patterns of the family members (specifically, the marital and parent-child relationships), socialization, and juvenile delinquent behavior. At this point, it should be noted that no previous research has specifically or systematically integrated work on family relationships, socialization, and delinquency. Additionally, some of the studies have only looked at the family and delinquency as part of the over-all work.

The decade of the 1930's was very significant for family research and juvenile delinquency. Prior to this time, empirical research has focused primarily upon the individual delinquent without attention to the familial environment or the other family members to which the delinquent had been exposed. During the decade of the 1930's, the focus began to change with a consideration of not only the delinquent offender, but the family as well.

The first of these studies was conducted by Healy and Bronner (1936) and although not earth shaking in results, it marked a milestone in delinquency research in the United States, because of the focus of concentration being upon the families of the delinquent boys included in the sample of delinquent and nondelinquent males from Boston, New Haven, and Detroit. The authors concluded from their results that there was a direct relationship between the familial environment and delinquent behavior. Healy and Bronner (1936) discovered that some ninety-one per cent of the delinquents
were very unhappy and upset over their life circumstances within the family or disturbed because of emotion provoking incidents at home. In the nondelinquent sample, utilized as a control group, only thirteen per cent reported inner stresses as a result of their familial environment.

This study was only able to partially correlate marital disharmony and friction as leading to a poor family environment for the delinquents. Over one-third of the paired delinquents came from families in which marital maladjustments had been found to exist between the parents. In contrast to the delinquent sample, the nondelinquent families seemed to show a greater tendency toward marital adjustment of the parents.

The most severe criticism directed toward the Healy and Bronner Study is in the area of sample selection. This study utilized a delinquent sample chosen from the courts and it could very well be not representative of the over-all delinquent population. Moreover, those male delinquents who are turned over to the courts by the police and other agencies could be biased in the sense that the males committing offenses and caught from "good" families are released back to the parents. If this is the case, the family environment results of the study is biased in favor of the nondelinquent control group.

In the late 1930's, the second family study was conducted by the Gluecks (1950) in comparing delinquent and nondelinquent boys and their families as Healy and Bronner (1936) had done. The Gleucks (1950) endeavored to seek more information in regards to the family relationship patterns and juvenile delinquency. In
total, the entire sample was chosen from the City of Boston and it included the matching of five-hundred delinquents to the same number of nondelinquents. The delinquent sample came from the Lyman School for Boys, a correctional institution operated by the State located in Westboro, Massachusetts. These researchers utilized the Boston Public School System for the nondelinquent sample.

For each boy included in the sample, the family was studied in order to determine the nature and quality of the familial environment suspected to be a vital area in the boys' life. The data secured on the family came from personal interviews with the parents, securing pertinent information from social work agencies, and obtaining relative material from the peno-correctional agencies. In addition, the boys were interviewed and the Rorshach Test (a psychological projective instrument) was administered in order to determine their psychological make-up, attitude, etc.

The results of this study further supports the previous findings of Healy and Bronner (1936) as to the importance of the family relationships (the marital and the parent-child inter-relationship patterns) and juvenile delinquency. Specifically, the greater proportion of the delinquent boys came from family environments which evidenced marital disharmony between the parents. The Gluecks (1950) pointed out that a much greater proportion of the families having delinquent boys showed marital breaks as compared to those families of the nondelinquents. In terms of the complexity of the problem at hand, the increasing delinquency found could be the result of the marital maladjustment on the part of the parents or a result of
the stresses and strains produced after the actual physical break in
the marital relationship or a combination of both.

As far as family cohesiveness (the emotional closeness of the
familial members) is concerned, the Gluecks (1950) found a much
higher proportion of incohesive families (more distant relationships)
among the delinquent sample as compared to the nondelinquent control
group. Moreover, the researchers discovered that the families of the
delinquents seemed to evidence a general lack of respect between the
members. Family cohesiveness and the members respect for one another
could very well be contingent upon the examples provided by the par-
ents in their marital relationship which can set the tone for all the
family members. The emotional relationship between the parents in
clear view of the children within the home most likely helps to es-

tablish the patterns of human interaction between the familial mem-
ers and the degree of togetherness of the entire family.

The Gluecks' (1950) study appears to more closely relate marital
maladjustment and delinquent behavior than the Healy and Bronner
(1936) one. However, the Gluecks' (1950) methodology must be simi-
larly criticized for the utilization of a delinquent sample as was
the case with Healy and Bronner (1936). The Gluecks' (1950) selec-
tion of a delinquent sample can be questioned even more than Healy
and Bronner (1936), because they used an institutional one. After a
juvenile is adjudicated in the court and found guilty, one of the
major reasons that could lead to a decision to institutionalize
could very well be a poor familial environment. Juvenile court
judges do not like to remove a youth from the family, unless the court
feels that the parents and the family environment will be detrimental to the child's well-being and future law-abiding behavior.

Even with the results of the Healy and Bronner (1936) and the Gluecks (1950) with respect to the family environment and delinquency, the issue of the quality of familial relationships, the family environment, and delinquent behavior is still very much clouded. This is because of possible intervention by additional factors that could be at work here, emanating from both outside and inside the nuclear family. The utilization of delinquent samples by both studies does not adequately differentiate between the delinquents and nondelinquents, in regards to the quality of the familial environment. This problem can be further clarified and illuminated by dispensing with the utilization of delinquent samples and investigating the "normal" samples of children and youth in reference to their familial life and delinquent behavior. This research would include samples of children and youth from the "normal" population and different quality states of the family environment.

F. Ivan Nye (1957) conducted a study on childhood adjustment in the physically broken home as compared to the unhappy, physically unbroken family situation. He also included the happy, physically unbroken home for comparative purposes to the other two family states. The study was conducted in three large cities or urban areas located in a single western state. The sample included both boys and girls from the physically broken home which includes separation or divorce of the parents or the death of one parent. In addition, Nye (1957) included male and female youngsters from the physically intact family.
In terms of defining an unhappy, unbroken home, Nye (1957) felt that it had to satisfy two general characteristics: (a) it exemplified the worst possible adjustment by a computed score based upon the frequency of parental arguments, the attempted domination by each of the parents, a lack of mutual activities and interests on the part of the parents, and an over-all happiness judgement made by the children concerning their parents; and (b) if the family was classified as being an unhappy home, this family was reexamined and only considered unhappy based upon the marital conflict as indicated by those characteristics previously mentioned above and was so indicated by the child as being unhappy.

The adjustment measurement of the children was accomplished by administering an anonymous questionnaire within the classrooms of the public schools. The random sampling technique used was to test at the twenty-five per cent regular interval within the official files of the schools (three public high schools were utilized for sampling purposes). In other words, the researcher selected from the student records every fourth pupil, thereby providing the youths for the study and their families. Nye (1957) also administered a deviance questionnaire to the school sample members and provided them with anonymity. As far as the deviance questionnaire is concerned, he points out that it contained trapping and interlocking questions to test for honesty in their responses. The family environment of each sample member was then rated on the characteristics previously discussed above.

Nye (1958) found that the two groups of children from the happy,
unbroken home and the unhappy, unbroken home differed significantly in the area of delinquency. There was not a significant difference between the children coming from an unhappy, intact family environment and the ones tested from the physically broken home; this latter group was assumed to be unhappy or previously unhappy when the parents lived together in the same household (Nye, 1957, 1958). This finding would lead us to believe that whether a family is physically broken or not does not alone make a great deal of difference in regards to juvenile delinquency. In the physically broken home, it is the lack of marital adjustment in the cases of separation, and divorce which led to the physical break in the family that appears to be of importance here for delinquent behavior. The common denominator between the unhappy, intact home and the physically broken home is a poor marital relationship between the parents.

Looking at the parent-child relationship, Nye (1958) found that among the unhappy, unbroken group, the parent-child relationships were poor as compared to those included in the sample drawn from the happy, unbroken home. However, in comparing the unhappy, unbroken home to the physically broken family, Nye (1957, 1958) found evidence to support the notion that within the physically broken home where the children are now living with their mother, a better parent-child relationship exists. However, the size of the sample is too small to test for significance in those cases where the children were living with the fathers. Also, the study results have shown a better parent-child relationship where the mother has remarried and a step father is involved.
This has led Nye (1957, 1958) to basically conclude that the problem of childhood adjustment and delinquency stems from the marital conflict and tension between the parents involved in a poor marriage, creating an unstable family environment for the children and directly effecting the quality of the parent-child relationships. After the parents separate, the absence of the marital conflict and tension now seems to allow for a greater stability within the present family environment and a closer relationship with the one remaining parent (especially, if this one remaining parent is the mother) or in the cases of remarriage and a step parent enters the scene. Incidentally, Nye (1957, 1958) has found no significant difference between the physically broken home and childhood adjustment comparing those physically broken homes occurring from divorce and separation of the parents to those where structural breaks exist for other reasons, such as the death of one parent.

In spite of this finding, Wilkinson (1974) has called for a reexamination and further research of the physically broken home and juvenile delinquency based upon a contamination of the data. Here, she has meant that the previous research has not differentiated between the physically broken homes on the basis of desertion, separation, and divorce (indicating a poor marriage had existed between the parents) and the death of one parent (where a good marriage may have existed). Where this is true with a good many studies on the physically broken home and delinquency (Burt, 1925; Weeks & Smith, 1939; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Glueck & Glueck, 1950; Monahan, 1957), it is not the case with the Nye Study (1957, 1958).
The research by Nye (1957, 1958) further substantiates the findings of the previous two studies by Healy and Bronner (1936) and Glueck and Glueck (1950). Even though this study was conducted by using samples drawn from the "normal" population, Nye (1957) warns against the generalizing of the findings to the general population in American society. He has pointed out that because this study was done in a Western State and urbanized centers, the forming of broad, generalized conclusions should be avoided.

Browning (1960) in studying the legally and psychologically broken homes (this latter being where marital disharmony exists between the parents, but they are still living together) in Los Angeles has basically concluded the same as Nye (1957, 1958). That is, the physically broken home does provide a very poor indicator of family disorganization and other familial characteristics that are known to be associated with deviant behavior. According to Browning (1960), a closer investigation of the inter-relationships, adjustment, and the internal mechanisms of the family can provide considerable meaning upon the problem of deviant behavior among children and youth.

The results of several studies by McCord and McCord (1959) have shown that the familial environment evidencing marital conflict and parental negligence can be associated with juvenile delinquency. The actual physical structure of the family cannot be associated very closely with delinquent behavior. In terms of the methodological approach utilized by these researchers (McCord & McCord, 1959), it was to study young males and their families and then, in subsequent years to follow-up each of the sample members for the purpose of
determining if delinquent involvement had taken place.

In a study conducted by Slocum and Stone (1963) within the State of Washington, they found that the delinquent children significantly differed from the nondelinquent in terms of the family environment. The most outstanding differential characteristic of the two groups was the poor adjustment maritally on the part of the parents belonging to the delinquent youth. They also discovered that the factor of marital adjustment of the parents is of more significance in regards to the males than for females. This could be true because the female child is not as peer oriented as the male and girls usually are not interacting outside the family to the same frequency as boys in our society. Female children and youth tend to remain closer to home or spend more time within the family than male younsters. Therefore, males find themselves in a position where peers have a greater influence and there exists more of an opportunity for them to engage in delinquent activities outside the familial environment within the community.

The impact of the peer influence upon the child or youth will greatly depend on the nature and quality of the familial environment, specifically the degree of marital adjustment between the parents which largely determines the atmosphere of the home environment, the parent-child relationships, and the socialization effectiveness. When the family environment evidences instability from inadequate inter-relationships between the members (the most significant being the marital and parent-child relationships), poor socialization occurs predisposing children and youth to the delinquent influences
of peers, if they are existent in the community. Poor socialization leaves children and youth without the inner controls necessary to thwart off the delinquent inducements provided by peers, if and when they are exposed to them outside of the family.

Methodologically, Slocum and Stone (1963) utilized the self-report questionnaire of delinquent involvement. In addition, the family environment was rated by the youths in terms of their perceptions concerning the marital relationships of the parents. The origin of the research sample was the public school system.

Jaffe (1963), in studying boys in the City of Cleveland and suburbs across racial and economic lines, found that one of the most contributing factors to juvenile delinquency is what this author refers to as "family anomie" or a lack of consensus or conflict existing between the two parental figures in the home. To Jaffe (1963), "family anomie" is a state of confusion in regards to values and norms. This state of confusion, according to the findings derived in the study, is one of the leading contributors to delinquent proneness. Dentler and Monroe (1961) found similar results in comparing the quality of relationship patterns of adolescents and their families. This latter study was conducted exclusively in regards to youth and crimes of theft.

Several studies have been conducted in order to determine the effects the marital relationship has on the subsequent parent-child relationships in the home. The assumption has been that with the confusion and turmoil existing between the parents in the familial environment, it is extremely difficult for the father and mother to
form adequate relationships with their offspring. The Gluecks (1950) found that the delinquent, institutionalized males evidenced extremely poor relationships with their parents, but these poor relationship patterns were more significant in regards to the father than the mother. Andry (1957), in studying delinquent males as compared to schoolboys in London, England, discovered similar results.

Likewise, Hirschi (1969) found the closeness of "parental attachments" with their children is related to the ease by which children accept parental values (assumed to be anti-criminal) and strong "parental attachments" are related to low delinquency involvement. Additionally, he found this to be the case across rural and urban areas, of similar significance to both parents, but more important for males than females. A replication study conducted by Hindelang (1973) on "parental attachments" and delinquency found very similar results to that of Hirschi (1969).

Weinberg (1958) found that the combination of poor parent-child relationships and discipline practices were the two most important characteristics leading to delinquency proneness. According to this author, the lack of an affectional relationship between the parent and child causes a great amount of hostility and indifference toward authority which predisposes young males to select delinquent associates and participate in delinquent activity. Clark and Wenninger (1964) found indirect evidence among Illinois school children that attitudes formed toward legal agencies were more a result of the adjustment in regards to parental discipline than social class factors.
Bandura and Walters (1959) conducted a study to investigate the adolescent and aggressive behavior. The underlying assumption of this study was that adolescent aggression has its origin in the earlier life of the child, particularly in regards to child-rearing practices and family inter-relationship patterns. This study by Bandura and Walters (1959) was conducted in large urban areas in California, but concentrated on the middle-class youth and their families. The sample included white males drawn from the county probation agencies and the public school guidance departments for the aggressive group. The nonaggressive control group came from the public school system.

The results of the Bandura and Walters (1959) investigation are as follows:

1. In regards to the factor of marital adjustment of the parents, the aggressive males significantly differed from the nonaggressive ones. There was a definite tendency among the parents of the aggressive to experience in their marital relationship a situation of lesser warmth toward one another. In addition, it was found that the parents of the aggressive males differed significantly in regards to the enjoyment experienced with their marital partner. Only on a limited basis did the marital partners in the aggressive group have common interests with their mates and there was a definite tendency as compared to the parents of the nonaggressive group to reject one another's values.

2. In terms of the relationship between the parents and their children, it was found that greater confusion existed in the families.
of the aggressive group because of the greater value conflict between the parents. The parents did not support one another in the disciplining of the child which created an environment of confusion and fear that the child had to contend with in growing-up. It was found among the aggressive boys that there existed a much greater disturbance of the relationship pattern with their father than with the mother. The conclusion was made from this finding that due to the negative relationship with the father, the boys had a very poor image for identification and emulation. This coupled with a conflict of values between the parents created a very poor situation for the aggressive boys to internalize the normative teachings of their parents in terms of expected behavior.

In a recent study by Canter (1982), family bonds and juvenile delinquency were tested for both male and female youth. This research project was longitudinal in design (the data was collected annually for a five year period) and it included a national probability sample totaling 1725 boys and girls and their families. Canter (1982) hypothesized that girls would report greater family bonds and, therefore, less delinquency involvement with the reverse situation being true for boys.

The results of this study revealed a very similar picture of family bonds in terms of their nature and degree for both male and female youth. There was found only very limited support for girls having greater family bonds and consequently less delinquent activity. The males in the sample reported a greater involvement in all delinquent acts, but the importance of family bonding was discovered to
have a greater inhibitory effect upon males, as compared to females, in insulating them against delinquent involvement. For both sexes, low family bonds were found to modestly explain delinquent involvement, including home delinquency (this usually associated more with female youth) and a lesser degree of family bonding was found to better explain male delinquency among the serious offenses. In regards to family structure and delinquency, Canter (1982) also found that males from physically broken homes reported more delinquency than their female counterparts, except for home type delinquent acts. This does indicate that the physically broken home has a greater impact upon males than females.

Finally, Abrahamsen (1949) conducted research to investigate psychosomatic factors and how they may relate to antisocial behavior. There was a total of one hundred adult criminals utilized in the sample and an additional one hundred was used as a control group who had not committed any criminal acts. The only distinguishing characteristic found between the two groups is in the area of family tension. It seemed the criminal offenders came from a family environment that had evidenced a great amount of family tension and the nonoffenders from a family situation containing substantially less. This tension within the family emanating from the parents is largely due to the marital maladjustment, in addition to the negative attitudes on the part of the parent toward the child, undermining the parent-child relationship. Parental family tension then looms very heavily in the childhood lives of the criminal adult group and since the criminal acts were committed in adulthood (the family tension preceding...
the commission of the crimes), Abrahamsen (1949) has pointed out the
direct connection between the existence of childhood family tension
and adult criminal behavior.

Here, the independence of the negative parent-child relationships in the criminal group from the parental marriage relationship is not known. However, it is assumed that the negative parent-child relationships directly stem from the marital maladjustments between the parents. Negative attitudes by the parents to the children would lead to some family tension, but not to the same extent as when marital maladjustment also exists within the home. All of the information on both adult samples, concerning their earlier family environment, was derived from open interviews with the adults by Abrahamsen (1949).

The previous literature discussed on the family and juvenile delinquency is quite adequate in providing directions for future research into the familial environment and delinquency. This is especially the case of those research studies which have been conducted on samples drawn from the "normal" population, rather than the delinquent samples. Many of the studies have not dealt exclusively with the inter-relationship patterns within the family and delinquent behavior, but included this as part of studying socialization of children and youth or childhood adjustment. However, enough evidence has emerged to warrant an indepth analysis of the importance of the family inter-relationship patterns (particularly, the marital and parent-child relationships) and juvenile delinquency.

The following major themes emerge concerning the familial environment, family inter-relationship patterns, socialization
effectiveness, and juvenile delinquency.

1. It appears that there is a direct relationship between the nature and quality of the familial environment and juvenile delinquent behavior. This direct relationship of the familial environment with juvenile delinquency does not necessarily center around the physical structure of the home (whether the family is maritally broken or not through desertion, separation, divorce, or death); but in regards to the nature and quality of the inter-relationship patterns existing between its members. In other words, the physically broken home does not necessarily contribute to the problem of juvenile delinquency, but the familial environment broken in a social psychological sense would provide contributive influences.

2. Of particular significance to juvenile delinquent behavior is the state of the relationship between the parents in the marriage dyad. That is, the existence of marital disharmony, marital maladjustment, lack of consensus, and tension between the parents seems to loom very significantly in the lives of delinquent children and youth as compared to nondelinquent. This appears to be the case whether delinquent samples compared to nondelinquent are utilized or samples of youth are drawn from the general population, administered self-report delinquency questionnaires, and have their families closely studied. The basic marital state of the marriage dyad between the parents appears to set the general atmosphere of the home and specifically, contributes to the degree of cohesiveness (togetherness) which consequently exists between all the familial members. Moreover, the basic respect shown by the parents toward each other
within the marital relationship seems to contribute to the kind of respect shown by the other familial members in interaction with their immediate relatives at home. The marital relationship in terms of its nature and quality, in essence, contributes to the familial environment which will provide the backdrop for socialization experiences and their effectiveness.

3. The existence of severe marital adjustment problems between the parents appears to differentially influence boys and girls. Marital maladjustment between the parents is more significant in the lives of male youth as to socialization effectiveness and delinquency, because boys are more peer oriented and spend more time outside of the familial environment away from the purview of their parents. This essentially means that males need to be socialized with greater effectiveness (provided with inner controls for behavior) than females, due to the fact they are physically removed more from the direct control of their parents and peers have a greater impact upon them. If marital problems existing between the parents interferes with socialization effectiveness, male youth are at a decided disadvantage to guide their own behavior being away from the parents more than females and to thwart off delinquent influences from peers when they are exposed to them.

4. Marital maladjustment between the parents seems to contribute to aggressive behavior in children and youth. The verbal and/or physical aggression directed by the parents toward their spouse in open display provides for improper modeling behavior for the youngsters to follow. Under such circumstances, children and youth will
think that it is proper to verbally and/or physically aggress upon another human being when problems lead to frustration and anxiousness. Furthermore, verbal and/or physical aggression on the part of parents toward each other creates an unstable, incoherent environment for the social development of youngsters. That is, the norm-sending process from parents to their children is short-circuited and the internalization of the normative standards will be minimal. Also, the fighting and bickering between the parents are not conducive to a parental united front in the eyes of their children, concerning the norms to be internalized and the approved or disapproved behavioral acts that ensue.

5. The second most important inter-relationship pattern within the family which seems to relate closely to socialization effectiveness and juvenile delinquency is the parent-child dyad. There appears to be evidence that inadequate or poor parent-child relationships exist in the family background of delinquent children and youth to a much greater extent than nondelinquent youngsters. However, the nature and quality of the parent-child relationships are not completely independent from the state of the marital dyad, existing between the parents. The little available evidence supports the notion that marital problems existing between the parents predisposes them to the formation of inadequate or poor relationships with their children. If a husband and/or wife feels basically unhappy about their marital situation with their spouse, it appears that it is extremely difficult under such circumstances to effectively interact within the familial environment and to form a close, warm relationship with the
child or children.

6. For male children in the family, the parent-child relationships appear to have a differential influence in regards to socialization effectiveness, delinquency, and aggressive behavior. It seems that the nature and the quality of the father-son relationship is more important for the male's social development and the prevention of delinquent and gressive behavior than the mother-son relationship pattern. Within the nuclear family, the father provides the male image for the boy to identify and emulate and a closeness between the father and son makes it easier for the young boy in the identification and emulation processes. Also, the norm-sending process from the father to the son is accomplished better when the male child feels a closeness to his father. If the father is the image of behavioral identification and emulation, then the father has been designated as being differentially more important to the young male child than the mother. Therefore, to the male child the father's actions and reactions are more salient within the familial environment than the mother's.

7. And lastly, the nature and quality of the parent-child relationship seems to relate to the degree of acceptance or rejection that children will have toward other authority figures, existing outside of the family. Inadequate or poor parent-child relationships, leading to indifference and hostility directed toward parents as authority figures by children and youth, appear to be generalized to other sources of authority in the community. This can predispose children and youth to respond negatively to other social groups and institutions
which are supposed to support and continue the socialization process in later childhood and young adulthood. Evidently, the children and youth who venture out of the family with inadequate or poor parent-child relationships and hostility and indifference toward their parents will similarly respond to teachers, clergymen, recreationists, police workers, and the like as authority figures.

In final summation of the previous literature, one additional comment will be cited. Rodman and Grams (1967) writing for The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice have presented a beautiful concluding comment in regards to the role of the family for delinquency causation in the following paragraph:

Although up to this point family variables have been considered only as mediating variables in the process of delinquency causation, this should not be taken as an indication that family variables do not have a direct effect. Much research has been done by sociologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists concerning the relationship between family and delinquency variables, and many theories have been advanced to explain the relationships found. Due to a severe lack of interdisciplinary communication, however, few attempts have been made to consider both sociological and psychiatric-psychological aspects of the family's role in delinquency. (p. 195)
CHAPTER IV
THE STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES

Theoretically, it has been proposed that the root causes (the genetic or predisposing causes) of delinquent behavior may basically stem directly from inadequate or poor inter-relationship patterns existing within the nuclear family. Of paramount importance to the development of delinquency is marital maladjustment. Here, it should be reemphasized that the marital relationship is the basic foundation upon which the nuclear family rests.

The marital relationship is important for socialization and delinquency for several crucial reasons. First, it is proposed that marital disharmony between the parents creates an unstable and incoherent environment through exchanges of hostility (by the bickering and quarreling) which interfere with the socialization effectiveness (the internalization of normative standards). Second, the parents are authoritatively divided concerning the norms to be imparted to their children and the discipline of them. Third, marital problems between parents manifest into hostility directed toward each other creating a state of much greater hostility and anxiousness in their children. This produces and legitimizes greater verbal and/or physical aggression against others on the part of children. Fourth, poor marital adjustment places parents at a decided disadvantage to form adequate parent-child relationship patterns with their offspring (a positive, warm, and close parent-child relationship). The actual
or true extent of this disadvantage in regards to the formation of close, warm relationships with their children is not completely known at this time; however, a research objective of this study is to provide further knowledge regarding this crucial issue of family dynamics. And fifth, a poor degree of marital adjustment between the parents manifested by a relatively cold, passive marriage relationship detracts from the cohesiveness of the entire family. Whether or not the adequacy of the parent-child relationship is a result of the degree of marital adjustment, an inadequate (cold and distant) parent-child relationship will serve to impede the socialization effectiveness of children and youth. A high degree of family cohesiveness can greatly facilitate the norm-sending process transmitted from parents to their children.

The parent-child dyad is the other inter-familial relationship pattern that is directly connected with socialization effectiveness. A close, warm relationship between the parents and their children will allow the latter to have positive, affectional feelings for the former. This will greatly help the child to comprehend, accept, internalize, and committed to the normative teachings of the parents. On the other hand, the existence of inadequate parent-child relationships will lead to the creation of indifference and hostility in children and youth which can be generalized to other figures of authority extra-familially. With negative feelings and attitudes toward other authority figures, children will reject of "turn off" other authority sources; this serves to undermine the effectiveness of other socialization agencies that are supposed to support and continue the social
learning tasks originally begun by the family.

The parent-child relationships and their importance for socialization effectiveness seems to have differential significance, according to the sex of the child. For the male child in the family, the adequacy of the father-son relationship is more important, than the mother-son relationship. To the young male child, the father is usually highlighted as the parental figure for identification and emulation. A close, warm relationship between the father and son can serve to promote the identifying and emulating processes for the young boy. It is more necessary for the male child to have an adequate relationship with his father, as compared to the mother, because the father has been deemed the more appropriate parental figure to the male child for behavior patterning. Therefore, the male child tends to lean more toward the father in order to establish an affectional relationship. An inadequate relationship between the father and his son will more than likely lead to greater indifference and hostility within the male child which will interfere with the norm-sending process from the father to his male offspring. This in turn, very likely will lead to frustration and anxiousness, existing within the boy, being manifested into greater aggressive behavior. The contention here is not to say that the mother-son relationship is unimportant for the process of socialization, but the father-son relationship is differentially more important.
The Theoretical Frame of Reference

Before presenting the hypotheses of the study, a statement of the theoretical model which underlies this research will be provided. An illustration of this theoretical model is presented in Figure 1. It has been theoretically postulated that the socialization effectiveness of the family depends upon two very important familial interrelationship patterns: (a) the marital adjustment of the mother and father as they perceive it, and (b) the quality of the parent-child relationships as the family participants view them. The reader is reminded that socialization effectiveness is looked upon as the performance of expected social behavior from the viewpoint of the society. In addition, the quality of the parent-child relationships is the degree of the togetherness, cohesion, or closeness of the relationship between the parents and their children. It is assumed that the marital adjustment of the parents and quality of the parent-child relationships are independent variables in this study and that both are independent of each other.

As shown in Figure 1, the dependent variable is juvenile delinquency. Delinquency has been dichotomized into the frequency of offenses committed and the seriousness of the offenses engaged in, during the young life of the child. Frequency is defined as the number of offense violations performed and reported by the youth and the seriousness is defined as the severity of those offenses committed and reported for the society.

The model shows that there is hypothesized a direct causal relationship between the family (specifically, the familial
Figure 1. The Diagram of the Theoretical Model of Familial Inter-Relationship Patterns and Juvenile Delinquency
inter-relationship patterns--the marital relationship of the husband and wife and the quality of the parent-child relationships) and juvenile delinquency, both the frequency and seriousness of the offenses committed. This direct causal relationship is seen as inverse, as illustrated in Figure 1, meaning that as the marital adjustment of the husband and wife and the quality of the parent-child relationships decrease, the commission of juvenile delinquent offenses would be expected to increase.

Within Figure 1, there are two variables or factors of the model which have possible intervening effects between the marital adjustment of the husband and wife and the quality of the parent-child relationships and juvenile delinquency. Figure 1 shows this first important intervening variable to be the community or neighborhood integration which is theoretically postulated to have a direct causal bearing upon the school environment or the school adjustment of the youth. As the community or neighborhood integration increases, the quality of the school environment and the school adjustment of children and youth are expected to increase proportionately.

This may become particularly important when school adjustment is considered. Within the model in Figure 1, it is postulated that there exists a direct causal connection between family socialization effectiveness and the degree of school adjustment among children and youth. As these familial inter-relationship patterns increase in quality, the degree of school adjustment on the part of youth also increases proportionately.

The importance of this lies with the ability the school will have
to reinforce and continue the socialization process for youth started by the family. Children enter school with varying degrees of conforming behavior, a measure of effective socialization. Quite often the school is not equipped to deal with children, unless they have attained a high degree of socialization effectiveness from the family. As a result, the school may be unable to offset this trend in socialization ineffectiveness, begun by the parents.

This inability of the school to cope and deal with the relatively low socialized child may become even more intensified when the community or neighborhood integration is also low. In other words, the integration of the community or neighborhood can directly effect the quality of the school environment which, in turn, can effect both the academic and the social learning skills of the youth. A community characterized by low integration can lack the influence upon the school system to provide the resources necessary for effective education in the schools. The school may also see itself more accountable when it is a part of a unified or together community. In addition, a community, being fragmented and evidencing a low degree of integration, most likely will have difficulty in positively effecting change within the school environment.

However, even with a high degree of community or neighborhood integration, the school still has a difficult time coping and dealing with the children and youth who have been the products of ineffective socialization in the family. This is the essentially because the school is best prepared to handle those children who have received the socialization training which makes them very amenable to adjust
to the school environment. In most school situations, the total environment is geared to the child that has been socialized effectively at home.

Within the parameters of this theoretical analysis, the school can be seen to contribute to the problem of juvenile delinquency, but in a negative rather than a positive sense. Here, the school does not directly cause juvenile delinquent behavior by anything that is done. On the contrary, it contributes to the problem of delinquency through its failure to offset poor socialization among certain young people that was started within the family environment. That is, the school continues to perpetuate the ineffective socialization of youngsters begun by the family. Looking at this in a different manner, poor school adjustment and juvenile delinquency are both considered products (dependent variables or factors) of ineffective socialization from within the family, specifically stemming from poor familial inter-relationship patterns (the marital adjustment of the husband and wife and the parent-child relationships).

Finally, low community or neighborhood integration may not only effect juvenile delinquency indirectly through the school, but can have direct effects as well upon this behavior. Figure 1 illustrates a direct, inverse relationship theoretically between the degree of community or neighborhood integration and juvenile delinquent behavior (both the frequency and seriousness of the offenses committed). A community or neighborhood evidencing a low degree of integration can have more delinquency influences (delinquent or criminal activities, juvenile gangs, and the like) and less available resources to offset those negative influences both quantitatively and...
qualitatively. Additionally, a community or neighborhood with low integration would be at a decided disadvantage to neutralize those deleterious forces emanating from the social structure, above and beyond the immediate area, such as urbanization and industrialization. Both of these macro-level factors or variables (urbanization and industrialization) have been identified with delinquency. When low community or neighborhood integration is coupled with ineffective familial and school socialization, youth may be vulnerable to engage in delinquent activities. Here, low community integration can be seen as a precipitating causal factor of delinquency, whereas, poor familial inter-relationship patterns, leading to poor socialization of children and youth can be viewed as a predispositional cause.

With the given postulated theory and discussion of the literature the following hypotheses are generated for testing:

1. The lower the marital adjustment between the parents, the greater the probability of involvement in juvenile delinquent offenses committed by the child. Within the nuclear family, the marriage relationship between the husband and wife is the basic foundation upon which the family and home life firmly rests and functions. The marital relationship of the spouses is the main motivational force that has brought the husband and wife together in the first place before the arrival of any children. When the married couple begins to have children, the basic marital relationship between the parents influences the stability of the home environment, as well as the other inter-relationships, existing within the family. It is the marital relationship between the parents that largely sets the
family environmental conditions under which the function of socialization is carried out by the mother and father for the offspring. The varying degrees of poor marital adjustment on the part of the parents will disrupt the familial environment both in general environmental conditions and inconsistencies of parental authority impeding the socialization effectiveness of the children and youth. Furthermore, the greater the marital maladjustment problems experienced by the parents, the greater the disruption of the home environment and the disagreements between the parents, regarding the socialization of their offspring; hence, the greater the socialization ineffectiveness which predisposes children and youth to subsequent juvenile delinquent involvement.

This hypothesis will help to identify the basic root of juvenile delinquent behavior from within the social institution of the family, namely, the marital maladjustment existing between the parents. It is this factor or variable which will differentiate between the various levels of juvenile delinquent involvement on the part of children and youth.

2. The lower the marital adjustment between the parents, the greater the severity of the juvenile delinquent offenses committed by the child. With the existence of marital maladjustment problems evidenced in the parent's marriage, the familial socialization effectiveness of children and youth living under such circumstances will be lessened and, thereby, result in a considerable reduction of inner controls; these are necessary for the purpose of guiding their own (children and youth) behavior within the normative expectations of
the parents, the community, and the society. The more severe the marital maladjustment problems between the parents impeding the socialization process, the greater the socialization ineffectiveness, reducing the establishment of inner controls needed for the self-monitoring behavior. With a greater reduction of inner controls available to monitor behavior themselves, these juveniles are not only predisposed to engage more quantitatively in delinquent acts, but are more inclined qualitatively to commit more severe juvenile delinquent offenses as well. An answer to this particular hypothesis will help to identify if the severity of juvenile delinquent offenses committed by children and youth can be explained by the degree of marital maladjustment problems between the parents in the family. The support of this hypothesis will help to identify the root cause of the qualitative differences, in regards to the degree of severity in the various kinds of illegal offenses committed by children and youth, namely severe marital maladjustment between the parents.

3. The lower the marital adjustment, the greater the frequency of youth crime offenses (the nonstatus violations that would be criminal if the child or youth had reached the age of majority or adulthood) committed by the child. Marital maladjustment problems between the parents will not only predispose children and youth to engage in more frequent status offenses (juvenile delinquent acts that are not criminal violations at the age of majority or adulthood), but also a greater frequency in youth crime offenses as well. With the presence of marital maladjustment problems between the parents, a greater degree of socialization ineffectiveness will occur, regarding
the normative standards pertinent to those behavioral acts included in the youth crime offenses. Youth crime can be categorized into two kinds of general offenses: (a) crimes against property, and (b) crimes against the person. This latter category (crimes against the person) is considered to include the violent type offenses, since the crimes are perpetrated directly upon the victim within a very personal context.

Marital maladjustment problems between the parents usually being manifested in arguments and quarrels (as well as more subtle exchanges of hostility between the parents) produces a state of frustration and anxiety within children. Also, the open display of verbal and/or physical aggression by the parents toward each other tends to legitimize this kind of behavior in the eyes of the child. The more severe the marital maladjustment between the parents resulting in open displays of hostility directed toward each of the spouses, the more frustration and anxiety the child will feel. Additionally, with more aggressive type behavior existing between the marital partners, the greater the legitimation of this kind of behavior to the child. Therefore, it appears likely that the immature child will be more inclined to vent his or her frustrated and anxious emotional feelings in verbal and/or physical aggressive acts toward others. This can have definite implications for the predisposition of children and youth to engage in delinquent activities and influences the kinds of delinquent acts manifested. Children experiencing the poorest marital maladjustment states between their parents would be expected to engage in more aggressive acts, being predisposed to the participation
in youth crime offenses, particularly crimes against the person. This hypothesis addresses the question of the relationship between marital maladjustment of the parents and the frequency of youth crime offenses on the part of the child.

4. The greater the social distance (acceptance-rejection, warmth-coldness or closeness-distant) of the parent-child relationship, the greater the frequency of the juvenile delinquent offenses committed by the child. Within the nuclear familial environment, the process of socialization in young people can be facilitated through a close relationship with the parents. The parents, as the source and bearer of normative teachings, can more effectively communicate norms to their children within a socially close parent-child relationship where the child is more likely to listen, accept, and internalize. A close parent-child relationship contributes to the development of positive, affectional feelings within the child toward the parents, providing for a greater conduciveness by the offspring to have acceptance, internalization, and commitment to the parental normative teachings. Socially distant relationships between the parents and their children leads to hostility and indifference in the latter toward the former: this turns the children off and they are less likely to listen, understand, accept, and internalize the normative standards communicated to them by the parental figures.

So, with the advent of greater social distance in the parent-child relationships, the process of socialization is short-circuited and impeded. The extent of the short-circuitedness and impediment will greatly depend upon the degree of the social distance existing
within the parent-child relationships; the more the social distance of the parent-child relationships in the nuclear family, the greater the socialization ineffectiveness and the predisposition of the children toward delinquent behavior. Therefore, the lesser socialized youngsters will more frequently engage in law-violating behavior when exposed to deleterious precipitating forces in the community. An answer to this hypothesis will address the particular aspect of the problem concerned with the socialization effectiveness and delinquent behavior emanating from the parent-child relationship.

The parent-child relationship may be dependent, at least in part, to the marital relationship that exists within the family. A high degree of marital adjustment between the husband and wife could very well be a conducive factor in providing a closeness with the offspring between the parents and their children. The question of the relationship between the marital adjustment of the parents and their subsequent involvement with the children is an important one to this theory and research and it will be covered by a later hypothesis. At any rate, whether or not the marital relationship of the parents effects the later formation of the parent-child relationship, the quality of the parent-child relationship can be seen as being related to the socialization effectiveness of children and youth, and subsequently, the frequency of delinquent offenses committed by youngsters in our society.

5. The greater the social distance (acceptance-rejection, warmth-coldness, or closeness-distant) of the parent-child relationship, the greater the severity of the juvenile delinquent offenses committed
by the child. With the greater social distance of the relationships in existence between the parents and their children, socialization ineffectiveness, delinquent proneness, and the commission of delinquent offenses will be influenced qualitatively as well as quantitatively. That is, depending upon the degree of the social distance of the parent-child relationships, socialization ineffectiveness will be differentially affected in reducing the inner controls needed by children and youth to monitor and control their own behavior. Under such conditions, children and youth would be predisposed not only to commit a greater frequency of delinquent acts, but also to engage in more severe law-violating behavior. This hypothesis directs attention to the particular aspect of the problem dealing with the nature and quality of the parent-child relationships and their influence upon the socialization effectiveness and the qualitative differences of the delinquent behavioral patterning with respect to the severity of the offense. An answer to this hypothesis will contribute to the possible identification and insight of an important etiological link within the nuclear family; the social distance of the parent-child relationships and juvenile delinquent offenses which can lead some children to commit more severe offenses than others.

6. The greater the social distance (acceptance-rejection, warmth-coldness, or closeness-distant) of the parent-child relationship, the greater the frequency of youth crime offenses. A poor parent-child relationship would not only predispose the child to commit a greater frequency of status offenses, but also, a greater frequency of youth crime violations as well. The effectiveness of parental
socialization can be maximized with a closeness between parent and child. Within a close parent-child relationship, the child is in a much better position to listen, understand, internalize, and follow the normative teachings, emanating from parents. When a child is faced with a cold, passive, distant, and rejecting relationship with the parents, the socialization effectiveness of the parent to the child can be short-circuited and impeded.

In terms of the behavioral outcomes, ineffective socialization will leave the child without the inner controls necessary to resist and refrain from both the status and nonstatus (youth crime) type offenses when the precipitating delinquent influences from the neighborhood or community (including peers, school, and work) impinge upon the youngster. So, with a greater social distance between the parent and child, the likelihood is greater that children and youth will become involved in a greater frequency of youth crime offenses. Among those children and youth experiencing the poorest parent-child relationships, these same youngsters would have the greatest involvement (the most frequent violations) in youth crime offenses. This hypothesis is intended to address the question of the relationship between the nature and quality of the parent-child relationship and the commission of youth crime offenses.

7. The degree of marital adjustment between the parents has no significant effect upon the degree of social distance (acceptance-rejection, warmth-coldness, or closeness-distant) in the parent-child relationships. Even though there exists some theory and limited research findings to tentatively support the notion that a high degree
of marital adjustment between the parents fosters a better parent-child relationship, this dissertation, at this point, takes the position that these two inter-relationship patterns within the family operate independently. This means the marital adjustment of the parents has no effects upon the subsequent nature and quality of the parent-child relationships. A husband and/or wife, who experiences a low degree of marital adjustment, can form a close, warm, and accepting relationship with their child and vice-versa.

This hypothesis is intended to explore the possible relationship between the marital adjustment in the marriage of the parents and the later formation of the parent-child relationship patterns. A rejection of this hypothesis would provide an important linkage in the inter-relationship patterns. A rejection of this hypothesis would provide an important linkage in the inter-relationship patterns (the marital adjustment of the parents and the parent-child relationships) and the possible significance that this linkage has for juvenile delinquent behavior of children and youth. Of course, this does depend upon the acceptance or rejection of the other hypotheses in this section.

8. The greater the social distance of the father-son relationship as compared to the mother-son, the greater the probability in the frequency of the delinquent offenses committed by the male child. To the male child within the nuclear family arrangement, the parent-child relationships are important for the development of social learning. However, the parental relationship with the father is more important to the male child, because the young boy is influenced to
to be more oriented toward the father than the mother. The male child is taught very early in life that he is supposed to behaviorally emulate and identify with the father, rather than the mother. This has a tendency to influence the male child more toward the father and it differentially makes the father-son relationship of greater importance from the male child's point of view. A poor father-son relationship will lead to the differential development of hostility and indifference within the male child as compared to a similarly poor relationship with the mother. As a result, the poor paternal relationship for the young boy will impede the socialization effectiveness differentially to a greater extent than would be the case with the poor maternal one; this would increase the male child's predisposition toward delinquent involvement, because of the reduction of established inner controls needed to self-guide behavior and lead to a greater frequency of law-violating behavior. An answer to this hypothesis would address the particular area of the problem dealing with the parent-child relation patterns for the male children and youth and the differential importance, if any, that the mother and the father have in regards to socialization effectiveness and the frequency of delinquent activity.

9. The greater the social distance of the father-son relationship as compared to the mother-son, the greater the probability in the severity of the delinquent offenses committed by the male child. A poor father-son relationship as compared to the mother-son will not only differentially increase socialization ineffectiveness and the frequency of delinquent involvement, but will qualitatively predispose
the male child toward the commission of the more serious offenses. Depending upon the father-son relationship, the establishment of inner controls for behavior will be affected; this opens the door for the male child not only to commit more delinquent offenses, but the more serious ones as well. Here, the quality of the father-son relationship is seen to play more of a differential part in the development of social learning and the later delinquent involvement by the male child, pertaining to the seriousness of the delinquent infractions. This hypothesis deals with the particular aspect of the problem concerned with the differential importance that the father plays in the comparison to the mother for the effectiveness of socialization and the severity of the delinquent offenses committed by the male children and youth.

All the hypotheses presented in this section cover the two most important familial inter-relationship patterns within the nuclear family—the marriage dyad between the husband and wife and the parent-child relationships. The sibling relationship patterns within the familial context are not included, because very little or no research has been conducted in this area and the Gluecks (1950) and others have concluded that the sibling relationships have much less significance for socialization effectiveness and the future delinquent behavior of children and youth.
CHAPTER V

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The true test of any proposed theory on human behavior is its ability to withstand the rigors of scientific research, in terms of whether or not the theory is supported by the study. Theory and research are mutually reciprocals of scientific inquiry and neither one should really exist without the other. Research conducted without an underlying theory lacks the specific direction for scientific investigation and a theory without research does not provide a basis for the verification of the theory. The extent of our scientific knowledge pertaining to human behavior stems directly from the intensive activities in the formulation and development of theories and their scientific testing through empirical investigations. Within the following research design, the Hypotheses presented and discussed in the previous section (Chapter IV) will be subjected to scientific testing.

The Research Location

In this research study, the selected location is the Detroit Metropolitan Area (the City of Detroit and its suburban areas located in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties). At the present time, the City of Detroit and suburbs is the sixth largest city within the United States. The selection of a large, urban area for the administration of this research study is important for two reasons:
(a) The juvenile delinquency problem is the most severe (at least, to the best available knowledge, today) in the large American cities and scientific knowledge concerning juvenile delinquent behavior is needed now, in order to effectively cope and deal with this very serious problem; and (b) the research results of the present study can be generalized to other large metropolitan cities within the United States and thereby, have applicability where they are needed the most.

The Variables

Within the following research design, there are two variables that will be considered to have independence in the nuclear family for socialization effectiveness and juvenile delinquent behavior among children and youth. The main independent variable of this study is the marital adjustment, existing between the parents. Marital adjustment is conceptually defined as the degree to which the marriage partners have adapted to one another within the marriage relationship and to the marriage situation itself and feel satisfied about these changes individually. This independent variable (marital adjustment) can be viewed on a continuum from complete marital adjustment to total marital maladjustment, although no married couple probably exists at either extreme.

Marital adjustment as a variable to analyze the nature and quality of the marriage dyad is the most encompassing of those utilized in the past. Within this variable of marital adjustment includes the marital happiness or satisfaction of the spouses, marital success, in regards to the achievement of the marriage goals, and the adaptation to the
marriage roles as well as the interactional dynamics between the marriage partners. Here, the operational definition of marital adjustment is that which is measured by marital adjustment questionnaires.

A second variable in this research design to be considered independent within the nuclear family is the nature and quality of the parent-child relationship, at least initially. Even though there seems to exist some evidence that the qualitative degree of the parent-child relationship has a good deal of dependency upon the degree of marital adjustment between the parents, these two variables will be assumed to have independence within the nuclear familial environment. This assumption of independence concerning these two variables will be held until otherwise demonstrated by the research results. The relationship between the degree of marital adjustment of the parents and the degree of parent-child relationship quality will be an issue of major concern to this study; this issue will be, at least, tentatively answered by one of the listed hypotheses (Hypothesis 7) as indicated in the previous section.

The parent-child relationship quality is conceptually defined as the interactional distance experienced by both the parent and the child, in terms of acceptance or rejection. Similarly, as with marital adjustment, the distance felt by the parent and the child through social interaction with each other can be viewed to exist on a continuum from complete acceptance to total rejection; however, this most likely does not exist at these two extreme ends of the continuum. In all probability, the interactional closeness experienced by the
parents and the children will fall somewhere on the continuum at points or degrees of feeling accepted or rejected between the extreme ends. The operational definition of the parent-child relationship quality is that which is measured by the parent-child relationship questionnaires.

Within this research project, the dependent variable is juvenile delinquent behavior. Often juvenile delinquency is conceptually defined in the following manner: the commission of an illegal act(s) by a person who has not reached the legal age of majority, but has attained the minimal age of legal responsibility; and who if caught, adjudicated, and found guilty of the act(s) could be placed on juvenile court probation or in a juvenile detention home. For the purpose of this study, juvenile delinquent behavior is not defined in such a legalistic manner. Delinquency is conceptually defined, here, as all infractions of the law committed by a minor, regardless of whether or not the youth has been caught by the legal authorities.

Within the conceptual definition of juvenile delinquency, there exists a multitude of different illegal violations or offense categories. In the past, it has been popular among criminologists to differentiate between two general types of juvenile offense categories: (a) status offenses and (b) nonstatus offenses. Status offenses are violations of the law which are unique to the age of minority for children and they would not be illegal violations at adulthood, such as running away from home, incorrigibility, school truancy, and violations of curfew ordinances. Nonstatus offenses include violations of the law that would be illegal, even if the
child had attained the age of majority. This second category of juvenile offenses have been referred to as youth crime. This study will continue to maintain the distinction between juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

Also, within the context of the preceding definition, juvenile delinquent behavior can be viewed to exist along a continuum of frequency and severity. The number of committed offenses as well as the relative severity or seriousness of the acts are of major interest to this study. The operational definition of juvenile delinquent behavior is that which is measured by the self-reporting juvenile delinquency questionnaires.

Control Variables

Of major concern to this study is a number of variables which will be incorporated into the research design for control purposes. These control variables are as follows:

1. Socio-economic status - the social class position of the family in which the child or youth resides as determined by the present or most recent occupation of the father.

2. Race - the racial category of the juvenile's family (White, Black, or Asian).

3. Ethnicity - the ethnic origin of the child's family being traced to the latest generation, residing in other countries outside the United States (if this is not known, the family is considered to be American).

4. Religion - the religious group preference, in terms of
denomination for the child's family or the absence of religious preference.

5. Community integration - the degree of consensus or solidarity in existence within the neighborhood and the quality of the residential area.

6. School adjustment - the juvenile's functional adaptation to the school environment, to teachers, and to the other students.

7. Working mothers - whether or not the mother is employed outside the family household.

8. Age - the chronological age of the juvenile, in terms of years.

Each of the above variables may have an effect on the marital relationship between the parents and the parent-child-child relationships, have an intervening effect between them and delinquency, or effect delinquency directly without any influence on the family relationship patterns. In the case of socio-economic status, the relative opportunity structure may differentially effect family relations.

By the decade of the 1970's, higher occupational statuses, income levels, and educational achievements were found positively correlated to marital adjustment for husbands, and the similarities in social class backgrounds for both marital partners (Hicks & Platt, 1970). However, more recent research has provided inconsistent results regarding the effects of social class on marital adjustment and this has created a questionable situation (Jorgensen, 1979). Brinkerhoff and White (1978) found among economically marginal couples that marital satisfaction is not related to the husbands' income or
unemployment, either additively or independently. Another study conducted by Glenn and Weaver (1978), utilizing three national surveys of White men and women, aged 18 to 59 years, found that marital adjustment is weakly affected by socio-economic status. The marital relationship pattern may or may not be dependent upon the variable of social class.

On the other hand, social class may be causally related to delinquency completely bypassing the family. Whereas all social classes contribute to the delinquency rate to some degree, it is still unclear whether or not the lower class children and youth have a greater propensity for delinquent involvement. The official statistics of the juvenile justice system indicates that lower class young people have more contacts with legal authorities (Lander, 1954; Bordua, 1958; Polk, 1957; Reiss & Rhodes, 1961; Polk, 1967). However, the greater contact with legal agencies by lower class children and youth may be an artifact of biased operations of the juvenile justice system (particularly, the police) which was found to be the case by Briar and Piliavin (1964) and Carter (1968). As a result, many criminologists have resorted to the utilization of self-report studies in an attempt to eliminate the biases of the official statistics (Nettler, 1974).

In addition, social class may have an intervening effect between the family relationship patterns and delinquency. For example, social class may effect the delinquent behavior of children and youth of the lower socio-economic classes by negatively changing the neighborhood conditions which would be more influential toward law-violating behavior. That is, among lower class families, the need may be greater
for strong family relationship patterns to thwart off differentially
greater delinquency influences within the neighborhood. A study con-
ducted by Clark and Weinninger (1962) found that lower class, urban
communities had significantly more delinquency than middle and upper
class, urbanized neighborhoods. However, no significant differences
were found between the social class areas within the rural settings.
On the other hand, the research results of Empey and Erickson (1966)
failed to find any significant differences in delinquency between
the varying social class, urban communities.

The racial background of the family may have a direct effect
upon the quality of the family relationship patterns (the marriage of
the parents and the parent-child relationships). This may be the
case among racial minorities in the United States where racial pre-
judice and discrimination has long been endemic to our society. For
example, the problem of racial prejudice and discrimination may have
senative effects upon the Black family (the quality of the marriage
and/or the parent-child relationships). Among the urban, Black popu-
lation, Eschleman (1981) reported that there is a proportionally
higher divorce rate as compared to urbanized, White couples. With
the presence of a divorce, this usually indicates that there were
serious marital maladjustment problems during the marriage.

Race may not effect family relation at all, but it may be re-
lated to delinquency in a direct sense. The arrest rate for Blacks
is disproportionately higher than Whites for persons under the age
of eighteen years, but this does not necessarily mean that Blacks
have any biological propensity toward nonconformity or law-violating
behavior. This higher arrest rate for Black youth may be due to the racial prejudice and discrimination which could be a root cause of delinquency for young Blacks or the possible result of the differential operation by the juvenile justice agencies in reacting and dealing with Black youth when they break the law. Also, the higher Black arrest rate may be attributable to social class more than to race, since the majority of Blacks in our society occupy the lower class positions (Griffin & Griffin, 1978).

Ethnicity may effect the quality of the family relationship patterns. Certain European groups, such as the Swiss, Italians, and Yugoslavians, highly value close family ties. Through the family, ethnicity may have an impact on delinquent behavior, depending upon the closeness of the familial relationships which may be based on ethnic origin. For example, Vaz and Caspariš (1971) found the Swiss youth to be low in delinquency and they point out this may be attributable to close family life in Switzerland. Also, Kobel (1965) discovered a low delinquency rate among Yugoslavian youth and he pointed out the strong family ties within Yugoslavian families as one possible explanation. A strong family life brought over from the old country to American society for certain ethnic groups may increase conforming behavior in children and youth, leading to more adherence to the laws.

On the other hand, ethnicity may directly relate to delinquency without having any effects through the family. Haskell and Yablonsky (1974) have stated that the children born to recent immigrants in the United States frequently become delinquent. This was
particularly the case prior to the 1930's when immigration to this country was much higher than it subsequently has been from the 1930's to the present. Since the 1930's, the delinquency rate of offspring, belonging to recent immigrants to American society, has declined (as evidenced by the juvenile arrest rate), but the amount of immigration to this country similarly has reduced. Here, the problem of increased delinquency on the part of children and youth of recent immigrant groups may be the result of restriction or exclusion from the full participation in the social and economic life of American society. Quite frequently, immigrants to the United States start out within the lower socio-economic classes, due to being poor, uneducated, and unskilled.

The arrest statistics indicate that certain ethnic groups become involved to a greater extent in delinquency as compared to others. For example, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and other Latin American groups have shown higher juvenile arrest rates. However, the Indian, Chinese, and Japanese young people tend to have a much lower incidence of arrest. This apparent difference in the arrest rates, according to ethnicity, may be the result of the uniqueness of the ethnic subculture or the differential societal reaction to these different subcultural groups. Haskell and Yablonsky (1974) pointed out that the police tend to formally handle those juveniles encountered that belong to unpopular minority groups in our society. The low arrest rates for other ethnic groups may be the result of subcultural differences reflected in strong family ties and community living where certain ethnic groups control the behavior of their
young people. However, Chambliss and Nagasawa (1969) found that the official statistics tells us a good deal more about the actual operations of the juvenile justice agencies than the true distribution of delinquency among different ethnic groups.

With respect to religion, the religious group preference or the lack of any religious identification may have an effect upon the relationships within the family. For example, Catholics tend to have larger families when compared to non-Catholics and this may have an effect upon the quality of the familial relationship patterns. Religious identification may serve as a cohesive factor for the family that has a denominational preference as compared to those families where no religious group affiliation exists.

The participation of the family in religious activities may provide an opportunity to engage in an activity as a family and this may have a positive effect upon the family relationship patterns. Argyle (1958) found that the engagement in criminal activities was lowered among those people who actually attended church on a regular basis. In addition, this author discovered that crime rates tended to be higher in all countries for Catholics, but lower for Protestants and Jews, although, in part, this may be due to social class differences. In the specific area of juvenile delinquency, the Gluecks (1950) found church attendance and delinquency involvement significantly related. That is, the nondelinquents tended to attend church more regularly, when compared to the delinquents, and this difference in delinquency participation even widened in the follow-up study. Rosenquist and Megargee (1969) discovered that if the mother, father,
and children regularly attended church together, there was a reduction of delinquency involvement. This study involved a cross-cultural comparison in three cultures. In addition, Nye (1958) found significant differences between high and low delinquents (both males and females), in regards to parents and religion. That is, the low delinquent youngsters had parents that had a greater knowledge of religion. These juveniles were better able to discuss religion with their parents, and in actuality, there were a greater frequency of religious consultations.

On the contrary, religious preference and/or involvement may not effect the family relationships, but may have a direct effect upon delinquency or have intervening effects between the family relationship patterns and delinquency. However, in spite of the research findings presented here on family, religion, and delinquency, Vedder (1974) stated that religious training (whether in Sunday school or church) does not seem to be a great deterrent to delinquent behavior, regardless of denomination or the frequency of attendance. It is reasonable to conclude that regular religious training would provide a reinforcement to the moral education supplied by other social institutions within our society.

The family environment exists in very close proximity to the immediate community or neighborhood. With respect to the quality of the immediate community or neighborhood, this may have direct effects upon the family and the relationship patterns. Greer (1962) has pointed out that urbanized, industrialized America does not have the strength of community living which existed earlier in our history.
As a result, the family members are forced to rely upon close associations with other familial members or friends.

For the family, this increased focus of inter-relationships with the other members could have positive or negative effects. On the positive side, it could provide a close bonding of the marital partners and the parents with their children, thus leading to better quality family patterns. However, the negative consequence is more likely. That is, the family has become more isolated in society and thereby, placing increased pressure on its members and the familial relationships, leading to lower quality relationship patterns. Skolnick (1973) has stated that a decline in community life and the turning inward within the family intensifies the family relationships which was evidenced in the 1950's and 1960's.

On the other hand, the immediate community or neighborhood may not directly effect the family relationship patterns, but it could have intervening effects upon the relationship of the family interactional patterns and delinquency. That is, the deleterious forces which may exist within the community or neighborhood (for example, slums, lack of recreational facilities, overcrowdedness, juvenile gangs and the like) may be delinquency producing, if the inter-relationship patterns in the family are poor. However, the degree of community integration may effect delinquency, altogether avoiding the family. Early American sociological research did establish the relationship between "bad" neighborhoods and juvenile delinquency, but these studies utilized the official statistics (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1925; Shaw & McKay, 1931, 1942). The use of official
statistics may be biased against those children and youth living in these perceived "bad" neighborhoods, since the police usually deploys more concentrated surveillance within these areas and they tend to formally process more juveniles who violate the laws. As a result, there is a much greater likelihood that juveniles living in a "bad" neighborhood will become included among the official statistics.

The child's adjustment to school may be affected by the quality of the family relationship patterns. Here, the school adjustment, in turn, may effect delinquency. Haskell and Yablonsky (1974) have suggested that a child attending school from a poor family environment will encounter problems in school, stemming both from the family and school deficiencies. Many research studies have found a relationship between low school adjustment or low achievement and juvenile delinquency (Kvaraceus, 1945; Havighurst et al., 1962; Gold, 1963; Polk & Halferty, 1966; Elliot, 1966; Reckless & Dinitz, 1972; Polk & Schafer, 1972). However, school adjustment may be related to juvenile delinquency outside of the quality of familial relationship patterns.

Elliot and Voss (1974) discovered that the school was the most important institution which affected the patterning of delinquent behavior. If this is the case, then the school can be seen as a causative factor of delinquency, which is independent of the family relationships.

In the past, it has been popular to think that the employment of the mother outside of the family is a causative factor in delinquency. Through the employment of the mother, the children would have less time to spend with the female parent and it removes this parental figure from the home for periods of time, thereby limiting the direct
supervision and control of the children. The research results on working mothers and delinquency has been somewhat contradictory. Over three decades ago, Nye (1952) found that the adolescent youngsters of part-time working mothers evidenced a better mother-child relationship than both full-time or nonemployed maternal parents. On the other hand, the Gluecks (1957) discovered no relationship between working mothers and delinquency for lower class families. In the research conducted by Hoffman (1974), lower class working mothers were found to provide less adequate supervision for their children and this was linked to delinquency. However, even though the results of middle class families showed a higher rate of delinquency where the mothers worked, this was not connected with inadequate supervision.

The working mother may also have direct effects upon the quality of the marriage, especially if the female spouse has to work for financial reasons or the husband is opposed to the employment of his wife. Orden and Bradburn (1969) have reported that both the husband and wife experience less marital satisfaction when the female spouse works through economic necessity, rather than by choice. However, Booth (1977, 1979) found overall that husbands or working wives do not have any more marital discord or stress than those with housewives. Nye (1974) reported only small differences to exist in the marital satisfaction and other areas of the marital relationship where the wives worked as compared to those nonemployed. A significantly lesser quality marriage was discovered for the lower class couples studied in the sample. Furthermore, if the wife works, the
marital relationship was found to be a little more positively influenced when there are less number of children at home, the mother finds enjoyment from the job, the husband has a positive attitude toward his wife working, and both spouses have achieved an advancement in education. On the other hand, the working mother may be more committed to her family, engage in more qualitative relationships with other family members during the time she has for family interactional patterns, and appreciates her family more.

Finally, the chronological age of the child may be a factor in delinquency. As the child becomes older, he or she increasingly spends more time outside of the family, thus providing more opportunity to engage in delinquent activity. However, the delinquent involvement may be a fascination in the younger years and it reduces or levels off as young people grow older. Haskell and Yablonsky (1974) have noted that the relationship between age and delinquency extends beyond just a statistical association. That is, the relationship between age and delinquency includes the cultural roles of the individual youth at various ages. At a younger age, the cultural roles may include those offenses connected with rock-throwing and vandalism which decreases as the youth proceeds through the teenage years. On the other hand, offenses related to being daring and aggressive increase during middle adolescence for males, subsequently decreasing at later adolescence when males begin to feel more sure about their masculinity.

With respect to familial relationship patterns, the longer a child is exposed to poor quality interactional relationships (the
marital relationship of the parents and/or the parent-child relationships), the greater socialization ineffectiveness may take place which could increase the predisposition for delinquent activity. In addition, these poor quality relationships between the family members over an extended period of time has occurred when the child was a good deal younger. A younger child may be more negatively affected by the onset of poor family relationships and the problems associated with them than an older one. In the younger years of childhood, all areas of development, physical psychological and social, are more extensive and they are more profoundly influenced by exposure to serious problems than in the later years. Also, the first experiences in life (usually occurring in early childhood) have tremendous impact on the child which may effect later development.

The Research Instruments

Independent Variables

There are two independent variables: the degree of marital adjustment between the parents and the degree of quality in the parent-child relationships. Attempts to measure the marital adjustment of married couples, in terms of the degree or amount, has been made about as long as the institution of marriage, itself, and the giving and taking by marital partners (Kirkpatrick, 1953).

Marital Adjustment

One of the earliest attempts to measure marital adjustment in a scientific manner was conducted by Bernard (1933). This pioneer study
asked married subjects to respond to terms or traits that supposedly represented virtues or defects in their mates. Marital adjustmment was determined in regards to the favorable as opposed to the unfavorable traits attributed by each of the marital partners with reference to each other.

Another study measuring marital adjustment was done by Hamilton (1929), in which very long interviews were conducted with married couples. Many questions were asked pertaining to various aspects of the marriage--area of dissatisfaction, the desire to continue the marital relationship, the feelings about getting married in the first place, a self-rating on the adjustment within the marriage, and the desire to bring about changes in their spouse and the like. From assigning various points to the different alternative answers, a fourteen point acale was established by Hamilton (1929) and for the first time marital adjustment was seen to be represented by a single numerical score.

Later, Burgess and Cottrell (1936, 1939) developed more elaborate scales to measure marital adjustment and their efforts have influenced most of the subsequent attempts. The Burgess and Cottrell Scale differed from all previous ones in the following important ways: (a) the inclusion of a systematic combination in the various scale items, (b) the provision of an objective way to select and weigh all the items utilized, and (c) the greater number of points or degrees in total over the entire scale. In addition, these authors (Burgess & Cottrell) were concerned with the consistency found to exist between the scores and other marital adjustment indices or measures.
The Burgess and Cottrell Scale yields a composite score in the evaluation of the success or failure within the marital relationship. However, this composite index score of marital adjustment has been criticized for ignoring the different facets or parts which constitute marital adjustment by not utilizing the various subscores within the separate areas of the test (Burgess & Wallin, 1953). In response to this particular criticism, these authors (Burgess & Wallin, 1953) have felt that the overall composite score of marital adjustment yielded by the total scale can be utilized to assess marriages as well as the various category subscores to analyze the different aspects of the marital relationship making up the whole. The Burgess and Cottrell (1936, 1939) and the Burgess and Wallin (1953) scales (the latter scale is a rerefinement version of the former) have been utilized both for the prediction of marital success and adjustment later in marriage and its assessment of marital adjustment after the marriage relationship has taken place.

Most marital adjustment prediction tests and marital adjustment indexes in existence today have been greatly influenced by the Burgess and Cottrell and the Burgess and Wallin marital prediction and marital adjustment instruments. An even further refinement of the Burgess and Wallin marital prediction and marital adjustment indexes is the Burgess and Locke (1960) Marriage-Prediction Schedule and the Marriage-Adjustment Schedule. According to Miller (1970), the Burgess and Locke marriage indexes are the end products of all the research work done by Burgess and his associates spanning some twenty-five years. Of major interest to this discussion is the Burgess and Locke
(1960) Marriage-Adjustment Schedule which has been shown to be very reliable and valid in the measurement of marital adjustment. In regards to the reliability of this research instrument on the measurement of marital adjustment, Burgess and Locke (1960) found in sampling over five hundred married couples that the husband and wife agreement on the test was very high \( (r = .88 \text{ and the } N = 526 \text{ couples}) \). The validity tests of this marital adjustment instrument have shown that it measures what the test purports to measure very well. Burgess and Locke (1960) found that on the same sample utilized, for the reliability test, a high correlation between happiness ratings and the adjustment scores \( (r = .92 \text{ and the } N = 526 \text{ couples}) \). Another sample of cases studied by these same authors in a similar fashion yielded even better results \( (r = .95 \text{ and the } N = 63 \text{ couples}) \). Also, the correlation between the happiness ratings and the nonexistence of severe marital problems or physical breaks in the marriage was very favorable \( (r = .89 \text{ and the } N = 63 \text{ couples}) \) on the same second sample. In a study on the validity of marital adjustment measurement, Locke (1951) utilized twenty-nine of the most discriminating items from the Burgess and Cottrell Test (this was one of the forerunners of the Burgess and Locke Marital-Adjustment Schedule and was heavily based) and found them to be extremely valid. Locke (1951), in comparing divorced males, divorced females, happily married males, and happily married females, found correlations between these previous marital assessments and the twenty-nine items to be respectively, .83, .87, .85, and .88.

So the latest version of the work conducted by Burgess and his
associates (the Burgess and Locke Marital-Adjustment Schedule, 1960) has been found to be a very reliable and valid research instrument. For the purpose of measuring marital adjustment in this present study, the Burgess and Locke Marital-Adjustment Schedule could be very well utilized, except for one very important drawback. This research instrument has very many questions and it is quite time consuming in the administration. A problem of this nature becomes particularly important when couples will be administered the questionnaire separately, rather than in one or several larger groups. Most other marital adjustment tests present a similar problem, but to varying degrees. That is, the total number of response items differ from one marital test to another. The Burgess and Wallin Marital Success Schedule has 89 numbered items, but there are several questions having multiple subitems which total 246 actual responses (Burgess & Wallin, 1953). Considering the number of actual responses in the entire questionnaire, other marital adjustment tests total the following responses: the Terman Happiness Test, 75 items (Terman, 1938), the Terman-Otis Test, 103 items (Terman & Oden, 1947), the Locke Marital-Adjustment Test, 50 items (Locke, 1951), the Karlson Index of Marital Satisfaction, 40 items (Karlson, 1951), and the Burgess-Cottrell Marital Adjustment Test, 26 items (Burgess & Cottrell, 1939). Locke (1951) and Locke and Wallace (1959) have criticized these marital adjustment tests for being too long for administration purposes. This contention was also mentioned by Horst (1941) and along with Locke and Wallace (1959) took the viewpoint that marital adjustment tests could be shortened without any appreciable loss in
reliability and validity.

The apparent need to reduce the length of the marital adjustment test was accomplished by Locke (1951) with a 29 item index, but even though the validity checked out well, the question of its reliability was not even considered. However, Locke and Wallace (1959) did design a marital adjustment test containing only 15 total items with the same accuracy of reliability and validity as any other marital adjustment index in existence. These authors found in computing the reliability coefficient with the utilization of the split-half method and corrected with the use of the Spearman-Brown formula was .90. So, in essence, the Locke and Wallace (1959) Marital-Adjustment Test has a very high reliability and it is a much shorter questionnaire making for greater ease in the administration to subjects. On the same sample of 236 subjects used for the reliability test, Locke and Wallace (1959) conducted the validity test. Of 236 members in the sample, forty-eight were known to have maladjustment problems. An extensive amount of case data supported this in thirty-one of the persons with twenty-nine of them clients at the American Institute of Family Relations, eleven sample members were recently divorced, and six were maritally separated. This totals out to twenty-two males and twenty-six females in the marital maladjustment group. These forty-eight maritally maladjusted persons were closely matched with forty-eight others who were judged by friends that knew them very well as being well adjusted in their marriage. The results of this validity test are as follows: the mean adjustment score for the well adjusted people computed was 135.9 and this compared to the maladjusted sample
was much higher—71.7—for this latter group. Here, the difference was of great significance with a critical ratio of 17.5. In addition, only 17% of the maladjusted group members had achieved marital adjustment scores of one-hundred or more and 96% of the well adjusted group scored one-hundred or better. These researchers (Locke & Wallace, 1959) found the preceding validity results on the short marital adjustment test have stated the following:

The above figures indicate that this short marital adjustment test clearly differentiates between persons who are well-adjusted and those who are maladjusted in marriage. It is evident, therefore, that the test has validity, since it seems to measure what it purports to measure—namely, marital adjustment. (p. 255)

So, the Locke and Wallace Marital-Adjustment Test appears to have very good validity to go along with its high level of reliability. Therefore, the Locke and Wallace Marital-Adjustment Test was adopted for the utilization as the instrument to measure marital adjustment in this research project. This instrument provides ease in administration to the subjects with its 15 total items without sacrificing reliability and validity to any degree. Also, the Locke and Wallace Marital-Adjustment Test is very easy to score, because of its shortness (for reference on the Locke and Wallace Marital-Adjustment Test including the response items, the weighting, and the scoring, see Appendix B or C).

Nature or Quality of the Parent-Child Relationship

Presently, there are not very many tests or indices available which attempt to measure the relationships between parents and their
children. According to Miller (1970), the Burgess and Locke Marital-Adjustment Test can be utilized to assess newly formed relationships within the family, such as the parent-child relations. However, this questionnaire has only two response items directly dealing with the parents and their children; some of the other response items could be restated to more specifically apply to the parent-child relationships, but this may undermine the reliability and/or validity of these questions. Furthermore, the Burgess and Locke only measures the nature or quality of the parent-child relationships from the parental point of view, neglecting the child's perceptions and feelings about the parents. The child's perceptions and feelings are really of importance.

Nye (1958) has developed a questionnaire on the parent-child relationships. This test is quite unique in the sense that it assesses the parent-child relationships from the viewpoint of the child and includes both the parental rejection or acceptance of the child and vice-versa. The Nye (1958) Parent-Child Acceptance-Rejection Matrix allows for the measurement of the parent-child relationships to be assessed separately in regards to the child's perception of the degree the parents accept or reject him and the degree the child accepts or rejects the parents. Within the questionnaire, the first half of the test deals with the perceived parental acceptance or rejection by the child and the second half is concerned with the child's acceptance or rejection of the parents. Moreover, the questionnaire can be utilized to measure the mutual acceptance-rejection separately for each parent by simply administering it on the child once for the
mother and a second time for the father.

Nye (1958) has found considerable success in the utilization of his parent-child relations test. In employing the Cornell technique, the test items and weights were discovered to make-up a quasi scale producing a reproducibility coefficient of .80. This researcher then reweighted the items utilizing image analysis and found the coefficients to increase to .92 in the case of the mothers and .94 for the fathers.

The Nye Parent-Child Questionnaire was administered to the family members from the viewpoint of the particular familial member. That is, the children answered the parent-child relationship questions in reference to both the mother and father and the parents responded to the questions on the relationships with their child that was participating in this research study. Particular attention will be given to the child's perceptions and feelings of the parent-child relationships. Nye (1958) believed that parental rejection is not salient for the child unless the child perceives this situation as such. However, by measuring the parent-child relationship from the viewpoints of both the child and each of the parents, several analyses can be done from the child's perspective, each of the parents individually, and both parents together on the dependent variable, juvenile delinquency (see Appendix A, B, or C for the Nye Parent-Child Acceptance-Rejection Matrix).

Dependent Variable

There are two general sources of delinquent data or statistics
which could be possibly utilized, in order to determine the delinquent involvement of children and youth: (a) the official records of the juvenile agencies or legal authorities that deal with children and youth, in connection with illegal behavioral acts; and (b) the self-report or voluntary admission by children and youth, concerning those delinquent acts committed on the administered questionnaires or interviews. For the purpose of the research study here, the official statistics are very deficient, because of their inaccuracy. First, not all juveniles dealt with by the juvenile or legal agencies are formally or officially processed and become a part of the official records. Particularly, this is true for the police and the courts. Second, not all juvenile offenses committed come to the attention of the police agencies and even for those that do become known, the juvenile offender is not always caught or brought into custody.

Here, the need is for an accurate measurement as possible, regarding the involvement in delinquency by children and youth. As a result, the self-report or voluntary admission method is much more appropriate and it is utilized by this research study. In response to the apparent deficiencies of the official crime and delinquency statistics, the self-reporting method was pioneered by Porterfield (1946) and Wallerstein and Wylie (1947). Both these researchers found that many persons were very willing to divulge criminal involvement which had never lead to the detection and arrest by the police. The birth of the self-report approach in the late 1940's has lead to the development of numerous self-report questionnaires by other criminological investigators. However, the biggest question
concerning this procedure of collecting data is the truthfulness of the responses given by the sample subjects. This validity question has been an important issue within criminology. There have been three general ways by which this issue within criminology has attempted to be settled by criminologists and determine the honesty of people on the self-report questionnaire. First, one of the initial studies conducted for this purpose was reported by Clark and Tifft (1966). These researchers used a lie detector or polygraph to reinterview college students subsequent to the filling out of a self-report questionnaire, concerning their criminal involvement. The results of this study were very favorable; 81.5 of the responses were found to be truthful, although the researchers discovered that fist-fighting tends to be over-reported and deviant sexual acts are under-reported. However, in general the self-report data was found by Clark and Tifft (1966) to be quite accurate.

Second, another study conducted by Gold (1970) also discovered that the responses to a self-reporting questionnaire on illegal activities were relatively honest. This corroborates the findings of Clark and Tifft (1966) by utilizing a different method. Gold (1970) selected university students who were friends and asked them to report the illegal offenses committed themselves as well as the known offenses committed by everyone in the group. The results of the study showed that only 17% of the individuals failed to report an illegal offense which had been reported by a number of friends.

Third, the last way the accuracy of self-reporting responses on
illegal involvement has been tested is to check them against the official records of the legal authorities. In the studies conducted by Hirschi (1969) and Hardt and Bodine (1965) employing this method, these researchers found male juveniles to be very honest. Hirschi discovered that only a few of the boys within the sample actually denied having a police record and Hardt and Bodine found 95% of their sample participants truthful when it was claimed that they had no police records.

The above discussion has shown the accuracy of the self-report method to be quite high. That is, most of the respondents do tell the truth in the reporting of their previous illegal acts. However, according to Stark (1975), a major drawback with the self-reporting method is the studies utilized to validate the honesty of the responses have been almost exclusively with adolescents and young people. Of interest here, based upon the previous research findings, is that children and youth may be possibly more truthful than adults as far as responding to the self-report method on their illegal behaviors. On the other hand, these validation studies do provide scientific support for justifying the use of the self-report method for the purpose in this research study, since children and youth will be the only focus.

So, the self-report method was adopted as the methodological technique to measure juvenile delinquent behavior. Specifically, the questionnaire that was utilized for the collection of the data on the dependent variable (juvenile delinquent behavior) is the Nye (1958) Delinquency Scale which was also employed by Short and Nye.
(1957) in the measurement of juvenile delinquent involvement on the part of children and youth (see Appendix A for the complete questionnaire items). Of the twenty-three items within the scale even utilized by Nye (1958), not all of them are test items for the measurement of delinquent or anti-social behavior by children and youth; some are utilized for the entrapment of the overconformist who is attempting to provide socially acceptable answers on the questionnaire. An example of such a test item is Question 5 on lying. Almost every child or youth has at some time or another deliberately lied and this can be considered to be universal behavior. These entrapment questions were used as well in the following study, in order to spot and eliminate or separately analyze the overconformist if any are found.

This study employed only two modifications of the Nye Delinquency Scale; (a) Question Item 20 which combines narcotic use and sale was divided into two separate questions--one question pertains to the use of narcotics and the second question deals with the sale of narcotic drugs; and (b) two questions were added on the sale and use (one question for sale and another for use) of marijuana or "pot". With the adoption of these two modifications to the Nye Delinquency Scale (1958), a more complete measurement of drug offenses, both in terms of frequency and severity, can be accomplished.

In the use of this scale, Nye (1958) has found by using the Guttman-Cornell technique for the purpose of testing undimensionality that the items makeup a quasi scale with a reproducibility coefficient of .80 for male juveniles who are 14 and 15 years old. For the
purpose of improving reproducibility, Nye (1958) utilized image analysis and the reproducibility coefficient was increased to .963 in the case of juvenile males aged 14 and 15 and to .975 for the males 16 years and older. A similar procedure was used for the girls and after the utilization of image analysis had been employed, the reproducibility coefficient was .980. According to Nye (1958), these measures indicate the reliability of the delinquency items as part of the definition by Guttman concerning the term, itself (reliability). That is, when the scalogram analysis indicates that only one factor is operating among the responses, then many other factors cannot be in operation which also includes unreliability.

As far as the validity of the measurement instrument is concerned, Nye (1958) ran a check comparing institutionalized to non-institutionalized youth. The results showed, as expected, that the performance on the questionnaire differed markedly for the two groups. Specifically, when this researcher (Nye, 1958) utilized a cut-off score of 8 and 9 on the scale, only 14% of the institutionalized male juveniles were incorrectly or not placed where expected. This means that 86% of the institutionalized boys were above the score of 9. On the other hand, the non-institutionalized sample was correctly and incorrectly placed with the same figures only reversed--86% fell below the score of 8 and 14% above the score of 9. Therefore, the scale can distinguish between the two groups adequately in regards to juvenile delinquent behavior as far as the frequency of offenses committed. Nye (1958) also found the scale to be adequate in differentiating between these two groups of male youth on the severity of
the delinquent offenses reported. Not only did the institutionalized males report more frequency in the commission of delinquent acts, but committed more of the severe ones as well.

The Nye Delinquency Scale appears to be a very reliable and valid instrument for the measurement of juvenile delinquent behavior both in terms of the frequency and the severity of the offenses. However, in the administration of any questionnaire on self-reporting delinquency or deviant behavior, the researcher must take extreme caution. Nye (1958), himself, has felt that complete secrecy must be extended to the sample respondents and full anonymity should prevail. This was essentially the procedure that was adopted in the implementation of the research study for the filling out of all the questionnaires, including the questions on self-reporting delinquency. In addition, all of the respondents within the same family deposited their completed questionnaires into sealed envelopes with full instructions not to write any information by which they can be identified in any way.

According to Hardt and Bodine (1965), a researcher should plan to provide a reading expert to evaluate the self-reporting questionnaires on delinquency for their readability before the actual administration upon the sample of youth. This researcher not only followed the previously spelled out guideline to determine the readability of the questionnaire for children and youth, but all question items on the delinquency test was administered on small samples of youth in the Detroit Metropolitan Area from varying backgrounds to insure their readability and understanding.
Control Variables

The control variables were measured in the following ways. Socio-economic status for the family was determined by the present or most recent occupation of the father as reported and rated by the Nam and Powers (1968) Status Scores of Occupations. This status scale is based upon the 1960 United States Census information and included within the scores are multiple items—the averaging of derived scores on occupation, education, and family income. The occupational scores on the Nam and Powers (1968) Scale ranges from 2 to 99 with the higher score designating a higher status occupation. There are a vast number of specific occupations within this scale having its own respective score which is a definite advantage in the utilization. The specific occupations are generally classified into the following categories: (a) professional, technical, and kindred workers; (b) farmers and farm managers; (c) clerical and kindred workers; (d) sales workers; (e) craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers; (f) operatives and kindred workers; (g) private household workers; (h) service workers, excluding private household; (i) laborers, excluding farm and mine; (j) nondurable goods; (k) present members of the Armed Forces; and (l) farm laborers and foremen. Within the above classification, Nam and Powers (1968) have a total of 466 specific occupations that have been rated, according to prestige.

Race, ethnicity, and religion data were obtained by asking the respondents (parents only) specific questions concerning each of these respective nominal variables. In regards to race, a question
asked the respondents to designate whether they are Black, Oriental, or White. As far as ethnic origin is concerned, the sample members (the parents) were requested to respond to a question asking them to designate where their grandparents lived or resided. If the parental grandparents were residents of the United States, the family was considered to be of American ethnicity. The variable of religion was measured from a question asking the parental respondents to mark whether they are Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, other, or none.

Neighborhood integration was measured by the Fessler (1952) Community Solidarity Index which examines the community behavior, in regards to eight major areas: (a) community spirit, (b) interpersonal relations, (c) family responsibility toward the community, (d) schools, (e) churches, (f) economic behavior, (g) local government, and (h) tension areas. The reliability of this community scale is described as being high, but the figures had not been provided. As far as the validity is concerned, this community instrument has only been assessed on face validity. This scale (see Appendix B or C) was administered to the parents only and the total scores are analyzed, in order to compare the neighborhood integration levels of the various communities where the respondent families reside.

The variable of school adjustment was measured by the utilization of item questions selected from the Hirschi Study (1974) in Richmond, California. This researcher (Hirschi, 1974) asked questions pertaining to the social and academic aspects of the school environment and the social relationships with teachers, and other students. The school adjustment questions were only asked to the
juvenile members of the sample and not their parents.

Another control variable within this study is working mothers. This variable was measured by obtaining information from the mother, regarding her occupational status. If the mother indicated she is a housewife or mother without employment outside of the family, then this family was considered to have a nonworking mother. However, if the mother answered an occupation other than a housewife or mother, this family was evaluated as having a mother employed outside of the familial environment. The amount of time the mother spent engaged in this outside employment was not measured, only whether or not the mother was working in a job that took her away from the family.

Finally, the last control variable in this study is the chronological age of the male children. The male juvenile respondents were asked to indicate their age in terms of years and rounded off to their last birthday that they had reached.

The Sample Selection and the Administration of the Questionnaires

In the following pages, the sample composition and its method of selecting are discussed. For the purpose of this study, the nature of the sample is confined to males in the junior high school aged 12 to 15 years old. The study sample is limited to males for two essential reasons: (a) the juvenile delinquent problem is more extensive and severe among males than females, although female delinquency appears to be on the increase, both in terms of the frequency and severity of illegal behavior; and (b) to keep the sample
size at a minimum for the purpose of controlling the financial cost of the study and the amount of time needed to collect the data. If females were included within the sample members, this would have necessitated a sample size twice as large. Male juveniles of the junior high school age and their mothers and fathers constituted the entire sample. The early adolescent, or teen years, seems to be the time when juvenile delinquent behavior usually begins to manifest and escalate among young people. An in-depth research study of the junior high school age group would be particularly insightful, regarding the family and juvenile delinquency. Furthermore, with the utilization of a younger male group, this would reduce the time period for the recollection of information asked on the questionnaire as compared to older aged boys.

In the selection of the sample members, a stratified sample was chosen from a population of intact families within the Detroit Metropolitan Area who have junior high school males, according to socio-economic status. This stratified sample was selected on the basis of socio-economic status, because this variable is an important control one in this research study. Here, the intent of utilizing a stratified sample based on social status was to help insure sample representation across socio-economic lines. All census tracts in the Detroit Metropolitan Area (Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties) were categorized by the median yearly income, according to the United States Census Report of 1970 in the following manner: (a) upper class--$15,000 or more, (b) middle class--$5,000 to $14,999, and (c) lower class--$4,999 or less.
After all the census tracts in the Detroit Area were stratified by median yearly income, five census tracts were chosen randomly from each of the stratified clusters (a total of fifteen census tracts) by utilizing the Table of Random Numbers (The Rand Corporation, 1955, pp. 1-3). At this point, the reader should bear in mind that this was not the final determination of the families' socio-economic status, but only a method utilized to obtain sample representation among the different social classes in the Detroit Metropolitan Area. To reiterate, each sample family was later assigned a social class score, using the Nam and Powers Occupational Prestige Index (1968) based on the occupation of the father.

With the help of fourteen students enrolled at Wayne State University in an Introductory Sociology Class, each of the fifteen randomly selected census tracts were canvassed for potential families to be included in this research study. Prior to going out to the census tracts, all of the students participating as interviewers were exposed to a thorough orientation session, regarding the contact procedure, administration of the questionnaires, the importance and implementation of anonymity, and a check of the questionnaires for completeness of the answers.

Each of the students were instructed to begin at the farthest Northwest point of the census tract assigned (a map of the census tract was given to each of the students when assigned) and to proceed in a clockwise direction around the first block. After finishing the first block (the farthest Northwest block in the census tract), they were instructed to proceed to the next farthest Northwest block in
the census tract with priority given to the direction of North. Again, the procedure was to advance in a clockwise fashion around this second block. This same contact procedure was to be followed until the census tract was exhausted or a total of fifteen family interviews were obtained, whichever occurred first. In addition, the students were told to skip five residential dwellings after obtaining a set of family interviews (questionnaires filled out by the mother, father, and male child) to more completely cover the census tract.

The students were also advised as to the handling of multiple dwelling units, such as apartment houses, duplexes, and residences, having an upstairs and downstairs (flats or separate living quarters vertically for two families). In the case of apartment buildings, the procedure was to begin on the first floor and contact the housing units by advancing upward to the different floor in numerical order. On each apartment floor, they contacted each residential unit from the smallest apartment number to the largest. For duplex residences (two attached housing units side by side), the first unit that was approached was contacted before the next one. When an upstairs and downstairs housing unit was discovered, the downstairs unit was contacted first and the upstairs one second.

For each housing unit contacted where someone was at home, a screening questionnaire was administered to determine if the family qualified for the research study. The key information to determine whether or not the family qualified was the presence of a junior high school male (approximately, 13 to 15 years old) living in the
home with both his natural parents. If the family qualified for this research study, the interviewer then asked to administer the questionnaires, provided that the male child and his mother and father were available at this time. In cases where all three parties were not available, an appointment was made to return for the purpose of administering the questionnaires to the family members. After three callbacks and the family questionnaires were not obtained (a situation where all three family members are not available), this family was not contacted any further. In those cases where more than one male child was residing in the same family and qualified for this research study, in regards to age, all qualified male children were ranked from the oldest to the youngest on the screening form and one male child in the family was randomly chosen by simply rotating the qualified respondents from the oldest to the youngest ahead of time on the screening questionnaire. That is, the screening questionnaire by chance designated the male child to be interviewed according to age (from the oldest to the youngest), if more than one of the male children qualified within the same household.

The data obtained for this study were collected from the original fifteen census tracts chosen and during the time period from October, 1981 to January, 1982. There was a response rate of 90% of the qualified families for this research project. In all, one hundred family interviews were completed; one hundred male children with their mothers and fathers. Also, there were no lost data from any of the one hundred family interviews. This can be attributed to the on-the-location check of all the questionnaires, after they were filled out
by the interviewees. Each interviewer was instructed to thoroughly check all interview schedules to assure that every question was answered and the responses were clearly understood, before leaving the premises.

A cross-check of the families included in the study was conducted. After the questionnaires were checked by the interviewer for completeness and clarity and one of the family members placed them into a sealed envelope for anonymity, the family's name, address, and telephone number were recorded on a completed interview sheet for each of the census tracts. At the ten per cent rate (one out of ten), the completed family interviews were validated for honesty and proper procedure in each of the census tracts by contacting the family, again. In most of the cases, this was accomplished by telephone, when one existed, but for several validations, it required going back to the residential dwelling. All of the families contacted for the second time with respect to validation indicated they filled out the questionnaires themselves and this was done in the proper procedure.

Sample Representiveness

As previously stated, the total sample size amounted to one hundred families from the Detroit Metropolitan Area. Most research methodologists, within the social and behavioral sciences, agree that the size of the sample needed for a research study has very little to do with the size of the population to which the findings will be generalized. Of much greater relevancy to the needed sample size in a research study would be the heterogeneity of the population
studied and the number of variables utilized in the research investigation. For example, Hartman and Hedblom (1979) have stated that samples totaling 100 to 125 at a minimum usually will assume normal distribution of the sample units. This means that by utilizing samples of 100 or more, the researcher tends to achieve a random-like distribution within the criterion variable. Roscoe (1975) has pointed out that the sample size in multi-variate research (as an example, multiple regression) should be several times bigger than the number of variables utilized in the research study (preferably, 10 or more times as large). Within this research design, one hundred families is in line with the recommendations for the minimum sample size desired, since this research study utilizes 10 variables in relationship to the dependent one which is juvenile delinquency.

For this research study, the selected sample can be categorized as a stratified, systematic one. It is stratified according to socioeconomic status; that is, the families sampled were obtained by first categorizing the census tracts within the Detroit Area into high, medium, and low income groups. The sample is systematic in the sense that five households were skipped, after a set of family interviews were completed.

However, a systematic sample is not necessarily a biased one. A true systematic probability sample is the selection of sample members from the population where the researcher deliberately skips over certain individuals, such as contacting every fifth person or every tenth household, once the first contact has been selected on a random basis (Blalock, 1970; Babbie, 1973; Selltiz, Wrightsman, & Cook, 1976;
Phillips, 1976). In this manner, a biased sample could be obtained, if only certain types of individuals or families were selected and others are excluded (Babbie, 1973). Within this study, the method utilized was to skip over five houses, after the completion of interviews in a family, but there was not the establishment of a set pattern for the contacts which is the case for a true systematic sample. Even in a true systematic study, Selltiz, Wrightsman, and Cook (1976) have stated that a random sample is really obtained, provided the first case was randomly selected. Here, every case would have the same chance of being included within the sample. Babbie (1973) pointed out that systematic sampling really has an advantage over simple random sample selection, since the selection of a systematic sample is more convenient than the simple randomly obtained one. This study sample is only systematic in the sense that certain dwelling units were skipped, after the completion of family interviews with each census tract randomly selected at the onset. In essence, this means the sample is really a simple random one within each of the census tracts. There is no reason to believe by this method of obtaining the sample that certain households were deliberately and systematically excluded (for example, all corner houses which are of higher property value or certain types of families based on particular characteristics), thus biasing the results.
CHAPTER VI

THE RESEARCH RESULTS

A Description of the Sample

This section commences with a description of the sample that has been selected and obtained for the study. To reiterate, the total size of the sample is one hundred families from the Detroit Metropolitan Area; this includes one hundred male youths and their original or natural mothers and fathers. The basic unit of measurement for this study is the one child and his parents. In addition, all the families were still physically intact which means that at the time of the data collection, the male children and their parents were living together within the same residential dwelling.

Age

The children sampled ranged in age from 13 to 16 years with a mean age of 13.96 years and a median age of 13.91 years. The close mean and median ages is important because it reflects a low degree of age variation and high homogeneity in the sample. The age distribution of the sample is illustrated in Figure 2. The majority of youth are in their early teenage years, being thirteen and fourteen years (37 thirteen year olds and 32 fourteen year olds). Thus, 69 percent of the sample are at the most delinquent and crime prone age. While only 31 juveniles are fifteen and sixteen years of age (29 boys
Regarding the boys' position in school, as would be expected, a similar picture to that of age emerges from the sample, since there exists a high correlation between one's age and grade in school. The academic grade range for the children sampled spans from the 7th to the 11th grade. For the purpose of summarizing the boys in the sample, with respect to school grade level, the mean average grade attained is 8.5 and the median grade achieved is 8.4. Again, as was the case with age, the mean and median averages are very close. A statistical breakdown of the data on the boys according to school grade level is illustrated in Figure 3.
The vast majority of the boys are in the junior high school grades (the 7th through the 9th grades). Of the boys included in the study, 83 are in the junior high school (14 in the 7th grade, 40 in the 8th grade, and 29 in the 9th grade) and 54 of them are enrolled in the 7th and 8th grades of school. On the other hand, only 17 were attending the 10th and the 11th grades of high school (16 in the 10th grade and 1 in the 11th grade).

**Race**

With respect to race, the families in the sample are composed of Whites and Non-whites. From the total of one hundred families, Figure 4 illustrates the racial distribution.
There are no Asian families within the sample, although this racial group is represented in the Detroit Metropolitan Area population. As illustrated by Figure 4, sixty-five of the juvenile respondents came from families which are Caucasian or White and thirty-five of them from Negroid or Black family groups. Additionally, none of the boys in the sample are offspring or products of an inter-racial marriage.

**Nationality**

The base majority of the male children had grandparents who were born within the United States; as a result, they are considered to be of American ethnicity. Only 16 percent of the boys included in the sample had grandparents who were born outside of the United States.
These nationality or ethnic subgroupings are shown in Figure 5, as to their respective distribution. As Figure 4 illustrates, the nationality or ethnicity of an overwhelming number of sampled families is American (84%). The other nationalities represented within this sample includes Western European (8%), Eastern European (6%), and Canadian (2%).

Figure 5. Number of Male Sample Members According to Ethnic Origin

With respect to nationality or ethnic origin, the sample is not completely representative of the Detroit Metropolitan Area population; absent from the sample are such ethnic origins as Spanish American, African, Asian, and Australian, even though to varying degrees, they are present within the Detroit Area and its suburbs. This could not have been the result of the method utilized in this study for the
families to identify ethnicity, since the mothers and fathers were simply asked to name the country where each of their parents was born. From this information, the nationality or ethnic origin was determined for each family. This may indicate the need for a larger sample to include all nationalities or ethnic origins or the fact that the population as a whole is more multi-generational American.

Religion

The religious affiliation of the families sampled represents nearly equal proportions among the Protestant and Catholic faiths. Of the total sample, there are no Jewish families, even though there exists a Jewish population in the Detroit Metropolitan Area, and particularly, within one of the census tracts randomly selected for this research. This may be another signal for the need of a larger sample. Figure 6 illustrates the religious group preferences for those families in the study.

![Figure 6. Number of Sampled Families According to Religion](image)

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Within the total of one-hundred families, ninety indicated they are of the Christian faiths (45 were Catholic and the same number were Protestant). Also, six of the families indicated Other, although this could make reference to any religious faith outside of Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish. In addition, four families indicated no religious preference. So, as previously indicated, the vast majority of the families represented in this study were Christian (90%) and they are of equal division between the Protestant and Catholic denominations (45% of the families sampled in each).

**Socio-Economic Status**

To increase the chances of including within the sample the vastly different socio-economic statuses in the Detroit Metropolitan Area, a stratified area sample was selected. This was accomplished by stratifying the census tracts at the initial stage of the sample selection process, according to yearly income of each tract. The families randomly chosen for this study reflect the different social class levels within the Detroit Area, thus showing that the stratification method utilized was successful. Later, by using the Nam and Powers (1968) Scale of Status Occupation Scores for 1960, the range of these scores for the families (the assigned score is that of the male head of the household or father) is from 7 to 99. The scale, itself, ranges from 2 to 99.

With respect to the measure of central tendency, the mean socio-economic score is 53.1 and the median is 49.2. Both of these average measures are near the middle of the Nam and Powers Scale corresponding
to the middle social class. However, because the mean and median averages are quite dissimilar (a difference of 3.9 points), there is variance in the sample across socio-economic lines, meaning that with respect to socio-economic class the sample is heterogeneous. Figure 7 illustrates the division of socio-economic status scores into high, medium, and low. Thirty-seven families are within the High category socio-economically, thirty-eight families are Medium, and twenty-five are Low. As indicated by Figure 7, the families include all socio-economic statuses within the population area (Detroit and its suburbs). The census tracts utilized for this study are thereby, representative of the different socio-economic levels of the population.

![Figure 7. Number of Families According to Socio-Economic Status](image-url)
Summary

For the purpose of summarizing a description of the sample, the male children are in their early teens (13 and 14 years of age for 69% of the sample) and in the junior high school grades (particularly, the 7th and 8th grades for 54% of the sample). The families studied are Black and White and none of the children are offsprings of an inter-racial marriage. For nationality or ethnic origin, the vast majority of the sample is American, meaning that the grandparents of the youthful respondents were born inside of the United States. The families are primarily of the Christian religion (45% Catholic and 45% Protestant). Finally, the sample drawn from the Detroit Metropolitan Area spreads across the different socio-economic levels.

The Statistical Analyses

Path Analysis as a Statistical Test

Path analysis or step-wise regression was used to statistically analyze the data. According to Bohrnstedt and Knoke (1982), path analysis is a statistical test on quantitative data that provides empirical estimates on the effects of variables within an hypothesized causal model. This statistical technique was originally developed by Sewell Wright, a geneticist, but in the last several decades, path analysis has tained wide utilization within the social sciences. Essentially, path analysis measures the unit of change that the independent variable has on the dependent one, while all other independent variables in the analysis are controlled.
Agresti and Agresti (1977) have stated that path analysis is a statistical technique which utilizes linear regression models for the purpose of testing causal relationships within specific theories. In essence, path analysis is a series of multiple regression analyses, but within the framework of path analysis, the researcher has definite advantages. First, the path analytic technique forces the researcher to explicitly delineate the specific causal relationships which are presumed between the variables. Second, with the clear causal relationships presumed among the variables, the researcher can be more efficient in conducting the analysis of the data and clearly determining the logical explanations of the variable relationships. For example, if the originally found association between the two variables disappears, when a control variable has been utilized, the researcher can conclude that no causal relationship exists. However, if the association remains, this does not necessarily mean that one variable causes the other; this relationship may disappear when other variables are brought into the control analysis and a relevant variable may have been left out of the analysis. In the case of a relationship between two variables which remains after the control analyses, the hypothesis relating to this causal relationship is bolstered, especially when it is believed that all the relevant variables have been included.

According to Pine (1977), the utilization of path analysis provides for the researcher an opportunity to compare the direct and indirect effects of independent variables upon dependent ones. For this purpose of determining the indirect effects that one variable has on another, the difference existing between the zero-order correlation
coefficient and the path coefficient obtained for the two variables may be utilized. However, the path coefficient essentially can be used, because it means the same with respect to the net effects.

The Statistical Analyses of the Path Model

Figure 8 shows the initial analysis of the full run of the model (the inclusion of all the variables) and those significant relationships (shown by one-way arrows and the respective standardized regression or path coefficients) at the .05 level of significance for the dependent variable, the frequency of juvenile delinquency. To reiterate, juvenile delinquency includes all offenses reported including both status and nonstatus infractions of the law. The reader should note that the variable of marital adjustment includes the husband's and wife's scores combined, since a separate correlation analysis revealed a very high similarity between them in their evaluation of the marital adjustment. In regards to marital adjustment of the husbands and wives, a correlation coefficient of .80 was obtained which is significant at the .05 level. This finding makes it unnecessary to run separate statistical analyses for the husbands and wives and it allows for the utilization of the combined scores on marital adjustment.

In addition, the reader should note that for the parent-child relationships pictured in Figure 8, the assessment on the part of the male children toward their mothers and fathers is also a combined score as well. Similarly, to the case of marital adjustment, a separate correlation analysis has disclosed that a high correlation exists among the children as to their evaluation of the parent-child
Figure 8. Diagram of the Full Run of the Model (significant at the .05 level)
relationships with the mothers and the fathers. The boys in the sample yielded a .87 correlation coefficient of their evaluation of the relationships with both parents which is significant at the .05 level. This means that the path model can be run without having to conduct separate analyses for the parent-child relationships from the perspective of the children for the mothers and fathers, but can be simply combined for both parents in one analysis.

To aid the reader in identifying and understanding certain variable relationships within the path model, the computer codings for the nominal like variables are presented here. These include ethnic origin, race, religion, and the employment of the mother. With respect to ethnic origin, this variable was coded in the following manner: 1=Unite States, 2=Spanish American, 3=Western European, 4=Eastern European, 5=African, 6=Asian, and 7=Australian. Race was coded: 1=Black, 2=White, and 3=Oriental. The religious identification of the families was coded: 1=Protestant; 2=Catholic, 3=Jewish, 4=Other, and 5=None. Finally, the coding of the mother's employment status was done as follows: 1=Work and 2=Not Work.

Following the initial run of the entire model presented in Figure 8, a final run of the model was conducted with the elimination of those relationships that were not significant at the .05 level in the initial run. Figure 9 presents the results of this analysis with the dependent variable, again, being the frequency of juvenile delinquency. Notice the elimination of three relationships which had been significant at the .05 level, but they are not not significant at this same level: (a) the relationship of the mother employed to the
parent-child relationship of the father to the male child, (b) the relationship of ethnic origin to the parent-child relationship as the boy views it for both parents, and (c) the relationship of the mother employed to the frequency of offenses committed across the board (all offenses included) for juvenile delinquency. At this point, these three relationships mentioned above dropped out of the final path model pictured in Figure 9. This occurred primarily because these relationships were tenuous within the initial run and with the elimination of the nonsignificant relationships for the final one, these weak and spurious relationships proved not significant as well. In addition, Table 1 shows the degree of influence that each variable in Figure 9 has directly and indirectly upon the frequency of juvenile delinquency.

Here, the significant findings are presented for the regression analyses with the dependent variable being the frequency of juvenile delinquent behavior. The reader should notice from Figure 9 and Table 1 that there are a number of key variables or factors which were found to significantly relate to the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses both directly and indirectly.

The Variables Found Directly Related to the Frequency of Juvenile Delinquency

Within the final path model, there are four variables which directly relate to the frequency of committed delinquent offenses at the .05 level of significance. From the strongest direct relationship to the weakest, these variables are with their respective standardized
Figure 9. Diagram of the Final Run of the Model (significant at the .05 level)
Table 1
The Direct and Indirect Effects of Each Variable Relating to the Frequency of Juvenile Delinquency (significant at the .05 level)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Indirect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Integration</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Origin</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Adjustment&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-Child Relationship&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.35</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-Child Relationship&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child-Both Parents Relationship&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Adjustment</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Combined for the mother and father.

<sup>2</sup> The mother-child relationship as the mother evaluated it.

<sup>3</sup> The father-child relationship as the father evaluated it.

<sup>4</sup> The parent-child relationship as the child evaluated it for both parents.

Regression or path coefficients: (a) the parent-child relationship -- the mother's assessment of her relationship with the child, -.35; (b) the parent-child relationships -- the evaluations made by the child about the relationships with both parents combined together, -.24; (c) school adjustment, -.20; and (d) race, -.18.

The strongest direct relationship to the frequency of juvenile delinquent behavior was the parent-child relationship as perceived by the mother (-.35). This was followed by the child's view of his relationship with both parents (-.24). The mother's perception of
her parent-child dyad was found to be very strongly related to the commission of delinquent offenses, while the child's view of the parental relationships was significant, but less strong. A standardized regression coefficient of over .24 or -.24 has been interpreted as indicating a strong relationship. In the case of both parent-child relationship findings, an inverse relationship with the frequency of juvenile delinquent behavior was found; that is, as the parent-child relationship(s) become(s) worse in nature and quality, there exists an increase in the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses by the child when all offense categories are considered.

However, when both parents assessed the parent-child relationships individually from their own perspectives, only the mother's assessment is significantly related to the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses. With the analysis of the child's perceptions, regarding the parent-child relationship patterns, a different result was found; both parents were discovered to be significantly related to the frequency of juvenile delinquency. This means that the cogency for the nature and quality of the parent-child relationships in directly influencing the commission of delinquent offenses was found to be differential among the family members.

School adjustment was found to significantly and directly relate to the frequency of delinquency (-.20). Even though this relationship tends to be weak (under .20), it does indicate an inverse and proportional relationship between school adjustment and the commission of juvenile delinquent offenses. That is, as the school adjustment of the young sample members increase, the involvement in juvenile
delinquent offenses decrease. Incidentally, this finding is consistent with most of the studies previously done on the school and juvenile delinquency.

Finally, the last factor or variable in the model to significantly relate to the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses is race (-.18). Of the variables directly relating to juvenile delinquency found in the path model, race is the most surprising result, even though it tends to be a weak relationship (less than -.24). This finding has shown that race is the only variable outside of the family relationship network (the marital and parent-child relationship patterns), that directly imparts delinquency. Specifically, Black youth have a significantly higher frequency of juvenile delinquent behavior than Whites when all offense categories are considered and independent of the family variables. The above result is contrary to most of the self-report studies conducted on the problem of juvenile delinquency, inasmuch as previous studies have failed to find a significant difference between White and Black youth and the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses.

The Variables Found Indirectly Related to the Frequency of Juvenile Delinquency

Within Figure 9, there are a number of variables which indirectly through other variables lead to the frequency of juvenile delinquent behavior. By looking at the variable of school adjustment on Figure 9, there are three variables in this model that significantly relate to the school adjustment of the sample at the .05 level. These three
variables are: age (-.29), community integration (.18), and the parent-child relationship, the assessment of the parent-child relationship as the child views it for both parents (.40). In regards to age and school adjustment, the findings show a very strong relationship between these two variables in an inverse, proportional manner (-.29). That is, as the boys sampled get older, their school adjustment proportionally decreases.

The results of this study show a significant relationship between community integration and school adjustment of the sampled boys, although this relationship is weak (.19). Here, the finding indicates that the boys who are better adjusted in school come from neighborhoods or communities with a higher degree of integration.

Finally, the last variable found to significantly relate to the school adjustment of the youth in the sample is the parent-child relationships from the perspective of the children (.40). This relationship was discovered to be a directly proportional one, meaning that as the parent-child relationships increase in quality and closeness, the school adjustment also increases for the boys. The relationship between the parent-child dyads and school adjustment is very strong.

From Figure 9, the results strongly suggest that the focus or concentration of action is located around the parent-child relationships. Within the cluster of the parent-child relationship patterns, the father's perspective of this dyad relationship directly effects the way the child views it for both parents (.36). That is, as the parent-child relationship increases in quality and closeness from the
father's vantage point, the child has better feelings, regarding his relationships with both parental figures. This means the child is differentially oriented more toward the father for the formation of the relationship patterns and generalizes this to the mother.

However, the results also show in Figure 9 that there is a direct, proportional relationship between the parent-child dyad as viewed by the mother and the way the father perceives his relationship pattern with the child (.43). With an increase in the quality and closeness of the mother-son relationship (as the mother views it), the father-son relationship (as the father sees it) experiences improvement. This means the father-son relationship from the perspective of the father has a dependency upon the mother-child dyad. Therefore, this result indicates that the maternal parent's relationship with her son affects the way the child relates to both parents, indirectly through the father-son relationship pattern.

At this point, a discussion is presented on the results of those variables which significantly lead into the cluster of parent-child relationships at the .05 level. Essentially, three variables were found significantly related to the parent-child relationship cluster. These variables are the marital adjustment (both the husband and wife), community integration, and ethnic origin. As illustrated in Figure 9, the marital adjustment of the wife from her perspective was found to be important for the parent-child relationship (.57). This means that as the marital adjustment for the female spouse, increases, the relationship between her and the child also proportionally increases. The standardized regression coefficient for this relationship (.57) is a
very strong one. It appears from this result that the degree of marital adjustment experienced by the mother has a direct influence upon the subsequent mother-child relationship with her son.

In the case of the father, his view of the marital adjustment with his wife was found to be of importance to the parent-child relationship with the son (.26); however, this relationship is not nearly as strong as the case for the wife or mother (.57). Marital adjustment for the father relates strongly to the subsequent father-child relationship, but in comparison to the wife, poor adjustment seems to have a differential effect upon each of the parents and their ability to form close relationship patterns with their son. That is, marital maladjustment problems appear to interfere more with the mother forming a close relationship with her son than is the case for the father.

With respect to the child as he sees the parent-child relationships, the interactional patterns with both the mother and the father were found to be of equal importance. The parent-child relationships from the child's perspective were found to be significantly related to the marital adjustment of both the parents and this was determined statistically through regression analysis to be a very strong relationship (.70 at the .05 level of significance) as pictured in Figure 9. From Figure 9, the reader should note that poor marital adjustment does not significantly relate to the frequency of juvenile delinquency in a direct manner, but through the parent-child relationships which are subsequently formed by the parents with their offspring. As the marital adjustment of both parents decrease, the
quality or closeness of the parent-child relationship patterns proportionally decrease by the child as well.

Community integration was found significantly related at the .05 level with the parent-child relationships for both the mother and the father as they viewed both of these variables which is illustrated in Figure 9 (.16 for the mother and .15 with respect to the father). Both of these relationships, even though significant at the .05 level, are statistically very weak. In addition, community integration was not found significantly related to the parent-child relationships for both the mother and the father as the children evaluated their parental interactions. However, in the case of both parents from their point of view, as community integration increases, the quality or closeness of the parent-child dyads also proportionally increase.

The last variable to significantly relate to the parent-child relationships is ethnic origin, .21, as illustrated in Figure 9 for the father only. This significant relationship, although on the weak side, is found to only hold as the father viewed the parent-child relationship and not from the child's point of reference. From the father's perspective those families that the relatively newer to the United States (from Western and Eastern European countries) over the past few generations, seem to evidence less difficulty for the fathers to form a close relationships with their sons. The results indicate that the paternal parents from Western and Eastern Europe (particularly, the fathers of Eastern European ethnicity) see their relationships with the children to be of better quality or closeness than the
American fathers. However, this finding should be cautiously inter-
preted, since the ethnic subsamples for the Western and Eastern Euro-
pean fathers are small (8 considered Western European and 6 Eastern
European).

As illustrated in Figure 9, the variable of marital adjustment
for both the husband and wife only directly influences the cluster
of parent-child relationships which was previously discussed. How-
ever, there exists within the model (Figure 9) one variable that was
found directly and significantly related to the marital adjustment
of the parents. That is, the age of the child seems to influence the
marital adjustment of the parental figures. This very strong stan-
dardized regression coefficient (−.39) means as the age of the male
child increases, the marital adjustment of the parents proportionally
decreases. Here, the reader is reminded that all of the sampled
families were physically intact meaning that the mother and father
were still married to each other and living together within the same
residential dwelling unit.

The Total Indirect Effects of Each Variable on the
Frequency of Juvenile Delinquency

From Figure 9, the total indirect effects of each variable,
leading to the frequency of juvenile delinquent behavior, was calcu-
lated. This was accomplished by first finding the products (by multi-
plication) of the standardized regression coefficients for the rela-
tionships within the path, leading to the frequency of juvenile delin-
quency and second, summing the products of the paths for each
respective variable. The results of these calculations for each variable are presented in Table 1.

As Table 1 indicates, the weakest to the strongest variables indirectly effecting the frequency of delinquent behavior are as follows: (a) ethnic origin, -.03; (b) the mother-child relationship from the mother's perspective, -.05; (c) the child to both parental relationship patterns from the child's perception, -.08; (d) both community integration and the father-child relationship as the paternal parent views it, -.12; (e) the age of the child, .25; and (f) the marital adjustment of both parental figures, -.49. A score of below plus or minus .24 is considered a weak measure and above plus or minus -.24 is strong.

The weakest variable indirectly influencing the commission of delinquent acts was found to be ethnic origin (-.03). In an indirect manner as shown in Figure 9, the ethnic origin of the families sampled was found to have a very weak influence on the frequency of delinquent behavior by going through the variables of the parent-child relationships. This is as the father sees the relationship with his son and then to the male child's view of his relationship with both parents. The paths continue either indirectly to delinquency through school adjustment or directly to delinquent behavior. This finding indicates that from the boys sampled, those of American ethnicity were very slightly more involved in the frequency of delinquent acts as compared to the other ethnic groups. The latter ethnic groups include the Western and Eastern European and Canadian families. However, the families sampled were predominantly of American ethnicity.
(84%) and the other ethnic groups represented a relatively smaller part of the families within the sample (16%). This would mean that the ethnic origins from outside of the United States had very small numbers within the subsamples. So, therefore, this result must be taken with caution.

As previously presented, the next weakest variable which indirectly effects the frequency of juvenile delinquency was statistically determined to be the mother-child relationship from the viewpoint of the maternal parent (-.05). This is almost as weak as ethnic origin (-.03), but it does indicate that there is a very slight indirect relationship between the mother-child dyad as the mother sees it and the frequency of delinquent acts. The mother-son relationship shown in Figure 9 indirectly influences delinquency through the father-son relationship as the father views it and then to the parent-child relationships from the child's perception of both parents. After this, it goes on to delinquency either directly or in an indirect manner through the school adjustment of the child. This weak indirect relationship was found to be inverse. That is, as the mother-son relationship decreases in quality or closeness from the mother's perspective, the frequency of delinquent acts increases.

Following the mother-child relationship patterns, the next weakest variable in the model indirectly effecting juvenile delinquency is the child to both parental relationships from the youngster's point of view (-.08). This measure is very weak as well. However, it does indicate that there exists a very slight indirect influence of the parent-child relationship patterns upon the commission of
delinquent violations. As shown in Figure 9, this indirect relationship between the parent-child dyads and juvenile delinquency is through the school. This slight indirect relationship is inverse and it means that as the quality or closeness of the parent-child relationships decreases, the frequency of delinquent acts increases.

The next weakest variables found indirectly effecting the committed frequency of delinquent behavior are community integration and the father-child relationship as the paternal parent views it and both were statistically computed at -.12. For community integration, this measure shows a weak indirect effect upon the frequency of delinquent acts. Community integration weakly influences juvenile delinquency by following numerous paths as illustrated in Figure 9. Within two path, it leads through the entire parent-child relationship cluster from the mother-son to the father-son and then following to both relationship patterns as the child sees them. At this point, it branches off to delinquency, either directly or indirectly through the school adjustment. In another path, community integration indirectly effects juvenile delinquent behavior by going through the mother-son relationship as the mother perceives it. By following two other paths, community integration indirectly influences delinquency through the father-son relationship pattern to both parental dyads as the child assesses them and then it continues on to delinquency, either directly or indirectly through the school adjustment. The variable of community integration was found to enter the family through the parent-child relationship patterns as both the parental figures view them and not directly upon the parent-child dyads from the child's
perspective. This means that the effect of community integration upon the child is indirect through the parents via the parent-child relationships.

In total, this weak indirect relationship between community integration and the committed frequency of delinquent acts was found to be inverse. That is, as the degree of community integration decreases, the commission of delinquent acts increases. Even though this indirect relationship is weak, it shows that the degree of community integration has some effect on the frequency of delinquent behavior.

For the father-son relationship pattern as the father has evaluated it, this variable similarly has a weak indirect effect upon the delinquent frequency (-.12). However, this measure indicates that there is some influence of the father-son dyad as seen by the father on delinquency. The frequency of delinquent behavior is weakly affected by the father-son relationship pattern by taking two paths as shown in Figure 9. Within the first path, the father-son relationship was found to lead to the parent-child dyads as the child perceives them and then it follows directly to delinquency. Within the second path, the father-son relationship starts out similarly, but then it is diverted through school adjustment before reaching delinquency. The total indirect influence of the father-son relationship from the father's perspective is inverse and this can be interpreted as meaning that as the father's relationship with the son decreases in quality or closeness, there is an increase in the frequency of delinquent behavior.
The first really strong measure of indirect effects upon delinquent frequency found in the analyses was that of the child's age (.25). As pictured in Figure 9, the age of the child indirectly effects delinquency by following many paths after it directly leads to the marital adjustment of both parents. From marital adjustment, age indirectly follows to delinquency through the mother-son relationship and the parent-child relationships from the child's perspective. However, in the child to both parental relationships, age is also found to lead to delinquency indirectly through the child's school adjustment. For the mother-son relationship as the maternal parent sees it, age in an indirect manner reaches delinquency by going through the father-son relationship pattern and both parent-child relationships as the child perceives them. It then reaches delinquency in a direct way or indirectly through school adjustment. Also, from marital adjustment directly to the father-son relationship, age gets to delinquency by going through the parent-child relationships from the child's point of view for both parents and either directly to delinquent behavior or indirectly through the school adjustment.

The total indirect effect of age upon delinquency was found to be a proportional one. This means that as the age of the child increases, the frequency of the delinquent involvement decreases.

Finally, the strongest variable with indirect effects upon delinquency is marital adjustment of both parents (-.49). Marital adjustment, as shown in Figure 9, follows the same paths to the frequency of delinquent offenses as does age which leads through marital adjustment to delinquency and this was just previously discussed. Within
indirect paths, marital adjustment was found to have a very strong influence through the parent-child relationship cluster and school adjustment on the frequency of delinquent acts. This very strong indirect relationship between marital adjustment and delinquency can be interpreted to mean that as the marital adjustment of both parents decreases, the delinquent involvement by the boy inversely increases.

The Comparison of the Direct and Indirect Effects on the Frequency of Juvenile Delinquency

There are two variables within the model which have both direct and indirect effects upon the frequency of delinquent behavior. These two variables are the mother-child relationship as it was evaluated by the mother and the parent-child relationships from the assessments made by the child. In the case of the mother-son relationship pattern, the direct effect upon delinquent frequency was found to be -.35 and the indirect influence was computed at -.05. This means that the direct influence of the mother-son relationship on delinquency is much stronger than the indirect. In comparing the two measures, the direct effect is 7 times stronger than the indirect. However, when the direct and indirect measures are added together (-.40), the mother-son relationship is an exceedingly strong variable influencing the frequency of delinquent behavior. The strength of this variable is only second to marital adjustment (-.49) when all the variables in the model are considered.

For the parent-child relationships from the child's perspective, the direct effect on delinquency was computed at -.24 and the
indirect measure yielded -.08. This can be interpreted to mean that the direct effect is 3 times greater than the indirect effect. When the direct and indirect effects of this variable are combined (-.32), the strength upon delinquent frequency is very strong and it ranks as the third strongest variable among all those within the model.

When all the variables are considered as to strength upon the frequency of delinquent behavior, in terms of both direct and indirect effects, there are four variables with strong influences (above .24 or -.24) on the delinquent frequency. From the strongest to the weakest, these variables are (a) the marital adjustment (both parents), -.49; (b) the mother-child relationship from the mother’s perspective, -.40; (c) the parent-child relationships as the child perceives them, -.32; and (d) the age of the child, .24. Notice, three of these variables involve the family, in terms of the inter-relationship patterns; that is, the marital and parental relationships. The fourth variable, the age of the child, was found to have strong indirect effects upon delinquency by going through marital adjustment and the parent-child cluster of relationships.

Within this analysis, there are two variables considered to have a relatively weak influence on the frequency of delinquent acts. These are the school adjustment, -.20 and race, -.18. The rest of the variables within the model were found to have very weak influences on the delinquent frequency and these include both community integration and the father-child relationship as the father perceives it, -.12 and ethnic origin, -.03.
The Research Results on the Frequency of Youth Crime

For juvenile delinquency, a second dimension of this dependent variable is the frequency of youth crime offenses. That is, the number of offenses committed for those juvenile violations only that would be illegal behavior as an adult, excluding traffic offenses. In a statistical test of the data, a correlation analysis was conducted to compare the frequency of all juvenile delinquent offenses committed (both the status and nonstatus offenses) to the frequency of youth crime violations (the nonstatus offenses only, not including traffic offenses).

As a result of this correlation analysis, a correlation coefficient of .97 was obtained which was found to be significant at the .05 level. In essence, this means that the distribution of scores for the frequency of all juvenile offenses taken together is very similar to the distributive scores for the frequency of youth crime offenses. Moreover, those who scored high on all delinquent offenses committed, also scored high on the youth crime violations. This is important because, it shows that the same variables found to explain the variation in the frequency of juvenile delinquency, also would play an important role for the variation among the youth crime offenses.

Therefore, a separate path analysis for the frequency of youth crimes committed by the sample members is unnecessary, since the same relationships would hold as was the case for the frequency of all delinquent offenses previously run and illustrated in Figure 9.
this analysis, the same identical findings were obtained for both dimensions of the dependent variable; delinquency, considered thus far; the frequency of all juvenile delinquent offenses committed and the frequency of youth crime violations.

The Empirical Findings on the Seriousness of Youth Crime Offenses

The third dimension of juvenile delinquency to be statistically analyzed in depth is the seriousness of the youth crime violations. Here, each youth crime offense committed by a respondent was given a seriousness rating score taken from the Wolfgang and Sellin (1964, pp. 391-392) ratings of juvenile offenses, according to their seriousness. Wolfgang and Sellin (1964) obtained this rating scale by having juvenile court judges and referees, police officers, and college students evaluate and rank by seriousness a large number of juvenile delinquent offenses. The rating scores obtained represent their composite evaluation of the seriousness of the juvenile offenses considered by the judges and referees in juvenile court, the police officers, and the college students.

For each respondent, the Wolfgang and Sellin (1964) seriousness score was assigned to each youth crime offense committed rounded off to its next highest or lowest whole number, whichever was closest. In order to obtain a total seriousness for each offense, the frequency score was multiplied with the individual offense seriousness score (the frequency of the youth crime offense X the individual offense seriousness score = the total seriousness score for each youth crime offense category). After a total seriousness rating was
determined for each youth crime offense, all these offense categories were summed to represent the grand total seriousness rating of all the youth crime offenses committed by each sample member.

A correlation analysis was conducted to compare the frequency of youth crime offenses committed to the seriousness of youth crime violations. The correlation coefficient obtained by this analysis was .99 which was found to be significant at the .05 level. This essentially means that the distribution of scores for the youth crime frequency and the youth crime seriousness were found to have very close similarity. Those who scored high on the youth crime frequency, also scored high on the youth crime seriousness.

In addition, separate correlation analysis was run to compare the frequency of all delinquent offenses committed to the seriousness of youth crime offenses. A correlation coefficient of .95 was obtained which was significant at the .05 level. From this correlation analysis, it shows clearly that the distribution of the frequency scores for delinquent offenses is very similar to the distribution of scores on youth crime seriousness. Those sample members who scored high on the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses committed, also scored high on the youth crime seriousness.

Therefore, a separate path analysis for youth crime seriousness is not necessary, since essentially the same results would be obtained as was the case for the frequency of delinquent offenses committed and illustrated within Figure 9. From the results obtained in this research study, the findings show that there are almost identical results for all the three dimensions of juvenile delinquency.
considered; the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses, the frequency of youth crime offenses, and the seriousness of youth crime violations. As a consequence of these results, the remainder of this paper will make no distinction between the different dimensions of juvenile delinquent behavior. All further statements are intended to be applicable to each of them.

The Summary

Both directly and indirectly, juvenile delinquency is found to be significantly dependent upon the family inter-relationships, specifically the marital and parent-child dyads. The quality of the marital relationship between the husband-wife (marital adjustment) was not found to directly influence delinquency among male youth; however, the marital adjustment of the parents was discovered to have an indirect influence through the parent-child relationship patterns. The marital adjustment of the parents has the strongest effect upon the delinquent behavior of the child, compared to any other variable included within the model; but this influence is totally indirect through the parent-child relationship cluster. As the marital adjustment of the parental figures decreases, the parent-child relationships decrease in quality or closeness for the mother, father, and child from their own respective vantage points. As a result, the school adjustment is lowered for the child and/or the delinquency involvement is increased.

For juvenile delinquency, the parent-child relationship cluster was found to be the center or main focal point of the model. The
parent-child relationships were shown to strongly influence delinquent behavior by male youngsters, both directly and indirectly (this latter being through the school adjustment). In a direct manner, the mother-son dyad as the mother evaluated it and both parental relationship patterns from the child's perspective, strongly effects the juvenile delinquent behavior. As the quality or closeness of these parent-child relationships decreases from the perception of the mother and son, the delinquent involvement increases.

The influence of the parent-child relationships upon juvenile delinquency was found also to exist in an indirect way through the school adjustment of the child, but this was shown primarily to be the parent-child dyads as the child views them. In comparing the direct and indirect influences of the parent-child patterns from the child's perspective on juvenile delinquency, the direct effects are much stronger than the indirect influences through the school. However, for the weaker influences of the indirect effects of the parent-child relationships through the school upon juvenile delinquent behavior, these effects have an inverse nature; that is, as the quality or closeness of the parent-child dyads decreases which leads to a lesser school adjustment, the delinquent involvement increases.

Essentially, the results of this study have shown that the school adjustment of the youngsters and delinquency are both dependent variables to the parent-child relationships from within the family; however, the parent-child relationships are related much stronger to delinquency than the school adjustment. From the research findings, it appears that the school offsets, to some extent, the
delinquency proneness of the child which directly stems from the parent-child relationships. This offsetting of delinquency proneness by the school can be seen in comparing the school adjustment and the delinquent behavior which was found to be weaker (-.20) than the relationship between the parent-child dyads from the child's perspective and school adjustment (.40). In addition, the findings indicated the mother-son and father-son relationships as the child views them are of equal importance for both the school adjustment and the delinquent behavior on the part of the child.

The school was discovered to have a weak influence directly upon delinquency that is independent of the family. This weak independent influence of school adjustment upon delinquent behavior also is affected by the variables of age and community integration. As the child grows older, the school adjustment lessens and the delinquent acts increase. With a reduction of community integration of the neighborhoods, the school adjustment was found to lessen and delinquent acts increase. However, the relationship between age and school adjustment is much stronger than is the case for community integration and the school adjustment. Consequently, through the school, age as a greater effect on delinquency than is the case for community integration.

Age not only indirectly effects delinquency through the school, but also in an indirect manner, it effects juvenile delinquency by going through the family. The age of the child directly relates to the degree of marital adjustment between the parents and thereby, indirectly influences the quality or closeness of the parent-child
relationships, the school adjustment of the child, and/or delinquency participation. That is, as the child increases in age, the marital adjustment of the parental figures decrease, leading to poorer parent-child relationship patterns which subsequently reduces school adjustment and/or increases juvenile delinquency.

Community integration also is found to indirectly effect delinquent behavior through the family, but this is very weak directly upon the parent-child relationships as seen only by each parental figure. As community integration decreases, the parent-child relationship patterns as seen by the mother and father decrease in quality or closeness, thus lessening the school adjustment and/or increasing delinquent involvement.

The variable of ethnic origin was discovered to have a very minimal effect upon delinquency by effecting the father-son relationship as the father sees it. It seems that the fathers of American ethnicity see their relationships with their sons to be of lesser quality or closeness than those fathers from Western and Eastern European countries, particularly, the fathers from Eastern Europe viewed the parent-child relationship in a more positive manner. To a very weak extent, ethnic origin influences delinquency by following the paths through the parent-child relationship patterns as the father and the son sees the relationship, excluding the mother and on to the school adjustment and/or delinquency. That is, the American fathers tended to evaluate the parent-child relationships lower which in turn, leads to a decrease in school adjustment and/or an increase of delinquent participation.
Finally, the last variable to relate to delinquency in the model was race. The Black youngsters had a tendency to commit delinquent acts to a greater extent than the White boys. This was found to be independent of the family inter-relationship patterns and the school.
CHAPTER VII
THE DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Chapter VI revealed a number of key variables to be causally related to juvenile delinquency. These causal relationships were discovered to be both direct and indirect. At this point in the discussion, the direct and indirect causal links found to delinquency will be covered in greater detail.

The Direct Variables Found Causally Linked to Delinquency

Essentially, four variables within the model were found to have direct, causal linkages to delinquent behavior. From the strongest to the weakest, these variables are: (a) the parent-child relationship from the mother's perspective, (b) the parent-child relationship as the child views them for both parents, (c) the school adjustment of the child, and (d) race.

The Mother-Child Relationship

In the case of the mother-child relationship as the mother perceives it, this variable is inversely related to the delinquent behavior of the child. Specifically, as the quality or closeness of the mother-son dyad decreases, it was found that delinquent involvement proportionally increases. However, this was not significant for the father-son relationship pattern. When the parents (both the mother and father) individually assessed the parent-child relationship
from their own respective positions, it was only the mother's assessment which significantly related to delinquency.

This would indicate that the mother-son relationship is more crucial for the delinquent behavior in boys than the father-son dyad, at least from the parental points of view. Usually, mothers are more home and family oriented than fathers, because women have been differentially socialized (Skolnick, 1973). As the Bems (1970) discovered, it is so much easier to predict what a female baby will be doing in life twenty-five years later than would be the case for the male offspring. With almost total statistical assurance, one can predict that the female child will be a housewife and/or mother when reaching her middle twenties. The male child upon attaining adult life has many more options, in terms of work or a career. These different attainments by adulthood for males and females are brought about by social pressures and differential sex socialization in our society.

Even if a married woman chooses to work or pursue a career, this does not substantially lessen her home and family responsibilities and it may be a source of guilt interfering with household obligations, especially in the case of children (Klemer, 1975). Married women who work follow a two role option which includes being a working or career woman, plus a housewife and/or mother (Bernard, 1971). Poloma and Garland (1971) found that the domestic responsibilities for working wives still rest with the woman primarily, although their husbands do more household chores than married men who have nonworking wives.

The father is more likely to be involved to a greater extent in work or a career as well as other matters which take him away from the
home. As a result, the female parent in our society is more often directly burdened with the socialization of the children and youth as compared to the father and the father usually assumes a supportive role to his wife in childhood socialization (Landis, 1975). Our American culture views the socializing of children to be more a function of the mother's role than the father's. Furthermore, our society fosters the ideology that women are better suited to handle and deal with children as compared to men. Consequently, mothers may see their role with children to be differentially more important as compared to the way fathers perceive it. This may have more differential importance for the mother-son relationship, in terms of the socialization effectiveness. When the mother-son relationship decreases in quality and closeness, this differentially lessens the socialization effectiveness which is more a direct function of the mother than the father and delinquency proneness and involvement are increased.

The Parent-Child Relationships

On the other hand, with the analyses of the child's perspective on the parent-child relationship patterns, a quite different picture emerges. That is, both parental figures within the family were found significantly related to delinquent behavior on the part of the boys. More specifically, as the quality or closeness of the relationships with both parents as the child perceives them decreases, the participation in delinquent activities proportionally increases. For some reason, the father-son relationship from the paternal parent's perspective does not significantly relate to delinquency. This could be
due to the differentially less interaction within the family between the father and son and the father's role being divergent to the mother's in this primary group as was just previously discussed. With other matters on the father's mind which are located outside of the family especially, in regards to work or a career, it is entirely possible that the father does not accurately perceive the true nature of his relationship with his son. If this is the case, the fathers within the sample may have simply over-estimated the quality or closeness of their relationship pattern with the sons. The mothers being around the boys more often and involved to a greater extent with child raising activities, they may be in a better position to realistically assess their relationships with the youngsters.

Many years ago, Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-1920) stated that what has been perceived as real to the person has much greater saliency than reality for the behavior, regardless of whether or not it actually exists. Here, from the child's perspective, the quality or closeness of the parent-child relationship patterns for both parents seem to have importance in the commission of juvenile delinquent offenses, even though the father's assessment from his point of view does not statistically prove significant. Since, it is the child who commits the delinquent acts, it seems reasonable to assess greater weight to his perception of the relationships with the parental figures. As a result, both parent-child relationship patterns have been found to have direct causal links to delinquent behavior.

From the perception of the child, the results have shown that
the assessments of the parent-child relationships for both parents are directly dependent upon the parent-child relationship as the father views it. This means that from the child's perspective, the father-son relationship pattern is more important on how he looks at both parental figures as compared to the mother-son relationship. However, the findings also indicated the mother-son relationship as viewed by the mother effects the father-son dyad from the father's perspective and consequently, the relationship with the father influences the way the child sees his relationship patterns with both parents. As the mother-son relationship from the mother's vantage point increases in quality or closeness, the father-son relationship seen by the father proportionally increases and this affects the son to view both parental relationship patterns more positively. So, the mother-son relationship indirectly influences the perception of the child toward both parental dyads through the father-son relationship pattern. This can be interpreted to mean that the male child is more oriented to the father in a direct sense than the mother as the child sees it and the child tends to generalize his feelings of the father-son relationship to the mother-son dyad. Since, the sample did not include female youngsters, this finding may only apply to male children and youth and it cannot be checked in the present study. However, for delinquent behavior, there is no support found that one parental relationship pattern is more important than the other, at least from the child's point of view.
School Adjustment

The next strongest variable found to be directly linked to delinquency is the school adjustment of the child. Even though this relationship tends to be weak, it does indicate an inverse and proportional relationship between school adjustment and delinquency involvement. Moreover, as the school adjustment of the boys decreases, the participation of delinquent activity increases. Incidentally, this finding on the school and delinquency is consistent with most of the studies done on the school and delinquent behavior (for a review of these findings, see Polk & Schafer, 1972; Friday, 1980). However, the school may not be an independent causal variable in delinquency, but an intervening one located between other variables and delinquency, such as those found within the family. Of importance to delinquency through the school adjustment, this research study found the variables of age and community integration to directly influence the school adjustment, in addition to the parent-child relationship patterns. These indirect causal links to delinquency, the age of the child and community integration through the school adjustment, are discussed later when the focus is upon the indirect causal links found to delinquency.

Race

Finally, the last variable found significantly to relate to delinquency in a direct way is race. This finding has shown that outside the family network of inter-relationship patterns (specifically,
the marital bond and the parent-child relationships), Black children and youth have significantly higher involvement in delinquency as compared to Whites. This is a surprising result, because it is contrary to most of the self-report studies conducted on the problem of juvenile delinquency. Many of the self-report studies have shown no significant differences between Black and White youngsters with respect to delinquent offenses committed when all offense categories are considered. However, Black youth have been found to commit significantly more violent type offenses which are usually considered of greater seriousness, due to the more personal nature of the violent acts. The greater commission of violent type offenses for Black youth may be more a function of low social class position, rather than racial differences (President's Commission, 1967; Griffin & Griffin, 1978). Black people in our society are still disproportionately within the lower social classes as compared to Whites and, therefore, it is extremely difficult to separate race from socio-economic status.

This higher involvement, by Black youth, in delinquency found in this study can be interpreted as follows. Even in Black families with strong marital and parent-child bonds, these bonds may not be strong enough to thwart off delinquency involvement due to racial prejudice and/or discrimination. Through racial prejudice and/or discrimination, Black people have been looked upon as inferior and their opportunities have been limited. In the context of lower class subculture, which values physical strength and aggression, lower class Black children and youth rebel against society in delinquent ways. This racial
finding from the Detroit Area sample suggests that Anomie Theory by Merton (1957, 1968) or Differential Opportunity Theory by Cloward and Ohlin (1960) may have greater relevancy in explaining juvenile delinquent behavior among young Black males than White males. Within both of these theories, emphasis is placed upon the unavailability of legitimate avenues or means to attain the goals of the American culture and the availability of illegitimate ways to achieve the same goals or ones that have been substituted.

The Indirect Variables Found Causally Linked to Delinquency

The results have shown a number of variables within the model to be causally linked to delinquent behavior in an indirect way. From the strongest to the weakest, these variables are the following:

(a) the marital adjustment of both the husband and wife combined,
(b) the age of the child, (c) the community integration and the father-child relationship as perceived by the father, (d) the parent-child relationship from the child's perception of both parents, (e) the mother-child relationship as the mother sees it, and (f) the ethnic origin.

The Marital Relationship

Within the results, the variable of marital adjustment was found to be the very strongest in relation to delinquent behavior and this includes even those variables directly relating to delinquency. However, the effects of marital adjustment on delinquency are totally indirect through the parent-child relationship cluster and/or the
school adjustment of the child. The effects of marital adjustment on the parent-child relationships are of key importance to delinquency, because of its strength in influencing the parental dyads. Whereas, the parent-child relationship patterns were found to be direct causal links of delinquent behavior, the major indirect causal link was shown to be that of marital adjustment between the parental figures. The results have indicated that the marital maladjustment problems between the parents are a major root cause of delinquency, working through the parent-child relationships in a number of paths or diverting through school adjustment to delinquency in one other route.

At this point, the focus of the discussion is on the effects that marital adjustment has on the parent-child relationship patterns. The marital adjustment of the wife from her perspective was found important for her parental relationship with the son. This means as the marital adjustment for the mother increases, her relationship with the child proportionally increases in quality or closeness. It appears from this result that the degree of marital adjustment experienced by the mother has a direct influence upon the subsequent relationship with her son. A wife or mother who has attained a high degree of marital adjustment within the marriage will be in a much better position to form a close, positive relationship with her son.

In the case of the father, his view of the marital adjustment with the wife was found of importance to the parent-child relationship with the son, but this relationship is not nearly as strong as for the mother. Marital adjustment for the father strongly relates to the subsequent father-child relationship pattern, however, in
comparison to the mother, poor marital adjustment seems to have differential strength upon the parents and their relationship with the son.

Traditionally, in American society, the wife has been more family centered than has been the case for the husband which has been previously discussed. For the female spouse and parent, her family has been almost entirely the paramount activity in life. The male spouse has found his basic security outside of the family in the world of work or a career and he is less concerned about the marriage relationship, the very foundation of the nuclear family, which is not the case with most married women (Henslin & Light, 1983). As a result, women have a greater investment in the marriage and the family and they have more dependency on the outcomes of marriage and family life (Firestone, 1970). In recent years, with more married women entering the work force and following a career, it would be reasonable to expect that the differential effects of a poor marriage among husbands and wife would considerably lessen. This would be particularly the case with increased female liberation and greater equality between men and women.

For the child, the marital maladjustment problems experienced by the parents directly impedes the subsequent quality or closeness of the mother-son and father-son relationship patterns. However, this impediment to quality or close parent-child relationships (marital maladjustment problems) is more significant for the mother than compared to the father. This is of major consequence for socialization effectiveness and delinquency proneness and involvement,
because the mother is more directly involved in the socialization tasks with the child. As was previously discussed, the father usually provides a supportive role to the mother in the family socialization of the children.

With respect to the child's perception of the parent-child relationship, the interactional patterns with both the mother and father were found to be of equal importance. The parent-child relationships from the child's perspective were discovered to be significantly related to the marital adjustment of both parental figures, a statistically very strong relationship. That is, as the marital adjustment of both parents decreases, the quality or closeness of the parent-child relationships with the mother and the father decreases, as seen by the male offspring. However, poor marital adjustment does not significantly relate to juvenile delinquency in a direct manner, but through the parent-child relationships as seen by the child which are subsequently formed by the parents with their offspring.

From the reference of the child, marital maladjustment problems between the parents provides an impediment to the formation of close, quality parent-child relationships on the part of the mother and father. This finding indicates that it is extremely difficult for parents to effectively relate with their child and form close relationship patterns when they are experiencing marital problems. As a result, the child becomes a product of ineffective socialization and delinquent prone. With this vulnerability of delinquency prone-ness, the child more than likely will engage in delinquent activities, unless some intervening influence substantially reduces it. The
likelihood is very great that both parental figures are of similar importance for delinquency in boys, since the male children sampled seem to perceive it this way.

This finding does cast great doubt on the popular notion that poor marital adjustment between the parents with overt arguing, bickering, and quarreling in front of the child can directly cause the male child to engage in juvenile delinquent behavior. The apparent causal connection between poor marital adjustment and juvenile delinquency among males is of a more subtle nature. From the results in this research study, poor marital adjustment of the parents was found related to delinquency, but it is indirect, operating through the parent-child relationship patterns.

The Age of the Child

The child's age was found to be the second strongest variable which was found indirectly to relate to delinquency. Within the research results, the indirect relationship between the age of the child and delinquency was determined strong. This indirect relationship between the child's age and delinquency was shown to be a directly proportional one. That is, as the age of the child increases, the delinquent activity of the youngsters proportionally increases. However, the influence of boy's age on delinquency travels through two variables within the model in a direct manner which are the school adjustment of the child and the marital adjustment of the parents.

With respect to the age of the child and school adjustment, the findings show a very strong inverse relationship between these two
variables. That is, as the boys increase in age, their school adjustment was found proportionally to decrease. Possibly, this could be explained in terms of the school increasingly losing or "turning off" the male students as they grow older. Moreover, the pupils, as they become older, may increasingly begin to question the relevancy of the educational experiences encountered in school to real life situations, such as the value of these academic experiences for the world of work.

In addition, it must be kept in mind that the age of the boys in this sample is below the voluntary age to quit or drop out of school which is usually at sixteen years of age when a youth legally can quit or drop out of school. So, the boys sampled are still captives of the school and it would be expected that the better adjusted male students will continue in school and the lesser adjusted ones will begin to quit or drop out at sixteen years of age or shortly thereafter. Interestingly enough, Elliot (1966) found the delinquency of lower class males to decrease after they had dropped out of school as compared to their in-school counterparts. For those children and youth who have low school adjustment which was found to increase with the children's age, the school experiences can be very frustrating and anxiety producing. This can lead to disruptive behavior, including juvenile delinquent acts. Schafer and Polk (1967) cite the school in the etiology of delinquency by providing progressive frustration and dissatisfaction for under-achieving students through the exclusion on the part of teachers and those pupils who academically achieve.
The age of the child was also found to indirectly relate to delinquency through the marital adjustment of the parents. Within the research results, the child's age was discovered to relate very strongly to the parents' marital adjustment in an inverse, proportional way. As the child becomes older, the marital adjustment of the parents proportionally decrease. The reader should note that all of the sampled families were physically intact, meaning the mother and father were still married to each other and living within the same residential dwelling unit. Here, this is of significance, because the parents have been continually interacting with one another which would have effects upon their marital adjustment.

From the inverse relationship between age of the child and the marital adjustment of the parents, there is the indication that children can be a source of marital conflicts between the parents and this can bring about a reduction in the marital adjustment of the parental figures. In addition, the child, as a possible source of marital conflicts between the parents, seems to become more salient as the boy grows older. The marital adjustment of the parents may be negatively affected by their son's increasing age for several important reasons. First, as the child increases in age, there exists an increase of the social interactions with others outside of the family, especially, with peers. With increasing age, the child spends less time at home and more activities involving other people away from the family. As a result, there is an increase in the probability that conflicts may arise between the child and his parents, regarding the activities involved and the associations with others outside of
the family.

Second, as the child decreases his time within the family and increases it with extra-familial activities and associations, the parents do not have the direct social control over their offspring. Consequently, the likelihood increases that the child will engage in some forms of behavior contrary to parental expectations, leading to encounters between the parents and with their son.

Third, with increasing age, the children most likely resent interference from parents into their activities, due to a greater identification with friends or peers. This can lead to the intensification of the conflict with the parents, particularly, if the child overtly demonstrates his resentment toward the parents. These resentment conflicts can bring pressure on the family members and they can negatively effect the parents' marriage especially, if the mother and father are not in agreement as to the resolutions of the problems.

The above discussion implies a causal order between the increase in age of the child and the decrease of marital adjustment of his parents. It is entirely possible that the increasing age of the child has nothing to do with the decreasing marital adjustment experienced by the parents. The advancing age of the child may only be coincidental to the "drifting away" of the parents to each other in their marriage over time.

Within the family research, the studies conducted on marriage, in terms of adjustment or happiness over the life cycle, are not consistent in their results. There are those studies which found support for the curvilinearity of marital adjustment or happiness
over the life cycle (Pineo, 1961; Rollins & Feldman, 1970; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Schram, 1979; Gilford & Bengston, 1979). That is, a decline in marital adjustment or happiness during the first ten or fifteen years of the marriage from the beginning stage to the childbearing years and on past the school-age period. However, beginning with the "empty nest" stage, the marital adjustment or happiness for the married partners increases. The changes in the adjustment or happiness of the married spouses were also found to be greater in wives than husbands. Rollins and Feldman (1970) suggest that giving birth to children and raising them have somewhat of a profound effect upon the marital happiness of wives, but not their husbands. Husbands are mostly influenced in their marital adjustment by work or career related experiences, rather than childbirth and the development of their children. However, Gilford and Bengston (1979) found very similar responses among males and females which raises some question about these previous sex differences discovered, regarding the happiness of husbands and wives in the life of the marriage. Rollins and Cannon (1974) not only found no significant differences in the husbands' and wives' responses over the family life cycle for marital satisfaction, but they also did not find profound changes from one stage to another in the life of the marriage.

On the other hand, there are those studies which found a gradual deterioration in the marriage to exist over the life cycle (French Institute of Public Opinion, 1960; Blood, 1967). Spanier, Lewis, and Cole (1975) derived contradictory findings within the same study that was conducted in the states of Georgia, Iowa, and Ohio. Within Georgia
and Iowa, the results did not support the curvilinearity argument of marital adjustment or happiness throughout the life cycle, but the findings from Ohio did support it. However, in all three states, the husbands and wives did suffer a decline in their marriage from the beginning stage through the child raising years. The controversy over the effects of a marriage throughout the life cycle is really centered on the post child raising years within the family literature. It appears that the family research is quite consistent before this time in the marriage (the post child raising years) and children do seem to have negative effects upon the marital adjustment of the parents, particularly, the mother in all probability.

**Community Integration**

The variable of community integration was found indirectly linked to delinquency, however, this indirect relationship was determined to be on the weak side. In the indirect relationship between community integration and delinquent behavior, it is shown to be inversely proportional. This means that as community integration decreases, the delinquent involvement of the boys increases. Community integration was discovered to indirectly effect delinquency by taking a multitude of paths to this dependent variable. First, it travels to the school adjustment of the children and the mother-son relationship as the mother views it in a direct manner, before reaching delinquency. Second, community integration takes several paths through the entire parent-child cluster and then leads to the school adjustment of children and/or delinquency.
In the results of this study, it was shown that a significant relationship between community integration and school adjustment exists, although this relationship tends to be weak. Here, the finding indicates that the boys who are better adjusted in school come from neighborhoods or communities with a higher degree of cohesiveness. Within the neighborhoods or communities with higher integration, one would expect a greater availability of resources for the schools. This would include better physical surroundings, more qualified and better teachers, and more and better educational aids and equipment. All of these additional resources can be seen as enhancements toward providing more positive experiences within the school environment for youngsters and increasing their school adjustment. A neighborhood or community evidencing a higher degree of integration will most likely have a greater positive influence upon the school and the school will be held more accountable to this neighborhood or community for the education delivered to its children. If parents feel more positive in their feelings toward the community and the school, which is a part of the community, the parents will most likely take a more active interest and participation and this will lead to improvements.

Also, community integration was found to be significantly related to the parent-child relationship patterns for both the mother and the father as they viewed both of these variables. It must be kept in mind that both of these relationships (community integration with the mother-son and father-son dyads), even though significant, they are both statistically very weak. In addition, community integration was not found to relate significantly to the parent-child relationships.
for both the mother and the father as the child evaluated his paren-
tal interactions.

In all probability, adults are more aware of the different and
important aspects in their neighborhood or community, such as commu-
nity spirit, interpersonal relations, family responsibility to the
community, schools, churches, economic life, local government, and
tension areas than they are for children and youth. If the community
evidences a low degree of integration in any one or all of these im-
portant areas, it seems plausible that this would have differential
meaning to adults and young people. This is through the community's
failure to adequately meet the needs of the families. An unhappiness
with the neighborhood or community can have some effect upon the
parent-child relationships formed within the family. In addition, a
neighborhood or community with a high degree of integration will pro-
vide for more activities in which family members may participate.
As a result, this has the potential to create more opportunities for
parents to interact with their children and thus, the quality or
closeness of the parent-child relationships could be enhanced.

Interestingly enough, the community integration does not have
any significant effects upon the marital relationship, but only the
parent-child relationship patterns from the parental perspective.
The effect of community integration on delinquency in an indirect
way through the parent-child relationships seems to be minimal.
However, the community as an etiological link through the family can-
not be completely ignored.
The Father-Child Relationship

The father-child relationship pattern as perceived by the father was found to indirectly effect delinquency by going directly through the parent-child relationships as the child views both parental figures and it travels on to the school adjustment of the boy and/or delinquent behavior. In strength, the indirect effect upon delinquency is equal to that of community integration which is quite weak. However, the father-son relationship from the father's perspective has some effect both on the school adjustment and/or the delinquent behavior of his son. For delinquency, as the father-son relationship decreases in quality or closeness, the delinquent behavior of the boy increases.

In the direct relationship between the father-child dyad as the father sees it and the boy's view of the relationship patterns with both parental figures, this is an indication that male children tend to be more oriented to the father than the mother. The reason for this differential orientation of the male child to the father may be due to the father being more inclined toward boys. Our society seems to stress more with boys the importance of the father-son relationship over the mother-son. In addition, for male children, the identification model within the family is the father. How many times do parents strongly encourage boys to be like their father? However, from the child's perspective, he does not seem to be more included to the father than the mother and both parental relationship patterns are equally important for delinquency. The more time spent with the
mother in the home, as compared to the father, may be an offset to the boys seeing his orientation to the father. Within the father-son relationship as the father views it, this directly effects the perception of the boy toward both parental dyads and it has direct effects upon the subsequent school adjustment of the child and/or delinquent behavior. More than likely, a close, quality relationship between the father and his son will enhance the child's school adjustment and/or lead to a decrease in delinquency involvement.

The Parent-Child Relationships

The parent-child relationship patterns as the child has evaluated them for both parents have an indirect effect upon delinquency as well as direct. This indirect effect is through the school adjustment of the youngsters, but it tends to be on the very weak side. Nevertheless, the parent-child relationships seem to have some indirect influence upon delinquent behavior through the school. That is, as the parent-child relationships increase in quality or closeness, the school adjustment proportionally decreases for the child and his delinquency involvement proportionally increases.

This finding indicates that from the child's point of view, a close, positive relationship with his mother and father greatly enhances the school adjustment realized within the educational institution. The relationship between the closeness or quality of the parent-child dyads and school adjustment was found to be very strong. The reader should note that the results are of little difference whether the child's assessment is of the mother or the father. From
this finding on the parent-child relationships and the subsequent school adjustment of the child, a two-fold interpretation can be derived: (a) a close, positive relationship with both parents from the child's point of view can greatly facilitate the socialization needed to fit into the school environment and become better adjusted; and (b) closeness to parents for the child can increase the overlap between the socialization experiences in the family and the school which can act to reinforce and compliment each other.

Here, this is basically supportive of a theory on youth crime emphasizing social role relationships developed by Friday and Hage (1976) and Friday and Halsey (1977), particularly insofar as the areas of the family and school are concerned. According to this theory, when there is a decrease in the overlap between the family and school role relationships for children, resulting in a lack of adequate normative reinforcements, there is produced an increase in youth crime involvement. This increased engagement in youth crime activities becomes even greater when there is a decrease of the overlap between the family and school and it also includes the community role relationships which, in part, involves peers. In utilizing this theory of role relationships, Friday (1983) has suggested that a reduction of youth crime behavior would be realized by increasing the overlap (the same or similar kinds of normative experiences, providing for reinforcements) of the role relationships between family, school, community, and peers. These role relationships should be more than just additive (each area normatively supporting and reinforcing each other), but also providing for actual social interaction between
them. That is, the social role relationships of the family, school, community, and peers would mesh together in direct contact socially, thereby increasing social support and reinforcement.

In addition, these findings on the importance of the parent-child relationships and juvenile delinquent behavior lends support to the social control theory offered by Thomas et al. (1974), Bronfenbrenner (1961), and others as well as Hirschi (1969) and Hinde-lang (1973) which stress the importance of the child's attachment or closeness to parents. Here, an attachment or closeness to parents increases family socialization and thereby, increases the social control that parents have upon their children. It appears, then, that as youth become conforming members of the neighborhood, community, and the society, their delinquent activities are lowered.

Even though the parent-child relationships to some degree indirectly effect delinquency through the school adjustment, this indirect influence is substantially less than the direct. The ratio of the direct to the indirect effects between the parent-child relationship patterns as perceived by the child is three to one. This means that the family is more important in the etiological dynamics of delinquent behavior among children and youth than is the institution of education.

The Mother-Child Relationship

The mother-child relationship pattern as the mother perceives it has a very minimal indirect effect upon delinquency. This low amount of indirect effect by the mother-son relationship influences
delinquency in two paths. Both paths similarly start out through the rest of the parent-child cluster which is the father-son relationship as the paternal parent sees it and the parent-child relationships from the child's perspective, but at this point they divide. One of the paths directly goes to delinquency and the other indirectly arriving at delinquency through the school adjustment.

For delinquency, the only major indirect effect of the mother-son relationship is the influence upon the father-son relationship and the importance that the father-son relationship has on the child's school adjustment and/or delinquent involvement. As was previously discussed in this paper, the father provides a kind of supportive role to the mother, in regards to child raising and socialization. The mother interacts with the children to a much greater degree, due to her differentially more time and role within the family setting. As a result, it appears that the mother directly effects the way the father views the child and this influences his relationship with the offspring. The father may even look to the mother as a resource in dealing with children, because of her so-called "innate" ability toward children and the greater time and experience with them.

The Ethnic Origin

The weakest variable within the entire model, in terms of the indirect effect upon delinquency, was determined to be ethnic origin. With only a slight indirect effect, the fathers of American ethnicity had sons who were involved to a greater degree in delinquent acts as compared to those of European origins. The very minimal indirect
effect of ethnic origin on delinquency was found to follow the path through the father-son relationship pattern as the father sees it and then, to the parent-child relationships as perceived by the son. At this point, the path diverges either directly to delinquency or indirectly through the school adjustment. The direct relationship between ethnicity and the father-son relationship indicated that the fathers of American ethnicity had a more quality or close relationship patterns with their sons as opposed to those of European origins, particularly those families sampled whose ethnicity was considered to be Eastern European. However, the relationship between ethnic origin and the father-son relationship was found to be very weak.

In Europe, the family life has been known to possess more cohesiveness than here in the United States. Especially, this is the case in Eastern European Countries. Therefore, this means that there is a greater closeness of the family inter-relationship patterns where the father plays a more direct role in the family decision-making and dominates the other family members, including his wife. It appears that these vestiges of European family life still remain among those families sampled from the European nations a few generations ago.

With respect to the results of this study on ethnic origin, the conclusions drawn must be taken with great caution. The predominant majority of the families sampled were of American ethnicity which yielded small numbers in the sub-samples for the families from outside of the United States. Also, as previously discussed, there were many ethnic groups who were not represented in the sample at all.
The Hypotheses Revisited

In light of the research results previously discussed within this Chapter, each of the hypotheses presented earlier (Chapter IV) will be discussed as to whether or not they have been supported or refuted.

1. **The lower the marital adjustment between the parents, the greater the probability of involvement in juvenile delinquent offenses committed by the child.** In the case of the male children, the results of this study has shown that the marital maladjustment of the parents is present in the lives of the boys sampled who are involved in the commission of juvenile delinquent offenses. However, there does not exist a direct causative link between the marital maladjustment of the parents and the commission of juvenile delinquent offenses. The results emphatically have shown that the marital maladjustment of the parents has an indirect effect upon the commission of delinquent offenses by the child through the parent-child relationship patterns particularly, the parent-child relationships from the perspective of the child, regarding both parents. Therefore, in the sense that marital adjustment of the parents is a direct causative variable for the commission of delinquent offenses by children and youth is refuted. However, the marital maladjustment of the parents was found important for the quality or closeness of the parent-child relationships. The marital adjustment of the parents directly effects the parent-child relationship patterns especially, from the child's point of view and in turn, the parent-child relationships do directly relate to juvenile delinquency involvement.
So, in this sense, the most important root cause of delinquency within the family is the marital maladjustment problems of the parents.

2. The lower the marital adjustment between the parents, the greater the severity of the juvenile delinquent offenses committed by the child. This study found no significant differences between the frequency and the severity of juvenile delinquent offenses committed on the part of the children and youth sampled. Therefore, the same comments can be made for this hypothesis as the one discussed above. Marital adjustment between the parents has not been found to directly relate to the severity of the delinquent offenses committed, but it is directly crucial for the parent-child relationships which directly effects the severity of the delinquent offenses committed. Hence, marital maladjustment of the parents, as a direct causative variable for the severity of the committed juvenile offenses has not been supported and this hypothesis is refuted.

3. The lower the marital adjustment, the greater the frequency of youth crime offenses (the nonstatus violations that would be criminal if the child or youth had reached the age of majority or adulthood) committed by the child. This research study has not found any significant differences between the frequency of juvenile delinquency (all offenses included) and youth crime offenses (only the nonstatus offenses) for the boys included in the sample. Therefore, the same discussion would hold true for this hypothesis as has been the case for the two preceding ones. That is, the marital maladjustment of the parents does not directly cause the frequency of youth crime offenses committed, but it was found to indirectly relate to the commission of
youth crime offenses through the parent-child relationships. So, as a result, this hypothesis has been refuted as well. This is in the sense of marital maladjustment problems being a direct causative variable of youth crime offenses.

4. The greater the social distance (acceptance-rejection, warmth-coldness, or closeness-distant) of the parent-child relationship, the greater the frequency of the juvenile delinquent offenses committed by the child. Within the research results, the parent-child relationships to both parents as the child sees them were found to be directly related to the frequency of juvenile delinquency. In addition, the mother-son relationship from the mother's perspective was discovered to directly relate to the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses committed by the child. The greater the quality (acceptance-rejection, warmth-coldness, or closeness-distant) of the parent-child relationship, the greater the frequency of the juvenile offenses committed by the male offspring. Most likely, the child's assessment of the parent-child relationships is more important for his subsequent behavioral involvement in juvenile delinquency than the parental evaluations.

For the frequency of juvenile delinquency, the quality or closeness of the parent-child relationship patterns to both the mother and father as the child views them has direct effects upon the frequency of delinquent offenses and they also effect the commission of delinquency indirectly through the school adjustment of the child. That is, the parent-child relationships with both parents directly effect the school adjustment of their offspring and the involvement in juvenile delinquent offenses. The results of this study found low
school adjustment of the children sampled to directly relate to the higher frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses committed; however, this is probably due to the lack of offsetting the delinquency prone-ness, stemming from the parent-child relationships from within the family, rather than anything actively the school may do to cause delinquent involvement. The only exception to this found by the research results are for Black male youth, older male youngsters, and boys from communities of low integration. Here, it appears that the school, itself, in an active sense is contributing to the delinquency problem through this social institution's inability to effectively meet the needs of these children and youth.

At any rate, the parent-child relationship patterns have been found to be a direct causative variable to the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses for youngsters. The research results seem to indicate that a close, positive relationship to both parents provides a buffer for juvenile delinquency involvement. Therefore, this hypothesis has been supported.

5. The greater the social distance (acceptance-rejection, warmth-coldness, or closeness-distant) of the parent-child relationship, the greater the severity of the juvenile delinquent offenses committed by the child. As previously discussed, this research study did not find any significant differences between the frequency and severity of the juvenile offenses reported by the children and youth sampled. Consequently, as a result, the parent-child relationship patterns, the mother-son relationship as the maternal parent views it and the parent-child relationship to both parents as the child sees them, were
found to directly relate to the severity of delinquent offenses as was the case for the frequency of committed offenses. The role of the school was also similarly to contribute to the severity of juvenile delinquent offenses, both in terms of not offsetting delinquency proneness emanating from the familial parent-child relationships and by directly adding to the severity of committed offenses on the part of males who are Black, older, and from communities of low integration. Therefore, this hypothesis is supported by the research results.

6. The greater the social distance (acceptance-rejection, warmth-coldness, or closeness-distant) of the parent-child relationship, the greater the frequency of youth crime offenses. This particular dimension of delinquency was found to be the same as the frequency and severity of the juvenile delinquent offenses across the board for the boys included in the sample. So, in terms of the commission of youth crime offenses, the parent-child relationship patterns were found to play the same importance for the two preceding hypotheses discussed here for the parental relationships. Also, the position of the school in the etiology of youth crime offenses is identical to the frequency and severity of all delinquent offenses committed by children and youth. So, therefore, the research results have supported this hypothesis as well.

7. The degree of the marital adjustment between the parents has no significant effect upon the degree of social distance (acceptance-rejection, warmth-coldness, or closeness-distant) in the parent-child relationships. As the research results have shown, the marital
adjustment of both parents is significantly consequential for the formation of close, positive parent-child relationship patterns. Moreover, the quality of the parent-child relationships is clearly dependent, for the most part, upon the marital adjustment of both parents and this is the case from the perspective of the mother, father, and the child in their evaluations of the parent-child relationships. The research results do not support the notion that within the familial group, the marital adjustment of the parents and the parent-child relationship patterns have mutual independence to one another. So, this particular hypothesis has been refuted.

8. The greater the social distance of the father-son relationship as compared to the mother-son, the greater the probability in the frequency of the delinquent offenses committed by the male child. From the child's point of view, the research results do not show that the parent-child relationship for either parent is more directly related to the frequency of delinquent offenses. On the contrary, the findings do indicate that both parents are of equal importance to the commission of juvenile delinquent offenses for the male offspring.

From the perspective of the parents, the results do show that the mother-son relationship significantly relates to the frequency of delinquent offenses in a direct sense, but not the father-son. This is particularly the case for families living in communities of low integration where the integration of the community directly affects the parent-child relationship pattern between the mother and her son. However, it has been previously discussed that the thoughts and feelings of the actor (in this case the boys) has greater saliency
for the consequent behavior. As a result, the perception of the child regarding the parent-child relationship patterns has much greater relevance for the delinquent behavior than would be the situation of the parental figures. Therefore, by utilizing this as a guideline, the hypothesis here has been refuted. It appears that both parental relationships do have equal importance to the frequency of juvenile delinquent offenses.

9. The greater the social distance of the father-son relationship as compared to the mother-son, the greater the probability in the severity of the delinquent offenses committed by the child. Here, the results have shown that the father-son relationship pattern has no greater importance for the severity of the delinquent offenses committed than the mother-son dyad from the perspective of the boy. Similarly, to the preceding hypothesis, the severity of the delinquent offenses committed by the child is directly related from the quality or closeness of both parent-child relationships to an equal degree. If greater weight is placed upon the male offspring's perception of the relationships with both parents for behavioral involvement in delinquency, then this hypothesis is refuted as well.

For the purpose of summation on these hypotheses, Hypothesis 4, 5, and 6 have been supported which indicates that the parent-child relationships are found to be directly important for the frequency and severity of delinquent offenses committed by the children youth. However, the parent-child relationships for the male offspring, also have been found crucial to the subsequent school adjustment which, in turn, has a direct effect upon the frequency and severity of
delinquent behavior for the boys. On the other hand, the results on the direct and indirect effects upon delinquency by the family and the school have shown that the family is more responsible as a root cause of delinquent behavior than the school. In the case of male children and youth who are Black, older, and from lowly integrated communities, the school appears to operate more independently outside of the family (the parent-child relationships) in directly relating to the frequency and severity of delinquent offenses. This is particularly true, if the parental relationships with children are viewed from the child's position.

Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 have been refuted indicating that the marital relationship of the parents does not directly relate to juvenile delinquency of the child at all. However, there was found an indirect relationship of tremendous strength between the marital adjustment of the parental figures and delinquency on the part of the children, operating through the parent-child relationship patterns. It is within the parent-child relationships where the degree of marital adjustment of the parents play an important role. As a result, Hypothesis 7 has been refuted, meaning that the quality or closeness of the parent-child relationships to both parents at least, from the male child's perspective, is clearly dependent upon the degree of the marital adjustment between the parental figures in the home. The only exceptions found to this within the family outside of marital adjustment were ethnic origin and community integration which directly effect the parent-child relationships from the parents' perspective. For ethnic origin, Western and Eastern European fathers especially,
those from Eastern Europe, perceived a better relationship with their sons than the paternal parents of American ethnicity. With respect to community integration, families from area of low integration were discovered to have poorer parent-child relationship patterns for both parents as they viewed their relationships with the child than those family groups living in the high integrated communities or neighborhoods.

In reference to Hypotheses 8 and 9, they have been refuted indicating that the parental relationship patterns of the children to both parents are of crucial importance for the frequency and severity of delinquent offenses committed by their male offspring. If the parent-child relationships are considered from the perspective of the child, the father-son relationship is of equal importance for the problem of delinquency as the mother-son relationship pattern. In all probability, it is the child's impressions of the parent-child relationship patterns which would be much more prominent for behavioral involvement of any kind, including delinquent.
CHAPTER VIII

THE INTERACTION ANALYSES

Within the preceding statistical analyses in Chapter VI, there is the underlying assumption that no statistical interaction exists among any of the variables in the model. Therefore, a statistical test for the possible interaction effects is necessary. This test for interaction was conducted for those variables where it logically could yield fruitful results and the subsamples were large enough to provide for a meaningful data analysis.

By following this line of thought, all of the control variables within the model (age, religion, social class, community integration, ethnic origin, and race) should be subjected to interaction analyses. However, in the case of age, religion, and ethnic origin, the subsamples are too small to provide meaningful analyses and results. Consequently, only social class, race, and community integration were subjected to statistical tests through the utilization of the partitioning of the data.

With the systematic separation of the data pertinent to the variable desired for an interaction test, the researcher can run different path analyses on each part of the data. After this is accomplished, the path models can be compared and the focus into the differences of these respective models is insightful with respect to any interaction between the test variable and others in the model. For example, if a researcher wants to test for possible interaction...
effects between socio-economic status and any other variables within the model, he or she can divide socio-economic status into high and low and thereby, a separate path analysis can be run for each subdivision. Once determining the significant relationships for both the high and low socio-economic status, the similarities between the two models would indicate the independence or noninteraction of this variable. On the other hand, the differences would pinpoint where interaction is taking place between socio-economic status and other variables in the path model.

In all probability, social class, race, and community integration do not operate as variables independent of each other. For social class and race, there is a considerable overlap. Within the United States, a great many Blacks are disproportionately in the lower social class. Even for Blacks and Whites who are sharing a lower socio-economic status position, this situation is not really the same. That is, to be Black and poor is not the equivalent of being White and poor. As a result, social class nonadditively may be combining with race to produce peculiar effects upon any other variable in the model, such as delinquency. Interaction tests can be run on social class and race to determine to what extent each of these variables have any unusual effects upon delinquent behavior.

For community integration, this variable may be combining with social status and/or more than additively to create peculiar effects upon delinquency, school adjustment, or any of the parent-child relationship patterns. It is entirely possible that there is considerable overlap between community integration and social class as well
as race. That is, the low integrated communities may tend to be those of the lower socio-economic status groups of our population and/or largely populated with Blacks. Community integration could be combining with either social class or race to produce some nonadditive effects upon school adjustment and/or delinquency. Furthermore, it is conceivable that all three of these control variables (social class, race, and community integration) may be creating interaction effects in combination upon school adjustment or delinquent behavior. However, unfortunately, this cannot be tested, because of the sample size and the small sub-samples involved with these variables. Therefore, one is not able to control for any of these variables at the same time.

The interaction tests for social class and community integration were conducted by dividing these variables into high and low and then, running the path model using multiple regression analysis. Race was tested for statistical interaction by separating this variable into Black and White (the only two racial categories in the sample) and similarly, conducting multiple regression analysis on the path model.

Social Class

Appearing on the following two pages, Figures 10 and 11 illustrate the final run of the model for high and low social class. The dichotomy of social class into high and low was accomplished by taking the Nam and Powers occupational prestige scores and dividing them into the working and lower classes and the middle and upper socio-economic groups. For the working and lower classes, this
Figure 10. Diagram of the Final Run of the Model Controlling for Social Class (high)

* The father-child relationship as the father evaluated it.
** The parent-child relationship as the child evaluated it for both parents.
Marital Adjustment —— .66 —— Parent Child —— -.81 —— Juvenile Delinquency
(Both Mother and Father) (Mother-Child)* (Frequency and Seriousness)

* The mother-child relationship as the mother evaluated it.

Figure 11. Diagram of the Final Run of the Model Controlling for Social Class (low)
corresponds to the Nam and Powers occupational prestige scores of 39 and below. In the case of the middle and upper classes, the equivalent scores are 40 or above. Here, the sample breakdown is 7 to 39 for the working and lower class occupations (29 total cases) and the middle and upper class job positions from 40 to 99 (71 total cases). Table 2 shows the direct and indirect effects that each variable has on delinquency when social class is controlled.

Table 2
The Direct and Indirect Effects of Each Variable Relating to Delinquency Controlling for High and Low Social Class*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Direct High/Low</th>
<th>Indirect High/Low</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Ethnic Origin</td>
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<td>Race</td>
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<td>-.07</td>
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<td>Marital Adjustment**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-Child Relation***</td>
<td>-.81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father-Child Relationship****</td>
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<td>Child-Both Parents Relationship****</td>
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<td>Mother-Employed</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Combined for the mother and father.
***The mother-child relationship as the mother evaluated it.
****The father-child relationship as the father evaluated it.
*****The parent-child relationship as the child evaluated it for both parents.
The Description of the High Class Path Model

Within Figure 10 and Table 2, the high class path model shows that there are three significant variables at the .05 level directly relating to delinquency. The first and strongest variable directly relating to juvenile delinquent behavior was found to be the parent-child relationship patterns as the child perceives them, -.42. For the higher class members of the sample, as the parental relationships decrease in quality or closeness, the juvenile delinquency involvement proportionally increase. The other two variables discovered directly relating to delinquency are race, -.27, and the mother not being employed, .27. From these results, the reader should note that both of the variables have equal strength upon delinquency. In the case of race, the higher class Black children and youth were found to have significantly greater involvement in delinquent acts as compared to their White socio-economic counterparts. With respect to the mother's employment, the higher class mother who does not work yielded a higher rate of delinquency participation on the part of their sons. The reader should be reminded that the employment of the mother was coded in the computer as work=1 and not work=2. Therefore, a plus score indicates higher delinquent involvement for higher class families where the mother is not employed.

The parent-child relationship cluster within the higher class model is significantly influenced by a multitude of other variables; however, the father-son relationship as the father views it and the parent-child relationship patterns as the child sees them, are the
only ones in which these indirect influences have an effect upon delinquency. Here, the mother-son relationship from the mother's perspective has no influence on delinquency, whatsoever. With respect to the parent-child relationship patterns as the child perceives them, the quality or closeness of the father-son dyad as the father looks at it directly effects the boy's feelings and thoughts, regarding both parental relationships, .40. That is, as the father-son relationship pattern from the paternal parent's perspective decreases in the quality or closeness, both parental dyads proportionally decreases for the higher class families.

In the high class model, two other variables were found directly related to the parent-child relationships as the child sees them. The first was discovered to be the marital adjustment of the parents, .46, which is directly proportional to both parent dyads. As the marital adjustment of both parental figures decreases, the mother-son and father-son relationships proportionally decrease from the child's vantage point. The second variable directly relating to the parent-child dyads in the child's eyes is ethnic origin, -.30. Here, the sons of Western and Eastern European ethnicity evidenced a decrease in their parent-child relationship patterns, when compared to those boys of American ethnic background.

Among the higher class families, the father-son relationship as the father sees it was found to be significantly influenced by four variables. From the strongest to the weakest, these variables are the marital adjustment of both parental figures, .48, community integration, .26, and ethnic origin and religion, both .21. Juvenile
delinquency is indirectly affected by these variables through the father-son relationship from the father's perspective and both parent-child dyads as the child perceives them. For the father-son relationship pattern, the fathers marital adjustment proportionally effects the quality or closeness he has with the child in a direct manner. That is, as the marital adjustment for the father decreases, the quality or closeness of the father-son relationship decreases. With respect to community integration, this variable also directly influences the father-son dyad as the father sees it. The lesser the community integration, the further the reduction in the quality or closeness of the father and son relationship. In the case of ethnic origin, the fathers of Western and Eastern European ethnicity significantly tended to see their relationships with the sons to be of better quality than those paternal parents of American descent. It is important to note that this is in direct opposition to the way the boys of Western and Eastern European and American ethnic origins saw their relationships with the fathers. Finally, the Protestant fathers seemed to have evaluated their relationships with the sons significantly lower than the fathers who are Catholic, Other, or None, in reference to religious affiliation.

For the higher class families, as illustrated in Figure 10, the age of the child, -.35 and race, -.24, indirectly influence delinquency through the marital relationship of the spouses and the parent-child relationship cluster. This is only the father-son dyad as the paternal parent sees it and the child to both parents. The marital adjustment of the parents was found to be of significantly lesser
quality for the Black families of higher socio-economic standing. With respect to age, the older boys from higher class families had parents who were maritally maladjusted to a greater degree than the younger ones.

Lastly, religion, -.25, was discovered to effect delinquency indirectly through the employment status of the mother. That is, Catholic mothers significantly tended not to be employed outside of the home as compared to Protestant female spouses. It seems that mothers who do not work tend to be a greater influence for delinquent behavior in their sons which was previously pointed out.

Within the higher class model, Table 2 shows the total indirect effects of each significant variable upon delinquency. Here, the reader should note that only marital adjustment of the parental figures has a strong, indirect influence on delinquency, -.27, through the parent-child relationship cluster. However, this only includes the father as the paternal parent views it and the child from the boy's perspective, excluding the mother-son relationship as perceived by the maternal parent. On the other hand, age, .10, community integration, -.04, ethnic origin, .09, race, -.07, and religion, .03, tend to have very weak indirect effects upon delinquent behavior. In the case of the father-son relationship as the father sees it, this variable has a weak total effect on delinquency among the higher class families.
The Description of the Low Class Path Model

From Figure 11 and Table 2, there is only one significant variable directly relating to delinquent behavior and it is the mother-son relationship, -.81, as the mother views the dyad. With a decrease in the mother-child relationship, in terms of quality or closeness, the delinquent activity proportionally increases on the part of the boy. It is important to note the tremendous strength of the mother-son relationship on the delinquent behavior of her offspring.

In an indirect manner, the only other significant variable influencing the delinquent behavior of the child is the marital adjustment of the mother through her relationship with the son, .66 at the .05 level. Here, as the marital adjustment of the mother decreases, the quality or closeness of the mother-son relationship as the mother views it, proportionally decreases. This is an exceedingly strong relationship as well. Table 2 shows the total indirect effect of the marital adjustment of the mother on delinquency by going through the mother-son relationship as the mother sees it to be, -.53, which is an extremely strong influence. This means that as the marital adjustment of the mother decreases, the relationship with her son also decreases and the boy becomes increasingly involved in delinquency.

A Comparison of the High and Low Class Path Models

By comparing the high and low class models (Figures 10 and 11), the high class model is much more elaborate and complex than the low class one. For the low class families, delinquency is only affected
in a direct way by the mother-son relationship as the mother views it and the variable of marital adjustment is the sole indirect influence upon delinquent behavior. On the other hand, the high class model shows that the employment status of the mother (not working outside of the home), race (Black), and poor parent-child relationships as the child perceives them are all direct influences upon delinquent behavior.

Additionally, among the higher class families, there was discovered that a multitude of indirect influences impinge upon delinquency through the family inter-relationship patterns (specifically, the marital and parent-child dyads) with the exception of the mother-son relationship pattern from the maternal parent's vantage point. As the father perceives his relationship with the son, a lesser quality or closeness of the parent-child dyad was found among those paternal parents of the Protestant faiths, American ethnic origin, greater marital maladjustment problems, and communities of lower integration.

Within the higher class families, the parent-child relationship patterns from the boys' perception are influenced by the father-son dyad as the father views it, the marital adjustment of both parental figures, and ethnicity. With respect to the father-son relationship as the paternal parent sees it, this directly effects the quality or closeness of both parental relationships from the child's perspective. That is, for the boy, the father-son relationship effects the quality or closeness the child feels toward both parents. This differentially places more importance of the father in the eyes of the male child for higher class families. In contrast, among lower class families, the
male child shows much more orientation to the mother and the father seems to play a much lesser role. With respect to the degree of marital adjustment of the parents, this effects the quality or closeness of the parent-child relationships from the child's point of view for the higher class families, but not the lower ones. That is, poor parent-child relationships appear to be the product of marital maladjustment of the parental figures among the higher socio-economic families. However, this is not the case for the less affluent family groups. Lastly, the variable of ethnic origin influences the parent-child relationships as the child perceives them within the higher class model without being significant within the lower class one. The boys of American ethnicity seemed to feel closer to their fathers as compared to the Western and Eastern European children among the high class families.

The lower class model shows marital adjustment of the parental figures is not dependent on any variable within the analysis. On the other hand, the higher class model indicates that marital adjustment of the parents is dependent upon two variables; these variables are age and race. For the higher class families who are Black and/or have older boys, there was found a lesser degree of marital adjustment between the marriage partners. Here, race (Blacks) and age (older boys, 15 and 16 years) have an indirect effect on the delinquency by going through the marital adjustment of the parents, the mother-son relationship pattern, and then, going to delinquent behavior.

In the higher class model, mothers who are Protestant tended to
be more often employed outside of the home than Catholic mothers. The Catholic mothers who are at home more with their sons tended to have male offspring that became involved to a greater extent in delinquent activities. This finding did not prove significant within the lower class families. So, for the more affluent families, religion (Catholic) was found to be an indirect influence upon delinquency through the nonemployment of the mother.

By controlling for high and low class, Table 2 shows the total indirect effects that each of the significant variables has on delinquency. The reader should note that in the case of the low socio-economic status families, marital adjustment is the only indirect variable relating to delinquency. However, the marital adjustment of the parents has an extremely strong indirect effect on the delinquency of the low class youngsters, -.53. On the other hand, a multitude of variables indirectly effects delinquency among the high class families. The most powerful of these variables is marital adjustment, -.27, but it has about one-half the indirect effect as compared to the low social class children. For the high socio-economic families, the rest of the indirect variables, significantly relating to delinquency have weak to almost no total effects upon delinquent behavior. This includes the father-child relationship, -.17, age of the child, .10, ethnic origin, .09, race, -.07, and community integration, -.04, and religion, .03.

Race

The variable of race was divided into Black and White, the only
two racial subdivisions within the sample. There are a total of 35 Black family groups and 65 White. The reader is reminded that there are no inter-racial marriages within the sample. Figures 12 (Black) and 13 (White) presents the control analyses for race, as well as Table 3 on the total direct and indirect effects of those significant variables relating to delinquent behavior, while race is controlled.

Table 3
The Direct and Indirect Effects of Each Variable Relating to Delinquency Controlling for Race (Black and White Only)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Direct Black/White</th>
<th>Indirect Black/White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marital Adjustment**</td>
<td>-.16 -.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother-Child***</td>
<td>-.36 -.34 -.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>School Adjustment</td>
<td>-.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Employed</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Combined for the mother and father.
***The mother-child relationship as the mother evaluated it.

The Description of the Black Path Model

Within the Black model, as illustrated by Figure 12, there are two significant variables at the .05 level which directly relate to delinquent behavior. These variables are the school adjustment of
Marital Adjustment (Both Mother and Father) \( .43 \rightarrow \) Parent-Child (Mother-Child) \( *.36 \rightarrow \) Juvenile Delinquency (Frequency and Seriousness)

\[ \text{School Adjustment} \]

\[ .39 \]

\[ -.39 \]

* The mother-child relationship as the Mother evaluated it.

Figure 12. Diagram of the Final Run of the Model Controlling for Race (Black)
Figure 13. Diagram of the Final Run of the Model Controlling for Race (White)

* The mother-child relationship as the mother evaluated it.
the youngsters, -.39, and the mother-son relationship patterns as the female parent sees it, -.36. In the case of school adjustment, as the boys' adjustment within the school decreases, the juvenile delinquent behavior proportionally increases. For the mother-son relationship, a decrease in the quality or closeness of this dyadic pattern leads to a proportional increase in the delinquency involvement by the son.

The Black model shows that two significant variables at the .05 level have indirect influences upon delinquent behavior. Here, the first is the mother-son relationship, -.39, which effects delinquency by working through the school adjustment of the child. That is, as the mother-son relationship decreases in quality or closeness as the mother views it, the adjustment in school by the child decreases. The second variable indirectly relating to delinquent behavior is that of the marital adjustment between the parental figures, .43. More specifically, the parents' marital adjustment goes through the mother-son relationship pattern from the mother's perspective and then, it continues to delinquency, either in a direct manner or by going through the school adjustment of the child. Marital adjustment relates to the mother-son relationship in a direct, proportional way; that is, as the marital adjustment between the spouses decreases, the mother-son relationship proportionally decreases.

As presented in Table 3 for the Black model, both marital adjustment and the mother-child relationship have weak indirect effects upon delinquency. The total indirect effects of marital adjustment on delinquent behavior is -.16. In the case of the mother-child
relationship, these indirect effects total a -.14.

The Description of the White Path Model

In the White model presented in Figure 13, there are two variables significantly relating at the .05 level to delinquent behavior. These variables are the mother-son relationship as the mother perceives it -.34, and the employment status of the mother, .28. With respect to the mother-son relationship pattern, as this parental dyad decreases in quality or closeness, the delinquent involvement of the boy proportionally increases. For the employment status of the mother, it seems that the male offspring of the nonworking mothers evidenced significantly greater delinquent activities as compared to those children having female parents who are employed outside the home.

The White model illustrates in Figure 13 several significant, indirect influences at the .05 level upon delinquency, either reaching delinquent behavior through the mother-son dyad or the female parent's employment situation outside of the home. Marital adjustment of the parental figures indirectly reaches delinquency by going through the mother-son relationship pattern, .55. Essentially, as the marital adjustment of the parents decreases, the mother-son relationship proportionally decreases.

There are two variables in the White model which indirectly effects delinquency through the marital adjustment of the parents and the mother-son relationship. The first is age, -.30, and this indicates that the older boys (15 and 16 years) have parents who are suffering from greater marital maladjustment problems. Social class
is the second variable found to indirectly influence delinquency. Among White marriages in the working or lower classes, these evidenced a lesser degree of marital adjustment between the spouses, .29.

For the employment of the mother outside of the family, there are two variables leading through it which then, directly impinges upon delinquency. These variables are social class, .29, and religion, .32. In reference to social class, the working or lower class mothers seemed to be full time housewives, rather than gainfully being employed. As far as religion is concerned, the White, Protestant mothers significantly tended to have jobs away from the family compared to the Catholic, female parents.

Within Table 3, the total indirect effects of the significant variables on delinquency for the White model are presented. The most influential of these variables, indirectly effecting delinquent behavior, is marital adjustment, -.19, which is weak. Social class has indirect effects that total a -.12 and this is very weak. Age, .07, and religion, .09, are the weakest variables indirectly effecting delinquency in a significant manner and these are very minimal.

The Comparison of the Black and White Path Models

The Black and White models (Figures 12 and 13) are similar in the sense of the mother-son relationship directly effecting delinquency and the indirect influence of marital adjustment between the parental figures through the mother-son relationship on delinquent behavior. However, at this point, the similarity ceases. In the
case of the Black model, the school seems to play a different role in delinquency than found to exist for the White children and youth. That is, as the school adjustment of the Black child is reduced, the involvement in delinquent activities proportionally decreases. Furthermore, the school adjustment of the Black child is directly dependent upon the quality or closeness of the mother-son relationship pattern. Here, as the parent-child relationship of the Black mother and her son becomes reduced, in terms of quality or closeness, the school adjustment for the boy decreases. Also, for Black families, a lower marital adjustment of the parents indirectly leads to an increase in delinquency by going through the mother-son relationship and the school.

In comparing the Black and White models, the White families significantly tended to have the lower marital adjustment where the age of the boys increased (older at 15 and 16 years) and they occupied a low social class standing. These two variables, the age of the children and social class, are not significantly important for the Black families. Actually, within the Black model, marital adjustment is seen as an independent variable (it is not affected by any of the other variables in the model).

Among White families, the variable of the mother's employment directly effects delinquency. The direct relationship between the mother's employment status and delinquency shows that the White female parent who does not work is more a delinquency influence upon her son than working mothers. Through the mother not working, delinquency is increased by religion and social class in the White model.
Catholic mothers in the lower classes tend to work less outside of the home, thus increasing the delinquent activities of their sons.

In comparing the total indirect effects of the significant variables within the Black and White models on delinquency, Table 3 shows that marital adjustment has a similar total indirect effect on delinquent behavior for both racial family groups. However, these are on the weak side. For the Black families, it is a -.16 and in the case of the White family groups, the total is a -.19. The only other significant variable for the Black model, as Table 3 shows, is the mother-child relationship pattern on delinquency which totals an even weaker -.14. In the White model, as Table 3 presents, the only other significant variables indirectly effecting delinquency are social class, age, and religion. With respect to social class, this variable has a total indirect effect on delinquent behavior of -.12 and this is quite weak. For the age of the youngsters, the total indirect effect on delinquency is a very weak .07. Similarly, religion totals a very weak .09 in indirectly influencing delinquency. That is, the White Catholic families, in an indirect manner, have slightly more delinquent children than the Protestant family groups. This slight indirect effect for the White, Catholic families goes through the nonworking status of the mother.

Community Integration

The last variable utilized for control purposes is community integration. To conduct the control analyses for community integration, this variable was divided into high and low categories. The
Fessler Community Solidarity Index (the research tool used to collect the data on community integration) has a range of 40 to 200. However, in this present study, both the husband and the wife responded to the community question items, making the range double from 80 to 400. As a result, the center of the scale would be located at 240 for the combined scores of the marital partners, but the actual median for the sample is 244. Therefore, the division into the high and low was accomplished in the following manner; all the scores from 80 to 244 equals the low and the high from 245 to 400. The results of the controlling for community integration are presented in Figures 14 (high) and 15 (low). Also, the total direct and indirect effects of each variable on delinquency when community integration is controlled are shown in Table 4.

The Description of the High Community Integration Path Model

In the model of high community integration illustrated by Figure 14, the parent-child relationship patterns as the child sees them and the employment situation of the mother significantly at the .05 level relate to delinquency. For the parent-child relationships, as the quality or closeness of both these parental dyads decrease, the delinquent activity proportionally decreases, -.62. In the case of the outside employment of the mother, delinquency is significantly higher for those maternal parents who do not work away from the home, .31.

The parent-child relationship patterns as the child perceives them are directly affected by the marital adjustment of the parents and religion, thus indirectly influencing delinquency through the
$\text{Age} \rightarrow -0.38 \rightarrow \text{Mother Employed} \rightarrow 0.18 \rightarrow \text{Religion} \rightarrow -0.38 \rightarrow \text{Marital Adjustment} \rightarrow 0.86 \rightarrow \text{Parent-Child} \rightarrow 0.31 \rightarrow \text{Juvenile Delinquency}$

* The parent-child relationship as the child evaluated it for both parents.

Figure 14. Diagram of the Final Run of the Model Controlling for Community Integration (high)
Figure 15. Diagram of the Final Run of the Model Controlling for Community Integration (low)

* The mother-child relationship as the mother evaluated it.
** The father-child relationship as the father evaluated it.
*** The parent-child relationship as the child evaluated it.
Table 4
The Direct and Indirect Effects of Each Variable Relating to Delinquency Controlling for High and Low Community Integration*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
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<td>-.62</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Adjustment</td>
<td>-.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Employed</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at the .05 level.
**Combined for the mother and father.
***The mother-child relationship as the mother evaluated it.
****The father-child relationship as the father evaluated it.
*****The parent-child relationship as the child evaluated it for both parents.

In the case of religion, the Catholic parents seem to evidence a significantly better parent-child relationship pattern as compared to the Protestant counterparts, .18.

In Figure 14, the variable of age indirectly influences
delinquency by going through the marital adjustment of the parents and both parent-child relationships from the perspective of the child. The direct effect that the age of the child has on the parents' marital adjustment is inversely proportional. That is, as the child grows older, the marital adjustment of the parents decreases, -.38.

As Figure 14 illustrates, through the employment of the mother, social class indirectly effects delinquent behavior. The lower class families have significantly more mothers not being employed outside of the home, -.38.

With respect to the total indirect effects upon delinquent behavior for the high community integration model, Table 4 has four variables that are significant. The strongest variable is marital adjustment, -.53, and this is an extremely strong measure. Age ranks as the second strongest variable, but it is much lower than marital adjustment. The variable of age has a weak indirect effect on delinquency for those families living in a high integrated community. Religion, -.22, and social class, -.12, are even considerably weaker than age. In the case of religion, the Protestant families seem to have slightly more delinquent youngsters as compared to the Catholic ones when high community integration exists. The variable of religion indirectly effects delinquency by going through the parent-child relationship patterns as the child sees them. In the case of social class and high community integration, the low socio-economic status families have a tendency to produce more delinquent children when the mother is at home, rather than employed outside of the household.
The Description of the Low Community Integration Path Model

Within the low community integration model pictured in Figure 15, school adjustment and the mother-son relationship as the mother sees it significantly relates to juvenile delinquent behavior in a direct manner at the .05 level. In the case of school adjustment, as the boys adjustment in school decreases, the participation of delinquent activities proportionally increases, -.36. For the mother-son relationship and delinquency, this is inversely proportional as well. That is, as the quality or closeness of the mother-son relationship pattern decreases, the juvenile delinquent behavior increases, -.56.

The low community integration model shows a considerable number of indirect influences on delinquency revolving around the school adjustment of the child and the parent-child relationship patterns. With reference to the school adjustment, there are three variables directly relating to this vital area in the child's life. These variables are age, -.43, the parent-child relationships as the child sees them, .35, and race, .33. In regards to the age of the child, as the boy grows older, the school adjustment appears to lessen. With respect to the parent-child relationships, the lesser the quality or closeness of the parent-child dyads, the greater the proportional reduction of school adjustment by the child. In the case of race, Black youngsters significantly have lower school adjustment.

Within the parent-child relationship cluster, the father-son relationship as the father sees it indirectly affects delinquency through the parent-child relationships from the child's perspective
and the school adjustment. As the father-son relationship from the vantage point of the father increases in quality or closeness, both parental dyads as the child views them proportionally increase, .57. On the other hand, the mother-son dyad indirectly influences delinquency by effecting the father-son relationship pattern, .45. This influence of the mother-son relationship on delinquency indirectly travels through the father-son dyad, the child to both parental relationships, and the school adjustment. From these results on the parent-child cluster, the boy who lives in a low integrated community appears to be more directly oriented to the father than the mother.

Marital adjustment indirectly effects delinquency by taking several routes through the parent-child relationship cluster. In one path, marital adjustment reaches delinquent behavior by going through the mother-son relationship pattern. That is, as the marital adjustment of the spouses decrease, the mother-son dyad proportionally decreases in quality or closeness, .25. By traveling another route, marital adjustment indirectly arrives at delinquency by directly influencing the mother-son relationship and the rest of the parent-child cluster and the school adjustment of the child. In still another avenue, marital adjustment gets to delinquency by going through both parent-child relationships as the child looks at them and the school adjustment. Essentially, as the marital adjustment of the parents decreases, the parent-child relationships proportionally decrease, .29.

In the low community integration model, there is only one variable effecting delinquency in an indirect way through the marital
adjustment of the parents. This variable is the age of the child and after going through marital adjustment, age follows several paths to delinquency by indirectly influencing the entire parent-child cluster and then, school adjustment. As the age of the child increases, the marital adjustment of the parents proportionally decreases, -.43.

The employment situation of the mother indirectly effects delinquent behavior by following the path through the father-son relationship, the parent-child relationships as the child views them and school adjustment. Here, fathers who have employed wives had a significantly better relationship with their sons, -.31.

Race indirectly effects the delinquency by first influencing the mother-son relationship and then, going through the rest of the parent-child cluster and the school adjustment of the child. In essence, the Black mothers as they see it had significantly poorer quality relationships with their sons, .44. In another way, race indirectly influences delinquency through the employment status of the mother and then, following the path to the father-son dyad, the child to both parental relationship patterns, and the school adjustment. Specifically, Black mothers significantly tended to not be employed outside of the home, -.36.

The religion of the family indirectly influences delinquent behavior by leading to the father-son relationship and then, to the parent-child relationships as the child sees them and school adjustment. Catholic fathers were found to have significantly better relationships with their sons than the Protestant ones, .26, at least from the fathers' perspective. In another route, religion effects
delinquency by going through the employment of the mother and subsequently, providing an influence upon the father-son dyad, the parent-child relationships as the child views them and the school adjustment. Here, the finding shows that Catholic mothers significantly refrain from working outside of the home, .32, as compared to their Protestant counterparts.

Ethnic origin indirectly effects delinquent involvement by following a path through the parent-child relationships as seen by the child and then, going to school adjustment. More specifically, Western and Eastern European children have indicated poorer quality relationships with both the mother and the father as opposed to those parents of American ethnicity.

The total indirect effects upon delinquency for those significant variables in the low community integration model are presented in Table 4. Race is the strongest variable providing an indirect influence on delinquent behavior, -.50, in the model. This indirect effect by race is significant for Black youth, in connection with the mother-child relationship and the school adjustment. When low community integration exists, the mother-child relationship is poorer in Black families and the school adjustment results in being lower, subsequently leading to greater delinquency involvement.

Age and marital adjustment have a closely similar total effects on delinquency for low integrated communities, but both of these indirect influences are on the weak side. In the case of age, .22, its total effect on delinquent behavior tends to be weak, going through the family inter-relationship patterns (all except the father-son
dyad) and/or the school adjustment. For marital adjustment, -.19, the total influence upon delinquency follows the paths through the parent-child relationships (with the exception of the father-child relationship pattern) and/or school adjustment.

An even weaker indirect relationship, in terms of the total effects upon delinquency for the low community integration model, is the parent-child relationships as the child views them for both parents. Here, this indirect influence on delinquency totals, -.13, and it reaches delinquency indirectly through the school adjustment of the child. This is an indication that the school, within a low integrated community, has a slightly greater tendency to miss offsetting the poor or inadequate parent-child relationships, leading to maladjustment problems for the child in school. As a result, these same youngsters become slightly more vulnerable to engage in delinquent activities.

There are five significant variables in the low community integration model, which have indirect effects upon delinquency. However, these variables influence delinquency in a very weak or minimal way. The first is the father-child relationship, -.07, and this variable very weakly effects delinquency through the way the boy sees the parental relationships and then, his school adjustment. The second variable is ethnic origin, -.05. This very weak influence on delinquency travels through the parent-child relationships as the child views them and then, subsequently, it moves into the school adjustment of the child. Here, among families who live within low integrated communities of Western and Eastern European backgrounds,
the parent-child relationships are of poorer quality as the boy perceives them. The school adjustment of these youngsters is lower, and delinquency involvement is slightly higher. The third variable is the mother-child relationship, -.03, and this weak influence is through the father-son relationship and the son's view of both parental relationships, going on to school adjustment before reaching delinquency. Finally, the fourth and fifth very weak variables in the low community integration model are the mother's employment and religion which both total a -.02 with respect to total indirect effects.

The employment status of the mother very weakly effects delinquency, in an indirect manner, by initially influencing the father-child relationship and then, going through both parent-child relationships as the boy sees them. From here, it travels through the school adjustment of the child before reaching delinquency. This means that the fathers not having employed wives experience poorer relationships with their sons which negatively effects the parent-child relationships from the boys' perspective. As a result, school adjustment is reduced and subsequently, there is a very slight tendency for these boys to engage in delinquency. Religion travels the same path as the employment status of the mother in influencing delinquent involvement. Of significance here, the Protestant families have a slightly higher delinquent involvement among the boys and this indirect influence works through the father-son relationship.

The Comparison of the High and Low Community Integration Models

In comparing the high and low community integration models, the
high model is not as complex and intricate as the low one. This is particularly the case for the indirect influences upon delinquency where the low model has many more paths. For the direct influences on delinquent behavior, the high integration model shows the non-working status of the female parent and the poor quality of the parent-child relationship patterns from the child's perspective to be significant. On the other hand, the low integration model indicates that the reduced level of school adjustment and the distant mother-son relationship as the mother sees it are significant, direct variables on delinquency.

Within the parent-child relationships, the high integration model presents a similar picture as to the importance of the parents. However, in the low model, the child seems to be more oriented toward the male parent and he is influenced greater by the quality or closeness of the father-son relationship pattern as the father views it. That is, the impression of the child, regarding both parents, is dependent upon the nature or state of the father-son relationship. Here, the mother has an influence on the child, but it is largely indirect through the father-son relationship pattern.

In the lower class model, the parent-child relationships become important for the school adjustment of the child. The closer these relationships are in the life of the child, the better his school adjustment. Another significant variable for school adjustment in the low model is race. More specifically, the Black children and youth seem to be less adjusted in communities of low integration.

The high integration model shows less influence upon the
parent-child relationships than the low integration. Whereas, in both models, the marital adjustment of the parents directly effects the quality or closeness of the parent-child relationships as the child perceives them, the high integration model is much stronger, .86, than the low one, .29. In addition, the two models differ as to the variables leading through the parent-child relationships as the child sees them on their way to delinquency. In the high integration model, religion is significantly important, indicating that Catholic families have better parental relationship patterns. For the low integration model, ethnic origin is cogent where families considered of American ethnicity have greater quality or closeness between parents and their children than Western and Eastern European ones.

With respect to the father-son relationship as the paternal parent has evaluated it only in the low integration model, there are two variables significantly influencing it. The first is religion and the second is the nonworking status of the mother. As for religion, Catholic fathers show a better quality relationship with their sons than the Protestant ones. For the nonworking mothers, the fathers see their relationships with the male offspring significantly more positive when their wives are employed outside of the home.

In the case of the mother-son relationship pattern from the mother’s perspective, the low integration model indicates two significantly important variables for it as well. These are the degree of marital adjustment between the spouses and race. The mother-son relationship is improved by lesser marital difficulties in the home and
White mothers seem to have significantly better relationships with their sons.

The variable of marital adjustment is similarly affected when comparing the high and low community integration models. That is, the families with older boys tended to have parents who experience a lesser degree of marital adjustment within both models.

The role of the employed mother is different in the high and low integrated communities. In the case of the high integration model only, the family's social class effects the mother as to whether or not she will be working outside of the home. Here, the mothers of higher social class standing significantly worked more away from the home than those of the lower social classes. For the low integration model, the likelihood of the mother being employed is significantly dependent on religion and race. As far as religion is concerned, Catholic mothers tended to not work than their Protestant counterparts. With respect to race, Black mothers tended to be employed less than the White mothers.

In comparing the total indirect effects of the significant variables on delinquency within the high and low community integration models, there are many more variables which indirectly influence delinquent behavior within the low model as compared to the high one. As Table 4 shows, both community integration models indicate that age, marital adjustment, and religion indirectly effect delinquency. However, the low community model also includes race, ethnic origin, mother-child relationship, father-child relationship, child to both parental relationship patterns, and the employment status of the
mother. For the high community integration model, the only significant variable indirectly influencing delinquency that does not appear within the low model is social class.

Of the multitude of variables indirectly effecting delinquency in the low community integration model which are absent from the high one, only race has a real strong indirect effect upon delinquent behavior, -.50, as indicated by Table 4. This essentially means that when the degree of community integration is controlled, the Black youth are significantly more involved in delinquent activity from communities with low integration than Whites. These indirect effects of race upon delinquency for the low community integration model travels through all the family relationship patterns and/or the school adjustment of the child, as illustrated in Figure 15.

For the low community integration model, the child to both parental relationships has a very weak indirect effect on delinquent behavior through the school adjustment, -.13, as shown in Table 4. This same Table 4 also shows ethnic origin, .05, mother-child relationship, -.03, father-child relationship, -.07, and the employment status of the mother, .02, to have very minimal indirect effects upon delinquency in the low community integration model. In the case of ethnic origin within the low community integration model, the male youth of Western and Eastern European ethnicity are slightly more delinquent than compared to those youngsters of American nationality. With respect to the employment status of the mother among those families from low integrated communities, the offspring of the mothers not employed outside of the family are slightly more delinquent than the children
of the mothers working. Finally, in the low community integration model, the mother-child and father-child relationship patterns as each of these parental figures see them have a slight inverse effect upon delinquency. That is, as each of these parent-child relationships decreases in quality or closeness, the delinquent involvement increases.

In the case of the high community integration model, social class is significant with respect to its indirect effect on delinquency, but it is quite weak, -.12, as Table 4 presents. The variable of social class is not significant in the low community integration model, in regards to any indirect effects on delinquent behavior. In essence, this means that youth are more delinquent in the lower socio-economic status groups when a high degree of community integration also exists. Here, the variable of social class indirectly effects delinquency by going through the employment status of the mothers. That is, the children from the lower classes have a significantly greater involvement in delinquency when the mother is not employed outside the home.

As presented in Table 4, there are three variables that have significance for both community integration models with respect to their indirect effects on delinquency. The first is age of the child and this variable is very similar for the high and low community integration models. In the case of the high model, the total indirect effects of age on delinquency is .20 and for the low model, this is .22, as Table 4 shows. Both of these standardized regression coefficients are weak and it means that the indirect effects of age on delinquency is very similar when community integration is controlled.
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is very similar when community integration is controlled.

The second variable yielding significant, indirect effects in both the low and high community integration models is marital adjustment. In the high model, the total indirect effects of marital adjustment on delinquency is -.53 which is very strong. This means that when the degree of community integration is controlled, the indirect effect of marital adjustment problems on delinquency is very potent. On the other hand, the low community integration model shows a much weaker measure on the total indirect effects of marital maladjustment problems upon delinquent behavior and this totals, -.19. The reader should note that the strength of the indirect effects of marital adjustment on delinquency, in comparing the high and low models, has a ratio of almost 3 to 1.

Finally, the third variable that appears significant in both community integration models is religion. The total indirect effects of religion for both integration models are very weak. For the high community integration mode, the indirect effect of religion on delinquency is a -.11 and in the case of the low model, it is a very minimal -.02. This means that when the degree of community integration is controlled, the total indirect effects of religion upon delinquency are very slight for both models. That is, the Protestant families have more delinquent youngsters than the Catholic ones and this is a little stronger among the families residing within communities of high integration. The indirect effects of religion on delinquency are found to go through the cluster of parent-child relationships for both community integration models, but in the case of
the low model, these effects of religion also travels through the school adjustment to delinquent behavior.
CHAPTER IX

THE INTERACTION ANALYSES CONTINUED: DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

In the previous section (Chapter VIII), the results of the control analyses for social class, race, and community integration were presented. Here, within this Chapter, the focus will be to discuss and interpret these findings.

Social Class

The Relationships Directly Leading to Delinquency

For low social class, the only variable found significantly relating to delinquency in a direct way is the parent-child relationship as the mother has viewed it, \(-.81\). This is an extremely strong relationship and it shows that as the mother-son relationship as seen by the mother decreases in quality or closeness, the juvenile delinquency of the child proportionally increases.

On the other hand, this is quite different from the high school class families where the mother and father parental relationships do not significantly relate to delinquent behavior. Here, there are three variables significantly relating to juvenile delinquency for the high social class families; they are the parent-child relationships, the child to both parents as the former evaluated them, \(-.42\), race, \(-.27\), and mother employed, .27. In the case of the parent-child relationship, the standardized regression coefficient found is very
strong, -.42. This means as the parent-child relationship for both parents decreases in quality or closeness, juvenile delinquency proportionally increases.

This finding seems to indicate that among low social class families, the mother has considerably more importance for delinquency; however, in the case of high social class families, the father has a greater bearing. Additionally, this is further supported by the significant relationship between the parent-child as evaluated by the father and the child's relationship to both parents as the son views them (.40) for the high social class families. As the father to son relationship increases in quality or closeness, the relationship of child to both parents proportionally increases. Of course, greater priority should be given to the actor or person engaging in the behavior. Therefore, the perceptions of the child should be given much greater weight in regards to his evaluations of the parent-child relationships, since he is the person engaging in the delinquent behavior.

The differential importance in the family for the mother in the case of low social class families and the father for high social class ones may be attributed to the difference in ability the father has to perform his roles as father and husband within the family. This may be tied to greater unemployment and less income brought into the family by the lower class fathers and husbands which could cause them to view themselves as poor "bread winners" for their families. Possibly, this has an influence upon them being able to perform their family roles as husband and father. As a result,
mother becomes differentially more important in the low class families and when she cannot relate well to her son and this has a direct, inverse influence upon juvenile delinquency of her son. However, among high class families, the father can provide much better and becomes a more integral member of the family through increased and effective role performance as a father and husband. Consequently, the father becomes differentially more important than the mother and relates to juvenile delinquency for the son, if this parent-child relationship is not of high quality or closeness. This interpretation becomes even clearer when one considers that for the male children, they are usually more oriented to their paternal parent in the first place. Here, the findings suggest that when the father becomes more active in the family through role performance and the father-son relationship is not of good quality or closeness, then this has a considerable influence upon delinquency of male children.

In comparing high and low social class, the results show when socio-economic status is controlled, the parent-child relationships from the child's perspective for both the mother and father are only a significant for delinquency among the upper class families. One interpretation is the size of the families and the number of siblings present in the home. Low class households tend to have larger families than is the case for high class homes. It is entirely possible that the presence of brothers and/or sisters for the child can buffer a poor quality relationship with parents. Here, an area (sibling relationships) is suggested for future research which may prove fruitful in learning more about the family and delinquency. In addition,
children living in larger families (more sibling relationships) may tend to have a lesser dependency upon parents than is the case with smaller families, especially for family groups with an only child. Within larger families, many of the needs of children are fulfilled by older brothers or sisters. As a result, the children in the smaller families are more oriented toward their parents.

Another variable within the analysis which significantly relates to juvenile delinquency for high class families, but not for low is race, -.27. This is a relatively strong relationship and it means that for Black youngsters coming from the high social class families, there is an increased involvement in delinquency. A finding of this nature contradicts anomie or alienation theory which would postulate a greater degree of delinquency involvement for lower class Blacks and a lesser engagement in delinquent offenses by the middle and upper class Blacks. As the doors of opportunity appear to open for Blacks, these youth would be expected to become more involved in legitimate activities, rather than the illegitimate ones. However, the contradictory results may be explained by the "principle of rising expectations." That is, the more that a person achieves or gets, the more he or she wants. Here, it is entirely possible that for high class Black youth, they experience greater anomie or alienation with greater opportunity, because they want more and still experience some racial discrimination which prevents it.

The last variable significantly relating to delinquency for high social class families is the employment of the mother. This is a strong relationship, .27, and it means that for high social class
families, there is an increase in delinquency among the children when the mother does not work outside the home. A possible interpretation of this finding is that within the high social class family, the mother plays a relatively less important role than the father when compared to the low social class familial unit. In the lower class family, the mother seems to have greater importance. Here, in the upper class with the mother playing a less important role than the father and being present more often, due to a lack of outside employment, suggests several possible explanations. First, with the mother's greater amount of time around the home, this may bring about feelings of resentment for her, because of the lesser importance within the familial home. Wives and mothers who work in the higher social class may derive a greater sense of worth and they are more able to handle their relatively lower status to the father in the home. Also, the working mother may enjoy a greater amount of self-esteem, because she is economically contributing to the household. In addition, if the mother is working, her husband may look upon his wife more as an equal.

Second, the mother, by not working and being around the home more often, creates a greater probability for conflict with the father over the control and discipline of the male child. If the mother has a lesser status to the father in the home, then this may be a source of irritation to the mother when the father dominates.

Third, with the mother working, the father may take a more active role in the family, especially in the care of the offspring. This may have a positive effect in the sense that it provides more
opportunity for the father and son to inter-relate. The outcome of
this may be a closer father-son relationship which the boy usually
wants, because most male children are oriented more to their fathers
than the mothers. By the mother working, this may unintentionally
provide for a greater opportunity for the child to be with his father
and allow a more active father-son relationship, particularly if the
father cares for the family while the mother is at work.

Fourth, if the mother works, the father may be around the house
more often and take a more active interest in the control and disci­
pline of the child. In addition, fathers do tend to be stronger when
it comes to the control and discipline of their sons as compared to
the mothers.

As a result of any or all of the above reasons, the child in the
high social class family may more often engage in delinquent activi­
ties when the mother is not employed and she frequently around the
home. This means that the mere presence of the mother in the family
does not necessarily provide for a decrease of delinquent involvement
among children. The increase of delinquency by youth with nonworking
mothers in the higher social class is contrary to social control
theory. According to this theory, the nonworking mother would be
within the household more often, engaging in her parental role which
would provide greater control and supervision for the children. Ac­
cording to control theory, the nonworking mother would be expected to
have children who have a relatively low amount or no delinquent in­
volvement.

It is important to note that the relationships between the
parent-child relationships from the child's perspective for both parents and the school adjustment as well as school adjustment and delinquency have dropped out of the model when social class is controlled for both the high and low class families (see Figures 10 and 11). This may be due to the sample size and the small amount of cases represented within the sub-samples.

The Relationships Indirectly Leading to Delinquency

When comparing the high and low class families, there are four variables which effect the cluster of parent-child relationships, but there are crucial differences when social class has been controlled. These variables are marital adjustment, religion, community integration, and ethnic origin. For the low social class families, only the parent-child relationship from the mother's perspective is significantly influenced by the maternal parent's marital adjustment with her husband. This is an extremely strong relationship with a standardized regression coefficient of .66. It appears by this finding that as the marital adjustment decreases, the mother-son relationship proportionally decreases as well.

However, for the high social class families, it is the father-son relationship pattern which is affected by the marital adjustment with the female spouse. That is this was found to be a very strong relationship, .48, and it means that as the marital adjustment of both parents increase, the quality or closeness of the father-son relationship from the father's perspective also proportionally increases. Again, this could very well be explained by the more
differential importance of the father in the high social class families. It appears that the more socially integrated a parent is into the family and the more active the performance of the parental roles; this may be necessary before marital adjustment will effect the parent-child relationships from the parental perspective. In other words, the parent who takes a more direct participation within the family through role performance may be mostly affected by marital adjustment problems. Here, it is entirely possible that the higher class fathers as compared to the lower ones may participate more in the family and, therefore, they would be affected more by marital difficulties.

The marital adjustment of the parents was found to have differential importance for the parent-child relationships as the child evaluated them among higher social class families. This relationship is very strong with a standardized regression coefficient of .46. Here, the finding indicates that as the marital adjustment of the parents decreases, the parent-child relationships for the child decreases in quality and closeness. Quite possibly, this could be attributed to the smaller size of the higher social class family where there are less sibling relationships as was discussed earlier. It is entirely conceivable that the sibling relationships could offset the poorer and distant parent-child relationships for the child. This notion is in need of further research as has been indicated before and here, it should be reiterated and emphasized.

Community integration, .26 and ethnic origin, .21, were both found to be related to the parent-child relationship with the father
as this parent perceives it among only the high social class families. Community integration is quite a strong relationship with the father-son matrix and ethnic origin is a weak relationship with the paternal parent and his son. However, both relationships were statistically significant at the .05 level.

In the case of community integration as it decreases in quality, the father-son relationship seems to evidence a lesser quality or closeness, particularly as the father has viewed the parental relationship. In the first place, the degree or quality in the community is most likely to be of greater awareness to the paternal parent than the maternal one. Male spouses tend to spend more time away from the family at work and other activities which takes them into the community more often. However, this relationship between the community more often. However, this relationship between the community integration and the father-son relationship, as the father has viewed it, has differential importance for the high social class families. This could be due to the high social class being more community oriented and thereby, interacting more often with the community. Furthermore, this might be especially true of the higher social class husbands and fathers. For the higher social class father, a better feeling about the community conditions seems to effect how he can relate to the child. The better this feeling, the more the father can establish a closer relationship with his son from the way the father sees it.

With respect to ethnic origin when social class is controlled, the fathers who are relatively newer to the American culture tended to have a better quality and close relationship with their sons.
However, this was found only for the sub-sample of European fathers in the higher social class and it is a very weak relationship, .21, even though significant. An impediment for Western and Eastern European families to a good quality parent-child relationship may be the culture conflict between the old and the new. That is, the parents cling to the previous ways of the old country and the children become oriented to the new ways of the American culture. For the children, this is largely for the reason of peer pressure and the acceptance by their friends. However, for the fathers who are relatively newer to this country, this culture conflict does not seem to be apparent for all of them, nor does it negatively effect the father-son relationship in all cases as they (the fathers) have viewed the father-son relationship.

For the higher social class fathers newly from Western and European countries, they may not perceive this culture conflict as readily as their lower social class counterparts. The reason for this could very well lie in the amount of time spent in the family by the high and low social class fathers. That is, the low social class fathers of recent European extraction spends more time in the home due to a greater frequency of unemployment and thereby, becomes more aware of the differences between him and the male child. On the other hand, the higher social class father of recent European background interacts more often outside of the family (particularly, at work) and does not see this culture conflict problem with his son as much. Also, the higher social class father experiencing this culture conflict problem with the male child would not be around as much as his
lower social class counterpart to deal with this problem and resolve it. Furthermore, the higher social class fathers tend to have 'white collar' occupations which may necessitate them working evenings or weekends away from the family.

However, a reversal of this relationship takes place between ethnic origin and the parent-child relationships toward both parents as seen by the child with a standardized regression coefficient of -.30. Here, among high social class families, it is those parents of American ethnicity that have a better relationship with their sons. This is a strong relationship at the .05 level. This may indicate that for the young boy of relatively newer ethnicity to the American culture (especially, Eastern and Western European ethnic origins), the culture conflict of the old and the new, speculated above, may be more salient for the male child than the father. For the boy, it is most likely much more important to have a father around to communicate with and make in-roads toward the resolution of the culture conflict problems, thereby providing a closer relationship between the father and son.

Finally, the last variable which influences the cluster of parent-child relationships was found to be religion. The higher social class fathers of the Catholic faith tended to evaluate their relationships with their son significantly better than the Protestant ones of the same social class backgrounds. The standardized regression coefficient was discovered to be .21 and even though it is significant at the .05 level, it is a weak relationship. For the purpose of providing insight into this finding, higher social class fathers seem to
have a differentially greater status within the family as compared to the lower class paternal parents. Among lower social class families, the mother seems to have more importance to the family, due to the father's inability to perform his role as economic provider for the family group. In addition, it is entirely possible that the higher class Catholic families take a more active interest and participation in the church than Protestant ones. Catholic families do tend to be closer to the church and more integrated into this religions institution as opposed to Protestants. For the higher social class family, this would provide the Catholic family with a better opportunity to economically afford church membership and religious activity. As a result, the Catholic family of higher social class backgrounds may be more active in the church as a family unit, thereby improving the quality and closeness of the father-son relationship, at least from the point of view held by the father.

There are two variables which were found to relate significantly at the .05 level to the marital adjustment of both parents from higher social class families (see Figure 10). The first was race, -.27, and the second was the age of the male child, -.35. Both of these relationships are relatively strong. In regards to race among the higher social class families, Black marriages were found to evidence less adjustment than White. This could be very well due to the "principle of rising expectations" placing a greater strain upon Black marriages in the higher social classes. As racial discrimination lessens and Blacks begin to move up the social class ladder, they may expect to achieve more; however, there is still some racial discrimination
existing which holds them back. With greater expectations and a still continued experience of racial discrimination preventing further advancement, this may negatively affect the Black marriage of the higher social class. An alternative explanation might be a greater probability for marital conflicts as the Black husband acquires a more important role in the family through social class mobility and takes a more active participation within the family. The low social class Black family has been found by sociological research to be very matriarchal in nature. At any rate, it appears from this finding that Black marriages in the high social class are less adjusted than is the case for White.

The age of the child also was found to significantly relate to the marital adjustment of both parents among the high social class families (see Figure 10). The standardized regression coefficient was -.35 and this means that the younger children were found to have better maritally adjusted parents than the older ones. This relationship was found significant at the .05 level and it is very strong. Quite possibly, this could mean as the children grow older, parental expectations of their children differentially increase for the high social class families; however, when these children do not live up to the greater parental expectations, this negatively influences the marital adjustment of the parents by bringing conflict and stress upon the marriage. If high social class parents do have differentially more expectations for their offspring, then the probability increases for them to have expectational failure on the part of their children which might affect the marriage.
An alternative interpretation of this finding is that high and low social class parents do not differ as to their expectations of the boys, but for one reason or another, high social class males fail more often as they grow older, bringing about an adverse affect upon their parents' marriage. However, it is rather doubtful that low and high social class parents have the same expectations for their children. Among the low social class (the lower and working class segments of our population), there are normative differences in the behavioral expectations from the high social class (the "white collar, professional, and business segments of the people). An example of the above is fist fighting. Among the lower class, a male is a coward if he walks away from a fight, but for the higher class, a boy is taught that he is a bigger person by not fighting and walking away.

The last significant relationship at the .05 level needed to be discussed in connection with the controlling of social class is the one between religion and the employment of the mother (see Figure 10). This relationship was found to have a regression coefficient of .25 and it indicates that for higher social class families, there are more Protestant mothers employed outside of the family than Catholic, Other, or None. In other words, there seems to be more Catholic mothers in the higher social classes that are not working and thereby, they are fulltime wives and mothers at home. It has been previously suggested that Catholic mothers may not be employed outside of the household as much as Protestant ones, because Catholics usually have larger families than Protestants. This may present a problem for the employment of Catholic mothers, due to more pregnancies interfering
with work or more interruptions of employment. In addition, the Catholic mother may be more confined to the home as result of more children to care for and the additional expense incurred to provide child care, if she goes to work. Also, the Catholic mother may be differentially influenced by the church that her proper place is in the home with her husband and children. Lower class Catholic mothers most probably work more often as compared to their higher social class counterparts through more economic necessity.

The Summary

When social class is controlled, the key variable directly relating to juvenile delinquent behavior for the low social class families is only the mother-son relationship as the mother has viewed it. On the other hand, for the higher social class families, the important variables which relate to juvenile delinquency essentially are the parent-child relationships to both parents (child's view), the presence of the mother in the home more often as a result of not working outside of the home, and more delinquency involvement for Black males. In all probability, the relationships of the parent-child dyads (particularly, the ones as the male child has viewed them) to school adjustment and the adjustment at school to delinquent involvement have disappeared when controlling for social class, because of the sample size and the small number of cases within the sub-samples. Most likely both these relationships are important, regardless of social class standing.

When social class has been controlled, the marital adjustment
...does not directly relate to delinquency, but it does directly relate through the parent-child relationships in a different sense. In the case of the lower social class families, the mother-son relationship as the mother has seen it is significantly influenced by the marital adjustment of both parents. For the high social class families, it is the father-son relationship as the father viewed it which is affected by the marital adjustment of the parental figures in the home. However, the marital adjustment of the spouses does directly effect the parent-child relationships for both parents as the male child perceives them among high social class families. Here, the marital adjustment of the husband and wife has greater saliency for the parent-child relationship for the mother in low social class homes and for the father and male child among high social class families. This is probably due to the importance of the mother to low social class families and the father to high social class homes. For the high social class homes, the father-son relationship as the father has viewed it, directly relates to this same relationship between the father-son as the male child has seen it for both parents. This means that the father-son relationship within the higher social class homes has a generalizing effect to the mother.

For the higher social class families, the parent-child relationships are directly influenced by religion, community integration, and ethnic origin. In the case of religion, Catholic fathers tended to see their relationship with the children of a closer nature. For community integration, the quality of the community differentially effects the father-son relationship, as the paternal parent has
viewed them. The better the integration of the community, the greater the quality or closeness of the father-son relationship pattern from the male parent's perspective. On the other hand, ethnic origin influences the father-son relationship in a differential sense among the higher social class families, depending upon the male family member's viewpoint. From the father's perspective, the relatively newer ethnic groups to American culture (particularly, the Western and Eastern European countries) seem to evidence a better father-son relationship. However, in the case of the child's point of view, it is the family of American ethnicity which shows a more quality relationship with the male parent.

The marital adjustment of both the husband and wife was found to be influenced by the age of the child and race in a direct manner when social class has been controlled. For the age of the child among higher social class families, the older children were found to have parents experiencing less marital adjustment. This could be due to more expectations placed upon the children by high social class parents, increasing the probability of failure, which can provide strain and tension upon the parents' marriage. In regards to race, Black families of higher social class showed greater marital maladjustment problems. This may be attributed to the increased expectations of higher social class Blacks and frustration and alienation derived from experiences with remaining racial barriers in their lives. Here, this might be a source of tension which adversely influences Black marriages in the more affluent classes.

Finally, the last significant relationship found for only the
higher social class families was that Catholic mothers tended to be at home full time as a wife and mother, rather than being employed outside the home in the work force. It was speculated that this could be due to higher class Catholic mothers remaining in the home, because of more pregnancies, larger families for child care, and/or church influence which differentially teaches Catholic married women to devote their lives to their husband and children. This becomes more a reality among higher class Catholic families, due to the absence of necessity for the female spouse to work.

Race

The Relationships Directly Leading to Delinquency

The next factor controlled through the partitioning of the data was race and this variable was divided into Black and White families. As previously pointed out, there were not any Oriental families within the sample and inter-racial marriages were absent as well. In controlling for race, there are two variables which are significant for delinquency at the .05 level; there are the school adjustment of Black children, -.39, and the mother's non-employment outside the family for Whites, .28. The school adjustment of the children is directly proportional to the delinquent behavior of the Black males in the sample. This is not the case for the White boys in the sample and it may indicate that the school is more a source of law-violating behavior for Black children than would be for White. However, the relationship between the parent-child dyadic patterns (the children's
evaluation of both parents) and the school adjustment originally found in Figures 8 and 9 dropped out when controlling for race in the case of both Blacks and Whites. This is most probably the outcome of the sample size which yielded small sub-samples when controlling for racial differences.

This significant relationship between school adjustment and the delinquency of Black youth does not completely exonerate Black parents in contributing to the maladjustment of their children in school and then, indirectly to delinquency through the educational institution. However, this result does indicate that the school differentially contributes to the delinquency problem for Black youth. The school may not be effectively handling and relating close enough to Black youth to the same extent as to Whites. It is entirely probable that Black youngsters in American society are still experiencing, in one form or another, institutional racism within the schools. This may be evident in the attitude of White school personnel, including administrators, counselors, and teachers and/or it may be inadequacy of the physical environment within the schools that Black youth attend. Our society is still very much racially segregated in our schools and Blacks very often attend physically inadequate school buildings which are old and deteriorated, particularly in all or mostly Black neighborhoods.

Another problem Black youth may face in the school could be embedded in the quality of teachers. The schools attended by Black youngsters (particularly, in the lower socioeconomic areas and the Black ghetto) may have more than their share of incompetent teachers.
White teaching personnel may also consciously or unconsciously convey to Black children their supposed differential inability to learn as compared to White children. Also, school personnel, including teachers, have tracked Black children and youth much more often into the lower or nonacademic track. This was based upon the assumed reduced ability to learn by Blacks (Brookover & Erickson, 1975).

The reduced competency of teachers and those who convey inferiority to academic learning by Black students can "turn them off" to the school and this conceivably may create feelings of antagonism and alienation. In turn, this may contribute to the problem of delinquency which can be seen as behavior in reaction to the school and/or the ineffectiveness the school has in the lives of Black youth. At any rate, it appears very plausible that the school contributes to the delinquency among Black youth. There is a definite need for the schools to change their ways, so that they can more effectively meet the educational needs of Black youth in our society.

In controlling for race, the employment status of the mother is the last variable found to be significantly and directly related to delinquency. This relationship is fairly strong, .28, and it means that more delinquent behavior was found to exist for White male youth who have mothers not employed outside the home, a parallel finding with upper social class families. Quite possibly, this could be attributed to the differential status of the mother within the family among Black familial groups and it may be an artifact of class, rather than race. Among many Black families remaining physically intact, the Black wife and mother is a more dominant figure within the home than
the Black husband and father. Rainwater (1965) found that among working or lower class Black marriages, the wife is mostly the dominant spouse in the decisions, regarding the marriage and the family. The Black female headed household is much more prevalent than any other ethnic group within the United States (Eshleman, 1981). This finding may be additional support for the notion of the Black matriarchal family where the Black female spouse dominates in the marriage as well as within the parent-child relationship patterns.

For the White family, the wife is very often of secondary economic importance to her male counterpart and as a result, she is more passive and subordinate to her husband in the marriage, a less dominant parental figure to the offspring, than the father, and less influential in the decision-making and operation of the family than the male spouse. This could have definite repercussions in the White mother's ability to effectively relate with her children (particularly, the male children), because she has been socially constrained within the family. Furthermore, this problem may be intensified, if the White mother feels a lack of expression and fulfillment in her life. A working wife and mother may feel more fulfilled, because of her outside employment that allows economic contribution to the family and this makes a more equal status for the female spouse to the husband and father within the family. Furthermore, the female spouse and parental figure who is employed outside of the family lessens her financial dependency upon the husband, reduces the family as the entire focal point of life, and it could conceivably increase her ability to relate with the children. For the male child, this
may be more salient, since male children tend to be more oriented to their fathers in the first place.

This particular problem for the White wife and mother within the family would provide support for social role theory and delinquency proposed by Friday and Hage (1976) and Friday and Halsey (1977), regarding the mother's reduced ability to perform her social roles within the family as a wife and parent. On the other hand, it does not support social control theory offered by Thomas et al. (1974), Bronfenbrenner (1961), Hirschi (1969) and Hindelang (1973) as well as others, in the sense that a working mother has less time at home for direct control and supervision of her children. Here, social control theory would be supported, if the working wife finds increased ability to relate to her children and provide for them a parental closeness and attachment during whatever time she has to spend with them.

The initial significant relationship between the parent-child relationships, the male child to both parents as the former perceives them, and delinquency was lost when controlling for race in the case of both Black and White male youth. Again, similar to the relationship between the parent-child relationships for both parents from the male child's perspective and school adjustment, this significant relationship most likely disappears entirely due to sample size and small number of cases within the sub-samples.

The Relationships Indirectly Leading to Delinquency

When race has been controlled, there are two variables for White
mothers which directly influence their employment status. The first one is religion with a standardized regression coefficient of .32, significant at the .05 level. This result means that there are more Protestant mothers found employed outside of the home than Black maternal parents. In all likelihood, this is due to White Protestant mothers finding it easier to secure employment than Black; because of racial discrimination in the area of employment for Black women. In addition, the Black family tends to be larger than White and the babysitting expenses would be greater for the Black mother with more children to provide child care, while she is at work. Therefore, it would be easier for the White mother to offset the child care expenses, while working, and this would make it more economically profitable for employment. Also, White women tend to work on higher paid jobs as opposed to Black females.

The second significant variable for White mothers being employed outside the home is social class with a weaker standardized regression coefficient of -.24. This means that for White Protestant mothers, the higher the social class standing, the more they are employed outside of the home which is found significant at the .05 level. Again, as was seen for religion discussed in the preceding paragraph, White females are more likely to find employment than Black women, because of racial discrimination against Black women in the world of work. This is even the case within the middle and upper class levels.

Finally, the last variables within the model to significantly relate at the .05 level to another factor for Whites is social class and marital adjustment of both the husband and wife. This was found to be
a strong relationship with a standardized regression coefficient of .29. As compared to the Black marriages, White marital unions tend to be significantly more adjusted when the social class increases. This could be very well due to Blacks within the middle and upper classes still confronted with problems of racial discrimination to thwart their goals. Within the "principle of rising expectations", as Blacks begin to escape the harness of racial discrimination and advance up the social ladder, they begin to expect more in return. However, even the more socially mobile Blacks still have not completely escaped the problem of racial discrimination which may bring about differential conflict and strain on Black marriages. Also, the roots of the Black matriarchal family may be a source of marital problems, especially with the Black male gaining in status and asserting himself more within the marriage.

The Summary

The controlling of race in the model has shown that for juvenile delinquency, the school differentially contributes more to the delinquent problem for Black youth. This is most likely due to the school's differential handling of Black youth, "turning them off", and alienating them from the educational environment. Through this antagonism and alienation, it appears that Black youngsters become significantly more involved in delinquent activities than White children.

For White male boys, the mother at home, rather than working, leads to the differential involvement in delinquent activities. This is probably due to the difference of status of the White mother in the
family and her apparent inability to relate closely with the male child. Within the Black family, the female spouse tends to be dominant over her husband and provides a stronger figure to the children. However, in the White family, the wife and mother is much more passive and subordinate to the husband and is a weaker force to her children. This can directly influence the White female spouse and parent, in terms of her fulfillment, happiness, and ability to relate to the children and thusly, undermine the control and supervision function as a parental figure.

When race has been controlled, religion and social class significantly influence whether or not the mother is employed outside of the home. In the case of religion, White Protestant mothers are employed outside the household to a greater extent than Black Protestant ones. This is most likely accounted for more by race than religion. White women who desire to work outside of the home, in all probability, find it easier to secure a job, because of racial discrimination against Black females in hiring. However, it also could be a result of larger family size among Blacks. The Black family may have differential need for the mother to be at home with more children and the increased child care expenses incurred, if she goes to work with more children to provide proper care and supervision. For social class, higher income female spouses who are White were found to be employed to a greater extent than Black. This could very well be attributed to racial discrimination in employment practices against the Black women, regardless of social class standing or it may be the larger family size which can block the Black female spouse to work.
Lastly, the controlling of race has shown that social class is related directly to the marital maladjustment within Black marriages as you climb the socio-economic ladder. When people find greater equality and begin to advance socio-economically, they will experience an increase in their expectations. In all likelihood, this is the case with the more socially mobile Blacks in American society. Yet, they have not fully escaped the problem of racial discrimination. This could very well be placing strains and stresses upon Blacks and it takes the toll among Black marriages of the middle and upper class. Also, the relative marital maladjustment problems for Blacks as they advance in social class might be attributed to the Black matriarchal family, especially in the Black families of higher social class where the male spouse has a greater status and asserts himself more.

Community Integration

The Relationships Directly Leading to Delinquency

The last factor in the model that was controlled is community integration. It is important to note that two variables significantly and directly relate to communities evidencing high integration. These variables found to be the employment status of the mother outside of the home with a standardized regression coefficient of .31 and the parent-child relationships as the child viewed them with a path coefficient of -.62 and both relationships are significant at the .05 level. The employment status of the mother was discovered to be a very strong relationship and the parent-child relationships were
found exceedingly strong.

In regards to the employment status of the mother and delinquency, the relationship shown indicates that there is an increase of delinquent involvement by male children when the mother does not work outside of the home for communities of high integration. One would expect that with the mother at home on a fulltime basis to supervise and control the male child and a good availability of community resources and agencies within a high integrated community, there would be a low involvement of delinquent activities on the part of the male child. However, this result may indicate that there are precipitating factors for delinquency within the best neighborhoods and communities. It is entirely possible that the mother who is home with her male children entirely in the high integrated communities, does not control and supervise their male children as closely. This might be the case here, because the mother feels relatively safer in a better area and thinks she has little to fear, in regards to her male children. On the other hand, maternal parents in the low integrated communities may be more aware of the detrimental influences and conditions within the community and as a result, they watch their male children more closely. Furthermore, mothers who work may tend to provide for adequate child care and supervision in the higher integrated communities and thereby, the male child is more closely monitored than the mother would provide, if she did not work. In addition, when the mother is working, the father may be the person controlling and supervising the male child and the male parental figure is a stronger and more effective disciplinary force over the male.
offspring. Quite possibly, men are more aware of the neighborhood
conditions than women, since the former are usually more involved in
the community through local area groups and activities.

For communities of high integration, the parent-child relation­
ships as the male child has viewed them for both parents was found to
be inversely related with the delinquent involvement of the male
children. This relationship was determined to be statistically of a
tremendously strong nature and it means that the lower the quality of
the parent-child relationships to both parents, the higher the delin­
quency on the part of male offspring. Here, the better the quality of
the parent-child relationships, especially, from the viewpoint of the
male child, the closer the male child will be to both parents which
will provide for more effective socialization of norms imparted by the
parents. This seems to be more salient in communities of high inte­
gration and quite possibly, this may be the case because for parents
within high integrated communities, they might tend to allow their
children to be out in the neighborhood more often without their physi­
cal presence or supervision. These parents may feel that their chil­
dren will be relatively safe in a better area or community and as a
result, they do not frequently and directly monitor them. However,
this is when the socialization effectiveness of the parents has been
placed under a true test. With the precipitating delinquency influ­
ences evidently existing in the communities of higher integration,
it is the effectively socialized child who has internalized the nor­
mative expectations of the parents that can follow them without the
parents being physically present.
In the case of low integrated communities, only the mother-son relationship as the mother evaluated it was found to be directly related to delinquency. The standardized regression coefficient for this relationship was discovered to be an exceedingly strong one, -.56, significant at the .05 level, and this is inverse as well. This finding can be interpreted to mean that the better the mother-son relationship from the mother's perspective the less the delinquent involvement of the child. It seems that within low integrated communities, the adverse neighborhood conditions may interfere with the mother establishing a close relationship with her son and the male child becomes more involved in delinquent activities, at least the way the mother perceives this relationship with the child. It is entirely possible that within better quality neighborhoods, the mother may be more happy and relaxed and this allows her to be in a more advantageous position to establish a closer parent-child relationship. However, it is important to note that the parent-child relationships with the mother and father were not found to be significant for delinquency as the child has viewed them within low integrated communities.

For low integrated communities, the school adjustment of the child was found directly and significantly related to delinquency. The results have shown this relationship to be very strong yielding a standardized coefficient of -.36 (significant at the .05 level). This was the only significant relationship found for the communities of low integration directly leading to delinquent behavior of the youngsters outside of the family. The mother-son relationship as
the maternal parent has seen it was the only other variable found for low integrated communities related to delinquency. The relationship between the school adjustment of the children and delinquency within low integrated neighborhoods or communities is on the very strong side and it should not really come as a surprise.

This means that within low integrated areas, the school differentially contributes more to the delinquency problem. Logically speaking, this does make sense, because a more highly integrated community would be at an advantage, in terms of making the school system more accountable for their weaknesses and failures. As a result, the school system would be more likely to remediate their shortcomings, thereby leading to a better educational system which allows for students to become more adjusted. In addition, a low integrated community most likely would evidence schools having inadequate physical buildings, less resources and teaching aids, more inadequate administrators, counselors, and teachers, and less community backing. Therefore, the likelihood is greater that these schools would not meet the educational needs of the youth, have poorer adjusted children, and differentially contribute more to the delinquency problem.

The Relationships Indirectly Leading to Delinquency

A close, positive relationship between both parents and their male child as the boy sees them may be more important in low integrated communities for school adjustment, because the school is differentially at a disadvantage to cope and deal with children and
youth. In terms of being able to offset the delinquency proneness begun by the family, specifically, embedded within the parent-child relationships with both parents, the results show that the school in a low integrated community is not as effective as a high integrated neighborhood. Figure 15 shows the relationship between the parent-child relations and school adjustment to have a path coefficient of .35 and school adjustment to delinquency has a - .36. This indicates that within the low integrated communities, the delinquent prone children from the family are proceeding through the school without the educational institution reducing the delinquency proneness of these youngsters. In a positive way, these schools within the low integrated communities are contributing to the delinquency proneness of youth by their apparent shortcomings and inadequacies which were previously discussed.

The parent-child relationship patterns for both parents as the child perceives them and race were found to be significant as they directly lead into the school adjustment of the child. In the case of the parent-child relationships and school adjustment, a path coefficient of .35 was found and this is a strong relationship (significant at the .05 level). It essentially means that for children within low integrated communities, the lower the parent-child relationships, the less the school adjustment of the child.

Also, it is important to note the inverse relationship between the age of the child and the school adjustment which is represented by a standardized coefficient of -.43 (significant at the .05 level) among low integrated communities. This is a very strong adjustment
proportionally decreases. Therefore, one could reasonably suspect that there are factors within the low community integrated school which negatively effects the adjustment of the pupils.

When the integration of the community has been controlled, the low integrated community has a significant relationship between the parent-child relations from the viewpoint of the child and the school adjustment. Here, poor parent-child relationships with both parents seem to have greater saliency for the school adjustment among low integrated communities than the high. The standardized regression coefficient was found to be .35 (significant at the .05 level) and this relationship is very strong. Again, this finding is not surprising, since the school within a low integrated community most likely is at a differentially less capacity to meet the social needs of the youngsters. This means that parents in a low integrated community need to establish an even closer, positive relationship with their children, so they can become adjusted within the school environment. Furthermore, it also indicates that the school needs to be improved within low integrated communities to better meet the needs of all children in attendance and the greater community organization will help to serve this purpose.

The school adjustment of the children in the sample was also found to vary according to high and low community integration with respect to race. Within low integrated communities, White children were discovered to be better adjusted in school than their Black counterparts. This relationship is a strong one represented by a path coefficient of .33 (significant at the .05 level). The apparent
weaknesses and inadequacies of the school within the low integrated neighborhoods significantly tend to produce more maladjusted Black children and youth in school than is the case for White. This could very well be attributed to the institutional racism against the Blacks within the school which differentially affects their adjustment to the educational environment. Furthermore, with this relationship not found to be significant for the school in the high integrated communities, this may mean that racism toward Blacks diminishes when the school systems are held more accountable and the community is together enough to provide for change.

For the cluster of parent-child relationships, the controlling of community integration seems to effect them in different ways. For high integrated communities, only one variable directly influences the parent-child relationships and this was found from the viewpoint of the children. This variable is religion and the relationship between religious affiliation and the parent-child relations with a path coefficient of .18 (significant at the .05 level) which is very weak. It appears from this finding that Catholic families, who live in high integrated communities, have a better parent-child relationship with the male children. This could indicate that the Catholic church within high integrated areas may provide more support for the family and family type activities which would enhance the relationships between parents and their offspring. Also, it could mean that the Catholics living in a high integrated community become more involved in the church as a family which produces a slightly better relationship between the parents and their children. On the other
hand, for the low integrated communities, it is the Catholic fathers who evidence a better parent-child relationship from the paternal parent's perspective. This relationship is represented by a standardized coefficient of .44 which is very strong. Here, it could be that the Catholic church offers more activities for the family, particularly, the father and son type, to become involved. In the case of those living in low integrated communities, they avail themselves of these opportunities offered by the church. This may have an effect for the Catholic fathers to feel they have a better relationship with their sons, because they do things together. However, the Catholic sons do not report a better parent-child relationship with their fathers.

At any rate, the Catholic church seems to support and influence family life to a greater extent than many Protestant denominations. This may have an effect for Catholic parents to relate better with their male children and participate more in activities of the church as a family. As a result, the parent-child relationships, including those from the perspective of the male child, are closer and more positive for Catholic families.

Another factor which differentially influences the parent-child relationships for families residing within low integrated communities was found to be marital adjustment of both parents. Figure 15 illustrates this and the significant path coefficient is .24 for marital adjustment (both parents) and the parent-child relationship as the mother views it for families living within low integrated communities. This means that the greater the marital adjustment of
the husband and wife, the greater the mother-son relationship as the mother sees it and among low integrated communities, this has significantly greater importance. Here, this result could mean that the low integrated community has detrimental effects upon marriages, because certain needs are not being met for the marital partners. As a result, the mother in a low integrated community suffers lesser marital adjustment which in turn, negatively influences her ability to relate to her son. Quite possibly, the mother in a high integrated neighborhood may participate more in community activities and functions and if her marriage is poor, this helps to buffer the low marital adjustment, in regards to relations with the male child. It does make sense that a more highly integrated community would provide a greater availability of community activities and services than a lowly integrated one and mothers might be inclined to participate to a greater degree, taking some of their focus off the poor marriage.

Among families in the low integrated communities, the mother-son relationship was found to be differentially affected by race. Here, it shows a significant relationship (at the .05 level) between race and the mother-son dyad as the former has viewed it with a path coefficient of .44. This indicates that among low integrated communities, White mothers and sons have a better relationship than Black mothers and their offspring from the maternal parents' viewpoint. In the low integrated communities, Black mothers may feel more isolated, because of less community activities and services which affects her relationship with the child. Additionally, the brunt of racism may be more present in low integrated communities which places
the Black mother in a differentially unhappy position; as a result, she has a more difficult time relating to her children, at least from the way the Black mother sees it.

Within low integrated neighborhoods, the status of the employment for the mother has a differential effect upon the father-son relationship. The relationship shows the standardized regression coefficient between the mother employed and the father-son dyad from the paternal parent's perspective to be \( -0.31 \) (significant at the .05 level). This means that among low integrated communities, the employment of the mother outside of the family produces a more close, positive relationship between the father and son. Here, this may be the case, because in low integrated communities, children could conceivably be kept closer to home or to a greater extent within the house. It is entirely possible that this occurs because of less community activities for children and youth and the parents' perception of detrimental influences for youth within the community. With the child around the house more and the mother working, this could provide a differential opportunity for the father to establish a better relationship with his son, at least from the way the paternal parent perceives it.

The last variable in the model which influences the parent-child relationships for low integrated communities is ethnic origin. Here, there was found the relationship between ethnic origin and the parent-child relationship patterns with both parents as the child has evaluated them. The standardized regression coefficient is very strong, \( -0.41 \); that is, in communities of low integration, families of American ethnicity have better parent-child relationships (significant at
the .05 level). A community of low integration may not provide the same opportunity for new ethnic groups to become integrated and assimilated into the American culture as those of high integration. In a high integrated community, there would differentially exist more community agencies and services which could expose relatively newer ethnic groups to American ways. Quite possibly, new ethnic groups in the low integrated community would have greater tendency to hang on to the old ways of the previous culture.

On the other hand, children and youth within the new ethnic groups tend to lean toward the newer American culture. Within the sample of the relatively new ethnic groups to the United States, the vast majority were from Western and Eastern Europe. Here, a conflict exists between the parents clinging to the old cultural ways and the children oriented toward the new. This can be a salient problem for parents of newer ethnic groups to our society, in being able to establish a close, positive relationship with their children. For male children, they tend to spend more time away from the home and are peer oriented. It appears that the newer ethnic groups within low integrated communities have a more difficult time reconciling this culture conflict with their children which may possibly interfere with the parent-child relationship.

In controlling for community integration, the status of the mother employed was found to be influenced by three variables in the model; that is, for the high integrated communities, the variable of social class (see Figure 14) and in the low integrated communities, the variables of religion and race (see Figure 15). The variable of
social class was found to be related to the mothers' employment in
the sample, but only for communities of high integration. This re­
lationship is illustrated in Figure 15 and is represented by a path
coefficient of -.38 (significant at the .05 level). The relationship
between social class and the mother employed among high integrated
communities is an inverse one and it means that the lower the social
class, the greater the existence of mothers who do not work outside
of the home. This could be the case because of married women and
mothers spend more time being involved in community agency and ser­
vice work on a volunteer basis only, rather than working on a job
for financial compensation. It seems reasonable to conclude that a
community of high integration would involve neighborhood members to
a greater extent and the community residents would have a higher com­
mitment. In areas of high integration many mothers who do not need
the money would choose to spend their time outside the home within
community agencies and service work for no economic compensation.
However, among the lower class homes, there would exist a different
economic need for the mother to work for money and supplement the
family income. In addition, many more higher class mothers may sim­
ply choose to devote their time within the family and this is not of
economic necessity for them.

Among communities of low integration, religion was found to be
related to the employment of the mother. Here, this strong relation­
ship is shown in the path coefficient which is .32 (significant at the
.05 level). From this result, among low integrated communities,
Catholic mothers significantly tend to not work outside of the home.
This could be due to the less job opportunities in low integrated communities particularly, the work within public agencies. In addition, an area of higher integration would be in a better position to acquire monies available to be utilized for job programs. Also, Catholic mothers tend to have larger families and her need within the home is greater with more children, especially if the Catholic family has an employed father. Even if the Catholic mother wants to work outside of the home, with more children, the child care expenses may not allow her to do so; that is, she may not be able to find employment in a job which will make it worth her while to leave the family. Communities of low integration may not only have differential availability of jobs, but also a greater extent of low paying employment opportunities.

Finally, the last variable in the model found to be significantly related to the mother employed is race among low integrated communities. This is represented by a standardized regression coefficient of -.36 which is very strong (significant at the .05 level). This relationship means that Black mothers in the areas of low integration significantly tend to be not working outside of the home as compared to the White maternal parents. Quite possibly, this could be attributed to the greater inavailability of jobs for the Black mother within the low integrated area. It is entirely possible that the low integrated community has not lessened racial discrimination against Blacks as the high integrated community has done. As a result, the Black mother may find it differentially more difficult to find a job as compared to the White female parent in the low integrated
community. Also, this finding may indicate that the Black mother does not work outside the home to the same extent as the White mother within low integrated communities for some of the same reasons the Catholic mother does not. That is, Black mothers tend to have more children and cannot leave the family for work as easily. The Black mother may not profit by working, because of the differential size of her family and the increased child care expenses. This problem may be further intensified by a greater prevalence of low paying jobs present in low integrated communities, similar to the situation possibly faced by the Catholic mother.

The Summary

When community integration is controlled, the low integrated community seems to contribute to the delinquency problem through the schools by way of greater maladjustments of the male pupils. On the other hand, for the high integrated communities, the source of the delinquency problem directly stems more from the family and particularly, within the parent-child relationships of both parents as the child perceives them. It has been speculated that this may be the case, because low integrated communities have less influence upon the school. A higher integrated community could provide more for their school system and it may be able to place greater pressure for accountability as to the school's effectiveness.

In high integrated communities, the parent-child relationships is only influenced by religion; Catholic parents tended to have a slightly better and closer relationship with their sons as the
children perceive them. However, within low integrated communities, religion, mother employed, race, and ethnic origin were found to effect the parent-child relationship cluster. For religion, Catholic fathers were found to have a more positive relationship with their sons, at least from the way the fathers have evaluated them. For families with mothers employed outside of the home, these families tended to evidence a better father-son relation pattern. In the case of race, the White mother was found to have a better relationship with her son, at least from the mother's perspective. Lastly, families of American ethnicity were discovered to have better parent-child relationships with their sons from the latter's point of view.

Among low integrated communities, race and the parent-child relationships from the male child's evaluation of both parents were discovered to influence the school adjustment of the male child. Black male youth and all boys who experience poor parent-child relationships have a more difficult time adjusting to school. It has been speculated that for Black male youngsters, the problem is embedded in the differential attitude and handling of Blacks by the school; whereas, for boys with poor parent-child relationships, it is the relative social and educational inadequacies of the school to cope and deal with these male youth. This is especially the case within low integrated communities where the school system is not held as accountable. The last variable found related to the school adjustment among the low integrated communities is the age of the male child. As the male children grow older, they become less adjusted to the school environment which indicates that the problem of school
maladjustment lies within the educational institution more than the family. When coupled with race in low integrated communities, Black male youngsters do suffer from maladjustment problems in school.

For the employment of the mother within low integrated communities, religion and race seem to effect whether or not she is employed outside of the home. With respect to religion, Catholic mothers significantly tended to be at home with their children. This could be the case, because Catholic women have larger families and possibly, do not find it financially profitable to work. Particularly, with larger families, Catholic women may not be as able to find jobs that can defray the child care costs incurred, if employed. This may be differentially the situation faced by Catholic mothers within low integrated communities and it is, quite possibly, due to less employment opportunities and the greater prevalence of lower paying jobs. In the case of race, Black mothers were found to not work outside of the family to the same extent as White. This could be conceivably for the same reasons Catholic mothers in a low integrated community work less or it might be due to a greater existence of racial discrimination in employment within the low integrated community.
CHAPTER X

THE IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study have numerous implications for juvenile delinquency theory, research, and the treatment and prevention of delinquent behavior. In terms of theory, the research findings clearly demonstrate that the family has an important etiological effect on the juvenile behavior of male youth. The salient factor in the family is the inter-relationship patterns.

Specifically, within the family network, the parent-child relationships are of primary importance. These data show that the greater the closeness and quality of the parent-child relationship with both parental figures, the lower the delinquency. This suggests that as the quality of the inter-relationship increases, the more effective the norm-sending process from parent to offspring. The result seems to be a greater commitment to the parental expectations. Through greater norm internalization via the close, positive relationships with both parental figures, the male child can better follow the socialized norms provided by parents, whether or not they are physically present. As a result, this socialization effectiveness can provide a buffer for the child to any deleterious forces outside of the family which can precipitate delinquent behavior, such as slum neighborhoods, the lack of adequate recreational facilities, delinquent peers, juvenile gangs, adult criminal models, and the like.

Within the delinquency literature, Hirschi (1969) and Hindelang
(1974) have theoretically stressed the importance of "parental attachments" by children to their parents, as a key element for nondelinquent behavior. However, the weakness of their model is that it does not provide understanding of the social processes or dynamics operative in the family. Control theory ala Hirschi (1969) fails to look at the effectiveness of socialization (norm internalization) as it occurs within parental attachments. The most important ingredient for effective socialization of the child is a close, positive relationship with both parental figures. For the young boy, these parent-child relationship patterns, whether to the mother or father, are of equal importance. The notion that the father-son relationship is more cogent for male children than the mother-son relationship has definitely not been supported by this research.

A close, positive relationship with both parents has been found to directly influence the frequency and severity of juvenile delinquent and youth crime behavior. Male youth who had poor parent-child relationships with both the mother and father were found to commit the most frequent and most severe delinquent and youth crime offenses.

The important role family socialization plays in delinquency is supported by this research. The findings are consistent with Bronfenbrenner (1961) and Thomas et al., (1974 who suggest that delinquent behavior is interwoven with parental supervision, control, nurturance, and acceptance. In Bronfenbrenner's study, parental control, including supervision, and parental support, which involves nurturance and acceptance, are closely tied together for socialization effectiveness. In the Thomas study, the affectional support provided by both parents...
greatly facilitated the socialization process and close parental control. The Nye (1958) Parent-Child Acceptance-Rejection Matrix was utilized in this study. This matrix questionnaire measures the degree of acceptance or rejection in the parent-child relationships from the viewpoint of the parent and child.

A major finding from this research is that marital adjustment does not directly relate to the juvenile delinquency of the male children. The importance of marital adjustment, lies in the effect it has on both the mother's and father's relationship with the child. Here, it appears that poor marital adjustment does not have the general detrimental effects upon male children as has been theoretically postulated in the past. While overt arguing, bickering, and quarreling may be present in the family, such action does not seem to create a general family atmosphere of chaos, turmoil, and disorganization. What does happen is that poor marital maladjustment becomes a direct impediment for the establishment of close, positive relationships with the children. Marital adjustment was never found to directly relate to delinquency; however, the findings consistently showed marital adjustment to relate to delinquency through the parent-child relationship cluster. For both the mother and father, the most important factor in forming a close, positive relationship with their male offspring is a good adjusted marriage. This provides support for the research conducted by Mahler and Rabinovitch (1956) and LeMasters (1970) who found the most important ingredient to success as a parent is a good marriage.

When the parents experience poor marital adjustment, they also
experience difficulties in being warm, close parents to their children. This apparent parental inability to perform their role as a mother or father (at least, being a warm, loving, and supportive parent) was found in this study to support role relationship theory postulated by Friday and Hage (1976) and Friday and Halsey (1977), particularly, within the area of the family. The marital maladjustment problems experienced by the mother and father provides a barrier for them to perform their family roles and establish close role relationships with the male offspring. As a result, the male children may very well become peer oriented to a greater extent and this allows for them to be more differentially influenced by the peer group. Assuming the validity of Differential Association Theory, if the peer role relationships of the male children are of a delinquent nature, then the probability would be much greater for these boys to behave in a delinquent manner.

The research results indicate that the family is not entirely responsible for the delinquency problem among males. Other factors outside of the family were found to directly influence delinquent behavior, such as the school and race. In the case of the school, this is usually the second social institution of tremendous importance in the lives of young people after the family. While the research results clearly indicate that the parent-child relationships directly relate to school adjustment (the more close, positive the parent-child relationships, the greater the school adjustment of the boys), the school, itself, was found to be a major source of delinquent behavior for young males, especially for older youth, children.
living within communities of low integration, and for Black male youngsters.

While it may be true that the school mitigates the negative impact of poor parent-child relationships for some youth, schools were also found to positively contribute to the delinquency for many others. The school's direct impact was strongest for older males from fourteen through sixteen years of age. Here, the research suggests that there are factors operating within the school that as age increases, school adjustment decreases and delinquency proneness increases. The effect of school and age is independent of the family and suggests that the school is creating alienation for some male youth or otherwise "turning them off" to education. This may be the result of inappropriate and irrelevant school curricula, poor teachers or ineffective teaching techniques, inadequate physical conditions, or some other factor(s) embedded within our educational systems. At any rate, it means that the school is not meeting the social and academic needs of many male youth in our society. Here, an area of future research is suggested by exploring the dynamics within the school which can lead to delinquent behavior.

From the data in this study, it appears that poor school adjustment is directly related to the degree of community integration. Children from communities characterized as low integration, school adjustment is poor and delinquency is statistically related with the child's adjustment in school. In low integrated communities, the schools appear to be poorer. The role of the school is not clear, but adjustment to it is a central factor in delinquency in poorly
integrated neighborhoods, but not necessarily in well integrated areas. The findings here are supportive of the role relationship theory developed by Friday and Hage (1976) and Friday and Halsey (1977) where a decrease in the overlap of the family and the school role relationships reduce the normative reinforcements and this leads to an increase in youth crime behavior, especially for Black males. This becomes even more significant for the problem of youth crime when the decrease in overlap of the role relationships also includes the community, as Friday (1983) has indicated.

Race is another factor found to directly affect delinquency. Factors outside the family, such as the inequality of life chances in school, community, work, and other vital areas of life, tend to affect Black delinquency more than White delinquency. The differential impact of external influences may be due to the ever continuing problem of individual and institutional racism and discrimination which has been endemic to American society. For Black male youth, it appears that Anomie Theory by Merton (1957) or Differential Opportunity Theory by Cloward and Ohlin (1960) could be utilized to explain, at least, some of the delinquent behavior of Black male youngsters. Furthermore, the research indicates that the major force in the delinquent behavior of Black male youth is the school. This means that poor school adjustment and delinquency are directly related for Black youth and in turn, the school contributes more to the delinquent involvement of these Black male children. This research suggests that institutional racism and discrimination within the school may be a potent force in the lives of Black male youth,
contributing to the maladjustment problems in school and orienting them toward delinquent behavior. In this process, Black children may be differentially alienated in school, community, and/or the society.

The research results indicate that this problem for Black children being maladjusted in school more than Whites, particularly, is salient within communities of low integration. Interestingly enough, this is where Blacks in our society lack the influence to bring about constructive changes in the schools. For the most part, within American society, residential segregation on the basis of race still exists. Furthermore, school attendance is still very much based upon the community concept where a child attends school within the residential neighborhood or immediate community. Keeping this in mind, Black youngsters then go to school with large numbers of other Black children and primarily Black communities usually tend to have differentially less influence upon their schools.

Within this study, the last variable found directly related to delinquency was the employment status of the mother. Mother's employment was an important factor only for Whites when the mother did not work outside the home. This unexpected finding suggests that an important status dynamic within the family may be operating. There is no way to prove this from these data, but theoretically, the relatively lower status of the White wife and mother in the family as compared to Black women vis-a-vis family roles, may undermine the White mother's authority with the male children. Black wives and mothers seem to enjoy a greater status within the family and the maternal figure appears to be more influential and takes greater
control of the family itself. When the White mother goes to work, this may provide for her greater family happiness, a more equal status to her husband, and more influence and control within the family. As a result, this may place the working mother in a better position to relate to her male children and control and supervise them more effectively.

On the other hand, it may also mean that the employed mother provides child care for her children which controls and supervises them better or the father takes over the care of the children, while the mother is working and he is a stronger control and supervision figure to the male children. At any rate, in theoretical sense, the research results suggest that a rethinking needs to be done in connection with the notion a working mother will necessarily have delinquent male children.

The negative impact of non-working White mother is heightened in more highly integrated communities. With the mother mostly controlling and supervising the male children when she is not working, a mother in a highly integrated community may feel that she has very little to worry about, in regards to the welfare of the children. As a result, such a mother often provides greater freedom for her offspring without possibly realizing that precipitating delinquent forces do exist, even within the best neighborhoods. The mother in the low integrated neighborhood may be more aware of the problems and the negative forces existing within the community and will maintain closer supervision and control over her youngsters. For delinquency theory, the research results here suggest that precipitating
delinquency factors exist in every community and the mere fact the
mother does not work and is present within the home is not sufficient
to counterbalance them.

**Methodological Implications**

There are several implications that the study results have for
research methodology in the area of the family and delinquency.
First, a measurement of self-concept should be included within the
data collected on the juvenile respondents. This is an apparent
weakness of the present work and was inadvertently not included with­
in theory and research. The parent-child relationships may have an
effect upon the formation of self-attitudes and this could have
direct influences upon the school adjustment and/or delinquency.

Second, this study measured the variable of religion, in terms
of identification or affiliation and it completely excluded a measure­
ment of religiousity. This is another weakness of the research ap­
proach. The social institution of the church and the religiousity
of the family may be a factor which directly influences conforming
behavior to the societal norms and thusly, nondelinquent or low
delinquency among youth. A more deep commitment and involvement
within the church for youth may provide for additional reinforcement
of norms which corresponds to the normative teachings of the family,
school and community. In addition, family involvement in the church
or synagogue with religious activities and a high degree of reli­
giousity may provide for the strengthening of the inter-relationship
patterns within the home. Any future studies on the family
relationships and delinquency should include a measure of religiousity of the familial members interviewed and statistically analyzed to see how this variable, if at all, fits into the present model utilized here.

Thirdly, within this study, the variable of employment status for the mother was measured as to whether or not the maternal parent works outside of the family. It would be useful, and possibly insightful, to measure this variable, in terms of the amount of time the mother spends working on a job, taking her away from the home. Without controls (Figure 9), mother's employment did not affect the parent-child relationships, the school adjustment, or delinquency at all. This suggests since the employment of the mother may effect these variables in some significant ways, if it is measured, for example, on the number of hours per week employed. Later, it was found in this present research when the model was controlled for social class, race and community, the employment of mothers was related to lower delinquency in their male offspring, especially in high integrated communities.

Fourth, the sample size in this study was minimally large enough for the purposes here, but it did not allow for certain variables to be tested for interaction effects for more than one variable. One hundred families were included within the sample; however, only social class, race, and community integration were controlled in the path model. Age, religion, and ethnic origin were not controlled in the path analyses, since the sample size was too small and it would provide for low numbers of cases within the
sub-samples. In addition, the same problem existed which did not permit controlling for two or more variables at the same time. At first, it was the intent of this study to have a sample size much larger than one hundred families, but the research had very little financial backing and relied upon volunteer work of university students. It is recommended that any future studies of this nature have a larger sample with which to work.

Implications for the Treatment of Juvenile Offenders

The results of this research have a number of direct implications for the treatment of male juvenile delinquents. If the family inter-relationship patterns, specifically the parent-child relationships and the marital relationship between the parents are as strong in the etiology of delinquency as this research suggests, then it does not make sense to exclude the parents from the treatment program. Juvenile court probation is the most popular correctional program for wayward male youth. However, many juvenile court probation officers focus their entire attention upon the juvenile probationer for supervision and treatment. The juvenile court probation agency should develop a treatment program for male youth utilizing the family counseling approach, increasing its emphasis on the mother-father interaction patterns. That is, juvenile probation officers should obtain information on the quality of the parent-child relationships and the marital adjustment of the parents. If problems exist in these relationships, incorporate the parents, provided they can, into the treatment program.
Of particular concern here would be to strengthen the relationships between the male probationer and his parents, if at all possible. Juvenile court probation officers could be specifically trained in the techniques of family counseling, obtaining needed information from the family for the purpose of making assessments on the relationships and trained to effect improvements within these relationship patterns. After this necessary family information has been acquired, then the probation officers can center on attempting to resolve the existing problems in these relationships and thereby, improve their quality. Another approach would be to have family counselors or specialists working with the probation officers within the agency with those male juvenile offenders and his parents where family inter-relationship problems do exist.

Since the research results indicate that the marital adjustment problems of the parents directly affects the parent-child relationships for both the mother and father, a family counseling approach would more than likely have to deal with the marital relationship of the spouses as well as the parent-child relationships.

In the past, social workers and other professionals working with the marriage partners, who are experiencing marital difficulties, have been very reluctant to recommend separation and divorce; but such a solution must be recognized as a constructive alternative when the problems cannot be improved, especially if the quality of the parent-child relationships hinges upon the marital relationship of the parental figures. The notion that parents should remain together for the sake of the children does not always make the best practical.
sense and these data tend to support such a contention.

While it is true that many fewer juvenile offenders are placed in youth homes or detention centers, the results of this study have direct implications for this practice as well. In some cases, the juvenile offender cannot be placed back with his parents, because he is a danger to the community or the parents and home are detrimental to the child. In the case of dangerous offenders, they must be placed within an institution for the protection of the community, but other male offenders when they cannot be returned to their home, could be assigned to foster parents where the opportunity would exist to establish a close relationship(s) with an adult(s). Theoretically, attachments to adults in general may serve as a functional equivalent of family integration. This research suggests that male youth need a close, quality relationship with adults for proper socialization.

Finally, for Black male youth, the problem of delinquency most probably is, at least partially, the outcome of alienation derived from white racism and discrimination. The research results indicate that this conclusion is tenable and it presents a differential problem for the treatment of Black male offenders. Furthermore, it appears from the research findings that a major arena for the alienation of Black youth is in the school and in areas of low community integration. To place a Black male offender in a youth home, will quite often further alienate him against the society.

As implied by these results, major task for the juvenile correctional program would be, particularly in the case of Black male offenders, to reduce their feelings of alienation. This is a difficult
goal to accomplish within a society that has widespread racism and discrimination against the Black minority group. The reduction of alienation among Black male offenders may partially occur by providing opportunities for an academic education or training programs to develop skills which can be used later in acquiring a good job. However, it is difficult to convince alienated Black youth of this when discrimination exists in employment. In addition, this alienation may be lessened through social work programs or talk sessions where it can be verbally expressed and vented without censure and more positive feelings could develop.

According to the research results, Black male offenders also become delinquent from poor family inter-relationships. Therefore, some of the same treatment strategies or approaches to improve the familial inter-relationship patterns for Whites would also be relevant for Black male offenders and their families.

Implications for Delinquency Prevention

In the area of delinquency prevention, the results of this study have some important, direct implications. If the major root causes of juvenile delinquent behavior for males directly emanates from the family and specifically, the family inter-relationships, then a major step towards the prevention of delinquency would be to bolster the family relations between the parents and the male children. However, even though the parent-child relationships loom very large as a direct causative factor of delinquency for males, the strengthening of the marital relationship of the parents is paramount, since it is
this family dyad which has profound and direct effects upon the parent-child relations.

The family literature seems to indicate that two very important factors influencing the state of marriage in our society are a person's expectations of the marriage upon entrance and mate selection. In regards to marital expectations, it is important for the subsequent marital adjustment that a person has a realistic impression of what marriage is like and expects to achieve within the nuptial union. If a person entering marriage is like and expects to achieve within the nuptial union. If a person entering marriage has unrealistic expectations of married life, this individual stands a good chance of being disappointed and most likely will not attain a high level of marital adjustment. With reference to the mate selection, for marital adjustment to be enhanced, a person needs to select an appropriate mate who can mesh with his or her personality, social background, common interests, and life goals. The better this fit between the married spouses, the greater the marital adjustment that will be attained.

Since marital expectations and the selection of a mate are so important for married life, young people within our society ought to derive the social education necessary to have realistic expectations of marriage and to select an appropriate mate. The logical place for the dissemination of this social education is within our schools. Almost all children attend school and young persons beginning in the junior high school grades should receive educational training on marriage and the family, in order to prepare them for life within this vital social institution. Within these classes on marriage and the
family, young people could learn realistically what marriage is all about and the proper procedure to select a mate for marriage that will mesh appropriately. Too many young persons think marriage is filled only with romance and it is a "bed of roses". Similar to other areas of life, marriage is a commitment to another person and it is filled with problems which need to be resolved with their mate. If a person entering marriage first has the realistic expectations and selects a proper mate for him or her, then the chances will increase that the marital adjustment will reach a higher level.

For already existing marriages, another approach to improving the quality of them within this society would be to provide on a wide scale basis public family counseling clinics. When marriages get into trouble and experience serious problems, the marital partners should be encouraged to seek a family counselor to attempt to work out their difficulties. Public family counseling centers should be readily available and accessible to everyone in need and these services should be offered proportionally to the married couples ability to pay. If necessary for the poor and indigent, the charges should be very nominal. The profession of social work has found that everyone receiving services should pay something, in order to provide incentive to work for the resolution of the problems. In addition to working with married couples to improve their relationships, these public family counseling centers could deal with the improvement of the parent-child relationships, if serious problems are existent in that area.

Another approach for delinquency prevention would be to improve the quality of the parent-child relationships within the family.
Parenting is a difficult task at best and many young people in our society enter marriage without the knowledge necessary as to the techniques of parenthood and the difficulties of being parents. For young persons, this also could be taught, beginning in the junior high school years within the suggested family and marriage courses. Our youth should learn with realism the commitments, the proper techniques, and the difficulties in raising children. With this knowledge, they will be in a better position to deal and relate to their children when the time comes. Even today, too many people become parents without the necessary knowledge as to the effective raising of children and they are left many times to learn through trial and error, if they acquire learning at all. As a result, many persons become overwhelmed with parenthood and they feel unable to cope and deal with children.

The role of the school highlighted by this research suggests that it can play an even greater role in delinquency prevention than may be thought. First, teachers and counselors should be trained to recognize when children have serious problems interfering with their social and academic education. The significant relationships between low school adjustment and delinquent behavior among male youth in this study suggests that there should be social workers and other professionals where teachers and counselors can refer problematic children for diagnosis and treatment.

Second, school professionals should work as closely as possible with parents, in an attempt to resolve any problems the children have in preventing them from the attainment of good school adjustment.
This is one particular area by which the school and family could be brought together; this in a general sense has been recommended by Friday and Halsey (1977) recognizing the need to increase the overlap of social roles within the family and school.

Third, the school professional personnel should be fully advised of all human service agencies in the community to refer families with problems, if the school cannot handle them. The school is the logical, strategic location to circumvent the delinquency problem through prevention, since it is the educational institution which is second in the lives of children at such a young age. Usually, children enter the school at five or six years of age and this is directly done from the social institution of the family.

In addition, the school needs to stimulate and motivate youngsters to learn and become adjusted to the educational environment. Our schools should provide adequate physical surroundings, competent teachers utilizing relevant instructional methods, resource aids and materials, and proper curriculums, so that the social and academic needs of young people can be met. It is important for young people in our schools to have positive experiences and see the value of educational achievement. This problem with school adjustment for the male youngsters was particularly found problematic among older boys, Black males, and with youth living within communities of low inte-ration. It is with these groups of young people that close attention should be brought for educational changes and improvements. With respect to the low integrated communities, schools, and delinquency, Friday (1983) has recommended that delinquent behavior and
youth crime can be substantially reduced by the bringing together (increasing the overlap) of the social roles involved with the family, school, and the community. Here, this particular approach clearly seems appropriate, especially in areas of low integration.

For Black youth, educational opportunity and equal school experiences needs to be realized, so they can derive the same benefits as White youth from our educational institutions. In the case of communities of low integration, these neighborhoods need to be organized for the purposes of the residents to effect change and make the school accountable for their performance. Here, a strategy to utilize for strengthening neighborhoods and bringing a greater degree of togetherness among the people and local agencies to resolve their problems is the social work approach of community organization and development.

Finally, for delinquency prevention, it appears likely that the problem of racism needs ameliorated in our society. The research results indicate, at least, part of the delinquency problem for Black male youth is embedded within racial discrimination and the alienation which develops from it. The American people must realize that delinquency among Black youth is a product directly from the racism problem, at least to some degree, and to effectively prevent delinquency, requires considerable reduction of our racist practices.

The Final Conclusion

In conclusion, the family is very crucial as a source of causation for the problem of juvenile delinquency among males, regardless
of whether the frequency or seriousness of offenses is considered. The specific problematic area for concern within the family involves the familial inter-relationship patterns, particularly the parent-child relationships and the marital relationship between the parents. For the parent-child relationships, these are very important for school adjustment of the male child and the delinquent behavior. A close, positive relationship between the parents and the male child serves to increase socialization effectiveness which leads to a better school adjustment and low delinquency involvement and this was found equally important for the mother and the father. In the case of marital adjustment of the parents, this factor has indirect effects upon the school adjustment and delinquency by directly influencing the quality of the parent-child relationships for both parents. The lower the marital adjustment of the parents, the lesser the closeness of the parent-child relationships for both parental figures within the home.

As important as the family is for the direct causation of juvenile delinquency in male youth, the family does not exist within a social vacuum. Even though the family was found to have considerable independency, the school, the community, and race was also discovered to influence directly male juvenile delinquency outside of the family. The school seems to contribute to the delinquency problem of males by lessening the adjustment to the educational institution over time as well as perpetuating poor socialization begun by the family. Community becomes a key factor for delinquency through the schools when there exists a low degree of integration and it lacks the influence
to make the school answerable for their performance and effect constructive improvements. The factor of race is directly important for the juvenile delinquency among both in conjunction with the school and independent from it. In the differential handling of Black male youth by the school, they tend to have lesser adjustment within the educational environment and this leads to an increase of delinquency involvement. However, some of the delinquency problems and low school adjustment for Black males can be explained by the same family dynamics as for White youth. The problem of racism against Black youth most likely is embedded institutionally within the schools, particularly for Blacks who live in communities of low integration. In all probability, the racism problem in American society outside of the school is also partially responsible for producing delinquency among Black males. From both inside and outside of the school, Black youth most likely engage in delinquency to more of an extent than White male youth as a result of alienation produced by racist practices in our society.
CHAPTER XI

THE SUMMARY

This dissertation began with a discussion on the importance and
the magnitude of the juvenile delinquency problem and the vital need
to acquire, understand, and utilize knowledge about the causation of
delinquent behavior. Particular attention has been drawn to the
differences between predispositional (root) and precipitating (temp­
orally close to the commission of the delinquent act) causes of
delinquency and the former are really vital in order to fully ex­
plain human behavior. Even though the knowledge of causation is not
always necessary to treat or prevent a problem such as delinquency,
fruther enlightenment into the causative dynamics underlying delin­
quent behavior can be very useful to construct effective treatment
and prevention programs. Today, juvenile delinquency is a serious
and enormous problem which directly effects most Americans.

Theoretically, this paper has drawn attention to the family as
an area of focal concern that may be very crucial in the etiology of
juvenile delinquency and houses the root causes of this behavior.
The importance of the family for young people cannot be underesti­
mated, in regards to their subsequent behavior. In specific terms,
direct concern was brought upon the family, bringing together the
institution of the family with two other concepts--socialization of
children and youth and delinquency. The previous literature on the
family, socialization, and delinquency has tended to be fragmented

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and here, the focus has been to construct an integrated theory of juvenile delinquency by bringing these key concepts together.

The specific problem underlying juvenile delinquency has been viewed to be the familial inter-relationship patterns and, in particular, the marital relationship of the parents and their parent-child relationships. Within the quality of these vital relationships for young people, family socialization (the learning and internalizing of norms) can be facilitated or impeded. For effective socialization to occur, the family must evidence close, harmonious relationships between husbands and wives and between parents and children.

To promote scientific investigation, it was postulated that the marital relationship of the spouses and the parent-child relationships are independent factors within the family and this is an area of research. However, it was suspected that the parent-child relationships have considerable dependency upon the state of the marriage between the parental figures within the home.

Within this theoretical model, the school and community are also seen as important forces in delinquency. However, the school and the community were seen as being potentially precipitating factors for delinquency with family socialization seen as the root cause. Theoretically, this is primarily how predispositional and precipitating causes mesh together. Specifically, effective socialization of children and youth can provide a buffer against delinquent influences which emanate from the school and the community or neighborhood. Parents cannot always be physically present to control and supervise their children. As children grow older, they socially interact more
frequently away from the home and their parents. However, parents through effective socialization from within the family can be with their children in the form of internalized normative teachings which can help to guide and control their behavior. It is the process of socialization that transcends a person from a biological animal to a social being. The family is very crucial in the socialization process.

Even though the family is important for socialization, this process does not end within the institution of the family. The school also is of vital concern to the socialization of children and youth within this theoretical model. However, as a factor of delinquent behavior, the school, theoretically, has been viewed as being responsible in a passive sense, rather than an active one. That is, the effectiveness of socialization acquired from the family (specifically, the parents) is important for the subsequent school adjustment of children and youth. Many schools are geared to effectively deal and cope with the children coming from the family who have received adequate socialization, so that they can readily adapt to the school environment. As a result, the school in this theoretical model is seen to benefit and continue the socialization process for those children and youth who enter with an adequate socialization from the family and lose those who do not. Therefore, theoretically, the school is not seen as a direct, active agent of the juvenile delinquency problem.

From these theoretical postulates, nine hypotheses directly emerged, centering around the family inter-relationship patterns and
delinquency for empirical testing. A research design was developed to collect data on the familial inter-relationship patterns and delinquent behavior of junior high school males. The research approach utilized was through the social survey method and a stratified random sample of families were selected, using the census tracts of the Detroit Metropolitan Area—Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb counties. Interviewers contacted on a block sampling procedure the homes within the census tracts that were randomly selected, and in a prescribed fashion, one hundred families completed interviews. The utilization of one hundred families for this study is the minimum size needed and a larger one was not selected, due to the financial restraints of this research project. In addition to the data being collected on the marital and parent-child relationship patterns and delinquency, a number of control variables were included for data collection. These control variables were the age of the male child, religion, social class, community integration, ethnic origin, race, and the employment status of the mother.

The sample selected of the families was heterogeneous in nature. To summarize a description of the sample, the male children are in their early teens (60% of them are 13 and 14 years of age) and they are mostly in the junior high school grades (54% of the sample in the 7th and 8th grades in school). The sample is composed of Black and White families racially with no Oriental families included and an absence of inter-racial marriages. For nationality or ethnic origin, the vast majority of the sample is American. In regards to other ethnic origins obtained in the sample, these are mostly
families with ethnicity going back to Western and Eastern Europe. For religion, the families represented the Christian faiths (90% are either Protestant or Catholic) and no Jewish families were included in the sample. In addition, the families obtained are representative of the spread across the socio-economic classes in the Detroit Metropolitan Area.

Here, the data obtained was subjected to path analysis and social class, race, and community integration were tested for interaction effects by running the path model for each of these variables with the utilization of the partitioning of the data. From the statistical analyses of this data, the major results found are the following:

1. The parent-child relationships with both parents equally, were found to relate to juvenile delinquency, in terms of frequency and seriousness of the offenses committed. When the parent-child relationships with both parents decreased in quality (not cohesive or distant), there was found an increase in the juvenile delinquent offenses for both frequency and seriousness of the offenses.

2. The marital relationship of the parental figures does not directly relate to delinquency on the part of the male offspring, but was found no directly relate to the state of the parent-child relationships in the case of both parents. That is, the better the marital adjustments of the mother and father, the greater the cohesiveness or closeness of the distance between each of the parents to their male child. Therefore, it was found that the parent-child relationship for the boys is clearly dependent upon the marital relationship between the spouses for both parents.
3. The nature of the parent-child relationship for young males is directly important for their school adjustment. Again, the more cohesive the parent-son relationship with both parents equally, the better the adjustment of the boys in the school environment.

4. In turn, the school adjustment was discovered to relate to the frequency and seriousness of juvenile delinquency of the offenses committed. However, this was found not only to be due to socialization problems emanating from the family (specifically, the parent-child relationships), but also from other factors existing within the school, especially for older males, Black male youngsters, and boys living in low integrated communities in the sample. It appears that the school is ineffective for these kind of boys just mentioned previously and sets them up for delinquent involvement.

5. The results tend to show that outside of family and the school, the problem of racism differentially against Black male youth has direct contributory effects upon our delinquency problem.
APPENDIX A

THE MALE CHILD QUESTIONNAIRE
Schedule A - The Male Child Questionnaire

General Instructions - In the following question, there are no right or wrong answers. For each question, there is only your answer! Please select the answer which best describes you for each question. On the questionnaire, do not identify yourself in any way - do not write your name, address, or telephone number. Please make sure that you answer each and every question.

Part I - Please fill in the blank or check the line to the right with the appropriate answer to each of the following questions.

1. How old are you? ________ years

2. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations outside of school? (1) Boys Club (2) Boy Scouts (3) 4-H Club (4) YMCA (5) Others (please list) ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ 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12. Who do you admire most? __________________________

13. How many brothers and sisters do you have? ________

Part II - Please place a check mark on the line to the right of the answer you are responding to in the following questions.

1. Have you driven a car without a driver's license or permit? (Do not include driver training courses) (1) very often 4 (2) several times 3 (3) once or twice 2 (4) never 1

2. Have you skipped school without a legitimate excuse? (1) never 1 (2) once or twice 2 (3) several times 3 (4) very often 4

3. Have you ever disobeyed your parents? (1) very often 4 (2) several times 3 (3) once or twice 2 (4) never 1

4. Have you had a fist fight with one other person? (1) never 1 (2) once or twice 2 (3) several times 3 (4) very often 4

5. Have you ever told a lie? (1) very often 4 (2) several times 3 (3) once or twice 2 (4) never 1

6. Have you "run away" from home? (1) never 1 (2) once 2 (3) twice 3 (4) three times 4 (5) four times 5 (6) five times 6 (7) over five times 7

7. Have you been placed on school probation or expelled from school? (1) never 1 (2) once or twice 2 (3) three or four times 3 (4) five or six times 4 (5) over six times 5

8. Have you defied your parents' authority (to their face)? (1) never 1 (2) once or twice 2 (3) several times 3 (4) very often 4

9. Have you driven too fast or recklessly in an automobile? (1) very often 4 (2) several times 3 (3) once or twice 2 (4) never 1

10. Have you taken little things (worth less than $2.00) that did not belong to you? (1) never 1 (2) once or twice 2 (3) several times 3 (4) very often 4

11. Have you taken things of medium value (between $2.00 and $50.00)? (1) very often 4 (2) several times 3 (3) once or twice 2 (4) never 1

12. Have you taken things of large value (over $50.00)? (1) never 1 (2) once or twice 2 (3) several times 3 (4) very often 4

13. Have you taken things that you really didn't want that did not belong to you? (1) never 1 (2) once or twice 2 (3) several times 3 (4) very often 4
14. Have you taken part in "gang fights"?  
   (1) never  (2) once  
   or twice  (3) three or four times  (4) five or six times  
   (5) over six times

15. Have you taken a car for a ride without the owner's knowledge?  
   (1) never  (2) once  
   twice  (3) three times  (4) four times  
   five times  (6) five times  (7) over five times

16. Have you "beat up" on kids who hadn't done anything to you?  
   (1) very often  (2) several times  (3) once or twice  
   (4) never

17. Have you bought or drank beer, wine, or liquor?  
   (include drinking at home)  
   (1) never  (2) once or twice  
   (3) several times  (4) very often

18. Have you hurt or inflicted pain on someone else just to see them 
   squirm?  
   (1) never  (2) once or twice  
   (3) several times  (4) very often

19. Have you purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property 
   that did not belong to you?  
   (1) very often  (2) once or twice  
   (3) several times  (4) never

20. Have you ever sold narcotic drugs (dangerous drugs) to someone 
    else?  
    (do not include marijuana, pot, or weed)?  
    (1) never  (2) once  
    twice  (3) three times  (4) four times  
    five times  (6) five times  (7) six or more times

21. Have you ever used narcotic drugs (dangerous drugs, not 
    including marijuana, pot, or weed)?  
    (1) never  (2) once  
    twice  (3) three times  (4) four times  
    five times  (6) five times  (7) six or more times

22. Have you ever sold marijuana, pot, or weed?  
    (1) six or more times  
    (2) five times  (3) four times  
    (4) three times  
    (5) twice  (6) once  
    (7) never

23. Have you smoked marijuana, pot, or weed?  
    (1) six or more times  
    (2) five times  (3) four times  
    (4) three times  
    (5) twice  (6) once  
    (7) never

24. Have you had sex relations with another person of the same sex?  
    (1) never  (2) once or twice  
    three or four times  (3) five or six times  
    (4) seven or eight times  
    (6) nine times or more

25. Have you had sex relations with a person of the opposite sex?  
    (1) never  (2) once or twice  
    three or four times  (4) five or six times  
    (5) seven or eight times  
    (6) nine times or more
26. Have you gone hunting or fishing without a license (or violated any other game laws)? (1) never 1 (2) once or twice 2 (3) several times 3 (4) very often 4
Part III - Please place a check mark on the line to the right of the answer you are responding to in the following questions.

1. Do you enjoy letting your Mother in on your "big" moments?
   (1) very much 3 (2) somewhat 2 (3) hardly at all 1 (4) not at all 1

2. Do you enjoy letting your Father in on your "big" moments?
   (1) very much 3 (2) somewhat 2 (3) hardly at all 1 (4) not at all 1

3. Do you enjoy talking over your plans with your Father?
   (1) always 3 (2) usually 2 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 1 (5) never 1

4. Do you enjoy talking over your plans with your Mother? (1) always 3
   (2) usually 2 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 1 (5) never 3

5. Where you are concerned, do you think 'what Mother doesn't know
   won't hurt me'? (1) always 1 (2) usually 1 (3) sometimes 2
   (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3

6. Where you are concerned, do you think 'what Father doesn't know
   won't hurt me'? (1) always 1 (2) usually 1 (3) sometimes 2
   (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3

7. Have you ever felt ashamed of your Father? (1) often 1
   (2) sometimes 1 (3) once in a while 1 (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3

8. Have you ever felt ashamed of your Mother? (1) often 1
   (2) sometimes 1 (3) once in a while 1 (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3

9. Do you enjoy doing extra things to please your Mother that you
   are not required to do? (1) often 3 (2) sometimes 2
   (3) seldom 1 (4) never 1

10. Do you enjoy doing extra things to please your Father that you
    are not required to do? (1) often 3 (2) sometimes 2
    (3) seldom 1 (4) never 1

11. If it were possible to change real mothers into ideal mothers,
    what would you change about your mother? (1) just about everything 1
    (2) a large number of things 1 (3) a few things 1
    (4) one or two things 2 (5) nothing 3

12. If it were possible to change real fathers into ideal fathers,
    what would you change about your Father? (1) just about everything 1
    (2) a large number of things 1 (3) a few things 1
    (4) one or two things 2 (5) nothing 3
13. Do you confide in your Mother when you get into some kind of trouble? (1) all problems (2) most (3) some (4) few (5) none

14. Do you confide in your Father when you get into some kind of trouble? (1) all problems (2) most (3) some (4) few (5) none

15. Do you feel rebellious around your Father? (1) always (2) often (3) sometimes (4) seldom (5) never

16. Do you feel rebellious around your Mother? (1) always (2) often (3) sometimes (4) seldom (5) never

17. In general, do you feel that you get a "square deal" with your Mother? (1) always (2) usually (3) sometimes (4) seldom (5) never

18. In general, do you feel that you get a "square deal" with your Father? (1) always (2) usually (3) sometimes (4) seldom (5) never

19. Do you think "Oh, what's the use" after you have tried to explain your conduct to your Father? (1) often (2) sometimes (3) seldom (4) never

20. Do you think "Oh, what's the use" after you have tried to explain your conduct to your Mother? (1) often (2) sometimes (3) seldom (4) never

21. Are you interested in what your Mother thinks of you? (1) very much (2) somewhat (3) hardly at all (4) not at all

22. Are you interested in what your Father thinks of you? (1) very much (2) somewhat (3) hardly at all (4) not at all

23. My Father is interested in what I do: (1) always (2) usually (3) sometimes (4) seldom (5) never

24. My Mother is interested in what I do: (1) always (2) usually (3) sometimes (4) seldom (5) never

25. My Mother ridicules my ideas: (1) never (2) seldom (3) sometimes (4) usually (5) always

26. My Father ridicules my ideas: (1) never (2) seldom (3) sometimes (4) usually (5) always

27. My Father encourages me to discuss my problems with him: (1) always (2) usually (3) sometimes (4) seldom (5) never
28. My Mother encourages me to discuss my problems with her:
   (1) always 3 (2) usually 2 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 1 (5) never 1

29. I think my Mother has my best interests at heart: (1) never 1
   (2) seldom 1 (3) sometimes 1 (4) usually 2 (5) always 3

30. I think my Father has my best interests at heart: (1) never 1
   (2) seldom 1 (3) sometimes 1 (4) usually 2 (5) always 3

31. I think my Father shows more interest in my brothers and sisters
   than he shows me: (1) always 1 (2) usually 1 (3) sometimes 1
   (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3 (6) more in me 3 (7) only child 2

32. I think my Mother shows more interest in my brothers and sisters
   than she shows me: (1) always 1 (2) usually 1 (3) sometimes 1
   (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3 (6) more in me 3 (7) only child 2

33. Other fathers tend to show more interest in their children than
   my Father shows in me: (1) completely agree 1 (2) partially
   agree 1 (3) equal interest 2 (4) partially disagree 3
   (5) completely disagree 3

34. Other mothers tend to show more interest in their children than
   my Mother shows in me: (1) completely agree 1: (2) partially
   agree 1 (3) equal interest 2 (4) partially disagree 3
   (5) completely disagree 3

35. My Mother praises me when I do my work well: (1) always 3
   (2) usually 2 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 1 (5) never 1

36. My Father praises me when I do my work well: (1) always 3
   (2) usually 2 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 1 (5) never 1

37. Does your Father ever seem to wish you were a different sort of
   person? (1) very often 1 (2) frequently 1 (3) sometimes 1
   (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3

38. Does your Mother ever seem to wish you were a different sort of
   person? (1) very often 1 (2) frequently 1 (3) sometimes 1
   (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3

39. Do you think your Mother tries to understand your problems and
   worries? (1) never 1 (2) frequently 1 (3) sometimes 1
   (4) usually 2 (5) always 3

40. Do you think your Father tries to understand your problems and
   worries? (1) never 1 (2) seldom 1 (3) sometimes 1
   (4) usually 2 (5) always 3

41. My Father says and does things that make me feel I am not trusted:
   (1) very often 1 (2) frequently 1 (3) sometimes 1
   (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3
42. My Mother says and does things that make me feel I am not trusted:
   (1) very often (2) frequently (3) sometimes (4) seldom (5) never

   Part IV - Please place a check mark on the line to the right of the
   answer you are responding to in the following questions.

   1. In general, do you like or dislike school? (1) like it (2) like and dislike it about equally (3) dislike it

   2. How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with other students in your school? (1) among the best (2) above average (3) about average (4) below average (5) among the worst (6) don't know

   3. How many of your teachers seem to care about how well you do in school? (1) almost all (2) many (3) a few (4) none

   4. Do you care what teachers think of you? (1) I care a lot (2) I care some (3) I don't care much

   5. I feel nervous and tense in school: (1) strongly agree (2) agree (3) undecided (4) disagree (5) strongly disagree

   6. Teachers pick on me: (1) strongly agree (2) agree (3) undecided (4) disagree (5) strongly disagree

   7. Teachers understand students: (1) strongly agree (2) agree (3) undecided (4) disagree (5) strongly disagree

   8. Teachers just want you to be quiet: (1) strongly agree (2) agree (3) undecided (4) disagree (5) strongly disagree

   9. During the last year, did you ever stay away from school just because you had other things you wanted to do? (1) often (2) a few times (3) once or twice (4) never

   10. During the last year, did you ever cheat on any class test? (1) often (2) a few times (3) once or twice (4) never

   11. During the last year, were you ever sent out of a classroom by a teacher? (1) often (2) a few times (3) once or twice (4) never

   12. Have you ever been suspended from school? (1) often (2) a few times (3) once or twice (4) never
13. I do not get along with the other students in school: (1) strongly agree 2 (2) agree 3 (3) undecided 1 (4) disagree 4 (5) strongly disagree 5

14. My classmates like me: (1) strongly disagree 2 (2) disagree 3 (3) undecided 1 (4) agree 4 (5) strongly agree 5

15. Have you ever been stopped by the police for anything other than a traffic offense? (1) never 1 (2) once or twice 2 (3) several times 3 (4) very often 4

16. Have you ever been arrested by the police or given a ticket for anything other than a traffic offense? (1) very often 4 (2) several times 3 (3) once or twice 2 (4) never 1

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!
APPENDIX B

THE PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE (MOTHER)
Schedule B - The Parental Questionnaire (Mother)

General Instructions - In the following questions, there are no right or wrong answers. For each question, there is only your answer! Please select the answer which best describes you for each question. On the questionnaire, do not identify yourself in any way - do not write your name, address, or telephone number. Please make sure that you answer each and every question.

1. Check the dot on the scale line below which best describes the degree of happiness, everything considered, of your present marriage. The middle point, "happy" represents the degree of happiness which most people get from marriage, and the scale gradually ranges on one side to those few who are very unhappy in marriage, and on the other side, to those few who experience extreme joy or felicity in marriage.

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State the approximate extent of agreement or disagreement between you and your mate on the following items. Please check each column.

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<th>Frequently Disagree</th>
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<td>3. Matters of recreation</td>
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<td>4. Demonstrations of affection</td>
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<td>5. Friends</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Sex relations</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>7. Conventionality (fight, good, or proper conduct)</td>
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<td>8. Philosophy of life</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Ways of dealing with in-laws</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
10. When disagreements arise, they usually result in: (1) husband giving in | (2) wife giving in | (3) agreement by mutual give and take

11. Do you and your mate engage in outside interests together? (1) all of them | (2) some of them | (3) very few of them | (4) none of them

12. In leisure time do you generally prefer: (1) to be 'on the go' | (2) to stay at home
Does your mate generally prefer: (1) to be 'on the go' | (2) to stay at home
Both at home | Both on the go | Both agree | Disagree

13. Do you ever wish you had not married? (1) frequently | (2) occasionally | (3) rarely | (4) never

14. If you had your life to live over, do you think you would: (1) marry the same person | (2) marry a different person | (3) not marry at all

15. Do you confide in your mate? (1) almost never | (2) rarely | (3) in most things | (4) in everything

Part II - Please select the answer you feel best describes the situation between you and the child who is participating in this survey.

1. Do you enjoy being let in on your child's 'big' moments? (1) very much | (2) somewhat | (3) hardly at all | (4) not at all

2. Do you enjoy talking over your child's plans with him/her? (1) always | (2) usually | (3) sometimes | (4) seldom | (5) never

3. Does your child feel that what you do not know about him/her will not hurt him/her? (1) always | (2) usually | (3) sometimes | (4) seldom | (5) never

4. To the best of your knowledge, have you felt ashamed of your child? (1) often | (2) sometimes | (3) once in a while | (4) seldom | (5) never

5. Do you enjoy doing extra things to please your child that are not required of you? (1) often | (2) sometimes | (3) seldom | (4) never

6. If it were possible to change real children to ideal children, what would you change in your child? (1) just about everything | (2) a large number of things | (3) a few things | (4) one or two things | (5) nothing
7. Do you confide with your child when he/she gets into trouble?
   (1) all problems 3 (2) most 2 (3) some 2 (4) few 1 (5) none 1

8. Does your child feel rebellious around you? (1) always 1
   (2) often 1 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 2 (5) never 1

9. In general, do you feel that you are fair with your child?
   (1) always 3 (2) usually 2 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 1
   (5) never 1

10. Do you think 'Oh, what's the use!' after talking with your
    child about his/her conduct? (1) often 1 (2) sometimes 1
    (3) seldom 2 (4) never 3

11. Are you interested in what your child thinks of you? (1) very
    much 3 (2) somewhat 2 (3) hardly at all 1 (4) not at all 1

12. I am interested in what my son/daughter does: (1) always 3
    (2) usually 2 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 1 (5) never 1

13. Do you ridicule your child's ideas? (1) never 3 (2) seldom 2
    (3) sometimes 1 (4) usually 1 (5) always 1

14. I encourage my child to discuss his/her problems with me:
    (1) always 3 (2) usually 2 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 1
    (5) never 1

15. I think I have my child's best interests at heart: (1) never 1
    (2) seldom 1 (3) sometimes 1 (4) usually 2 (5) always 3

16. I show more interest in my child's brothers and sisters than I
    do in him/her: (1) always 1 (2) usually 1 (3) sometimes 1
    (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3 (6) more in this child 3
    (7) only child 2

17. Other parents tend to show more interest in their children than
    I show in my child: (1) completely agree 1 (2) partially
    agree 1 (3) equal interest 2 (4) partially disagree 3
    (5) completely disagree 3

18. I praise my child when he/she does his/her work well: (1) always 3
    (2) usually 2 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 1 (5) never 1

19. Do you ever seem to wish your child was a different sort of a
    person? (1) very often 1 (2) frequently 1 (3) sometimes 2
    (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3

20. Do you think you try to understand your child's problems and
    worries? (1) never 1 (2) seldom 1 (3) sometimes 1
    (4) usually 2 (5) always 3
21. I say or do things because I do not trust my child: (1) very often 1 (2) frequently 1 (3) sometimes 1 (4) seldom 2 (5) never 3

Part III - Think of each of the statements below as relating to the people of your community. If you think the statement fits this community very well, after the statement circle vt (for very true); if it applies only partially, circle t (for true); if you cannot see how it relates one way or another to this particular community, circle nd (for not decided); if you think it is not true curcle u (for untrue); and if it definitely is not true, circle du (for definitely untrue). PLEASE RECORD THE IMPRESSION THAT FIRST OCCURS TO YOU. Do not go back and change your answers.

1. Real friends are hard to find in this community. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5
2. Our schools do a poor job of preparing young people for life. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5
3. Local concerns deal fairly and squarely with everyone. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1
4. The community is very peaceful and orderly. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1
5. A lot of people here think they are too nice for you. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5
6. Families in this community keep their children under control. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1
7. The different churches here cooperate well with one another. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1
8. Some people here "get by with murder" while others take the rap for any little misdeed. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5
9. Almost everyone is polite and courteous to you. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1
10. Our schools do a good job preparing students for college. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1
11. Everyone here tries to take advantage of you. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5

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12. People around here show good judgment. vt t nd u du
   5 4 3 2 1

13. People won't work together to get things done for the community. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

14. Parents teach their children to respect other people's rights and property. vt t nd u du
   5 4 3 2 1

15. Most of our church people forget the meaning of the word brotherhood when they get out of church. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

16. This community lacks real leaders. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

17. People give you a bad name if you insist on being different. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

18. Our high school graduates take an active interest in making their community a better place in which to live. vt t nd u du
   5 4 3 2 1

19. A few people here make all the dough. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

20. Too many young people get into sex difficulties. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

21. The community tries hard to help its young people along. vt t nd u du
   5 4 3 2 1

22. Folks are unconcerned about what their kids do so long as they keep out of trouble. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

23. The churches are a constructive factor for better community life. vt t nd u du
   5 4 3 2 1

24. The Mayor and councilman run the town to suit themselves. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

25. I feel very much that I belong here. vt t nd u du
   5 4 3 2 1
26. Many young people in the community do not finish high school.  
27. The people here are all penny pinchers.  
28. You spend lots of money to be accepted here.  
29. The people as a whole mind their own business.  
30. Most people get their families to Sunday School or church on Sunday.  
31. Every church wants to be the biggest and the most impressive.  
32. A few have the town politics well sewed up.  
33. Most of the students here learn to read and write well.  
34. People are generally critical of others.  
35. Local concerns expect their help to live on low wage.  
36. You are out of luck here if you happen to be of the wrong nationality.  
37. No one seems to care much how the community looks.  
38. If their children keep out of the way, parents are satisfied to let them do whatever they want to do.  
40. The town council gets very little done.
Part IV - The following questions are asked for statistical purposes only. Please check or fill in the best answer which applies to you.

1. My racial background is: (1) African American (Black) 1  
   (2) Caucasian (White) 2 (3) Oriental (Chinese, Japanese, etc.) 3

2. My Mother was born in ______ 1. United States  
   2. Spanish American

3. My Father was born in ______ 3. Western European  

4. My Grandparents were born in the following countries:
   Maternal Grandmother ______
   Maternal Grandfather ______
   Paternal Grandmother ______
   Paternal Grandfather ______

If both parents and all grandparents were born in the United States, where do your descendants come from outside of the United States? ______

5. My religious affiliation is: (1) Protestant 1 (2) Catholic 2  
   (3) Jewish 3 (4) Other 4 (5) none 5. If your answer is Protestant, what is your denomination ______

6. What kind of job do you work at? *Nam and Powers Occupational Score ______ (if housewife, indicate as such and if unemployed at the present time, answer the kind of job you had the last you worked)  

7. What kind of job does your spouse work at? (If housewife, indicate as such and if unemployed at the present time, answer the kind of job you had the last time worked)

8. Last year, I made before taxes were deducted: (1) less than $5,000 (2) over $5,000 but less than $10,000 (3) over $10,000 but less than $15,000 (4) over $15,000 but less than $20,000 (5) over $20,000, but less than $25,000 (6) over $25,000 but less than $50,000 (7) more than $50,000

9. My spouse made last year before taxes were deducted: (1) less than $5,000 (2) over $5,000 but less than $10,000 (3) over $10,000 but less than $15,000 (4) over $15,000 but less than $20,000 (5) over $20,000 but less than $25,000 (6) over $25,000 but less than $50,000 (7) more than $50,000

*male head of household
10. The last grade I completed in school was: circle the appropriate answer below.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12

College or University (without completion of a degree)
College of University (with completion of an undergraduate degree)
Graduate or Professional School (without completion of the degree)
Graduate or Professional School (with the completion of the degree)

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!
APPENDIX C

THE PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE (FATHER)
Schedule C - The Parental Questionnaire (Father)

General Instructions - In the following questions, there are no right or wrong answers. For each question, there is only your answer! Please select the answer which best describes you for each question. On the questionnaire, do not identify yourself in any way - do not write your name, address, or telephone number. Please make sure that you answer each and every question.

1. Check the dot on the scale line below which best describes the degree of happiness, everything considered, of your present marriage. The middle point, "happy" represents the degree of happiness which most people get from marriage, and the scale gradually ranges on one side to those few who experience extreme joy or felicity in marriage.

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State the approximate extent of agreement or disagreement between you and your mate on the following items. Please check each column.

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</table>
10. When disagreements arise, they usually result in: (1) husband giving in ___ (2) wife giving in ___ (3) agreement by mutual give and take ___

11. Do you and your mate engage in outside interests together? (1) all of them ___ (2) some of them ___ (3) very few of them ___ (4) none of them ___

12. In leisure time do you generally prefer: (1) to be "on the go" ___ (2) to stay at home ___ Does your mate generally prefer: (1) to be "on the go" ___ (2) to stay at home ___ Both at home ___ Both on the go ___ Disagree ___

13. Do you ever wish you had not married? (1) frequently ___ (2) occasionally ___ (3) rarely ___ (4) never ___

14. If you had your life to live over, do you think you would: (1) marry the same person ___ (2) marry a different person ___ (3) not marry at all ___

15. Do you confide in your mate: (1) almost never ___ (2) rarely ___ (3) in most things ___ (4) in everything ___

Part II - Please select the answer you feel best describes the situation between you and the child who is participating in this survey.

1. Do you enjoy being let in on your child's "big" moments? (1) very much ___ (2) somewhat ___ (3) hardly at all ___ (4) not at all ___

2. Do you enjoy talking over your child's plans with him/her? (1) always ___ (2) usually ___ (3) sometimes ___ (4) seldom ___ (5) never ___

3. Does your child feel that what you do not know about him/her will not hurt him/her? (1) always ___ (2) usually ___ (3) sometimes ___ (4) seldom ___ (5) never ___

4. To the best of your knowledge, have you felt ashamed of your child? (1) often ___ (2) sometimes ___ (3) once in a while ___ (4) seldom ___ (5) never ___

5. Do you enjoy doing extra things to please your child that are not required of you? (1) often ___ (2) sometimes ___ (3) seldom ___ (4) never ___

6. If it were possible to change real children to ideal children, what would you change in your child? (1) just about everything ___ (2) a large number of things ___ (3) a few things ___ (4) one or two things ___ (5) nothing ___
7. Do you confide with your child when he/she gets into trouble?  
(1) all problems  (2) most  (3) some  (4) few  (5) none  

8. Does your child feel rebellious around you?  (1) always  (2) often  (3) sometimes  (4) seldom  (5) never  

9. In general, do you feel that you are fair with your child?  
(1) always  (2) usually  (3) sometimes  (4) seldom  (5) never  

10. Do you think "Oh, what's the use!" after talking with your child about his/her conduct?  (1) often  (2) sometimes  (3) seldom  (4) never  

11. Are you interested in what your child thinks of you?  (1) very much  (2) somewhat  (3) hardly at all  (4) not at all  

12. I am interested in what my son/daughter does:  (1) always  (2) usually  (3) sometimes  (4) seldom  (5) never  

13. Do you ridicule your child's ideas?  (1) never  (2) seldom  (3) sometimes  (4) usually  (5) always  

14. I encourage my child to discuss his/her problems with me:  
(1) always  (2) usually  (3) sometimes  (4) seldom  (5) never  

15. I think I have my child's best interests at heart:  (1) never  (2) seldom  (3) sometimes  (4) usually  (5) always  

16. I show more interest in my child's brothers and sisters than I do in him/her:  (1) always  (2) usually  (3) sometimes  (4) seldom  (5) never  

17. Other parents tend to show more interest in their children than I show in my child:  (1) completely agree  (2) partially agree  (3) equal interest  (4) partially disagree  (5) completely disagree  

18. I praise my child when he/she does his/her work well:  
(1) always  (2) usually  (3) sometimes  (4) seldom  (5) never  

19. Do you ever seem to wish your child was a different sort of a person?  (1) very often  (2) frequently  (3) sometimes  (4) seldom  (5) never  

20. Do you think you try to understand your child's problems and worries?  (1) never  (2) seldom  (3) sometimes  (4) usually  (5) always
21. I say or do things because I do not trust my child: (1) very often __ (2) frequently __ (3) sometimes __ (4) seldom __ (5) never __

Part III - Think of each of the statements below as relating to the people of your community. If you think the statement fits this community very well, after the statement circle vt (for very true); if it applies only partially, circle t (for true); if you cannot see how it relates one way or another to this particular community, circle nd (for not decided); if you think it is not true circle u (for untrue); and if it definitely is not true, circle du (for definitely untrue). PLEASE RECORD THE IMPRESSION THAT FIRST OCCURS TO YOU. Do not go back and change your answers.

1. Real friends are hard to find in this community. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5

2. Our schools do a poor job of preparing young people for life. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5

3. Local concerns deal fairly and squarely with everyone. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1

4. The community is very peaceful and orderly. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1

5. A lot of people here think they are too nice for you. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5

6. Families in this community keep their children under control. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1

7. The different churches here cooperate well with one another. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1

8. Some people here 'het by with murder' while others take the rap for any little misdeed. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5

9. Almost everyone is polite and courteous to you. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1

10. Our schools do a good job preparing students for college. vt t nd u du 5 4 3 2 1

11. Everyone here tries to take advantage of you. vt t nd u du 1 2 3 4 5
12. People around here show good judgement. 5 4 3 2 1

13. People won't work together to get things done for the community. 1 2 3 4 5

14. Parents teach their children to respect other people's rights and property. 5 4 3 2 1

15. Most of our church people forget the meaning of the work brotherhood when they get out of church. 1 2 3 4 5

16. This community lacks real leaders. 1 2 3 4 5

17. People give you a bad name if you insist on being different. 1 2 3 4 5

18. Our high-school graduates take an active interest in making their community a better place in which to live. 5 4 3 2 1

19. A few people here make all the dough. 1 2 3 4 5

20. Too many young people get into sex difficulties. 1 2 3 4 5

21. The community tries hard to help its young people along. 5 4 3 2 1

22. Folks are unconcerned about what their kids do so long as they keep out of trouble. 1 2 3 4 5

23. The churches are a constructive factor for better community life. 5 4 3 2 1

24. The Mayor and councilman run the town to suit themselves. 1 2 3 4 5

25. I feel very much that I belong here. 5 4 3 2 1

26. Many young people in the community do not finish high school. 1 2 3 4 5
27. The people here are all penny pinchers. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

28. You spend lots of money to be accepted here. vt t nd u du
   1 2 3 4 5

29. The people as a whole mind their own business. vt t nd u du
   5 4 3 2 1

30. Most people get their families to Sunday School or church on
    Sunday. vt t nd u du
    5 4 3 2 1

31. Every church wants to be the biggest and the most impressive.
    vt t nd u du
    1 2 3 4 5

32. A few have the town politics well sewed up. vt t nd u du
    1 2 3 4 5

33. Most of the students here learn to read and write well. vt t nd u du
    5 4 3 2 1

34. People are generally critical of others. vt t nd u du
    1 2 3 4 5

35. Local concerns expect their help to live on low wages. vt t nd u du
    1 2 3 4 5

36. You are out of luck here if you happen to be of the wrong
    nationality. vt t nd u du
    1 2 3 4 5

37. No one seems to care much how the community looks. vt t nd u du
    1 2 3 4 5

38. If their children keep out of the way, parents are satisfied
    to let them do whatever they want to do. vt t nd u du
    1 2 3 4 5

39. Most of our churchgoers do not practice what they preach. vt t nd u du
    1 2 3 4 5

40. The town council gets very little done. vt t nd u du
    1 2 3 4 5
Part IV - The following questions are asked for statistical purposes only. Please check or fill in the best answer which applies to you.

1. My racial background is: (1) African American (Black) ___ (2) Caucasian (White) ___ (3) Oriental (Chinese, Japanese, etc.) ___

2. My Mother was born in ______ country 1. United States 2. Spanish American 3. Western European


4. My Grandparents were born in the following countries:
   Maternal Grandmother __________
   Maternal Grandfather __________
   Paternal Grandmother __________
   Paternal Grandfather __________

If both parents and all grandparents were born in the United States, where do your descendants come from outside of the United States? __________

5. My religious affiliation is: (1) Protestant ___ (2) Catholic ___ (3) Jewish ___ (4) Other ___ (5) None ___ If your answer is Protestant, what is your denomination __________

6. What kind of job do you work at? Nam and Powers Occupational Score (If housewife, indicate as such and if unemployed at the present time, answer the kind of job you had the last time you worked)

7. What kind of job does your spouse work at? (If housewife, indicate as such and if unemployed at the present time, answer the kind of job you had the last time you worked)

8. Last year I made before taxes were deducted: (1) less than $5,000 ___ (2) over $5,000 but less than $10,000 ___ (3) over $10,000 but less than $15,000 ___ (4) over $15,000 but less than $20,000 ___ (5) over $20,000 but less than $25,000 ___ (6) over $25,000 but less than $50,000 ___ (7) more than $50,000 ___

9. My spouse made last year before taxes were deducted: (1) less than $5,000 ___ (2) over $5,000, but less than $10,000 ___ (3) over $10,000, but less than $15,000 ___ (4) over $15,000 but less than $20,000 ___ (5) over $20,000 but less than $25,000 ___ (6) over $25,000 but less than $50,000 ___ (7) more than $50,000 ___
10. The last grade I completed in school was: circle the appropriate answer below

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12

College or University (without completion of a degree)
College or University (with completion of an undergraduate degree)
Graduate or Professional School (without completion of the degree)
Graduate or Professional School (with the completion of the degree)

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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