ADOLESCENT PROPERTY OFFENDING AND SOCIALISATION

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Table of Tables

The majority of this thesis is based on previous or pending publications. These are:

The Peak Age for Property Crimes.

British Journal of Criminology. April (1967), 184-194.

The Peak Age for Property Crimes: Further Data.

British Journal of Criminology, July (1973), 253-261

Property offending and the School Leaving Age.

International Journal of Criminology and Penology, 1, 1973, 353-362

A Less Delinquent Cohort

British Journal of Criminology. (To appear in 1974)

Early Socialization. The Baseline in Delinquency Research.

International Journal of Criminology and Penology (To appear in 1974)

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ABSTRACT

A stable aspect of adolescent property offending has been coincidence of the peak age of such offences with the last year of compulsory schooling. This fact is taken as the focus of three epidemiological analyses. These were:

1. A survey of child welfare records of adolescent property offences for Hamilton, N.Z., in 1971.
2. The collection of teacher ratings of behaviour for a delinquent sample and a random sample, in the classroom situation.
3. Investigation of an unexpected finding, the disappearance of the peak age in Scotland in 1961.

Study 1. confirmed earlier work suggesting that the property offences of the younger adolescent are more likely to be first offences and of a casual, low expertise nature. It added to such findings the fact that this is not so much an age effect as a difference between those attending school and those who have left school.

Study 2. replicated the well established finding of close association between difficult behaviour at school and delinquent acts. It added to such studies the fact that while property offending increases rapidly in early adolescence, difficult behaviour remains fairly stable.

Study 3. provided an unusual example of variation in delinquency rates, and showed that children born immediately after World War 2 in Scotland were significantly less delinquent than expectation.

The results of these studies are extensively discussed in relation to a general concept of primary deviance, the interaction between socialisation and situational or life style variables, and the nature of socialisation processes.

Chapter 1 - Introduction - The Peak Age Effect

The starting point of this study is a fairly stable feature of the official statistics in Britain, which is also shown in New Zealand where the main research was carried out. This feature is the high frequency of property crime convictions for the age range 14-16 years. Until recently there has been a fairly close coincidence between the last year of compulsory schooling and the peak age for property offending.

The use of this phenomenon as a tool for clarifying the variables associated with delinquent behaviour is an example of the epidemiological approach. This term is used by Gold (1970), who draws an analogy with medical investigations which gain some advantage from carefully plotting the distribution of cases when an epidemic breaks out. The pattern of occurrence gives a much wider set of indicators to work from than the symptoms of the individual case. The epidemiological approach is strangely under used in the study of delinquency, though variations with age, Wootton (1959), Sveri (1960), Power (1962), Downs (1966) and other factors like sociologically defined areas Shaw & McKay (1969), Morris (1957) have received some attention. The failure to look closely at epidemiology probably stems from the naive assumption underlying much of the delinquency research, that those who are responsible for delinquent acts will be in some way different from those who have little or no involvement in delinquent acts, and that the nature of these differences will be a sufficient explanation of delinquent behaviour. But the development of socio-psychological thinking from Lewin (1951) onward has stressed a field approach in which motivational states of the person interact with situational factors in determining behaviour, (Yinger, 1965).

A full account of the variables associated with delinquent behaviour cannot be expected unless account is taken of the interaction of temperament with situational variables, including the different life circumstances of different age groups. Conger & Miller (1966) have shown that the association between patterns of variables and delinquency is different at different age levels.

Since Sutherland's attack on the concept of dispositional factors (Sutherland, 1947), essentially sociological accounts of delinquency, focusing almost entirely on cultural and situational variables have been predominant. Such accounts implicitly use epidemiological knowledge, like the high rate of delinquency in adolescence, and in certain urban areas, but do not test the generality of their explanations against the full range of epidemiological data. Weaknesses in sociological formulations will be discussed later, but one example should clarify the argument. From Thrasher (1963) onwards the association between gang formation, gang membership, has been closely tied on the one hand with delinquency, and the other with the social circumstances of those who form gangs. But the period of life during which gangs are a factor is much less than the age range of criminal behaviour, and is a mainly male phenomenon. Thus the accounts linking gang membership and delinquency say nothing about the incidence of many criminal acts and are of limited generality. This is not a crucial criticism of their value, only a statement about their limitations. It is similar to the limitations of accounts which stress the personality of delinquents without considering situational variables. In the medical field, consider the analogy of cancer research. The highly probable link between smoking and lung cancer leaves unsolved the basic problem of why some cells proliferate into malignant tumours.

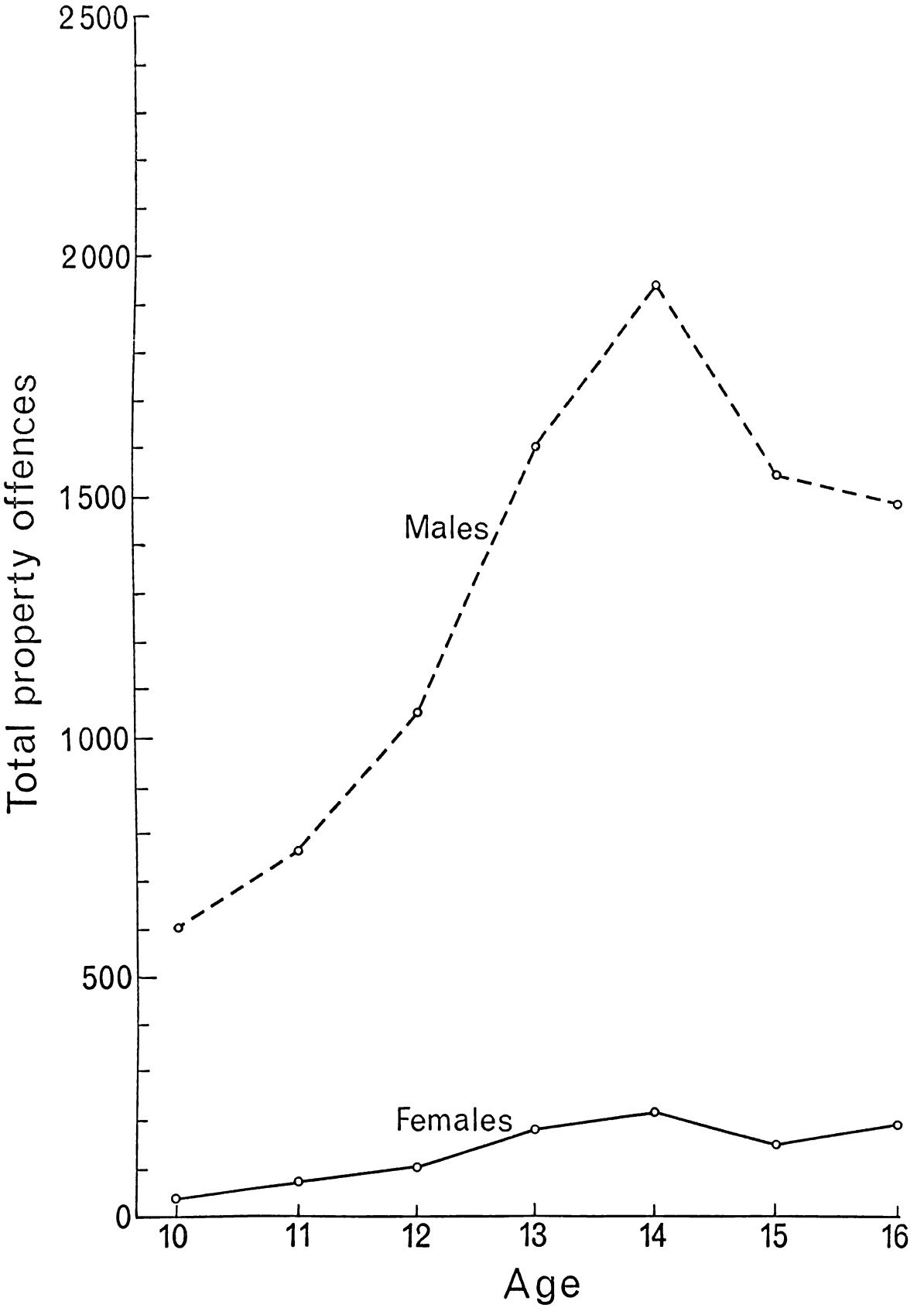
But the demonstrated association is useful both practically and theoretically. Conversely, eventual understanding of primary variables in the development of cancer will both result from, and gain full significance in the context of, detailed epidemiological data. The researcher, in delinquency or cancer, who ignores the most relevant epidemiological data is imposing an unwise limitation on his field of inquiry.

The major source of epidemiological data is official statistics, and it is clear that these are subject to many biases and represent data on only a small proportion of the full incidence of criminal acts, but there are several reasons for not abandoning the use of criminal statistics altogether. Firstly, there may be areas in which the biases are not too great, or can be reasonably well estimated. Secondly, the sheer comprehensiveness of the reporting which is organized to compile official data could not readily be duplicated by any researcher endeavouring to avoid the known deficiencies of official procedures. Finally, in considering the deficiencies of criminal statistics it is easy to overlook the imprecision of many other measures used in the behavioural sciences. The known sources of error in criminal statistics are perhaps no more fatal, given awareness of their existence, than the dangers inherent in psychological tests and techniques, or survey procedures. Researchers should not, of course, be satisfied with imprecise data, but it is possible to derive some benefit from such data. These points are pursued further in the introduction to Chapter 5.

The major theme of this study can be best grasped by considering the Scottish criminal statistics for 1964, which were the starting point of these studies. (Figure 1.1). The crimes which are being considered are property crimes only. (Classes II, III and IV in the statistics.) These comprised 95.2% of all proven crimes committed by juveniles. The restriction to property crimes is made for two major reasons. There has been considerable support in recent years for the idea that types of criminal act should be distinguished in order to provide more specific accounts of criminal behaviour (see Hood & Sparks, 1970, for recent review). However the success of such differentiation has yet to be clearly demonstrated. In the interim it seems advisable to use relatively homogeneous classifications where this is practicable. In the present case, the high predominence of property crimes makes restriction to this category a logical step. Another justification for this procedure is the increasing radical doubt on the validity of classifying certain behaviours as 'criminal' or 'wrong'. One basis for this is humanitarian; the belief that legal definitions are implicit value judgements made by one section of society against other (less powerful) sections of society. This is often quoted in relation to contemporary controversies on laws relating to drugs, but has probably a more serious and longer history in relation to some social nuisance offences like breach of the peace which varies from clearly disruptive behaviour to rather minor contraventions of middle class sensitivities. Restricting attention to property crimes does not avoid all such criticism, but does focus on behaviour which is clearly disruptive in our present form of society. Also, it is worthwhile bearing in mind the following comment by Matza (1969):

"The appreciation of shift, ambiguity, and pluralism need

Fig.1.1: Property offending – Scotland 1964



> hardly imply a wholesale repudiation of the idea of common morality. Such an inference is the mistake of a rampant and mindless relativism.

In the ultimate case we could simply abandon the term 'delinquency' and ask why some individuals kill, assault, or steal, while others do not.

Considering Figure 1.1, the rapid increase in the rate of property convictions for the ages from 10 to 14 is quite clear, and the examination of this increase will be the major aim of this study. There is a marked drop off in the rate of offending between the ages of 14 and 15, with a slight rise from 15 to 16. The trends after this are difficult to ascertain because statistics for ages 17 to 20 inclusive are combined in the Scottish statistics. However, there is clearly a marked drop in the rate of convictions for property offences in late adolescence.

The peak effect is very clear for males and the statistics for females, although showing a very much smaller rate of offending, reveal essentially similar features. Considering only the data on males, crimes against the person, while of rare occurrence in terms of convictions, increase steadily up to age 16. The figures for assault must be interpreted with particular caution. The assaults of the younger adolescent occur on the school playground, or in someone's backyard, and are dealt with informally. The social nuisance offences, breach of the peace, motoring offences, and drunkenness, reach a peak in the 17-20 age group, or later. Power (1962) reaches similar conclusions on the overall picture.

Returning to our main concern, property offending, the important point is to establish the reality of the peak age phenomenon. Mannheim (1965) reaffirms his earlier view that the peak at 14 is not sufficiently

marked to be regarded as significant, and is most likely to be the result of differential willingness to report and prosecute on the part of the police and the public. On the other hand Cressey (1964) seems to regard this feature of British statistics as being of importance and less subject to bias than American figures for similar age groups.

Considering the biases known to exist in the criminal statistics, the most likely sources of error would appear to be:

1. Is it probable that the property offences of thirteen and fourteen-year-old boys are more likely to be reported to the police than similar offences committed by those slightly older or younger?
2. Is it likely that the police are more efficient in detecting thirteen or fourteen-year-old offenders than those slightly older or younger?
3. Is it more likely that a thirteen or fourteen-year-old offender will be prosecuted, once detected, than those slightly older or younger?

None of these seems very likely, though a greater willingness to prosecute with increasing age of the offender might make the distinction between the older and younger offenders partly artifactual.

If there is a real change in the dynamics of crime from fourteen to fifteen years of age, it would be expected that this would be reflected in the actual crimes committed. Rhodes (in Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes, 1942), dealing with statistics for the Metropolitan Police District in 1935, 1936 and 1937, when the peak age was thirteen, with another peak at sixteen, shows that the property crimes of the school age offenders tend to be less serious and needing little criminal expertise, compared with those of fourteen, fifteen and sixteen-year-old offenders. Simple minor larcenies

decreased sharply; larceny of motor cars and breakings other than shopbreaking increased. At this time, of course, the school leaving age was fourteen, and the age break relevant to our discussion is the thirteen to fourteen change.

Wilkins (1964, pp. 157-162) has shown that, by calculating the coefficients of correlation between the crime patterns of different age groups, it is possible to show which ages can be grouped together on the basis of similar crime patterns. Using the incidence of findings of guilt by English juvenile courts, 1945-1962, the best groupings are 8-12, 13-14, 15-17, 18-20. The most marked division point is between the fourteen-year-old and the fifteen-year-old offenders. A further study relevant to the general question of a changing pattern of crime is that of Rich (1956). This dealt with boys remanded for psychiatric reports in London. Rich classified types of stealing into marauding, proving, comforting (substitute for affection) and secondary or planned offences. Under the age of fifteen, marauding and comforting offences were most common, but from fifteen to seventeen the division between the four categories was more equal. Gibbens (1963) used the same system on a sample of borstal boys, and the results showed a dominance of secondary offences followed by marauding. The samples used by Rich and Gibbens differ in important respects, but the tentative conclusion can be drawn that secondary or planned offences are more a feature of the after-school years, though marauding offences are frequent throughout.

From the study of offences, therefore, it can be said that the fourteen to fifteen-year-old division appears to be a real one, with fourteen representing the peak not of crimes against property in the most general sense, but of the kinds of crime against property

carried out by school age offenders. It seems likely that there will be some difference in the social or personal characteristics of those who offend before leaving school and those who offend after school years. Ferguson (1952), in his investigation of Glasgow school leavers in 1947, makes a distinction in his analyses between these groups. At this time the school leaving age was fourteen. Of the convictions recorded against individuals in the sample, 95 per cent were crimes against property. Living in a residential or good working-class area, as opposed to poor or slum conditions, is a better predictor of non-conviction after leaving school than before. Employment outside school hours showed an association with a high conviction rate during school years, and a low rate after leaving school. Being in stop-gap employment, unskilled work, and earning relatively high wages, at age seventeen, were all associated with a high conviction rate after leaving school. However, Ferguson shows in his further analysis that this latter syndrome is symptomatic of low scholastic ability, a factor associated with high conviction rate at all ages. Where boys were in better employment at seventeen, despite low scholastic ability, conviction rates were lower. The evidence of this study does not give any firm grounds for a radical differentiation between those who offend while of school age and older offenders. But it does suggest that the actual life experiences of the individual are very important after leaving school. The risks of a slum locality or unstable employment are particularly salient. It also shows clearly that the possession of money through out-of-school employment or the high wages of unskilled jobs do not insulate from criminal behaviour. The study does throw some light on the basic issue. An examination of the criminal careers of boys who were convicted more than once shows that only 20 per cent were convicted both during and after school days. Ferguson suggests that

The factors making for delinquency fall into two groups, one group being particularly important during school days and one group afterwards. In the first group he suggests that the school environment and unfortunate contacts as being of particular relevance, and in the second group, work of the general influence associated with it. Other factors, such as the general home background, will be influential, with varying emphasis throughout. It is interesting that in the cases of the mentally or physically handicapped groups, which were analysed separately, the distinction cannot be so clearly drawn. In each of these groups 50 per cent of those convicted more than once were convicted during and after school days.

Since the Short & Nye study (1958), self report studies have added considerable sophistication to our knowledge of the epidemiology of criminal behaviour. Unfortunately, very few of them make a detailed analysis in terms of age. The only really pertinent study is Gold's research in Flint, Michigan (1970) which used a thorough interview technique to ascertain offences committed, and discussed age patterns in relation to this author's original discussion of the peak age phenomenon (McKissack, 1967). Gold's findings essentially confirm the pattern suggested by the Scottish statistics.

Thus there does seem to be evidence from a variety of sources to suggest that the most frequent occurrence of crimes against property is at or soon after age 14, as indicated by the official statistics. Much of this evidence is indirect, and shows that the pattern of delinquency changes at about age 14, or that different variables are associated with delinquency before and after this approximate age. However, one thorough self report study (Gold, 1970) does provide a more direct confirmation.

A major problem of this study has been that the phenomenon

which was the starting point of the enquiry has vanished with the researcher's movement through time and space. Specifically, the peak age for property crimes which was evident in Scotland in 1964, at age 14, was less clear by 1970 (see Figure 1.2), and in New Zealand had not been evident for many years. The present New Zealand situation is shown in Figure 1.3.

In both cases the peak has become a plateau for ages 14, 15 and 16. Careful examination of related data, however, shows that the disappearance of the peak age effect in official statistics is not necessarily a sign of a real change in the pattern of property offending. One process which could contribute to the disappearance of the peak age effect would be a gradual change in prosecution policy. With more liberal attitudes towards the treatment of juvenile offenders, there would be a reluctance to proceed to a court hearing. Such reluctance would be considerably less after an adolescent had left school, and demonstrably attained adult status. A policy of this kind would reduce the proportion of fourteen-year-olds appearing in court in relation to fifteen and sixteen-year-olds, although in terms of the actual volume of detected acts, the fourteen-year-old group might still represent a peak. In the next chapter evidence is presented that, at least in the Waikato area of New Zealand, such variation in prosecutions does occur.

A further contribution to the disappearance of the peak age effect can be seen in the increasing number of adolescents staying on at school after the minimum leaving age. Here, we are anticipating data (chapter 2) and a discussion (chapter 5), which conclude that the risks of involvement in property offending are greater for the adolescent in school than for the same individual after

Fig.1.2: Property offending – Scotland 1970

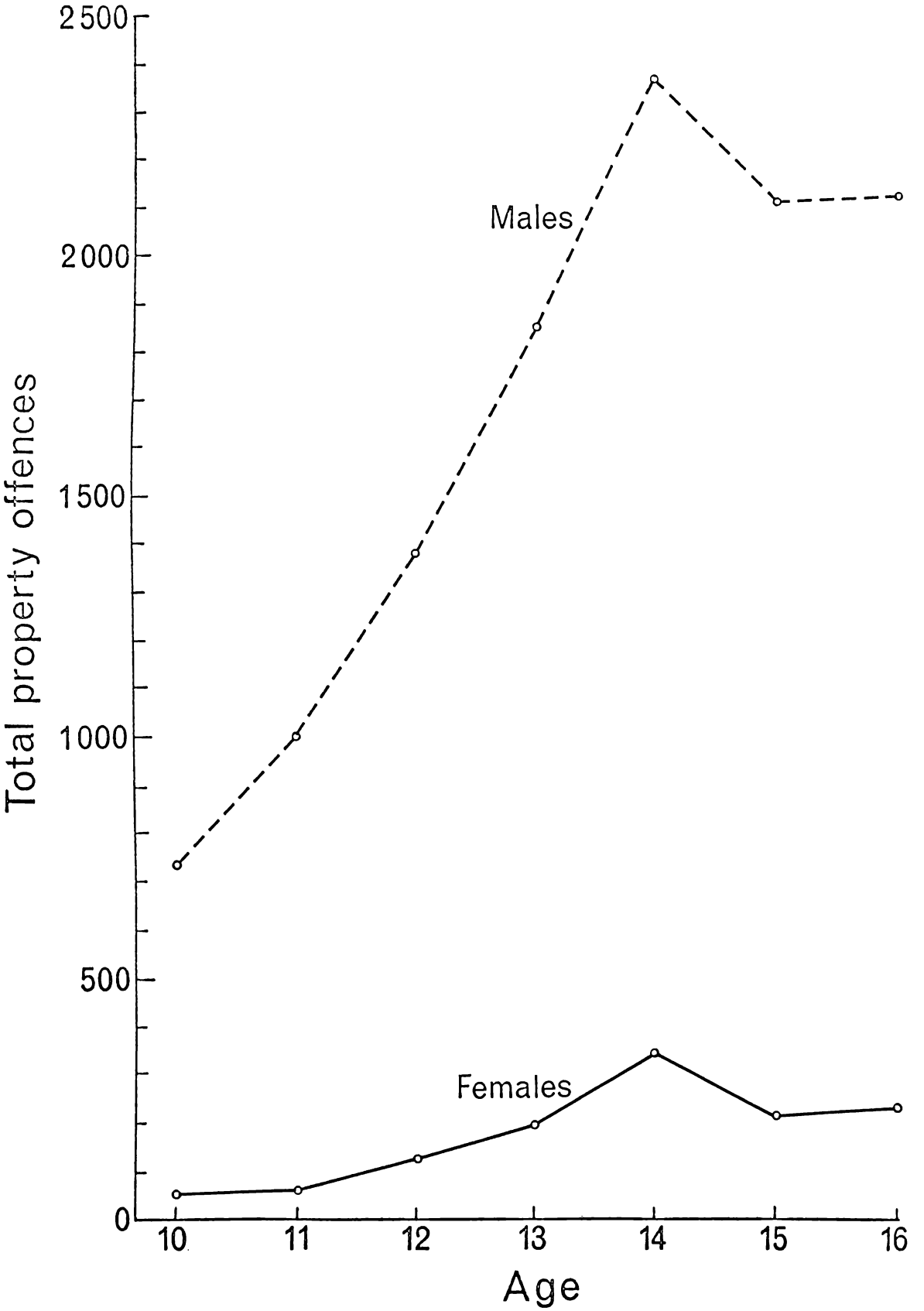


Fig. 1.3: Property offending – New Zealand 1971

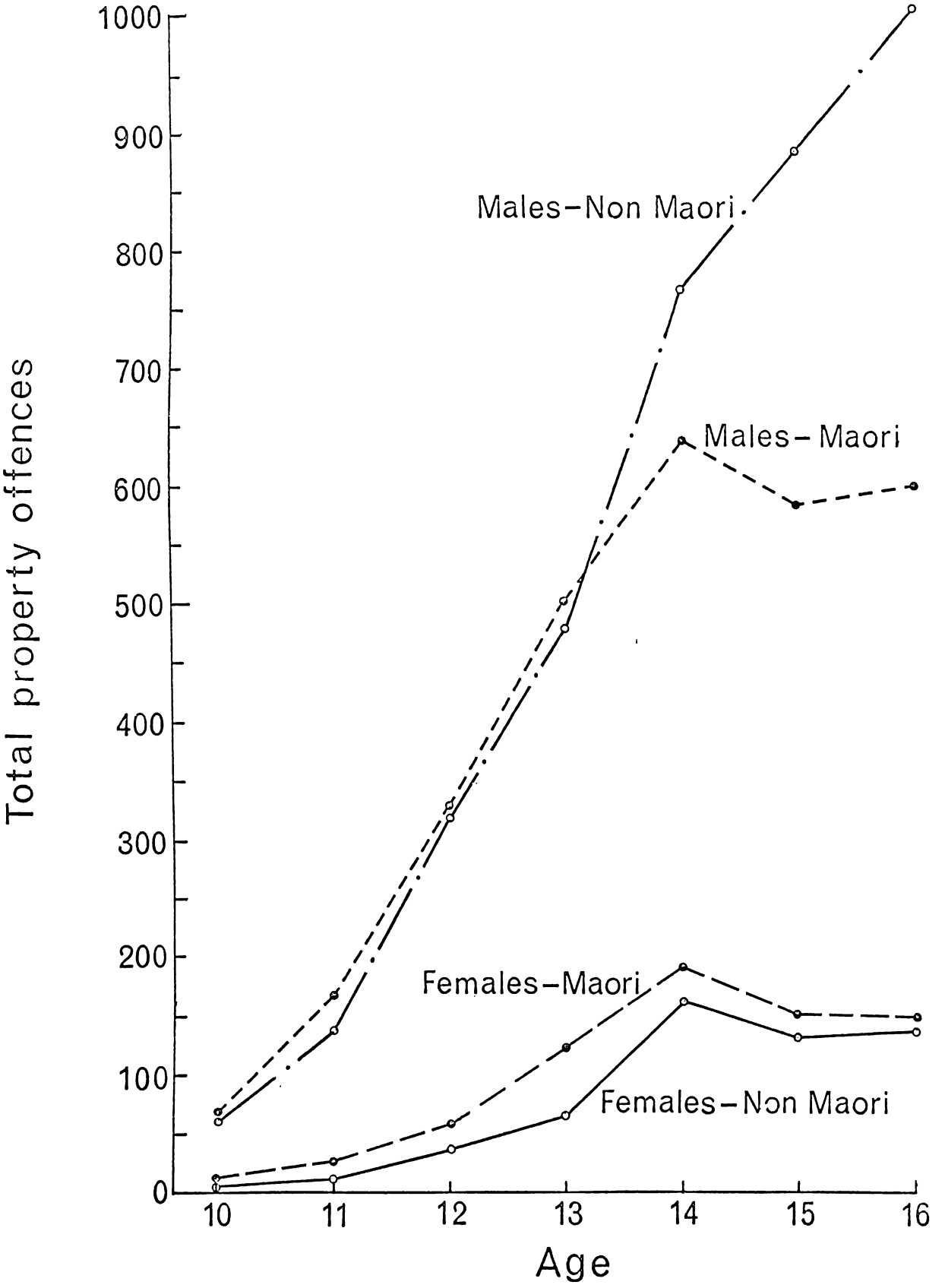


TABLE 1.1

NUMBER OF PUPILS REMAINING AT SCHOOL TO AGES 15 and 16, AND AS A PERCENTAGE OF COHORT (NEW ZEALAND - 1971)

Group	Age 15 - Still at school		Age 16 - Still at school	
	N	% of Cohort	N	% of Cohort
Non-Maori Boys	21,810	90.1	15,148	62.6
Non-Maori Girls	20,069	87.3	12,812	55.8
Maori Boys	2,204	70.4	1,056	33.8
Maori Girls	2,049	69.4	1,147	38.8

From N.Z. Department of Education Statistics

leaving school and in employment. Clearly, if this is the case, the peak age effect would be marked when all adolescents leave school at the minimum possible age, and progressively diminish as more persons stayed on at school beyond this age. In Scotland, the proportion of boys remaining at school to age 15 has increased from approximately 40% to 50% of the relevant age group, between 1964 and 1970. In New Zealand the proportion of males remaining at school in their fifteenth year is now about 80% (Table 1.1), and has been above 50% since the early 1950's. It is necessary to return to about 1950 to find the peak age effect in the New Zealand criminal statistics. Thus there is a reasonable consistency in both sets of statistics; the peak age phenomenon disappears from official statistics when about 50% of the relevant age group stay on at school into their fifteenth year.

SUMMARY

The investigation is based on the high frequency of property crime offending for adolescents aged about 14 years. This is an example of an epidemiological approach to the study of delinquency, which has been rather infrequently used. This failure to take an epidemiological base has probably led to incomplete accounts of delinquent behaviour. The feature of delinquent behaviour being considered is derived from official statistics, which are known to contain many deficiencies, but are not totally misleading.

This investigation confines itself to property crimes to avoid criticisms of work which lumps all forms of criminal activity together, and also to mitigate the argument that delinquent acts are not a real category of behaviour but a set of value judgements by those in power. The reality of the peak age for property offending,

which is derived from inspection of official data, is examined, and while not conclusive, seems to support the view that there is a real peak for property offending at this age, and that the factors associated with delinquency may be different before and after this age.

Though the peak age phenomenon is not now apparent in the Scottish criminal statistics, and has not been apparent in the New Zealand data for many years, this can be shown to result from variations in prosecution policy at different ages, and the increasing proportion of adolescents remaining at school to age 15, rather than a real change in the pattern of juvenile offending.

Chapter 2 - The Hamilton Area Study.

In order to clarify the nature of the peak age phenomenon it is necessary to know more about the actual acts classified as property offences, and about those who are apparently responsible for these acts. In other words, to move a stage further back in the official recording process so as to regain some of the information lost in progressive summarisation. The problem in attaining this goal is that it involves access to confidential documents, and it was only fairly late in the research programme that this was achieved, despite early recognition of the need.

The information reported in this section was derived from Police 333 forms. These are completed by the Youth Aid Section of the Police, for each offender under 17, and a copy lodged with the Child Welfare Department. These reporting forms have most of the relevant detail surrounding the offence and the offender, though there is some variation in the quality of the reports. The usual background information is given: age, sex, race, school attender/employed/unemployed. There is also a fairly detailed account of the offence, including preceding events, time, associates and so on. Brief details of home background are reported, but these are clearly the result of a very cursory investigation. The Child Welfare Department adds to these reports a statement of previous contacts with the offender, and whether a prosecution resulted from the present and past contacts.

The study was based on all the Police 333 forms lodged with the Hamilton Child Welfare Department in 1971. These covered the Waikato area of New Zealand of which Hamilton (population 80,000)

is the major centre of commerce, education and light industry. Most of the remaining area is rural, but there are several small towns based on mining, timber, or meat freezing industries. It is thus a sample without metropolitan representation. The police forms were inspected, and for all property offences the following information was extracted:-

1) Age.

2) Sex.

3) Race. - Maori/non-Maori.[1]

4) School: - attending school, employed, unemployed.

5) Offence - brief description of offence.

6) Offence coding - code indicating type of property offence with first digit and seriousness with second digit. (See Tables for code details.)

7) Number of associates.

8) Time and date of offence.

9) Whether previous offence of any kind recorded.

No problems of interpretation arise for any of these categories except No. 6 - offence coding. Here the type of offence was a relatively easy decision, with only a few ambiguous cases. Seriousness of offence was a much more subjective judgement, based on evidence of premeditation, degree of expertise, and number of acts (e.g. series of burglaries).[2] However, only restricted use is made of this coding in the following analysis. In some cases the information required for a category was absent, and thus in the following tabulations there is some variation in total number of cases.

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1. The complex meaning of the term Maori in social terms is discussed in Appendix 1.

2. "Seriousness" is used in the sense of psychological seriousness, rather than material consequences.

One of the particular points of interest of this survey is that it covers both prosecution and non-prosecution offences.[1] It was clear from the inspection of the original Police forms that the decision whether to prosecute is not based solely on the seriousness of the offence. Factors like present action by the Child Welfare Department in relation to the child or his family were also taken into account. Table 2.1 shows the proportion of prosecuted to non-prosecuted offences at different age levels. It is clear from Table 2.1 that considering the total range of property offences where a young person is found to be involved, the peak age phenomenon is evident. It does not appear in the row 'Prosecuted' which corresponds to the official criminal statistics. Thus the earlier supposition (Chapter 1) is borne out, and the appearance of the peak age at 14 is related to prosecution policy. The ratio between prosecuted and non-prosecuted offences is very similar for 14-year-olds, and 15 and 16 year olds attending school, but there is a much higher prosecution rate for 15 and 16-year-olds who have left school. The implication is that the more clearly a young offender is seen as having achieved adult status the more likely he is to be prosecuted.

Another possibility is that the gradually increasing rate of prosecution is related to the seriousness of the offences. It would seem intuitively reasonable that the offences of the older offenders would be more culpable. However, Table 2.2 suggests that this is not the case - apart from the youngest age groups there is a very consistent distribution of offences amongst the three categories of seriousness.

Table 2.3 shows the extent to which the offence total of

1. Throughout this chapter the data is used as descriptive, attempting to gain an overall perspective on the nature of adolescent property offending. Formal tests of statistical significance have not been used.

TABLE 2.1

NUMBER OF PROSECUTED AND NON-PROSECUTED OFFENCES BY AGE

AGE	10 & under	11	12	13	14	15	16
Total Offences	88	62	107	132	159	129	124
Prosecuted	31	28	55	73	101	98	107
Non-Prosecuted	57	34	52	59	58	31	17

	15 and 16 Attending School	15 and 16 Left School
Total Offences	101	152
Prosecuted	66	140
Non-Prosecuted	35	12

TABLE 2.2

SERIOUSNESS OF OFFENCES IN RELATION TO AGE, AND SCHOOL LEAVER STATUS

Seriousness of offence			Age and Status					
	11 & Under		12, 13, 14		15 and 16 Attending		15 and 16 Left School	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Minor	64	43.8	122	30.7	31	31	43	29.3
Clearly criminal intent	68	46.6	225	56.5	50	50	81	55.3
Serious offences	14	9.6	51	12.8	19	19	23	15.4

KEY

Minor - apparently impulsive, or under influence of others, usually involving small gain or damage

Clearly criminal intent - either evidence of premeditation, or involving series of actions (e.g., burglary, shoplifting more than one item).

Serious offences - mainly refers to multiple offences, occasionally single act requiring criminal expertise.

any age group is the result of acts by a known recidivist or apparent first offender. This analysis gives possibly one of the most important directions to later discussion of the nature of the peak age phenomenon. It is clear that after age 14 the contribution of first offenders drops sharply, and considering the attending school/school leaver distinction for 15 and 16-year-olds, it appears that it is the group of adolescents who have left school who are characterised by this changed ratio. In effect, the implication is that an adolescent who has not previously been apprehended for a property offence is less likely to be apprehended after he leaves school than if he stays at school. This point sheds some further light on the previous finding of a higher prosecution rate for the school leaver group. The higher rate is at least partly a logical outcome of the high proportion of recidivists in the out-of-school groups.

Overall, the general characteristics of the peak age phenomenon are represented in this Hamilton study, when both prosecution and non-prosecution offences are considered. A further question is whether the sub-groups of this sample conform to the general pattern. Initial inspection of the data (see Table 2.4) showed one rather marked deviation from this pattern. The number of property offences for Maori boys dropped from age 13 to age 14. This was the first instance of a drop in the level of property offending before the school leaving age which had been found in any set of data. To ensure that the exception was not an isolated fluctuation, a special tally was carried out on the Youth Aid Section reports for 1972 also. The results of this are shown in Table 2.5, and the

TABLE 2.3

NUMBERS OF PROPERTY OFFENCES BY AGE AND RECIDIVISM

AGE	10 & under	11	12	13	14	15	16
TOTAL OFFENCES	88	62	107	132	159	129	124
By Recidivists	14	18	37	46	58	53	68
By First Offenders	74	44	70	86	101	76	56

AGE	15 & 16 attending school	15 & 16 left school
TOTAL OFFENCES	101	152
By Recidivists	33	88
By First Offenders	68	64

TABLE 2.4

PROPERTY OFFENCES, HAMILTON AREA STUDY

Sub-sample totals (1971)

		AGE					
		11	12	13	14	15	16
Maori	Male	27	58	59	49	46	51
	Female	4	6	25	27	12	8
Non-Maori	Male	31	36	42	67	48	51
	Female	2	8	7	18	10	6

TABLE 2.5

PROPERTY OFFENCES, HAMILTON AREA STUDY

Sub-sample totals (1972)

		AGE					
		11	12	13	14	15	16
Maori	Male	33	64	85	77	45	79
	Female	9	6	26	22	19	7
Non-Maori	Male	30	43	41	58	48	59
	Female	2	4	21	22	14	11

combined 1971 and 1972 data are presented in Figure 2.1. The main features are:-

1) The Maori groups, males and females, show an earlier rise in volume of property offending than the Non-Maori groups.

2) Maori boys show some reduction in property offending between ages 13 and 14.

3) While females, Maori and Non-Maori show a steady drop in property offending after the peak, the male groups show some resurgence at age 16.

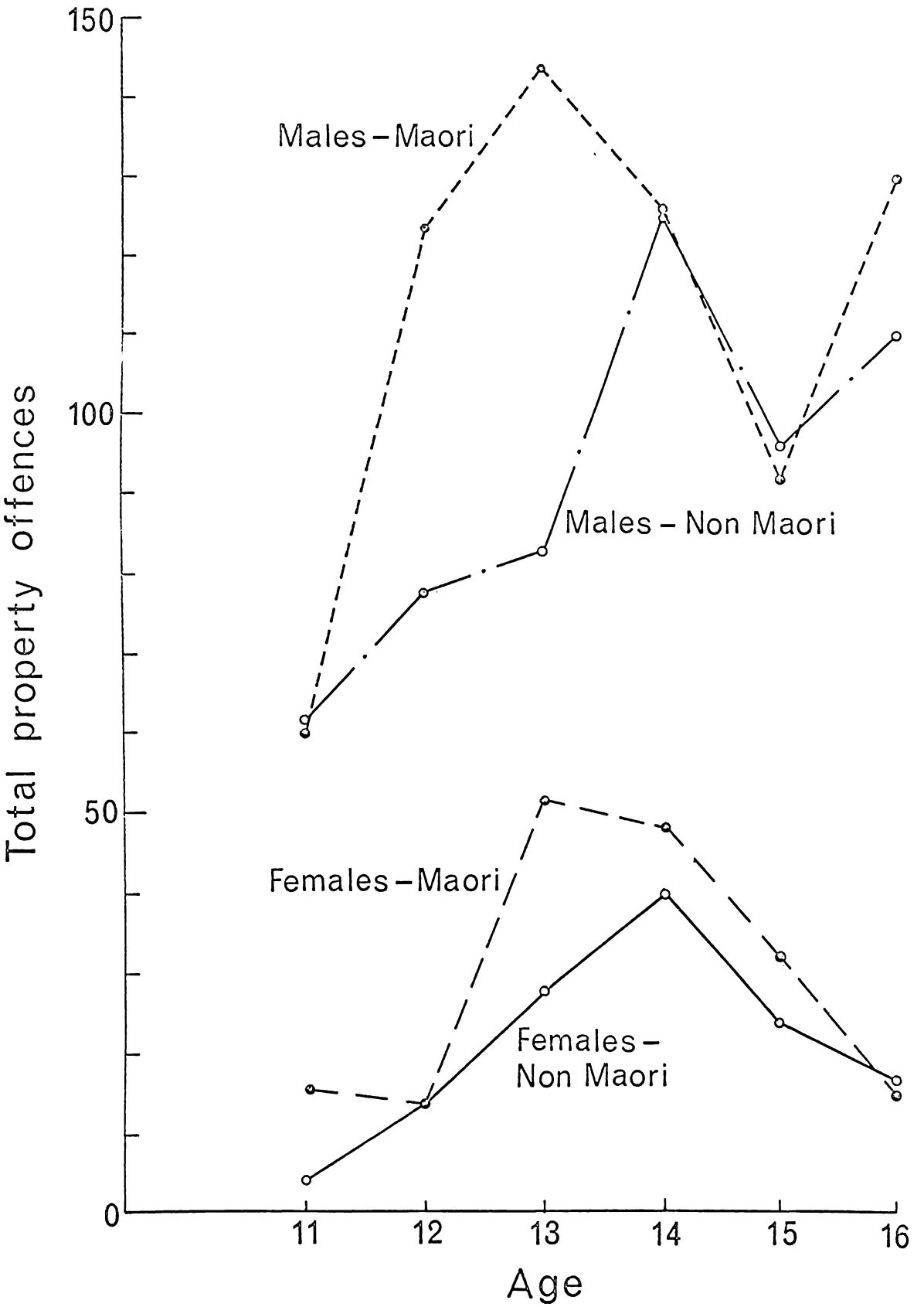
The implications of these special features of the Hamilton area data will be considered in relation to the overall attempt to account for the peak age phenomenon in Chapter 5. For the moment we will simply note these features and the following, possibly relevant points which were established from further analysis and investigation:

A. The prosecution rate for Maori offenders is higher than for Non-Maori offenders, (Maori prosecution rate 70%, Non-Maori 57%).

B. There is a decline in the number of Maori boy first offenders from age 13 to age 14, while the number of recidivists remains fairly stable.

C. The Youth Aid Section reports show a number of 14-year-old Maori boys as 'unemployed' or 'employed', yet these are clearly 'illegal' statuses as the school leaving age is 15. It may be that the schools condone a fair amount of early school leaving by academically poor and behaviourally difficult, pupils, particularly Maori boys.

Fig. 2.1: Property offending — Hamilton 1971/72 (combined)



For epidemiological inference, the class of episodes, 'property crimes', is too heterogeneous. Thus an attempt was made to distinguish between the various forms of property offending. The problem is, of course, that only a very large number of categories would be really satisfactory. The system used here is a compromise, using a number of categories reasonably appropriate to the sample size. Table 2.6 shows the results of the analysis, and Table 2.6A gives a more detailed description of the coding categories.

The following seem to be the clearest features of adolescent property offending in this sample.

1) Shoplifting declines for the group which has left school.

2) A similar effect is seen in the minor offence of stealing milk money. (In New Zealand, milk is obtained by placing bottles, with money, at the entry to residences, thus creating a highly accessible but minor source of money).

3) There is a persistent tendency to acquire methods of transport illegally, but the emphasis moves from cycles to cars with increasing age and adult status.

4) There is a very marked increase in the rather heterogeneous category 'theft of goods' for the school leaver group. Close inspection of actual cases shows that the increase is predominantly amongst the employed rather than unemployed school leavers. Common amongst these offenders are thefts from cars, from work, and a small but striking

TABLE 2.6

CATEGORIES OF PROPERTY OFFENDING

Age, school status / Category of property offence	12, 13 & 14		15 & 16 Attending School		15 & 16 Left School	
	Total	% of column total	Total	% of column total	Total	% of column total
1. Wilful damage	16	4.2	4	4.0	7	4.7
2. Shoplifting	84	21.0	22	22.0	13	8.8
3. Theft of cycle	38	9.5	5	5.0	2	1.3
4. Car conversion	14	3.5	9	9.0	21	14.2
5. Theft of milk money	13	3.3	3	3.0	1	0.7
6. Theft of money	63	15.8	19	19.0	25	16.7
7. Theft of goods	60	15.1	13	11.0	45	34.8
8. Burglary	92	23.1	20	20.0	31	21.0
9. Thefts on the run	18	4.5	5	5.0	3	2.0

TABLE 2.6A.

DETAILS OF PROPERTY OFFENCE CATEGORIES

1. Wilful damage - offences causing damage but no gain

2. Shoplifting - theft of articles displayed in shops

3. Theft of cycle - includes major cycle parts, e.g., wheels

4. Car conversion - includes attempts at borrowing or stealing cars

5. Theft of milk money - from private residence gateways

6. Theft of money - all thefts of money not included in other categories e.g., thefts from changing rooms, theft from employer, including receiving money.

7. Theft of goods - all thefts of goods not included in other categories. e.g., thefts from railway wagons, cars, place of work, etc, including receiving goods.

8. Burglary - all offences involving entry to private or commercial premises by illegal means.

9. Thefts on the run - thefts, usually of needed money or clothes, while on the run from home or institutions.

element of thefts of beer and cigarettes.

A reasonable generalisation would be that there is an increased tendency to acquire desired items, as opposed to less specific marauding.

Overall, the change in the pattern of property offending shown by this analysis can be seen in relation to two variables: age; and whether still at school. In terms of age alone, the only change appears to be in the decrease of cycle theft, and increase in car conversion. In relation to school attendance, there are drops in the casual low expertise offences of shoplifting and stealing milk money, after leaving school, and apparently some increase in the specificity of thefts.

A further question is how representative this overall picture is of the pattern of offending in the sub-groups defined by race and sex. Table 2.7 sets out the relevant sub-totals and ranks the frequency of each category. It is clear from this analysis that there is no convincing evidence of a racial difference in patterns of property offending. However, there is a very marked sex difference, with shoplifting appearing as the dominant offence of females. Burglary, the most frequent male offence, is much less common for females, and car conversion, a fairly common male offence does not appear at all for females.

The final general question examined in this data is the circumstances under which property offences are committed. Many discussions of delinquency stress group influences, which are said to be crucial in a high proportion of delinquent acts. Table 2.8 shows the inter-relationship of associates in offences, with age and school status. The most marked change is the shift from offences committed with one associate towards offences

TABLE 2.7

PROPERTY OFFENCE CATEGORIES:

Distribution by sex and race

(All ages included)

Sex, race / Category of property offence	Male				Female			
	Maori		Non-Maori		Maori		Non-Maori	
	N	Rank	N	Rank	N	Rank	N	Rank
1. Wilful damage	19	7	23	5	0	0	1	6.5
2. Shoplifting	33	5	36	4	45	1	34	1
3. Theft of cycle	43	4	20	6.5	4	6	14	6.5
4. Car conversion	25	6	20	6.5	0	0	0	0
5. Theft of milk money	11	8	15	8	2	7	0	0
6. Theft of money	67	2	46	3	14	2.5	5	3
7. Theft of goods	47	3	65	1	12	4	5	3
8. Burglary	79	1	63	2	14	2.5	5	3
9. Thefts on the run	11	8	8	9	6	5	3	5

TABLE 2.8

NUMBER OF ASSOCIATES IN OFFENCES

No. of Associates	Up to 14 yrs.				15 & 16 Attending School				15 & 16 Left School			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	111	25.8	28	25.0	21	26.3	2	-	53	37.1	4	
1	143	33.3	41	36.6	33	41.3	6	-	33	23.1	5	
2	81	18.8	23	20.5	11	13.8	7	-	30	21.0	3	
3+	95	22.1	20	17.9	15	18.8	1	-	27	18.9	3	

committed alone, for the group who have left school. This feature may be an example of a general tendency towards lone offending with increasing age shown by other research (e.g. Sveri, 1965), and resulting from lower availability of peer age mates. However, Table 2.9 shows that there is overall, a strong relationship between recidivism and lone offending. Previous analysis has shown (Table 2.3) the higher proportion of recidivists in the group who have left school; thus the fundamental feature is probably the association between recidivism and a lower rate of group offending.

Another immediate circumstance of offences is the time of day they were committed, and the time of year. Such analysis might be useful in determining whether opportunity is a significant factor. For instance, the total leisure time of the adolescent at school is far greater than that of the adolescent who is employed, and this differential might explain variations in criminal involvement for the two groups. However, even without formal analysis, it was quite clear that nighttime and week-ends predominated as the most frequent times for offences for all ages and categories in the sample. The only pointer to an opportunity element was a significant minority of offences, particularly shoplifting, which were committed by school children on their way home from school. This period of risk would be much less common for employed school leavers.

The most general circumstance of property offending is 'life style', and in terms of the data available the only distinction which can be made is between attending school, being employed, and being an unemployed school leaver. It has already been shown that casual low expertise property offences committed

TABLE 2.9

INTERACTION BETWEEN LONE OFFENDING AND RECIDIVISM

	RECIDIVIST	FIRST OFFENDERS
No Associates	103	114
1 or More Associates	184	391

by adolescents without previous records is more characteristic of those at school than those who have left school. However, those who had left school cannot be considered as a homogeneous group; the life style of the employed is clearly different from those who are unable to find employment. The numbers of those who have left school in this sample is not large enough to consider in detail changes in pattern of property offending between the employed and unemployed groups. Table 2.10 shows the gross number of offences for the two groups. At age 15 the total number of offences for the employed and unemployed group is about half that of the employed group. There are two possible conclusions that could be drawn from these figures.

1) That the rate of unemployment for the 15 and 16-year-old school leaver is very high, and the offending rates for employed and unemployed are very similar.
2) The rate of unemployment is relatively low, and offending rates for the unemployed group are very much higher.

The second conclusion is intuitively much more plausible and is supported by the relatively low rates of unemployment reported by the New Zealand Department of Labour. Nevertheless, the first conclusion must be considered a possibility. The official unemployment figures may miss some school leavers, at least for a period, and are unlikely to reflect the amount of unemployment resulting from rather frequent job changes with intermittent periods of unemployment.

Summary

The review of Youth Aid Section reports for Hamilton and surrounding area for 1971 gives a reasonably clear picture of

TABLE 2.10

PROPERTY OFFENCE TOTALS FOR 15 AND 16 YEAR OLDS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS

AGE / STATUS	ATTENDING SCHOOL	EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED
15	76	28	26
16	25	64	33

the nature of property offending. The peak age at 14 is confirmed when both prosecution and non-prosecution figures are considered. The main change after age 14 is a reduction in the number of first offenders coming to the notice of police, and this change appears to result from the reduced probability of acts leading to a first police contact after leaving school. The offender who has left school is less likely to be involved in the low expertise offences of shoplifting or stealing milk money, but more likely to be involved in car conversion or stealing specific items. The school leaver is also more likely to commit offences alone. There is no evidence of racial differences in patterns of property offending, but a marked sex difference is evident, with females predominantly detected for shoplifting. There are indications of a high rate of property offending for the unemployed school leaver, but this conclusion is tentative in the absence of reliable unemployment rate data.

Chapter 3. Difficult Behaviour at School

The second study, continues the epidemiological approach, but now moves outside the class of legally prescribed behaviour to look at behaviour in the school situation. The aim here is primarily naturalistic, to include knowledge of other behavioural patterns in adolescence; and at a secondary level is guided by the hypothesis that the peak age phenomenon may be part of some wider developmental trend in adolescent behaviour. Thus the data required are observations of adolescent behaviour, and these need to be examined in relation to age.

Sample Frame: The study was carried out in Hamilton, New Zealand. The town has a population of about 80,000. It has some light industry, but serves mainly as a commercial and higher education centre for the surrounding farming areas. The sampling frame was intended to be all schoolchildren aged 11 and over in state schools. However the two 'high status' secondary schools (ages 13 onward) declined to take part. These are single sex schools, one for boys, one for girls, and entry to them is fairly competitive. Thus the sample has some weighting towards lower socio-economic or aspiration levels. The sample was drawn from the four intermediate schools (ages 11 to 13, normally) and the three co-educational high schools, (age 13 onward).

The Delinquent Sample: In any school this was all children who were known to have received police warnings or appeared in court for property offences. In addition, any other children with a record of persistent truancy or stealing in school were included in the sample. Thus there is some dilution of the

'property offences' criterion of the study as a whole, but this seemed necessary to gain a reasonable sample and later analysis will deal with this point. No assumption is made that this is a complete sample of the most seriously deviant individuals. However, it is claimed that the choice of this sample, in consultation with headmasters, does produce a group which is clearly delinquent to compare with the random sample which is less delinquent.

The Random Sample: Every tenth child on class registers, provided that if no Maori child had been reached by the thirtieth name on the register, then the list was scanned from 30 on until a Maori child was reached. This procedure was adopted to ensure a reasonable number of Maori children for analysis of results by race. In actual proportions, Maori children make up between 10 to 20 per cent of the various school populations, but are concentrated in the lower ability classes. Thus the sampling procedure will tend to over represent Maori children, in particular higher ability Maori children, in relation to the relevant age group population.

Method: Teachers were carefully instructed in the use of the Bristol Social Adjustment Guides, (Stott, 1963), and a guide was completed for each child in the delinquent and random samples by the teacher best placed to observe the child's behaviour, and as far as possible the teacher was not aware of the deviant/random sample distinction. The Bristol Social Adjustment Guides were chosen as the best developed scales for recording teachers' observations of behaviour in school. They have passed through several revisions in the light of experience, so that items which contribute little to the differentiation of normal and deviant groups have been dropped.

Some of the items in the B.S.A.G. scale depart considerably from the ideal of objective descriptions of overt behaviour, e.g. 'gets up to all kinds of tricks to gain attention' or 'is often in the centre of a disturbance'. However even in such cases, there appears to be a kernel of objectively ascertainable behaviour, even if the inferences about motivation and deviant leadership (in the above examples) are difficult to sustain.

Stott (1969) quotes relatively little evidence on reliability, but does refer to studies by the British National Foundation for Educational Research which have investigated this aspect with satisfactory results, (a mean of +.77 correlation for 'maladjusted' and 'unsettled' total scores between pairs of teacher/observers on a sample of 88 secondary school children). In the present study the scores are used on a group comparison basis, rather than individual predictions, and the issue is thus less critical.

Probably the least satisfactory aspect of the development of the Bristol Social Adjustment Guides is the derivation of sub-scales. The statistical procedures used are not clear (Stott, 1969) and are complexly interwoven with Stott's developing theoretical superstructure (Stott, 1950, 1966). Thus, the analysis of this study will deal only with the items in their 'raw' state.[1]

Results; A. Analysis of the Behaviour Items

The delinquent sample size was 148, and the random sample 399. The item incidence in each sample was ascertained and tested for significance by chi-square. (Only items relating to behaviour were used in the analysis - the B.S.A.G. sections

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1. However, the Factor analysis reported later in this chapter did not seriously challenge Stott's major groupings.

relating to academic achievement, physical attractiveness, physical symptoms and nervous symptoms were not used.)

Appendix 2 shows the items used in the chi-square analysis, together with frequency of occurrence in delinquent and random samples. The items were then scanned and those with a total occurrence of 55 (10% of total sample) and discriminating at beyond the .01 level between delinquent and random samples were selected. A further inspection was carried out to include items with occurrence slightly lower than 55 but adding an aspect of meaning not covered by other items, and discarding items of particularly dubious objectivity or of very similar meaning to items already included. (The list was only slightly altered through this procedure). A total of 33 items were thus derived and are shown in Table 3.1. These represent the behaviours reliably associated with individuals who are designated delinquent by police or school authority.

The behaviour items individually are not a primary focus of this study; their function is as a composite indication of difficult behaviour at school. However they do present a view of the delinquent individual in the school setting, through the teachers' eyes; and are worth some consideration.

It is clear that the overall flavour of the composite description is a product of both the adolescent's behaviour and the teacher's needs. Even teachers with high devotion to education become frustrated by problems of control and apparent negative evaluation from pupils. The resultant descriptions of difficult pupils may therefore over estimate the seriousness of the disruptive behaviours which guide the teacher's use of the report forms.

Table 3.1

Occurence in del. Sample (Total possible N=148)	Selected Behaviour Items which Discriminate Between Deviant and Random Samples.
28	will help unless in a bad mood
33	sometimes in a bad mood
31	openly does things he knows are wrong in front of teacher
28	bears a grudge, always regards punishment as unfair
34	has uncooperative moods
62	mixes mostly with unsettled types
35	uses bad language which he/she knows will be disapproved of
35	never thinks of greeting
50	not shy but never volunteers an answer
51	not shy but never comes for help
23	avoids teacher but talks to other children
61	couldn't care whether teacher sees her work or not
45	unconcerned about approval or disapproval
42	habitual slick liar; has no compunction about lying
35	not lethargic but uninterested and unconcerned
42	borrows books from desk without permission
43	comes out with 'smart' or cheeky remarks
27	gets up to all kinds of tricks to gain attention
47	misbehaves when teacher is engaged with others
57	resentful muttering or expression for a moment or two (after reprimand)
47	responds momentarily but it doesn't last for long
53	attends to anything but his work (talks, gazes around, plays with things)
58	never gets down to any solid work (flips over pages of book without reading it, etc.)
24	eager to play but loses interest
30	inclined to fool around
34	flies into a temper if provoked
80	careless, often loses or forgets books, pen

Occurrence in del. sample	
33	Slumps, lolls about
54	constantly restless (raps with pencil or ruler, shuffles with her feet, changes position)
27	snatches things from other children
24	follower in mischief
34	never appeals to adult even when hurt or wronged
38	shows complete indifference

The items shown in Table 3.1 have a number of underlying themes. One is a lack of internalised controls appropriate to the school setting; loss or forgetting of books, pens and so on, snatching or unauthorised borrowing of books, restless behaviour in class. Another prevalent theme is moodiness, shading into more overt resentment, or (apparently) deliberate disruptive behaviour. In some contrast are a group of items stressing indifference to teachers, rather than hostility, but interaction with other pupils. Several items stress the tendency for the more difficult children to group together.

This is the overall impression, regarding the items as a pool from which each teacher chooses the most appropriate for the behaviour observed, but without implying that other items are wholly inappropriate. To discover more precisely the structure of the pool of items, a factor analysis was carried out, using the delinquent sample only.[1] The results of this analysis are reported tentatively. The behaviour ratings are a very imprecise form of data. The frequency of occurrence of items varies from 23 to 80. Standard methods of correlation are not applicable. Interpretation of factors must bear in mind the possibility that it is teacher's perceptions rather than children's behaviour which is yielding inter-relationships. However, given conservative consideration of the data obtained, it does seem a worthwhile exercise.

In order to obtain quantification of the degree of association between two items, phi-coefficients were calculated. 'Phi' may be taken as a measure of correlation for the data in question (Hays, 1973). The matrix of phi-coefficients is shown in Appendix 3.

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1. The incidence of items in the random sample was too low for such analysis.

Utilising the matrix of phi coefficients so obtained an analysis for orthogonal factors using a Varimax procedure was carried out (Kaiser, 1959). Included in the matrix analysed were the 33 selected items shown in Table 3.1, four demographic variables (male, female, Maori, Non-Maori), and 10 additional items. These latter items were behaviour descriptions which had a fairly frequent rate of occurrence in both delinquent and random samples, but did not discriminate at a significant level. They were seen therefore as essentially 'normal' behaviours and were entered in the analysis as a test. If they became distributed among the factors emerging, it would be best to view these factors as general behaviour groupings. If they were wholly or mainly separated into a single factor, (a 'non-delinquent' or neutral factor), it would be more reasonable to see the other factors as delinquency components. The structure which emerged supported the latter interpretation.

A number of analyses were carried out. The original 10 factor solution contained some factors of little value, e.g. sex and race emerged as factors, and two factors were defined by very few significant item loadings. As a result of applying the scree test (Cattell, 1966), which indicates a visually ascertained cut off point from a graph of the latent roots, a four factor solution was then obtained. The factors in this analysis seemed conceptually clear and useful. However it seemed possible that the demographic variables of race and sex, yielding perfect negative correlations, might be unduly influencing the solutions obtained. Thus a further four factor solution was extracted, with the demographic variables removed from the matrix. Some clarification of the factor structure did result from this procedure.

In the following account of the factors evident in the data, the final four factor solution, without the demographic variables, will be used. Reference to the other solutions will be made where relevant. The results of all three analyses are shown in Appendix 4.

The variance accounted for in this final solution was:-

Factor	Cumulative percentage of the variance.
1	12.66
2	20.13
3	25.63
4	30.52

The extent to which the items can be thought of as consistently clustered is clearly limited. However in view of the very considerable variations existing in the way teachers used the rating forms, e.g. using few or many of the available descriptions, and the differences in opportunity to assess some areas of behaviour, a large proportion of random variance is inevitable.

Item loadings were regarded as significant if they were .40 or greater, a fairly conservative level (Child, 1970).

Factor 1 Teacher's Pest

Twelve items have significant loadings. Some of the highest loading items were:-

'Attends to anything but his work'	.68
'Snatches things from other children'	.63
'Uses bad language'	.61
'Comes out with smart or cheeky remarks'	.60
'Openly does things he/she knows are wrong in front of the teacher'	.57
'Constantly restless'	.50

This factor accounting for the major proportion of the variance, reflects general 'bad' or difficult classroom behaviour. Its naming is intended to reflect the probability that its unity derives partly from teachers negative 'halo' effect, in addition to actual homogeneity of behaviour. This 'Teacher's Pest' factor is the core which will be referred to in later discussion of poor socialisation as seen in the school setting. The loading of the item, 'snatches things from other children' indicates that it is not simply resentment towards the teacher, but a more general interpersonal assertiveness which is involved. Overall the above items are descriptive of norm violating behaviours, and give no aetiological hints.

Factor 2. Social Distance from Teacher

Eight items had significant loadings. Some of the highest loading items were:-

'Not shy but never volunteers an answer'	.61
'Unconcerned about approval or disapproval'	.57
'Never thinks of greeting'	.55

and other items convey the same general picture of disinterest or distance from adults. The name given to the factor 'Social Distance from the Teacher' is fairly cautious. It might well be the case that this group of behaviour items represents a more general alienation from adults. In the analysis which utilised four factors and included demographic variables, this cluster of behaviour items was much more closely associated with Maori than non-Maori children. As the majority of the teachers are European, this factor may represent a racial/cultural sense of distance or distrust. It could also be seen as related to the sub-cultural type of delinquent

(Hewitt & Jenkins, 1946), with strong peer orientation.

Factor 3. Hostility

Nine items had significant loadings. Some of the highest loading items were:-

'Sometimes in a bad mood'	.61
'Inclined to be moody'	.61
'Has un-co-operative moods'	.60
'Eager to play but loses interest	.55
'Resentful muttering after reprimand'	.54

The items give a clear picture of smouldering resentment, easily provoked into overt hostility. An additional item loading significantly was

'Careless, often loses or forgets, books,pen' .41

suggesting a link with a generalised impulsive poorly controlled pattern of behaviour. The existence of individuals of this kind in delinquent samples is suggested by most comprehensive reviews of the literature (e.g. Quay, 1965, West, 1967), though the proposed aetiological bases suggested vary considerably.

In the four factor analysis which included the demographic variables, this pattern appeared to be particularly characteristic of Maori girls.

Factor 4. Timidity.

Seven items had significant loadings, four positive, three negative. Some of these were:-

'Chats only when alone with teacher'	.64
'Shy but would like to be friendly'	.46
'Sits quietly and meekly'	.44
'Responds momentarily but does not last for long'	-.54

'Misbehaves when teacher is engaged with others' -.41

'Never gets down to any school work' -.40

The items with positive loadings were all from the group of behaviours included in the analysis although not discriminating between the delinquent and random samples. One of the items with a negative loading loads positively on Factor 1. It is therefore tempting to consider this as a 'good pupil' factor. However, the positively loading items appear in roughly equal proportions in the delinquent and random samples, so it is more accurate to say that this factor is neutral with respect to delinquency.

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Bearing in mind the introductory qualification, the doubtful reliability of the items for such analysis, confirmed by the relatively low variance accounted for, the following conclusions seem reasonable.

Factor 1 essentially emphasises what will become a central theme in later discussion: evidence of rule violation in one area of required behaviour indicates high probability of violation in other areas, implying some generalised difficulty in social adaptation. However this clustering may be exaggerated by a negative 'halo effect' in teacher's ratings.

Factors 2 and 3 indicate that within the delinquent sample it is possible to identify at least two relatively independent behaviour clusters, arguing against any attempt at uni-dimensional aetiological explanations. These factors seem similar to types or dimensions established in other delinquency research. Thus the behaviour rating procedure used, despite its clear imperfections, has some construct validity in relation to previous research.

Results B. Sub-sample comparisons and age trends

Section A examined the items which differentiated most clearly between the delinquent and random samples. A problem with any attempt to establish discriminations of this kind is the tendency for later cross validation to reduce the effectiveness of the discrimination. A cross validational study was not possible within the limits of the schools' co-operation, but it is possible to utilise a different form of validation.

A group of behaviour descriptions which appear to characterise delinquent adolescents has been identified. It is known that the random sample is not truly non-delinquent, only less delinquent in that its delinquent acts have gone undetected. Taking the sub-samples defined by age, sex and race, it should be possible to find some association between the level of difficult behaviour shown in the school setting, and national rates of property offending for these random sub-samples. Table 3-2 shows these sub-sample rates of difficult behaviour at school, and national rates of property offending. (Age group populations were estimated from the N.Z. Educational Statistics.) The correlation between the two variables is $r_s = 0.92$. d.f. 15. $p < .001$. (Spearman's rho, Siegal, 1956). This produces a very strong validation of the selected behaviour items. Their incidence in a random sample is capable of predicting the relative volume of property offending in the population at a high level of accuracy. Needless to say, this

TABLE 3-2

Comparison of difficult behaviour incidence and rate of property crime offending.

Race	Maori				Non-Maori				Maori				Non-Maori			
Sex	Boys				Boys				Girls				Girls			
Age	12	13	14	15+	12	13	14	15+	12	13	14	15+	12	13	14	15+
Average No. of difficult behaviour items	8.0	7.84	6.64	5.28	3.65	3.26	5.03	4.00	3.13	4.50	4.87	4.15	3.02	2.85	3.21	2.67
Property crime (1) rate per 1,000 population	61.60	88.0	106.0	100.0	7.60	14.60	19.70	23.0	7.16	17.30	26.70	21.48	0.84	1.90	4.35	4.00

(1) From statistics of New Zealand Department of Justice, 1968, and Statistics of Education 1968.

is not the same as ability to predict for the individual case. Such a goal is not the aim of this study. Rather, the aim is to examine a population tendency; the peak age effect for property crimes, and the validation procedure is therefore appropriate.

Given the preceding picture of delinquency-related behaviours the next question is whether this cluster of behaviours is distributed in the same way as property offending, i.e., reaching a peak in the last year of compulsory schooling and dropping off after this. Table 3-3 shows the distribution of deviant behaviour items for all sub-groups in the study, and the results of statistical tests.

The analysis of variance shows no age related trends for the random sample, though a minimally significant result for the delinquent sample. It is the random sample which is critical in this case, as we are asking whether the peak age effect for property offending is part of some general adolescent trend.[1] There is no support for this proposition. The significant result for the delinquent group was investigated further by 't' test between age groups.

Delinquent Sub-group

Age 12	v.	Age 13	t = 0.99	df	35	not significant
Age 13	v.	Age 14	t = 1.86	df	= 95	marginal $p < .10$
Age 14	v.	Age 15	= 3.26	df	99	$p < .05$

1. Throughout the discussions it has been assumed that the peak age effect is significant without formally testing. To rectify this the totals of property offences for each age group in Table 3-2 were tested by a one sample Chi-square procedure (Siegal, 1956). The result was highly significant ($X^2 = 31.70$ df = 3 $p < .001$).

TABLE 3.3

Number of subjects within each sub-group of sample, mean number of deviant behaviour items for each sub-group, and result of statistical analysis.

Age Groups	Maori Boys		Maori Girls		Non-Maori Boys		Non-Maori Girls		Delinquent Group	
	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$
12 yrs.	17	8.00	15	3.13	29	3.65	38	3.02	12	10.51
13 yrs	13	7.84	16	4.50	41	3.26	22	2.85	32	12.37
14 yrs	14	6.64	16	4.87	33	5.03	40	3.21	69	10.05
15 yrs	14	5.28	20	4.15	34	4.00	37	2.67	35	8.77
One Way Analysis of Variance on Age (1)	F = 0.868 N.S.		F = 0.541 N.S.		F = 1.919 N.S.		F = 0.294 N.S.		F = 2.982 significant $p < .05$	

Summary of "t" tests (two-tailed) (2)

Maori Boys v Maori Girls: $t = 3.29$ d.f. = 113 $p < .002$
Non-Maori Boys v Non Maori Girls: $t = 2.29$ d.f. = 272 $p < .05$
Maori Girls v Non Maori Girls: $t = 2.58$ d.f. = 144 $p < .02$
Maori Boys v Non-Maori Boys: $t = 4.00$ d.f. = 109 $p < .002$

(1) Winer, 1962
(2) Welch, 1938.

Only the drop in incidence of difficult behaviour from 14 to 15 reaches significance, and this seems likely to be due to the most rebellious pupils dropping out. However, the non-significant peak in difficult behaviour at age 13 may have some importance. Inspection of the delinquent sample suggests that the majority of the group change from Intermediate to Secondary School at age 14. It is at this age that they show less difficult behaviour. In an earlier study (McKissack, 1967), data was presented from a sample of boys on probation in Glasgow, but using scores from the scoring method devised by Stott (1969). The score which is nearest in derivation to the scores used in this study is 'delinquency pointers'. The age variation found in the Glasgow study was:

Age	10 or less	11	12	13	14
Delinquency Pointers:	16.06	22.50	13.12	20.78	21.66

showing a marked drop in difficult behaviour at age 12.
In Glasgow children normally move from Primary to Secondary school at age 12. More data collected specifically for the purpose of investigating further this serendipity finding is needed. However, there is a hint here, relevant to understanding those children who show both difficult behaviour at school and appear in court for delinquent behaviour. It seems possible that their difficult behaviour reduces temporarily when they change school environments, and this suggests that the stresses of any particular environment are cumulative. This effect is not shown in the random sample.

The discussion of results so far has covered the major purposes set out in the introduction to this chapter, i.e. it has shown a set of behaviours associated with delinquent acts, but failed to discover significant changes with age in this pattern of behaviours. A few other aspects of the data, summarised in Tables 3-2 and 3-3, are worth emphasizing, and will require

satisfactory incorporation in later integrative and theoretical discussion.

Table 3-3 shows the results of 't' tests carried out on the sub-group means of the random sample. All sex differentiated groups within racial categories, and racially differentiated groups with sex categories, show statistically significant variations in mean scores. In other words, Maori children show significantly more difficult behaviour in school than non-Maori (mainly European) children, and boys show more difficult behaviour than girls. These differences parallel those consistently found in the rates of property offending. These facts create difficulties for some currently held assumptions. One such assumption is that the high property crime rate of Maori children can be ascribed to the lack of emphasis on property rights in traditional Maori mores. Now, this may be true, but the strong association with difficult behaviour at school indicates a much wider area of conflict. Similarly, attempts to explain the internationally lower rates of property offending by females in purely sex role terms (i.e.'the crimes of women are distortions of relationships or sexuality') have some difficulty in showing why this should be accompanied by more socially approved behaviour in the school setting.[1] Later discussion will explore the possibility that although specific explanations of the behavioural outcomes cultural and sex role learning may have some validity, it is also useful to think of a general concept of socialization, which, relative to current social demands is effective or ineffective. From this standpoint, the socialization of Maori children is relatively ineffective, and the socialization of girls, relatively effective.

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1. The data in Chapter 2 does give some support to sex role explanations however. The predomenance of shoplifting for girls can be seen as an outcome of modern woman's role as shopper and prime target for much advertising.

Another feature of the data, evident in Table 3-2 is that despite the high associations between difficult behaviour at school and property offending rates, the differences between sub-groups fall into very different ranges on the two criteria e.g. At the age 14, the least deviant group, Non-Maori girls show a mean of 3.21 on difficult school behaviour, and a property crime rate of 4.35. Maori boys aged 14 have scores of 6.64 and 106.0 respectively. Clearly then, although difficult behaviour at school and property offending may have some common base, there are additional factors contributing to one or both of the behavioural indices. Assuming the base factor to be socialization, (or extraversion, or level of social frustration experienced), these figures suggest that deviant school behaviour is related in a simple linear fashion, whereas the relationship with property offending is better represented by a positively accelerated curve through the intervention of group interaction processes and/or other factors.

These discussions of the data relating to racial, sex, and behavioural index differences have begun to anticipate later attempts at interpretation. However, it seems advisable to give indications of such directions while considering the actual data, so that any unjustifiable inductive statements can be more easily recognised.

Results C. The composition of the delinquent Sample.

In discussing the composition of the delinquent sample it was pointed out that two criteria were used. The use of the two criteria was recorded by the head teachers thus:

Criterion A. Children known to have received police warnings or have been prosecuted for property offences.

Criterion B. Children with a record of persistent truancy or pilfering in school.

These were combined to form the delinquent sample. There was, therefore a dilution of the class property offenders' by the inclusion of truants, and it is necessary to determine whether there is any evidence of fundamental difficulties occurring through this step. Provided that the children included through criterion B are reasonably similar to those included through criterion A ('pure' property offenders), it would seem that no distortion has been introduced. Table 3-4 shows the relevant data. It is clear that use of criterion A above would have produced a rather small delinquent sample. The median number of selected behaviour items was higher for the criterion B group, but this is not a significant difference (median test: $X^2 = 1.35$). The extent of truancy in the two groups was ascertained by inspection of the item GA2 in the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide which is checked when the teacher believes a pupil to have been involved in truancy. Despite the fact that truancy was part of criterion B, this behaviour is equally prevalent in both groups.[2] There seems little reason to suppose that the groups selected under criterion A and B differ in any fundamental way. Indeed, this is what would be predicted on the basis of the generalised pattern of social maladjustment which will be proposed in later discussion.

2. In fact this truancy item provided the sharpest discrimination between the delinquent and random samples, with an incidence of 69 in the delinquent sample and 14 in the random sample. It was not included as a selected item because truancy was part of the delinquent sample selection criterion.

TABLE 3-4

Comparison of Criteria A and B

within delinquent sample

Criterion	N	Median Score (Selected items)	Number of truants
A	69	9	33
B	79	10	36

A study was reported in which school behaviours associated with the designation delinquent, assigned by police or school, were recorded and analysed. A group of 33 items was selected, on the basis of their reasonably frequent occurrence in the total sample, and their discrimination between the delinquent and random samples. The most parsimonious conclusion is that these items form a diffuse description of various aspects of maladjustment in the school situation. More tentatively, there are some grounds, in the patterns of co-occurrence within the item pool, for suggesting that failure to meet the traditional requirements of classroom behaviour, (attentiveness, sitting straight, pen ready), can result from either a diffuse pattern of hostility and emotional immaturity, or a more mature, peer orientated, adult detached pattern. The pool of selected items was given additional validation by showing the high correlation between incidence of the items in the sub-groups of the random sample, and national rates of property offending for these groups.

The occurrence of the selected items was examined in relation to age, but no significant developmental trends were found. An exception to this conclusion was the delinquent sample, where there is evidence suggesting that amongst the delinquent pupils, a change of school environment leads to a temporary reduction in the rate of difficult behaviour in the new environment.

Significant differences in the occurrence of the selected items were found with males and Maoris showing the highest rates. It was suggested that attempts to explain racial or sex differences in the rate of property offending must take account of the wider pattern of negatively valued social behaviours associated with such illegal behaviour.

Chapter 4 - An Exception to the Peak Age Phenomenon

A. Introduction

This chapter will report a study which is tangential to the main problem. However, the findings of this study support the theme which began to emerge in the previous chapter, a concept of variations in level of socialisation, and give direction to later theoretical and integrative discussion.

One simple fact gives rise to this section. The Scottish peak age for property offending has, until recently, remained consistently at 14 for many years, except in 1961. The Scottish statistics show that in 1961 the peak age was at 13, though the difference from the 14-year-old rate was marginal. Further inspection showed that the cohort who were aged 14 in 1961 show a consistently lower crime rate [1] than would be expected. In Table 4-1 the most relevant rates are shown. Looking at the rates for any age group, they increase steadily from year to year. This steady increase is broken when the cohort under consideration appears. In each case, from the 12-year-old column to the 16-year-old column, the appearance of the cohort is marked by a slight drop in the crime rate, followed by a substantial increase, representing a return to the overall tendency.

The cohort we are considering were born soon after the Second World War, and represent the peak of the 'baby bulge'. The Annual Reports of the Registrar General for Scotland show a peak marriage

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1. This section will use the crime rate, as shown in the official statistics, remembering that this is predominantly property offences for the age groups in question.

TABLE 4-1

Crime Rate per 1,000 population, Scotland 1958-1964

(From Table 18, Criminal Statistics, Scotland).

Males Only

Age / Year	11	12	13	14	15	16
1958	15.5	22.7	29.8	36.4	27.9	29.4
1959	18.6	20.7	31.3	38.1	29.3	28.9
1960	18.8	23.1	29.4	38.8	33.8	28.7
1961	21.3	29.2	38.5	37.8	35.6	33.2
1962	20.4	28.0	38.5	46.0	32.1	35.4
1963	20.6	28.5	40.6	50.5	38.5	33.8
1964	18.7	26.6	39.5	47.6	38.1	37.2

rate in 1945, followed by peak birth rates in 1946 and 1947. Given that an adolescent is aged 14 in 1961 (or 13 in 1960 etc.), it can only be said that he was born in 1946 or 1947. The policy of recording age to the nearest whole year does not allow specification of the year of birth more accurately.

A prima facie case has been established for supposing that Scottish male children in the 1946/47 cohort show crime rates less than neighbouring cohorts, during their adolescent years. It is now necessary to show as clearly as possible that this apparent variation in crime rates is a consistent feature, and search for possible causes or concomitants of the phenomenon.

B. The 1946/47 cohort crime rate.

The best known attempt to demonstrate consistent variations in the official statistics has been Wilkins' apparent demonstration of a delinquent generation (Wilkins, 1960). It now seems quite clear that the early criticisms by Walters (1963), and detailed analysis by Rose (1968) show serious and fatal flaws in Wilkins' technique. The central aspect of the criticisms is that where, as in Table 4-1, one is dealing with a series of different age trends, determined by complex variables, there is a strong danger of producing artifacts. Specifically, the tendency has been for the rate of delinquency increase to be much lower for the youngest age groups than for the older. This tends to produce above expected rates on the diagonal of the table (in Table 4-1 this is the 1946/47 cohort), and below expected rates on each side of the diagonal.

The first point to note is that as lower rates of offending are postulated for the cohort in question, this tendency will

be working against the hypothesis. Nevertheless, to obtain the best possible estimates, several analyses were performed, using different sample frames, so that the cohort under consideration appears in a different position in each analysis. This procedure will tend to cancel out the effect of non-homogeneous time trends. The method of determining whether the crime rates of 1946/47 cohort deviate from expectation is thus as follows:

The technique suggested by Wilkins (1960) for detecting variations is essentially similar to the derivation of Chi-Square. Using a table of delinquency rates, with age of offender as column, and year as row, the expected rate is derived from:-

$$Eij = \frac{\text{Average rate for year i X Average rate for age group j}}{\text{Average rate for whole table}}$$

Using the expected rate so derived, we can calculate a percentage deviation from expectation thus:-

$$\text{Deviation} = \frac{O - E}{E} \times 100$$

Three analyses were performed using this method:-

Analysis 1 Years 1958 to 1963 (Scottish Statistics - Males only)
Age 11 to 16
The 1946/47 cohort is the diagonal of the table.

Analysis 2 Years 1955 to 1960
Age 11 to 16
The 1946/47 cohort appears in three cells in the bottom left section of the table.

Analysis 3 Years 1961 to 1966
Age 11 to 16
The 1946/47 cohort appears in three cells in the top right section of the table.

The values derived in this way are viewed as estimates, and their average as an approximation to actual variations in incidence of delinquent behaviour. From the above three analyses we obtain:-

10 estimates of the 1944/45 and 1949/50 cohorts

11 estimates of the 1945/46 and 1948/49 cohorts

12 estimates of the 1946/47 cohort.

The estimates are shown in Table 4 - 2. It is clear that there is very considerable variation in the estimates for any cohort. However, the estimates for the 1946/47 cohort are all negative and cluster reasonably well around the mean value of -11.13%. The consistency of the trend toward lower crime rates for this cohort is thus quite impressive. There seems no reason to suppose that artifacts of the kind noted in earlier studies of this kind are responsible for the deviation from expected rates.

C. Concomitants of the cohort crime rate.

The reasons for this variation in the crime rate of the 1946/47 cohort are by no means self evident. In fact, on many grounds one would tend to predict exactly the reverse trend in the crime rate. The cohort was substantially larger than the preceding cohort and this must have placed considerable strain on the social services, particularly schools, who deal with children. Similarly, the existence of a higher density of population for each age group of the cohort should lead to higher rates of peer interaction, a factor frequently implicated as a catalyst in delinquent behaviour. Thus from the perspective of social disadvantage or delinquent influences the trend runs against expectation.

There seems no reason for proposing, and no chance of testing,

TABLE 4 - 2

EXTENT TO WHICH COHORT CRIME RATES DEVIATE FROM EXPECTED RATES. (PERCENTAGES)

	COHORT				
AGE	1944/45	1945/46	1946/47	1947/48	1948/49
11	9.4	5.3	- 7.7 -14.4	7.5 0	4.4 -2.6
12	7.5	2.2 0.4	- 9.6 -11.2	-2.9 -4.1	8.5 13.2
13	0.0 -6.9	1.9 -5.4	- 7.5 -14.3	5.5 -0.8	2.9 -3.2
14	2.1 3.8	0.5 2.1	-14.1 -13.5	2.7 2.0	6.3 5.6
15	9.7 13.4	2.3 -1.1	-10.1 -13.0	1.8 -1.5	-0.3
16	-0.8 -5.4	3.2 -1.4	- 6.9 -11.3	0	2.4
Mean Deviation for Cohort	+3.28%	+0.91%	-11.13%	+0.93%	+3.72%

a genetic hypothesis to account for the lower delinquency of this cohort. However, Stott (1966) has proposed that the environment of the developing foetus must be regarded as a special case of congenital factors, with a casual role in later behaviour. Specifically, Stott proposes that where the mother experiences severe emotional stress during pregnancy the resulting interuterine environment leads to interference with foetal development and a consequent pattern of physical and behavioural impairment during childhood.

Without entering the complex debate on the evidence for this hypothesis, it does seem worth examining in relation to our less delinquent cohort. It might reasonably be proposed that the return to family life, or the new marriages just entered into after the war, would represent a particularly favourable climate for maternal stability. Subsequently, the 'honeymoon' period after the war, both on a personal and national level would quickly be replaced by a return to a realisation of the austerity and problems of 'peace'. The Annual Report of the Registrar General for Scotland was examined for any evidence to support this explanation. If the rate of interuterine disadvantage had been lowered this should be reflected in lower rates of still births or deaths of children under oneyear of age. Both of these are regarded by Stott as extreme outcomes of impairment. As shown in Table 4 - 3, there are no variations in either of these rates appropriate to the very restricted period of reduced crime rate under consideration. Similarly, illegitimate births show no striking or appropriate variations. These might be expected to have an association through the previous hypothesis, stressful pregnancies, or the question now to be considered, socialisation variables.

TABLE 4 - 3

BIRTH STATISTICS - SCOTLAND 1944-50

	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Illegitimate Births per cent of live births	7.94	8.66	6.65	5.58	5.76	5.46	5.23
Deaths of children under one year per 1,000 live births	65.0	56.2	53.8	55.8	44.7	41.4	38.6
Still births per 1,000 births	32.5	32.8	32.3	30.5	28.7	27.1	26.9

It has been suggested that the cohort in question are likely to have suffered social disadvantage in minor ways, through the size of the cohort, thus predicting a rise rather than a drop in crime rate, and it appears that there is no empirical support for congenital factors underlying the lower vulnerability of the cohort. This leaves the broad area of socialisation variables. However, the search may be narrowed by realising that the very restricted drop in crime rate, applying only to this cohort, implies some aspect of the socialisation process which is similarly restricted. Most socialisation variables operate over long periods of childhood, and seem unlikely to produce such a delineated effect for just one cohort. For example, it can hardly be argued that the lower delinquency rate results from fathers who have returned from the services with strong views on discipline. Such an effect would be far more diffusely spread over several cohorts.

Further inspection of the Annual Report of the Registrar General for Scotland shows that the 1946/47 cohort is distinguished by the high proportion of first born children. (Table 4 - 4). Using the years 1945 - 49, and the rate of first borns per 1,000 births, the 1947 cohort shows +6.8% first borns, compared with expectation.

While this study only deals with the Scottish data in detail, the lower delinquency rates of the 1946/47 cohort, and the higher proportion of first borns in 1947 birth statistics are found in other statistical analyses. Rose (1968), in discussing the 'delinquent generation' hypothesis gives a very full analysis of criminal statistics for England and Wales. His Table 1 indicates a similar pattern of lower delinquency rates for the 1946/47 cohort, as in

TABLE 4 - 4

Cohort populations, proportion of first borns, and deviation from expectation of first born proportions. (From Annual Report of the Registrar General for Scotland, 1950).

Year	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
Cohort Population	79,398	97,465	106,836	94,568	90,451
Rate, per 1,000 births of first borns	369.3	395.3	415.3	385.9	377.9
Deviation from expected rates	-5%	+1.7%	+6.8%	-0.7%	-2.8%

Table 4-1 of this study, and his Table IV, intended to demonstrate the artifacts in Wilkins (1960) calculations, shows clearly that the 1946/47 cohort has special features. The Registrar General's Statistical Reviews of England and Wales show a high rate of first borns for 1947. Calculation of deviation from expected rates gives a pattern of variations very similar to Table 4 - 4 of this study, though the positive deviation of the 1947 Cohort is less. An interesting and very stringent test of the generality of these statistical phenomena would be the data for New Zealand. Unfortunately, the introduction of a Juvenile Crime Prevention Service in 1959, had the effect of drastically reducing court appearances at all ages for this year, and probably for succeeding years, thus introducing an additional factor in the most crime prone years of the 1946/47 cohort. No conclusions about the delinquency rates of this cohort are therefore possible. However, the New Zealand Official Yearbook shows clearly that the 1947 cohort had a high proportion of first borns, and the deviation from expectation is even greater than in the U.K. data.

Thus the co-incidence of a cohort with a low rate of crime and a high rate of first borns seems to have some generality. The use of this kind of actuarial evidence has been severely criticised in the social sciences and, in legalistic terms, is only circumstancial. Nevertheless, the opposing view, that full scientific rigour is only achieved by manipulation of the variables and consequent behaviour change, is over restrictive for the study of human behaviour. This approach usually involves laboratory studies and problems of generalisation, and is not without artifactual and fallacious errors.

However to add weight to the kind of actuarial evidence produced it is necessary to show some supporting grounds for supposing that a population with a high proportion of first borns should show lower crime rates.

D. The relationship of ordinal position and delinquency

Two recent reviews of ordinal position (Sampson, 1965, Warren, 1966) discuss the relationships of ordinal position to delinquency, and conclude that the relationship, if any, is very tenuous. Strangely, neither reviewer quotes Glueck & Glueck (1950) who showed a statistically significant relationship between ordinal position and delinquency, with first born, only children and youngest children showing relatively low rates. Lees & Newson (1954) and McCord & McCord (1959) demonstrated the same pattern of relationships. The lower delinquency rates of youngest children needs to be borne in mind as many theoretical attempts to explain the effects of ordinal position assign beneficial child socialisation conditions only to the first born or only child.

In attempting to provide an adequate theoretical basis for a relationship between being first born and lower risk of delinquency involvement, MacDonald (1969) provides a good starting point with the suggestion that first borns are more highly socialised than later borns. He demonstrated that subjects with this ordinal position were more likely to volunteer for an experiment, and keep their appointment, less likely to drop out of the experiment or voice suspicions about its purpose. In general then, it can be said that the first borns were more conscientious and trusting. Carrying this line of thought to the extreme of over-socialisation, Kayton & Borge (1967) showed that obsessive-compulsive out-patient

clinic patients were predominantly first born or only children, and when compared with a control sample of non-obsessional patients the difference was highly significant. They ascribe this to the excessive super-ego development of first born children.

The weak link in postulated relationships of this kind is direct evidence on the child rearing practices of parents towards first and later born children. However, some studies have been carried out, and Lasko(1954) and Hilton (1967) seem to agree, on the basis of observational studies, that parents of first born children are more interfering, coercive and restrictive. Lasko also examined mothers' behaviour towards second children who were clearly destined to remain the youngest, as against second children who had been 'displaced'. She found that the second child, when the youngest, was also treated in a more restrictive and coercive manner. It would be unwise to base too much on this one study, particularly as the number of subjects in Lasko's sub analysis are small, but the unexpected similarity of parent behaviour towards eldest and 'youngest' children is intriguing. It was noted above that both eldest and youngest children have been demonstrated to have relatively low delinquency rates by Glueck (1950) & McCord & McCord (1959). The direct inference would be that interfering, coercive, and restrictive behaviour by parents produces lower chances of becoming delinquent (albeit somewhat higher chances of becoming obsessional-compulsive outpatients!).

A more parsimonious generalisation might be that at the heart of the matter is the parents' involvement with the child. It seems intuitively reasonable to suppose that this will be higher with the eldest or only child, and the youngest. They are all 'special' in different ways. By special we mean important to the parents, as

opposed to the not uncommon status of children as small unruly persons who are contained rather than guided. Where parents see their children as having special status, they are likely to monitor and guide their behaviour more closely. Greater involvement will lead to more caring, even if coercive and restrictive. And this leads back to the original question of the low-delinquency cohort. The cohort does contain an above average proportion of first born children, but the 'match' between the delinquency rates and first born rates is not altogether convincing. It seems reasonable to assume that a large proportion of the children born soon after the end of World War II would be 'special'. They would be a symbol of the return to normal life, and receive more than the usual amount of caring. So that the low delinquency rates of the 1946/47 cohort would be explicable in terms of both the high proportion of first born children, and other children with a special 'after the war' status.

This account is very tentative. The firmest point is that some aspect of the socialisation of children born immediately after the war seems to be an element in the lower delinquency rules of the cohort. It is not necessary that this account for the whole effect. Inspection of actual juvenile offences, (e.g. the Hamilton area study - Chapter 2), shows that many recorded offences are the result of a small group act with one or more clearly anti-social individuals amongst the group, probably providing a catalyst effect. Thus a reduction in the number of poorly socialised individuals could lead to a reduction in delinquency rates greater than the contribution of these individuals alone.

Summary

The peak age for property crimes unexpectedly moves from 14

to 13 in 1961 in Scotland. This change is part of a consistently lower crime rate of all ages for the cohort born in 1946/47, and use of Wilkins' method, modified to reduce artificats, gives an estimate of -11.13% in relation to expected rates. The only clear recorded concomitant of this reduced crime rate is the higher than expected proportion of first borns in the cohort. Inspection of statistical data for England and Wales, and New Zealand show that the above features have some generality. The literature on delinquency research and child development give some support to the proposition that a cohort containing an above average proportion of first born or other special status children will have a lower than average crime rate.

Chapter 5 - Overview of empirical studies

A. Introduction

This chapter will look at the outcomes of the epidemiological studies described, and consider their implications for the understanding of juvenile offending. The section will also critically examine the results from the point of view of what may be called 'radical criminology'.

This position has been well summarised by Box (1971), who shows a greater respect for evidence than is usual in this approach. The reason for taking close account of this position is that it is very hostile to just the kind of studies undertaken; basing findings on officially collected data.

Radical criminology is part of the wider movement in sociological thinking, away from positivistic theories towards discussing the relativity of reality (e.g. Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Thus the argument is not that there is a reality out there to be discovered, but that 'reality' is constructed by individuals through their social interactions, and to a large extent imposed by the past history of social interactions of those who particularly influence any individual. The social reality for a child is defined by its interactions with parents, teachers and others, but is heavily influenced by the social reality that those adults have previously constructed.

Radical criminology applies this perspective to the search for causes of deviant behaviour, and rejects particularly a pathological model, the identification of sick members of society. Writers like Becker H.S. (1964) and Cohen (1971) show how deviance of

certain types is more clearly understood as a complex interaction between persons whose behaviour causes difficulties for the modal construction of reality in the society, and the labelling and enforcing agencies within the society. While very convincing in some of the more esoteric areas of deviance, it remains to be shown that this perspective can integrate the available evidence on the more central and socially expensive areas of juvenile property offending and the vast area of traffic offences. It is still necessary to cope with evidence such as that presented by the Gluecks (1950) with respect to juvenile offending, and summarised by Shaw & Sichel (1971) with respect to traffic offending, which make it difficult to completely discard the pathology model. Lemerts' concepts of primary and secondary deviation (Lemert, 1951) help to resolve this point, which will be discussed later.

An aspect of the critique presented by radical criminology with particular relevance to our investigation of juvenile property offending is the questioning of official statistics. Doubts about the validity of the officially produced indices of deviant behaviour have been an important aspect of social research for many years. It has been quite clear that the process from acts through detection to official action and recording gives wide possibilities for distortion, bias, and other deliberate or inadvertent manipulation. Nevertheless, it has been generally supposed that there is some correspondence between the reality of deviant acts and official knowledge of these acts. For instance, the differential rates of offending for the various socio-economic levels forms the basis of many sociological theories of delinquency (e.g. Cohen, 1955, Cloward & Ohlin, 1961, Miller 1958).

Probably the single factor of greatest import for moving a

stage further in the questioning of official data has been the advent of self report studies. While this method has its own pitfalls, the immense discrepancy between the extent of juvenile delinquency, and the class and race differentials, indicated by the self report and official procedures could not be ignored. This development blended with the new push towards looking critically at the social organisation of law enforcement procedures as a causal factor in the nature and volume of deviance. Taking the summary by Box (1971), it becomes clear that we must consider carefully the processes by which any data were obtained. Whether or not an act which can be officially designated as criminal is brought to the attention of the police is a first step. The Process of police search for an offender will be a second stage, and will be considerably determined by the personal theories held by police officers. Clearly, it is more economical to look first at those persons who are hypothesised to be most at risk. Such persons therefore have the greatest risk of being caught thus validating the hypothesis. A similar process will operate in the less common cases of being caught 'red handed'.

Suspicion and therefore investigation will be differential in terms of the investigators social constructions. Bias here will operate not only for the police, but also for people like employers, shop managers, and store detectives with more limited areas of surveillance. The demeanour of a suspect will tend to determine whether an inquiry is pursued, and the force of such further investigation. The progress to official recording is then further complicated by the long recognised processes of differential prosecution, legal support, and sentencing.

While an attempt will be made to seriously consider the perspective outlined above, in reviewing the data reported in previous studies, it is worth issuing a caveat to radical criminology. Once a relativistic point of view is adopted, it no longer becomes important that official data should reflect all acts of a certain kind, or all persons who are responsible for these acts. Whether or not an act, whatever its legal classification, is defined as a social problem, is a matter for the victim or observer. Whether or not the person responsible for an act is a problem for a society is defined by police, courts and public opinion, not simply by his act. Thus official data remains a reflection of perceived social concern, or areas of social difficulty, given the present form of society. Earlier societies did not have such extensive and specialised organisations for coping with deviance. This was accomplished in less formal ways. The more informal methods of responding to and controlling deviance remain in complex modern societies but the official data is restricted to those events and persons dealt with in the formal manner. Therefore a study based on these formal records is asking questions about those events and persons who present problems to modern society, not about all deviants.

B. The Hamilton and Area Study

In this part of the research, based on the Youth Aid Section reports, it was possible to obtain a clearer picture of the acts and persons contributing to the peak age phenomenon. By using prosecution and non-prosecution cases one of the selecting biases was removed, and as noted in Chapter 2 this bias does operate. The Maori prosecution rate is higher than the Non-Maori rate. (To

say that a bias operates is not to say that the bias is without a rational basis).

The major features of the peak age phenomenon are that the peak is a culmination of apparently low expertise, marauding offences, like shoplifting, and is also the peak for first offenders. This conclusion is not unlike the much earlier finding of Rhodes (in Carr-Saunders, Mannheim & Rhodes 1942), but to the earlier finding we are adding the point that the peak is not related to age simply; it is more a function of attendance at school. There are marked differences in type of offence and proportion of first offenders between the 15 and 16-year-olds in school, and these age groups out of school.

It is also clear that property offending is not entirely random. There appear to be two major themes. One is an understandable desire to satisfy specific unfulfilled needs. This is present throughout the age range. At the younger ages it includes thefts of cycles, at later ages thefts of cars. At all ages rather deliberate thefts of money occur, from changing rooms for instance, and some acts in other categories like shoplifting seem to have definite aims. Alongside this is another area which appears much more random and is probably represented best in shoplifting. The aim in many such offences is apparently to see what can be obtained. This pattern is very similar to what Gold (1970) has described as the 'pick up game' of delinquency. It requires the co-operation and willingness of one or more like-minded persons. This is the kind of delinquency which seems to be associated with being at school, and to drop fairly sharply after leaving school. Given this casual play aspect it is important to note that this seems to be a fairly inevitable

consequence of the leisure, extensive peer contact and relative financial deprivation of the school child. If the school leaving age is raised the volume of this kind of delinquency will increase, and liberal reforms in schools are not likely to alter this fact. Whether or not a child is willing to play the delinquency game is a question to be explored in later sections of this chapter and in a final theoretical discussion.

The reduced risk of being involved in property offending, after leaving school, implied by the data does require some discussion. Is it the case that some individuals are no longer at risk, or is it the case that all individuals are less at risk? It would strengthen the case for accepting the latter implication if it can be shown that research focused on individuals, rather than overall trends, points in the same direction. Two American studies have tackled this problem, and although neither was confined to property offences, this category was the major classification in both cases. Elliott (1966) followed the delinquent careers of 743 tenth grade boys in two large urban high schools, through the three year period up to graduation. He compared in-school rates of delinquency, with out-of-school rates. The out-of-school rates were obtained through looking at the offences of those who dropped out during the three year period. The overall out-of-school rate was substantially lower than the in-school rate, though this effect was mainly due to the very sharp drop in rate of offending for those from lower socio-economic neighbourhoods. Those from higher S.E.S. areas showed similar rates of offending in and out of school. If the focus is only on those who were officially designated as delinquent through one or more referrals during their in-school period, then Elliott finds a halving of referral rate for the out of school

period, and this result applied to both S.E.S. groups. Elliott used official data on offences, and discusses the possible biases involved, but concludes that they would either not affect his results or make the estimates of differential rates on the conservative side. Mukherjee (1971) looked at the question of in-school vs out-of-school delinquency rates in the context of a cohort study, children born in 1945 in Philadelphia. His findings in general support the picture from Elliott's study: the rate of delinquency involvement is much higher for those in school than for those out of school, and even though those who drop out of school early have a high rate of delinquency involvement, this drops markedly after leaving school.

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An important consideration is whether the data on which the previous conclusions are based is open to serious distortions of the kind indicated in the introductory discussion. The absence of self report studies in New Zealand give no chance of comparison on the proportions in the various offence categories. Very tentatively the study by Belson (1968) can be considered. This obtained detailed interview self reports of stealing behaviour from boys in London[1]. Roughly similar proportions of boys in Hamilton were apprehended for burglary and shoplifting. In Belson's study

[1]Belson's study highlights the problem of self report studies. The evidence and variety of stealing behaviour increased as one moved down the socio-economic ladder but then decreased at the lowest unskilled level. It is of course possible that this is a true picture of previously unsuspected class variation in delinquency. But unless well supported by other means it leaves an alternative explanation, that boys at this level are very suspicious of the researcher, a very real possibility. Gold (1970) found the highest rates of self report delinquency at the lowest status level.

shoplifting had a much higher frequency than 'getting into a place and stealing'. However, several other categories in his study might have been varieties of burglary (stealing from commercial premises was listed separately). Theft of money is a relatively high frequency offence in both studies. Stealing cycles was a fairly low frequency behaviour in Belson's study as in the present research; similarly with stealing milk (in London), milk money (in New Zealand). Thus there is no firm reason for rejecting the proportions of property offending shown by the Hamilton study, though there must be considerable variations in the reporting and detection of various categories of offences.

Belson's study is of some help in considering the final aspect of the Hamilton area data: the age, sex and race variations in property offending. The usual finding of self report studies was obtained by Belson; being caught by the police was related to involvement in stealing, but many of those with high involvement were never caught. If a boy had been caught by the police once there was a 4 to 1 chance that he was above the median in self reported stealing, if he had been caught three times or more the chances were 50 to 1 that he was above the median. Of particular interest was the finding that the groups high on social or school status were far less likely to be detected, considered in relationship to their self reported rates, but the detection rates for sub-groups were related to the degree of stealing involvement for that group. Thus the offending rates known to the police had a reasonable relationship with the actual amount of stealing by that group. If that result can be generalised to the Hamilton area study, it can be assumed that it is possible to accurately rank the sub-groups defined by age, sex, and race on the basis of the police report data, but the precise

proportion of property offending between the groups will be less certain.

There seem to be no strong grounds for supposing that age will be a strong determinant of whether police detect and report, except the obvious tendency to avoid such official action with respect to the youngest offenders. However even 6-year-olds are the subject of such reports in a few cases, so it seems that by the 11-year group, the youngest figuring prominently in the present analysis, police reports are likely to show relatively little under-reporting.

The most serious distortions are likely to be in respect of the sex and race differentials. The racial differential is very large; the total offences for Maori children are higher than for the non-Maori groups though they represent only 15 to 20% of the relevant age groups. The sex differential is also marked but the ratio is smaller in the Maori group (3½:1) than the non-Maori group (5½:1). The safest assumption is that these relative orderings are reliable, but the size of the differences greatly inflated. The inflation of the differences is easily understood. In the case of both sex and race differences it seems fair to assume that in attempting detection the police act rationally on the basis of previous experience. Thus they assume that the offender is more likely to be male than female, Maori than non-Maori. Given this rational pre-judgement it is more likely that males and Maoris will be detected, thus amplifying the effect still further. One cannot blame police officers for acting rationally and efficiently, though it may be necessary to apply counter balances in the interests of social justice.

The racial differential may be further amplified by another

aspect of the process of detection. If an investigating officer is given the information that a Maori child was seen in the relevant area, his area of search is markedly reduced to a minority of the adolescent population. Given the information that a non-Maori child is involved, the restriction is only minor. Thus again, detection is more likely for the Maori child simply through the possession of a darker skin.

Thus, it is assumed that the official data is accurate in its indication that Maori children are more delinquent than non-Maori children, and that boys are more delinquent than girls, but that these differences may well be highly exaggerated, if the police are rational and efficient in their detection procedures.

The final point from the Hamilton area study is the earlier sharp rise in property offending for Maori children, and the slight drop in the volume of offending for Maori boys between 13 and 14 years of age. The implications of these features will be examined in the next section, in relation to difficult behaviour at school, and in the more general discussion of socialisation.

C. The School Behaviour Study

Two main aims were behind this study: to gain a wider picture of early adolescent behaviour trends, and to discover whether there was a general increase in difficult behaviour in early adolescence, of which the peak in property offending was an aspect. No significant age trends were found in the random sample, and thus the data cannot support the view that the peak age is part of a developmental trend. However, the data from this study can be used to consider some more general aspects of adolescent property offending.

The dominant finding is that while difficult behaviour at school and property offending are very highly correlated on a population sub-group analysis, the school behaviour criterion stays relatively stable while the property offending rate increases rapidly. The most reasonable inference to draw from this is that the two sets of behaviours arise from some common source, but are under the control of different environmental variables. Considering the behaviours in question, a purely inductive approach suggests that this common base is a failure in social adjustment, or inadequate socialisation.

In the school setting of this study, the interaction between inadequate socialisation and the pressures of the environment had presumably produced some level of deviant behaviour which was relatively stable. Hence no significant variation with age was found. But in early adolescence the child is really only just beginning to move out into the wider world outside the home and school. This change in orientation is rather dramatically illustrated in a study by Musgrove (1963), in which adolescents asked to choose companions for an outing showed about 50% choosing parents at age 11 but only about 7% at age 14. Bowerman and Kinch (1959) have shown a similar developmental change with an American sample, and McKissack (1972) has confirmed Musgrove's general findings for a New Zealand sample of school children.

It is suggested that the rapid increase in property offending during early adolescence is due to the interaction of inadequate socialisation and a new set of opportunities for this to appear in behaviour towards other people's property. Deviance of other kinds appears as the same individuals encounter the later opportunities offered by public houses, motor vehicles, work and marriage.

This more general picture will be examined further in Chapter 6.

The apparent level of property offending as shown by national statistics and the Hamilton area study will of course be under the control of many variables, and cannot be seen as a simple interaction between inadequate socialisation and the opportunities offered by the freedom of early adolescence. The high probability that differential rates are amplified by police detection methods has been discussed. A further amplification process is likely to arise through peer interaction, or the availability of companions to play the 'pick up game' of delinquency. The manner in which socialisation level interacts with the availability of delinquent associates is demonstrated by Voss (1969). His study shows that where, through low socialisation, a boy is 'vulnerable', the presence or absence of delinquent associates considerably changes the probability of delinquent behaviour. However, very little such variation in relation to presence of associates occurs when the level of socialisation is high and boy is 'insulated'. It is clear then that the basic probability of delinquency involvement predicted by level of socialisation will tend towards a positively accelerated function as the number of potential vulnerable associates in a population pool increases. This factor will be particularly important where minority groups, with a tendency to stick together occur, as is the case for Maori children in New Zealand.

The value of this concept of inadequate socialisation for explaining the drop in property offending after the school leaving age is limited. It is necessary to look at the changes in life style which accompany the move from school to employment and de facto, if not legal, adult status, rather than at the basic level of socialisation. The employed adolescent is in a different position

when it comes to playing the casual delinquency game. He is less likely to be in contact with a large pool of willing associates. And the game is less likely to be attractive, because the possible gains in material terms are insignificant, in many cases, to a wage earner.

Some special features of the Hamilton area data have been noted. Maori children showed an earlier sharp rise in offending, and Maori boys show some decline before the school leaving age. It would be unwise to speculate too much on the causes of these features, but it is tentatively suggested that the following possibilities need further investigation. The fact that Maori boys and girls show the earlier steep rise in property offending points to a racial or cultural basis, rather than some aspect of the level of socialisation (the levels of difficult school behaviour and rate of property offending for Maori girls are not very different from those for non-Maori boys, indicating similar basic vulnerability. However, the non-Maori boys do not show this earlier steep rise in offending). The most likely basis for the early rise is in the peer interaction amplification factor discussed above, combined with the well documented early dependence of Maori children on peer groups (Earle, 1958; Ritchie 1962; Ritchie, 1963). Because of the small relatively isolated groupings of Maori children, diffusion of new behaviours, like property offending will be much faster than in the larger non-Maori groups.

The drop in offending for Maori boys, from 13 to 14 is a very difficult feature to explain, and local Child Welfare officials were extremely surprised by it. As mentioned in Chapter 2, there is some evidence that the more difficult or academically resistant pupils, particularly Maori boys, unofficially leave school before

their fifteenth birthday, with teachers turning a blind eye to this convenient development. Although unlikely to find employment, such boys will tend to move out of the peer association network, possibly lowering their delinquency involvement risk. However, an alternative possibility is that social control measures are not as ineffective as is usually supposed. Previous discussion established the probability that police detection is related to known probabilities of offending. It may simply be the case that the rate of detection of Maori boy offenders is so high as to become a real and personally experienced, or associate experienced, fact in any one grouping of such boys and eventually acts as a deterrent. Belson (1968) showed that subjectively estimated risks of detection are related to amount of stealing.

Finally, in relation to the school behaviour study, some general implications of the data will be considered. It seems reasonable to suppose that the difficult school behaviour rates are a better guide to level of socialisation than property offending rates. The teacher's observations must contain some inaccuracy and bias, but are far closer to a comprehensive survey of overt behaviour. Considering the non-Maori samples it can be said that the socialisation level of girls seems to be higher than that of boys, but the difference though statistically significant is not very great. It is comparable to the sex difference Gough (1960) showed using his Socialisation scale. Thus the very different rates of property offending suggest the intervention of other sex linked factors, such as role expectations of self and peers (Morris, 1964, 1965). As noted earlier (Chapter 2), shoplifting among girls may be seen as a sex role linked form of deviance. Self report studies (Clark & Haurek, 1966; Gold, 1970) confirm a sex differential in property offending,

with females showing lower rates, but it is difficult to compare the results of different methods to ascertain a mean ratio.

There is a much greater difference between the socialisation levels of Maori boys and Maori girls, though it is probably most accurate to say that the Maori girls are not too dissimilar to the non-Maori groups, while Maori boys show a highly divergent rate. However, the evidence available does not give any firm basis from which to engage in fruitful discussion of this point. It is safer to simply note that in any investigation of the disadvantages Maori people suffer in adapting to a European dominated society, one clue is that these appear to bear much more heavily on boys.

D. The Less Delinquent Cohort

Previous discussion of the lower delinquency rates of the 1946/47 cohort was extensive and leaves little to add. The hypothesis that the higher proportion of first borns is the critical factor cannot be substantiated further than the face validity arguments presented in Chapter 4 D. The essential point is that it is difficult to see any other basis for the lower rates than some aspect of early socialisation. This reinforces the concept of socialisation as a factor in property offending, derived from the school behaviour study, and directs our attention to the earlier stages of the child's development as at least part of the relevant process. The special features of the socialisation of the 1946/47 cohort produced a deviation from expectation of 11.13%. Whatever the source of the variation it is unlikely that the contrast with neighbouring cohorts would be all that great, yet it produced a substantial reduction in the delinquency rate for that group. This implies that the total

contribution to the delinquency rates, of this factor, must be of considerable significance.[1]

The most important requirement is to be sure that the cohort features are a real variation in the incidence of delinquent acts, and not some artifactual feature of official data. Steps have already been taken to avoid the kinds of criticism levelled at Wilkin's (1960) pioneering work in this area. It remains to consider the perspective of radical criminology.

The introduction to this chapter considered the view that official criminal statistics represent not an indication of the reality of criminal deviance, but rather an account of the actions of law enforcement agencies. Taking a fairly extreme form of this view, it could be suggested that the various biasing and selecting factors operating at the police and court levels produce a reasonably constant volume of young offenders. The major determinants of the volume of cases would, from this perspective, be the efficiency, manpower and policies of police and courts, and not the actual incidence of deviance in the community.

Now, in calculating the crime rate we divide the number of cases by the population estimate. The 1946/47 cohort represents the peak of the baby bulge and thus the denominator is higher

1. For argument, let us suppose that the critical factor is mother's attentiveness to the infant, leading to a stronger mother child bond with implications for later social learning. It would be unlikely that the mothers of the 1946/47 cohort were that much more attentive, on average, than mothers in surrounding cohorts. Yet the considerable deviation from expected crime rates occurred. Thus the range of variation in mother's attentiveness to the infant in any one cohort is likely to be very much larger, and should be an important factor in delinquency proneness. In other words, if <u>between</u> cohorts differences can reach reasonable and detectable levels, <u>within</u> cohort differences should be much larger.

than usual. If the number of cases is fairly constant, this calculation will indicate a sudden drop in the crime rate. This argument, if substantiated, would render the reduced crime rate for the 1946/47 cohort a completely meaningless phenomenon. In order to substantiate the argument it is necessary to show that the raw numbers of juvenile court cases are fairly constant or show fairly smooth trends, and that the 1946/47 is the only cohort which produces an unusually high denominator in calculating crime rates.

Table 5-1 shows the actual numbers of juvenile court cases for the years 1956-1966 in Scotland, with the 1946/47 cohort distinguished. The number of cases does rise fairly steeply where this cohort appears in each age column. Thus it is possible to reject one of the props for the argument against the reality of the less delinquent cohort. Law enforcement agencies are responding to the presence of a larger population group.

The second point needed to substantiate the argument derived from the postulates of radical criminology relates to actual cohort sizes. These were (approximately):

Scottish boys aged 14 in 1959 : 38,600
aged 14 in 1960 : 39,900
aged 14 in 1961 : 51,700
aged 14 in 1962 : 46,300
aged 14 in 1963 : 44,500

The figures show that although the 1946/47 cohort represented a very sharp rise in population size, the subsequent decline was much more gradual. If the reduced crime rate were solely a function of cohort population size some generalization of the effect to the next cohort would be expected, but the estimates shown in Table 4 - 2 give no evidence of this kind of relationship.

Table 5 - 1

Total Crimes Scotland 1956 - 1966

Age

	11	12	13	14	15	16
1956	686	881	1063	1148	870	947
1957	719	888	1190	1255	954	958
1958	820	915	1153	1471	1115	1116
1959	885	1091	1259	1473	1173	1137
1960	852	1091	1541	1549	1291	1135
1961	912	1303	1789	1956	1392	1240
1962	854	1190	1710	2130	1644	1364
1963	841	1204	1747	2248	1781	1698
1964	775	1072	1657	2027	1679	1678
1965	731	1238	1702	2177	1840	1813
1966	835	1138	1655	2213	2010	2018

It is therefore reasonable to reject, on both the crucial points, the argument that the reduced crime rate of 1946/47 cohort is purely a function of population size. Nevertheless, it is very clear how early such an artifact could arise, and the value of the perspective offered by radical criminology is not disputed.

E. Summary

In this chapter the overall implications of the three epidemiological studies reported have been considered. This summary will attempt to assess how much progress has been made in understanding the peak age phenomenon in particular, and adolescent property offending in general.

The most basic point regarding the peak age effect is that it is not an age effect but a concomitant of school life. The school age offender is more likely to be a first offender and to appear for a low expertise offence. It appears that in the period between emancipation from the adult supervision of childhood and the quasi-adult status of employment, the risks of becoming a property offender are relatively high. The adolescent is still playing games, but the 'pick up game' of delinquency is frowned upon by society.

A strong association is found between difficult behaviour at school and adolescent property offending, suggesting that involvement in such crime is not random or unpredictable.[1]

[1] One might reasonably suggest that the school behaviour/property offence association arises from the more persistent offenders and not the more casual offender who produces the peak effect. However, an earlier study (McKissack, 1967, Table 2) looked at this question, during analysis of a longitudinal study of Glasgow probationers. Those boys who offended only during secondary school years showed lower but substantial levels of difficult behaviour at school.

The person who does clash with the authority of the law is likely to show a much wider tendency to resist or ignore the requirements of the adult world.

There is therefore an implication that the general processes of socialisation are not equally effective for all individuals. Some adolescents are ill-prepared to meet the demands and restrictions placed on them. The lower crime rates of those born immediately after the second world war suggest that very early aspects of parent child interaction may contribute to the effectiveness of socialisation.

Chapter 6

Socialisation

A. Introduction

The approach of this study has been essentially atheoretical. Rather than setting up and testing hypotheses, the aim has been primarily naturalistic. By a detailed analysis of property offences in adolescence, and establishing the concomitants of such offending, an estimate of the important variables has been proposed. The manner in which the data is interpreted is inevitably subjective (Polanyi, 1964), and the framework proposed, basic dispositions acquired in socialisation, interacting with life style, peer group and law enforcement influences, cannot be regarded as required by the 'facts'. The framework reflects the author's construction of reality. At a more conscious level, the decision to emphasize socialisation variables in this final discussion is not a claim for their causal primacy. The choice of this emphasis results from the implications of the cohort study and the author's conviction that 'person' variables must play some part in a systems analysis of delinquent acts, but currently remain in an unsatisfactory stage of formulation. In a more general sense, a considerable revolution is occurring in the psychological concept of 'personality'. Recent important reviews (e.g., Bowers, 1973, Mischel, 1973) point to careful identification of appropriate 'person' variables from analysis of specific situations and their demands, rather than earlier attempts to give generalized personality descriptions from a theoretical perspective, or global factor analytic approaches based on personality questionnaire responses. Thus some attempt will be made to identify the relevant psychological processes operating in the situation of a delinquent act.

Two of the studies, difficult behaviour at school in relation to property offending, and the lowered crime rate of the 1946/47 cohort, have been interpreted as demonstrations of variation in socialisation effectiveness. We will now look at evidence for a concept of socialisation in a wider context and finally examine the concept of socialisation itself.

Before proceeding to these discussions it is important to stress that there is no suggestion that delinquency is caused by ineffective socialisation, only that it is an important interacting variable. It is accepted that some property offences are very common, and it would be difficult to discover an individual who has not committed such an act. Nevertheless, some such acts are more clearly proscribed than others, and some individuals are much more frequently involved than others. The proposition is that readiness of any individual to indulge in such acts, and the extent and seriousness of such involvement, will be associated with a wider pattern of behaviours, logically related to effectiveness of socialisation. Lemert (1951) distinguishes between primary and secondary deviation, those being the factors operating before the individual himself or the society assign the label 'deviant', and those which operate after such labelling. The inference taken from the empirical work reported is that socialisation is an important factor in primary deviation. It will also, of course, have consequences for secondary deviation. Piliavin and Briar (1964) showed that the demeanor of a suspect is a determinant of the further action of an arresting officer. Socialisation or social skill is likely to be an important element in a person's demeanour. Another

important approach to delinquency which helps to clarify this position is Matza's discussion of delinquency and drift (Matza, 1964). The key element of Matza's position is rejection of the positivist arguments; those psychological and sociological theories which commit the individual to delinquency far more firmly than the known facts allow. Matza discusses the various factors which bind an individual to the conventional moral order, and the circumstances under which these lose their strength, putting the individual at risk. His point of contact with the concept of socialisation is mainly in the discussion of the apprehensive component. Although a boy may be in a state of drift, he may still be too scared or apprehensive to go along with a proposed infraction, or too mindful of the fear involved by a previous infraction to become involved again. It seems probable that this apprehension is an outcome of socialisation, of the internalisation of social demands. But as in the case of the child who fears any new situation with unknown demands, it may be overcome. The barrier is not insurmountable.

Relating the position taken to recent theoretical formulations, the emphasis is on 'control' factors, (Hirschi, 1969). 'Provoking' or 'strain' factors are seen as operating at the secondary deviation stage. But this is not to say that <u>all</u> or <u>only</u> those who are 'control failures' enter the secondary deviation causal cycle. Only probability statements are justified.

B. <u>Grounds for a concept of inadequate socialisation</u>

The empirical basis for the proposed concept of inadequate socialisation, in this study, is the very high association between difficult behaviour at school and property offending rates, for the various sub-groups sampled. Considering this in relation to the relatively

stable rate of difficult behaviour at school, and the rapid and significant increase in property offending, it is proposed that an attribute of the individual interacting with different situational controls, is implied.

The relationship between difficult behaviour at school and delinquency is very firmly established in the relevant research literature. Longitudinal studies show the relationship, using a variety of techniques (Mulligan et al, 1963, Conger & Miller, 1966, West, 1969). A possible weakness of such studies, as in the present research, is the use of teacher ratings. From a radical standpoint it might be suggested that teachers, like law enforcement agencies, find certain kinds of children threatening. This criticism loses some of its force with the demonstration by Gibson & Hanson (1969) that peer ratings of behaviour are equally predictive and are correlated with teacher ratings.

A fundamental question then arises of whether the roots of primary deviation lie in the early school years, or further back in the family situation. The Conger & Miller (1966) study suggests that for some children of below average intelligence, the school itself may have a causal, frustrating, role. Generally, there does not appear to be any evidence showing that behaviour on entry to primary school predicts adolescent delinquency. This kind of data is needed to clearly identify family factors as the root of socially maladjusted behaviours.

There is of course a wide literature linking various aspects of the family to delinquent behaviour (see review by Rodman & Grams, 1967). The major methodologies are the identification of outward structure (broken homes, ordinal position etc.) which leave the central question of the reasons for the association unclear, and the attempt to identify internal structure (family relationships,

discipline etc.) usually by verbal reports of the child or his parents, and often involving retrospective accounts of behaviour. Despite the difficulties indicated, it is clear from the weight of evidence that relationships within the family have some role in the network of delinquency causation, though whether these are long term control effects, or more immediate provoking effects (Gold, 1963, 1970) is not always clear. The demonstration of a less delinquent cohort (Chapter 4) implies long term control effects rooted in early family socialisation.

If delinquency is considered in relation to other indices, like behaviour at school, there do seem to be grounds for proposing a general concept of inadequate socialisation, or social maladjustment. A similar situation arises in the area of traffic accidents, and it is useful to look at this area to clarify the factors proposed. Willett (1964) gives grounds for supposing that the driving and general criminal offence areas are related.

There seems little doubt that the broad epidemiology of traffic accidents is not dissimilar to that of property offending, given that opportunities for traffic offending come later in life. Drivers, who are under 30 years of age, or male, or working class are more likely to be involved in accidents. (Eysenck, 1971) The question of whether it is useful to consider a concept of accident proneness has been hotly debated in the relevant research literature, in the same way as there has been a continued debate in delinquency literature over the usefulness of focusing on the individual. An impressive interpretation of accident proneness research by Shaw & Sichel (1971) concludes that provided questions about accidents are posed as related to potential, and as only part of the variables involved, then the case is very strong. There do appear to be identifiable individuals showing an attribute or pattern of attributes

logically and empirically related to being involved in traffic accidents.

It is interesting to compare a classic 'person orientated' delinquency study, with a definitive study of accident proneness. The Gluecks' (1950) study of delinquents and non-delinquents was followed up into the adult life of their subjects (Glueck & Glueck, 1968). The earlier study showed strong associations between, among other factors, family relationships and being designated delinquent. The later study showed that the delinquent group were more likely than the non-delinquents to have criminal careers, job instability, marital instability, discipline problems in service life, and a general pattern of social deviance. Tillmann & Hobbs (1949) compared, by extensive personal contact and official records, the personal circumstances of taxi-drivers with high or low accident rates. The high accident rate driver was more likely to have an unstable family background, evidence of difficult behaviour at school and appearances in juvenile court; he was also likely to have police contacts as an adult, work and marital instability and multiple social welfare agency contacts. Tillmann's famous summary contention was: 'a man drives as he lives'.

The similarity between these two studies is striking. They suggest that whatever complex variables may be associated with acts of social disruption, like dangerous driving and property offending, some part of the problem lies in a hard core of poorly socialised individuals who show a very general difficulty in social adjustment. The critical aspects of the socialisation process will be explored in the next section of this chapter. But we will end, as the chapter began, with a disclaimer. It is not intended to advance

a theory that inadequate socialisation causes property offending, and traffic accidents (or tax evasion, or adultery or untidiness). It is however argued that where an individual with a certain pattern of attributes, which we call inadequate socialisation, is found, then these behaviours become more probable. The argument is not, as is sometimes suggested, circular. What causes bad behaviour? A bad person. How do you know he is bad? Because of his bad behaviour. This kind of example is essentially semantic confusion, not unlike the statement 'intelligence is what intelligence tests measure'. Whilst this statement may be true at a certain stage of development in knowledge, it does not rule out the possibility that some more fundamental basis for intelligence may eventually be found, (e.g., individual differences in nerve cell metabolism). This basis would give the term intelligence a meaning entirely independent of test behaviour. (Though not necessarily fully accounting for test behaviour).

C. Socialisation

Although the common charge of circular reasoning was rejected in the previous section, there is a persistent weakness in theories of delinquency. This is the assumption that because some negative state or attribute of the person exists, delinquent acts are a logical consequence. For instance Cohen (1956) in his account of the corner boy's rejection of middle class values, and reaction formation processes, makes out a good case for attacks on teachers, school buildings and middle class children. These acts would follow logically from his account, whereas the leap to property offending in general is far less clear. In order to make the gap less obvious Cohen is forced to categorise delinquent acts as malicious, negativistic, rather than rational-acquisitive, or 'playful'. The case for this categorisation

is by no means clear, and without it, the generality of Cohen's account is in doubt.

It is important therefore to make clear the basis for proposing that any attribute of a person is related to delinquent behaviour.

The first premise of the present discussion of socialisation is that most delinquent acts do not require an explanation in terms of motivation. The theme of the present studies has been property offending, and in the present form of society, the acquisition of possessions is a generally experienced need. The key point needing explanation is the absence of restraints which normally control the acquisition of goods or money. While the primary delinquent motivation is seen as being the general cultural need for acquisitions, restraints would also operate against the needs described by 'strain' or 'cultural deviance' theorists (Hirschi, 1969).

During this century psychologists have been very reluctant to accept verbal reports of a person as an account of his motivations, needs or fears. No doubt this is part of Freud's legacy, stressing the role of unconscious motivation, and the behaviourist view that verbal behaviour itself needs explanation before it can be used as a source of data. More recently, there has been a resurgence of the view that the most appropriate level for formulating descriptions of human motivation is at the phenomenological level, and verbal reports become appropriate data (Louch, 1966, Harre & Secord, 1972). Thus, it is possible to explain all the behaviour shown by the bridegroom at a marriage ceremony as guided by discriminative stimuli for sexual reinforcement. But a much more meaningful explanation, which also applies to the wedding guests, is in terms of his understanding of the rules, conventions and meaning of the ceremony, of which he can give a verbal account.

In order to try and clarify the important factors involved in not being a property offender, we will list the responses of an imaginary subject. The subject is in a shop, facing a counter on which there is an object which he would like to have, but cannot afford. What are the reasons he might give for not taking the object? It will be assumed that the risks of detection are present but low.[1]

1. 'I might lose my job if found out'.

   This is a primitive hedonistic reason in one sense, but also draws attention to the unequal force of sanctions for different individuals. This reason is far more important for a teacher than for a labourer, and is irrelevant to a child.

2. 'My family, friends, would be ashamed if I was caught'.

   Fundamentally, the concern here is for social approval, and again there will be individual differences, depending on the modal moral values of significant others.

3. 'It would be unfair on the shop to take without paying'.

   This reason is at a higher level of concern, using reciprocal obligations as a basis for social life. It would be a fairly weak reason for most persons in a chain store (or for many in planning tax evasion). The major force of this restraint comes where the proposed theft is from an individual, particularly where some degree of prior relationship exists.

4. 'I couldn't take it, it's not 'me''.

   This response could take many similar forms. Its essence lies in its high level, absolute quality. The individual is implicitly stating a view of himself in relation to society and its reasonable requirements which, at least in the circumstances

[1] All the reasons given have in fact been advanced by graduate students, in a delinquency studies course, asked to imagine the situation.

outlined, he feels compelled to maintain.

The essence of the concept of socialisation proposed is contained in these responses. It can be stated as a concern for self and others, operating as a restraining factor where individual immediate needs conflict with the long term benefits and identity or the welfare and wishes of others. A very similar summary statement is made on the study of a high accident rate taxi driver quoted earlier:

'He is an individual who places all emphasis on material values and who acts only with thought for immediate satisfaction without any concern for tomorrow. His driving is marked by the same tendency of aggressiveness, impulsiveness, and lack of thought for others and the disrespect for authority that was noted in his personal life'. (Tillmann & Hobbs, 1949, p. 329).

The main thrust of the argument is that absence of the internalised controls described above heightens the probability of primary deviation on a variety of criteria. There is a hint of moral absolutism in this position, but this is not intended. Essentially, the perspective adopted in this discussion is evolutionary.

A digression is necessary to consider an opposing and prevailing point of view. This is the proposition implicit in the ideology of much humanistic psychology, that the human being is basically 'good', with an inherent potential for growth to social maturity. It is very difficult to see any logical basis for this assumption. It might equally be said that animals are basically 'good'. But this is surely nonsense. Any animal species shows evolution for a particular physical environment and ecological balance. Its range of adaptation may be wide or narrow. There will be some conditions in which the

species could not survive or survive only with very deliberate behavioural modification. Thus the animal's behaviour is not 'good' but adapted to specifiable circumstances. Similarly, man's behaviour is adapted to some past situation about which we can only speculate. But it seems virtually certain that it comprised relatively small social groupings which are no longer practicable, however ideologically attractive. Even without descending to Freud's level of pessimism it is quite clear that man cannot be assumed to have the potential for harmonious life in a complex society in any innate sense. An essential feature of modern societies is the need for autonomous individuals. Surveillance of behaviour, and the application of face to face controls becomes an increasing problem. The only really feasible solution is that the individual should set and maintain his own standards. This point is implicit in a recent discussion of socialisation by Le Vine (1969). He centres his argument on the question of whether it is useful to regard child rearing practices as adaptive in an evolutionary sense. In so doing, Le Vine draws attention to the distinction between non-literate methods of socialisation, and those which developed in the Protestant sects of Western Europe in the last three centuries. In the non-literate societies, child rearing was carried out in accordance with custom and various religious or magical beliefs. It may have shown adaptive features, but there was frequently little awareness of the real value of such practices, or contemplation of alternatives. Later in childhood, more specific training would be likely to produce clear cut aims like obedience, and concrete practical skills. With the rise of the Protestant ethic, a fundamental difference emerged. The methods of socialisation, from infancy onwards, had a much more explicit and general aim, to

produce a self reliant, self controlled adult, who could be both judge and jury for his own behaviour. The present analysis suggests, from a secular point of view, that this kind of socialisation, adapted to modern needs, remains a prerequisite for complex modern societies.

The remaining question is the actual circumstances under which such adequate socialisation will occur.

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Studies relevant to the question of adequate socialisation tend to be classed as moral development. This tends to imply a strong cognitive bias, and this is explicit in Piaget's (1932) and Kohlberg's (1969) accounts of moral stages. The emphasis in these accounts is on the qualitive changes observed in the progressive development of moral knowledge and principles. Such analysis tends to obscure the various dimensions which contribute to moral judgements and moral behaviour. The interest in this present discussion is centred on early developmental influences, producing observable behavioural outcomes by the primary school level. Hogan (1973) has proposed five dimensions of moral conduct and character: moral knowledge, socialisation, empathy, autonomy, and the ethics of conscience v. the ethics of responsibility. He identifies socialisation, empathy and autonomy as emerging at significant transition points, and therefore as defining the essential developmental aspects. Autonomy is not seen as being fully effective before adult life, and is thus outside the major focus of this discussion. Socialisation and empathy correspond reasonably well to the terms attachment and guidance respectively, as defined below.

Recent research in child development has tended to distinguish the emotional tie between parent and child, for which we will use

the term 'attachment', and the extent to which the parent attempts to direct and monitor the child's behaviour, which we will term 'guidance'. (e.g., Becker, W.G. 1964). Arising from this distinction is the further point that attachment (or love, or nurturance) is not a sufficient condition for adequate socialisation (Aronfeed, 1968, Hoffman, 1970). Attachment both results in and arises from behavioural interdependence, between parent and child, orients the child toward the parent as a point of reference, and by generalisation establishes affiliation needs towards other persons in general. Given this basis, guidance toward socially responsible behaviours becomes possible. This emphasis on behavioural interdependence as the basis of attachment is important, as it allows more precise analysis of relevant behaviours than the earlier emphasis on love or nurturance. The theory and research of Cairns (1966) & Harlow (1961) has contributed to this more sophisticated concept of attachment. More recently, the research and influence of ethologists has added the possibility of innate infant behaviour and parental responses as a primary source of human bonds. (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1971). Parallel to this has been the study of infant behaviours like smiling, crying, clinging and their role in attachment formation (Spitz & Wolf, 1946, Schaffer, 1971). That the formation of such bonds has implications for orientation to maternal demands has been shown by Stayton, Hogan, and Ainsworth (1971). But in general, the dictum 'love is not enough', is supported. That is to say, attachment forms the precondition but not the essence of social obligation. Generally, it is unlikely that variations in attachment are an important contribution to primary deviation, but some possibilities are worth consideration. The very general finding of higher socialisation and lower rates of deviance of females were discussed in Chapter 5. Male infants present

a more severe test for the mother through early manifestation of aggressiveness which probably has a genetic-hormonal basis (Young, Goy, & Phoenix, 1964) and higher vulnerability of males to a variety of impairments and illness (Stott, 1966; Washburn, Medearis & Childs, 1965). It would seem likely that such factors would interfere with the formation of a close attachment bond, and that this bond would be generally stronger for female infants. Moss (1967) presents some direct evidence from observations of mothers and infants in agreement with this proposition. Thus the later socialisation of females would proceed on a firmer basis of attachment. A prediction derived from the hypothesised higher socialisation level of females would be that in the circumstances of female delinquents, stronger provoking factors would be necessary to produce deviant behaviour. Studies by Cowie, Cowie & Slater (1968) of English female delinquents, and Gold's (1970) study in Flint, Michigan indicate that this is the case. It is also possible that individuals with long term involvement in criminality may lack the basic attachment which is a pre-requisite for socialisation at a primary or secondary level. Clearly the investigation of this point is immensely complicated by the factors producing secondary deviation (Lemert, 1951). However, the distinction (Mack, 1964, 1972) between inadequate and competent adult criminals may be a starting point.

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If behavioural interdependence, or attachment, occurs, there will be orientation to adult guidance. The term guidance refers to the many interactions between parents and children who are likely to influence the child's development towards social responsibility. The essence of social responsibility, defined above, is a feeling of obligation toward self and others, and the ability to see the consequences of actions in an extended time perspective. The many ways in which parents deliberately or unknowingly guide moral development are well reviewed by Hoffman (1970).

These range from power assertion, through love withdrawal, induction (guidance by explanation), to imitation and identification. Possibly the best wholistic concept of guidance is still G.H. Mead's account of the development of the self, and ability to take the role of the other, particularly some interpretations of this position by Cottrell (1969). Given the child's initial orientation or attachment to a parent, he will gradually internalize a view of the social world and his place in it both through direct didactic influence, and more indirect observation and vicarious learning of social interactions. The effectiveness of such learning in terms of social concern will depend greatly on whether the parental emphasis in word or deed is on concern for others, rather than the petty bourgeois virtues of cleanliness, tidiness, and obedience. The content, as opposed to the methods, of guidance have been strangely ignored in developmental research.

Where the child learns concern for others, he learns concern for persons, and this includes himself. This point is important because in any logical analysis of the restraining factors insulating individuals from delinquent acts there is a complex combination of self and other orientation. The immediate gains to the actor are offset by the long term potential losses, and this kind of assessment of self consequences is only possible with emphathetic ability so that the probable attitudes of others can be assessed. The guidance component of socialisation is clearly a complex factor. It will reflect the level of parents' socialisation and, therefore, adequacy as a model, parental involvement with the child, and the extent to which the cultural milieu emphasises the need to inculcate generalized controls.

Guidance itself is probably best seen as a dichotomy. On the one hand there is the modelling element, ranging from rather specific acquisition of behaviours (Bandura & Walters, 1963) to the much more diffuse internalization of the social world represented by G.H.Mead's symbolic interactionist position and its more recent variants. (e.g., Berger & Luckmann, 1967). This aspect of guidance has been well summarised in relation to the idea of insulation from delinquency.

"Concept of self and other contains the impact of life on the person as he has internalized his experience. In other words, it consists of the residues of attitudes and meanings accumulated through the interaction of a certain organism or constitution in interpersonal relations." (Reckless, Dinitz & Kay, 1957, p. 570). The other major element of guidance is the direct didactic attempts to influence the child, probably operating with particular effectiveness in the early years, and giving rise to a strong sense of obligation. This aspect is represented in the coercive, restrictive, parental behaviour towards first borns, reviewed in Chapter 4. A related finding is the harsh parental manner reported by Musgrove (1966) to be associated with high achievement by children. The concept proposed is very similar to Freud's super-ego, and herein lies a dilemma.

From the early years of psychoanalysis to the recent patronising sympathy for the 'up-tight' there has been recognition of the problems of over-socialisation. It seems impossible to deny the possibility that just that sense of obligation proposed as essential for life in a complex society can become the root of obsessive, compulsive, or generally constricted ways of behaving. Kayton & Borge (1967) found a disproportionate number of first borns and only children amongst a group of obsessive - compulsive outpatients, but it is just this birth order group which have been shown to have a high level of social

responsibility and achievement in a variety of research studies. Mowrer (1961) has argued that neurotic parents are under rather than over-socialised, and Peterson (1967) has produced some support for this position through a comparison of the socialisation levels of behaviour problem and personality problem children. Clearly, a contradiction exists on the empirical question of over-socialisation sequelae, and more data is needed in this area. The previous suggestion that the content of guidance be given more attention may be pertinent at this point. The so-called over-socialised group may be those for whom the petty virtues rather than deep social concern were central in the content of their guidance experience.

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The disproportionate delinquency rates of some minority and lower socio-economic groups are more likely to arise from deficiencies in guidance than in attachment. The parents themselves are frequently inappropriately socialised by the standards of dominant cultural values. They, therefore, present inadequate models and guides. Socialisation in such cases will be increasingly from peers, and as Bronfenbrenner (1970) has pointed out, the younger peer group without strong attachment to conventional values is a poor socialisation medium. Where attachment, and consequent orientation towards others, is good, we would predict effective socialisation in due course - crime rates do in fact decline sharply in the early 20's. However, the processes now operating should really be classified as secondary socialisation.

Records of delinquents contain many cases where discussion of the niceties of guidance seems trivial. The model presented to many delinquents is of immediate gratification, a parental passage from

job to job, from bar to bar, and hostility towards any frustration. Didactically, the emphasis is on not getting in the way, not being a nuisance, not being caught. The demands are negative rather than positive. For a graphic account of delinquents at this level see Rosenberg (1969).

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An interesting test of the validity of the model of socialisation outlined is to consider the other end of the continuum, altruism. It would be naive to simply contrast altruism and criminality. Having established the primary deviation, secondary deviation distinction in delinquency, it would be consistent to make a similar distinction in altruism. There are no doubt many situational, institutional, and self defining variables in altruistic careers. Thus, the focus is on primary altruism. If the model of socialisation and its consequences is a useful perspective, it could be hypothesised that altruists had childhood experiences indicative of high attachment and effective guidance. Unfortunately, there is little firm evidence to test this assumption. Though altruism has attracted considerable research attention over the past decade, the emphasis has been on immediate situational correlates and determinants (Krebs, 1970), in keeping with the prejudices of contemporary social psychology. However, two studies which have attempted to look at the socialisation of altruists are supportive of the view that altruism is the opposite of criminality. Rosenham (1970) reports a study of persons involved in civil rights activities in the U.S.A. Very extended interviews were carried out with these people. It was necessary to classify them into the partially committed, those who had made quite definite but limited efforts in civil rights action, and the fully committed whose involvement was substantially greater,

particularly in terms of duration of involvement. In comparing the reports of socialisation experiences of these two groups the author reports two main features. The fully committed reported a warm positive relationship with at least one parent, and this contrasted with the ambivalent or negative relationships reported by most of the partially committed. In addition, the fully committed perceived a parent as giving a strong positive and consistent model for altruistic behaviour, while the partially committed saw a discrepancy between parental preaching and practice, amounting at times to a crisis of hypocrisy. London (1970) reports an uncompleted study of people who had been involved in rescuing Jews from the Nazis. The sample was composed of individuals who had emigrated from Europe and were living in the United States or Israel. The sample here was almost certainly much more heterogenous than the Rosenhan study, and the complexity of opportunity and resources to be effective in such activities was certainly an important factor. Nevertheless, of the three characteristics of these altruists mentioned by London (adventurousness, intense identification with parental model of moral conduct, and a sense of being socially marginal) the second is very similar to the consistent parental model of altruism mentioned by Rosenhan. There are of course serious methodological difficulties in both these studies. But they are strikingly in agreement with the hypothesis developed from previous discussion. The altruists show a strong and continuing positive attachment to a parent, and seem to have received just the kind of consistent and involved guidance which would lead to a deep sense of social obligation.

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Referring back to the study of difficult behaviour at school in relation to property offending, which was the primary source of our emphasis on socialisation, it is now interesting to look again, briefly, at the selected items (Table 3.1).

The most pervasive item;

'careless, often loses or forgets books, pen' is really a definitive statement of the teacher's despair at the poorly adjusted student. The majority of the other items indicate an impulsive immediate response to situations, or inability to take the role of the other. 'The other' is mainly the teacher, but there is some indication of similar poor adjustment in relation to other children. It is these kinds of reactions which seem less likely when, through the socialisation experiences reviewed, the individual adopts a wider social perspective and habitual affective responses determined by the needs of others and longer term personal aims.

The tentative identification of a small group of relatively isolated and inter-related items which emerged as Factor 2, referring to indifference rather than hostility, is a reminder that the concept of inadequate socialisation must not be over simplified as a simple continuum. In this case the implication is that the child may be socialised within the peer group, but adult requirements or approval are not salient. It is very similar to the concept of a sub-cultural delinquent which emerges in many delinquent typologies (Warren, 1971).

The pattern of hostility and impulsiveness suggested by Factor 3 seems likely to arise where failures in the guidance aspects of socialisation lead to difficulty in anticipating and following adult requirements, but need for approval is more dominant than in the

Factor 2 pattern. Resentment results from the reactions of teachers, possibly leading to a reciprocal spiral of mistrust and hostility on both sides. This would account for the apparent drop in difficult behaviour on changing school environments (see Chapter 3) for the delinquent sample. The change would break the reciprocal build up of distrust or hostility between teacher and pupil, and take time to build up again in the new situation.

In the case of both Factors 2 and 3, the behaviours grouped are phenotypes and cannot be expected to relate isomorphically to the 'genotype' level of explanation represented by the concept of early socialisation experiences.

D. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has taken a fairly wide ranging look at the concept of socialisation in relation to delinquency and other forms of social deviance. In a sense, variations in socialisation form no part of the major focus, the peak age of property offending, which is apparently a function of the life style variables of the early adolescent at school. But the question of which individuals are likely to contribute most to the peak age effect is answered partially by the analysis of socialisation.

Adequacy of socialisation, that is to say, ability to meet the demands of complex modern societies, does seem to be a theoretically plausible variable, partially determining the probability of primary deviation. Adequate socialisation is seen as a restraining factor, reducing the impact of those motivations which lead to a wide variety of deviant acts, such as property offences and traffic accidents. Paradoxically, high levels of socialisation may be regarded as a motivating force, and there is some evidence that primary altruism is associated with such levels of socialisation.

The concept of socialisation is analysed into attachment and guidance components, and these elements are defined by reference to relevant developmental theory and research.

Appendix 1

The designation Maori, apart from a person's own detailed census return, is ascribed very loosely. Occasionally Police Report forms state half Maori or other sub-category. More usually Police and Schools designate a person as a Maori if either skin colour or name so indicate. The term thus gives no precise genetic information. Similarly, a person described as a Maori may hold firmly to the traditional beliefs and customs of Maori people, or have little knowledge of these. Thus the term gives no precise cultural information. It might well be suggested that the distinction should not be made and is contrary to the aims of an integrated society. However, many Maori people wish to preserve and enhance their separate identity and until the feasibility of this aim is established it may be advisable to continue making a distinction in data collection. Further, the designations Maori and non-Maori are social facts and are part of the social construction of reality of most New Zealanders. Social facts have social consequences, and cannot be ignored in discussing social behaviour.

It is probably safest to assume that the term Maori, used in these studies, has as much and as little meaning as social status, economic or occupational categorisations. A certain amount of prejudice is directed towards Maori people, certain beliefs, values and behaviours are more common in this group, and the chances of success in material or educational (European defined) terms are lower for them.

Appendix 2

Significance of item occurrence - B.S.A.G. data

Note

The use of the chi-square is primarily to obtain a ranking of items in terms of the power of discrimination between delinquent and random samples. The absolute probability levels should be interpreted with caution. The assumptions of chi-square require the occurrence of each item to be independent of any other item. While theoretically this is true in terms of the instructions to teachers, in practice the grouping of items on the rating form, and the overlapping meaning of some pairs of items will lead to something short of complete independence. However, it is also true that whereas the delinquent group is in some sense a whole population, the random group is a sample. Thus where an item occurs more frequently in the delinquent group its significance is underestimated and the calculated chi-square is conservative.

Frequency

Delinquency sample	Random sample	p		
12	9	.01	DA1	too lacking in energy to bother
10	11	.10	DA2	too lethargic to be troublesome
16	18	.02	DA3	apathetic ('justs sits')
13	11	.01	DA4	unmotivated, has no energy
15	24	.20	DA5	difficult to stimulate, lacks physical energy
19	24	.02	DB1	varies greatly (sometimes gets impatient and frustrated)
12	9	.01	DB2	always sluggish, lethargic
12	30	-	DB3	sometimes alert, sometimes lethargic
8	26	-	DB4	sometimes wanders off alone
14	25	.30	DB5	sits listlessly most of the time

Frequency ctd.

Delinquency sample	Random sample	p		
6	13	-	G1	plays childish games for her age
69	14	-	GA2	has truanted once or twice, often, suspected of truancy
27	12	.09	GA3	destructive, defaces with scribbling
27	17	.001	GA4	doesn't seem to understand that she should keep in her seat
28	23	.001	HA1	can be surly
28	37	.01	HA2	will help unless she is in a bad mood
16	12	.01	HA3	cannot bring herself to be that sociable
25	23	.001	HA4	will answer except when in one of her bad moods
12	9	.01	HA5	resents being asked
13	7	.001	HA6	maintains a barrier of surliness which prevents her seeking help
33	25	.001	HA7	sometimes in a bad mood
31	28	.001	HB1	inclined to be moody
3	2	-	HB2	keeps a suspicious distance
19	7	.001	HB3	seems to go out of his way to earn disapproval
31	17	.001	HB4	openly does things he knows are wrong in front of teacher
23	18	.001	HB5	sometimes a fluent liar
17	4	.001	HB6	aggressive defiance (screams, threats, violence)
28	24	.001	HB7	bears a grudge, always regards punishment as unfair
13	8	.001	HC1	becomes antagonistic
34	26	.001	HC2	has uncooperative moods
12	4	.001	HC3	may spoil his work purposely
62	34	.001	HC4	mixes mostly with unsettled types
9	3	.001	HC5	has stolen in a way that she would be bound to be found out
6	1	.01	HC6	damage to personal property (cars, delivery vehicles, occupied houses, private gardens, teachers' or workmen's belongings).
35	14	.001	HC7	uses bad language which she knows will be disapproved of
35	39	.001	KA1	never thinks of greeting
19	5	.001	KA2	will abuse trust
50	96	.01	KA3	not shy but never volunteers an answer
51	44	.001	KA4	not shy but never comes for help
17	10	.001	KA5	sometimes "seems to be watching you to see if you know"
23	34	.001	KA6	avoids teacher but talks to other children
61	40	.001	KA7	couldn't care whether teacher sees her work or not
13	14	.05	KA8	avoids any such contact but is not reticent with other children

Frequency ctd

Delinquency sample	Random sample	p		
45	62	.001	KB1	unconcerned about approval or disapproval
22	12	.001	KB2	plausible and sly (hard to catch)
42	16	.001	KB3	habitual slick liar; has no compunction about lying
14	7	.001	KB4	treats lenience as weakness
35	35	.001	KB5	not lethargic but uninterested and unconcerned
28	43	.05	KB6	not restless but works only when watched or compelled
14	10	.01	KB7	bad sportsman (plays for himself only, cheats, fouls)
10	8	.02	KC1	can never keep a friend long (tries to pal up with newcomers)
4	6	-	KC2	selfish, scheming
17	9	.001	KC3	spiteful to weaker children when she thinks she is unobserved
17	6	.001	KC4	tries to push in front of smaller children
42	25	.001	KC5	borrows books from desks without permission
25	4	.001	KC6	has stolen within the school in an underhand, cunning way
8	4	.001	KC7	has extorted money, etc. from other children by threat
13	13	.02	QA2	presses for jobs but doesn't do them properly
21	25	.01	QA3	shouts out or waves arm before she had time to think
14	15	.02	QA4	tries to argue against teacher
43	39	.001	QA5	comes out with 'smart' or cheeky remarks
9	16	-	QA6	forward (opens conversation) over-talkative (tires with constant chatter)
3	1	-	QA7	brings objects he has found though not really lost
27	15	.001	QA8	gets up to all kinds of tricks to gain attention
14	15	.02	QB1	takes advantage of sympathy or interest
24	12	.001	QB2	behaves badly as a means of getting attention
47	43	.001	QB3	misbehaves when teacher is engaged with others
57	61	.001	QB4	resentful muttering or expression for a moment or two
32	21	.001	QB5	plays the hero, tries to show he doesn't care
47	40	.001	QB6	responds momentarily but it doesn't last for long
23	15	.001	QB7	can't resist playing to the crowd
53	29	.001	QB8	attends to anything but his work (talks, gazes around, plays with things)

Frequency ctd

Delinquency sample	Random sample	p		
26	36	.02	QC1	a late starter and always behind
58	36	.001	QC2	never gets down to any solid work (flips over pages of book without reading it, etc.)
57	40	.001	QC3	never really gets down to job and soon switches to something else
6	4	-	QC4	invents silly ways of doing things
27	23	.001	QC5	has a hit-and-miss approach to every problem
24	28	.01	QC6	eager to play but loses interest
30	23	.001	QC7	inclined to fool around
27	10	.001	QC8	bad loser (creates a disturbance when game goes against him)
19	13	.001	QD1	tries to dominate and won't cooperate when she can't get her own way
29	8	.001	QD2	starts off others in scrapping and rough play, disturbs others' games
13	5	.001	QD3	misuses companionship to show off or dominate
25	20	.001	QD4	squabbles, makes insulting remarks
22	18	.001	QD5	shows off (clowns, strikes silly attitudes, mimics)
34	16	.001	QD6	flies into a temper if provoked
27	14	.001	QD7	foolish or dangerous pranks when with a gang
54	39	.001	QD8	is often the centre of a disturbance
80	51	.001	QE1	careless, often loses or forgets books, pen
33	34	.001	QE2	slumps, lolls about
23	23	.001	QE3	twists about in her seat, slips on to floor, climbs about on desk, etc.
54	46	.001	QE4	constantly restless (raps with pencil or ruler, shuffles with her feet, changes position)
27	22	.001	QE5	snatches things from other children
10	1	.001	QE6	damage to public property (to windows, trees, fences, public gardens, unoccupied houses)
3	5	-	QE7	has had more than one accident involving some physical injury
24	27	.001	QE8	follower in mischief

Frequency ctd

Delinquency sample	Random Sample	p		
17	49	-	VA1	waits to be noticed
33	124	.05	VA2	never offers but pleased if asked
20	52	-	VA3	gets confused and tongue-tied
13	47	-	VA4	too shy to ask
14	43	-	VA5	shy but would like to be friendly
29	51	.10	VA6	difficult to get a word out of her
12	43	-	VA7	chats only when alone with teacher
38	149	.02	VA8	never pushes herself forward
11	20	-	VB1	likes sympathy but reluctant to ask
5	19	-	VB2	too timid to be any trouble
4	2	-	VB3	lies from timidity
2	7	-	VB4	bursts into tears
10	37	-	VB5	so quiet you don't really know if he is following or not
5	15	-	VB6	seems afraid to begin
30	53	.10	VB7	has not the confidence to try anything difficult
14	48	-	VC1	has to be encouraged to take part
10	20	-	VC2	timid, poor-spirited; can't let himself go
8	35	-	VC3	shrinks from active play
12	39	-	VC4	associates with one other child only and ignores the rest
6	31	-	VC5	too timid to stand up for herself or even to get involved in an argument
7	21	-	VC6	lets the more forward push ahead of her
10	50	.10	VC7	sits quietly and meekly
0	0	-	WA1	is too unaware of people to greet
14	15	.05	WA2	never makes any sort of a social relationship good or bad
22	16	.001	WA3	quite cut off from people, you can't get near her as a person
13	12	.02	WA4	distant, never wants to talk
6	12	-	WA5	avoids contacts with both teacher and other children
34	32	.001	WA6	never appeals to adult even when hurt or wronged
2	5	-	WB1	you can't get his attention
36	17	.001	WB2	shows complete indifference
6	4	-	WB3	remains aloof in a world of his own
11	6	.01	WB4	has her own special solitary activity to which she reverts
5	12	-	WB5	distant, ignores others
8	46	.05	KA1	anxious to greet
3	22	-	KA2	desperately anxious to do jobs and does them to the best of her ability
10	26	-	KA3	constantly seeks help when she could manage by herself
8	10	-	KA4	over-friendly
7	11	-	KA5	talks to t. about own doings, family or possessions excessively

Frequency ctd

Delinquency sample	Random sample	p		
7	28	-	XA6	frequently brings drawings, models, completed work, to show teacher
4	5	-	XB1	sidles up to or hangs around teacher
13	14	-	XB2	wants adult interest but can't put himself forward
9	10	-	XB3	craves for sympathy (comes unnecessarily with minor scratches, lumps, etc., complains of being hurt by others).
3	1	-	XB4	tells fantastic tales
7	4	-	XB5	tries to buy favour with others
5	8	-	XB6	tells on others to try to gain teacher's favour

Appendix 3

Phi Co-efficient Matrix

Item Reference Numbers (For identification see Appendix 4)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
1	99	19	19	14	29	12	02	01	20	01	06	02	02	12	02	05	05	03	06	06	11	07	09	14	06	07	13	20	08	04	15	23	04	03	00	12	12	08	11	16	02	10	06	00	19	05	
2		19	19	14	29	12	02	10	20	01	06	02	02	12	02	05	05	03	06	06	11	07	09	14	06	07	13	20	08	04	15	23	04	03	00	12	12	08	11	16	02	10	06	00	19	05	
3			99	09	25	05	08	01	06	14	04	21	13	00	11	07	00	08	08	20	02	01	03	13	06	00	15	12	03	01	02	05	05	05	13	07	03	00	10	09	01	05	05	13	26	01	
4				09	25	05	08	01	06	14	04	21	13	00	11	07	00	08	08	20	02	01	03	13	06	00	15	12	03	01	02	05	05	05	13	07	03	00	09	09	01	05	05	13	26	01		
5					33	23	14	08	28	02	06	15	05	09	06	06	05	01	23	20	00	09	09	34	05	11	02	22	02	00	18	04	09	07	15	19	05	09	06	03	02	02	03	06	01	00			
6						36	16	19	28	10	00	07	01	01	06	00	01	12	04	20	01	01	12	20	02	10	03	16	01	19	10	09	08	02	28	14	14	00	02	06	08	06	06	15	11	01				
7							18	34	39	02	18	02	09	04	18	04	05	33	06	26	14	05	07	20	14	20	05	22	07	20	04	22	18	00	43	08	04	13	09	13	02	08	05	08	13	00					
8								34	23	03	22	10	13	10	05	10	06	11	19	22	36	23	07	04	00	41	19	01	07	03	08	26	31	04	27	13	03	10	13	01	10	16	05	08	03	03					
9									35	04	13	05	13	07	02	11	05	26	09	26	06	04	18	11	23	28	03	20	10	23	06	13	17	02	31	15	06	03	11	03	11	03	15	13	10	01					
10										18	18	16	16	13	11	02	02	22	12	11	10	03	10	19	00	32	09	32	12	11	11	04	32	10	31	19	01	00	11	06	12	09	12	15	08	03						
11											33	07	05	06	04	20	08	15	03	03	02	09	18	04	06	13	18	07	01	11	00	06	16	30	08	07	02	02	20	17	16	09	08	07	21	08							
12												09	21	08	06	24	06	28	02	14	37	31	16	06	01	34	13	18	07	05	00	13	48	05	18	15	15	05	16	06	21	08	06	09	05	14							
13													34	12	46	02	28	14	06	11	05	23	01	12	05	03	07	12	05	09	04	00	10	05	05	05	06	06	12	00	13	04	22	04	14	14								
14														41	24	03	20	01	20	11	22	24	02	05	02	01	06	05	01	05	12	02	24	15	23	20	19	02	14	08	17	14	18	09	15	19									
15															04	07	19	01	26	02	10	02	11	00	08	02	05	02	06	09	22	00	13	02	20	11	03	07	17	02	16	08	12	03	04	15										
16																20	24	06	11	11	01	21	06	16	02	10	11	09	13	01	01	02	06	06	11	02	26	07	03	00	02	03	19	04	08	17											
17																	30	16	07	10	15	02	13	06	21	22	27	07	05	18	27	18	20	22	04	13	01	17	04	12	28	04	02	12	02	29												
18																		13	14	03	05	28	01	08	04	01	00	10	09	07	10	11	05	18	05	01	03	16	04	16	00	04	05	12	02	24													
19																			04	22	32	09	21	11	08	27	10	12	20	27	02	17	12	04	15	04	10	04	13	12	15	06	04	05	03	07														
20																				04	15	10	05	03	01	19	03	01	03	02	12	07	10	14	12	01	12	01	00	06	10	04	10	10	03	18															
21																					15	20	30	02	08	24	25	12	12	18	09	30	24	04	36	08	06	04	09	06	11	05	15	17	04	03																
22																						23	36	06	07	42	15	04	15	04	06	25	39	09	14	16	15	15	17	15	12	17	01	18	07	01																	
23																							39	09	12	30	40	17	24	07	09	29	23	02	24	23	10	09	19	15	02	07	09	13	10	00																		
24																								23	24	36	31	25	19	33	01	20	24	09	24	11	17	11	23	17	05	06	06	19	07	06																			
25																									14	02	05	29	08	10	00	05	02	02	12	21	05	10	12	10	06	16	15	16	08	09																				
26																										06	19	01	05	15	08	20	03	17	17	08	08	06	05	17	01	10	04	13	00	12																					
27																											29	12	25	17	07	30	33	01	15	15	20	09	16	01	16	12	09	21	11	23																						
28																												10	21	23	16	36	12	15	15	11	01	11	09	16	10	05	06	17	05	22																							
29																													04	21	06	06	17	15	19	08	03	06	04	07	12	01	14	05	02	18																								
30																														19	13	06	06	09	08	08	17	04	13	04	09	04	04	14	12	12																									
31																															09	18	00	14	07	02	03	01	03	15	09	17	15	14	12	03																										
32																																19	01	07	14	11	05	05	06	00	04	10	00	15	16	27																										
33																																	36	08	29	16	01	04	24	01	03	15	06	21	08	09																											
34																																		03	40	14	10	10	19	09	10	11	03	13	01	00																												
35																																			06	16	07	01	15	14	08	01	07	03	24	16																												
36																																				15	04	00	15	11	05	13	06	09	04	03																												
37																																					04	21	10	33	17	02	03	35	14	09																												
38																																						14	27	07	12	22	07	04	04	12																												
39																																							21	41	10	08	10	20	17	13																												
40																																								08	12	09	08	07	21	02																												
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45																																													02	16																												
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Appendix 4

Factor Loadings

FACTORS AND LOADINGS ARISING FROM VARIMAX ROTATION

	Item reference numbers	10 FACTOR SOLUTION										4 FACTOR SOLUTION[1]				4 FACTOR SOLUTION[1]			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Male	1	04	09	01	05	07	01	00	05	93	06	31	77	07	10				
Female	2	04	09	01	05	07	01	00	05	93	06	31	77	07	10				
Maori	3	02	09	13	08	91	07	05	04	13	01	17	43	53	30				
Non-Maori	4	02	09	13	08	91	07	05	04	13	01	17	43	53	36				
* Will help unless in a bad mood	5	08	35	20	27	17	12	10	08	15	08	13	44	14	02	03	18	47	10
* Sometimes in a bad mood	6	00	53	06	10	24	09	11	17	29	11	22	56	07	12	03	04	61	07
* Inclined to be moody	7	14	72	05	13	02	06	06	02	11	11	44	37	08	20	28	01	61	27
* Openly does things he knows are wrong, in front of teacher	8	54	30	11	11	09	03	06	10	08	11	53	07	01	01	57	04	12	08
* Bares a grudge, always regards punishment as unfair	9	12	66	08	06	10	02	09	10	08	03	44	23	05	04	35	06	47	16
* Has uncooperative moods	10	15	55	10	12	05	18	25	01	22	06	35	50	15	03	23	10	60	03
* Mixes mostly with unsettled types	11	22	04	05	06	19	02	62	08	06	11	25	09	31	09	18	30	17	12
* Uses bad language	12	67	04	04	05	04	06	35	13	16	03	47	09	04	20	61	04	03	07
* Never thinks of greeting	13	04	00	77	08	19	02	05	01	03	04	04	06	59	12	05	54	14	24
* Not shy but never volunteers an answer	14	24	13	41	24	20	39	04	23	08	16	20	11	61	04	19	61	12	10
* Not shy but never comes for help	15	07	12	10	26	02	56	08	08	29	19	16	02	39	09	15	46	01	02
* Avoids teacher but talks to other children	16	10	12	68	10	08	04	04	06	00	05	03	10	49	10	14	46	24	06
* Couldn't care whether teacher sees her work or not	17	21	03	13	28	14	39	45	03	05	01	23	09	29	48	28	41	01	34
* Unconcerned about approval or disapproval	18	16	11	55	20	14	24	24	22	06	01	10	02	46	26	03	57	03	06
* Habitual slick liar	19	24	39	25	07	02	06	19	19	06	28	46	11	14	04	42	21	29	06
* Not lethargic but uninterested and unconcerned	20	12	01	17	01	17	46	00	11	11	00	17	07	26	14	15	38	02	04
* Borrows books from desk without permission	21	25	44	22	02	29	17	01	07	18	07	57	12	04	10	42	01	33	00
* Comes out with smart or cheeky remarks	22	62	04	12	17	09	19	02	10	08	19	60	04	14	27	60	14	01	19
* Gets up to all kinds of tricks to gainattention	23	54	12	42	08	09	02	10	08	00	34	44	00	26	25	40	31	05	39
* Misbehaves when teacher is engaged with others	24	34	07	01	10	07	05	03	18	05	66	48	06	06	33	36	10	27	40
* Resentful muttering or expression for a moment or two, after reprimand	25	22	26	23	31	11	10	05	07	13	43	07	43	13	14	20	14	54	32
* Responds momentarily but it does not last for long	26	05	31	07	25	04	21	08	19	01	40	01	10	09	42	09	13	02	54
* Attends to anything but his work	27	59	24	05	08	03	10	08	25	06	19	62	01	02	26	67	07	14	15
* Never gets down to any solid work	28	41	13	10	18	27	38	01	02	18	22	43	16	23	28	40	17	08	40
* Eager to play but loses interest	29	01	30	19	05	07	17	28	04	27	36	20	46	07	02	01	06	56	08
* Inclined to fool around	30	12	05	16	06	05	14	02	36	09	30	24	06	05	26	23	00	04	27
* Careless, often loses or forgets books, pen	31	01	27	10	04	09	05	15	12	11	61	31	09	09	16	10	22	41	22
* Slumps, lolls about	32	06	01	03	01	00	60	09	01	22	03	08	29	29	16	04	38	10	18
* Constantly restless	33	49	18	06	09	04	36	14	21	30	15	58	20	04	11	50	10	09	16
* Snatches things from other children	34	68	21	07	07	07	06	11	06	06	07	55	10	17	14	63	15	14	03
* Follower in mischief	35	07	03	06	08	06	18	59	12	05	18	11	00	34	09	03	42	20	12
* Flies into a temper if provoked	36	36	55	12	01	17	11	06	17	06	04	57	27	15	24	43	18	46	19
Never offers but pleased if asked	37	21	10	08	63	05	02	06	01	17	02	16	32	11	43	17	16	19	43
Gets confused and tonguetied	38	12	02	07	02	03	07	00	71	09	08	16	10	03	18	29	01	16	08
Shy but would like to be friendly	39	02	06	20	64	04	05	09	17	10	06	03	00	05	50	09	04	08	46
Difficult to get a word out of	40	22	15	08	29	17	04	25	34	15	10	27	05	27	28	34	23	02	22
Chats only when alone with teacher	41	05	25	08	59	02	10	24	06	18	26	06	22	08	59	05	03	04	64
Never pushes forward	42	12	05	17	35	05	06	47	27	07	21	17	06	08	33	24	08	01	27
Has not the confidence to try anything difficult	43	17	03	00	04	07	12	08	61	14	26	20	02	09	02	04	05	20	10
Has to be encouraged to take part	44	10	18	38	08	07	07	33	11	01	09	11	17	22	10	00	18	26	17
Sits quietly and meekly	45	11	16	04	52	12	25	05	08	04	10	25	16	12	37	16	11	22	44
* Never appeals to adult even when hurt or wronged	46	05	12	05	20	46	09	32	22	29	12	10	19	40	33	04	27	06	14
* Shows complete indifference	47	09	01	15	20	02	58	18	27	01	17	08	14	39	37	20	46	15	21

* Selected Items (Table 3.1)

[1] Demographic variables removed.

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