The Delinquent Peer Group:
Social Identity and Self-categorization Perspectives

by

Angeline Cheok Eng Koh

April 1997

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University

I , Angeline Cheok Eng Koh, hereby declare that, except where acknowledged, this work is my own and has not been submitted for a higher degree at any other university or institution.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the nature and the development of a delinquent social identity. Three issues are addressed. These concern the negative identity that results from social comparison processes in school, the role of the peer group in delinquency and the variable nature of the delinquent social identity.

One argument of the thesis, which is based on the concepts of self-categorization theory, is that the delinquent social identity develops out of a negative identity because of perceived differences between groups of adolescents in the school in terms of their commitment to academic studies and their attitude towards authority. The first study in this thesis demonstrates that compared to non delinquents, delinquents are more likely to perceive their social status in the school to be low as well as stable, and are more concerned about their reputation among their peers. Also, delinquents are more likely to rationalize against guilt through the techniques of neutralization, are more likely to value unconventional norms and tend to have negative experiences, <u>both</u> at home and in school.

Based on social identity theory, this thesis argues that delinquency arises out of a search for an alternative positive identity through "social creativity", which is only possible through the group. Membership in a delinquent group or a delinquent social identity offers the delinquent a sense of "positive distinctiveness" which is derived from the rejection, redefinition and reversal of conventional norms. It is only through a social

identity where members perceive each other as interchangeable and share an interdependency, that such a reversal receives social validation, and that members achieve a sense of self-consistency which becomes part of their reputation. The second study in this thesis confirms that delinquents show a relative preference for a group strategy of derogation of the outgroup for coping with negative social comparison, rather than one which involves an individual strategy of competition, and that this group strategy is more likely to enhance their self-esteem. Delinquents' tendency to reverse conventional norms is demonstrated in the third study of the thesis, which also revealed that this reversal is evident only when delinquents are compared to non delinquents, and that this rejection is not total. These findings not only provide support for Cohen's subcultural theory of delinquency but also that of Sykes and Matza who argue that delinquents drift in and out of such behaviours.

In fact, this thesis suggests that this drift can be explained in terms of a shift in the salience of identity. Because the delinquent identity is a social identity, it is variable and context-dependent. Differences in attitudes towards authority, rationalizations against guilt and self-derogation can be explained by differences in the salience of the delinquent social identity. The last three studies of the thesis provide evidence of these variations with both self-report and incarcerated delinquents.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Tables for Chapter Twelve

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

1.1   <u>Preamble</u>

Delinquent behaviour is the behaviour of adolescents who have violated the norms and rules of society. Such behaviour has attracted the attention of researchers in both psychology and sociology for several decades. The aim has been to identify what makes certain adolescents vulnerable to delinquency as well as the kind of actions that can be taken to prevent them from becoming delinquents or continuing in their delinquent behaviour.

Many theories have been put forward to explain the causes of delinquent behaviour. Some of these theories have found some measure of empirical support. At the same time, there are findings which are apparently contradictory. There is need for further research to integrate as well as to explore conflicting research findings in order to deepen the understanding of delinquent behaviour. A better understanding of delinquency would therefore contribute to better and more effective intervention and remedial programmes.

Such programmes are especially needed in societies like Singapore, which are faced with an increasing problem of delinquency. In Singapore, the increase of delinquency over the last five years amidst a general fall in other crime statistics is a worrying trend. The number of juveniles arrested increased from 1,205 in 1990 to 1,878 in 1993, (Miller,

1994) and to 2,589 in 1995 (Miller, 1996). Several measures have been undertaken to redress this problem. Opinions are divided as to the efficacy of measures. On the one hand, there is the belief that harsh measures such as caning when offences can be handled by the school, sending delinquents to "boot camp" for the more serious cases (Pereira, 1996), and punishing the parents of delinquents by the imposition of fines (Yap, 1996), would act as effective deterrents. On the other hand, measures such as family conferencing (Lim, 1996) and participation in the creative arts (Teo, 1996) are advocated instead. However, these measures are often directed towards <u>individual</u> delinquents and their parents, although delinquent behaviour has been found to occur as a <u>group</u> phenomenon.

An analysis of delinquency which examines delinquent group behaviour rather than acts of isolated individuals is required. This thesis is conducted with the aim of understanding delinquency as <u>peer group behaviour</u> and as a <u>social identity</u>, which would not only contribute to the advancement of theoretical knowledge but also to better implementation of both preventive and remedial programmes undertaken to deal with delinquent behaviour.

This chapter outlines the issues discussed in the thesis. The delinquent peer group or gang is an expression of an aspect of the delinquent social identity and should therefore be studied in the realm of social psychology. Three main issues regarding delinquency are discussed. Finally, an overview of each chapter of the thesis is presented.

1.2. <u>The delinquent social identity</u>

Research has found that one of the strongest predictors of delinquency is association with delinquent peers. It is therefore an established fact that delinquent behaviours tend to be committed not by solitary individuals, but in groups (Emler and Reicher 1995; Klein and Crawford 1968; Pabon, Rodriguez and Gurin 1992). Therefore, an understanding of delinquency necessarily involves an analysis of group processes. This thesis is concerned with the processes involved in the development of the delinquent peer group in relation to other adolescent groups. The delinquent peer group is not merely a collection of individual delinquents; it is, as Cohen (1990) defines it, a "collectivity". Cohen explains that

> "membership in collectivities is part of the identities of its members -- that is to say, that who we are as individuals ... is constituted in part by the fact that we 'belong to' and are 'part of' this or that collectivity. This means that the identity of the collectivity -- its reputation, its character and accomplishments, its rank or standing among other collective actors of the same class -- becomes part of the identity of its members." (p.12)

In other words, to be part of a collectivity is to define one's identity or self in the terms of that collectivity. An essential characteristic of a collectivity according to Cohen, is the interchangeability of its members, such that the relationship between the group or gang members is as described below:

> "An injury inflicted by A upon B many count as revenge for a prior injury inflicted by C upon D because, in the algebra of collectivity, A equals D and B equals C." (p. 14)

Cohen's definition of "collectivity" bears close resemblance to the definition of social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), which has been defined as

> "those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging." (p. 40)

The delinquent peer group is thus a manifestation of the delinquent <u>social identity</u>. The members of the delinquent group perceive themselves as similar or identical and interchangeable, to the extent that what is experienced by one member of the group is experienced by the group as a whole. An important aspect of this thesis is exploration of the nature of the delinquent social identity and the processes involved in its development.

An important distinction has to be made between the delinquent peer group and the gang. The terms gang and delinquent peer group are used synonymously by Cohen (1990). However, according to Miller (1980), the gang is an organized group with well-developed lines of authority, having distinct goals and control over particular territories or enterprises. While the gang is a group of delinquent peers with a social identity, delinquent groups are not necessarily gangs. Not all delinquent groups have these features, and while they are social identities, they are therefore not gangs as defined by Miller. The delinquent social identity is distinct from other adolescent social identities by virtue of its deviant acts. Members of the delinquent social identity would comprise adolescents whose self-image is based on their membership in the group of similar others who have committed acts that are considered anti-social and in violation of social norms.

The delinquent peer group need not have many members, unlike many gangs. In fact, Zimring (1981, cited in Braithwaite, 1989) found that most delinquent acts are committed in groups of two or three.

1.3   The social psychology of delinquency

Because the delinquent social identity is an aspect of the adolescent's self-image or identity in relation to membership in a group and contains both individual and social elements, this firmly places the study of delinquency in the domain of social psychology. Moreover, a social psychological perspective is able to best present the interaction between the individual and the social factors that contribute to the development of the delinquent social identity. Emler and Reicher (1995) point out the paucity of research that addresses delinquency in these terms, that what is notable about the social psychology of delinquency is its very absence. They state that it is necessary

> "to address both the social contours and the individual variability of delinquent conduct ... On the one hand, one must be able to explain the social determination of delinquency without being socially deterministic. On the other, one must be able to account for individual variability without succumbing to individualistic reductionism. What is required then, is an account which specifies how broader social structural factors feed into the proximal process by which individual actions are produced." (p. 5)

Cohen (1990) suggests that an understanding of the gang or the delinquent social identity would need answers to such questions as what the special attraction of the identity is, what kinds of people are drawn to

the identity provided by gang membership, what opportunities there are for the achievement of other identities.

1.4 Issues addressed in the thesis

This thesis addresses the issues mentioned by Cohen, in that it is concerned with the processes involved in the development of the delinquent social identity as well as the nature of the delinquent identity. Firstly, it elaborates on the existing literature that describes the kinds of adolescents who are more likely to become delinquents, showing the intervening processes between academic failure and delinquent behaviour. It explores how academic performance and social comparison processes lead to the development of a negative identity.

Secondly, it explores the role of the peer group in delinquency, why delinquency is necessarily a group phenomenon, and why the delinquent social identity is the only means of status management that affords the delinquents some measure of self-esteem.

Finally, the thesis attempts to examine the fluid nature of the delinquent social identity and processes involved in its development, as well as reconcile contradictory theories regarding delinquents' commitment to conventional norms, explaining how they drift in and out of delinquent behaviour. These three issues are elaborated in the sections below.

1.4.1 Delinquency as the result of a negative identity

A rich body of the delinquency literature has shown that the kinds of adolescents who are attracted towards delinquency are those who suffer

from a negative identity either because of dysfunctional families or negative experiences in school due mainly to poor academic performance, or both. (Patterson, DeBaryshe and Ramsey 1989; Simons, Robertson and Downs 1989; Tremblay, Masse, Perron and LeBlanc 1992; Zingraff, Leiter, Johnsen and Myers, 1994). Poor academic performance at school is associated with delinquent behaviour, although the direction of the relationship is ambiguous. Moreover, the intervening processes between poor academic performance and delinquent behaviour have not been made clear. In other words, the question is why an adolescent who does poorly in school should want to associate with delinquent instead of conventional peers. The answers that have been suggested are low self-esteem and the adolescent's orientation to authority. A review of the literature on social comparison suggests that delinquency is the expression of an attempt to cope with a negative identity. Low self-esteem and a poor orientation to authority are likely to stem from social comparison processes and their consequences in the social environment of the school. The thesis suggests that, as a result of negative social comparison, the adolescent who is unable to attain high status through academic success, especially after repeated attempts, develops a negative identity. The means of coping with this identity is then translated, in the company of similar peers, into delinquent acts.

Two aspects of this analysis require clarification. The first pertains to the characteristics that differentiate delinquents from non delinquents, other than their non conforming behaviour. This task is undertaken in the first study of this thesis, which is presented in Chapter Eight. Secondly,

there is the need to establish the existence of a relationship between negative social comparison and delinquency. The second study of this thesis (presented in Chapter Nine) investigates delinquency as a coping strategy in response to negative social comparison and the quest for self-enhancement.

1.4.2   Group involvement in delinquency

The study of group processes involves an analysis of such factors as the level of identification among group members, the group's status vis-a-vis other groups, the stability of this status, whether this status is perceived to be legitimate and whether boundaries between groups are permeable. An important aspect of understanding adolescent peer groups is how they respond to their status in comparison to other groups. Research by Ellemers and Mummendey (Ellemers 1993; Ellemers, van Knippenberg, and Wilke, 1990; Mummendey and Schreiber 1983; Mummendey, Simon, Dietze, Grunert, Haeger, Kessler, Lettgen, and Schaferhoff, 1992) lends useful insights and forms an important part of the thesis. Those who experience failure are assigned a relatively stable low status in school, with little prospect for improving this status via conventional means. The thesis suggests, based on social identity theory, that there are two closely related methods of coping with low status. The first involves a redefinition and reversal of conventional norms. The other is the derogation of the outgroup. Both methods require an identification with ingroup members, as it is only by identifying with a group that status management by reversal of norms and derogation of the outgroup is possible. The relationship between

academic performance and social status in the school as well as the values and norms of delinquents compared to non-delinquents are also explored in the first study.

Another issue addressed by this thesis is the group nature of delinquent behaviour. Cohen's (1955) study of delinquent boys suggests that delinquency operates as a subculture that results from the inability of boys to attain the social status that is accorded to middle-class boys. Braithwaite (1989) takes this one step further and suggests that adolescents who are drawn to the delinquent subculture are those who are negatively labelled and stigmatized. Thus, delinquency is not merely coping with failure and its consequences. More importantly, it involves coping with a negative stigmatized identity and the search for a positive replacement.

But why this coping strategy takes the form of a subcultural and group phenomenon has not been made clear. In one attempt to explain this, Emler (1990) argues that delinquency necessarily involves the group because delinquent behaviour in a group allows members to attain some form of self-consistency and reputation management.

Social identity theory and its concept of "positive distinctiveness" provides the answer with regard to the benefits and rewards of the delinquent subculture and the delinquent reputation. Kaplan's (1980, 1987) research on delinquency and self-derogation has also shown this to be true, that the self-esteem of delinquents tend to be enhanced subsequent to the commitment of delinquent acts.

The second study of the thesis (presented in Chapter Nine) is conducted with the aim of demonstrating that delinquents who are faced

with negative social comparison prefer to cope with their failure by using a group rather than an individual strategy, and that in so doing, they experience less self-derogation.

1.4.3   <u>The nature of the delinquent social identity</u>

As the delinquent group is a social identity, its salience is influenced   by circumstances or the context, as predicted by self-categorization theory. In other words there is a shift of identities depending on the social environment that one is in (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, and McGarty, 1992). This "fluidity" and context-dependence of social identities explains the contradictory findings regarding delinquents' commitment to conventional norms. On the one hand, Cohen (1955) states that delinquents reverse conventional norms such that this represents a subcultural group difference. On the other hand, Sykes and Matza (1957) believe that delinquents do not form a subcultural group, but shift in their commitment to conventional norms. The concept of the variability of social identities therefore clarifies Sykes and Matza 's (1957) concept of delinquency as "drift". Thus, delinquents' attitude towards authority, their feelings of shame and guilt, and identification with their group would also reflect a difference in the salience of the delinquent social identity.

The third study of this thesis which is presented in Chapter Ten, aims to test Cohen's theory that there is a reversal of conventional norms among delinquents. In other words, the norms which non delinquents evaluate positively are negatively evaluated by delinquents, and that those

which delinquents evaluate positively are those which non delinquents evaluate negatively.

The three studies presented in Chapters Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen, are conducted to test the prediction that differences in orientation to authority, feelings of guilt and shame and self-esteem are due to variations in the salience of the delinquent identity.

1.5   Outline of Chapters

Chapter Two gives a summary of the major psychological and sociological theories in delinquency. These include personality theories, strain, social control, differential association, labelling and subcultural theories as well as the theory of reintegrative shaming. Research conducted to verify and provide empirical support for these theories and to investigate family, peer and school factors, is reviewed. Two consistent themes emerge which are likely to be related: the negative identity that delinquents experience and the involvement of the peer group in promoting and encouraging delinquent behaviour.

The thesis proposes that one important source of the negative identity lies in social comparison processes. Chapter Three gives a review of the social comparison literature. It details the social comparison process and its consequences, focusing on academic achievement as a major source of negative social comparison. The measures that are taken to reduce the negative effects of social comparisons are discussed. The chapter also presents the literature on adolescent peer groups, peer rejection and self-derogation. It is suggested that individual coping strategies are less

effective than group strategies in coping with the consequences of negative social comparison, and that the delinquent peer group is the means adopted by delinquents to cope with their negative identity.

The role of the peer group and how membership in a delinquent peer group helps to alleviate feelings of self-derogation of delinquents is addressed by social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The relevance of this theory in explaining how groups address the problem of low status, and how groups strive to maintain their "positive distinctiveness" vis-a-vis other groups in order to enhance the self-esteem of its members, is discussed in Chapter Four.

Chapter Five describes the relevant concepts of self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell, 1987) which offer explanations as to how peer groups develops, how they define their positive distinctiveness as well as the variable nature of social identities. The theory thus throws light on the processes involved in the differentiation of the adolescent identity into two distinctive social identities in the school, the salience of which is dependent on contextual factors. This then allows processes of group cohesion and social influence to take place.

Emler and Reicher (1995) utilize these concepts of social identity and self-categorization theories in developing their theory of delinquency as a form of public self-presentation and reputation management. This is discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter Seven pulls together the different threads discussed in the previous chapters to present an integrated model of delinquency which is

based largely on social identity and self-categorization perspectives. The model explains the processes involved in the development of the delinquent social identity, how it develops its positive distinctiveness as well as its variable and context-dependent nature.

The next six chapters present the empirical findings of studies conducted to test the various hypotheses of the model. Chapter Eight presents the findings of the first study, conducted to show the relationship between low social status and poor academic performance, and to further examine characteristics of delinquents as compared to non delinquents, with regard to endorsement of neutralization techniques, their norms and values and reputation concerns.

Chapter Nine describes the second study of this thesis, which aims to show that delinquents prefer a group strategy of derogating members of the outgroup in order to cope with negative social comparison, rather than an individual strategy of coping which involves competition.

Chapter Ten describes the third study which tests the hypothesis that the norms of delinquents are the reverse of conventional norms, and that delinquents have more negative memberships in the school and higher identification with members of their gang.

The nature of the delinquent social identity as postulated by self-categorization theory is tested in three studies presented in Chapters Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen. It is hypothesized that the delinquents' attitudes towards authority, the endorsement of neutralization techniques as well as self-derogation would be different under different contexts and salience of identities. Chapter Eleven describes the study conducted with

self-report school delinquents. The replication of this study with a sample of incarcerated delinquents from detention homes is reported in Chapter Twelve. The study presented in Chapter Thirteen tests the variable nature of the delinquent social identity with regard to the self-esteem (or self-derogation) of delinquents.

Finally, Chapter Fourteen summarizes the findings of the six studies, and discusses their limitations, implications for intervention, as well as suggestions for future research.

1.6   Summary

In summary, this thesis addresses three issues in delinquency from the perspectives of social identity and self-categorization theories. It explains the source of the delinquent's negative identity and accounts for the intervening processes between academic failure and delinquent behaviour. It also explains why the delinquency is essentially a group phenomenon, and how the delinquent social identity provides its members with increased self-esteem. Finally, it provides additional insight into the variable nature of the delinquent social identity, explaining how delinquents drift in and out of delinquent behaviours.

CHAPTER TWO

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF DELINQUENCY

2.1   Preamble

This chapter reviews the psychological and sociological literature on delinquency. Theories of delinquency range from the strictly psychological to the very sociological in nature in the attempt to explain why certain adolescents turn towards delinquency while others do not. These explanations include psychological theories that focus on personality factors, intelligence and deficiency in moral reasoning, and the sociological theories of strain, social control, subcultural, differential association and labelling theories, as well as Braithwaite's (1989) theory of reintegrative shaming. The contribution of these theories in throwing light on the kind of adolescents who are susceptible to delinquent behaviour, as well as the existing lacunae is then addressed in the light of empirical findings.

2.2   Personality factors and delinquency

Eysenck's investigation of the role of personality factors in delinquency indicates that certain personality traits are related to delinquent behaviour (Binder, 1988; Heaven, 1993). Specifically, delinquents are shown to score higher on the psychoticism scale than non delinquents, exhibiting such characteristics as difficulty in controlling temper, a lack of empathy and guilt, aggressiveness, hostility and toughmindedness. Also,

Eysenck and McGurk (1980) have demonstrated a relationship between extraversion and delinquency. The Eysenckian view of delinquency focuses on arousal and conditioning. Extraverts are found to be low on arousal and do not condition easily. Hence, they have a greater tendency to engage in risk-taking and thrill-seeking behaviours and do not learn acceptable behaviours through rewards and punishment. Moreover, the research of Eysenck and Gudjonsson (1989, cited in Heaven, 1994) shows that extraverts and introverts respond differently to different stimuli, that extraverts have higher pain thresholds than introverts. Adolescents who score highly on Eysenck's extraversion and psychoticism scale are believed to be impulsive and venturesome (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1978).

Heaven (1989) draws the connection between impulsivity, anti-authority attitudes and delinquency. His research confirms the findings of Reicher and Emler (1985) regarding the relationship between delinquency and anti-authority attitudes. Also, his investigation of personality variables reveal impulsivity to be a significant factor in delinquency. Measures of impulsivity as well as risk-taking and non-planning are shown to be related to negative attitudes to authority as well as anti-authority behaviour for both male and female subjects. However, no association was found between extraversion and attitudes towards authority. Another study (Heaven, 1991) which differentiates between functional and dysfunctional impulsiveness, based on the theory of Dickman (1990, cited in Heaven, 1991) showed that dysfunctional impulsiveness is positively related to psychoticism but negatively associated with self-esteem and attitudes towards the family. A further investigation (Heaven, 1993) of these

variables, including venturesomeness and anger was conducted, which showed that the nature of delinquent behaviours are different for males and females. For males, venturesomeness, low self-esteem, anger and attitudes towards authority are directly related to delinquency but for females, none of them are directly related to delinquency. For both males and females, psychoticism and sociability are directly related to delinquency.

A similar study conducted by Emler, Reicher and Ross (1987) found no support for neuroticism, though extraversion received only mixed support. However, Eysenck's theory also found support in conjunction with social control variables in Mak's (1987) psychosocial perspective of delinquency. Her model, which includes both personality characteristics of impulse control and emotional empathy, as well as social control factors of attachment to parents and to school, explains 52% of the variance in self-reported delinquency when impulse control and emotional empathy are combined with liking for school, parental bonding and belief in the moral validity of the law.

If Eysenck is correct with regard to delinquents being low on arousal and resistant to conditioning, this would have implications for their cognitive and moral development. The relationship between moral reasoning and delinquency is discussed next.

2.3   Delinquency and moral reasoning

The cognitive developmental theory of delinquency is largely based on Kohlberg's stages of moral development, which assumes that children

and adolescents have a morality that is different from that of adults (Dusek, 1991). Kohlberg's research involved presenting subjects between the ages of 6 and 16 with ten moral dilemmas, from which they had to make moral choices. The reasons for their choices reflected the processes underlying their moral development, of which there are three main stages, each divided into two substages. At the preconventional stage, the child's concepts of right and wrong are largely determined by physical consequences resulting from rewards and punishments. In the later part of this stage, morality is interpreted as fairness or reciprocity from an individualistic viewpoint. What is right is what satisfies the needs of self or of others. At the conventional stage, morality is defined in terms of obligations. What is right is being able to live up to the expectations of self and others, and the accepted social order. At the postconventional or principled level, what is right is no longer seen as absolute, and laws are interpreted with less rigidity, seen more in terms of a social contract. The highest stage is reached when one is able to define right and wrong according to abstract universal ethical principles.

Based on these stages, delinquency is interpreted as immature or retarded moral development below Stage 4 (Emler and Hogan, 1981; Jurkovic, 1980). Emler and his colleagues (Emler, Heather and Winton, 1978) argue that according to Kohlberg's theory, delinquency rates would decline when the adolescent's development towards maturity equips him or her with an adequate sense of moral reasoning. However, they found that with increasing maturity, delinquency rates peak rather than decline. They

therefore concluded that there is no support for the relationship between delinquency and moral reasoning.

On the other hand, Jurkovic's review of the research regarding this relationship suggested that the moral reasoning of delinquents, compared to non delinquents, did show a developmental lag (Jurkovic, 1980). However, he concluded that immature moral reasoning in itself is not the only cause of delinquency because the moral thinking of delinquents is influenced by the situational context and such factors as intelligence. The next section is devoted to the discussion of the relationship between delinquency and intelligence.

2.4   The delinquency-intelligence relationship

Studies on the relationship between intelligence (IQ) and delinquency have not been conclusive. One view is that a modest relationship exists. On average it is found that delinquents, compared to non delinquents score eight points lower in their IQ scores (Lynam, Moffit and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1993; Shoemaker, 1990). Hirschi and Hindelang (1977) conclude from their review of studies of this relationship that there are no direct effects of IQ on delinquency but they do believe that there is an indirect, though mild effect. Their argument is that IQ affects delinquency through such intervening variables as academic performance and attitudes towards school and authority. This view is supported by the findings of Menard and Morse (1984). However, the study conducted by Emler et al. (1978), which used verbal intelligence and cognitive functioning on Piagetian tasks as measures of intelligence, thus eliminating

literacy biases, found no indication of a relationship between intelligence and delinquency. Emler and Reicher (1995) conclude that the relationship between IQ and delinquency is not strong, and postulate another possibility, that both IQ and delinquency are dependent variables, influenced by a third independent variable of the adolescent's orientation to authority.

The relationship between low IQ and delinquency, and the possibility that delinquency and IQ could be related spuriously as co-products of a third variable has been investigated by Lynam and his colleagues (1995). Their study involves an investigation of the direction of relationship between IQ and delinquency, taking into account possible spurious variables of race, social class, test motivation, impulsivity and school failure, but not orientation to authority.

In their review of the literature on the IQ-delinquency relationship, Lynam et al. (1993) suggest that one factor that may have contributed to this relationship is the differential detection by police. Low IQ delinquents are more easily detected by the police and thus more represented in the research samples. However, this argument has not been validated by research findings. The study by Moffitt and Silva (1988, cited in Lynam et al., 1993) which compares both self-reported detected delinquents and those who are undetected by the police shows no difference in terms of their IQ, although both groups have lower scores than that of a non-delinquent comparison group.

Another argument is that social class and race could be spurious variables that have contributed to the relationship between IQ and

delinquency. Similarly, these receive no support from the research evidence (Hirschi and Hindelang, 1977), for when social class and race are controlled, the relationship between IQ and delinquency is shown to remain.

There have been several analyses of the causal relationship between delinquency and low IQ. It has been suggested that delinquency causes low IQ because the delinquent life-style does not encourage intellectual functioning (Hare, 1984, cited in Lynam et al., 1993). In particular, delinquent behaviour may affect IQ as a result of head injuries incurred during fights, the effects of drug abuse and the fact that delinquents are not interested in doing well. However, studies of prospective delinquents (Denno, 1990; Moffit, et al. , 1981, cited in Lynam et al., 1993) indicate these pre-delinquents have lower IQ scores well before the initiation of delinquent activities.

Two explanations have been given for the causal relationship between IQ and delinquency. The first is a neuropsychological one. Neuropsychological disabilities produce "executive deficits" so much so that those with these deficits are unable to control their impulses, to sustain attention and concentration, to formulate long-term goals or to reason abstractly. The second explanation is that IQ leads to delinquency through school failure.

Lynam and his colleagues (1993) attempt to clarify the IQ-delinquency relationship by controlling for several factors. They sampled delinquents who are at the early stage of delinquency who have yet to be involved in violence and drug addiction. Race, social class, test motivation,

impulsivity and school failure are also controlled for. The IQ scores for full-scale, verbal and performance tests were obtained for both Black and White subjects.

Results showed that delinquents score significantly lower on verbal than performance IQ. For both Black and White subjects alike, the IQ scores of delinquents are significantly lower than those of the non delinquents. Controlling for socioeconomic status, test motivation or impulsivity did not affect the negative relationship between IQ and delinquency. However, when school failure is controlled, the relationship between IQ and delinquency for Black youths only, is reduced. Thus, the conclusion is that school achievement mediates the IQ-delinquency relationship only for Black youths. The results of the study showed that poor school achievement plays an important part in the development of delinquency particularly for Black youths. The results of this study are illustrated in the path diagram below. (Statistically significant paths are indicated in solid lines.)

Figure2.1a: Path models of IQ and achievement for White youths
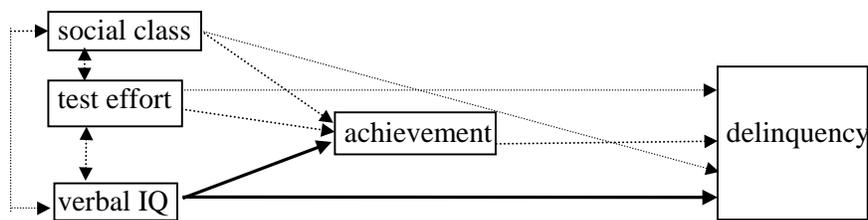
Figure2.1b: Path models of IQ and achievement for Black youths
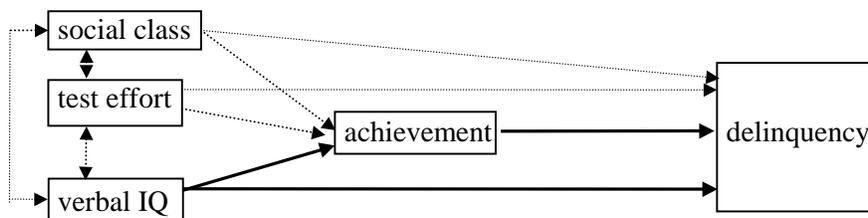
Source: Lynam, D., Moffitt, T., & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (1993) Explaining the relation between IQ and delinquency: Class, race, test motivation, school failure or self- control? Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 102, 187 - 196.

The findings of Lynam and his colleagues are consistent with the work of other researchers who have shown that delinquency and academic performance are related. The next section reviews the literature regarding this relationship.

2.5   The delinquency-academic performance relationship

Zingraff, Leiter, Johnsen and Myers (1994) demonstrate that good academic results can act as a buffer against negative events. They cite a wealth of research showing the relationship between academic performance and delinquency. This relationship has been shown to be robust regardless

of race, gender or socioeconomic status. Zingraff and his colleagues extend this to children who have been maltreated. They argue that maltreatment does not necessarily set children on the path towards delinquency, but that the effects of maltreatment can be ameliorated and counteracted by academic success. Three types of maltreatment are investigated in their study; physical abuse, sexual abuse and neglect. Zingraff et al. (1994) took into consideration absenteeism, behaviour problems and grade point average, and found that it is children who have not done well in school who are most likely to be involved in delinquency. Their findings revealed that neglected children and those who have been physically abused are at high risk of delinquency. However, for the physically abused, those who have done well at school are less at risk. Their findings add to the robust literature on school performance and delinquency, that good academic performance reduces the risk of delinquency.

Another study investigating this relationship was conducted by Tremblay, Masse, Peron and Leblanc (1992). They argue that previous studies regarding the relationship between poor school performance, early disruptive behaviours and later delinquency have not produced unambiguous results. Their study sets out to clarify this relationship. Aggressiveness and conduct problems in childhood have been shown to be good predictors of poor school achievement. As discussed above, academic achievement can be considered as an intervening variable between low IQ and delinquency, as well as between peer and teacher rejection, conduct disorder and delinquency. Tremblay et al. (1992) also examined paths from disruptive behaviour, school achievement and delinquent personality

defined in terms of emotions, attitudes and values. Using LISREL analyses of their longitudinal data, Tremblay and his colleagues found that there is a direct causal link between boys' disruptive behaviour at age 7   and their delinquent behaviour at age 14. This is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2: Paths between conduct disorder, school achievement and delinquency

Time 1 (age 7)   Time 2 (age 10)   Time 3 (age 14)

```
           Conduct disorder                              Delinquency

                                School Achievement

           School Achievement
```
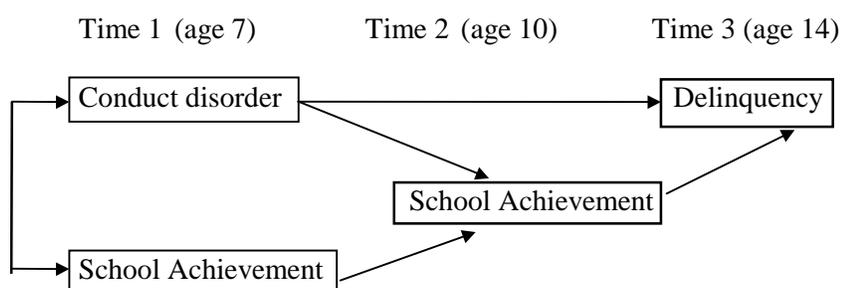
Source: Tremblay, R.E., Masse, B., Perron, D. & Leblanc, M. (1992) Early disruptive behaviour, poor school achievement, delinquent behaviour, and delinquent personality: Longitudinal analyses. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 60, p. 66.

However, for boys' delinquent personality at age 14,   results indicate that school achievement was a necessary causal path. The causal paths are from school achievement at age 7 to school achievement at age 10, and from this to delinquent personality at age 14. For girls' delinquent personality, the paths were similar to the boys', with the addition of disruptive behaviour at age 7 affecting school achievement at age 10.

Thus, the results seem to indicate a difference between delinquent behaviour and delinquent personality. Those with poor academic performance at an early age are at high risk for the development of a

delinquent personality, but delinquent behaviours are best predicted by early disruptive conduct.

In summary, findings (Lynam et al. 1993) regarding the relationship between intelligence and delinquency have found that academic performance or school achievement acts as an important mediating factor. The study by Tremblay and his colleagues (1992) demonstrated that conduct disorder and school achievement has a direct effect on the development of a delinquent personality. It has also been suggested by Emler and Reicher (1995) that academic performance and delinquency may well be related spuriously through orientation towards authority. Thus, a model that incorporates and summarizes these theories may be illustrated Figure 2.3 below.

Figure 2.3: Relationship between conduct disorder, orientation towards authority, academic performance and delinquency
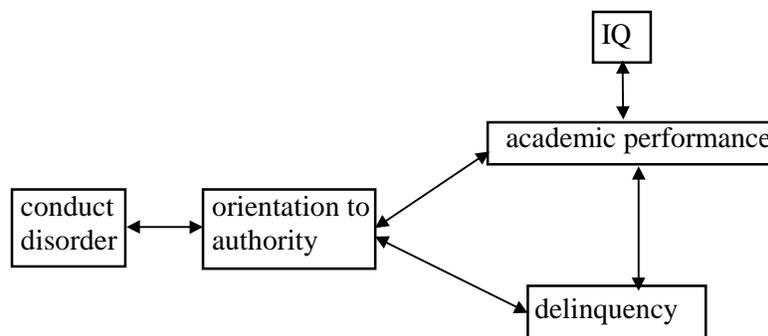
Conduct disorder in terms of disruptive behaviour can be expected to produce a negative orientation towards authority, which then serves to generate more disruptive behaviours. An oppositional orientation to authority as contrasted to a conventional one could lead to delinquent

behaviour, which then affects academic performance through such factors as loss of motivation and interest in studies. Academic failure on the other hand, could cause the adolescent to develop a negative attitude towards authority, which then leads to delinquency. One aim of this thesis is to further investigate this relationship between academic performance, orientation towards authority and delinquent behaviour which are likely to be reciprocally related.

Disruptive behaviours and a negative orientation towards authority may be one result of the lack of social control. The next section is devoted to the discussion of social control theory and the empirical research that supports it.

2.6   Social control theory

Social control theory (Hirschi, 1969) assumes that everyone has the potential and the tendency or inclination at some time or other towards delinquency, but most do not succumb to this tendency because of bonds to society -- attachment, commitment, involvement and beliefs, each of which are closely interrelated with the others. Hirschi (1969) defines attachment as one's internalisation of the norms of society as a result of one's close relationship to others, especially parents, whose wishes and expectations are respected. In fact, compared to non delinquents, delinquents report that their parents are less loving and supportive, less caring and accepting but more hostile, punitive, rejecting, over permissive, and inconsistent in discipline (Mak, 1987).

Commitment to a career, future prospects or reputation militates against choosing the path of crime or delinquency. Similarly, having such commitments would mean that one's involvement in the pursuit or maintenance of such goals sets limits to one's time and energy, leaving no time for deviance. One's attachments, commitments and involvement are founded on the beliefs or values of conventional society, and it is only the individual who lacks these bonds to society who would have nothing to lose by committing crimes. Hirschi also found lower rates of delinquency among students who are academically competent and who perceive their self-ability to be high.

One problem that Hirschi faced in his theory concerns attachment to peers. In the original conception of the theory, Hirschi proposed that adolescents who are close to their peers would show a lower rate of delinquency. However, the research evidence does not support this argument. Attachment to peers enhances conformity only when peers subscribe to conventional norms. When peers are delinquent, association with them increases delinquency.

Social control theory acknowledges that it does not seek to explain why an individual chooses to commit delinquent acts. It explains why one does not choose to do so. Support for Hirschi's control theory is evidenced in such findings as those of Patterson, DeBaryshe and Ramsey (1989), Dishion, Patterson, Stoolmiller and Skinner (1991), and Simon, Whitbeck, Conger and Conger (1991).

Patterson et al. (1989) point to ineffective parenting practices as an antecedent to childhood conduct disorders. They cite studies showing that

families of antisocial children are characterized by harsh and inconsistent discipline and ineffective parenting. By ineffective parenting, Patterson et al. (1989) mean being noncontingent in their use of both positive reinforcers for prosocial behaviours as well as effective punishment for deviant behaviours. They explain how the child affected by such parenting practices has to find a means of coping through coercive behaviours, which are characterized by aggressiveness or use of force. These antisocial behaviours result in rejection by the child's normal peer group as well a academic failure. Patterson and his colleagues cite several studies demonstrating the relationship between antisocial and disruptive behaviour and academic achievement. One explanation for this is that the child's disruptive behaviour in the class impedes learning. Also, classroom observational studies have shown that these children were also poor in academic survival skills necessary for effective learning.

Simon et al. (1991) stress the importance of the lack of attachment to the school or commitment to educational goals in influencing delinquent behaviour. They argue that there is no direct relationship between adolescents' coercive interpersonal style and involvement with deviant peers -- this is mediated by the adolescents' negative experiences in the school.

The study of Simon and his colleagues (1991) involved 61 families with children in the seventh grade, and included videotapes as well as questionnaires. Their path analytic results provide support for their model. Identification with parents has been found to be strongly associated with prosocial values, and inept parenting with coercive interpersonal styles of

the children. This in turn, is related to problems at school. Negative experiences in school are associated with involvement with deviant peers, which is in turn associated with delinquent behaviour. See Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4: Relationship between parenting practices, school and delinquency

coercive interpersonal style

+

inept parenting practices

+

+

problems at school

+

deviant peer group

+

delinquent behaviour

–

identification with parents

+

prosocial values
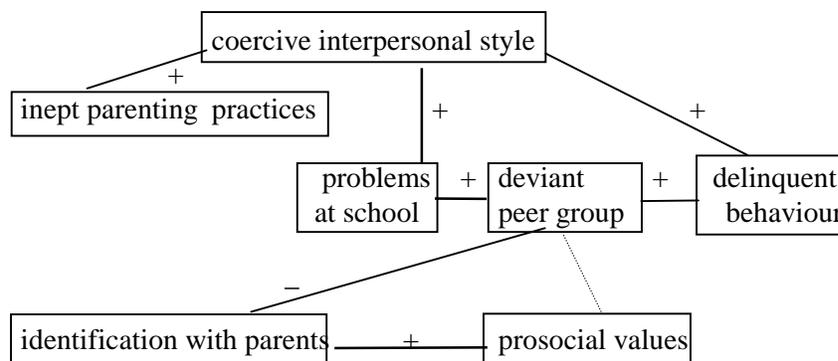
Source: Simon, Whitbeck, Conger and Conger (1991) Parenting factors, social skills, and value commitments as precursors to school failure, involvement with deviant peers and delinquent behaviour. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 20, 645 - 664.

Problems in school do not directly give rise to delinquent behaviour; it is mediated by involvement with delinquent peers. The school plays an important role in providing the context and opportunity for similarly deviant students to associate. The results also showed that the coercive interpersonal style of the adolescents is directly linked to delinquent behaviour independent of peer influences. However, panel studies show that deviant peers play an important role in the maintenance and escalation of delinquent behaviour.

Simon et al. (1991) did not attempt to resolve the contradictory findings by Elliot, Huizinger and Ageton (1985) that non delinquents and

delinquents do not differ in terms of commitment to conventional values, although delinquents endorse the values of their deviant peer group.

Support for social control theory is also evident in research which links parental rejection to delinquency. One study by Simons, Robertson and Downs (1989) defined parental rejection as the absence of warmth. In fact, parental rejection has been linked to other problems as well, such as aggressiveness, moral reasoning, drug abuse and emotional problems. However, what was not established was the direction of the relationship. Simons and his colleagues argue that previous studies regarding this relationship have not ruled out spurious factors. Their study controls for six family variables, namely, number of parents present in the family, maternal employment, family conflict, parental control, family organization and family religious commitment. The results of their study indicated that parental rejection is significantly related to delinquency even after controlling for the other family factors. Results of the LISREL analysis showed that the causal flow is from parental rejection to delinquency rather than vice-versa. What remains to be determined then are the causes of parental rejection. Several factors have been suggested such as acute and chronic stress and lack of support which may contribute to coercive and non-nurturing parenting practices.

Feldman and Weinberger (1994) tested the hypothesis that parenting practices during childhood are responsible for the development of self-regulatory skills in adolescence. Therefore, adolescents who lack such skills are those who have failed to develop them because of ineffective parenting during their childhood. Feldman and Weinberger

believe that self-restraint is a mediating factor. Their study showed that effective parenting during preadolescence, rather than general family functioning, is associated with boys' self-restraint at Time 1. However, general family functioning plays a more important role during adolescence, and positive family functioning contributes to adolescent boys' self-restraint four years later. Boys' low self-restraint at Time 2 is also shown to be a predictor of delinquent behaviour.   When self-restraint has been accounted for, parenting practices are no longer directly associated with delinquent behaviour. The researchers therefore conclude that it is effective parenting in childhood rather than adolescence that results in the boys having self-restraint, which in turn inhibits delinquent tendencies.

Feldman and Weinberger have not forgotten the role of peers. They cite Parke and Ladd (1992) that family practices and parenting are directly linked with association with delinquent peers, that the latter is a strong predictor of delinquent behaviour. They state that self-restraint acts as a mediator between poor academic performance and delinquent behaviour, as well as between parenting practices and children's rejection by non deviant peers.

Other research on the relationship between dysfunctional families and delinquency, which lend support for social control theory, demonstrate that families where parenting practices are ineffective contribute towards the development of delinquency in their adolescent children by failing to provide social control.

One such study is that by McIntyre and Dusek (1995) who investigated is the relationship between parental rearing practices and

coping dispositions. The results of their study showed that adolescents who perceived their parents as more authoritative as well as warm and nurturing tend to favour social support and problem-focused coping rather than emotion-based or cognitive coping. It is implied that the first two methods are more adaptive, as they involve taking some kind of action as opposed to denial or acceptance. Emotion-based coping, on the other hand, tends to be manifested as aggressive or deviant behaviour. More problem-focused coping was also reported by subjects whose parents are more firm in rule-enforcement. Higher parental monitoring was also associated with problem-focused coping rather than emotion-based coping.

Another study by Mednick, Baker, & Carothers (1990) examined the characteristics of intact and non intact family structure with regard to changes in socioeconomic status after divorce, the stability of the family in terms of its adult configuration, and paternal crime. They found that paternal crime, increased family instability in terms of changes in the family constellation, and lower current socioeconomic status were significant predictors of later criminal behaviour in male children. Also, the results of this study indicate that it is not the broken home per se that is important as much as the changes that accompany the break-up as well as the timing of the divorce. If the family is stable after the divorce and the male child is under twelve years old at the time of the divorce, the likelihood of him becoming a delinquent is less than if the divorce occurs at adolescence.

Adolescents seem particularly vulnerable to family instability. Mednick and his colleagues suggest that one contributory factor is the

ineffective parenting by the mother after the divorce. They cite studies showing that post-divorce mothers tend to be more authoritarian and erratic, and are less able to provide supervision or control.

Another study that links parenting practices to delinquent behaviours is that conducted by Shaw and Scott (1991). Shaw and Scott point to the argument that power-assertive discipline and love-withdrawal methods of parenting do not foster the development of an internal control orientation.

Delinquents have been shown to have an external locus of control. Shaw and Scott examined the relationship between parenting practices, locus of control and delinquency. They predicted firstly that inductive parenting, which employs reasoning, promotes the development of an internal locus of control and reduces the predisposition towards delinquent and hostile behaviour. Secondly, one can expect children whose parents use the love-withdrawal and punitive techniques of discipline to be more external in their control orientation and therefore have a higher propensity to commit hostile and delinquent acts. These predictions were confirmed in their study. They concluded that parental disciplinary techniques do have an effect on the children's delinquency, and this relationship is mediated by the locus of control.

On the basis of research evidence presented on the relationship between the dysfunctional family and delinquency, it can be concluded that social control theory has some merit. Families that are ineffective or dysfunctional in terms of parenting practices, and demonstrate parental rejection and lack of maternal warmth, contribute to delinquency by not

fostering self-restraint in their adolescent children. Such families also have adolescents who are external in their locus of control, who have negative experiences of school and who tend to associate with delinquent peers. In other words, these dysfunctional families fail to provide the social control that would otherwise have kept the adolescent children attached to the family and committed to conventional goals.

The relationship between the family and peers is a close one, especially for adolescents (Parke and Ladd, 1992). Simon and his colleagues (1991) have shown that adolescents from dysfunctional families tend to associate with delinquent peers. The theory which proposes that delinquency results from such association is discussed next.

2.7   Differential association theory

The theory of differential association (Sutherland and Cressy, 1978) postulates that criminal behaviour is learned through communication with others who are members of one's personal group. Whether an individual learns conforming or non conforming behaviour depends on differential interaction with one's peers. This particular process of learning is not different from the mechanisms of other learning processes. The individual who learns a criminal behaviour learns the techniques of committing the crime as well as accompanying attitudes and rationalizations. In other words, the individual who commits a crime cannot be unaware that the act has been defined as illegal, but has chosen this path because his association with criminal patterns is greater or more valued than that which is non

criminal. When applied to delinquency, the theory therefore assumes that there is an adolescent subculture, and that association with delinquent peers from this subculture leads one to learn to commit delinquent acts.

Support for this theory is derived from several studies. One longitudinal study by Snyder, Dishion and Patterson (1986) showed that for adolescents without previous arrest, associations with delinquent friends is a strong predictor of first arrest in the next three years. Roff 's (1992) study of the predictors of delinquency revealed that of three variables examined, namely childhood aggression, peer status and social class, aggression is the most significant of the three. With regard to peer status, it is boys with low status in the low and middle classes that have the highest risk of delinquency. In contrast, those in the high social class with high peer status are at the lowest risk. Other evidence indicates that delinquent acts are often committed in the company of other delinquents (Emler, 1990), which lends support to the idea that peers play an important role in influencing delinquency. Studies by Bowker and Klein (1983) and Giordano, Cernkovich and Pugh (1986) showed that friendships among delinquents are closer and involve greater mutual influence than those of nondelinquents. However, Klein and Crawford (1968) and Pabon, Rodriguez and Gurin (1992) argue otherwise.

According to Klein and Crawford, the cohesiveness of the gang is due to external rather than internal factors. What holds the gang together, in other words, is not the interpersonal attractiveness of its members for each other, but some external factor such as the challenge of another group. Klein and Crawford list the characteristics of such groups. Firstly, these

groups have minimal group goals. The most commonly expressed one is the protection of its members against other gangs. Secondly, membership stability is relatively low as the affiliation of members with the gang is only for a brief period. Thus, leadership is also unstable. Finally, the gang does not have clear norms except for acceptance of illegal acts.

Klein and Crawford explain that the gang comes into existence and appears to have some degree of cohesiveness only when adolescents with similar frustrations interact with one another and recognize common attitudes in the presence and opposition of rival groups. Moreover, the negative reactions of police, teachers and adults in general serve to reinforce the delinquent identity of the gang. Under these conditions, the cohesiveness of the gang leads to delinquency because of antecedent deviant values that are reinforced, and requisite skills are learned through association with other members. Klein and Crawford also point out that low status plays an important part in contributing to the cohesiveness of the group.

Pabon, Rodriguez and Gurin (1992) reviewed the literature on peer relationships and delinquency, and found that while some findings (Bowker and Klein, 1983; Giordano, et al. 1986) support the importance of attachment and commitment to delinquent peers, there are also findings that challenge this. Pabon and his colleagues cited Hirschi's study (1969) that delinquents do not get along with one another. They concluded that the findings are not contradictory but represent different aspects of the relationship between peers. They believe that peer group integration should not be measured by time association alone but other factors such as

closeness to peers, friendship and identity support as well as companionship. They believe that a distinction between dyadic and group relationships is necessary, and argue that these two levels of peer relationships serve different functions. Dyadic relationships provide affection, intimacy and esteem support whereas group or peer relationships provide a sense of inclusion, companionship or belongingness. Based on this distinction, Pabon et al. are able to reconcile the apparently conflicting findings, in that

> "peer relationships among delinquents provide a sense of group belongingness but have none of the other attributes linked to supportive friendships" (p. 154)

Their argument is also supported by the fact that while 70% of delinquents commit delinquent acts in the company of peers, only 30% of them indicated that these peers are friends.

Pabon and his colleague explore the differential dyadic and peer relationships among delinquents. Results confirm previous findings that there is a strong association between peer relationships, delinquent peers and delinquency. While there is a strong sense of group belongingness, there is no evidence of closeness or intimacy between the delinquents and their peers. In fact, they found that this aspect of the relationship is characterized by estrangement and loneliness. A further analysis was carried out with two factors -- peer emotional distance and time association. Results show that although the delinquents spend a considerable time with peers, especially in the evenings, there is no emotional bonding or closeness among the peers. The researchers

therefore conclude that the basis of the relationship is not emotional affection but rather companion support. In other words, in their view the relationship between the delinquent and his or her peers is a tentative one. Self-categorization theory offers an explanation for the findings of Pabon and his colleagues. The discussion of this is left to Chapter Five.

McCord (1990) argues that the degree to which peers influence adolescents to commit delinquent acts depend on other factors, such as the relationship of the adolescent with his family. Indeed, Steinberg (1987, cited in McCord, 1990) found that susceptibility to peer influence is inversely related to interaction with parents. At this point, a discussion of the interaction between family, peer and school attachment and delinquency is appropriate.

2.8   Family, peer and school interactions in delinquency

Warr (1993) comments that research on the influence of peer and family on delinquency has often taken the two separately. Parents are often thought of as barriers against delinquency, even parents who have criminal records. On the other hand, peers can be said to be the instigators of delinquent behaviour. Warr argues that it is important to consider both family and peer influences together, as the influence of the family tends to counter that of the peers.

Following Hirshi's (1969) social control theory, Warr mentions three ways in which the family acts as a counter-balance to peer influence. Firstly, in terms of the amount of time spent, the more time the adolescent spends with his or her family, the less time is available for peers, and the

less likelihood there is of involvement with delinquent peers and delinquency. Secondly, adolescents who are attached to their parents are less likely to associate with delinquent peers and therefore, have less tendency to commit delinquent acts. Finally, strong attachment to parents acts as a deterrent to delinquent behaviour because the adolescent has internalized parental values and fears parental disapproval.

These predictions are tested in a self-report study of delinquent behaviour. Results confirmed that time spent with the family, especially time during the weekends, has a significant effect on delinquency. The more time that the adolescent spends with his or her family, the less is the likelihood of them committing delinquent acts. However, parental attachment does not have a significant effect on delinquency. Adolescents who are close to their parents are less likely to have delinquent friends, and this in turn, inhibits delinquent behaviour. Parental attachment does not counterbalance the influence of delinquent peers once the adolescents have developed such relationships.

Warr (1993) concludes that the influence of the peer group is such that when the adolescent is with his or her peers, their influence is powerful enough to overwhelm or negate the influence of the family. Hence, one way to prevent the adolescent from committing delinquent acts is to prevent the development of friendship with delinquent peers. This can be achieved by parents spending more time, especially during weekends, with their adolescent children, as time with parents means time away from delinquent peers.

One weakness of Warr's study is that he did not explain why, in the first place, adolescents seek out delinquent instead of the more conforming peers. It is possible for adolescents who spend time away from their parents to occupy their time in the company of non delinquent peers. The relationship between the two variables, time spent with the family and family attachment, is not elaborated. The level of parental attachment is likely to affect the amount of time the adolescent would want to spend with his family.

Another study on both family and peer influences in delinquency is by Licitra-Kleckler & Waas (1993) who consider adolescence to be a period of storm and stress. They state that for successful adaptation to stressful life events,

> "the adolescent must achieve a fit between himself or herself and various nested social systems including family, peer and community networks. The degree to which the individual achieves such a fit will largely determine the extent that such support sources are used effectively in coping with stressful events." (p. 382)

Family and peer support therefore acts as a buffer against stress, which is expressed internally in the form of depression and anxiety, or externally through delinquency and aggression. Licitra-Kleckler and Waas tested the hypothesis that high levels of social support would be associated with lower levels of stress. The results of their study revealed that adolescents who perceive that they have low family support indeed face greater school and family problems, have greater involvement with drugs and alcohol and

are more frequently involved in minor acts of delinquency as well as serious crime. Those who perceive low levels of peer support reported higher levels of depression.

There are gender differences in that high-stress females have a greater tendency to be depressed whereas high-stress males are more likely to be involved in delinquent acts. For females, there is a greater tendency to commit minor delinquent acts when peer support is low and family support is also low. However, when family support is high, the likelihood of delinquent behaviour is low and peer support has no effect on delinquency.

As expected, males show greater tendency towards delinquency than females. For males, lower levels of delinquency are found when family support is high. The greatest involvement in delinquent acts is found among males who perceive both low family and low peer support.

Licitra-Kleckler and Waas measured peer support in terms of the degree of intimacy and closeness provided by friends. Peer support here is therefore defined in interpersonal terms, or in the terms of Pabon et al., (1992) as dyadic relationships rather than peer relationships.

A study by Liska and Reed (1985) borrows from social control and differential association theory. According to the social control theory, delinquency is the result of weakened bonds between the adolescent and conventional institutions, in particular, the family and the school. It is the attachment that the adolescent feels to his or her family and school that is assumed to inhibit deviant motivations. The important role of parental attachment is also emphasized by differential association theory and learning theory. According to the former, parental attachment insulates the

adolescent from the influence of delinquent peers. In the view of learning theory, parental attachment enables the adolescent to imbibe the values of parents therefore sensitizing the adolescent to parental sanctions.

Liska and Reed advocate a reciprocal causal model of delinquency, and argue that social attachment and delinquency both affect one another. Using crosslag and simultaneous equation methods, they confirmed this hypothesis. Race differences are found. For white subjects, parental attachment affects delinquency, which affects school attachment and this in turn, affects parental attachment. The relationship takes the form of a vicious circle as illustrated in the Figure 2.5.

Figure 2.5a: Delinquency, school and parental attachment for white subjects
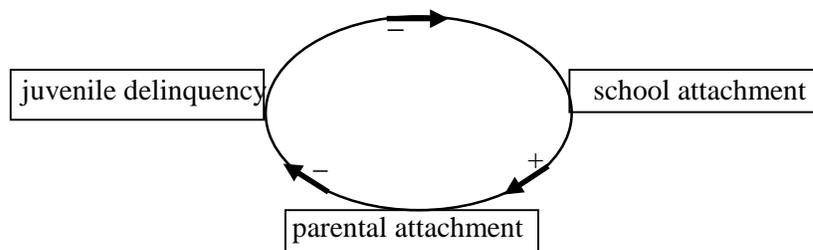
However, the relationship for the Black sample is different. School attachment is affected by parental attachment, and delinquency is also affected by school attachment. (See Figure 2.5b below).

Figure 2.5b: Delinquency, school and parental attachment for black subjects
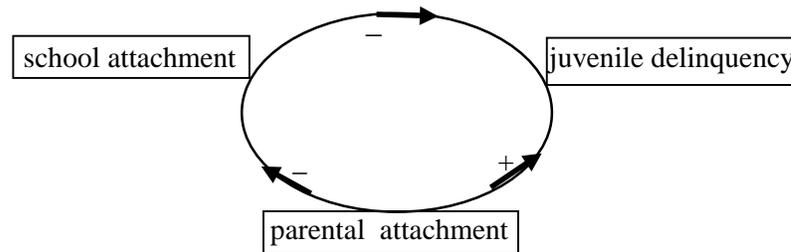
Liska and Reed explain that delinquency directly affects attachment to school and not parental attachment because the attachment of parents to their children is stronger and is relatively less affected by their children's delinquent behaviour than the teachers at the school. Moreover, delinquent acts are committed more often in the school context than in the presence of family members. Also, school attachment does not affect delinquency directly but through parental attachment because parents are the major source of delinquency control.

The research of Liska and Reed poses a challenge to the social control theorists in that it illustrates the reciprocity of the relationship between attachment and delinquent behaviour. One affects the other such that it is not easy to say which is the causal variable. The delinquent behaviour of adolescent children may cause school problems to the extent that parents feel less attachment, and this in turn, through the amount of time spent or through parenting practices, contributes to delinquent behaviour in the children.

2.9   Strain theories

The theories of Merton (1957) and Cloward and Ohlin (1972) represent what is known as the strain theory of delinquency. The basic tenet is that delinquency is the result of the denial of legitimate channels to economic success. According to Cloward and Ohlin, gangs are the result of social disorganization. Adolescents who grow up in the slums are constantly faced by failure and therefore experience acute frustration because they are unable to achieve success. Because of the disorganization of the slums, these adolescents are cut off from both legitimate opportunities for success and stable criminal careers. Violence serves as an expression of their pent-up frustrations and anger, and the nature of their crime tends to be individualistic, unorganized, petty, poorly paid and unprotected. The only means whereby they can achieve prestige is through the reputation of being tough.

Strain theory is so called because of the frustration and anger of not being able to attain goals. In its early formulation, these goals represented the economic success of the middle class. Revised strain theories shift the focus back to educational goals. McCord (1990) argues that frustration from the lack of legitimate opportunities for success leads to the search for an alternative identity, which is then manifested in delinquent behaviour. As support for this argument, he points to the decreasing rate of delinquency with age and to the increase of employment opportunities after school.

Another study by Agnew (1993) combines frustration and anger with social control variables. He challenges the central tenet of social

control theory that there is an inherent tendency in individuals to deviate from social norms except for social controls such as attachment to parents, commitment to the achievement of a goal, involvement in terms of time spent in conventional activities, and belief in the moral system of society. In other words, social control theory posits that where there is low social control, there is nothing to hold the adolescent back from breaking social norms. According to Agnew, the important intervening variables of frustration and anger have been neglected. Social control variables are related to delinquency only among adolescents who have high levels of anger and frustration. Therefore, variables such as the lack of attachment to parents would lead to delinquency only among adolescents who are angry and frustrated, and would have no effect on delinquency if the level of anger and frustration is low. Thus, instead of a direct path from low social control to delinquency, Agnew's strain theory allows the intervening variables of anger and frustration.

Agnew's strain theory is empirically supported. Firstly, he found variations in levels of anger and frustration among his subjects, thus casting doubt on social control theory's premise that the motivation for delinquency is evenly distributed. Secondly, he found that the social control variables of lack of parental attachment and commitment to educational goals, themselves are sources of anger and frustration. Finally, whether social control variables have an effect on delinquency is dependent upon levels of anger and frustration.

Agnew has not omitted the role of delinquent peers as an intervening variable in the development of delinquency. This is the central

principle of differential association and social learning theories, that delinquency is a learned behaviour, and that without delinquent peers, the adolescent is not likely to exhibit delinquent behaviour. Agnew also found that social control variables affect delinquency insofar as delinquent peers are present.

Agnew's strain theory therefore combines social control and differential association theories with the traditional strain theory. Put simply, his theory states that social control variables have an effect on delinquency only when the adolescent is under strain and is therefore angry and frustrated, and when delinquent peers are present. Low attachment and commitment cause the adolescent to be angry and frustrated, which also drives him or her to associate with delinquent peers, and this in turn, leads to delinquency. According to Agnew, not all strain is equally disagreeable, but varies in its duration (whether the adolescent has been experiencing long periods of stress), recency (recent events being more stressful), magnitude (the degree of unpleasantness) and clustering (whether there are other stresses being experienced at the same time).

Another study which combines both strain and social control variables was conducted by Paternoster and Mazerolle (1994). They investigated strain in terms of neighbourhood problems, negative life events, negative relations with adults, school or peer hassles and perceived limitation on goal attainment. Their social control variables were moral beliefs, delinquent peers, delinquent disposition, school grades and family attachment. In addition, they argued that adolescents cope with strain by diminishing its importance. Results of the study showed that having a

conventional moral system and good school grades inhibits delinquency. However, having delinquent peers was positively related to delinquency. There was partial support for the general strain theory in that negative relationship with adults, dissatisfaction with friends and school life, experiences of negative events and an unpleasant neighbourhood are associated with delinquency.

One of the stresses that delinquents face is the negative labels that becomes attached to them. Labelling theory is discussed in the following section.

2.10   Labelling theory

Labelling theory (Lemert, 1967) assumes that an act is criminal insofar as it is defined as such, that such definitions are imposed by the powerful to safeguard their interests, and that the application of criminal sanction by the justice system is dependent on sex, race, age and social class. Hence, an act by itself is not intrinsically criminal, until the person who deviates is caught and given a negative label. Subsequently, this process of labelling produces identification with a deviant image and subculture, and a rejection of the authorities who had imposed the label in the first place. Shoemaker (1990) explains that the application of negative labels to delinquents, which need not be official in terms of police records, influences future acts because

> "such labels eventually alter a person's self-image to the point where the person begins to identify himself as a delinquent and act accordingly." (p. 209)

According to Lemert (1967), delinquent behaviour can be viewed from two perspectives. The first is the societal response to the behaviour, labelling it "delinquent"" or "criminal". The second component of this labelling process involves the reaction of the person so labelled. Thus, labelling theory offers an explanation of secondary deviance but has little to say about the basic causes of delinquency. Shoemaker points to the fact that not all delinquents are detected and labelled, and that in fact, a great deal of "hidden" delinquency exists. Another issue concerns the reaction of the adolescent to the negative label. In other words the adolescent has a choice of accepting or rejecting the label, and to either indulge in further delinquent acts or to mend his ways. Shoemaker states that the choice the adolescent makes depends on group support.

The assumptions of labelling theory have been challenged by Wellford (1975). One of the first assumptions is that no act is intrinsically delinquent or criminal. Wellford argues that studies of different cultures have shown consensus and consistency regarding the definition of such acts as murder, rape, assault, and robbery as deviant. Secondly, the theory implies that one does not become delinquent by violating the law as much as through the process of being labelled delinquent, and that the justice system serves the interest of the powerful at the expense of the less powerful. Wellford refutes this by citing studies of sentencing that have shown the importance of characteristics pertaining to the offense rather than personal characteristics of the offender, such as sex, age or race. The most serious criticism is levied against the proposition that the change in self-concept is a   result of negative labelling brings about a necessary

change in behaviour in terms of the rejection of conventional norms and promotion of secondary deviance.

This criticism regarding consequences of labelling and its effects on identity and behaviour has received significant research attention. Shoemaker's (1990) review of the literature on labelling and the self-concept reveals that, while there is qualitative evidence from the examination of court records and observation of juvenile gangs which connects negative labelling to the development of a delinquent identity, studies relying on quantitative measures of the self-concept have revealed only mixed support. On one hand, there is evidence (Gibbs, 1974; cited in Shoemaker, 1990) which showed that labelling in fact increases the self-esteem of delinquents after court processing but not after arrest, as well as their commitment to future delinquency and delinquent others, especially among lower-class Blacks. On the other hand, there is also evidence that labelling lowers self-esteem (Hepburn, 1977; cited in Shoemaker, 1990). The issue of the self-esteem of delinquents will be addressed in the next chapter. Research on the relationship of labelling and subsequent delinquency similarly shows conflicting findings. Some studies found that adolescents who have been sent to court have lower rates of subsequent delinquency, but other studies have found the opposite. Nevertheless, Shoemaker concludes from this analysis that the negative effect of official labelling is strongest among those less committed to delinquency.

Braithwaite (1989) elaborates on the consequences of negative labelling in his theory of reintegrative shaming, arguing that this

encourages membership in delinquent subcultures. Subcultural theories of delinquency and situational or drift theory are presented next.

2.11   Subcultural theories

Miller's (1958) theory of delinquency emphasizes the need of delinquents for belonging and status among peers. This need stems from the search for male identity because of the absence of significant male role models in female dominated households. Hence, gangs are often lower-class and male-oriented, characterized by six focal concerns; trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy. Delinquents enjoy the excitement of engaging in illegal activities which may be taken as evidence of their toughness and smartness in outwitting others. They also believe in fate, that their future and destiny are often out of their hands, but at the same time, want autonomy in the sense of wanting to be independent of external controls. According to Miller, delinquency is the expression of these concerns, which automatically goes against conventional norms.

Shoemaker's (1990) review of the literature on Miller's theory shows that while there is a tendency for lower-class Black households to be matriarchal, there is little support that these households lead to higher rates of delinquency. Moreover, ethnographic studies of the lower-class do not support Miller's description of them in terms of the six focal concerns. Perhaps, these focal concerns are more descriptive of delinquent gangs themselves than of the lower-class.

Cohen's (1955) subcultural theory, however, argues that delinquent norms are in fact those that are the reverse of the conventional. He believes

that male delinquency and membership in gangs is the result of a problem-solving strategy or an adaptation to status problems caused by the inability to accept the norms of middle-class American society. Middle-class norms emphasize such values as ambition, achievement, rationality, self-control and respect for property. These values are reinforced in schools which adopt middle-class standards, and are espoused by some working-class or lower-class parents. The lower -class child is thus at a disadvantage, and in the face of repeated failure, reacts by rejecting the school and its system of values. Cohen links academic failure to delinquency through rejection of the status system of the school and the collective solution of the delinquent subculture. In Cohen's words, the lower-class child is

> "more likely to find himself at the bottom of the status hierarchy whenever he moves in the middle-class world, whether it be of adults or of children. To the degree to which he values middle-class status, either because he values the good opinion of middle-class persons, or because he has to some degree internalized middle-class standards himself, he faces a problem of adjustment and is in the market for a 'solution'" (p. 119).

The solution to this problem is the delinquent subculture, which repudiates the middle-class standards. Cohen (1972) states that these boys care about their low status, and aspire towards middle-class values, but because of the fact that they care and want the higher middle-class status, they reject what they cannot have. This rejection, through the process of reaction formation, results in the total rejection of middle-class standards and the adoption of their very antithesis. In this way, they are able to elevate their status.

Typically, the kind of delinquent acts committed by these boys are described as "non-utilitarian, malicious and negativistic", and cannot be explained by the desire for material goods, social disorganization or cultural conflict. These attitudes and feelings of hostility are nurtured within the context of similar peers or the delinquent gang.

Delinquency is thus a group expression of hostility and a legitimization of aggression against middle-class society and its norms. In fact, Cohen (1972) adds that

> "This delinquent system of values and way of life does its job of problem-solving most effectively when it is adopted as a group solution" (p. 135).

Delinquency appears to be very much a working-class problem, but Cohen admits that official statistics are biased, and that delinquent behaviour is not confined to this class alone. However, he found it difficult to explain middle-class delinquency, stating that it is highly possible that subcultural delinquency among middle-class boys differs in quality and frequency from that of the working-class, but certain strands of motivation that characterize the male role in both classes bear certain family resemblances. Another possible explanation which Cohen adopts is Talcott Parson's theory of sex-role identification, that males having identified with their mothers, use delinquency as a means to establish their masculinity. Cohen makes an attempt to explain the psychological processes which cause the inversion of values which characterize the delinquent subculture by adopting the psychoanalytic explanation of reaction formation.

Two main tenets in Cohen's theory are that lower-class boys perform poorly in school compared to those from the middle-class, and that academic performance is related to delinquency. Both have found consistent empirical support. (The latter has been addressed in Section 2.5).

However, studies regarding the proposition that boys who drop out of school and associate with similar others are more likely to become delinquents have produced conflicting results. Thornberry and his colleagues (1985) found that arrest rates of boys who dropped out of school at 16 to 18 years of age increased after dropping out of school. An earlier study by Elliot and Voss (1974, cited in Shoemaker, 1990) found that delinquency rates peaked before dropping out and declined later. Thus, the causal relationship between dropping out of school and delinquent behaviour is not well supported. Shoemaker (1994) suggests that dropping out of school may be a "delinquent-reducing solution to school problems rather than a starting point for a delinquent career" (p. 120). In fact, school drop-outs who have married and found employment have lower rates of delinquency.

Another problem with Cohen's theory concerns the gang membership of delinquents. Cohen postulates that gang membership is a source of psychological gratification, but Yablonsky (1962) describes gangs as "near-groups" because relationships between members are not characterised by close and stable relationships. (This issue of the nature of relationships among members of the delinquent peer group has been addressed by Pabon and his colleagues, and discussed in Section 2.7. A

further discussion on delinquency and self-enhancement will be presented in the next chapter.)

According to Cohen's theory, one would expect adolescents to exhibit more delinquent attitudes and behaviour after they have joined a gang. This issue is addressed by Johnstone (1983) and Thornberry, Krohn, Lizotte & Chard-Wierschem, (1993). These researchers examine whether adolescents who join gangs are those who are already delinquent, or whether adolescents become delinquent only after joining the gang.

Johnstone's (1983) study looks into the processes involved in the recruitment of gang members. He states that there are three factors involved, namely community characteristics, social and institutional attachments, and definitions of self. Borrowing from social control and strain theories, Johnstone states that it is adolescents with poor attachment to the family and the school who have no good reasons not to join the gang. Gang membership appeals to those who view their future prospects negatively,:

> "Gang life therefore, should appeal most to boys who are confident neither about their adjustment to conventional adolescence nor about   their   chances   as   conventional adults." (p. 284).

His study found that gangs tend to recruit members from those who already have a history of delinquent behaviours. Also, these boys tend to come from poor families in female-headed households, where the father is often absent. (see Miller, 1958). Johnstone concluded that it is these boys who perceive that their chances of success in conventional society are

severely limited who become gang members. He states that gang membership is not a preferred choice but a last option, since these boys do not have positive alternatives. His conclusion is that "gangs ... cultivate rather than create delinquents" (p. 297).

The study by Thornberry et al. (1993) conducted a decade later, apparently contradicts Johnstone's findings. In their research, three models are proposed regarding the relationship between gang membership and delinquency. The first is what Thornberry terms the "selection model". This posits that those who become gang members are those who already demonstrate delinquent behaviours. If this is so, then these members are likely to engage in delinquent behaviours regardless of their membership in gangs. In other words, delinquency rates would be high over three time periods; before, during and after membership in gangs.

The second model is called the "social facilitation" model. If this model holds true, then members did not have high levels of delinquency before joining the gang, but acquire this only after joining the gang. Hence, the group processes involving status, solidarity and cohesion that take place within the gangs are then seen as a major cause of delinquency. Gangs become more cohesive when faced with threats to their status, and this results in more delinquency.

The third model is the "enhancement" model, which is a combination of the other two models. Gangs recruit members who are delinquent and membership in the gangs enhances the already present delinquent tendencies. According to this model, delinquency rates would

be high before the delinquents are members of the gang, and would be even higher after they join the gang.

The prediction from these three models were tested in the longitudinal study conducted by Thornberry and his colleagues. This study considered the delinquent careers of gang members before and after they join the gang, which previous studies have omitted. Furthermore, they also considered the stability of membership in the gangs. Comparisons are made not only between the delinquent and non-delinquent, but also between transient and stable gang members. The rate of delinquency is considered over three time periods.

Results of the study supported the social facilitation model. Subjects who were gang members at the time they were in 8th and 9th grades but not when they were in the 10th h and 11th grades reported higher rates of delinquency when they were in the 8th and 9th grades than when they were in the 10th and 11th grades during which their levels of delinquency dropped. For those who were members of the gang only when they were in the 11th grade, their rates of delinquency were highest at this time compared to when they were in the lower grades, with 8th and 9th grades having a lower rate than in the 10th grade. In the 8th grade, there were no significant differences in the delinquency rates between gang and non gang subjects. These results also indicate that when the gang members are in a gang, they are more delinquent than when they are not. In other words, gang members are not uniformly delinquent. This finding is strongly supported in the case of transient gang members.

In the case of stable gang members who have been in the gang for more than two years, their delinquent behaviour is closer to that predicted by the enhancement model. Those who reported delinquency when they were in the 8th or 9th grades and in the 10th grade have higher rates than when they were in the 11th grade, when they are not in the gang. Those who reported delinquency when they were in the 10th and 11th grades have lowest rates when they were in the 8th and 9th grades, and higher rates later on after they have joined the gang.

Thornberry et al. (1993) therefore concluded that the above findings do not support the selection model. Delinquents do not recruit members who are already delinquent, but members become more delinquent after they join the gang.

Thornberry and his colleagues also investigated their hypotheses with regard to specific forms of delinquency such as crimes against the person, crimes against property, drug sales and drug use. Except for crimes against property, their predictions regarding the social facilitation model hold true. One possible explanation for this may be that when committing property crimes, the goal is to obtain material goods, whereas for the other crimes the motivation may be intrinsic, for self-esteem or status reasons for which facilitation by gang membership is necessary. Those whose motivation is to have material goods may not need to be gang members before they commit the crimes.

Despite the apparent contradiction in the results of Johnstone's (1983) study that gang members recruit members who already demonstrate delinquent behaviours, and that of Thornberry and his colleagues, that gang

membership serves to facilitate and enhance delinquent behaviours, both studies confirm that the gang or the delinquent group is an essential element in delinquency. Whether gangs attract adolescents who have high or low levels of delinquency, the fact remains that it is those adolescents who have negative experiences either at home, in school or both, who are vulnerable to delinquency.

While these findings indicate some support for Cohen's theory, Matza's (1964) theory contradicts the main assertion that delinquents uphold norms that are the antithesis of the conventional. Matza's situational or "drift" theory is discussed next.

2.12   Situational or "drift" theory

Sykes and Matza (1957) criticise Cohen's and other theories which explain delinquency in terms of a delinquent subculture. Contrary to Cohen's findings that delinquent boys contradict the values of the dominant social class and adhere to a norm of rejection (and hence do not experience guilt), Sykes and Matza argue that there is evidence of delinquents who do express feelings of shame and guilt as well as admiration and respect for law-abiding persons. One example is the finding of Elliot et al. (1985) that delinquents and non delinquents do not differ in their commitment to conventional norms. Also, these delinquents discriminate between people who can be victimized and those who are valued and should not be victimized. Hence, these delinquents are not totally immune from the demands of conformity.

According to Matza (1964), delinquency is situational, depending on a particular time, place and setting. Hence, adolescents "drift" in and out of delinquency, depending on circumstances, and do not totally reject conventional values as proposed by subcultural theorists like Cohen.

This drifting in and out of delinquency is facilitated through what Sykes and Matza call "techniques of neutralization" which are in fact, rationalizations. These enable the delinquent to deny responsibility for his actions by attributing his behaviour to external causes. The delinquent also denies that his actions have caused injury or harm, or if this is not possible, attempts a denial of the victim by arguing that he or she deserves to be a victim, that the act is justifiable. Other such techniques involve the condemnation of the condemners, and putting the demands of the group membership above that of society. In other words, the norms of the delinquent group have priority over those of society.

In a later conceptualization of the theory, Matza (1964) places emphasis on the role of the peer group in promoting delinquency. He states that it is situations involving the peer group that encourage adolescents to adopt delinquent norms, although individually each member of the group subscribes to conventional values.

Shoemaker's (1990) review of the literature on the theory of Matza and Sykes found no support for it. He criticizes the theory for portraying the adolescent as a

> "free-floating individual who is being buffeted about by diverse influences . . . it seems to allow the individual too much freedom of choice without suggesting a

rationale for explaining the choices which are
made." (p. 166)

One study that does support the propositions of Matza and Sykes' theory is that conducted by Agnew and Peters (1986). Their study investigates whether delinquents approve of the acts they commit. They state that there are two dimensions of the neutralization process. Firstly, if adolescents who subscribe to conventional values are to commit deviant acts, they must accept a technique of neutralization, and secondly, they must perceive that they are in a situation where such a technique is applicable. Thus, their study hypothesizes that among adolescents who do subscribe to conventional norms, the acceptance of neutralization techniques is greatest in situations where these adolescents perceive that these techniques are applicable. Agnew and Peters believe delinquents who approve of deviance would not or need not resort to these guilt-reduction strategies. These hypotheses were confirmed in their survey study of adolescents in cheating and shoplifting situations.

Sykes and Matza's conceptualization of the techniques of neutralization can be taken as indicators of shame or guilt. In other words, it is only those who are guilty who need to rationalize, so as to alleviate feelings of shame. The next section proceeds with a discussion of Braithwaite's theory of reintegrative shaming.

2.13   Reintegrative shaming

Braithwaite (1989) explains the distinction between shaming and guilt induction, that

"shaming follows transgressions with expressions of the lower esteem the offense has produced in the eyes of external referents like parents and neighbours; guilt-induction responds to transgressions with admonitions concerning how remorseful the child should feel within herself for perpetrating such an evil act." (p. 57)

However, he states that because guilt-induction always implies shaming, and that guilt is made possible by the process of shaming, both are criticisms by others. Thus, although there is a distinction between guilt and shame, guilt-induction and shaming are essentially the same process.

The important distinction to be drawn is between shaming that is stigmatizing and therefore negative, and shaming which is reintegrative and positive. Stigmatization, as has been argued by labelling theory, casts the offender firmly in his or her deviant identity. Stigmatization, according to Braithwaite, can have several consequences. One would be solitary deviance such as suicide. Another would be crime-preventive in that it shames the offender into repentance. However, Braithwaite believes that it is more probable that stigmatization would reinforce rejection and promote a reciprocal rejection of the rejecters. Thus it is more likely to promote the development of deviant subcultural groups with opposing norms and values, as elaborated by Cohen (1955). Once deviance is anchored in the offender's identity, attempts at admonishing and punishment lose their impact as these would be carried out by those with whom the offender has already severed ties.

Braithwaite lists several reasons why reintegrative shaming is to be preferred to stigmatization. Firstly, the deterrent works through fostering

the fear of shame in the eyes of those whom the offender is close to, and this is a more effective form of control than the fear of punishment. Such internal controls encourage the development of conscience. Moreover, reintegrative shaming offers the offender the chance of being re-accepted into his social group, and reintegrated back into the community of conforming or law-abiding citizens before deviance becomes a "master status" or ingrained as part of the offender's identity.

Two key concepts in Braithwaite's theory are those of interdependency and communitarianism. Interdependency is the system of relationships characterized by mutual personal obligations, where each member is dependent on the other for the provision of needs and attainment of goals. Communitarianism describes the kind of societies with dense networks of interdependencies with "strong cultural commitment to mutuality of obligations" (p. 85). Shaming is most effective in communitarian cultures because any deviation from the norms or morality of the culture is made known directly by confrontation or indirectly through gossip. In such cultures, reintegration is achieved because

> "the overt encounters reflect a more rational, fairminded account of the offender, propelled by the need to continue to interact with him; the covert gossip reflects the irrepressible capacity of human beings to affirm their normalcy, to enhance their own relative repute, by merciless and simplistic devaluation of others" (p. 89)

The offender would not want to incur social disapproval from his significant others, with whom he shares this sense of interdependency, and neither would these others in his network, who are in turn dependent on

him, want to exclude or isolate him. What acts as deterrent is the avoidance of being shamed rather than the fear of punishment. When disapproval against the offender is necessary, it is expressed with forgiveness rather than rejection. Thus, the offender is not allowed to depart from his social network but is reintegrated into it. Under such conditions, the offender maintains his self-esteem, and is not driven into delinquent subcultures as an alternative means of achieving this.

Braithwaite's concepts of interdependency and communitarianism integrate both individual and social elements. Interdependency, he explains, is the condition of individuals, while communitarianism is that of societies. Individuals who are between 15 to 25 years of age, and are unmarried and unemployed, and with low educational aspirations or commitments are more susceptible to delinquency and crime because they suffer from a lack of interdependency. Communities characterized by urbanization and residential mobility have higher crime and delinquency rates because of a lack of communitarianism. Stigmatization extends to the residents of such communities as well because they are denied opportunities as a result of their race or neighbourhood.

2.13   Summary and Discussion

An understanding of delinquency necessitates the inclusion of the different theories of delinquency presented in this chapter, as they demonstrate that the nature of delinquency is complex and that no single theoretical framework satisfactorily explains it. While social control, strain, differential association and personality theories concentrate on the possible

causes of delinquent behaviour, subcultural and labelling theories and the theory of reintegrative shaming place greater emphasis on the consequences of norm violation and the maintenance of the delinquent identity.

Many issues still remain unresolved. Although Emler and Reicher (1995) posit that it is the poor orientation towards authority that is likely to be the cause of both delinquency and academic failure, antecedent factors which lead to a poor orientation towards authority have only been given a brief mention. Other researchers who claim that the direction of the relationship is from low academic performance to poor orientation towards authority have not outlined the processes that have led the adolescent from poor grades to attitudes that are anti-authority. In other words, the question that remains to be answered is what processes are at work between academic performance, orientation towards authority and delinquent behaviour.

The studies of Eysenck (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1978; Eysenck and McGurk, 1980) and Heaven (1993) on personality and its influence on delinquent behaviour seem to indicate that extraversion and impulsivity contribute to delinquency, but research in this area has not been conclusive. However, Emler and Reicher (1995) acknowledge that extraversion does have a part to play because it is related to group behaviour:

> "extraverts like hanging in groups, and groups commit crimes, or extraverts being more sociable, find themselves more often with obligations of sociability which conflict with the legal restrictions and regulations." (p. 95)

Hence, extraversion and sociability can be said to be closely associated with group membership, and likewise, it can be argued that the group demands of its members a consensus of behaviour that may be interpreted as impulsivity. The influence of personality factors should be considered in interaction with group behaviour.

Although Emler and Hogan (1981) found that delinquency rates increase with increasing age rather than decrease as predicted by Kohlberg's theory of moral development, there is evidence to indicate that delinquents have a lower moral reasoning compared to non delinquents (Jurkovic 1980). It is possible that moral reasoning may not be a maturation factor and related to age, but influenced by social control variables such as parenting practices. Moreover, it is also possible that moral reasoning too, could be related to group behaviour, where higher loyalty or moral obligations are towards the group rather than society as a whole.

Such findings point to the need for a <u>social psychological</u> explanation of delinquency, integrating both individual and social factors. Also, Mak's research has demonstrated that personality factors of impulse control and emotional empathy alone did not explain delinquency as well as when considered with social factors such as attachment to family and school (Mak, 1978).

The common criticism against social control theory is its assumption that everyone has an innate tendency to deviate (Agnew, 1993). Nevertheless, it seems to enjoy strong empirical support from the research. However, what is not clear is how one develops the bonds of attachment,

commitment, involvement and beliefs, or the processes by which these bonds act as deterrents. Braithwaite (1989) accounts for this in his concept of interdependency, but the relationship between interdependency and identity has yet to be elaborated. Another criticism against control theory is that it also fails to elaborate on the processes by which the lack of parental and peer attachment and academic failure lead one to be committed to a deviant peer membership, and how this membership is translated into delinquent behaviour. Cohen's (1955) subcultural theory suggests that the group is a solution to the problem of low status caused by academic failure, but except for using the psychoanalytic explanation of reaction formation, Cohen does not explain why the solution has to involve the group. Although the theory explains why norms of the low status adolescent groups are necessarily deviant, the processes involved in the formation of the delinquent group are not elaborated. The findings of Thornberry et al. (1993) support the theory's prediction that membership in a gang both facilitates and enhances delinquent behaviour, but why this is so is also unclear.

Differential association theory has its merits in pointing out that delinquent peers play a large role in influencing delinquent behaviours, and that adolescents learns this from their association with such peers. However, it does not explain why the adolescent would choose to associate with delinquent peers and to learn from them rather than conventional peers. It is also conceivable that the adolescent who obtains poor grades and fails in school could have associated with the more successful peers and learn to succeed from them. Klein and Crawford (1968) and Pabon et

al. (1992) show that the delinquent peer group is cohesive only when faced with rival groups and imparts to its members a sense of belonging but not intimacy. On the other hand, Giordano et al. (1986) found closer ties among delinquent peers than among the non delinquents. Hence, another issue that has to be addressed is the nature of relationships among members of the delinquent peer group.

Although Agnew's (1993) revised strain theory demonstrates that lack of both parental attachment and commitment to school are related to delinquency only when there is anger and frustration, he omits explaining the sources of anger and frustration. A possible source of anger is shame experienced by adolescents who have been unable to achieve their goals. They may be berated by punitive parents and derogated by peers, causing them to experience a loss of esteem. A fuller understanding of delinquency would require explanations as to why the failure to achieve goals, in particular, academic success, would affect attachment to parents and lead to shame, loss of esteem, anger and frustration and not acceptance of failure. Moreover, the question as to why these then lead to association with delinquent peers has to be answered.

One important contribution of labelling theory it that it explains delinquency in terms of a change of identity. Unfortunately, it does not go on to elaborate how this change of identity takes place, nor does it address the causes of primary deviance.

The research presented in this chapter indicates that there is some degree of consensus with regard to two main themes. Firstly, delinquents are found to suffer from the strain of negative experiences or a negative

identity. Secondly, peer involvement is found to play a significant role in the development of the delinquent identity, and it is likely that this is one strategy of coping with the negative identity.

One source of negative identity is the delinquents' experience of school, which tends to be characterized by low academic achievement and poor social relationships, especially with authority. Delinquents are more likely than non delinquents to be poor in academic studies. The research of Lynam and his colleagues (1993) regarding intelligence and delinquency has shown that academic performance is an important mediating factor. Tremblay et al (1992) also reveal that school achievement is a predictor of delinquent personality. Similarly, researchers in social control factors have shown that disruptive and aggressive behaviours result in academic failure (Patterson, et al., 1989).

Other sources of negative identity are the negative labelling attached to those who have failed to observe societal norms and the stigmatisation that follows (Braithwaite, 1989). Research in social control variables has shown that delinquents suffer from the consequences of ineffective parenting practices (Dishion, et al., 1991) from parental rejection and lack of maternal warmth (Simons, et. al. 1989), from family instability (Mednick, et al. 1990), poor coping methods (McIntyre and Dusek, 1995) as well as peer rejection (Patterson, et al. 1989). Agnew (1993) demonstrates that the consequent anger and frustration results in delinquent behaviour.

The importance of the peer group in the development of the delinquent identity has been elaborated by differential association and

subcultural theories, and is supported by empirical evidence. Warr (1993) concludes from his study that the influence of delinquent peers is sufficient to negate that of parents. Also, the research of Thornberry et al. (1993) found that association with delinquent peers both facilitates and enhances delinquent behaviours.

A major issue that remains to be answered is the role that the peer group plays in helping to alleviate the effects of a negative identity. This thesis argues that development of a negative identity has its roots in social comparison processes that operate in the social environment of the school. Whether the adolescent takes the path towards delinquency would depend on how he or she copes with the consequences of negative social comparison, (especially in terms of academic achievement which evokes a sense of self-discrepancy, self-derogation and peer rejection), and whether there are other opportunities for achieving positive identities, The next chapter proceeds with a review of the literature on social comparison processes , the consequences of academic failure and the strategies taken to deal with these consequences, of which the delinquent peer group is one such strategy.

CHAPTER THREE

ACADEMIC FAILURE , SOCIAL COMPARISON,
THE ROLE OF PEER GROUPS AND SELF-ESTEEM

3.1   <u>Preamble</u>

The various psychological and sociological theories of delinquency presented in the previous chapter attempt to explain the various sources of the delinquent's negative identity. Findings highlight the importance of poor academic achievement in the development of a negative identity, and suggest the role of the peer group as a coping strategy. This chapter focuses on the processes involved in the development of the negative identity, which have their roots in social comparison. It is through social comparison with one's peers, especially   regarding academic performance that the lack of self-consistency becomes apparent, which then results in a sense of inadequacy and self-derogation and such feelings as jealousy, anger and shame. The chapter then presents research on how these consequences of negative social comparison are dealt with. The role of peer groups, both in aggravating these consequences through peer rejection as well as alleviating low self-esteem through denigration of rivals is discussed. Finally, the chapter reviews research regarding the relationship between delinquency and self-esteem.

3.2   <u>Social comparison theory</u>

According to social comparison theory, (Festinger, 1954) social comparison arises when people are unable to verify their opinions and abilities by direct testing in the environment. In other words, the motivation for social comparison derives from the need for self-evaluation, self-consistency and self-improvement.

The evaluation of opinions and abilities is carried out by comparing them with those of others, and the consistency that results conveys to the individual a sense of certainty. Thus, the self-evaluation motive can be said to stem from a need for self-consistency. Festinger's model of the social comparer is that of a rational being who attempts to gain accurate information by making comparisons with people who are similar. Because of the need for accurate information as well as the desire for improvement, the individual looks not only to one who is similar, but also one who is slightly better. The social comparison process is thus based on similarity as well as a unidirectional drive upwards. The results of the comparison process create pressures towards uniformity as comparers identify with each other.

There are several challenges and qualifications to Festinger's analysis (Wheeler, 1991). It has been argued that the desire for knowledge or self-evaluation does not necessarily lead one to choose a similar comparison target. While Festinger's theory proposes that one would want to compare with someone similar, people may also seek to avoid social comparisons and if this

is not possible, to make comparisons with dissimilar or inferior others (Brickman and Bulman, 1977).

Brickman and Bulman (1977) found that when social comparison cannot be avoided, social comparers choose to compare with dissimilar rather than similar others. Subjects felt better making comparisons with successful people of different backgrounds and of a different generation, than with unsuccessful others with similar backgrounds and from the same generation. The dimension being compared in this study, that is success, involves competition. This suggests that under competitive conditions, one would prefer to compare with someone dissimilar. Moreover, under such circumstances when self-esteem is threatened, the comparer would be more likely to compare with someone worse off. Rather than identification with the comparison target, contrasts are more likely to occur. In non-competitive situations, the comparer who does not feel threatened would be more likely to choose someone who is better off, and this allows the comparer to identify with him or her. Thus, non-competitive situations are more likely to promote social identification and create pressures towards conformity and uniformity.

Goethals and Darley (1987) point to the fact that the school environment is one which is rife with social comparison. The norms which are emphasized in school are those of good academic performance and good behaviour. Children are therefore constantly exposed to upward comparisons and threats to self-esteem. They describe such a social environment as one which

"presents to the child an overwhelming case for the importance of being good at the skills and abilities that it teaches; likewise it brings the children into contact with their peers in a mercilessly public setting in which all quickly are able to assess the performance levels of others, does so at an age when the social comparison process is centrally interesting to the students, and at an age when, one suspects, they have few resources to resist its apparent conclusions. The playground, and sports in general, offer some possibility for the display of other kinds of abilities, and for some, this may create the possibility for some self-esteem-bolstering displays of talent, but few other possibilities seem available, and those that are seem much less sustained than the hour after hour, day after day, comparison processes inflicted within the domains the school system designates as abilities." (p.38)

The school system thus sets a fixed context for comparison that restricts the individual's choice of comparison and self-enhancement strategies. Such forced comparisons create comparison relationships which are direct and competitive (Mettee and Smith, 1977). Such comparisons are more difficult to terminate, distort or ignore, and facilitate contrasts rather than identification between the comparer and the comparison target. If the outcomes of such comparisons are unfavourable, the comparer is faced with a lack of self-consistency and little opportunity for self-enhancement.

3.3   Consequences of social comparison

Negative social comparison, especially in terms of academic performance which is constant in the social environment of the school, heightens awareness that one has not been able to live up to societal expectations and norms. This in turn, results in a sense of self-discrepancy and the related emotions of jealousy, anger, shame and guilt. Such emotions have the effect of distancing relationships with significant others in the family and the school.

Higgins' (1987) theory of self-discrepancy describes the different emotional consequences of having incompatible beliefs about the self. Higgins distinguishes three basic "domains" of the self: the actual self, based on attributes that one is believed to possess, the ideal self, based on attributes that one wants to possess, or one's aspirations, and the ought self, which are attributes that one believes one should possess, or obligations. These selves can be viewed from the standpoint of the self or that of another, usually a significant other or a member of one's normative referent group. These domains of the self and the standpoints combine to yield six basic types of self-representations: actual/own, actual/other, ideal/own, ideal/other, ought/own and ought/other. Higgins (1987) defines the first two of these self-representations as the self-concept. The other four are termed "self-guides".

A basic assumption of self-discrepancy theory, which is similar to Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory, is that one is motivated to

maintain consistency between the self-concept and the self-guides. The theory states that when this is not possible, the individual suffers different kinds of discomfort or negative feelings based on different types of inconsistency. Evidence obtained from several experiments reveals that actual-ought discrepancies tend to result in agitation-related emotions, such as fear, threat and restlessness. Actual-ideal discrepancies tend to result in dejection-related emotions such as disappointment, dissatisfaction and sadness. The theory also proposes that the discomfort associated with the discrepancies is influenced by the magnitude and the accessibility of the discrepancy. One can possess any combination of these self-discrepancies, and thus, different kinds of emotional vulnerabilities. Higgins suggests that socialization factors prevent people from changing self-guides to reduce the discrepancies experienced.

In a later development of the theory, Higgins expanded the self-domains to include the "can" and the "future" selves, based on the concept of possible selves (Markus and Nurius, 1986). Possible selves represent one's goals, motives, fears and anxieties, and are a source of positive self-esteem. Possible selves serve as "incentives for future behaviour: they are selves to be approached or avoided."(Oyserman and Markus, 1990, p.113). The magnitude of negative emotions is influenced by the individual's ability to fulfill his or her potential, and whether this is a possibility in the future (Higgins, Tikocinski, & Vookles, 1990).

The negative emotions aroused by negative social comparison have been elaborated by social comparison researchers such as Brickman and

Bulman (1977) and Salovey and Rodin (1984). Brickman and Bulman argue that social comparison can result in feelings of inferiority, superiority and equality. The comparer who feels inferior has to cope with private feelings of low self-esteem due to self-discrepancy and problems of dealing with the responses of others. Similarly, the person who has a higher achievement has to deal with such feelings as resentment, envy and jealousy from others as well as own fears of future vulnerability. Equal achievement too is not without problems. Without contrasts and comparison, one tends to lose the sense of one's uniqueness. It was found that subjects who receive identical or average scores found it least satisfying.

Research which has shown that threats to one's self-esteem or self-worth result in social comparison jealousy are cited by Salovey and Rodin (1984). Also, Bers and Rodin (1984) have shown that social comparison jealousy results among elementary school children when they are faced by failure as compared to the success of other students. Also, Bers and Rodin found that whereas younger children are threatened by any comparison, older children are saddened or angered when faced by negative comparisons in a self-relevant or important domain. Research on the affective consequences of negative social comparison reveal that depression, helplessness, desire for social support, desire for retribution as well as anger are often the result. In fact, Bers and Rodin (1984) found that anger is most strongly related to jealousy. Also, Crosby (1976) provides evidence that one outcome of failure to attain what is desired is resentment, which is likely to result in violent acts.

Another negative consequence of social comparison that has not been given attention by social comparison researchers is that of guilt and shame. These emotions are not only associated with violations of social conventions and moral transgressions but also with failures in not achieving one's goals (Tangney, 1995).

Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher and Gramzow (1992) provide evidence that guilt and shame are different, though related concepts. Tangney and her colleagues define guilt as a response to behaviour which is

> "evaluated somewhat apart from the self.
> There is remorse or regret over the 'bad thing'
> that was done and a sense of tension that often
> serves to motivate reparative action." (p. 669)

In contrast, shame is not other-focused but self-focused. It is

> "experienced as a reflection of a 'bad self' and
> the entire self is painfully scrutinized and
> negatively evaluated. With this painful scrutiny
> of the self, there is a corresponding sense of
> shrinking, of being small, and of being worthless
> and powerless." (p. 670)

The person who is shamed feels a sense of "exposure" in that he or she imagines a disapproving other, even when alone. It can be argued that the disapproving others would be significant others, with whom one feels some kind of attachment, before shame can have its effects.

Tangney and her colleagues cite studies which showed that the motivational components of shame and guilt are different. Guilt motivates one towards confession and reparation, whereas shame motivates one to hide. More importantly, shame can motivate anger and hostility. Lewis' (1971, cited in Tangney, 1992) case studies showed that shame can be directed at the disapproving or rejecting others in the attempt to right the self and deflect the shame.

Two types of shame-anger interactions are identified. The first is the anger-to-shame sequence, where the individual starts by being angry, and then in reaction to the anger, feels ashamed. In the shame-to-anger sequence, it is the shame that provokes the anger. The consistent findings in case studies and clinical observations show that the shame-to-anger sequence is the more frequent occurrence, that those who are shamed demonstrate higher levels of aggression. This is also supported by empirical findings, that subjects who were ashamed not only want to hide, but also have a desire to punish others. Shame-proneness is found to correlate positively with the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List Hostility scale, and with a tendency to externalize blame.

Tangney and her colleagues hypothesize that shame and guilt would produce different results, that shame would be related to anger and hostility, but guilt would be likely to foster acceptance of responsibility. Several scales measuring shame, guilt, externalization of blame, pride, anger and hostility are used. Results confirmed their predictions, that the tendency to experience

shame across many scenarios was strongly correlated with the tendency to externalize blame, but for the tendency to experience guilt, the correlation was negative. A close relationship between shame and guilt was found, and to clarify the difference between shame and guilt, shame was factored out in the part correlations. Results indicated that those who experienced shame-free guilt did not show a tendency to blame others but in fact demonstrated an acceptance of responsibility. In contrast, those who experience shame were more likely to blame others for negative events.

The results therefore confirmed that shame and guilt, though closely related, are different affective experiences. Tangney and her colleagues caution that as their findings are correlational, causal conclusions cannot be drawn, but they also state that given the evidence of clinical observations, there is good reason to believe that the shame-to-anger sequence is valid. They argue that anger and hostility are the result of an attempt to regain self-esteem after a painful shaming experience.. In fact, researchers in shame and guilt like Lewis and Miller suggest shame drives one to anger which provides emotional relief from shame.

In families lacking in parental warmth and affection, shame and guilt are likely to cause further distancing of relationships such that the development of empathy is hindered. Studies reviewed by Baumeister et al. 1994) showed a strong relationship between empathy and guilt. There is therefore reason to believe that parental warmth and affection encourage the development of empathy. Conforming children who enjoy a positive

relationship with parents have the restraint of guilt to prevent them from committing delinquent acts. As consequences of guilt, they are motivated towards compliant behaviour, confession and reparation, and guilt serves as a restraint from further transgressions. Thus, guilt has relationship-enhancing functions and binds them to the conventions of society. A circle of positive relationships develops, illustrated in Figure 3.1a below:

Figure 3.1a: Circle of positive relationships
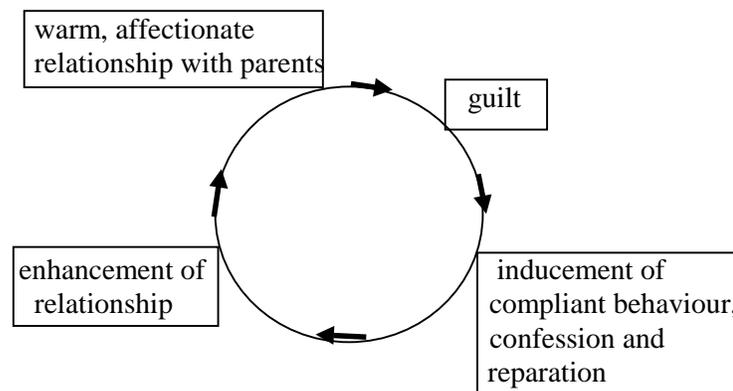
However, the relationship between rejection and guilt can also take the form of a vicious circle. Adolescents who lack parental warmth and have poor relationships with their parents are more likely to break conventional norms because there is little empathy and concordance between their moral judgments and the judgments of others necessary for guilt to take place.

Research reviewed in Chapter Two on social control theory has shown that indeed, delinquents do have poor relationships with their families (Feldman and Weinberger, 1994; Patterson, et. al., 1989). Any guilt felt can then be neutralized by the perception of parents and teachers as irrelevant others, through techniques of neutralization elaborated by Sykes and Matza (1957), further distancing the relationship to the extent that no guilt is felt and further neutralizations are unnecessary. This vicious circle which maintains nonconforming behaviour can be illustrated in Figure 3.1b below:

Figure 3.1b: Circle of negative relationships
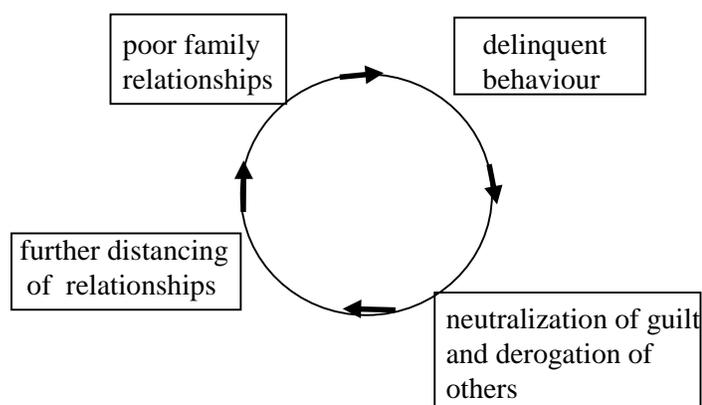
In summary, comparisons based on academic performance are chronically salient in the social environment of the classroom. Thus, comparers who are faced with negative outcomes of the comparison process, in other words, who find that they are academically less able than their peers,

are likely to experience a lack of self-consistency, or a sense of self-discrepancy, and the resulting negative emotions of inferiority, low self-esteem, resentment, jealousy, anger, depression, helplessness, as well as guilt and shame for having not lived up to expectations, either their own, their significant others' or both. These emotions result in the distancing of relationships and form the basis of their negative identity, from which the delinquent identity develops. The next section is devoted to an elaboration of the strategies used in dealing with the consequences of negative social comparison, of which the distancing of relationships is one.

3.4   Strategies in dealing with consequences of social comparison

The kind of strategies chosen for dealing with the consequences of social comparison would depend on how the comparer evaluates himself or herself in relation to the target of comparison. Tesser's self-evaluation maintenance model (Tesser, 1988, 1991) explains the strategies of dealing with social comparison in terms of two processes; the reflection process as well as the comparison process. Reflection processes enable identification, whereas comparison processes produce contrasts effects. Tesser draws on Cialdini's work on BIRGing. (Cialdini, Borden, Thorne, Walker, Freeman and Sloan, 1976). Under certain conditions, when one compares with a close other, one is able to reap benefits from the comparison and bask in the reflected glory of the close other's performance. The two processes of comparison and

reflection are antagonistic in that comparisons threaten our self-esteem but reflection enhances it. Whether reflection or comparison is involved would depend on the interaction of three factors -- relevance, closeness and performance. The model makes the following predictions. When the dimension under evaluation is of high personal relevance to the comparer, the better performance of the close other would result in the comparer reducing his or her closeness with the other. However, if the dimension under comparison is of low personal relevance, then the better performance of a close other would result in the comparer enhancing closeness, facilitating the other's performance and basking in his or her reflected glory. Similarly, if the target of comparison is very close to the comparer and the other performs better, the comparer would tend to lower the personal relevance of the dimension under comparison. Also, if relevance and closeness are both high the comparer would be likely to interfere with or derogate the other's performance. In a series of experiments, Tesser and his colleagues (Tesser, 1988) provide evidence illustrating the interaction of these factors. It was found that when relevance was low, subjects were more likely to help their friend, but when relevance was high, strangers helped more than friends. When relevance is high and the other's performance is better, subjects preferred to sit further away from the confederate than when the reverse was true. Furthermore, a better performance by a close other tend to reduce the relevance of the task for the subject. Comparisons with a close other on a relevant dimension resulted in arousal which was manifested in a decrease in the performance of a

complex task. Subjects' facial expressions were taken as a measure of emotion, and consistent with Tesser's self-evaluation model, a comparison with a close other on a high relevance dimension when the self was better produced positive affect, but negative affect when the other was better. Comparisons with a close other on a low relevance dimension when the other was better also produced positive affect (Tesser, Miller and Moore, 1988). Situations where own performance was better than the other on a relevant dimension were associated with pride. Situations where a close other out-performed the self on a irrelevant dimension were associated with empathy and pride in the other, but where the dimension was high on self-relevance, this was associated with jealousy and envy (Tesser and Collins, 1988).

Another study on the consequences of negative social comparison by Salovey and Rodin (1984) found similar results with regard to the arousal of jealousy and envy and the derogation of the rival. Salovey and Rodin tested the theory that jealousy would be aroused when the comparison is negative and threatening to one's self-esteem, when the comparison is in a domain which is self-relevant or self-defining, and when the comparison is with someone who has performed well in the same domain. They hypothesized that subjects would show social comparison jealousy by devaluing the source of comparison, by not wanting to associate with him or her and feeling envy or jealousy, and feeling depressed and anxious at the prospect of having to engage in future interactions with him or her.

Subjects were given false feedback on a supposed aptitude test relevant or irrelevant to the subjects' choice of career. They were told that their scores were either well above average, or well below average. The source of the comparison, who always had a well above average score, had either similar or dissimilar career interests. As predicted, Salovey and Rodin found that subjects showed more jealousy when they received negative feedback compared to the source of the comparison who shared similar interests. Subjects reacted to this by disparaging the source of comparison. Salovey and Rodin argue that social comparison would be greatest when all these three factors are present at the same time. Salovey and Rodin found that the negative feedback did not cause mood and self-esteem deflation, but an increase of denigration of the rival.

With regard to changing self-definition, Salovey (Salovey and Rodin, 1988; Salovey, 1991) found that a coping strategy which he labeled "selective ignoring", that is, reducing the importance of the comparison dimension, was effective in reducing jealousy and envy. Pleban and Tesser (1981) found evidence of relationship distancing in their study of students who rated a confederate less similar to themselves after the confederate had out-performed them on a relevant dimension. In a study by Crocker, Thompson, McGraw, & Ingerman (1987), subjects reacted to negative social comparison by derogating successful rivals. Tesser and Smith (1980) found that when a rival is more successful, subjects tend to attribute their success to external factors such as luck rather than skill or ability.

When the other strategies discussed above are unlikely or not possible, the comparer may look for alternatives such as using imaginary targets or hypothetical others. For example, Taylor and her colleagues (Taylor et al. 1983) found that women with breast cancer fabricate others in downward comparisons to enhance their subjective well-being.

Another strategy is to avoid comparisons altogether (Brickman and Bulman, 1977). Women in another breast cancer study (Wood, Taylor and Lichtman, 1983) dropped out of breast cancer support groups and avoided meeting others at their physicians' waiting rooms.

People who find themselves inferior to others may manipulate the related dimensions such that their comparisons are based on another dimension rather than the dimension under evaluation. Alternatively, they may distance themselves from the comparison target, creating dissimilarity with a similar target (Tesser, 1988, 1991) when too much similarity with a downward comparison target can be too threatening. Gibbons and Gerrard (1991) document studies which show that this process, while improving subjective well-being, gives the comparer the illusion of invulnerability in that the less similar a person believes he or she is to the target, the safer he or she feels.

The findings of Tangney et al. (1992) regarding the methods of dealing with shame, which have been mentioned briefly in the previous section, are similar to those of social comparison researchers. One way in which a person can deal with shame, which has been documented in the research cited by Tangney and her colleagues as a painful as well as devastating experience,

would be to remove himself or herself from the circumstances or conditions which give rise to the shame, and from the presence of significant others such as family and friends. In the context of the family and school, physical removal may be difficult unless the individual runs away from home or commits suicide. A more viable alternative would be to remove oneself psychologically, which involves a redefinition and a discounting of the relevance of significant others and their norms. Thus, family and peers in school who are the observers of the shaming process are no longer considered important, resulting in the weakening of social bonds that has been observed by the proponents of the social control theory of delinquency.

There is therefore a strong basis for the argument that both shame and guilt are social in nature. The interpersonal nature of guilt is discussed in detail by Baumeister, Stillwell and Heatherton, (1994) who state that

> "guilt is something that happens between people rather than inside them. That is, guilt is an interpersonal phenomenon that is functionally and causally linked to communal relationships between people. Guilt can be understood in relationship contexts as a factor that strengthens social bonds eliciting symbolic affirmation of caring and commitment: it is also a mechanism for alleviating imbalances or inequities in emotional distress within the relationship and for exerting influence over others." (p. 243)

Baumeister and his colleagues (1994) argue that one of the most important functions of guilt is to motivate behaviour that is relationship-

enhancing, in that it helps reinforce communal norms. One feels guilty when one has violated these norms. However, guilt can only be evoked if the transgressor has a relationship close enough to care about the victim or victims. Baumeister and his colleagues propose that guilt is based on "empathetic distress based in response to another's suffering" (p. 250) and a sense of obligation. However, as Braithwaite (1989) points out in his theory of reintegrative shaming elaborated in the previous chapter, transgressions of norms may be followed by shame as well as guilt, in which case, derogation of the victim would be more likely to take place.

Although guilt results because the transgressor's acts or behaviour have caused hurt to those close to him, findings reviewed by Baumeister et al. (1994) indicated that it is not confined to close relationships alone. One may develop feelings of guilt towards members of one's group. Thus, guilt and shame should be considered not only as personal responses to negative social comparisons, but in relation to group or peer memberships, with which one shares, in Braithwaite's terms, an "interdependency".

Studies reviewed by Baumeister et al. (1994) also reveal that transgressors often act in favour of in-group superiority. A study by Katz, Glass and Cohen (1973) found similar results, that outgroup derogation is the preferred means of handling guilt when the victim is a member of the outgroup. This is in agreement with Cohen's (1957) subcultural theory of delinquency, (presented in the previous chapter) which states that delinquents

in turn reject those who have rejected them, and through this rejection of conventional norms, maintain their self-esteem and reduce guilt.

In the social environment of the classroom, where academic achievement is made personally relevant and where comparisons are often made with close and similar others, the methods of coping with negative comparison that have been suggested would not prove effective. The academically weak student would not be able to change his or her self-definition as the student identity is chronically salient in the day-to-day context of the classroom and the school. Neither is the comparison with imaginary targets, avoidance of comparisons altogether or denial of personal disadvantage likely to be effective as the reality of the comparison context is often conspicuous and inevitable. Manipulating the dimension of comparison by competition is likely to be ineffective as likelihood of succeeding is low. The less successful student may change relationships with others to reduce closeness, change the relevance of the dimension of comparison by losing interest and motivation in studies, change the dimension of comparison itself from academic achievement to a non-academic quality such as tough behaviour, derogate the more successful others or act violently. It is possible that he or she may engage in all of the above. However, though these individual strategies may result in some measure of self-enhancement, there is still the need for self-consistency, to be in keeping with the norms of one's peers, which is left unfulfilled.

For the adolescent, the association with peers is not merely a matter of having similar company. For them, association of peers is integral to the development of their identity. The next section elaborates on the role of the peer group in adolescent identity development, and on the way in which peer rejection has implications for the development of the delinquent identity.

3.5 Role of the peer group in identity development

The identity development of adolescents is viewed by Erikson (1968) in terms of stages, and for the adolescent, the important step taken is that of identity formation as opposed to identity diffusion. Adolescents need to develop a vocational identity which requires them to understand their abilities and limitations, and a personal philosophy of life. Marcia (1966) extends Erikson's concept of identity formation to incorporate four phases; foreclosure, identity diffusion, moratorium, and identity achievement. Foreclosure describes those who appear to be committed, except that their choices have been made by others and not themselves. Adolescents in the identity diffused state do not have a sense of commitment or an ideological stance. Those undergoing moratorium are struggling with decisions that would eventually lead to a decision. Identity achievers are those who have emerged out of moratorium and are committed to self-chosen goals.

Adapting Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966, 1967), Waterman (1985) argues that identity is not a global descriptive quality, that

"adolescents differ widely in the areas of their
lives in which they have established goals, values,
and beliefs of sufficient personal importance to be
called identity commitments." (p. 6)

He considers four areas of developmental concern to the adolescent --
career choice, moral or religious values, political ideology and social roles, and
provides evidence showing that during adolescence, there is a progressive
strengthening in personal identity. His study involved five age groups,
examining the developmental concerns in vocational choice, religious beliefs
and political ideology. In each area, a clear pattern of increase in identity
achievement is found with increasing age, but different patterns regarding
diffusion, foreclosure and moratorium. Waterman concludes that when identity
crisis occurs, it is likely to be in one domain at a time, that identity formation in
adolescence is not a single, global undertaking but a series of interrelated tasks
by which the adolescents find commitment for their goals, beliefs and values.

A serious criticism of the theories of Erikson, Marcia and Waterman is
the lack of emphasis on the role of significant others in the lives of the
adolescent. The adolescent is seen more as an individual who progresses from
one developmental stage to another, struggling with decisions with little
involvement with his peers.

One study of adolescent identity which takes significant others into
consideration is that by Newman and Newman (1976), who challenge
Erikson's proposal that there is one general stage of adolescent identity

development. They argue that the adolescent is faced not only with the developmental tasks of adjustment to physical maturation, formal operational thinking, development of heterosexual relationships and attainment of membership in the peer group, but also with pressures to conform to norms of the family, the school and especially the peer group. Determinants of peer group status are physical appearance, athletic skills, participation and leadership in social activities, academic achievement and socio-economic standing. It is therefore important for the early adolescent to resolve his or her identity conflicts which is facilitated by membership in peer groups. Failure to resolve these conflicts results in alienation. The alienated adolescent is one who lacks any of these attributes, and therefore suffers from negative self-attitudes and low self-esteem, if these are not ameliorated by positive experiences in school and in the family.

Thus, for the adolescent, membership in the peer group not only imbues a feeling of self-worth, but it is in these peer group memberships that the adolescent defines his or her social self. In other words, the adolescent establishes his or her social identity or identities. In line with social identity theory, which will be elaborated in the next chapter, the "positive distinctiveness" of peer group membership gives the adolescent the sense of what he or she is, as well as what he or she is not. The adolescent's social identity or identities are thus anchored in his or her peer group memberships which are part of the adolescent subculture or subcultures.

Brown (1989) states that the kind of peer group that an adolescent would belong to would depend on such factors as personality, interests, background affiliations, reputations as well as social skills. He predicts that adolescent peer groups would be relatively stable, as movement between groups would be constrained by their reputation, status-hierarchy, permeability and group identification.

The relationship between peer group membership and delinquency has been investigated by Brown, Classen and Eicher (1986), who draw a distinction between misconduct (acts have harmful consequences for the self, such as drug abuse and sexual intercourse) and antisocial acts (which have harmful consequences for others). Results of the study indicated peer conformity dispositions were stronger for neutral than for antisocial behaviours, with males more willing than females to accede to antisocial pressures. The strength of conformity pressures follow an inverted U-shaped trend, peaking in mid-adolescence. Subjects perceived greater pressures from friends towards peer involvement, that is patterns of social interaction with peers, than towards misconduct. For perceived misconduct pressures, the trend is a linear one, increasing with age. Peer conformity dispositions and perceived peer pressure are found to be strongly associated with self-reported delinquent behaviour. In fact, peer conformity disposition and perceived peer pressure explained more of the variance in self-reported misconduct and antisocial behaviour than for involvement in other social activities. This findings lend

further support for differential and subcultural theories of delinquency elaborated in the previous chapter.

Brown (1989) also states that adolescent peer groups can either be cliques or crowds. Cliques are peer groups that are interaction-based, and tend to comprise a small number of adolescents in face-to-face relationships. Crowds on the other hand, are reputation-based groups, and are larger collectives of similarly stereotyped adolescents. Brown (1990) gives some examples of school peer groups such as brains, jocks, populars, delinquents, alienated youths and nerds. His findings refute the notion that adolescent subculture is homogeneous, as earlier theorized by Coleman (1961). He suggests that peer pressure emanates from both within and beyond one's circle of friends, that is, from both cliques and crowds.

Further evidence that adolescent peer groups are not homogeneous comes from a study conducted by Downs and Rose (1991). Students between the ages of 13 and 17 were asked to name and describe the types of groups in their school, and were also tested on several measures regarding attitudes towards use of alcohol, mental health, self-esteem and access to occupational activities. Subsequent content analysis of the descriptions and labels were carried out. Four types of adolescent groups were identified in their study. Group 1 comprised students who were perceived to be highly involved in school activities and valued intellectual abilities. They had negative attitudes towards use of drugs and alcohol and were labeled the "Brains" or "Smart Ones". Group 2 students were also perceived to be highly involved in school

activities but placed a greater emphasis on status, popularity and social activities such as athletics. Group 3 students were perceived to be moderately involved in school activities, but were more positive towards drug and alcohol use. These were the "average kids" or "normal kids". However, in contrast to the other groups, Group 4 students were perceived to be uninvolved in school activities and did engage in drug and alcohol use and other delinquent behaviour. The adolescents in the other groups did not like to associate with students from this group. This group demonstrated more psychosocial problems that the other groups, and levels of self-esteem were also significantly lower.

Thus, the study illustrates that the development of different adolescent peer groups has its roots in social comparison processes, based on academic performance and involvement in school activities. It is likely that the academically weaker group of adolescents who are not self-consistent in terms of their identity as students would attract a lower peer status and would be rejected in the social environment of the school.

The strategies of dealing with negative social comparison outlined in the earlier sections of this chapter described by Tesser (1988, 1989), of reducing closeness and personal relevance of what is being compared and derogation of the more successful others, as well as that outlined by Salovey and Rodin (1991) of dissociating and devaluing the source of comparison, altering self-definition and acts of hostility and aggression are responses which go against the norms of the school and are considered characteristically

deviant. They result in the rejection of those who are academically able, who then respond with counter rejection. Thus, the process of rejection is likely to be bi-directional and mutual. Nadler (1993) suggests that negative identity and low social involvement in the school are possible products of the group's reactions to its members' inconsistencies. These members who are not physically expelled (one cannot physically exclude another's membership as a student, a child in the family or a classmate or peer) would be faced with pressures to conform, and failing that, would be socially rejected. The rejection process cuts both ways -- inconsistent members of the group are both rejecters as well as the rejected.

Such processes thus lead to the formation of groups of adolescents on the basis of academic performance or school activities and characterized by varying degrees of rejection. These groups range from the very academically inclined and socially acceptable to the very unconventional and deviant with little or no school involvement, as described by Brown (1990) and Downs and Rose (1991).

The consequences of peer rejection have been documented by several researchers such as Parker and Asher (1987) and Price and Dodge (1989). Parker and Asher's review of the literature on peer rejection indicated that there is sufficient empirical evidence showing that peer acceptance plays an important role in socializing and the development of social competence. It therefore follows that low-accepted children are vulnerable to later problems in life. Indeed, there is evidence that high school dropouts have more

problematic peer acceptance histories than high school graduates. Ratings of aggressiveness and withdrawal by both teachers and peers are also higher for the dropouts than for the graduates. Low peer status can be said to be a predictor of poor academic achievement and dropping out of school. Similar findings show that a history of pervasive and persistent peer rejection increases tendencies towards delinquency. Also, there is a strong relationship between rejection and aggressiveness, and that aggressiveness, rather than withdrawal, is a strong predictor of delinquency and criminal activity in adulthood. Roff 's (1992) study of the predictors of delinquency revealed that it is boys with low status in the low and middle classes that have the highest risk of delinquency. In contrast, those in the high social class with high peer status are at the lowest risk.

The findings of Rubin, LeMare and Lollis (1990 cited in Parkhurst and Asher, 1992) identified two groups of rejected children, the aggressive and disruptive, and the socially withdrawn. Parkhurst and Asher (1992) investigated whether these two groups of rejected students can be identified in the adolescent population, and in what ways they differ from students who are not rejected. They found from sociometric assessment, that popular students received more nominations of positive interactional qualities whereas rejected students had more negatives and less positive qualities. Students who are controversial had more negative but not less positive nominations, but positive and negative nominations did not differ for neglected and average students. Aggressive-rejected students are not lonelier compared to average students, but

are found to be more at risk for later problems such as dropping out from school and delinquency.

Juvonen (1991) used Newcomb and Bukowski's (1983) classification of children's sociometric groups into popular, rejected, neglected, controversial and average to investigate children's perceptions of deviance. She found that the rejected group had higher deviant nomination scores, and that children's negative reactions were related to their perceptions of responsibility for deviance. Among twelve year-olds, bragging, aggressiveness and rule-breaking evoked more anger and dislike. Hence, the more rejected students were those who were perceived to be more responsible for their behaviour.

Price and Dodge (1989) cite several studies showing that rejected children are deficient in social processing and are unlikely to attend to relevant aspects of social stimuli, leading to misinterpretation of peer behaviour as hostile. Finally, the behavioural response to such misinterpretation is likely to be aggressive or withdrawn, reinforcing peers' processing of the behaviours as negative, completing the "loop" in the vicious circle.

These findings suggest that the less rejection there is between groups, the more permeable would be the group boundaries and the greater the potential for mutual exchange of members or overlapping memberships among groups. However, rejection breeds more rejection, reinforcing the boundaries of peer groups, making these groups less permeable and more stable, as predicted by Brown (1989).

The process of rejection often entails the derogation of the other groups. Outgroup derogation has been shown to be a means of handling guilt (Katz, Glass and Cohen, 1973), and as a coping strategy. Thus, the rejection and derogation of others would have implications for self-esteem. In fact, as Salovey and Rodin (1984) found in their experiment, negative social comparison in the form of negative feedback need not be accompanied by a decrease in self-esteem when there is denigration of the rivals.

The relationship between self-esteem and delinquency has been given detailed scrutiny. This is presented in the next section.

3.6   Delinquency and self-esteem

Kaplan (1978) has shown that the adoption of deviant behaviour by adolescents with self-rejecting attitudes in fact decreases their level of self-rejection. He cites several studies that investigate the relationship between deviant behaviour and self-rejection, and show that the adoption of such behaviour is accompanied or followed by self-enhancement. Kaplan's research (1978, 1980) involved a longitudinal design that examined diverse modes of deviance and changes in self-attitudes of adolescents.

Kaplan (1978) hypothesized that diverse modes of deviance by highly self-rejecting individuals would be generally associated with decreases in self-rejection. This decrease in self-rejection occurs only when the deviant behaviours are consistent with gender-appropriate roles to which the

delinquents are committed. However, if the deviant behaviours are incompatible with the roles to which the delinquents are committed, self-enhancement would not be experienced. Kaplan postulates that the self-rejecting attitudes of delinquents are a product of

"the end result of a history of membership group experiences in which the subject was unable to defend against, adapt or cope with circumstances having self-devaluing implications ... and negative evaluations of the subject by valued others. By virtue of the (actual and subjective) association between past membership, group experiences and the development of intensely distressful negative self-attitudes the person loses motivation to conform to, and becomes motivated to deviate from membership group patterns... Simultaneously, the unfulfilled self-esteem motive prompts the subject to seek alternative (that is, deviant) response patterns which offer hope of reducing the experience of negative (and increasing experience of positive) self-attitudes (p. 256).

Thus, deviant or delinquent behaviour is the only alternative open to the individual who is inconsistent with expectations of self and others, and is therefore negatively evaluated by the groups to which he or she belongs. It can be expected that individuals who have not developed a full pattern of delinquency would have strong self-rejecting attitudes.

Kaplan investigated the self-derogation and deviance response patterns among adolescents annually over a period of three years. Subjects were

characterized as having deviant response patterns only if they indicated this in their self-report over two measurements. Results revealed that the reduction in self-derogation is a function of an interaction between mode of deviance and gender. Kaplan found that among males, regardless of socioeconomic status, initially high self-derogation subjects who adopted deviant patterns of behaviour which were associated with aggression, activity and potency, showed a decrease in self-rejecting attitudes. Subjects who scored low and medium in self-derogation did not show such decrease. Among females of high socioeconomic status, deviant patterns of behaviour that are self-enhancing tended to be passive and non aggressive, namely, the use of narcotics. Among females of lower socioeconomic status, none of the deviant patterns of behaviour was significantly related to a decrease in self-derogation. Kaplan interpreted these findings as indicating the greater vulnerability of females to social and interpersonal sanctions.

The relationship between self-esteem and delinquency is further clarified in Rosenberg and his colleagues' papers (Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 1978, and Rosenberg, Schooler and Schoenbach, 1989). The first study examined whether self-esteem has greater effect on delinquency or vice-versa. Self-esteem and delinquency were measured on two occasions and utilizing crossed-lagged panel correlations. They came to the conclusion, in support of Kaplan's theory, that self-esteem has a greater effect on delinquency than vice-versa among boys of lower socioeconomic status.

A replication of the Rosenbergs study was carried out by Bynner, O'Malley and Bachman, (1981). However, their findings did not support the results obtained by the Rosenbergs, that a reduction in self-esteem would lead to greater delinquency. The findings did support Kaplan's theory that adolescents who suffer from low self-esteem and who engaged in delinquent activity demonstrated an increase in self-esteem. Bynner, O'Malley and Bachman, (1981) also concluded that delinquency, achievement and social life influence each other and affect self-esteem.

In the 1989 paper, Rosenberg and his colleagues took two of these variables under consideration, namely, academic achievement and delinquency and added a third -- that of depression, and investigated the relationship between self-esteem both as independent and dependent variable, on depression, delinquency and academic achievement. They found that low self-esteem is significantly associated with an increase in delinquency, and this is especially so for those in the higher rather than the lower socioeconomic class. In support of Kaplan's theory (which they missed out in the 1978 study), the effect of delinquency on self-esteem is stronger for lower socioeconomic status adolescents. For those of high socioeconomic status, delinquency has a less positive effect on self-esteem. With regard to academic achievement, high school attainment has a greater effect on positive self-esteem than self-esteem on school achievement. The relationship between self-esteem and depression is bi-directional.

Zieman and Benson's (1983) study also lends support to Kaplan's theory. Their findings reveal that there are no significant differences between the self-esteem and social values of delinquents, marginal delinquents and non delinquents. They argue that the absence of differences in self-esteem levels among the three groups indicates that delinquents and marginal delinquents have raised their self-esteem levels through their behaviour. Also, Zieman and Benson (1983) interpret the congruence of social values among the three groups as an indication of denial and rejection of social feedback, one of the psychological defenses suggested by Kaplan (1980).

However, there are other studies which did not support Kaplan's theory. McCarty and Hoge (1984) used a longitudinal design involving various subgroups (race, gender, age, socioeconomic status), different types of delinquency and specific instead of global self-esteem measures but found that the effect of self-esteem on delinquency is negligible. In fact, the stronger the delinquency, the lower the self-esteem.

Wells and Rankin (1983) argued that Kaplan's research did not control for possible spurious effects, and the magnitude of the causal effects was difficult to estimate. A replication was attempted, taking into account evaluative social experiences. Their model included self-esteem measures and delinquency measures taken at two times, as well as school grades, family relations and social rejection. Their path analytic findings did not reveal the relationship between self-esteem and delinquent behaviour, neither self-esteem as a precursor of delinquency nor the self-enhancing effects of delinquent

behaviour. Wells and Rankin (1983) postulated several reasons for the conflicting findings. Kaplan's sample of adolescents were 12 to 14 year-olds, whereas those involved in Wells and Rankin's were between 15 to 18. The adolescents in the former study may not have resolved their identity crisis, and may be especially vulnerable to self-esteem factors. Also, they postulated that the identity content of the self, the consistency or coherence between different parts of the self-image (that is, self-consistency) may have an impact on delinquency.

Kaplan recognizes the weaknesses of his early research and in a later study (Kaplan, Martin and Johnson, 1986), these deficiencies are redressed. Disposition towards deviance is included as a mediating variable between self-rejection and delinquency. Self-rejection is redefined in terms of self-devaluating experiences in a normative environment. Therefore, self-rejection is perceived to be associated with social rejection within one's peer group membership. Thus, the new model proposes that the path to delinquency begins with self-devaluating experiences in a group which leads to distressful negative self attitudes and self-rejection. This causes the individual to lose motivation to conform to normative patterns of behaviour and to develop a disposition towards deviance. They state that

> "because normative patterns are no longer motivationally acceptable responses, deviant patterns represent alternative responses by which the person can act effectively to subserve the intensified self-esteem motive. Given this

motivation to deviate from the normative expectations of the individual's membership group(s) and the need to find alternative patterns that will enhance self-esteem, the person is increasingly likely to become aware of and adopt any of a range of deviant patterns" (p. 386).

In the new model, Kaplan et al. (1986) measured self-rejection (operationalized in four subscales as rejection by parents, rejection by teachers, self-rejection, and lack of socially desirable attributes) at Time 1, disposition towards deviance (operationalized as disaffection from family and school, and from the conventional community) at Time 2 and deviance (participation in least prevalent, moderately prevalent and most prevalent deviant behaviours) at Time 3. The LISREL analysis provided strong support for the model.

In another study, Kaplan, Johnson and Bailey (1987) revised their model to include association with deviant peers, which serves several functions, namely, deviant peers facilitate the performance of deviant acts by teaching deviant behaviours and providing the means to engage in such behaviours. Deviant peers are also an important source of gratification by providing social support for the behaviours, thereby limiting the influence of personal and social controls and providing justifications for these acts. Kaplan et al. (1987) argue that early involvement with deviant peers increases the attractiveness of the deviant actor to others who endorse the deviant behaviour, and also the person's need for social support. Decreased interaction with conventional others serves to reduce the effect of controls and motivation to

conform. Therefore, in this later model, Kaplan et al. (1987) propose that association with deviant peers has a causal effect on deviant behaviour. Association with deviant peers also mediates the effects of early deviance and disposition to deviance on later deviant behaviour. This is supported by their findings. An illustration of their model is given in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Relationship between self-rejection, deviant peers and delinquent behaviours
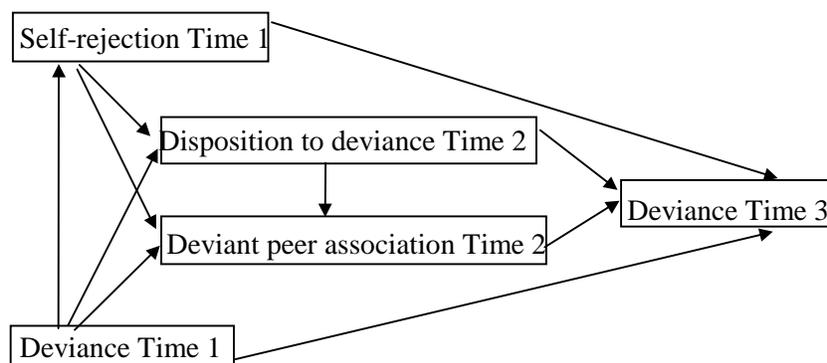
Source: Kaplan, Johnson and Bailey, (1987) Deviant peers and deviant behaviour: Further elaboration of a model. Social Psychology Quarterly, 50, 277 - 284.

Kaplan (1980) argues that the school environment is one that fosters poor self-esteem if the student is unable to meet the academic standards. Thus,

school failure results in lowered academic self-esteem. Rejection by the school would then lead to poor relationships with the school. Similarly, parental rejection results in poor relationships with the family. This is in keeping with Cohen's study on delinquent gangs, those who are inconsistent with the norms of both the school and the family, and therefore manifest alternative behavioural patterns that would enhance their self-esteem in other ways. Hence, these factors lead to the development of an alternative deviant identity.

Another attempt to clarify this relationship between self-concept and delinquency is conducted by Leung and Lau (1989). Their findings lend support to Kaplan's theory (1978, 1980). Delinquent behaviour is self-enhancing because it helps to reduce self-derogation and increase self-esteem. They emphasize the view that self-concept is multifaceted, with at least four aspects: academic, social , emotional and physical components. The studies cited above focused on global self-concept rather than its components. What is required is the investigation of Kaplan's hypotheses using a componential conceptualization of self-concept rather than the global.

Leung and Lau (1989) propose that a positive relationship can be expected between delinquent behaviour and the social self-concept as well as the physical self-concept as delinquent behaviours demand vigorous physical activities. In their study, the four different components of the self-concept were measured in addition to the general self-concept. Subjects were also asked about their involvement in fifteen delinquent acts.

Results showed that delinquent behaviour was not related to general self-concept, but related to the components of the self-concept. In particular, delinquency was found to be correlated negatively with academic self-concept and relationships with parents and school. The results also support the hypothesis that delinquent behaviour enhances one's social and physical self-concept.

The research presented here points to the fact that the direction of the relationship between delinquency and self-esteem remains unresolved. Although Kaplan's hypothesis merits some support, it has been challenged by the findings of Wells and Rankin (1983) and those of McCarthy and Hoge (1984). However, the findings of Kaplan and his colleagues (Kaplan, Martin and Johnson, 1986; Kaplan, Johnson and Bailey, 1987) demonstrate the importance of the role of the deviant peer group, which is consistent with differential association theory.

3.7   Summary and Discussion: Some unresolved issues

The literature on social comparison provides further insight into the relationship between academic achievement and delinquency discussed in the previous chapter. This thesis proposes that it is social comparison of academic performance that is a major source of negative identity. The social comparison processes that are based on academic performance lead to self-derogation and

a sense of rejection by others and of others., which consequently lead to the differentiation of peer groups in the school.

The classroom is a social environment which is highly competitive (Goethals and Darley, 1987) and the comparison others are relatively similar, especially in schools which stream students to classes according to ability. These factors sharpen the edge of social comparisons, making negative comparisons all the more painful. This could be ameliorated by comparison with dissimilar others (Brickman and Bulman, 1977, Mettee and Smith, 1977). Hence, if comparison others are not dissimilar, one means of coping would be to create the dissimilarity by reducing closeness , by lowering the relevance of academic studies, and by derogation and rejection of others (Tesser, 1988, 1991). Discounting the superior ability of others would not be an effective means of dealing with negative social comparisons when comparisons of academic performance are carried out on a regular basis, and failure is repetitive. Under such conditions, adolescents who constantly fail cannot resort to downward comparisons (Wheeler, 1966) simply because there are no others of lower ability. They can only compare themselves with others who have similarly performed poorly. This kind of comparison poses no threat to his esteem and is likely to foster identification (Tesser, 1988. 1991). This is the first step towards the development of a delinquent group identity.

The strategies mentioned above may alleviate some feelings of resentment, jealousy, shame or guilt which are aroused by the negative comparison. However, the sense of self-discrepancy or inconsistency with

one's identity as a student still remains, and is a major source of self-derogation or low self-esteem. To use Higgins' terminology, the adolescent finds himself or herself highly discrepant in terms of his or her actual and ought, and actual and ideal selves (Higgins, 1987).

Social comparisons take place on multiple levels (Levine and Moreland, 1987). Failure in one dimension which is of relative unimportance would be easily mitigated by successes in other dimensions. However, the adolescent who is weak and fails in major academic subjects like languages and mathematics, would be less likely to succeed in other science and humanities subjects, which require some mastery in language and mathematics. Hence, social comparison effects under these circumstances would tend to be more additive than compensatory (Masters and Keil, 1987). Moreover, he or she is likely to perceive rejection by his or her parents, teachers and peers which heightens his or her sense of self-derogation. In fact, this sense of rejection may be real and not merely perceived, as Nadler (1993) has argued that one means by which groups which are consensus sensitive deal with inconsistency is to reject and exclude the inconsistent members. Hence, rejection becomes a two-way process, with the more consistent and better achieving students rejecting those who have failed, and the latter rejecting the former as a means of dealing with negative social comparison. These processes can be summarized in the Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3: Reactions to academic failure

```
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │ Academic performance │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              │
                              ▼
                ┌─────────────────────────────┐
                │  social comparison processes  │
                │ based on academic performance │
                └─────────────────────────────┘
                   ╱                      ╲
                  ▼                        ▼
    ┌──────────────────────┐   ┌────────────────────────────────┐
    │ self -competence      │   │ self-derogation and low self-esteem │
    │ increased self-esteem │   │ feelings of jealousy, shame, guilt  │
    │ feelings of pride     │   │ and anger                      │
    │ sense of achievement  │   │ distancing of relationships within  │
    └──────────────────────┘   │ the family and school          │
                   ╲            │ rejection by and of others     │
                    ╲           └────────────────────────────────┘
                     ╲              ╱
                      ▼            ▼
            ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
            │ differential association of peers │
            │ formation of different peer groups │
            └─────────────────────────────────┘
                   ╱                  ╲
                  ▼                    ▼
    ┌──────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────┐
    │ academically inclined, │   │ academically uninvolved, │
    │ conventional groups    │   │ deviant groups         │
    └──────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────┘
```

The findings on adolescent identity development and peer rejection suggest that if an adolescent is rejected by his or her peers, his or her membership in these groups and hence the range of possible social identities would be severely limited. Peer rejection therefore has serious consequences for the adolescent's adjustment and quest for identity. One issue to be addressed is how he or she subsequently copes with such problems. In other words, one issue to be addressed is how adolescents with high sense of self-

discrepancy cope with the accompanying negative feelings and peer rejection, given that the measures of creating dissimilarity, reduction of the relevance of academic studies and derogation and distancing of the comparison other would not be effective in enhancing self-consistency as long as the adolescent remains in his or her student identity.

The research on adolescent peer groups have shown that peer group membership plays a very important role in the identity development of the young adolescent, and that his or her social identity is derived from membership in these groups. Peer rejection has serious consequences especially when the rejected adolescent is unable to move from negative experiences in one group to another more positive one. It has been shown that peer rejection, especially when accompanied by negative family experiences is one antecedent factor in the development of delinquency (Parker and Asher, 1987, 1990, Newcombe and Bukowski, 1983). Studies cited in the previous chapter have shown the relationship between peer influence and delinquency (Snyder, Dishion and Patterson, 1986; Emler, 1990; Thornberry, Krohn, Lizotte and Chard-Wierschem, 1993) and the literature on self-esteem discussed in this chapter has shown that delinquency among those with high self-derogation can be enhancing (Kaplan, 1978, 1980; Leung and Lau, 1989). However, the processes involved in peer influence and why delinquency should reduce self-derogation have not been elaborated. In other words, the relationship between peer group membership, delinquency, self-consistency and self-esteem remains to be clarified.

The next chapter focuses on these issues, paying particular attention to the role of the group, and suggests, based on social identity theory, that the effective solution to the problems of identity development, inconsistency and self-derogation are found in identification with a group with an alternative identity.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL IDENTITY AS A GROUP RESPONSE TO NEGATIVE SOCIAL COMPARISON

4.1   Preamble

The previous chapter discussed the consequences of negative social comparison, especially that of academic achievement, and how this leads to the development of different peer groups. It also presented findings on the self-esteem of delinquents, suggesting that membership in a delinquent peer group acts as a coping strategy against the consequences of negative social comparisons such as jealousy, anger and shame. However, how membership in a group helps to increase self-esteem and alleviate self-derogation remains to be clarified. This is explained by social identity theory, which bridges the findings regarding the self-esteem of delinquents and their involvement in peer groups.

This chapter gives an account of aspects of social identity theory relevant to the understanding of how groups address the problem of low status which results from negative intergroup comparison, and how self-esteem is achieved and maintained.

4.2   Social identity theory

Social identity theory takes social comparison beyond individuals and extends it to groups. According to Tajfel (1969), the study of behaviour in

groups requires the understanding of the processes of categorization, assimilation and search for coherence. Categorization, which is a fundamental process in the development of identities, is the process of classification into groups. It produces a tendency to exaggerate the similarities of items that fall into a particular group and the differences between items that fall into different groups. Assimilation is the process whereby the content of these groups is determined. How individuals react to intergroup situations is determined by their search for coherence. By this, Tajfel refers to attributions that are consistent with the perceiver's self-image or integrity. In other words, individuals are motivated to achieve a sense of self-consistency through their membership in groups. This extends Higgins' (1987) self-discrepancy theory beyond individuals to their group memberships.

With regard to the nature of groups, Tajfel states that stronger affiliation among members of the ingroup is often achieved at the cost of putting another group, (which is the outgroup) at a disadvantage. Also, this affiliation is only possible when the group is able to offer its members some satisfaction with regard to their social identity, which is defined as

> "that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."
> (Tajfel, 1981; p.255)

One's social identity is derived through the process of social categorization, whereby social objects or events which are equivalent with

regard to the individual's actions, intentions and system of beliefs are grouped together (Tajfel, 1981). Thus, through this process of social categorization, individuals are able to define their place in society and derive their sense of social identity.

An important point made is that groups do not exist alone but in comparison with other groups. The distinctive characteristics of a group can only be defined as such in comparison with other groups. In Tajfel's words,

> "no group lives alone -- all groups in society live in the midst of other groups ... 'the positive aspects of social identity' and the reinterpretation of attributes and engagement in social action only acquire meaning in relation to, or in comparisons with, other groups." (p.256)

Hence, Tajfel criticizes Festinger's theory of social comparison in that it limits comparisons to individuals without consideration of individuals as members of groups. Festinger's theory then, applies only to within-group or intragroup processes where comparisons are between individuals rather than groups. This is to reiterate the point that not only do individuals make interpersonal social comparisons between themselves and others, social comparisons can also take place on an intergroup basis (Levine and Moreland, 1987).

Group members who are conscious of their social identity in the group are acutely aware of other groups. In fact, the value of the group lies in its ability to preserve its "positively-valued distinctiveness" in contrast to other groups. It is this very characteristic that invests its members with their positive

identity. Tajfel explains that in conditions where this quality is not available, social action is taken to create the distinctiveness. Another point made is that comparability between groups is not constant but dependent upon a

> "shifting pattern of social conditions, contexts, influences, ideologies, beliefs and attitudes in a constantly changing social environment". (1981, p. 267)

These concepts have been crystallized into social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner describe behaviour as operating on a continuum between the interpersonal and the intergroup. Interpersonal behaviour consists of interaction that takes place on a personal basis between persons who perceive themselves as individuals. Intergroup behaviour, on the other hand, is the interaction between two or more persons who perceive themselves as members of social groups.

Previous research by Tajfel and his colleagues (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy and Flament, 1971) has shown that the mere perception of belonging to a group is sufficient to cause members to favour their own group above their personal interests against those of the outgroup. In their experiment involving allocation of rewards in a minimal group (that is, a group where members have no prior relationships of interdependence or attraction to one another, and where participants were randomly assigned to their groups), participants were willing to give themselves less rewards in favour of other anonymous members of their ingroup, sacrificing the absolute ingroup gain in favour of

relative ingroup gain. In other words, participants were willing to have less rewards themselves, as long as the total amount of rewards for their ingroup members was more than that of the outgroup members. This study illustrates the point that participants' perception of themselves as members of the group take precedence over their personal self-interests.

In this experiment where groups are "minimal", what emerges as important to the participants is the mere perception of their membership in these groups. Thus, a new definition of the group is required, rather than one based on interpersonal relationships. This is given by Tajfel and Turner (1979) as

> "a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership of it." (p. 40)

According to Tajfel (1981), one would remain in one's group as long as the group is able to offer its members a positive identity. If the group ceases to do this, members may then leave the group in search of alternative positive identities. However, if this is not possible, Tajfel suggests that they can either change the interpretation of the attributes of the group, or attempt to change the situation through social action.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) explain that social identification as members of groups is highly relational and comparative. The social identity that an individual derives from group membership has to do with self-image and is therefore related to self-esteem. One of the basic assumptions of social identity theory is that individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem, and that they strive for a positive self-concept through membership in groups. Hence, it is through positive social comparisons with other groups that a positive social identity is derived. When it is not possible to attain a positive social comparison, the positive social identity is obtained by either leaving the existing group and joining a more positive one, or to make the existing group positive by its distinctiveness. To quote Tajfel and Turner:

> "Positive social identity is based to a large extent on favourable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant out-groups: the in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups... pressures to evaluate one's own group positively through in-group/out-group comparisons lead social groups to attempt to differentiate themselves from each other."
> (pp. 40, 41)

Intergroup differentiation thus depends on the extent to which individuals have internalized their group membership as an aspect of their self-concept, and on intergroup comparisons with a relevant outgroup. It is social comparisons that lead to what Tajfel and Turner term "spontaneous" intergroup competition. The purpose of this is to achieve positive distinctiveness of the group that is

crucial to the group's positive social identity and an enhancement of its members' self-esteem.

One dimension of social comparison between groups is status, which is the "group's relative position on some evaluative dimension of comparison" (p. 43). Hence, a group that suffers from the outcome of negative social comparison in terms of status has less to offer its members in terms of a positive social identity.

How these groups react to low status is also addressed by social identity theory. Groups can be characterized by whether their members perceive their mobility as easy or hard. In a group where there is social mobility, movement into or out of the group is possible. The members of the group could choose to leave the group to join another of higher status. However, in a group where there is marked stratification, it is difficult for members to move in or out of the group. One alternative for members of low status groups to improve their status is that of social competition. These members then seek to enhance the esteem of the group by competing with the members of the outgroup. Where this is not possible or feasible, the other alternative is to seek positive distinctiveness through "social creativity". By this, Tajfel and Turner mean "redefining or altering the elements of the comparative situation" (p.43) through comparison on a different dimension, through changing the attributes of the group such that the negative elements become positive, and through a change of comparison, that is a re-selection of

the outgroup with which to compare. Once the outgroup is perceived to be less similar, comparisons become less likely.

Through social creativity, such groups achieve their positive identity by redefinition of their distinctiveness. Thus, groups that lack status or positive identity because of their inability to live up to conventional norms and expectations redefine this inability which is distinctive to them as positive by rejecting and reversing these very norms and expectations, which may produce behaviours that can be considered deviant.

Ellemers and her colleagues (Ellemers et al. 1988; Ellemers et al. 1990) tested the hypothesis that the effectiveness of intergroup strategies in enhancing the self-esteem of group members, (that is, social competition and social creativity or the individual strategy of mobility mentioned by social identity theory) would depend on several factors, namely, permeability of group boundaries, the status, legitimacy and stability of the group. Individual mobility would only be possible when group boundaries are permeable, and when boundaries are not permeable, the intergroup strategies of social competition or social creativity would be adopted.

Ellemers et al. (1988, 1990) found that groups characterized by members with low individual ability, being unable to derive positive identity from personal qualities, would identify more with their group than individuals with high individual ability. Also, results of their experiments showed that it is only in low status groups that members with low individual ability showed

more ingroup identification. Ellemers and her colleagues (Ellemers et al. 1990) concluded that

> "in groups with stable low status positions, an alternative status criterion is preferred most strongly. Indeed, when members of low status groups do not have the opportunity to enhance the ingroups' position within the established status structure, application of an alternative status criterion constitutes a singular occasion to achieve higher status for the group." (p. 245)

Ellemers, Wilke and van Knippenberg (1993) also found that whether members of a group would attempt individual or group means of status enhancement was determined by <u>situational</u> rather than legitimacy considerations. It is participants in legitimate conditions where status is seen as justified, and who perceive that they have no other means of upgrading their status, who demonstrated the strongest desire to introduce an alternative criterion of comparison.

Similar results, that the possibility of being associated with a lower status group can enhance group identification are also found by Turner, Hogg, Turner and Smith (1984). Participants of this study were told that they were either successful or unsuccessful at a task, and were either given a choice or not given the choice to continue with the study. It was found that cohesion was higher in groups with the high choice and failure conditions. Thus, failure and defeat were found to increase rather than decrease group cohesiveness. Defeat also has the effect of increasing self-esteem of committed members.

The research of Ellemers and her colleagues (Ellemers et al. 1988; Ellemers et al. 1990) on status, stability, permeability and legitimacy has relevance to understanding processes involved in the development of delinquent peer groups. These groups which developed as a result of social comparisons based on individual academic performance have low but stable status in the social environment of the school. As status is conferred on the basis of individual members' own academic ability, this cannot be considered illegitimate. Individual mobility to higher status peer groups is thus limited, making the boundaries of these peer groups impermeable. Nevertheless, the findings of Turner et al. (1984) show that the self-esteem of such groups can be enhanced by their cohesiveness.

Thus, the self-esteem of the delinquent peer group is derived from its cohesiveness and distinctiveness as a social identity vis-a vis other groups in the school. The next section presents the self-esteem hypothesis of social identity theory, elaborating on how groups achieve their sense of positive distinctiveness and enhance their self-esteem.

4.3   The self-esteem hypothesis

The self-esteem hypothesis postulated by social identity theory refers to ingroup bias or intergroup discrimination which enhances the self-esteem of members of the group through downward comparison with an inferior group. There is evidence that the favourable comparison of one's own group with that of another group results in enhanced self-esteem. Oakes and Turner (1980)

used the minimal group paradigm to show that participants, categorized randomly on the basis of their preference for different paintings, favoured their ingroup over members of the outgroup, and in doing so, increased their level of self-esteem. Their findings are confirmed by Lemyre and Smith, (1985), who also showed that increased self-esteem was due to intergroup competition and not category salience alone. They suggest that the increase in self-esteem was indicative of it being restored and maintained by ingroup favouritism. In other words, ingroup favouritism reduces threat to self-esteem.

Research findings regarding the self-esteem hypothesis are ambiguous and conflicting (Abrams and Hogg, 1988). Although the hypothesis found support in the studies of Oakes and Turner (1980) and Lemyre and Smith (1985), Vickers, Abrams and Hogg (1988) found that when the group norm of cooperation was salient, participants who showed intergroup discrimination in fact experienced lowered self-esteem, contrary to the expectation of social identity theory.

Abrams and Hogg (1988) argue that while intergroup discrimination can produce an increase in self-esteem as stated by social identity theory, it is also possible that groups with low status and whose members suffer from low self-esteem can engage in intergroup discrimination. This found empirical support in a study by Wagner, Lampen and Syllwasschy (1986) which showed that the greatest intergroup discrimination was by a low status group. However, Sachdev and Bourhis (1987) found in their study of groups with unequal power and status, that it is not groups with lower power and status

(and whose members can be assumed to have lower self-esteem) but groups with greater power and status which produced more discrimination.

One explanation for the conflicting results in the research on the self-esteem hypothesis is offered by Crocker and her colleagues (Crocker and Schwartz, 1985; Crocker, Thompson, McGraw and Ingerman, 1987). They argue that one of the problems may be due to the self-esteem measures taken. Their earlier studies also revealed results contrary to social identity theory. They found that low self-esteem participants are more negative in their ratings of both ingroup and outgroup than high or moderate self-esteem participants, thus not showing more ingroup favouritism as expected. In fact, it was high self-esteem participants who engaged in ingroup bias.

Crocker and her colleagues argue that the measures of self-esteem used in these studies are not appropriate to test social identity theory's predictions. Individual self-esteem is to be distinguished from collective self-esteem. They therefore postulated two components of self-esteem; an individual self-esteem as well as a collective self-esteem, and developed measures for both. (Crocker and Luhtanen, 1990). Threats to collective self-esteem were manipulated in a study by giving failure feedback. They found that low collective self-esteem participants did not respond to these threats unlike high collective self-esteem participants. They confirmed their earlier findings that it is high and not low self-esteem participants who react to threats and defend themselves and their group by minimizing the differences in the scores of the higher-scoring participants.

Furthermore, Mummendey and Schreiber (1983) found that positive ingroup evaluation can be achieved without outgroup discrimination. Outgroup discrimination was resorted to only when no alternative strategy was available. Mummendey and her colleagues examined the circumstances under which group members would demonstrate discrimination against the outgroup. It was shown that ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination need not always go hand in hand. Positive ingroup evaluations can be achieved without outgroup discrimination when members of the group are given the opportunity to assess both ingroup and the outgroup on dimensions that allow them to make comparisons independently. In other words, it can be said that both groups are "equally good but different". However, when this is not possible because the outgroup is better, then comparisons will take place on a different dimension. Outgroup discrimination occurs when the group is only able to achieve positive evaluations at the expense of the outgroup, when there is no other way of attaining positive social identity.

In another study, Mummendey, Simon, Dietze, Grunert, Haeger, Kessler, Lettgen and Schaferhoff (1992) examined the conditions for explicitly negative outcome allocations using matrices of outcome allocation in the minimal group experiments. Participants in their first experiment involving allocation of aversive noise did not show any form of ingroup favouritism at all but opted for fairness. They argued that while in the minimal group experiments, mere categorization was enough to elicit ingroup favouritism in the form of positive outcomes, in the case of allocation of negative or aversive

outcomes, a "*negative* social identity may then be sufficient to elicit discriminatory behaviour" (p. 135). This was investigated in their second experiment, where group size and group status were manipulated. They found that low status groups rather than high status groups were more likely to discriminate against the outgroup, and low status minority groups showed both absolute and relative ingroup favouritism.

4.4   Summary and discussion

The findings of social comparison researchers presented in the previous chapter reveal strategies of coping with negative social comparison, but fail to explain how these strategies, which include reducing the relevance of academic achievement, redefining or reevaluating it as negative and not to be desired, and derogation of others who have managed to attain academic success, operate in terms of group membership to reduce self-derogation. The issue of self-discrepancy with conventional norms has not been addressed. Social identity theory offers the explanation of these strategies as "social creativity", that groups create positive distinctiveness from which the self-esteem of their members is derived. The derogation of others as a coping strategy against negative social comparison and the redefinition and reversal of conventional norms discussed by Cohen in his subcultural theory of delinquency (see Chapter Two) are forms of outgroup discrimination as well as the 'social creativity" methods of enhancing status. It is the alternative taken by those who have been relegated a low and stable status and whose mobility

is also low (Ellemers et al., 1988, 1990). Thus, in the social context of the school, such attributes as diligence and interest in studies which are formerly regarded as positive, are redefined by low achievers as negative. In other words, the process of social creativity allows low achievers to redefine and reverse conventional norms, values and behaviour, reevaluating them as negative and undesirable, but non conventional ones as positive and to be desired. Delinquency is thus the behavioural manifestation of the process of redefinition and reversal.

Social identity theory argues that self-esteem is achieved at the expense of the outgroup. Thus delinquents experience a decrease in self-derogation, as demonstrated by Kaplan's (1978, 1980) studies through the derogation of other groups by their ingroup. The theory thus explains the role of the group as a strategy of coping against negative social comparison and how it is essential for the attainment of a positive identity, thus extending social comparisons beyond individuals to that of groups.

Although research on the self-esteem hypothesis appears to be inconsistent with regard to whether it is high or low status groups that show the most outgroup discrimination, the empirical evidence points to the fact that both high and low esteem groups do engage in outgroup discrimination which results in the sharpening of group boundaries. In the context of the school, this increases the impermeability of groups based on academic achievement, that is between the academically weak students and those who are high achievers. Differences between the high and the low achievers thus

become exaggerated, further differentiating the student identity into separate social identities.

The processes involved in the development and differentiation of groups is explained by. self-categorization theory. The theory also addresses issues of group cohesiveness, social influence and the salience of social identities, which form the basis of collective intergroup behaviour, of which delinquency is one example. Aspects of self-categorization theory relevant to the understanding of the development of the delinquent social identity are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SELF-CATEGORIZATION AS THE BASIS FOR GROUP FORMATION,
COHESION AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE

5.1   Preamble

One important consequence of negative social comparison is the

development of two main groups in the social environment of the school,

those who are academically inclined and are involved in school activities

and who uphold societal norms, and those who are not interested in

studies or school activities and who demonstrate values and behaviours

which are considered delinquent.

This chapter begins by presenting the concepts and findings of self-

categorization theory. The theory explains the psychological processes

underlying group formation, elucidating how groups in the school become

differentiated on the basis of academic performance and school

involvement. The chapter focuses on issues regarding the salience of self-

categories, the variable nature of the self, group cohesion and social

influence which have direct relevance to the understanding of the nature

and development of the delinquent social identity.

5.2   Self-categorization theory

Turner (1985) describes self-categorization theory as

> "a set of interrelated assumptions and hypotheses
> about the structure and functioning of the social
> self-concept (that based on social comparison and
> relevant to social interaction)." (pp. 93, 94)

The theory explains the processes through which individuals develop their social self-concept or social identity as members of certain social groups. When individuals categorize themselves as members of a group and not members of other groups, they are in fact in the process of defining their self-concept in terms of what they are as well as what they are not. Self-categorization therefore is inextricably linked with social comparison. Turner states that

> "self-categorizations at any level tend to form and become salient through comparisons of stimuli defined as members of the next more inclusive (next higher level) self-category... self-categorization and social comparison are mutually dependent and complementary processes in that neither can exist without the other: the division of stimuli into classes depends on perceived similarities and differences (comparative relations), but stimuli can only be compared insofar as they have already been categorized as identical "like" or equivalent at some higher level of abstraction, which in turn presupposes a prior process of categorization." (p. 96)

There are at least three levels of self-categorization; firstly, there is the superordinate level of the self as a human being as opposed to other species. Secondly, at the intermediate level of ingroup and outgroup categorization, one perceives oneself in terms of one's ingroup membership against membership in other groups. Finally, at the subordinate level, self-categorization is in terms of the personal self in comparison with other individual ingroup members. It is important to stress that the self-categorization of the individual at the intermediate level is not less important than that at the subordinate level. In other words, the social

self is not more or less important than the personal self, as human beings function both as individual persons and as social group members.

An important concept in the categorization of the self as a member of a group and not as a member of another group is that of meta-contrast, which is expressed as a ratio. This is the ratio of

> "the average difference perceived between members of the category and other stimuli (the average intercategory difference) over the average difference perceived between members of the category (the average intracategory difference)."
> (1985, p. 96)

In other words, the meta-contrast ratio is the average perceived intercategory difference divided by the average intracategory difference. As ingroups and outgroups vary, the metacontrast ratio changes with the comparative context.

The metacontrast ratio is useful in defining the relative prototypicality of members of the group, or the extent to which members exemplify the group as a whole in comparison with other groups. The representativeness of a group member (that is, his or her prototypicality) would increase with increasing differences from outgroup members and decreasing differences from members of the same category. Wetherell (1987) explains that the most prototypical member of the group can be expected to be the most persuasive and more likely than other members to produce conformity. Polarization is thus the result of group members adjusting their position or opinion in line with that of the prototype, such that their attitudes, judgments, or decisions tend to shift in the direction

already favoured by the group and become more extreme. Thus, ingroup norms tend to be polarized under conditions when the metacontrast ratio is high and when there is a greater tendency for people to perceive themselves as members of a category than as individuals.

Although the meta-contrast ratio is important in describing the comparative characteristics of people which enable them to be classified as members of a certain category vis-a-vis other categories, it is equally important to consider the " normative fit", which Oakes, Haslam and Turner (1994) define as

> "the social meaning of differences between people in terms of the normative and behavioural content of their actions." (p . 97)

a) <u>The salience of self-categories</u>

Which   social categories become salient is a result of the interaction between the relative accessibility of these categories and both the comparative and the normative "fit". In other words, the similarities and differences between people as well as the social meaning or the content of what is observed determine the salience of a social identity.

Oakes (1987) points out that accessibility is likely to be influenced by how important a particular group membership is to an individual's self-definition and the emotional value or significance of a given ingroup/outgroup categorization. In other words, such factors as the individual's past experiences, present expectations, current motives, values, goals and needs help determine what is accessible. Some categories are readily available or highly accessible.

The other determinant of salience is fit, which refers to the high meta-contrast ratio between the categories (comparative fit) and consistency with the stereotypical content of the categories (normative fit).

Oakes (1987) provides empirical evidence regarding this concept of fit in two experimental studies. In the first experiment, school students of both sexes were presented with a discussion group on marriage, comprising six members who were in either solo (one man and five women) or non-solo (three men and three women) groups. The pattern of discussion was either conflict, where the three men and women argued against each other, or deviance, where one person disagreed with the other five. The dependent variable is the subjects' attributions of the opinion expressed by a stimulus male individual who is present in every condition. The non-solo conflict and the solo deviance conditions reflect structural fit, and it is in these conditions that subjects are expected to attribute the stimulus person's opinion to his being a member of the male gender. Results of the study confirmed this prediction.

In the second experiment, both structural and normative fit are manipulated. Subjects were presented with a three Arts and three Science students having a discussion regarding attitudes towards university life. This study utilizes the stereotype of Arts students as being pro-social life and the Science students as being pro-academic life. The dependent measure is the subjects' attributions for a target's attitude. The manipulation of structural fit involved three different patterns of discussion. In the consensus condition, there was complete agreement among the students. In the conflict condition, the three Arts disagreed with

the three Science students. In the deviance condition, the target Arts student disagreed with the other five. Normative fit was manipulated by the attitude expressed by the target Arts student, which is consistent or inconsistent with the stereotype of Arts student.

It was predicted that the Arts/Science categorization would be most salient under conditions of both normative and structural fit, represented by the conflict and consistent conditions. As expected, subjects' attribution of the target's attitude to her being a member of the Arts course was found to be highest in the conflict condition, and when the target student is consistent with the stereotype. Her attitude was attributed to her personality in the inconsistent and deviance condition.

The salience of a self-category is thus the result of the interaction between relative accessibility and both comparative and normative fit. It determines whether self-categorization would take place at the personal or social level. This relationship between personal and social identities was first conceptualized by Tajfel (1978) as functioning along a continuum. At the personal identity extreme, interaction between individuals are determined wholly by their personal relationships, with the perception of each other as unique individuals. At the other extreme of the social identity, interaction is based on the perception of each other as members of a social category or group.

Self-categorization theory extends Tajfel's (1978) concept of social identity as reflecting group affiliations to that in which social identity becomes part of the social categorization of the self, and that it is the salience of this which enables group behaviour to take place. Thus, when

social identity is salient, ingroup members perceive themselves to be highly similar to each other, but highly different from outgroup members, "Depersonalization" is said to have taken place. In other words, one perceives the self to be identical and interchangeable with other members of the ingroup. Once individuals perceive themselves to be members of a group, they become "depersonalized" to the extent that they see themselves as identical to other ingroup members. Accentuation effects enhance the perceived similarities between ingroup members as well as perceived differences from those of the outgroup.

The concept of salience also explains why members of the outgroup are perceived to be more homogeneous than members of the ingroup. When social identity is salient, judgments of the outgroup tend to be made on the basis of intergroup comparisons, hence outgroup members are likely to be perceived to be more homogeneous. Judgments of ingroup members however, are made when personal identity is salient. As a result, ingroup members tend to be perceived to be more differentiated

The application of the concept of the meta-contrast ratio allows the prediction of group identification, and helps explain why those who are at the extreme rather than moderate in a social context are more likely to categorize themselves as members of the ingroup (Haslam 1990; Haslam and Turner, 1992). Based on the calculations of the metacontrast ratio, extreme judges compared with moderate ones have a greater tendency to assimilate and contrast stimuli relative to their own position. Extreme judges tend to have fewer others who share their position and more others who do not share their position. As a result, extremists tend to categorize

people into those who belong to the ingroup or the outgroup more sharply, and demonstrate a polarization of their judgment.

b)   The context-variability of the self

According to self-categorization theory, there is a constant competition between self-categorization at the personal and social levels (Turner, Oakes, Haslam and McGarty, 1994). Hence, self-categorizations are not fixed or stable entities but vary with the social context. Turner et al. (1994) stress that

> "categorizing is inherently comparative and hence intrinsically variable, fluid and relative to a frame of reference. It is always context dependent (and) do not represent fixed, absolute properties of the perceiver, but relative, varying, context-dependent properties." (p. 456)

Thus, self-categories, being social definitions of the self, are not stable individual attributes but change with the social context. As the comparative social context expands to include others less similar to the self as when intergroup comparisons are made, self-categorization tends to become more inclusive in that the others who are more similar are considered members of the ingroup and perceived as "we" or "us" as opposed to "them". On the other hand, as the comparative social context narrows such that comparisons are made on an   intragroup basis, the self becomes defined as "me" in contrast to the others who constitute the "you".

Changes in the social context affect the meaning of self-categories in that they change what is considered prototypical. Thus, Turner and his colleagues argue that self-categories and ingroups

> "can be defined in diametrically opposite ways on different occasions...(and) can have opposite meanings depending on context." (1994, p. 458)

They argue that the variability of self-categorizations is not arbitrary or chaotic but the result of an adaptation to a changing social environment. The idea of the self-concept as a preformed and already stored structure is thus rejected. The self is therefore not a fixed mental structure but

> "the expression of a dynamic process of social judgment... defined in terms of his or her changing relationships to others within the frame of reference, presumably to enable the individual to regulate himself or herself in relation to an ever-changing social reality." (p. 458)

Since the self is socially defined according to the social context and is the result of cognitive processes at work, it is defined not in terms of how it is stored or organized as a mental structure, but in terms of the <u>function</u> that it serves in defining the perceiver in relation to others. Hence, in contrast to the symbolic interactionists' definition of the self as emerging from the reflected appraisals of others, Turner and his colleagues see the self as originating from social comparison and categorization processes in which the perceiver appraises himself or herself in relation to others. However, they are not stating that there is no stability or continuity of the self. A

sense of stability can arise from four sources. Firstly, stability in self-categorization results from the stability of social contexts from which the self is defined. Secondly, higher-order knowledge frameworks such as background knowledge and implicit theories also provide coherence to varying instances of behaviour. Social groups, subcultures and institutions which provide perceivers with stable norms, values and motives also contribute to the sense of stability. Finally, stability can arise from social influence and communication processes.

Thus, the variability of self enables individuals to adapt to different social environments by providing a behavioural and psychological flexibility to act as individuals or as members of social groups depending on the demands of the situation.

When people act as members of social groups, that is when their self-categorizations are at the social level and the self functions as a collective, this makes possible the emergence of psychologically distinctive processes of group behaviour. It is this shared social identity that explains

> "how human individuals are able to act as other than and more than just individual persons: how group loyalties can override personal relationships, how cooperation for collective self-interest can replace competition for personal self-interest and how social influence within groups depends on the shared identity of self and in-group others." (p. 460)

Based on these principles, social identity and self-categorization theories point to the fact that that new models of group formation, social attraction and cohesiveness as well as of social influence are required.

5.2.1   Group formation, cohesiveness and social attraction

Turner (1982) explains that group formation is the product of the social identification of its members. Based on the research of Tajfel and his colleagues, (Tajfel, et al., 1971) Turner stresses that contrary to the theories of traditional group researchers such as the Sherifs, social cohesion or interpersonal attraction of group members is not a necessary condition for group formation. In other words, social cohesion is the product of the group rather than its cause. Turner is emphatic in stating that

> "the most powerful determinants of group formation, therefore, are likely to be variables which at one and the same time define individuals as members of a common social category and indicate that its criterial attributes are positive rather than negative." (1982, p. 27)

and that

> "social categorization *per se* is sufficient for intergroup discrimination and the minimal conditions for group formation does not seem to include cohesive relations between members or any degree of interdependence." (1984, p. 524)

Following this argument, it is perceived similarity to group members which is more likely to engender identification with the group rather than personal attraction to group members. The process of social categorization leads individuals to perceive themselves as similar to members of the group with which they identify and redefine themselves in terms of membership in that group. Turner explains that individuals do not merely identify themselves with the group but also evaluate themselves positively in terms of the group membership, as stated earlier by social identity theory. They

> "seek to establish positively valued differences between their own and other groups to maintain and enhance their self-esteem as group members... there is a tendency to define one's own group positively in order to evaluate oneself favourably." (1984, p. 528)

Hogg (1987) further investigates how the principles of self-categorization theory can be applied to cohesiveness and social attraction. The traditional concept of group formation, which is termed the social cohesion model, states that the group arises out of the cohesion and interdependence among its members, that the members are united as a result of interpersonal attraction. In other words, the social cohesion model implies that people come together as a group because of such factors as shared goals, perceived similarity, common fate or attractive personality traits. However, as stated by self-categorization theory above, group cohesion is the product and not the cause of social categorization.

Hogg criticizes the social cohesion model on several grounds. Firstly, cohesion is interpreted in terms of sociometric choices which makes no distinction between friendship and attraction between members that are based on group membership. A related problem is that of operationalization of cohesiveness. Hogg states that there are many different sources of attraction such as the prestige of the group, its tasks and the personality traits of its members that can be incorporated into the concept and these are equally valid operationalizations. Another criticism concerns the motives for group formation, that it is necessary to differentiate between needs and causes for joining the group. The social cohesion model tends to confuse the two in that personal needs are seen as sufficient reasons for group formation. The social cohesion model also fails to account for group size, in that the concept of interpersonal attractiveness cannot be applied to large groups. Finally, empirical findings of Turner and his colleagues (Turner, et al. 1984) indicate that group cohesion exists even in the face of failure. In other words, interpersonal attraction has been found to be sufficient but not necessary for cohesion. Given these reasons, Hogg (1987) stresses the importance of

"social-cognitive processes of self-categorization and social identification rather than positive interpersonal attitudes and primarily affective relations between individuals in the development of group belongingness and cohesion." (p. 101)

Hogg argues that similarity and attraction between members of the group, which is the result of positive evaluation of the group vis-a-vis other groups, is <u>intragroup</u>, which is based on social identities rather than interpersonal attraction, which is based on the attraction of individual members to one another on the basis of individual characteristics rather than the group's positive distinctiveness. Hogg concurs with Turner in his assertion that

> "group cohesiveness is an emergent property of group membership and social identification, i.e. it is in fact an outcome of and not the basis of ingroup identification." (p. 102)

These ideas are tested out in a series of four studies which Hogg conducted in conjunction with Turner (Turner, et al., 1983). They demonstrate that group formation and behaviour are the result of social categorization rather than attraction. Members of groups who disliked each other were found to show as much ingroup favouritism as those in the groups where members liked each other. These studies illustrate the point that group formation is possible when members dislike each other <u>as individuals</u>, and as long as they perceive themselves to belong to a group and like each other <u>as group members</u>. In other studies, Hogg and Turner (1985a, 1985b and 1987a) also demonstrate the need to differentiate between intragroup and interpersonal attraction, that group identification can take place with categorization alone, that is, when members perceive themselves as members of a group regardless of their feelings for each other. Also, interpersonal attraction per se does not cause group formation,

and that categorization reduces liking for the outgroup and strengthens preference for the ingroup.

Social identification of group members with each other as members of the group allows social influence and conformity to group norms to take place. The application of self-categorization theory to social influence is presented in the next section.

5.2.2   Social influence

The traditional view of conformity to social norms is that there are two kinds of influence at work: normative influence and informational influence (Deutsch and Gerard, 1955). According to this view, normative influence takes place when individuals conform to the norm because of their need for social approval and acceptance and the fear of social rejection. Therefore, it is taken to reflect compliance rather than true acceptance. Informational influence, on the other hand, is associated with the need for accuracy and is thus considered true acceptance and not mere compliance because one is convinced by the validity of others' views. It is believed that the latter kind of influence, being more accurate would lead to private attitude change, whereas the former is associated with public agreement. Turner (1990) points out that this "dual-process" model of influence has as its basis, a

dichotomy between socially motivated normative processes of influence affecting the public self and

cognitively motivated, informational processes affecting the private self." (p. 146)

Festinger's (1950) theory of social comparison deals with informational influence in that it states that social comparisons take place when individuals are uncertain about social reality, where there are no available means of physical reality testing. According to Festinger (1950), uncertainty about physical reality can be resolved through objective and non-social tests, without having to obtain the opinion of others. However, with regard to social reality testing, one would have to resort to social comparison with members of one's reference group in order to be certain about the validity of one's opinions. In other words, people become influenced by their reference group because they are dependent on social comparisons as a source of information, and their conformity is the acceptance of the views and opinions as valid evidence of reality.

Turner (1990) disagrees with Festinger and argues that physical reality testing does not exist apart from social reality testing and that informational influence is itself normative because it is based on social consensus. Rather than having two alternative bases of validity, that is, the physical and the social, Turner suggests that there should be one basis with two interdependent phases of reality testing, that of direct individual testing and that which involves the consensual validation by similar others. Reality testing which has the consensus of others without direct individual testing is worthless. On the other hand, individuals who test reality without the agreement of others lack confidence that the results of their testing is valid.

Thus, Turner argues that

> "informational validity... cannot be opposed to normative influence. It is normative, a matter of social comparison with and the agreement of reference group others. The validity of information is always determined by its (direct or indirect) relationship to reference group norms." (p. 153)

Turner argues, based on self-categorization theory, that social influence and conformity are products of the categorization of self and others as identical. Turner (1985) terms this theory of social influence as "referent informational influence". Its basic concept is that in a shared category membership, members tend to agree with each other, and this agreement which becomes the social norm, produces confidence that their point of view is the correct or appropriate one. Hence, social influence stems from members' need to agree with one another because they perceive each other as interchangeable with regard to relevant attributes.

In the view of referent informational influence, it is psychological group membership or shared identification that is considered to be the basis of social influence, and that self-categorization is the process underlying the acceptance of norms. Conflict among ingroup members not only causes uncertainty but also threatens the self-concept and the validity of knowledge about the world.

Evidence of referent informational theory is found in a series of experiments conducted by Hogg and Turner (1987b) involving the Asch paradigm where subjects had to indicate their rating of personality traits.

This series of studies demonstrated that conformity represents true acceptance and not mere compliance, and is mediated by identification with the group.

In the first two experiments, subjects displayed conformity by adopting the norm of their salient group even when there was no feedback, and their responses can be considered true acceptance rather than compliance as their responses are entirely private. Normative consistency is demonstrated to play an important role as subjects followed the group norm only in the consistent conditions. The next two experiments using the same paradigm investigated the role of self-categorization in conformity. Results indicated that conformity is accentuated under conditions of explicit categorization when subjects identified with their group. These experiments proved that the conforming behaviour of the subjects cannot be normative influence because conformity was present even in the <u>absence of surveillance</u> by the group or feedback of the group's responses. The responses cannot be due to informational influence since subjects conformed even in the presence of a "correct" supporter.

Turner (1990) states that uncertainty results not only when the results of physical reality testing are ambiguous, but as

"a direct product of disagreement with relevant others in the context of a shared reality. Similarly, the reduction of uncertainty is a matter of social consensual support...not information in the abstract." (p. 151)

Social influence tends to be stronger under conditions when the task is difficult, when the group is perceived to be highly competent, or when the subject lacks social support (McGarty, Turner, Oakes, & Haslam, 1993) Also, there is evidence suggesting that subjects who have strong social support tend to be more resistant to influence following disagreement.

In their experiments, McGarty and his colleagues (1993) demonstrated the variation of uncertainty as a result of both agreement and disagreement with a reference group. Besides manipulation of agreement or disagreement regarding the perceptual task of dot estimation, another manipulation concerns the similarity and appropriateness for comparison of the reference group. In the dissimilar and inappropriate condition, subjects were told that the group comprised visually impaired people. Although they did not find significant effects with regard to similarity, results clearly supported the hypotheses that agreement leads to an increase in confidence, and that confidence is reduced by disagreement.

There are three ways of reducing uncertainty. One is to attribute the disagreement to differences between self and others; another is to attribute the disagreement to the shared stimulus situation, and finally, to engage in mutual influence to produce agreement. In another experiment, McGarty and his colleagues hypothesized that when reality testing is not possible, that is, in the condition where stimulus information is low, disagreement produces more uncertainty, but when stimulus information is high, disagreement can lead to less uncertainty when it is disagreement with others with whom one is expected to disagree. Results of the experiment confirmed their predictions. These results thus provide evidence for the

self-categorization perspective of uncertainty and social influence rather than that of Festinger. Self-categorization theory of social influence is thus summarized as follows:

> "Confidence is a direct function of the extent to which similar (relevant) people are perceived, expected or believed to agree with one's own response. Conversely, subjective uncertainty is a direct function of the extent to which similar others are not perceived expected or believed to respond similarly to oneself in the same stimulus situation."
> (McGarty et al., 1993, p. 29)

Certainty or confidence is therefore the result of the perception of agreement with members of one's ingroup and disagreement with those of the outgroup, which is in turn dependent on the degree of the individual's identification with the group.

The theory of referent informational influence also provides an explanation of collective behaviour, which includes the action of crowds, mobs and riots. Through the process of self-categorization, individuals identify with the crowd or the mob, and their actions reflect their acceptance of the stereotypic norms of the crowd or the mob.

Reicher's (1984b) first study involves an experiment with subjects who were identified as individuals or members of a group and were either identifiable in their own dress or made anonymous by dressing in baggy overalls and masks. Results showed that anonymity and unidentifiability in fact enhances conformity in the group. Subjects who were science and social science students were shown a film which presented arguments for

and against vivisection, and results of a supposed survey indicating that social scientists were more against vivisection while science students held the opposite view.

Ingroup normative behaviour was reflected in the responses of the subjects in the group condition. Furthermore, conformity to group norms was seen to be greater in the anonymous conditions. According to normative influence, conformity would increase in the presence of others with whom one seeks social approval, and anonymity would cause conformity to decrease. The fact that conformity was enhanced refutes this theory but lends support to referent informational influence.

The second study conducted by Reicher (1987) involved subjects who watched a videotape on punishment of sexual offenders. Social scientists were shown as having a strong norm for more punitive measures. Subjects were divided into two groups, one in which their identity as group members was made salient, and one where they were referred to as individuals. They were also presented with a tape message which argued for leniency or stressed the need for punishment. Results indicated that responses were more punitive when their identity as social scientists was made salient, but when it was not salient, responses depended on the content of message.

Reicher's (1984a) field study regarding the St. Pauls riot in Bristol in 1980 provided further evidence for the role of identification in group behaviour. Participants in the study talked about their experiences as part of a larger social group or collective rather than as individuals. Moreover,

the targets of their attacks in the riots were police and shops owned by outsiders, who constitute the outgroup.

This series of studies confirms that is it the salience of one's social identity that leads to conformity to group norms. Reicher (1987) concludes that

> "where a specific identity is not salient, responses may be influenced against its norms. However, when that identity is salient, not only does behaviour conform to the ingroup stereotype but also the sole source of influence is likely to be in messages which clarify the content of that stereotype." (p. 191)

The issue of public versus private responding to influence is addressed by Abrams and Hogg (1990), who argue against the view the public responding to influence is mere compliance rather than true acceptance. They state that public behaviour is a form of communication, and reflects mutual influence and the establishment of group norms, that

> "those who do not make some observable contribution or statement cannot be involved in determining the group prototype, and nor can they be perceived by other group members in terms of their prototypicality. In effect, even if categorized, it is impossible to detect the precise location of silent group members within the group." (p. 215)

Two studies conducted by Abrams (1984, cited in Abrams and Hogg, 1990) provided support for the importance of public responding. Schoolchildren were pretested to measure their identification with the school. After an interval of some weeks, they were asked to make

judgments of whom they perceived as ingroup and outgroup members of their school. Three audience conditions were involved, those who were told that their responses would be shown to either ingroup or to outgroup members, and those who were told that their responses would not be shown at all. In both studies, Abrams found that those who highly identified with the school demonstrated more ingroup bias in the ingroup and outgroup audience conditions than in the no-audience condition. Abrams concluded that in no-audience or private responding, individuals may be psychologically isolated from the group and are likely to perceive themselves more in terms of their personal identity.

In another study, Abrams utilized the Asch paradigm with three physically present confederates. Subjects responded either publicly after the confederates or privately by writing down their judgments after hearing those of the confederates. Subjects were also told that the confederates were either ingroup or outgroup members. As predicted from self-categorization theory, it was found that subjects conformed more to the ingroup than the outgroup regardless of the private or public conditions. However, conformity was enhanced in the public condition.

Abrams (1992) also shows that ingroup bias can be enhanced in the presence of an outgroup audience. Subjects in this study were students from two schools, who either completed attitudinal measures including strength of identification with their school in a confidential condition, or were led to believe that their questionnaires would be circulated among both their own school (ingroup) and the other school (outgroup). Results showed that both students with high and low identification with their

school in the outgroup audience condition showed the highest ingroup bias. In the ingroup audience condition, students with high identifications showed greater ingroup bias than those with low identification. Thus, when one identifies with a group, there is tendency for the identification with the group to be publicly verified.

One can therefore draw the conclusion that ingroup influence is greater under public than in private conditions. Abrams' research lends support to Emler's (1990) theory on the role of reputation. This is developed by Emler and Reicher (1995) into a theory of delinquency as reputation management which is presented in the next chapter.

5.3   Summary and discussion

Self-categorization theory explains that groups form as a result of social categorization and identification with members who are perceived to be similar, as opposed to others who are different. Following social identity theory, social identification is also likely to result in positive evaluation of the group, and increase the self-esteem of its members by being distinctive in comparison with other groups.

Applying this to the development of adolescent peer groups, groups are formed not because their members find each other socially attractive, but as a result of their perception of being similar with regard to academic performance and school experiences. Thus, as a consequence of social comparison of academic performance, students who repeatedly do badly in their examinations would perceive themselves as very different from those

who are academically able, but more similar to each other. Thus, their membership in the group may not be based on personal liking or empathy for each other.

The question of cohesiveness of the delinquent peer group has been brought up in Chapter Two. While Bowker and Klein (1983) and Giordano, Cernovich and Pugh (1986) maintain that members of the delinquent peer group are close to one another and have more influence with each other, Klein and Crawford (1968) and Pabon, Rodriguez and Gurin (1992) found evidence that this is not so. In fact, their findings showed that delinquents do not get along with one another. The concepts and findings of self-categorization theory can resolve the apparently contradictory findings regarding relationships between delinquent peer groups. These groups are social identities that are created out of the identification of members with one another based on similarity and not out of interpersonal attraction or friendship for one another. Hence, their sense of cohesiveness is a product of their identification with each other, vis-a-vis members of another group. Because of the salience of their delinquent social identity, members of the group may dislike each other as individuals, but like each other <u>as group members</u> and maintain a sense of belongingness and hold considerable influence over each other.

Self-categorization theory also explains when a social identity becomes salient. Oakes' (1987) research on salience demonstrates that salience is the result of the interaction between relative accessibility or the readiness to perceive the social category, and its relationship to other groups such that there is comparative and normative fit. In other words,

members of the social category perceive their similarity to ingroup members to be greater than their similarity to outgroup members in socially meaningful ways. Thus, whether a delinquent social identity would become salient in a social context would depend very much on the groups with which it is being compared.

Social identities are therefore fluid because of the variability of comparisons in changing social contexts. The different social identities of adolescents, of which the delinquent social identity is but one, are thus variable and become salient in different social contexts. In other words, delinquents have other social identities that are salient at different times and situations, and the delinquent social identity is only salient under certain conditions. This idea of the variable delinquent social identity is not altogether new, as the concept of delinquency as "drift" was first conceptualized by Sykes and Matza (1957).

Research on social influence based on self-categorization theory has shown that social influence stems from agreement with members of one's ingroup and disagreement with the outgroup. Such agreement results in certainty or confidence that an opinion, decision, attitude or behaviour is correct or valid. This analysis suggests one explanation as to why delinquency tends to occur as a group phenomenon; that it is the group or social identity as delinquents which provides members with the confidence needed to subscribe to unconventional norms and engage in deviant behaviour.

Social influence among delinquents is interpreted by Emler and Reicher (1995) in terms of reputation management. Their theory of

delinquency and these ideas in the preceding paragraphs regarding the relevance of social identity and self-categorization theories to understanding of delinquency in terms of the nature and development of the delinquent social identity are elaborated in greater detail in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

DELINQUENCY AS REPUTATION MANAGEMENT

6.1   Preamble

Emler and Reicher's (1995) theory of delinquency places emphasis

on three themes. Firstly, their theory acknowledges the role played by the

educational system, with which the adolescent has to define his or her

relationship. Secondly, Emler and Reicher state that delinquent and non

delinquent behaviours must be examined in terms of group processes

because delinquency is essentially a form of collective behaviour. Finally,

delinquency is seen as a form of self-presentation and a public reputation

that communicates a rejection and defiance of the system.

The chapter also discusses the relationship of this theory of

reputation management to social identity and self-categorization theories.

These concepts are extended to develop a clearer understanding of the

nature of the delinquent social identity and processes involved in its

development, which is the focus of this thesis.

6.2   Theory of delinquency as reputation management

Emler (1984) argues that any interpretation of delinquency has to

account for the demographic factors that characterize delinquent behaviour.

Studies reviewed by Emler revealed that delinquency tends to peak around

14 to 15 years especially for boys, and that more males than females admit

to being involved in serious crimes. How social class influences

delinquency is less clear; high scorers on delinquency measures tend to be from the lower and working classes, but at the same time, there are also many low scorers from these classes.

A brief critique of the various theories of delinquency (which have been presented in Chapter Two), is given (Emler, 1984; Emler and Reicher 1995), showing that these theories do not offer adequate explanations of delinquency that fit the demographic patterns observed.

Firstly, sociological perspectives tend to concentrate on the lack of norms or the commitment to unconventional norms. Strain and cultural diversity theories which are focused on factors such as race and social class, tend to neglect individual differences. Reinforcement-modeling theories, based on social learning posit that children learn to be delinquents through observation and modeling. However, Emler (1984) points out that this theory does not explain why behavioural models or reinforcement are differentially distributed across age, sex or individuals.

On the other hand, psychological perspectives on delinquency tend to lack empirical support. Neoanalytic theories put the focus on the child's relationship with his or her parents, and although there is evidence that delinquents tend to have affectionless and harsh parents, these theories do not explain the age pattern of delinquency, that such behaviours tend to become more frequent during the period of adolescence. Biogenetic theory, which attempts to explain delinquency in terms of genetically determined sensitivities to relevant socializing conditions, has received only mixed support. Finally, cognitive developmental theory, based on Kohlberg's stages of moral development, (Kohlberg, 1976) interprets delinquency in

terms of deficient moral reasoning. A study by Emler and his colleagues (Emler, Heather and Winton, 1978) failed to provide evidence of a relationship between self-report measures of delinquency and moral reasoning. According to Kohlberg's theory, delinquency should decline once the adolescents attain moral maturity with age. However, data indicated that the majority of adolescents between 13 to 14 years old are between Stages 2 and 3. One would therefore expect a decline in delinquency rates after this, but instead, rates continue to rise with increasing age. Emler (1984) therefore calls for an alternative explanation of delinquency that is a departure from the emphasis on the failure of socialization or on psychological deficit. Delinquency needs to be understood in terms of both psychological as well as sociological factors. Hence, a social psychological perspective is needed.

Emler and Reicher (1995) state that the accepted position among many social psychologists is that behaviour varies with the situation, and as such,

> "there is no stable individual differences in dispositions to break rules; whether a person does so is entirely a function of the circumstances in which they find themselves." (p. 79)

However, Emler and Reicher's findings refute such a position, but instead, advocate a view of delinquency as stable or consistent. Their research, which is based on self-report measures of delinquent behaviour and factor analyses of the data reveal that delinquency is a generalized behavioural trait, that

"delinquency (rule-breaking) is versatile and heterogeneous, a single and general dimension, rather than multidimensional, specific or specialized". (p. 88)

In other words, there is a general tendency to commit delinquent acts regardless of the situation, and this is especially so for serious offenses of a criminal nature.

6.2.1   A rejection of the educational system

Another psychological account of delinquency links delinquent behaviour with intelligence. Emler and Reicher (1995) address this issue in relation to the educational system. They cite the study by Lynam, Moffitt and Stouthamer-Loeber (1993), which indicates that the relationship between delinquency and low intelligence is still statistically significant even after controlling for the effects of test motivation and impulsivity, in particular, for verbal measures, but not for performance measures. They therefore conclude that there is a small negative relation between delinquency and intelligence, that those with high intelligence are less likely to be involved in delinquent activity. However, they argue that it is implausible that low intelligence as such could be a cause of delinquency. Nevertheless, they acknowledge that intelligence may be related to delinquency in three alternative ways, other than the direct relationship. Firstly, intelligence may be related to moral development, such that those with low intelligence are less able to apply moral reasoning to resist the opportunity to commit delinquent acts. Secondly, low intelligence

influences delinquency through variables such as poor progress in school, negative labelling, lowered self-esteem, loss of attachment to the school and a loss of commitment to educational goals. Finally, delinquency and low intelligence may be related as dependent variables, associated with a common independent variable, which is the orientation to authority. Emler and Reicher argue against the first two alternatives, but are in favour of the third alternative. Their theory of delinquency concerns the anti-authority reputation that delinquents develop and maintain.

A study by Emler et al. (1978) was conducted to examine the relationship between delinquency, moral reasoning and the role of intelligence. Individually-administered measures of self-report delinquency, verbal intelligence, and level of cognitive functioning on Piagetian tasks were used to reduce the danger that results would be contaminated by variations in literacy. No relationship between these variables and delinquency were found.

In an earlier study, Emler (1984) points to a host of studies that illustrate the relationship between delinquency and educational career (e.g. West and Farrington, 1977; Hargreaves, 1967, both cited in Emler, 1984). Delinquency is shown to be more likely among school dropouts, and is associated with streaming. Emler also reasons that it is likely that an adolescent's educational career is affected by his or her disposition towards delinquency. In Emler's view, the lack of educational attainment can be a reflection of a delinquent inclination as well as its cause. Thus, he comes to the conclusion that

> "delinquent inclination and educational career have to be treated as interrelated variables; neither is independently a cause of the other. Delinquency and educational career are two facets of the same relationship, that between the individual and the system of social regulation". (p. 220)

Emler and Reicher (1995) do not reject the postulate in Hirschi's control theory that delinquency can result from academic incompetence. Doing badly in school leads one to dislike school and develop negative attitudes, poor attachment towards school, and low commitment to educational goals. This, in turn influences behaviour. However, Emler and Reicher reiterate that it is just as likely for delinquent behaviour to influence academic achievement as for academic achievement to influence delinquent behaviour. They explain why adolescents develop different attitudes towards authority, and that this need not necessarily be related to ability. They state that adolescents

> "differ in their capacity and willingness to make positive accommodation. Such differences may be a function of a host of factors including temperament, role relations in the family, attachment to parents, the degree of interest parents take in their children's education and any prior experiences with formally ordered relations." (p. 155)

Emler and Reicher's analysis of secondary school students' attitude statements through principal component analysis showed that there is a general factor underlying attitude towards authority, which includes

attitudes towards the police, the law, the school and teachers. Those with negative attitudes towards the authority of the law, the police, school rules and teachers showed a strong inclination towards self-reported delinquency. Thus, Emler and Reicher conclude that

"delinquency and attitudes towards authority are both forms of action which express, in different ways, the same relationship. It is not therefore appropriate to regard one as the cause of the other." (p. 152)

Thus, delinquency and attitudes towards authority are both facets of the same relationship. These attitudes as well as behaviour related to them are associated with the educational experiences of the delinquents. In other words, there is a reciprocal relationship among these three variables.

The choice of being delinquent is related to the adolescents' relationship with the institution they are in, that is, the formal educational system, which is one of the two major social frameworks of adolescents, the other being the peer group. Delinquency is interpreted in terms of the kind of accommodation adolescents make to the institutional system of the school. The formal education system of the school as an organization is described as

"a system for organizing and regulating relations between individuals (that) provides means for coordinating activities, allocating resources and duties, resolving conflicts of interests, and settling grievances." (p. 147)

As adolescents enter this system, their relationship with it can take the form of an acceptance of the system and its rules, or a rejection of it. Delinquent behaviour is thus a manifestation of this rejection, expressed in such behaviours as preparedness for aggression and acts of defiance against authority. Thus, aggressive acts may be expressed against symbols of the institutional order such as vandalism and graffiti or directed at representatives of authority such as teachers and the police.

Citing the study of Mars (1981, cited in Emler and Reicher, 1995), the school is described as a "high-grid/low-group" organization. In other words, the environment of the school is such that cooperative interactions are discouraged and behaviour standardized by rules and regulations is encouraged. Adolescents who cannot adjust to such a social environment can react with resentment or regain control and autonomy by breaking the rules. This also serves to alleviate their sense of monotony and boredom experienced in the classroom.

Emler and Reicher state that an adjustment to the system of the school means that the adolescent would have to abide by its regulations, in order that he or she is able to reap the benefits of protection and promotion. Delinquency is the rejection of this formal system, adopted by adolescents because it is "the only viable option." (p. 149). Emler and Reicher define delinquent acts as

> "announcements that one is unwilling to accept
> the claims the law wishes to make upon one's self,
> or one's relations with others; they are expressions

of a breach in relations with the institutional order
and its demands." (p. 149)

Emler (1984) states that those who failed to achieve in schools have less to lose, and thus are less constrained not to break the norms set by the school. Those who are successful are less likely to want lose what they have achieved and are motivated to protect their reputation. Thus, in this way, educational attainment is related to adolescents' concern for their reputation.

Having rejected the formal authority of the educational system, adolescents need to resort to some other means of meeting their needs. Emler and Reicher suggest that the "informal society of teenagers" (p. 171), that is the group of anti-authority peers, becomes the only feasible alternative.

6.2.2   Group involvement in delinquency

Another consistent finding that emerges from the different studies regarding delinquency is that delinquent behaviours tend not to be acts committed by solitary individuals (Emler, 1984). There is overwhelming evidence with regard to the involvement of the group in delinquent activity (as discussed in Chapter Two).

In a study, which attempts to clarify group involvement in delinquency, Emler, Reicher and Ross (1987) provide further confirmatory evidence that delinquency is unidimensional, and that delinquency is a

public act, committed in the company of other adolescents. Self-report questionnaires (including sub-scales for extraversion, neuroticism and psychoticism) and interviews revealed that twenty-four different delinquent acts were committed in the company of others, that solitary offenders are not found to represent a distinct type of delinquency. While group involvement is typical of males, it is even more true of females.

However, the peer group cannot be considered as a refuge from, or a substitute for the family. In an investigation of the nature of relationships among delinquents compared to non delinquents, Emler and Reicher (1995) found from diary entries that there is no difference between the delinquents and non delinquents with respect to the closeness of their relationship with both family and friends and the quality of their interactions.

What then is the attraction of the peer group? Emler and Reicher suggest several advantages. One is the anonymity that the group provides. The chances of individual delinquents being identified and subsequently punished is reduced. However, Emler and Reicher stress that anonymity of the group does not by itself suppress moral behaviour and encourage delinquent behaviour in that being in a group is inherently evil. Rather, the anonymity of <u>any</u> group offers its individual members protection from being the target of ridicule or attack by other groups. Thus, the peer group offers security and support especially when faced with opposition.

Another way the group is important is that it helps adolescents to fill time. Emler and Reicher argue that delinquency tends to occur in

groups because adolescents tend to spend time together with their peers, that

> "most delinquencies are committed in the company of others not because their presence subverts morality but more simply because most of the things adolescents do they do with others".
> (p. 182)

Interviews conducted by Emler and Reicher with adolescents reveal that for both delinquents and non delinquents, their behaviours conform to what is normative for the group. When adolescents change membership between groups which uphold different norms, this is accompanied by a change in behaviour.   Normatively inappropriate behaviour would be met with disapproval and exclusion from the group.

Thus, adolescents who reject formal authority have to manifest this rejection through behaviour which is delinquent. In fact, their behaviour becomes a criterion for membership in the delinquent group. Also, without the support of delinquent peers, delinquent behaviours decreased. The relationship between group membership and delinquency is thus a reciprocal one. Emler and Reicher conclude that

> "group membership and levels of delinquent acts are interdependent. Being in a group requires adherence to group norms concerning delinquency and conversely a given level of delinquent activity depends on membership of a group with appropriate norms." (p. 186)

Delinquent behaviour is therefore a communication of one's identity and a demonstration of one's group membership. Hence, the understanding of delinquent behaviour has to involve the analysis of group processes. In fact, it is through the operation of such group processes that adolescents develop and maintain their reputation as delinquents.

6.2.3 The delinquent reputation as self-presentation

Reputation concerns are important because they contribute to one's sense of self-consistency. In their earlier work, Emler and his colleagues (Emler, 1990, Emler and Hopkins, 1990) define consistency in terms of the relations between persons and social categories. Thus a person would have to engage in social comparison with the prototype or ingroup member who shares his or her social identity. Consistency is thus determined by the match or congruency between his or her position on the dimension under evaluation and that of the prototype or ingroup member. If the comparison results in congruency, the individual is able to categorize himself or herself as a member of the group. This membership then becomes anchored in his or her social identity. However, if the comparison results in incongruency, the individual experiences inconsistency, and would then have to find means whereby the sense of self-consistency is restored.

Emler (1990) states that one's social identity, being a shared definition of self, is necessarily a public statement, that

"acting in terms of a social identity is a matter of communicating to others a claim to that identity. It means, therefore, using devices which not only have a commonly agreed meaning but which also have social visibility." (p. 175)

Thus, having a social identity demands that one not only defines the self to be similar to ingroup members, but also, one has to be perceived to be similar by them. According to Emler and Hopkins (1990), consistency and inconsistency (and therefore what is defined as similar or dissimilar) is derived through the process of <u>negotiation</u>. This process is a two-way process,

"determined both by what individuals are able and willing to do and by what their effective social worlds will concede to them." (p.116)

One is therefore consistent with one's social identity through negotiation with the members of one's ingroup. In other words, individuals do not come to a decision about whether they are congruent or not by themselves, both individuals and their ingroup decide on the degree of congruency necessary as consistent group members.

Emler and Hopkins (1990) explain that reputation conveys a sense of self-consistency because

"your personal reputation is an assessment of the extent to which your public self exemplifies the standards contained in those social categories to which you claim or appear to belong...we cannot easily shed established reputations or rapidly shift between quite different social identities because the audiences before which we perform and with which

our claims are made are highly interconnected and change only gradually." (p. 129)

Emler (1990) argues that because individuals tend to interact in more or less the same social context, patterns of interaction tend to be similar. Thus, their reputation among those with whom they interact is not likely to change. Emler's research on participation in personal networks indicated that people are motivated to protect their reputation. One strategy for protecting reputations is by giving others one's own account of events. The study of accounts (Scott and Lyman, 1968) showed that accounts are a form of self-presentation, usually given in anticipation of negative responses, and are means by which individuals excuse or justify their behaviour. Emler (1990) adds that reputations also depend on conversations at which one is not present. One's continued membership in the group makes accounts and such conversations contribute to the maintenance of one's reputation.

Emler and Reicher argue that far from the mass society thesis conception of society as an anonymous entity, social relationships and networks exist among people who know each other well. Their research (Emler, 1984; Emler, 1990; and Emler and Grady, 1986; cited in Emler and Reicher, 1995) indicated that contacts in these social networks are informal among friends, kin and acquaintances. In other studies, (Emler and Fisher, 1981 and Emler, 1989, also cited in Emler and Reicher, 1995), it was found that people regularly exchange information about themselves and others. One therefore has to be concerned with how one is perceived by the significant others in the social network. Such self-presentation concerns

serve the function of reputation management. One's reputation thus helps to maintain one's sense of self-consistency.

Delinquent acts committed in public have communicative and expressive functions. These acts, witnessed by members of one's social identity become a matter of reputation. Thus, the adoption of a delinquent identity is one means whereby individuals who reject the authority of formal institutions and are also rejected by it attain and maintain their sense of self-consistency through the delinquent reputation. One support for Emler's theories is a study of adolescent Chicano gang members (Vigil, 1988). Vigil's study confirms that these adolescents derive their identity from their gang membership, and that gang members who have had longer periods of self-identification with the gang experience minimal inconsistency or self-discrepancy.

Delinquent reputations (like any other reputation) tend to be stable and are not likely to change. Emler and his colleagues (Emler & Hopkins, 1990; Emler & Reicher, 1995) clarify that the stability of delinquent acts does not stem from psychological structures. They also reject the view that delinquent behaviour is a function of the situation. There is ample evidence showing that some adolescents consistently commit more offenses than others and also more serious offenses than others (Emler, 1984; Emler et al., 1978; Emler et al., 1987). Thus, there is stability over time as well as across situations and specific types of offense. In other words, adolescents who commit certain delinquent acts are also more likely to commit other delinquent acts, and this is especially so in the case of more serious crimes.

Emler and Reicher (1995) argue that delinquents are fully aware of their reputations. A whole host of research has shown that delinquent behaviours are seldom solitary acts. In fact, group involvement is the norm rather than the exception for both males and females. It points to the fact that delinquent acts are committed in the presence of an audience, as well as for the audience. In the case where an audience is not present pains are taken to ensure that members of the social network become aware of the delinquent act or acts. This debunks the myth of the delinquent as a secret sinner.

Not only are delinquents acutely aware of their reputations, they have knowledge of how to manage their reputations. Emler and Reicher argue that in studies that illustrate a positive correlation between delinquency and social skills deficit, delinquents do not really lack social skills, but deliberately opt for the less-skilled choices. This is a matter of choice because of reputational concerns that portray a tough and aggressive image. Emler and Reicher's interviews with delinquents confirm that delinquent actions are the result of an active choice and not because of peer pressure or collective coercion. Very few adolescents report that they are forced to commit delinquent acts. Emler and Reicher explain this compliance as a matter of their group identity. However, they stress that delinquent acts are not merely expressions of identity, but more importantly, they are communications of identity and are part of reputation management. Delinquents therefore are communicating to others their toughness and their daring to defy authority. This is especially so when their collective identity is under threat. The response to threats need not

necessarily be aggressive acts. What is important is the public demonstration of the hallmarks of the collective identity; these being hardness, fearlessness and independence. As a member of the delinquent group, the individual adolescent is acting as a representative of the group, and as such, sees himself or herself as an interchangeable with other members of the group. In Emler and Reicher's words, what is reflected is the "interdependence of personal self-definition and public expression" (p. 194).

Emler and Reicher's (1995) interviews reveal that it is not only the delinquent reputation that adolescents are most concerned about. They have a different reputation with their families, and report that their behaviours differ under different circumstances. Delinquents are especially careful to keep their families unaware of their conduct. Emler and Reicher state that parents and friends of the delinquents need to be kept apart because of the very necessity of having to support different self-definitions and reputations, that

> "as long as they stay separate it is possible to behave appropriately with each, to retain the support of both and hence to maintain otherwise incompatible identities. However, should the different sources come together then one will no longer be able to act so as to maintain acceptance of one aspect of identity without jeopardizing collective support for other aspects." (p. 204)

Emler and Reicher (1995) claim that their model of reputation management can account for the age, sex and social class differences found

in delinquency research. They state that one reason why delinquency rates decline around sixteen years is the fact that collective support is no longer available. After this age, adolescents leave the school, and routine contact with peers becomes less regular. Moreover, as delinquents become increasingly concerned about their prospects of getting jobs, the fact that a bad reputation would jeopardize their chances become increasingly relevant to them.

Delinquency is less prevalent among girls than boys because girls are generally less likely to reject authority. The delinquent image of being hard, tough and unemotional is less relevant to girls. Another reason is that girls tend to be more closely supervised by parents than boys. Thus, it is harder for girls to maintain their identities and reputations as members of their families as well as their delinquent group.

Delinquency rates are higher among adolescents with lower socio-economic status. Emler and Reicher argue that this can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, working class adolescents are less likely to adapt well to the environment of the school, which is predominantly middle-class. Hence, working class adolescents are more likely to reject the authority of the school. The home environment of the working class, compared to that of the middle-class, is more likely to be disadvantaged, leading the adolescent to prefer the environment of the streets in the company of peers.

In summary, Emler and Reicher's theory of delinquency places emphasis on the importance of self-consistency and reputation. Being consistent in terms of one's social identity then becomes a matter of

reputation which has to be managed or maintained. Delinquent behaviours are a public manifestation of the rejection of formal authority, and such behaviour is in accordance with the collective norms of the delinquent peer group or social identity. Thus, behaviour does not necessarily depend on internalized values but stems from reputational concerns.

6.2.4   Discussion

Emler and Reicher's theory of reputation management has its roots in social identity and self-categorization theories. Emler and Reicher take social identity theory a step further by relating social identity to reputation. One's social identity is not a merely a matter of identification with similar others. This identification has to be publicly and regularly manifested before an audience such that one develops a reputation which has to be maintained.

Emler and Reicher also illustrate that having social identity involves a two-way process; that individuals not only perceive and define themselves to be similar to the ingroup, but they also have to be perceived and defined as similar by the ingroup members.

However, although Emler and Reicher uses concepts of social identity theory, they do not elaborate on the theory's central tenet regarding self-esteem or self-enhancement of a group through its positive distinctiveness vis-a-vis other groups. Emler and Reicher do not subscribe to the argument that delinquency results from low self-esteem. Studies which show that the relationship between delinquency and self-esteem is

insignificant if not non-existent are cited (Bynner et al., 1981; Wells and

Rankin, 1983; and McCarthy and Hoge, 1984). They question:

> "why vandalism, fighting or theft should have such beneficial effects for self-respect ... why should adolescents with low self-esteem willingly incur further negative judgments by misbehaving. It would seem to worsen the plight. " (1995, p. 132)

While it does not seem likely to Emler and Reicher that adolescents

with low self-esteem would resort to delinquent behaviour as a means of

enhancing their self-esteem, it is plausible that engaging in delinquent acts

has the effect of increasing the self-esteem of those who commit them.

There may be two sources of self-esteem for members of the delinquent

peer group; one arising from the perceived positive distinctiveness of their

delinquent behaviour compared to other groups, and the other from the

sense of self-consistency with members of their social identity.

Emler and Reicher maintain that having a delinquent reputation

necessitates stability of behaviour over time and across situations. They

thus reject the view that behaviour is context-dependent, which seems to

contradict self-categorization theory's notion of the variable self. However,

the concept of salience is used to explain consistency (Emler and Hopkins,

1990), that consistency can be predicted from salience:

> "consistency should be greatest when the relevant identity is salient, e.g. when in the company of people who regard this dimension of identity as important, or when in a setting in which this dimension of identity is highlighted." (p. 122)

What needs further clarification is the relationship between salience and consistency, which can also help explain how delinquents' identities as family members and as members of the delinquent group are kept separate. There are situations which vary but where the delinquent social identity remains constantly salient (as in the different environments where gangs congregate), and there are also situations which remain relatively stable (such as the social environment of the family or the school) in which identity salience varies. Delinquents are consistent in their behaviour as long as their social identity as delinquents is constantly salient. In other words, as long as this identity in <u>different</u> social contexts is salient, their behaviour as delinquents can be predictable. However, in situations where the salience of the identity varies, one can expect their behaviour to be different. The self is therefore variable and context-dependent, and there is no contradiction between self-categorization theory's concept of the variable self and Emler and Reicher's assertion that the delinquent self is stable.

Emler and Reicher's research has shown that adolescent peer groups tend to be divided according to their orientation to authority, into groups that accept the formal authority of the school and groups that reject it. Self-categorization theory provides insight into the processes by which these groups are formed.

While Emler and Reicher focus on the reciprocity of relationships between orientation to authority and delinquency, and between delinquency and educational attainment, and imply that the direction of relationship flows from a poor orientation towards authority to poor academic

performance, it is plausible that poor academic achievement can lead to a poor orientation towards authority which then leads to delinquent tendencies.

These issues with regard to how academic performance affects orientation towards authority and how adolescent groups become differentiated, as well as the salience and variability of the delinquent social identity, and the self-esteem of members of the delinquent group, form the core of this thesis, and are addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE NATURE AND PROCESSES INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE DELINQUENT SOCIAL IDENTITY

7.1   Preamble

This thesis incorporates concepts from social identity and self-categorization theories, and elaborates on Emler and Reicher's theory of delinquency as reputation management. It argues that self-categorization processes are involved in the formation of the delinquent group. In other words, the process of self-categorization leads to the development of the delinquent social identity, whose salience is influenced by context or situational factors, such that social attraction, cohesion, social influence and reputation concerns take place among members sharing this group membership. Relationships among group members then operate on an intragroup rather than interpersonal basis. This increases the tendency towards delinquent behaviour.

7.2   The development of the delinquent social identity

Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory has as one of its basic assumptions that people are motivated towards uncertainty reduction and a sense of consistency, which drives them to compare with similar others. The period of adolescence is one when youths are, in the view of developmental psychologists such as Erikson (1968), Marcia (1967), and Waterman (1985), in the process of identity formation during which peer

relationships play an important role. Thus, the need for social comparison tends to be more acute during adolescence, where peer influence plays a significant role in the adolescent's identity development. This period is also one when a great deal of adolescents' time is engaged in school activities, and where academic performance has significant relevance to self-esteem (Purkey, 1970).

Goethals and Darley (1987) maintain that the school environment is one that encourages intense social comparison, especially in terms of academic achievement. Emler and Reicher's (1995) theory, however, places greater emphasis on the orientation towards authority. Nevertheless, both academic performance as well as normative behaviour in schools constitute major dimensions of social comparison. Such comparison processes involve social categorization, as the two are inextricably linked, and have ramifications for the self-concept (Turner, 1985).

Self-categorization's metacontrast principle explains how adolescents who make these comparisons achieve their group identity (Turner, et al. 1987). This is dependent on

> "the degree that two or more people come to perceive and define themselves in terms of some shared ingroup-outgroup categorization". (p. 51)

Hence, according to self-categorization theory, it is the perceived relative similarities and differences that result in identification and psychological group formation. Group membership is "psychological" in the sense that the social identity of the adolescents, incorporated into the adolescents'

self-concept, can become salient without the physical presence of members of the group.

As a result of social comparison and categorization processes, two groups are differentiated within the higher level category of the student identity: the successful and the failures when the dimension of comparison is academic ability, and the conforming and the non conforming, when the dimension of comparison is attitudes towards authority.

There is sufficient empirical evidence (e.g. Lynam, et al. 1993; Tremblay, et al. 1992; Zingraff et al. 1994) showing the relationship between academic ability and delinquent behaviour, such that those who are academically successful tend to be the more conforming, as contrasted to those who are academically weak, who are also the more deviant in terms of attitude towards authority and behaviour. Non conforming students and those who perform poorly in school would perceive one another to be less different from each other than from others who are successful and less non conforming.

Although there is evidence of a reciprocal relationship between academic performance and delinquent behaviour, this thesis is in favour of the view that poor academic performance has a greater impact on self-esteem, and more often leads to non conformity than vice-versa for two reasons. Firstly, it can be argued that an adolescent's academic performance has higher personal relevance to his or her identity <u>as a student</u> than behaviour, and as such, has a higher emotional impact as a result of social comparison processes. In other words, negative social comparison in terms of academic ability would have greater consequences

in terms of self-esteem, and social status in the school is more likely to be structured on this basis than on that of behaviour, especially in schools that stream students according to their academic ability.

Secondly, behaviour is highly context-dependent, and as Emler and Reicher (1995) noted in their interviews, adolescents are motivated to keep the social worlds of their family and the school separate. Unless reported by the school authorities, their non conforming behaviour is not likely to be evident to members of their family, unlike school grades. However, their performance in school is likely to be known to the family through periodic assessments Thus, this augments their already negative identity not only in the school environment but also within the family.

Hazelwood's study (1989) demonstrates a relationship between low ability (academic results below the twenty-fifth percentile) and extremity in negative attitudes towards school, motivation towards lessons, school activities and desirability of occupations. High ability students, on the other hand, were found to choose more conservative or cautious responses. Results were replicated eighteen months later, using grades obtained at the General Certificate of Education examinations.

Extreme or severe judgments of the relatively more successful outgroup result in a rejection of their norms, so that what had been considered inconsistent becomes redefined as consistent according to the new norms of the newly-formed ingroup. The identity of this new group is thus based on "what is not" rather than what is, thereby taking opposite characteristics because there are no viable alternatives available (Cohen, 1955). Rejection is therefore one means of achieving self-consistency and

self-enhancement, and positive distinctiveness is achieved by making what was formerly considered negative positive. (Further details regarding this process are given in the following subsection.)

The   more successful group of students, under certain circumstances where their social identity is salient, can be expected to identify themselves as members of a group. Their group identification, which is influenced by higher status and greater impermeability of group boundaries (Ellemers, 1993) and which serves a socially protective function, is likely to become salient only under threat.

On the other hand, the group identification of the failures and non conforming students is likely to be facilitated by the low status, high stability and perceived impermeable boundaries of the group (Ellemers, 1993). For these students, there is little likelihood of moving to a higher status group, as this is largely determined by individual academic ability and intelligence, which is relatively stable. Over time, group boundaries are likely to become impermeable, once members of both groups are categorized and labelled, and rejected by each other. The failures and non conforming group would be more likely to show outgroup discrimination. Mummendey and Schreiber (1983) confirm that outgroup discrimination occurs when the group is only able to achieve positive evaluations at the expense of the outgroup.

The identification of the failures and non conforming students as a group has a cognitive basis, but more importantly, fulfills the emotional function of providing its members with an alternative social identity and a more positive sense of self-esteem, as postulated by social identity theory.

7.3   <u>Positive distinctiveness of the delinquent social identity</u>

On a personal level, the students who have failed in school and are non conforming would perceive themselves as more inconsistent in terms of their "higher" level identity as students. They therefore experience a sense of discrepancy between their actual and ideal selves (Higgins, 1987) which would leave them with a sense of agitation or depression. This concurs with the view of the strain theorists (Agnew, 1993) that the inability to achieve goals (especially good school grades) results in frustration and anger.

These negative feelings of self-derogation, frustration and anger as well as jealousy, resentment and hostility (Crosby, 1976; Salovey and Rodin, 1984) may be exacerbated by family factors, such as the lack of warmth, parental rejection and a coercive parenting style (Patterson, et al. 1989; Simon, et al. 1991; Shaw and Scott, 1991). The lack of parental warmth and affection can inhibit the development of empathy and guilt (Baumeister, et al. 1994), further distancing adolescents from their parents, breaking the bonds of social control (Hirschi, 1969) and reducing any motivation to strive for academic success or to conform to the authority of the school.

Thus, these adolescents suffer from a negative identity. In fact, the study of adolescent school groups by Downs and Rose (1991) found that one of the four categories of these peer groups is deviant in terms of uninvolvement with school activities and non conforming behaviours. Members of this group are rejected by the other students and manifest more

psychosocial problems than students from the other three groups. Self-esteem measures are also found to be lower.

The literature on peer relationships (Parker and Asher, 1987; Juvonen, 1991) has shown that the serious consequences of rejection are low self-esteem, the development of aggressive tendencies, a higher risk of dropping out of school and delinquent behaviours. Rejection by others, whether real or perceived, is one defining characteristic that forms another basis for categorization into groups which mutually reject one another. In other words, rejection can be both the cause as well as product of self-categorization.

Thus, the negative identity that is the result of being self-discrepant or inconsistent, pertains not only to <u>individual</u> students who consistently obtain poor grades in school and are non conforming in their attitudes and behaviour, but applies as a whole to members of a <u>group</u>, who also face the problem of a lower social status in school compared to the group of successful and conforming students.

The individualistic measures suggested by social comparison theory to achieve consistency or enhance self-esteem, and some of the group measures offered by social identity theory, are not effective for those who are extremely inconsistent in terms of academic performance and social relationships. Social comparison researchers (Salovey and Rodin, 1988; Tesser, 1991) mention several strategies for self-enhancement when faced with negative evaluations, namely, to alter self-definition and reduce the relevance of the dimensions under comparison, to derogate those who are successful, to avoid comparison and to change norms. However, these

strategies fail to consider the importance of one's social identity and do not explain how those who fail to live up to normative expectations can achieve a sense of self-consistency. This can only be possible within a group, or within a social identity which, as a group, rejects the norms and reformulates new ones. What is required is therefore a <u>group strategy</u>, where self-consistency is attained by being consistent with one's social identity. This is a point stressed by Emler and Hopkins in their 1990 paper on reputation, social identity and the self.

Two of the strategies mentioned in social identity theory as "social change" are a change of group membership and social competition. (Tajfel and Turner, 1979, 1986). For individuals who fail to observe the expected norms on several dimensions (i.e. where the overall result of multiple and mixed comparisons are additive rather than compensatory, Masters and Keil, 1987), neither of these alternatives are feasible. A change of membership from one group to another would not be effective because of the high likelihood that the individual would also be inconsistent with the new group. Social competition would be appropriate only when the possibility of success is greater than that of failure. In the case of a group of these academically poor members, the latter is more probable than the former.

In the process of identifying with one another and forming a subgroup within the higher level social identity of "student", these non conforming and less successful adolescents adopt the strategy of "social creativity" and achieve, according to social identity theory, a sense of heightened self-esteem (Oakes and Turner, 1980; Lemrye and Smith, 1985)

through their positive distinctiveness. This positive distinctiveness is characterized by rejection and the very reversal of conventional norms, such that what is considered positive and valued conventionally is redefined as negative and derogated, and vice-versa (Cohen, 1955). Hence, their non conforming behaviours, characterized by aggressiveness would be seen as a desirable trait. Social competition then takes place on the new dimensions, manifested in acts of aggression against members of rival gangs.

In Breakwell's (1986) study of threatened identities, she concurs with this analysis:

> "People can resist the socializing pressures which tie negative appraisals to the identity characteristics, however. Sometimes they cope with the threat by refusing to accept that the characteristic should be deemed worthless or demeaning. They can exercise autonomy in instilling the characteristic with some positive connotation. To do this as a solitary individual is difficult. The re-evaluation remains idiosyncratic and purely subjective. An alternative strategy would be to persuade others to join the re-evaluation." (p. 105)

Identification produces mutual consensus among members who have similarly as a group, rejected conventional norms. This has the effect of uncertainty reduction as McGarty and his colleagues (McGarty et al. 1993) have demonstrated, and is likely to be one source of self-enhancement found in the research of Kaplan and his colleagues (Kaplan, 1978, 1980; Kaplan et al. 1986, 1987). Hence, this group of adolescents can engage in delinquent behaviours without a sense of self-derogation

(Fischer and Bersani, 1979), in contrast to those who maintain strong ties with the family and the school, who suffer from low self-esteem after committing delinquent acts (McCarthy and Hoge, 1984).

Anthropological evidence supports this concept of identity formation through rejection and reputation. Campbell's study (Campbell, 1987) of female Puerto Rican gang members which focused on social identity, revealed that the gang memberships of these girls are manifestations of a rejected identity. She reports that these girls

> "see themselves as different from their peers. Their association with the gang is a public proclamation of their rejection of the lifestyle which the community expects from them". (pp. 463, 464)

Their identity or self-image is derived through the process of putting-down others. Thus, they are defining themselves by attribution of <u>characteristics of what they are not</u> to others. Hence, their self-image is constructed by default and rejection, and their new norms are the opposite of the conventional. In other words, these norms are necessarily delinquent. Campbells' study also lends support to Emler and Reicher's (1995) emphasis on the importance of reputation management in delinquency.

The development of such groups or collectivities in Cohen's (1990) terms, has been described in his 1955 book on delinquent boys, and is documented as part of the subcultural theory of delinquency. This has been presented in Chapter Two.

Once the delinquent social identity with these reversed norms becomes established, members then achieve a sense of self-consistency by a manifestation of their new identity in terms of delinquent behaviours. Breakwell (1986) explains the relationship between identity and behaviour, that

> "action is the social expression of identity. The only route of access to the identity of another is through his or her action, whether verbal or not. Since identity comprises emotions, beliefs, and attitudes it is a prime motivator of action. Identity directs action." (p. 43)

The conventional group is derogated and devalued, and no longer functions as an important comparison target Social comparisons too, take place on different dimensions. Fights take place between rival delinquent groups to establish which groups are tougher because toughness becomes the newly valued attribute, which is attainable.

A maintenance of this self-consistency becomes a matter of reputational concern and management (Emler, 1990; Emler and Reicher, 1995). Emler and Reicher uphold that delinquent behaviours are consistent because once a delinquent reputation has been established, behaviours tend to become stable.

A model of delinquency as a product of social comparison processes and group identification proposed by this thesis is summarized and presented in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Relationship between school and family factors, negative social comparison, group identification and delinquency: a product model

```
┌─────────────┐                                    ┌──────────────────┐
│ SCHOOL      │                                    │  DELINQUENCY     │
│ FACTORS     │◄──────────────────────────────────│                  │
│ academic    │   ┌──────────────┐                 └──────────────────┘
│ failure,    │   │ NEGATIVE     │
│ poor        │◄─►│ SOCIAL       │   ┌──────────┐
│ orientation │   │ COMPARISON   │──►│ NEGATIVE │
│ to authority│   │ low self-    │   │ IDENTITY │
│ peer        │   │ esteem,      │   └──────────┘
│ rejection   │   │ frustration, │
└─────────────┘   │ anger,       │   ┌──────────────────────┐
        ▲         │ jealousy,    │   │ GROUP                │
        │         │ hostility    │   │ IDENTIFICATION       │
        ▼         └──────────────┘   │ DEVELOPMENT OF  THE  │
┌─────────────────────────┐         │ DELINQUENT SOCIAL    │
│ FAMILY                  │         │ IDENTITY             │
│ FACTORS                 │         │ (POSITIVE IDENTITY)  │
│ family instability,     │◄────────│                      │
│ parental rejection,     │         └──────────────────────┘
│ coercive interpersonal  │
│ style                   │
└─────────────────────────┘
```

The processes involved in categorization, group formation and identification which leads to the development of the delinquent social identity are summarized in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2: Processes involved in the development of the
delinquent social identity

```
            ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
            │ Social comparison and categorization │
            │ based on the metacontrast principle  │
            └─────────────────────────────────────┘
                            │
            ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
            │ Recategorization of the Student identity │
            └─────────────────────────────────────┘
                   ╱                      ╲
      ┌─────────────────┐      ┌─────────────────┐
      │ The Successful  │      │ The Failures and│
      │ and Conforming  │      │ Non conforming  │
      │ students        │      │ students        │
      │ (higher status) │      │ (lower status)  │
      └─────────────────┘      └─────────────────┘
              │                        │
  ┌──────────────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────────────┐
  │ More extreme judgments of │  │ More extreme judgment     │
  │ the outgroup              │  │  of the outgroup          │
  │ Mutual rejection of       │  │ Mutual rejection of       │
  │ outgroup norms            │  │ outgroup norms            │
  │ Labelling                 │  │ Labelling                 │
  └──────────────────────────┘  └──────────────────────────┘
              │                        │
              │             ┌──────────────────────────┐
              │             │ Outgroup discrimination  │
              │             └──────────────────────────┘
              │                        │
              │             ┌──────────────────────────┐
              │             │ Reversal and redefinition │
              │             │ of norms                  │
              │             └──────────────────────────┘
              │                        │
              │             ┌──────────────────────────┐
              │             │ Formation of delinquent   │
              │             │ norms                     │
              │             └──────────────────────────┘
              │                        │
   ┌──────────────────┐    ┌──────────────────┐
   │ Reputation concerns │  │ Reputation concerns │
   └──────────────────┘    └──────────────────┘
              │                        │
   ┌──────────────────┐    ┌──────────────────────┐
   │ Conforming behaviours │  │ **Delinquent behaviours** │
   └──────────────────┘    └──────────────────────┘
```

7.4   Context-dependent nature of delinquent identities

The situational theory of delinquency (Sykes and Matza, 1957;
Matza, 1964) postulates that delinquents tend to drift in and out of non
conforming behaviours (Chapter Two, Section 2.13). Under certain

circumstances, adolescents can be expected to observe conventional norms, but not when they are in the company of the peer group which encourages delinquent behaviours. According to this theory, the techniques of neutralization are used by these adolescents to rationalize their behaviours so as to lessen feelings of guilt or shame.

However, Matza and Sykes have not provided an explanation of why or how peers encourage or influence delinquent behaviours. This is left to self-categorization theory's concept of "depersonalisation" and salience (Turner, 1985; Oakes, 1987). Delinquent behaviours are manifested only when the delinquent identity is salient. In the commitment of delinquent acts, members act as interchangeable units of a collectivity (Cohen, 1990). Any insult or injury inflicted upon one member is perceived to be inflicted upon all members alike who share that identity.

Adolescents can be expected to be more delinquent in the company of similar ingroup others and in the presence of an outgroup, although the physical presence is not necessary for salience to occur. What matters is the psychological identification with the ingroup, vis-a-vis the outgroup, which may be the group of conforming students such as the prefects of the school, or another rival delinquent group that threatens the group's positive distinctiveness or poses a challenge to its status.

Thus, it follows that adolescents in their personal identity as members of their family, can be expected to have less anti-authority attitudes than when they are in the social identity as delinquents among delinquent ingroup members. Levels of shame and guilt, and self-esteem can also be expected to be different under different social contexts.

Social identity and self-categorization theories offer a different interpretation of Braithwaite's (1989) concept of interdependence and reintegration. Braithwaite defines interdependency as

> "the extent to which individuals participate in networks wherein they are dependent on others to achieve valued ends and others are dependent on them". (p. 98)

Braithwaite's theory of reintegrative shaming in fact addresses issues of personal and social identities and shares certain similarities with social identity and self-categorization theories as well as Emler and Reicher's (1995) theory of delinquency as reputation management. However, the social identity and self-categorization perspective takes the concept of interdependence beyond the social cohesion model to one of social identification.

One experiences shame because one has not been consistent as a member of one's social identity. Shame is thus experienced within the context of one's social identity and among one's ingroup members with whom one shares, in Braithwaite's terms, an "interdependence", or in the terms of self-categorization theory, an "interchangeability". Thus, adolescents who commit a crime but still hold some regard for their parents or teachers or classmates, in other words, retain some measure of identification with them, can be shamed to the extent of not wanting to commit the crime again. Consistency within their family social identity can be reestablished, and forgiveness and restitution are possible here.

However, problems would arise when stigmatization has occurred to the extent of anchoring adolescents in their deviant identity such that they do not value their relationship with a group which is no longer perceived as the ingroup. The delinquency literature includes abundant accounts of the contribution to delinquency of poor relationships with the family and the school which has been presented in Chapter Two. Following social control theory, these adolescents, having diminished ties with the family and the school, no longer consider them to be important or relevant. What has become important to these adolescents is their sense of consistency or reputation in their new delinquent social identity. Under such circumstances, shaming in the presence of family members or classmates and schoolmates or teachers may have little impact. Following Cohen's subcultural theory, what was considered to be shameful has now been redefined as something to be proud of when the delinquent social identity is salient.

Braithwaite's programme of reintegrative shaming which involves shaming conferences where the offenders meet victims in the presence of people who have valued relationships with the offenders, has been shown to be effective (Abjorensen, 1995; "Jail fails", 1995; Lim, 1996). This has been attributed to the fact that the delinquents have been shamed in the presence of people with whom they share an "interdependence".

Reintegration in the shaming conferences may be effective because in the social environment of a shaming conference, interactions may operate at both the interpersonal and intergroup levels. The delinquent's family social identity is made salient by the presence of others who are not

family members, and <u>within</u> the family, interpersonal relationships are strengthened to the extent that parents are no longer perceived in their parental roles of authoritarian adults, and the adolescent does not have a sense of identification with other delinquents. Reintegration also offers an alternative for a positive identity. Moreover, the process of shaming, which involves guilt-induction rather than humiliation, shifts the focus from the self to the victim (Tangney et al. 1992), further defines the situation in an interpersonal context, even if other delinquent members are present. In other words, the interpersonal context disintegrates the sense of cohesiveness and social influence that operates when the delinquent social identity is salient.

7.5   <u>Social influence and cohesion among delinquent groups</u>

Once the delinquent social identity becomes salient, members can be expected to exhibit behaviours that are prototypical of the group norm and may compete with other ingroup members to demonstrate their conformity (Turner, 1982). Manifestations of over-conformity to delinquent norms and behaviours would then be encouraged and positively reinforced by other ingroup members, leading to an escalation of delinquent behaviours, or a transformation of non conforming non delinquent acts to delinquent ones.

Thus, the members of the delinquent group need not engage in persuasion or attempt to influence others to have anti-social values or

commit delinquent acts. Social influence functions through the process of identification and self-categorization as a member of the delinquent group.

The research of Klein and Crawford (1968) and that of Pabon and his colleagues (1992) regarding the nature of relationships among members of the delinquent group demonstrates the salience and nature of the delinquent social identity as described by self-categorization theory. It is this that provides the delinquent group members with a sense of belongingness, which is an intergroup rather than interpersonal characteristic. Klein and Crawford found that the cohesiveness of the gang is due to external rather than internal factors, and Pabon and his colleagues demonstrated in their study that in terms of intimate relationships, members lack intimacy and affection.

Self-categorization theory helps to explain the findings of Thornberry et al. (1993) which demonstrate that when the delinquents are in a gang, they are more delinquent. The salience of the delinquent social identity polarizes the ingroup norm such that behaviours tend towards the prototypical. Delinquent behaviours are thus both facilitated and enhanced by the salience of the delinquent identity. As Hogg and Turner (1987) have noted, the presence of an outgroup may not be necessary for the identity to be salient, as the opinions not held by ingroup members could be considered as that of an implicit outgroup.

7.6   <u>Conclusion</u>

The model of this thesis integrates the main theoretical framework in delinquency research with concepts in social identity and self-categorization theories. The three issues of the processes involved in the development of a negative identity, the role of the peer group in facilitating delinquent behaviour, and the nature of the delinquent social identity are addressed.

The thesis proposes that adolescents become delinquents because of a persistent negative identity, which has its roots in social comparison processes. Negative social comparisons in the school, based primarily on academic performance, and exacerbated by factors in dysfunctional families result in feelings of jealousy, frustration, anger, shame, guilt, self-derogation and hostility. These antecedent components that contribute to the negative identity have been explained by strain and social control theories.

Perceived differences that result from social comparisons lead to the recategorization of the student identity into two groups of students: those who are consistent and successful, and those who are inconsistent and are failures. The identification of latter as a group in contrast to the former explains the differential association of delinquents, and the entrenchment of the delinquent peer group as a subculture. Rejection and labelling processes which are stigmatizing make boundaries between the two groups impermeable, such that the low social status of the inconsistent group remains stable.

Membership in the delinquent peer group and the delinquent social identity is the only alternative that allows the delinquents some measure of self-esteem as members of a group. Its positive distinctiveness is defined through the reversal of conventional norms, which become necessarily delinquent. In doing so, members achieve a sense of self-consistency, which becomes entrenched as reputation.

The varying salience of the delinquent social identity explains Matza's concept of drift, and reconciles the apparent contradiction between the theories of Sykes and Matza, and Cohen. It also explains the nature of relationships among members of the delinquent group, that though it is characterized by a lack of intimacy or affection, there is a strong sense of belongingness.

The model suggests an explanation for the gender and age differential in delinquency; why rates tend to peak around 14 to 15 years, and why more males tend to commit delinquent acts compared to females, as noted by Emler and Reicher, (1995) as well as Braithwaite (1989). At the age of 14, most adolescents would have completed two years of high school education, and would be rather certain of their own academic abilities, as well as the likelihood of future successes or failures. Their identity as a student, which may be either positive or negative, would have been relatively stable at this stage of adolescence. Hence, those with a negative identity would be more likely to choose a group rather than individual strategy of coping. In other words, younger adolescents would still be in the process of trying to cope using individual strategies other than "social creativity".

Emler and Reicher (1995) noted also that rates of delinquency fall after students leave the school. They reason that this could be due to the decreasing likelihood that students will be in the company of others as a group. Another possibility for the fall in rates could be due to adolescents having another avenue of positive identity being opened to them in the form of employment or vocational education outside the school. These can be considered individual strategies of achieving higher status or interpersonal regard. In fact, in Singapore, the percentage of gang members in the Institute of Technical Education and the Polytechnics constitutes only 7.6% compared to 92.4% in the secondary schools (Singapore Police Force, 1996).

Emler and Reicher (1995) argue that girls are less inclined towards anti-authority attitudes and behaviour because of feminine sex roles compared to boys, and this explains the lower rates of delinquency among females. Another reason could be that girls who fail in school have another positive alternative of being a homemaker which is not available as a viable role for boys.

To support the ideas of the thesis, four issues need empirical verification. There is need to establish the following:

a)   that there is a relationship between social status in the school and academic performance, that those with high academic achievement would also achieve a high status in the social environment of the school,

b)   that delinquents would show a tendency to reverse conventional norms,

c)   that delinquents would prefer a group strategy of coping with negative social comparisons that involves derogation of the outgroup rather than an individualistic and competitive one, and

d)   that the salience of different identities would result in differences with regard to self-esteem, shame and guilt, and attitudes towards authority.

The following chapters present the empirical studies conducted to investigate and verify these issues.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PERCEPTIONS OF DELINQUENTS WITH REGARD TO SOCIAL STATUS,
REPUTATION CONCERNS, VALUES AND ATTRIBUTIONS OF GUILT

8.1   Rationale

The main aim of the study reported in this chapter is to investigate

the perceptions of delinquents with regard to their social status in the

context of the school and the stability of this status, as well as their

reputation concerns and attributions of guilt reflected in their endorsement

of neutralization techniques.

It is necessary that individual delinquents identify with one another

as members of a group in order to develop the delinquent social identity.

The research of Ellemers (1993) and her colleagues (Ellemers, et al., 1988;

Ellemers, et al., 1990) on group identification (reviewed in Chapter Four)

has shown the perception of group members' social status as well as the

stability of this status to be important factors that affect group

identification. Their research has found that groups with low social status

and having members with low individual abilities would tend to show

higher group identification than groups whose members perceive

themselves to have high individual abilities.

Also, several studies have documented the relationship of

delinquency to academic achievement (Zingraff et al., 1994; Tremblay, et

al., 1992), that delinquents have a tendency to perform poorly in school.

Thus, students with low academic ability would be likely to perceive themselves as members of a group with a low social status in the school relative to students with high academic ability, if status is linked with academic achievement. However, the relationship between delinquency, academic achievement and low social status in the context of the school has yet to be empirically established. What remains to be determined is the delinquents' perception of the social status of those who are poor achievers in school. Thus, one of the aims of the study presented in this chapter is to investigate the delinquents' perceptions of social status in the school as well as the stability of this status.

Emler (1984, 1990) has argued that delinquent behaviour is a statement of reputation and a manifestation of the delinquents' social identity. The delinquents' reputation is thus inextricably linked with their identification with the group, in that the more they identify as members of the delinquent group, the more concerned they would be about their reputations as members of the group. Thus, another aim of this study is to demonstrate that delinquents have greater reputation concerns than non delinquents.

The delinquents' response to breaking of norms or rules has been discussed by Cohen (1955), Sykes and Matza (1957) and Matza (1964). While Cohen argues that delinquents rationalize guilt by reversing societal norms or values, Sykes and Matza state that delinquents would be more likely to use the techniques of neutralization as justifications or rationalizations for their acts. Other aims of this study are to investigate

the delinquents' social values compared to non delinquents as well as their endorsement of the techniques of neutralization.

The main hypotheses involved in this study can thus be stated as follows:

1.   there would be more delinquents than non delinquents in the academically streamed poorer classes,

2.   that social status in the school is related to academic performance, and that students in the academically streamed poorer classes, (compared to students who are in the better streamed classes) would have a lower social status in the school,

3.   delinquents would be more likely than non delinquents to perceive that low social status is stable across situations,

4.   delinquents compared to non delinquents would be more concerned about their reputation among members of their group,

5.   delinquents would place lower importance on conventional values compared to non delinquents, and

6.   delinquents, compared to non delinquents, would be more likely to endorse delinquent behaviour with the "techniques of neutralization".

Delinquents and non delinquents are identified through self-report measures. Previous studies (Emler, 1984) have demonstrated the validity of using self-report as a measure of delinquent behaviour. Before presenting the methodology of this study, the next section discusses the validity of using such a measure in the study of delinquency.

8.2   The validity of self-report measures

Emler and Reicher (1995) argue that self-reports are not only valid measures of delinquency, but also that they have advantages over police or official records, victim surveys or observer ratings. Emler (1984) gives three disadvantages regarding the use of official records in research on delinquency. Firstly, official records of acts by incarcerated delinquents cannot account for anti-social acts that do not come to the attention of the authorities. Secondly, in the comparison of delinquents with those who have not been arrested, delinquency is treated as an attribute rather than a variable, with only its presence or its absence being taken into account, rather than its degree or frequency. Finally, Emler states that the official act of being defined as a delinquent has its own effects on the individual, which may then affect the measures taken.

Neither is Emler satisfied with experimental measures of delinquency because he argues that experiments that offer temptations to break norms have the tendency to trivialize delinquency because of ethical considerations. Moreover, because of methodological concerns, experiments tend to use small samples.

A third alternative is the use of reputational measures, that is the assessment of an individual's behaviour on the basis of ratings of others. Emler points out that such methods are vulnerable to distortions and biases, and are "more likely to reflect characteristics of the perceiver than of the perceived" (1984, p. 178).

Self-reports, on the other hand, have several advantages over the other methods. They are able to record delinquent acts that are otherwise undetected, and provide a more accurate account of the social distribution of crime. There is also evidence (Emler et al., 1978) that incarcerated delinquents are more likely to report more frequent and serious delinquent acts on self-report measures. In fact, if delinquency is indeed a public communication of a certain stance taken towards authority, self-reports provide one means whereby this can be communicated.

8.3   Method

8.3.1   Design

The study examines the responses of delinquents and non delinquents regarding their perceptions of social status in the school, the stability of this status, their reputation concerns, values and endorsement of neutralization techniques. The design of the study is generally 2x2, with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) and gender of participants (male and female) as independent variables, except for perceptions of status, where the design is 2x3 with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) and academic stream (Express, Normal Academic and Normal Technical) as independent variables.

Delinquents and non delinquents are identified based on their self-report on eight misbehaviour items of smoking, losing temper and shouting

in class, refusing to obey the teacher's orders, shouting at the teacher, playing truant, fighting, stealing and using foul language.

8.3.2   Participants

The study was conducted in Singapore with adolescents in the secondary schools. Secondary schools in Singapore are streamed based on the results of the nation-wide Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) conducted at the end of the sixth year in the primary school. Students then enter the secondary school in one of the following streams; the Express stream where they will take four years of study before sitting for the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary level) examinations, or the Normal Academic and Normal Technical streams, where they will take five years before sitting for the above examination. In the Normal Technical stream, the participants taken have a technical emphasis, as contrasted to those in the Normal Academic stream. Students who perform exceptionally well in the PSLE with distinctions in the English language and another language, (usually Mandarin, Malay or Tamil) can opt to study in the Special stream, where both languages are examined at a higher level. However, these students are a minority of the student population and most secondary schools in Singapore have only the Express, Normal Academic and Normal Technical classes.

A total of 269 students from the Express, Normal Academic and Normal Technical streams in three secondary schools participated in the study. The number and percentage of male and female participants in the three streams are presented in Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1
Number and percentage of participants

Stream	Gender		
	Male	Female	Total
Express	n=39	n=47	86
	14.8%	17.7%	32.6%
Normal Academic	n=54	n=40	94
	20.5%	15.2%	35.6%
Normal Technical	n=57	n=27	84
	21.6%	10.2%	31.8%
Total	150	114	264
	56.8%	43.2%	100%

NB: 5 participants missing

8.3.3 Procedure

The questionnaire (see Appendix A) was distributed among the participants in the classes under the supervision of the teacher and in the presence of the researcher. Participants were assured that their responses were entirely anonymous and that only the researcher would be reading them. Each item in the questionnaire, with the exception of the eight misbehaviours, was read out by the teacher to the participants to ensure that they have understood the questions as well as the instructions. Participants were left to respond to the eight misbehaviour items by themselves so as to elicit honest responses and reduce reactive responses due to the teacher's facial expression or tone of voice, which may inadvertently be perceived as harsh or admonishing. Where necessary, queries were answered by the researcher rather than by the teacher.

8.3.4 <u>Measures</u>

1.   <u>Status</u>

The first part of the questionnaire examines participants' perception of status. Participants were asked which of the three streams, the Express, Normal Academic or Normal Technical are

a)   considered to be most highly and least highly thought of,

b)   teachers and principals most proud or least proud of,

c)   teachers most happy or least happy to teach,

d)   thought of most highly or least highly of by students in general.

Participants responded by choosing one of the three streams.

2.   <u>Stability of status</u>

Low social status is operationalized as being looked down upon by others. Participants were asked the following questions and their responses indicated on six-point scales:

a)   how likely it is for students who are of low status and looked down upon by others to change others' opinion of them

b)   how likely it is for people to change their opinions about students whom they look down upon,

c)   whether students who are looked down upon in school are also likely to be looked down upon by their schoolmates in a different social context,

d)   whether students who are looked down upon in school are also likely to be looked down upon at home by members of their family,

e) how easy or difficult it is for students to improve their social status by moving to a better stream, and

f) how easy or difficult it is for students to move to a poorer or weaker stream.

3. Reputation concerns

As reputation is inextricably related to social identity (Emler, 1990) concerns about reputation necessarily involve members of the social group. Participants were asked the following questions, indicating their responses along six-point scales:

a) the importance of members of their social group knowing about their behaviours,

b) the importance of their friends' approval if they had been selected to become a prefect or a class monitor (hence a member of a different social identity),

c) the importance of their friends not seeing them helping the teacher,

d) the importance of their friends not hearing them being praised by the teacher,

e) the importance of their group members knowing that they are engaged in similar activities, and

f) how ashamed they would feel if they were to be scolded by the teacher in the presence of their friends.

4.   Values

The items that comprise this section of the questionnaire were first pretested with Singaporean teenagers. Four of the items can be considered as conventional. They are getting

a) good marks in school,

b) pleasing parents,

c) keeping school rules and

d) being courteous.

The other four can be considered as non conventional. These are

e) doing what their group or gang is doing,

f) getting their own way,

g) being tough and not easily bullied and

h) having others thinking of them as tough or "cool".

As with the other questions, participants indicated their responses along six-point scales.

5.   Endorsement of neutralization techniques

The degree of use or endorsement of neutralization techniques has been argued by Sykes and Matza (1957) and Matza (1964) as rationalizations against guilt, and thus can be considered as reflections of the level of guilt or shame experienced. Three scenarios, each with two of these techniques were presented, thus giving a total of six neutralization techniques.

In the first scenario, a video recorder was stolen from the school's audio-visual equipment room. The two techniques presented for participants to indicate their extent of agreement or disagreement along six-point scales are blaming the victim (it is the fault of the school for not locking the room properly) and denial of the victim (the loss of the video recorder is not a problem as the school has funds to purchase another one).

In the second scenario, a hypothetical student and his friends were involved in a fight with students from another school. The two techniques presented with this scenario are the denial of responsibility (they did not start the fight) and an appeal to higher loyalty (they have to fight or they will lose their honour among group members).

In the third scenario, a hypothetical student and his friends were caught in the act of vandalism of spray-painting the wall outside the principal's office. The two techniques presented here are condemnation of the condemner (the principal deserves it for being nasty) and denial of damage (it is only paint which can be easily removed).

The six neutralization statements are translated into the non standard English commonly used by Singapore students so as to enable participants to identify better with the hypothetical student in the scenarios (see Appendix A, questions 32 to 34).

6.   Other variables

Other variables of interest involved the participants' relationship with their families, their experience of school, their attributions regarding their stream, and their identification with students from the same class. As

with the other questions, participants indicated their responses on six-point scales.

For family variables, participants were asked whether they had problems getting along with both their fathers and mothers, whether they are worried about showing their parents the report of their academic results, and whether their parents are satisfied with their grades.

For school variables, participants responded to questions regarding their perceptions of teachers, whether teachers are unfair to students, and two questions on whether school rules are unfair.

For attribution of their position in the class or school, participants were asked whether they think their being in the present class or stream in the school is a result of their ability or effort, and whether they perceive the class, the school and the education system has been unfair to them.

Finally, participants responded to questions regarding identification with their classmates, on whether they enjoy being a member of their class, how members of their class get along with one another, whether members of their class have common interests or activities and whether they preferred to be a member of the class than any other class.

8.4   <u>Results</u>

8.4.1   <u>Delinquent behaviours</u>

     The delinquent behaviour scale with the eight misbehaviour items

has an acceptable reliability of alpha .85. Intercorrelations are presented in

Table 8.2.

Table 8.2
Intercorrelations of misbehaviours

Misbehaviours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. smoking in school	1.00	.3487	.4500	.3821	.3619	.6464	.4297	.4423
2. losing temper		1.00	.4732	.4372	.2216	.4623	.3147	.4442
3. disobeying orders			1.00	.5058	.3332	.4539	.3715	.4332
4. shouting at teacher				1.00	.4730	.4654	.4157	.4250
5. playing truant					1.00	.3573	.3729	.3017
6. fighting						1.00	.5224	.5387
7. stealing							1.00	.4154
8. using foul language								1.00

NB: all correlations are statistically significant at p <.01

     A principal components analysis of these eight misbehaviours

yielded one factor with an eigenvalue of 3.97, accounting for 49.7% of the

variance. The factor loadings are presented in Table 8.3 below.

Table 8.3
Factor loadings of misbehaviours

Delinquent behaviours	Factor loadings
Fighting	.80392
Smoking in school	. 73007
Shouting back at teacher	.72859
Refusing to obey teacher's orders	.71659
Using foul language	.71548
Losing temper and shouting at schoolmate	.65427
Playing truant	.58765

Non delinquents and delinquents are identified based on their self-report scores on the one factor obtained from the eight misbehaviour items on the scale, divided along the median. Those who scored above the median are classified as delinquents, and those below the median as non delinquents. The gender and stream of both non delinquents and delinquents are presented in Tables 8.4 and 8.5 below.

Table 8.4
Gender composition of non delinquents and delinquents

	Gender		
Behaviour	Male	Female	Total
Non delinquent	24.6%	26.2%	50.8%
Delinquent	32.2%	17.0%	49.2%
Total	56.8%	43.2%	100%

$\chi2(1) = 7.66$, p = .006

Table 8.5
Stream composition of non delinquents and delinquents

	Behaviour		
Stream	Non delinquents	Delinquents	Total
Express	21.7%	11.2%	32.9%
Normal Academic	16.1%	19.5%	35.6%
Normal Technical	12.7%	18.8%	31.5%
Total	50.5%	49.5%	100%

$\chi2(2) = 12.78$, p = .002

Consistent with previous research on gender differences in delinquent behaviour (Braithwaite, 1989; Emler and Reicher, 1995), there are more males than females who are delinquents ($\chi2(1) = 7.66$, p = .006). Delinquent males comprise 32.2% of the sample, compared to only 17.0% of delinquent females.

As predicted in the first hypothesis, there is a relationship between delinquent behaviour and academic achievement, in that more delinquents are found in both the Normal Academic and Normal Technical streams ($\chi2(2) = 12.78$, p = .002) than in the Express stream. Only 11.2% of the sample from the Express stream are delinquents, compared to 19.5% and 18.7% for the Normal Academic and the Normal Technical streams respectively.

Also, when the delinquent behaviour taken as a factor is analyzed in a one-way anova with stream as the independent variable, results showed a significant effect of stream. There are more delinquent behaviours found among students in the Normal Academic and Normal Technical streams than in the Express stream (means = 10.07, 10.28 and 9.66 respectively). Although the homogeneity of variance assumption was violated in the analysis even after an inverse transformation of the delinquent behaviour factor, the significance level ($F(2, 264) = 9.04$, p =.0002) suggests that the results can be accepted (see Appendix B, Table 1). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8.6.

Table 8.6
Means of delinquent behaviours within stream

	Delinquent behaviour	
Stream	Means	s.d
Express	9.66	.67
Normal Academic	10.07	.99
Normal Technical	10.28	1.19

8.4.2   Status

Chi-square analyses of the eight questions on non delinquent and delinquents' perception of the status of students in the Express, Normal Academic and Normal Technical streams produced significant results only for one item, which is, which stream of pupils are most highly thought of ($\chi 2(2) = 8.03$, p = .018. See Appendix B, Table 2.7). 3.7% of delinquents, compared to 0.7% of non delinquents, reported that Normal Academic stream students are most highly thought of, and 3.7% of delinquents compared to 1.9% of non delinquents reported that the Normal Technical stream of students are most highly thought of. Nevertheless, the majority (89.9%) of students reported that it is the Express stream students who are most highly thought of.

There are no significant differences in the perception of non delinquents and delinquents with regard to the following:

a)   which stream of students are considered to be most highly and least highly thought of. 78.7% of students in general reported that the Express stream students are most highly thought of, and 70.4% reported that Normal Technical stream students are least highly thought of (see Appendix B, Tables 2.1 and 2.2)

b)   which stream of students are teachers and principals most proud or

       least proud of. 87.3% of students in general reported that teachers

       and principals are most proud of students in the Express stream,

       and 75.2% reported that teachers and principals are least proud of

       students in the Normal Technical stream (see Appendix B, Tables

       2.3 and 2.4)

c)   which stream of students teachers most happy or least happy to

       teach. 67.7% of students in general reported that they perceive

       teachers are most happy to teach students in the Express stream,

       and 61.7% reported the teachers are least happy to teach students in

       the Normal Technical stream (see Appendix B, Tables, 2.5 and 2.6)

d)   which stream of students are thought of least highly by students in

       general. 78.7% of student reported that students in the Normal

       Technical stream are least highly thought of (see Appendix B,

       Table 2.8).

       Thus, there is consensus among students in general, that the

students in the Express stream have a higher social status than the other

two streams. Students in the Normal Academic and the Normal Technical

streams have lower social status in the context of the school.

8.4.3   Stability of status

       To satisfy assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances,

logarithm transformations are carried out on the variables on whether

students who are looked down upon in school also likely to be looked down upon by their schoolmates in a different social context, and on whether students who are looked down upon in school also likely to be looked down upon at home by members of their family. Square root transformations are performed on the items assessing how likely for students who are of low status and looked down upon by others likely to change others' perception of them, and how likely for people to change their opinions about students they look down upon.

A multivariate analysis of variance (manova) was carried out with SPSS on the six variables on stability of status, with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) and gender (male and female) as independent variables. The univariate homogeneity of variances for the five variables (see Appendix B, Table 3) as well as the multivariate homogeneity of dispersion assumptions have been met (Boxes M = 83.97, F(63, 110281) = 1.27, p = .07).

The analysis revealed a significant main effect of delinquent behaviour (F(6, 255) = 2.30, p = .035. See Appendix B, Table 4). Pillai's criterion which is considered more robust was chosen as the significance level (Tabachnik and Fidell, 1989).

Univariate F-tests produced significant effects for only two variables, namely on whether students who are looked down upon in school also likely to be looked down upon by their schoolmates in a different social context, (F (1, 260) = 4.73, p = .031) and on whether students who are looked down upon in school are also likely to be looked down upon at home by members of their family (F(1, 260) = 10.08, p =

.002). Delinquents, compared to non delinquents, perceive that those who are looked down upon in school tend also to be looked down upon by schoolmates at shopping centres (means = 2.73 and 2.33 respectively) and that those who are looked down upon in school tend also to be looked down upon at home by members of the family (means = 2.86 and 2.08 respectively). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8.7. Ratings for tendency to be looked down upon are on six-point scales, with 1 for not likely at all and 6 for very likely to be looked down upon.

Table 8.7
Means and standard deviations of Stability of status variables
of non delinquents and delinquents

Stability of status variables	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Those who are looked down in school are also likely to be looked down by schoolmates at shopping centres	2.33*	1.41	2.73*	1.53
2. Those who are looked down in school are also likely to be looked down at home by family members	2.08**	1.44	2.86**	1.72

Notes
*   p <.05
    ** p <.01

8.4.4   Reputation

A manova of the six reputation variables was carried out with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) and gender of participants (male and female) as the independent variables. Tests for univariate homogeneity of variances showed that the assumptions were satisfied for five of the six

variables (see Appendix B, Table 5) as well as the multivariate homogeneity of dispersion (Boxes M = 84.37, F (63, 98152) = 1.28, p = .067)

The manova of the reputation variables revealed a significant main effect of behaviour (F(6, 248) = 2.71, p = . 015. See Appendix B, Table 6.1). Univariate F-tests showed significance for how important that members of their social group know about their behaviours (F(1, 253) = 7.33, p = .007), the importance of their friends not hearing them being praised by the teacher (F(1, 253) = 5.98, p = .015), and the importance of their group members knowing that they are engaged in similar activities (F(1, 253) = 8.88, p = .003). In all cases, delinquents compared to non delinquents are more concerned about the members of their group knowing about their behaviours and their friends not hearing them being praised by the teacher (see Table 8.8). Differences between delinquents and non delinquents' concern about their friends knowing about their being engaged in similar activities is qualified by the interaction between behaviour and gender.

Table 8.8
Non delinquents and delinquents' concern about reputation

	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
Reputation variables	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
importance of members of the group knowing about their behaviours	2.98*	1.69	3.59*	1.54
importance of friends not hearing them being praised by the teacher	2.21*	1.33	2.71*	1.53

*p < .05

Results revealed a significant interaction of delinquent behaviour and gender (F(6, 248) = 2.53, p = .021, Pillai's criterion. See Appendix B, Table 6.2). Univariate Fs are significant for three variables of the importance of friends' approval if participants had been selected to become prefects or class monitors, (F(1, 253) = 4.04, p = .037), the importance of their group members knowing that they are engaging in the same activities (F(1, 253) = 4.69, p = .031) and how ashamed they would feel if they were to be scolded by the teacher in the presence of their friends (F(1, 253) = 7.15, p = .008).

Delinquent males report greater importance of their friends' approval before becoming prefects or class monitors than non delinquent males (means = 3.87 and 3.18 respectively. Ratings are on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 representing not important at all, and 6 representing very important. See Table 8.9 and Figure 8.1). Other comparisons are not significant.

Table 8.9
Means and standard deviations of male and female non delinquents and delinquents' perception of the importance of friends' approval before becoming prefects or class monitors

	Gender			
	Male		Female	
Behaviour	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Non delinquents	3.18	1.74	3.55	1.67
Delinquents	3.87	1.63	3.28	1.62

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
Difference between male delinquents and non delinquents,
t(145) = 2.44, p = .016

Figure 8.1
Male and female non delinquents and delinquents perception of the importance of
friends' approval before becoming prefects or class monitors
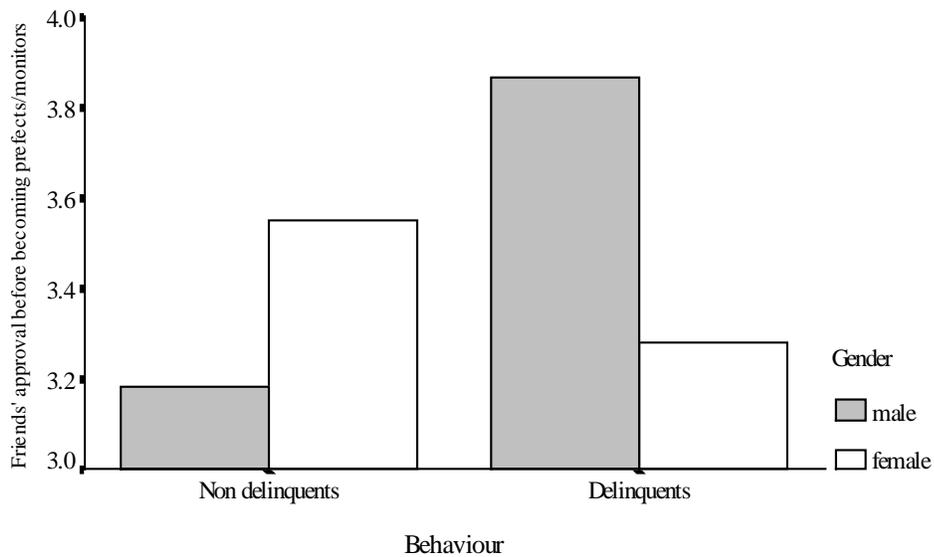
For the variable of the importance of their group members knowing that they are engaging in the same activities, male delinquents place greater importance of their friends knowing that they are engaging in the same activities, than male non delinquents (means = 3.16 and 2.22 respectively) Also, for non delinquents, there is a gender difference with female non delinquents being more concerned about their friends knowing that they are engaging in the same activities than male non delinquents (means = 2.72 and 2.22 respectively. Ratings are on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 representing not important at all, and 6 representing very important. See Figure 8.2 and Table 8.10).

Figure 8.2

Male and female non delinquents and delinquents perception of the importance of their friends knowing they are engaging in the same activities
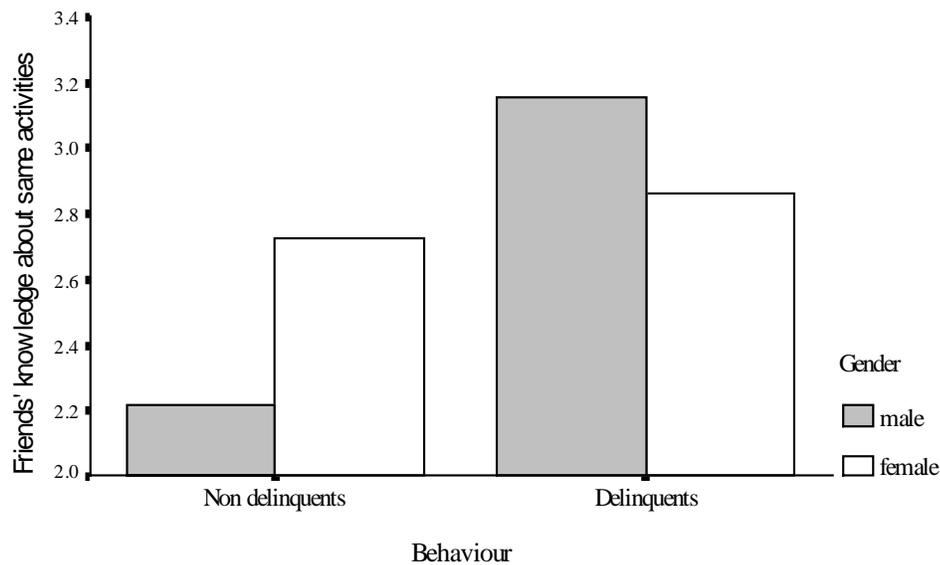
Table 8.10

Means and standard deviations of male and female non delinquents and delinquents' perception of the importance of their friends knowing they are engaging in the same activities

	Gender			
	Male		Female	
Behaviour	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Non delinquents	2.22	1.24	2.72	1.40
Delinquents	3.16	1.53	2.86	1.26

Notes:

Analysis of simple effects:

1) Difference between male delinquents and non delinquents

$t(146) = -4.02$, $p = .000$

2) Difference between male and female non delinquents

$t(132) = -2.22$, $p = .028$

For how ashamed they would feel if scolded by the teacher in the presence of their friends, results show significant differences for male and female non delinquents (means = 4.16 and 5.23 respectively), and between female non delinquents and delinquents (means = 5.23 and 4.63 respectively). Comparisons between male and female delinquents are not

significant. Female non delinquents tend to be particularly ashamed if scolded by the teacher in the presence of their friends (see Figure 8.3 and Table 8.11). Ratings are on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 representing not ashamed at all, and 6 representing very ashamed.

Figure 8.3
Male and female non delinquents and delinquents perception of how ashamed they would feel if scolded by the teacher in the presence of their friends
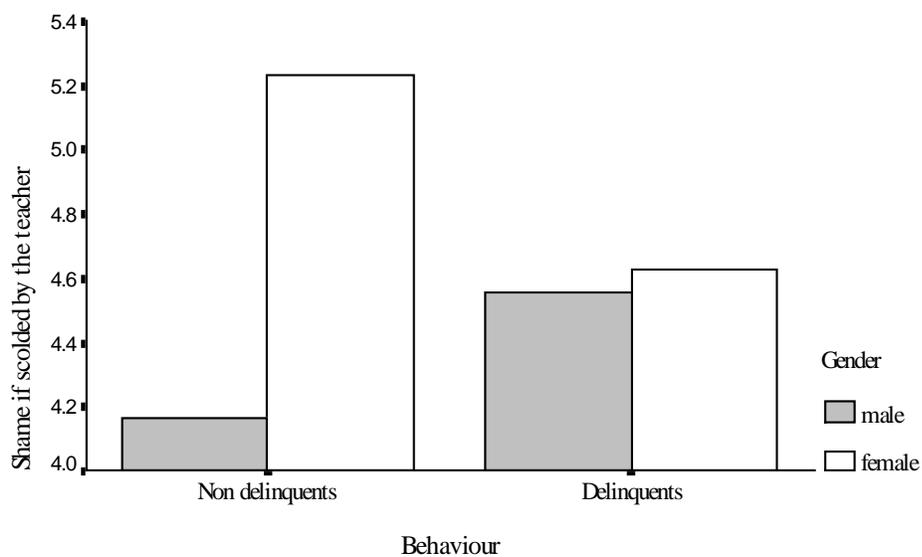
Table 8.11
Means and standard deviations of male and female non delinquents and delinquents' perception of how ashamed they would feel if scolded by the teacher in the presence of their friends

| | Gender | | | |
| | Male | | Female | |
Behaviour	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Non delinquents	4.16	1.53	5.23	1.13
Delinquents	4.55	1.48	4.63	1.66

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
1) Difference between female delinquents and non delinquents
   $t(110) = 2.29$, $p = .024$
2) Difference between male and female non delinquents
   $t(132) = -4.60$, $p = .000$

8.4.5   Values

Because of negatively skewed distributions, reflect and inverse transformations were performed on five of the value variables, namely getting good marks in school, pleasing parents, being tough and not easily bullied, keeping school rules and having good manners and being courteous. A reciprocal transformation was carried out on the variable of doing what the group or gang is doing. As with the other variables, participants rated their perception of the importance of these values on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 for not important and 6 for very important.

A manova was performed on the eight value variables with delinquent behaviour and gender of participants as the independent variables. Tests of univariate homogeneity of variances showed that the assumptions were met except for the variable of getting good marks in school. (See Appendix B. Table 7). The multivariate homogeneity of dispersion assumption was also met (Boxes M = 127.43, F(108, 103878) = 1.11, p = .204).

Results revealed a significant main effect of behaviour (F (8, 247) = 5.83, p = .000. See Appendix B, Table 8). Univariate F-tests found significant effects of behaviour for the following value variables; getting good marks in school, (F(1, 254) = 7.02, p = .009), doing what the group or gang is doing (F(1, 254) =10.66, p = .001), pleasing parents, (F (1, 254), = 6.10, p = .014), being tough and not easily bullied (F(1, 254) = 5.96, p = .015), keeping school rules (F(1, 254) = 17.50, p = .000), others thinking of

them as "tough" or "cool" (F(1, 254) = 10.69, p = .001) and being

courteous (F(1, 254) = 10.78, p = .001).

Non delinquents, compared to delinquents, have higher scores for

the more conventional values of getting good marks (means = 5.80 and

5.58 respectively), pleasing parents (means = 4.94 and 4.54 respectively),

keeping school rules (means = 5.42 and 4.72 respectively) and being

courteous (means = 5.63 and 5.19 respectively). However, delinquents

have higher scores than non delinquents for doing what the group or gang

is doing (means = 3.03 and 2.42 respectively) being tough and not easily

bullied (means = 4.92 and 4.35 respectively) and having others thinking of

them as "tough" or "cool" (means = 3.48 and 2.72 respectively).

Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8.12.

Table 8.12

Means and standard deviations of values of non delinquents and delinquents

Values	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
Conventional values	Mean	s.d	Mean	s.d.
getting good marks in school	5.80**	0.39	5.58**	0.69
pleasing parents	4.94*	1.34	4.54*	1.57
keeping school rules	5.42***	0.86	4.72***	1.45
being courteous	5.63**	0.64	5.19**	1.08
Non conventional values				
doing what group or gang is doing	2.42**	1.57	3.03**	1.63
being tough and not easily bullied	4.35*	1.55	4.92*	1.19
others thinking of them as "tough" or "cool"	2.72**	1.62	3.48**	1.64
getting your own way	3.92 ns	1.49	4.10 ns	1.45

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

8.4.6   Endorsement of Neutralization Techniques

A manova was carried out with the six endorsement of neutralization variables with behaviour and gender as independent variables. Tests of univariate homogeneity of variances showed that the assumptions were met by all except one of the six variables, that is denial of damage (see Appendix B, Table 9). The assumption of multivariate homogeneity of dispersion was also violated (Boxes M = 123.43, F(63, 101689) = 1.87, p = .000).

Results revealed a significant main effect of delinquent behaviour (see Appendix B, Table 10). Although the assumption of multivariate homogeneity of variances was not met, the significance level using the more robust Pillai's criterion (F(6, 251) = 8.40, p = .000) suggests that the findings can be accepted. Univariate F-tests   showed significant main effects of behaviour for denial of the victim (F(1, 256)= 6.51, p = .011), denial of responsibility (F(1, 256) = 10.22, p = .002), appeal to higher loyalty (F(1, 256) = 36.38, p = .000), condemning the condemner (F(1, 256) = 15.35, p = .000) and denial of damage (F(1, 256) =25.23, p = .000).

In all cases, delinquents show a significantly greater tendency to endorse these techniques of neutralization compared to non delinquents. Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13
Means and standard deviations of endorsement of neutralization techniques
of non delinquents and delinquents

Endorsement of Neutralization Techniques	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Mean	s.d	Mean	s.d.
denial of the victim	2.19*	1.39	2.68*	1.51
denial of responsibility	2.46**	1.41	3.04**	1.58
appeal to higher loyalty	2.09***	1.35	3.44***	1.92
condemning the condemners	1.91***	1.35	2.74***	1.66
denial of damage	1.60***	.93	2.50***	1.59

*** $p < .001$
** $p < .01$
* $p < .05$

8.4.7   Other variables

a) Family

Inverse and reciprocal transformations were carried out on the family variables of getting along with mother and with father, and not worried about showing the report book to parents to satisfy assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance. The fourth family variable of parents' satisfaction with grades did not need a transformation.

A manova was performed with the four family variables as dependent variables, and behaviour and gender of participants as independent variables. The assumptions of univariate homogeneity of variances (see Appendix B, Table 11) and multivariate homogeneity of dispersions were satisfied (Boxes M = 37.63, $F(30, 107951) = 1.22$, $p = .193$).

Results revealed a significant main effect of delinquent behaviour ($F(4, 251)= 4.50$, $p = .002$. See Appendix B, Table 12). Univariate F-tests

are significant for only three variables, namely, relationship with mother

(F(1, 254) = 6.65, p = .010), relationship with father (F(1, 254) =14.19, p

= .000) and parents' satisfaction with grades (F(1, 254) = 5.61, p = .019).

Non delinquents compared to delinquents report having

significantly better relationship problems with both their mothers and

fathers and less parental dissatisfaction with grades. Means and standard

deviations are presented in Table 8.14.

Table 8.14
Means and standard deviations of family variables of
non delinquents and delinquents

Family variables	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Mean	s.d	Mean	s.d.
relationship with mother	5.21*	1.15	4.61*	1.61
relationship with father	5.07***	1.28	4.29***	1.74
parents are usually satisfied with results	3.97*	1.35	3.58*	1.43

*** p < .001
  * p < .05

b) School

A reciprocal transformation of the variable of perception that

teachers enjoy scolding students was carried out to satisfy the assumptions

of normality and homogeneity of variance. The other variables of

perception that school rules are only for the teachers' benefit, that students

are often unfairly punished and that teachers like to blame students for

things they did not do, did not require transformations.

A manova was performed for the above school variables with behaviour and gender of participants as independent variables. All univariate homogeneity of variances (see Appendix B, Table 13) and the multivariate homogeneity of dispersion were satisfied (Boxes M = 28.74, $F(30, 127044) = .93$, p = .576).

Results yielded a significant main effect of delinquent behaviour ($F(4, 256) = 5.36$, p = .000. See Appendix B, Table 14). Univariate F-tests showed significant differences between non delinquents and delinquents for all the school variables, with agreement with the statement that school rules are more for teachers' good ($F(1, 259) = 9.16$, p = .003), that teachers enjoy scolding students ($F(1, 259) = 9.66$, p = .002), that students are often unfairly punished ($F(1, 256) = 8.34$, p = .004) and that teachers like to blame students for things they did not do ($F(1, 259) = 10.56$, p = .001). In all cases, delinquents compared to non delinquents express significantly greater perceptions of school rules and teachers as being unfair. Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8.15 below.

Table 8.15
Means and standard deviations of school variables of
non delinquents and delinquents

School variables	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Mean	s.d	Mean	s.d.
school rules are more for teachers' benefit	2.77**	1.60	3.32**	1.74
teachers enjoy scolding students	1.98**	1.29	2.64**	1.69
students are often unfairly punished	2.79**	1.61	3.45**	1.59
teachers like to blame students for things they did not do	2.98**	1.56	3.67**	1.57

** p < .01

c) <u>Combined influences of family and school</u>

Family and school variables were added separately and total scores for family and school experiences were divided along the median. Scores above the median were categorized as having positive experiences, and those below as negative. In other words, the family and school experiences of participants were grouped into either positive or negative. A new variable was computed, taking <u>both</u> positive and negative family and school experiences such that there were four groups of positive and negative family and school experiences:

a) positive family and positive school

b) positive family and negative school

c) negative family and positive school

d) negative family and negative school

A one-way anova was performed with the four groups of combined positive and negative family and school experiences as the independent variable, and the inverse transformation of the delinquent behaviours factor as the dependent variable. Results yielded a significant effect of family and school experiences $(F(3,255) = 10.12$, $p = .000$. See Appendix B, Table 15). Although the homogeneity of variances assumption is violated, the strong p value of .000 suggest that the significant effect can be interpreted with some confidence.

Comparison of means using the Bonferroni test revealed differences between participants with <u>both</u> negative family and school experiences , and the others with only one negative experience of either family or school, or both positive experiences of family and school.

Participants with <u>both</u> negative family and school experiences have a greater tendency towards delinquency than those with at least one positive family or school experience. This is illustrated in Figure 8.4. Means and standard deviations are given in Table 8.16.

Figure 8.4
Positive and negative family and school experiences and
the tendency towards delinquency

Positive & negative family & school experiences
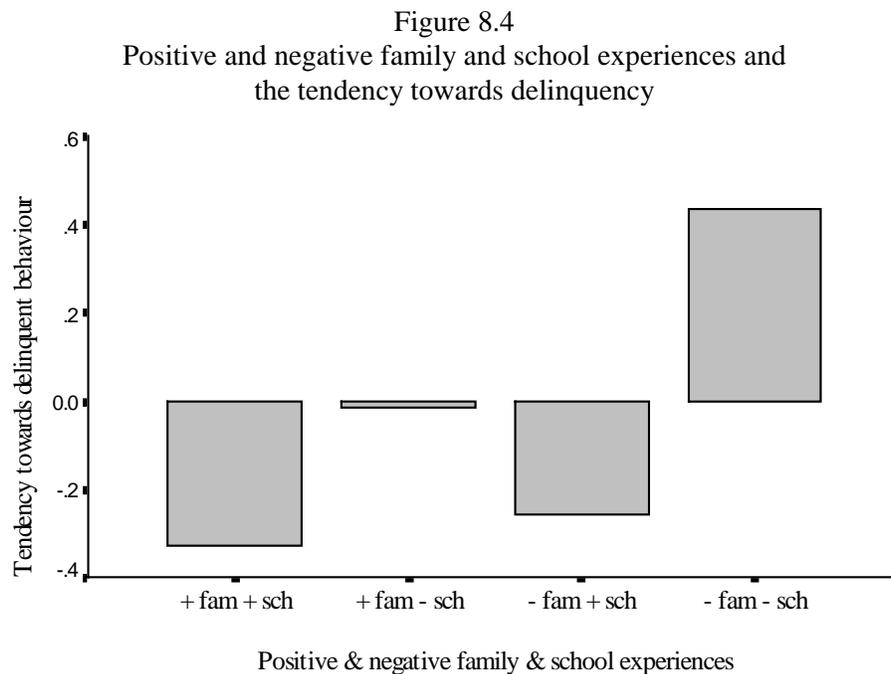
Table 8.16
Means and standard deviations of tendency towards delinquency (factor) of
participants with positive and negative family and school experiences

Family and School Experiences	Means	s.d.
positive family positive school	-.33	.79
positive family negative school	-.25	.98
negative family positive school	-.01	.64
negative family negative school	.45	1.13

d) <u>Attribution of position in the school</u>

For attribution variables, an inverse and reciprocal transformation of the variable of attribution of being in the particular class or stream to ability or effort, (internal attribution) and a reciprocal transformation of the variable of attribution of being in the particular class or stream to others' unfairness (external attribution) were performed to satisfy assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances. The other two variables of unfairness of the school and the educational system did not require transformation. All univariate homogeneity of variances (see Appendix B, Table 16) and multivariate homogeneity of dispersion were satisfied (Boxes M = 41.30, $F(30, 127383) = 1.34$, $p = .103$).

Results of manova of the above four attribution variables with behaviour and gender as independent variables yielded significant effects only for gender ($F(4, 257) = 3.43$, $p = .009$. See Appendix B, Table 17). Univariate F-tests showed significant effects only for the statement that participants are in their present stream because others have been unfair and unkind to them ($F(1, 260) = 9.03$, $p = .003$). Males participants tend to show more agreement with the statement that they are in their present stream because others have been unfair or unkind to them, than female participants (means = 2.28 and 1.82 respectively). Means and standard deviations are provided in Table 8.17 below.

Table 8.17
Means and standard deviations of attribution variables of
males and female participants

Attribution variables	Males		Females	
	Mean	s.d	Mean	s.d.
students looked downed are unfairly treated by the school	2.69*	1.47	2.77*	1.62
the education system is unfair to those looked down by others	2.81	1.55	2.61	1.51
in this stream because of own ability and effort	4.40	1.46	4.50	1.72
in this stream because others have been unfair or unkind	2.28	1.45	1.82	1.29

* $p < .01$

e) <u>Identification with class members</u>

The four variables of whether they enjoy being members of their class, whether members of their class get along well with each other, whether they have a lot in common and whether they preferred being in their particular classes rather than other classes were transformed using inverse and reciprocal transformations to satisfy the assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances.

A manova conducted with the transformed variables and behaviour and gender of participants as independent variables yielded a significant main effect of behaviour ($F(4, 255) = 3.20$, $p = .014$). All assumptions of univariate homogeneity of variances (see Appendix B, Table 18) and multivariate homogeneity of dispersion were satisfied (Boxes M = 33.77, $F(30, 127186) = 1.09$, $p = .333$). Univariate F-test showed significant results only for the variable of whether they enjoy being members of their classes ($F(1, 258) = 9.96$, $p = .002$. See Appendix B, Table 19). Non delinquents report greater enjoyment being members of their classes than

delinquents (means = 4.87 and 4.43 respectively). Means and standard

deviations are presented in Table 8.18 below.

Table 8.18
Means and standard deviations of identification variables of
males and female participants

Identification variables	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Mean	s.d	Mean	s.d.
enjoy being member of the class	4.87*	1.39	4.43*	1.41
members of the class get along well with each other	4.56	1.28	4.22	1.53
members of the class have a lot in common	3.89	1.36	3.84	1.38
prefer to be member of own class	4.33	1.68	4.00	1.78

* p < .01

8.5   Summary of findings and discussion

The finding that there are more delinquents in the Normal

Academic and Normal Technical classes than in the Express stream classes

confirms the first hypothesis of the study. This result is not surprising but

consistent with other findings that link delinquent behaviour with poor

academic achievement. However, the direction of the relationship between

delinquent behaviour and academic behaviour has not been clarified. It is

possible that delinquents performed poorly in primary school because they

are disruptive and lack attention, and are hence channeled into the slower

stream classes. In other words, they already exhibit deviant behaviour

before being streamed. It is equally possible that their deviant behaviour is

a result of their having being channeled into the Normal stream classes.

Consequently, they dismiss academic performance considering it as

irrelevant and seek esteem from delinquent behaviour. It is also likely that both delinquent behaviour and poor academic performance have reciprocal effects on each other (Emler and Reicher, 1995) How academic achievement affect delinquent behaviour, and reactions to negative social comparison will be empirically investigated in the next chapter.

The findings of this study confirm the link between social status in school and academic performance. High academic achievers enjoy a high social status in school, confirming the second hypothesis in this study. Students in general perceive that teachers and principals are most proud of Express stream students, who are also considered are most important in the school. There are no significant differences in perception of status between non delinquents and delinquents, with only one exception regarding which stream of pupils are most highly thought of. In this case, more delinquents than non delinquents report that the Normal streams students are more highly thought of than students in the Express stream, although students in general indicate that students in the Express stream are more highly thought of. This finding seem to reflect a reversal of status among delinquents, which is also demonstrated in the findings on values.

Furthermore, delinquents compared to non delinquents tend to perceive that social status in school is stable across situations, confirming the third hypothesis, that those who are looked down upon in school are also looked down upon in other settings and by members of their family. Thus, for delinquents, the repercussions of academic performance tend to be felt in other social relationships including that with family members. A related finding is that delinquents report higher parental dissatisfaction

with school results than non delinquents, which is a likely factor affecting their self-esteem. The stability of social status indicates a transfer of negative identity and an impermeability of social boundaries (Ellemers, 1993) as a result of academic ability, which possibly contributes to driving these students into identification with delinquent peer group members in the quest for higher self-esteem (Kaplan, 1978).

Emler (1990) argues that the identification with members of a group necessitates a concern about reputation, which has to be consistent with that of membership in the group. This is demonstrated in the findings that delinquents compared to non delinquents are more concerned about their reputation as predicted in the fourth hypothesis. Compared to non delinquents, male delinquents are especially concerned about their group's approval if asked to become members of an outgroup (such as being prefects or class monitors), and also about their members knowing that they are engaging in the same activities. Also, delinquents are more concerned about members of their group knowing about their behaviours (or misbehaviours) and their friends not knowing if their behaviour is not consistent with that of the group (behaviours that might invite praise from the teacher).

As predicted in the fifth hypothesis, delinquents demonstrate a tendency to attach lower importance to values that non delinquents consider as important, such as getting good marks, keeping school rules, being courteous and pleasing parents. Conversely, they place higher value on doing what the group or the gang is doing, and having others thinking of

them as "tough" or "cool". Thus, the findings suggest support for Cohen's (1955) theory that delinquents tend to reverse conventional norms.

As predicted in the sixth hypothesis, delinquents, compared to non delinquents, show greater endorsement of the techniques of neutralization, of denial of the victim, denial of responsibility, appealing to higher loyalty, condemning the condemner and denial of damage. No significant difference between delinquents and non delinquents was found for the technique of blaming the victim. This may be due to the scenario given and the statement of "blame", in which the "victim" was the school which had a video recorder stolen because the doors were not locked properly, being improbable or less convincing. Thus, findings support Sykes and Matza's (1957) theory about delinquents' use of these techniques in guilt-inducing situations as rationalizations against feelings of guilt. Further evidence however, is required with regard to the conditions or context under which these rationalizations are used.

The other findings in the study are consistent with other research with regard to delinquents' relationship with their families and the school (Chapter Two). Delinquents are more likely than non delinquents to have problems with both parents, and to have a negative perception of the school. It is only when both their experiences at home and at school are negative, that adolescents have a greater tendency towards delinquency. This evidence suggests that delinquency is resorted to only when no other means of attaining positive identity is available.

As can be expected, delinquents also identify less with members of their class since this tends to be associated with academic activities, but

they identify more with members of their social group as indicated by the findings on reputation concerns. Further investigation is needed to examine their need for identification with their peers. It is likely that this is a means of coping with their negative identity, and that it is only with the peer group that what is negative can be reversed and considered positive.

All six hypotheses of this study are generally supported. The next chapter reports on the study which examines the relationship between delinquency, negative social comparison of academic results, choice of coping strategies and self-derogation. This is followed by an elaboration of the delinquents' tendency to reverse norms, according to Cohen's (1955) theory. Later chapters undertake to show that the delinquents' commitment to unconventional norms is not fixed but context-dependent and varies according to the salience of the delinquent social identity.

CHAPTER NINE

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEGATIVE SOCIAL COMPARISON,
ACADEMIC FAILURE AND DELINQUENCY

9.1   Introduction

9.1.1   Rationale

One main proposal of this thesis is that delinquency has its roots in social comparison, and is a coping strategy or a form of response to the consequences of negative social comparison. The school environment is a competitive one, where social comparisons are fostered and encouraged (Goethals and Darley, 1987). One chronically salient dimension of social comparison is academic performance, which determines students' low social status in the school environment (as shown in the study presented in Chapter Eight), and highlights students' lack of self-consistency with the general student identity. As a result, these students are likely to suffer from feelings of jealousy, resentment (Salovey and Rodin, 1984), frustration, anger (Agnew 1993), shame and guilt, as well as a high sense of self-derogation. They then develop a negative identity, which also results from their low social status in the school.

The literature on social comparison (elaborated in Chapter Three) indicates that there are several strategies of coping with this negative identity and low status, which include distancing the relationship with the comparison targets, derogation of rivals, creating dissimilarity, competition, and changing the dimension of comparison. Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979)

groups these strategies into two basic categories; those resorted to by individuals and those adopted by members of a group.

Students who perceive that individual mobility to the higher status group of high achievers is possible because of their personal ability, and who have other sources of positive social identity, can employ the individual strategy of competition. However, for students who perceive themselves to be of low academic ability, an individual strategy such as competition would be less effective because of the lack of individual mobility. Moreover, an individual strategy is not able to provide them with a sense of self-consistency, which can only be achieved through a social identity. Their only means of coping is to identify with others who have similar negative identities and adopt the group strategy that social identity theory terms "social creativity".

Thus, students who suffer from negative social comparison but who identify less with a group would not have the advantage of social validation from the group. Their level of self-esteem can be expected to be lower compared to those who are able to identify with a group.

Identification with a group has been shown to be dependent upon such factors as status, stability and permeability of group boundaries (Ellemers, et al. 1988, 1990, 1993). The strategy of derogating rivals or outgroup-derogation, is likely only if students perceive that individual mobility is not possible through effort. In other words, if students were to attribute failure to a lack of ability rather than effort, mobility to the higher status group would be perceived to be less likely, the lack of ability being a relatively stable characteristic. However, if failure were to be attributed to a lack of effort, the low status would be perceived as unstable, and social mobility through individual effort and competition would

be a preferred choice. Hence, the preference for a coping strategy, whether group or individual, may be mediated by the attribution of failure.

The findings of the study reported in the previous chapter revealed that there are more delinquents in the lower academically-streamed classes. Delinquents, especially those who attribute their academic failure to a lack of ability, can be expected to favour a group rather than an individual coping strategy. Thus, the study presented in this chapter makes the following predictions:

1) when faced with negative social comparison, delinquents would perceive that coping with an <u>outgroup-derogation</u> strategy rather than an <u>individual-competitive</u> one would be more effective, when failure is attributed to a lack of <u>ability</u> rather than <u>effort</u>, and

2) delinquents would perceive self-derogation of those who adopt the outgroup derogation strategy to be lower compared to those who prefer an individual competition strategy.

The independent variables involved are behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) and attribution of failure (to lack of ability or lack of effort) and preference for coping strategy (individual or group). The former two variables are between-subjects while the latter is presented as a within-subjects variable.

The study is presented to delinquent and non delinquent participants in the form of a vignette, which consists of the academic results of two hypothetical students. HL and KP, who both failed in their examinations but responded differently. HL copes by adopting the individualistic and competitive strategy, whereas KP copes through outgroup-derogation. Their marks are based on actual examination marks obtained by the students of each school, and are presented as

pages of the school report book with the teacher's comments, which either attribute failure to the lack of ability or to a lack of effort (see Appendix C).

9.1.2   Identification of delinquents and non delinquents

Delinquents and non delinquents are identified through self-report from a checklist of thirteen misbehaviours modified from the checklists of Emler et al. (1987) and Leung and Lau (1989). The latter study was conducted with Chinese participants in Hong Kong, and its findings are thus more culturally compatible for use with participants in Singapore where this study is conducted. Based on previous research with Singapore students (Koh, 1988) and the study reported in the previous chapter, it is important that items on the questionnaires are kept to a minimum so that participants, especially those who tend not to be academically inclined, would not find responding to the items too time-consuming or tedious. Thus, Emler's scale, which comprises twenty-four items, was condensed to seven items. (See Tables 9.1a and 9.1b). Five items on the scale have not been included because of the likelihood of having low frequencies, as they are not behaviours commonly committed by students in Singapore (Koh, 1988). These items were also not in Leung and Lau's scale.

Table 9.1a

Reclassification of delinquent behaviours based on Emler's checklist

Item No	Misbehaviours (Emler et al., 1987)	Reclassification
8	stolen things from people's clothing	
13	found other's property and failed to return it	stealing
15	stolen a car, motorbike or bicycle	
16	stolen things from a shop while it was open	
18	broken into someone's home or flat with the intention of stealing something	
4	been involved in a fight using a weapon	
5	been involved in a fight where a weapon was not used	fighting
14	became involved in a group fight	
24	belonged to a group or 10 or more people who go around together making a row and sometimes getting into fights	
2	broken windows of empty houses	
3	smashed, slashed or damaged things in public places	
17	damaged school property on purpose	vandalism
20	deliberately littered street or pavement by smashing bottles, overturning dustbins etc	
21	purposefully destroyed, damaged or defaced others' private property	
19	been to an X film when under age	seeing "dirty" books or movie
6	annoyed or insulted strangers in the street	threatening others
7	thrown things such as stones at people	
12	played truant from school	playing truant
22	purposefully annoyed, taunted, insulted a teacher	defiance

Table 9.1b

Items not included in the Emler's checklist

Item No	Misbehaviours (Emler et al., 1987)
1	driven a car or motorbike on the highway under the legal age
9	purposefully annoyed, insulted or defied a police officer
10	hit a teacher
11	struggled or fought to get away from a police officer
23	done something to people as a joke, like pushing them into water, pulling their chair away as they sat down

Leung and Lau's (1989) scale includes the following items (see Table 9.2).

Table 9.2
Misbehaviours in Leung and Lau's checklist

Delinquent behaviours
fighting in and outside of school
smoking
gambling
destroying public properties
threatening others
stealing others' properties
shoplifting
eating in class
talking with others during class lessons
reading other materials such as comics during class lessons
cheating in exams
seeing pornographic movies and books
skipping classes and school
talking in foul language
drinking alcoholic beverages

Reading other materials such as comics during class lessons, eating in class and talking with others during class lessons are condensed as "refusing to obey teacher's orders.

Stealing others' property and shoplifting are condensed into one category of stealing. Smoking, gambling, drinking alcoholic beverages, talking in foul language and cheating in examinations are added to the reclassified items on Emler's checklist to constitute the thirteen items used in this study. Table 9.3 gives the final list of the items.

Table 9.3
Items used in the present study

	Delinquent behaviours
1	smoking
2	losing temper, shouting at schoolmate or teacher
3	refusing to obey teachers' orders
4	gambling
5	playing truant
6	fighting in and out of school
7	stealing, shoplifting
8	using foul language
9	destroying public property, vandalism
10	threatening others
11	seeing "dirty" books or movies
12	cheating in tests and exams
13	drinking alcohol

Participants are asked to rate on a scale of one to six, how often they have committed the thirteen behaviours (1 for never, and 6 for very often). Those whose total score is above the median would be classified as delinquents while those who scored below the median would be classified as non delinquents.

9.1.3   Evaluation of coping strategies

The individual and group coping strategies are presented as two vignettes. Participants receive both vignettes. The individual-competitive strategy adopted is by the target student HL and the outgroup-derogation strategy adopted by the other target student, KP. Two other possibilities of outgroup competition and individual derogation are left out because they are low in mundane realism (Aronson, Ellsworth, Carlsmith and Gonzales, 1990). Competition in terms of academic performance is inherently individualistic (prizes for scholastic achievement are always awarded to individual students).

Derogation of others in terms of denigration of the dimension of comparison (in this case, academic achievement) requires agreement of ingroup members and is thus not often an individual act.

These coping strategies are presented as diary accounts by the hypothetical students in the vignette. Both the target students are of the <u>same sex</u> as the participants. HL copes by employing an individual-competitive strategy of trying harder, and KP copes by employing the group strategy of derogation of the more successful others. For reasons of authenticity, the students' accounts are written in non standard English commonly used by Singaporean students. Their comments and translations are presented as follows:

<u>HL's way of coping</u>
HL was very disappointed when he saw his report book. He went straight home after school and avoided his friends. He went to his room to examine his results and told himself that he must work harder and spend more time in the library studying. When asked to describe how he tried to make himself feel better, this is what he wrote:

Why I do so badly I also not sure. Maybe I didn't try hard enough. Everyone say if study harder, sure can pass, so I think if I study harder, this time cannot do well, maybe next time can. I think I must stay at home more, go library and study, must buy assessment books and do more practice. Maybe can do better next term. Not give up.

<u>Translation:</u>
I do not understand why I have done so badly. Perhaps, I didn't try hard enough. It is said that if one were to study hard enough, one should be able to pass, so if I were to put in more effort, I should be able to do better in in the next exams. I think I must stay home more often, go to the library to study, and buy assessment books to do more practice exercises. Perhaps, I will do better next term. I mustn't give up.

<u>KP's method of coping</u>

KP was very disappointed when she saw her report book. After school, she got together with a group of friends who also did badly. They told themselves that getting good marks is not so important, that they are not the kind of students who are so "kiasu"[1] and "kancheong"[2] that they do not know how to have fun. When asked to describe how she tried to make herself feel better, this is what she wrote:

My kind of people cannot study type. I and my friends think now we are young and we know how to have fun. We all not like the "kiasu" and "kancheong" kind. Study so hard and don't know how to enjoy. What for get good marks? Bad result so what! Got other things in life more important. We all know worry also no use.

<u>Translation:</u>

I belong to the kind of students who do not have the ability to study. My friends and I believe that we are young only once and we should be having fun. We are not like the over-anxious and studious kind of students who study so hard that they do not know how to enjoy life. What's so good about getting good grades, and so what if we get poor results? We know that there are more important things in life and there's no use worrying.

9.1.4   <u>Permeability and attribution of failure</u>

Movement into high status groups depends on individuals' perception of the permeability of group boundaries, which, in the context of the school, is in turn dependent on how these individuals attribute academic failure. Permeability is therefore operationalized as attribution of failure.

The attribution of failure, whether it is due to a lack of effort (hence, unstable) or to a lack of ability (stable), is presented in the form of the class teacher's comments in the report book. These comments are typical of the kind of remarks made by teachers in Singapore. For half the participants, who are

---

[1] "Kiasu" means extremely competitive and afraid to lose out to others

[2] "Kancheong" means over worried or anxious

randomly selected, the students in the vignettes have comments from the teacher that attribute the low marks to a lack of ability, and for the other half of the participants, the students in the vignettes will have comments from the teacher that attribute the low marks to a lack of effort (see Appendix C). These are presented as follows:

Attribution of failure to lack of ability:
Although   results are poor, this student has been trying very hard and has shown very good progress and improvement since the beginning of the year. There is good reason to believe that the marks will continue to improve.

Attribution of failure to lack of effort:
Results are very poor and disappointing, and shows that this student must have been playful, inattentive in class and lazy. There has been no progress since the beginning of the year.

There is evidence that when teachers respond to failure with praises for good effort, students are more likely to attribute their failure to lack of ability (Graham and Barker, 1990). Students recognize that positive messages from teachers are given as consolation for an uncontrollable cause of failure (Brophy, 1985). It is thus paradoxical that the attribution of failure to the lack of ability, which is <u>negative</u> in terms of permeability, tends to be phrased in positive terms by teachers, while the attribution of failure to the lack of effort, which is <u>positive</u> in terms of permeability, tends to be phrased negatively.

Hence, for purpose of this study, attribution of failure to the lack of ability in the vignette is phrased positively as having shown "good progress and improvement", and attribution of failure to the lack of effort, on the other hand,

tends to be phrased negatively in terms of the student being "playful", "inattentive" and "lazy".

9.1.5   Social comparison threat

In order to ensure that participants identify with the hypothetical targets who are faced with negative social comparison of academic achievement, participants themselves are exposed to the threat of social comparison, which is introduced by presenting them with a target of comparison which is another hypothetical student from the top class in the same stream. The marks of this student are a composite of top marks actually obtained by the top students in each school. Participants then listed their own marks obtained during the last examination.

9.2   Method

9.2.1   Design

The study has a 2x2x2x2 factorial design, with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent), attribution of failure (lack of ability and lack of effort) and gender of participants (male and female) as between-group factors, and coping strategies (individual-competition and outgroup-derogation) as a within-group factor.

9.2.2   Participants

133 students from two secondary schools in Singapore participated in this study. They were from both the Normal Academic and the Normal Technical streams.

9.2.3   The questionnaire format

Half of the participants received attributions of failure to the lack of ability and the other half, to a lack of effort. With regard to the within-group variable of coping strategy, participants were given same-sex targets of HL (individual-competition) and KP (outgroup-derogation) in random order, i.e. with half having KP as the first student presented in the vignette followed by HL, and the other half, vice-versa. Thus, there were eight different formats of the same questionnaire for both male and female participants according to the manipulations, as illustrated in Figure 9.4 below. The questionnaires were randomly distributed within gender groups among the participants.

Table 9.4
Formats in the questionnaire

Coping strategy	Attribution of failure to lack of ability		Attribution of failure to a lack of effort	
	Gender of targets		Gender of targets	
	male	female	male	female
HL presented first				
KP presented first				

9.2.4   <u>Procedure</u>

The study was presented to the participants as an investigation of how students react to examination results. Participants responded to the questionnaire which was randomly distributed to the class in the manner described above. The study was administered by the teachers in charge of the classes. The researcher accompanied the teachers to the classes to assure the participants that the research was not carried out by the school and that all responses would be confidential. Teachers then proceeded according to instructions given by the researcher (Appendix D). Every item except for the self-report on misbehaviours on the questionnaire was read out one at a time to ensure that participants understood the questions, and also to give them the opportunity for clarification. Participants were left on their own to respond to the self-report checklist of misbehaviours to facilitate honest responses. This precaution was taken to avoid the participants being affected by the teachers' voice or facial expressions which may inadvertently be admonishing.

9.2.5   <u>Measures</u>

a) <u>Manipulation checks</u>

Participants were asked whether they perceived the results of the hypothetical students, HL and KP as poor, how they thought these students felt about the results, and how these students felt about the teacher's comments on the report books. Finally, to check whether the negative social comparison threat was effective, participants are also asked how satisfied or dissatisfied they themselves felt about their own results. These statements are rated on six-point scales (see Appendix C).

b) <u>Evaluation of coping strategies</u>

Participants indicated their preference for HL's individual-competitive or KP's group-derogation strategy by their ratings on the following four items for <u>both</u> HL and KP:

i) how much they would like HL and KP if they were to meet them,

ii) how similar they think they are to KP and HL,

iii) how likely they are to use each strategy, and

iv) how well each strategy will work.

c) <u>Self-derogation and low self-esteem</u>

The implementation of pastoral care classes in Singapore secondary schools has made direct self-esteem measures familiar to most students, as students are often asked to rate their own levels of self-esteem in many exercises on self-awareness, as well as participate in research regarding self-esteem. Therefore, for this present study, seven statements from Kaplan's (1978) self-derogation scale are used instead of the more common Rosenberg or Coopersmith scales. Also, participants are not asked to directly rate their own levels of esteem but indirectly through the targets HL and KP in the vignettes, who adopt the individual-competitive and outgroup-derogation strategies of coping with failure respectively.

A different format is used instead of a rating scale. Participants are required to connect lines from "boxes" containing statements to drawings of HL and KP's "heads" if they think the statement is relevant. No lines would be

drawn if they think statements do not describe what HL or KP are thinking or feeling. (See the Questionnaire in Appendix C).

The seven items are also translated into Mandarin to reduce the familiarity of the items as well as for clarification for students whose standard of English is less competent. Care is taken to ensure that the meanings and length of the items are as similar to the original as possible, and both the English and the Mandarin versions are incorporated into the questionnaire. The seven items are

1.   I wish I could have more respect for myself

2.   I feel I do not have much to be proud of

3.   I often feel I am a failure

4.   At times, I think I am no good at all

5.   I certainly feel useless at times

6.   I think I have many good qualities

7.   On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Self-esteem is calculated in two ways. One involves the addition of the total number of lines connecting the target for each subject. The other is calculated from the total number of lines connecting the heads of the target students for each subject, and weighted according to Kaplan's (1978) method. To distinguish between the two methods, self-esteem calculated according to Kaplan is termed self-derogation.

9.3   Results

9.3.1   Identification of delinquents

The delinquent behaviour scale of thirteen items has a reliability alpha value of .87. Intercorrelations between the thirteen items are presented   in Table 9.6. There is a reasonably high correlation among all the items, except for

four. These are between smoking and vandalism, reading pornographic material and cheating in tests and examinations, and between playing truant and reading pornographic material.

Participants are classified as delinquents and non delinquents, divided according to the median of the total thirteen misbehaviour scores. The number of participants and their gender compositions are given in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5
Composition of sample classified according to behaviour,
attribution of failure and gender

Attribution of failure	Non delinquents n= 67 (50.38%)		Delinquents n = 66 (49.62%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Lack of ability	16	16	24	9
	12.03%	12.03%	18.04%	6.78%
Lack of effort	23	12	19	14
	17.29%	9.02%	14.28%	10.52%

9.3.2   Manipulation checks

Manipulation checks on participants' perception of the results of the target students, their perception of how these target students felt about the results and how these students felt about the teacher's comments, and their own satisfaction with their results and were analyzed using SPSS.

Table 9.6: Correlations of misbehaviours

MISBEHAVIOURS	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9	D10	D11	D12	D13
D1 smoking	1.0000	.2358**	.3015**	.2214*	.2431**	.4828**	.3519**	.2197*	.1266	.2743**	.1510	.0922	.3947**
D2 losing temper shouting		1.0000	.5308**	.3326**	.2611**	.4111**	.5319**	.3272**	.3174**	.3109**	.2827**	.3771**	.2994**
D3 refusing to obey teacher's order			1.0000	.4159**	.5040**	.5354**	.6113**	.4156**	.4172**	.3620**	.3475**	.5155**	.3184**
D4 gambling				1.0000	.2462**	.4527**	.2855**	.2141*	.4950**	.2852**	.4620**	.4733**	.4384**
D5 playing truant					1.0000	.3012**	.2539**	.4868**	.2509**	.2931**	.1592	.3269**	.1860*
D6 fighting in and out of school						1.0000	.5943**	.2210*	.4113**	.4123**	.3248**	.4501**	.2999**
D7 stealing and shoplifting							1.0000	.3520**	.3578**	.2233**	.3944**	.4501**	.2982**
D8 using foul language								1.0000	.3939**	.2830**	.4546**	.5043**	.2858**
D9 vandalism									1.0000	.3325**	.4377**	.5578**	.2726**
D10 threatening others										1.0000	.2163*	.3249**	.2528**
D11 seeing "dirty" books/movies											1.0000	.4277**	.2032*
D12 cheating in tests/exams												1.0000	.2953**
D13 drinking alcohol													1.0000

* p < .05, ** p < .01

To satisfy assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances, a reflect and square root transformation was performed on participants' satisfaction with their own results, and an inverse transformation performed on participants' perception of the target students' results. A manova of the above as dependent variables, with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent), attribution of failure (lack of ability and lack of effort) and gender of participants (male and female) as the independent variables, was performed. Tests indicated that for two of the four variables, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was not satisfied (see Appendix E, Table 1).   The Boxes M test for the assumption of multivariate homogeneity of dispersion was also not met. Hence, Pillai's criterion is chosen for statistical inference because of its robustness (Tabachnik and Fidell, 1989). None of the interactions were found to be significant, but a main effect of attribution for failure was found ($F(4, 114) = 26.39$, $p = .000$. See Appendix E, Table 2).

a) <u>Participants' perception of the results of the target students</u>

Univariate F-tests revealed a significant main effect of attribution of failure ($F(1,117) = 52.44$, $p = .000$). Participants perceived the results of the target students to be less bad when the attribution of failure is to a lack of ability, than when it is attributed to a lack of effort (Means = 2.77 and 1.52 respectively, on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 indicating very bad results and 6 for results regarded as not be bad at all). This is not surprising as the teacher's comments regarding the lack of effort were worded more negatively, stating that the student had been playful, inattentive and lazy.

The overall mean is 2.13, indicating that in general, participants perceived the results of the target students to be bad, and that the manipulation of poor results has been effective.

b) Participants' perception of how bad the target students felt about their results

None of the interactions and main effects were significant for this variable. The general means for this variable is 1.77 from a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 for feeling very bad, and 6 for not bad at all, indicating that in general, the manipulation of poor results is successful.

c) Participants' perception of how the target students felt about the teacher's comments regarding the results

Univariate F-tests revealed a significant effect ($F (1, 117) = 68.12$, $p = .000$) for attribution of failure. Participants who perceive that the attribution of the poor results is to a lack of ability reported that the target students felt less negatively about the teacher's comments than those who perceive that the attribution of the poor results is to a lack of effort (means = 3.98 and 1.79 respectively, out of a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 indicating that the target students felt very bad, and 6 that they did not feel bad at all). Participants perceived the target students to feel less negatively about the teacher's comments for the attribution of failure to a lack of ability as this was worded more positively or kindly, implying that the failure was not a result of the student's poor effort.

d) Participants' own satisfaction with their results

None of the interactions and main effects were significant for this variable. The general mean obtained is 2.52, from a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 indicating that they are not satisfied at all, and 6, that they are very satisfied. Thus, in general, the manipulation of negative social comparison of academic achievement was successful.

9.3.3   Evaluation of coping strategies

The four statements measuring participants' evaluations of both the individualist-competition and the outgroup derogation strategies are fairly well correlated, as shown in Tables 9.7 and 9.8 below.

Table 9.7
Correlations of the individual-competition strategy variables

HL's individual-competition strategy	liking	similar	use	effectiveness
liking for HL	1.000	.4254**	.6830**	.5894**
similarity to HL		1.000	.5116**	. 3549**
likelihood of using HL's strategy			1.000	. 5701**
effectiveness of HL's strategy				1.0000

** p < .01

Table 9.8
Correlations of the outgroup-derogation strategy variables

KP's outgroup-derogation strategy	liking	similar	use	effectiveness
liking for KP	1.000	.3805**	.4768**	.5724**
similarity to KP		1.000	.3995**	.3401**
likelihood of using KP's strategy			1.000	.4113**
effectiveness of KP's strategy				1.000

 ** p < .01

When the four variables for evaluations of both HL and KP were subjected to two separate principal components analyses, one factor for HL and one

for KP are obtained, with eigenvalues of 2.58 and 2.29, accounting for 64.6% and 57.4% of the variances respectively. Factor loadings are presented in Tables 9.9 and 9.10.

Table 9.9
Factor loadings for evaluation of HL's individual-competition coping strategy

Individual-competition variables	Factor Loadings
likelihood of using HL's strategy	.87350
liking for HL	.85404
effectiveness of HL's strategy	.78638
similarity to HL	.68774

Table 9.10
Factor loadings for evaluation of KP's outgroup-derogation coping strategy

Outgroup-derogation variables	Factor Loadings
liking for KP	.81780
effectiveness of KP's strategy	.77682
likelihood of using KP's strategy	.75452
similarity to KP	.67554

As what is of interest is the preference for one strategy over another, i.e. the preference for the individual-competitive strategy over the outgroup-derogation strategy (or vice-versa), the difference between the evaluation of the two strategies (factors) was calculated as the dependent variable. A three-way anova was conducted with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent), attribution for failure (to lack of ability and lack of effort) and gender (male and female) as independent variables and the difference between the two factors representing HL's individual-competition and KP's outgroup-derogation strategies as the dependent variable.

As the within-group factor of evaluation of the two coping strategies has only two levels (individual-competition and outgroup-derogation), a 2x2x2 anova with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent), attribution of failure (to lack of ability and lack of effort) and gender (male and female) was conducted, with the <u>difference</u> as the dependent variable. This analysis is identical to a 2x2x2x2 anova with repeated measures of the evaluation of the two strategies (Norusis, 1992a).

Results revealed significant interactions between behaviour and attribution ($F (1, 125) = 5.69$, $p = .019$) and between behaviour and gender ($F (1, 125) = 5.49$, $p = .021$, See Appendix E, Table 3). No main effects were significant.

The interactions of behaviour and attribution of failure, and behaviour and gender are presented in Figures 9.1 and 9.2. A value of 0 represents no difference in the evaluation of the individual-competition and the outgroup-derogation strategies. A positive value indicates higher evaluation of the individual-competition strategy, and a negative value, higher evaluation of the outgroup-derogation strategy.

Thus, results showed that for delinquents, the outgroup-derogation strategy is evaluated <u>relatively</u> more highly than the individual-competition strategy when the attribution of failure is to a lack of ability rather than to a lack of effort (means = -1.15 and .15 respectively). For the non delinquents, attribution of failure to a lack of ability or a lack of effort has no significant effect (means = .53 and .47 respectively)

Also, male delinquents compared to female delinquents evaluated the outgroup-derogation strategy <u>relatively</u> higher than the individual-

competition strategy (means = -.97 and .36 respectively). There is no difference in the evaluations of the two coping strategies between male and female non delinquents (means = .55 and .42 respectively).

Mean scores for the <u>difference</u> in the evaluation of the individual-competition strategy and the outgroup-derogation strategy factors are presented in Table 9.11.

Figure 9.1
<u>Difference</u> between evaluations of the two targets' coping strategies for behaviour and attribution of failure
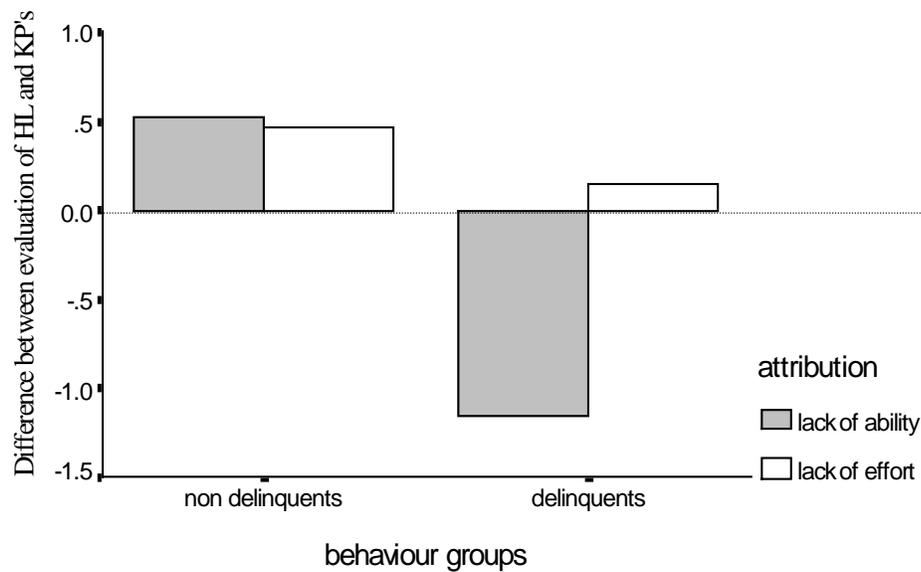
Figure 9.2

Difference between the evaluations of the two targets' coping strategies
for behaviour and gender
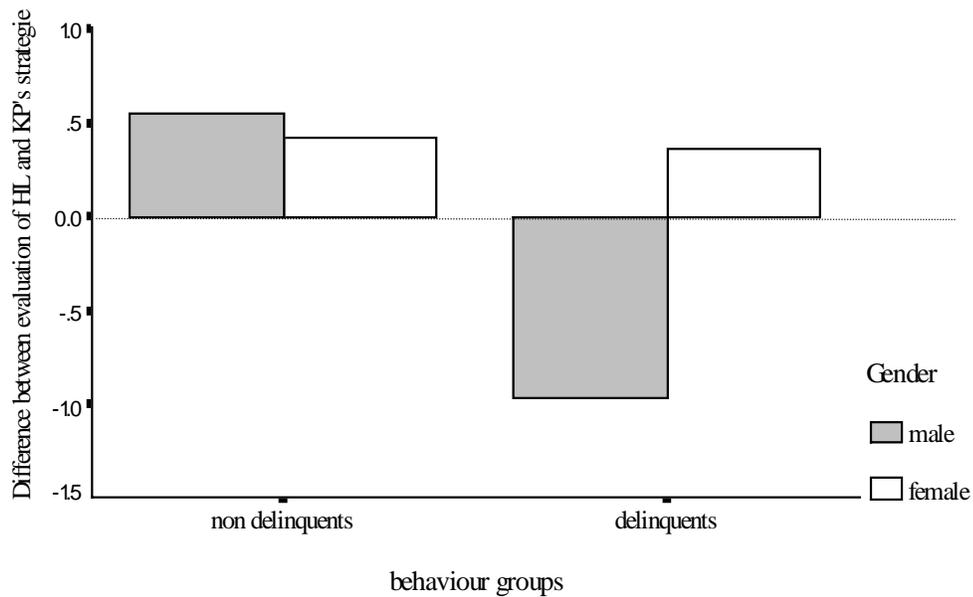
Table 9.11

Means and standard deviations of difference in evaluation of the two coping
strategies for interactions of behaviour and attribution of failure and
of behaviour and gender

		Non delinquents		Delinquents	
		Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
Attribution of	Lack of Ability	.53	1.36	-1.15	1.98
failure	Lack of Effort	.47	1.42	.15	1.46
Gender	Males	.55	1.37	-.97	1.95
	Females	.42	1.42	.36	1.28

Notes:

Analysis of simple effects:

1) Difference between attributions of failure to lack of ability and lack of
   effort for delinquents, t(64) = -3.04, p = .003
2) Difference between delinquents and non delinquents' attribution of
   failure to lack of ability, t(63) = 3.98, p = .000
3) Difference between male and female delinquents, t(64) = -2.95, p = .004
4) Difference between male delinquents and non delinquents,
   t(80) = 4.05, p = .000

Actual mean scores for the individual-competition and the outgroup-derogation coping strategies are given in Appendix E, Tables 4 and 5.

<u>Analysis of individual evaluation of coping strategies</u>

Similarly, the analyses were carried out with the four individual items that comprise the evaluation of strategies factors. The <u>difference</u> between the four within-group variables for both HL's individual-competitive and KP's outgroup-derogation strategies were calculated. These are differences between

a)   liking for HL and liking for KP,

b)   similarity to HL and similarity to KP,

c)   likelihood of using use HL's individual-competitive strategy and KP's outgroup-derogation strategy, and

d)   effectiveness of HL's individual-competitive strategy and KP's outgroup-derogation strategy.

Reflect and inverse transformations of the differences between likelihood of using HL's individual-competitive strategy and KP's outgroup-derogation strategy, and between perceived effectiveness of HL's individual-competitive strategy and KP's outgroup-derogation strategy were performed to satisfy assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances.

Homogeneity of variances tests revealed that the assumption of univariate homogeneity of variances was satisfied for all four variables (see Appendix E, Table 6). The assumption of multivariate homogeneity of variances was also satisfied. A manova of the four difference variables was

performed using SPSS, revealing a significant main effect of behaviour $(F (4, 122) = 4.25, p = .003)$ and a significant interaction of behaviour and gender $(F (4, 122) = 2.79, p = .029$. See Appendix E, Tables 7.1 and 7.2).

Results of the univariate F-tests revealed a significant main effect of behaviour for difference in similarity of participants to HL and KP and difference in liking for HL and KP. There is also a significant interaction of behaviour and gender for three of the difference variables, namely, differences between HL and KP regarding liking of HL and KP, likelihood of using the individual-competition and outgroup-derogation strategies and effectiveness of the two strategies.

These results are discussed below. A positive value indicates a higher evaluation of the individual-competition strategy and a negative value indicates a higher evaluation of the outgroup-derogation strategy. A value of 0 indicates that there is no difference between the two coping strategy variables. Ratings are on a six-point scale, with 1 indicating low agreement and 6 for high agreement (see Appendix C).

a) Liking for targets who adopt the individual-competitive strategy
   and the outgroup-derogation strategy

There is a main effect of behaviour for the difference between participants' liking of the target who adopted the individual-competition strategy and the target who adopted the outgroup-derogation strategy $(F(1,125) = 5.29, p = .023$. See Appendix E, Table 7.1). However, this main effect is qualified by a significant interaction of behaviour and gender $(F (1, 125) = 6.04, p = .015$, see Appendix E, Table 7.2). Participants

expressed an overall liking for the target who adopts the individual-competitive strategy to the target who adopts the outgroup-competition strategy. However, male delinquents show less <u>relative</u> liking for the target who adopts the individual-competitive strategy than for the target who adopts the outgroup-competition strategy compared to female delinquents (means of difference = 1.67 and 3.09 respectively). In other words, the <u>actual</u> scores of male delinquents' liking for the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy tends to be more than of non delinquents.

Male delinquents also show less <u>relative</u> liking for HL who adopted the individual-competition strategy compared to male non delinquents (means = 1.67 and 3.23 respectively). There are no significant differences regarding liking for HL between male and female non delinquents, and between female delinquents and non delinquents. Absolute means are presented in Appendix E, Table 8. The data for the interaction between behaviour and gender is shown in Table 9.12.

Table 9.12
Means and standard deviations for <u>difference</u> in liking for
the two targets for behaviour and gender

Difference in liking for the two targets	Males		Females	
	<u>Means</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Non Delinquents	3.23	1.51	2.96	1.53
Delinquents	1.67	1.96	3.09	1.78

<u>Notes:</u>
Analysis of simple effects:
1) Difference between male and female delinquents,
   t(64) = -2.88, p = .005
2) Difference between male delinquents and non delinquents
   t(80) = 3.99, p = .000

Figure 9.3 illustrates the interaction between behaviour and gender for the difference in liking between the two targets, HL and KP.

Figure 9.3
Difference in liking for the two targets for behaviour and gender
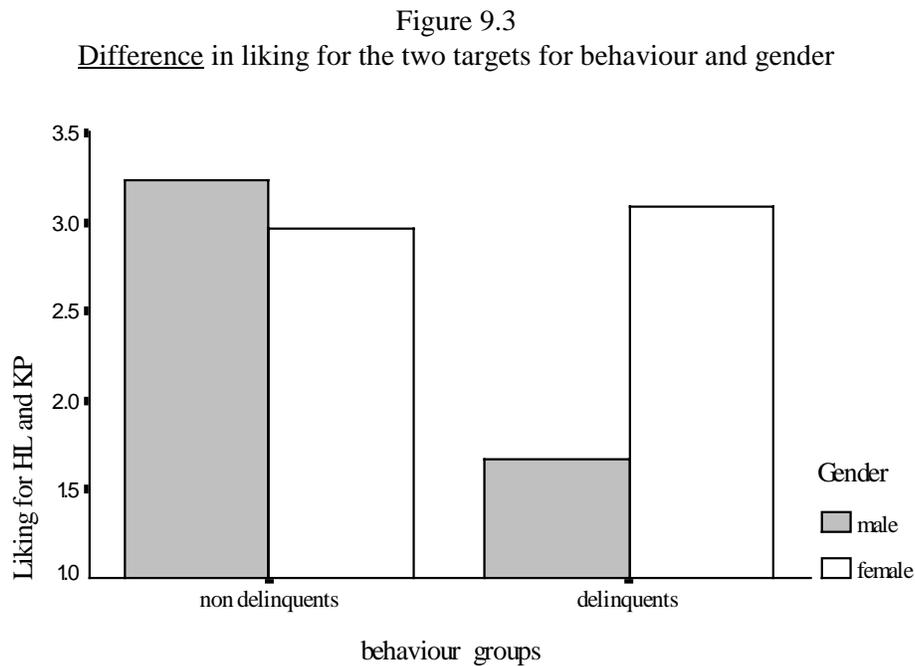
b) Perceived similarity to targets who adopt the individual-competition strategy and the outgroup-derogation strategy

There is a significant main effect of behaviour for participants' difference in perceived similarity to the targets who adopt the individual-competition strategy and the outgroup-derogation strategy (F (1, 125) = 13.39, p = .000, see Appendix E, Table 7.1). Delinquents perceived less relative similarity to HL, the target who adopted the individual-competition strategy than non delinquents (Means = 1.19 and 2.52 respectively. See Table 9.13 below). Actual mean scores are reported in Appendix E, Table 9).

Table 9.13
Means and standard deviations of <u>difference</u> scores of similarity
to targets for delinquents and non delinquents

	Delinquents		Non delinquents	
	<u>Means</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Difference between	1.19***	2.19	2.52***	1.59
similarity to the two targets				

*** p < .001

c) <u>Likelihood of using targets' individual-competition and</u>

   <u>outgroup-derogation strategies</u>

There is a significant interaction between behaviour and gender
$(F(1, 125) = 6.71, p = .001$, see Appendix E, Table 7.2). Male delinquents
compared to female delinquents are <u>relatively</u> less likely to use HL's
individual-competition strategy (Means = 2.07 and 3.52 respectively). They
are also <u>relatively</u> less likely to use HL' s strategy compared to male non
delinquents (2.07 and 3.31 respectively). Differences between female
delinquents and non delinquents and between male and female non
delinquents are non significant (see Table 9.14). Actual mean scores are
presented in Appendix E, Table 10.

Table 9.14
Means and standard deviations of <u>difference</u> in likelihood of using the targets'
strategies for delinquents and non delinquents

	Males		Females	
	<u>Means</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Non delinquents	3.31	1.75	2.82	1.91
Delinquents	2.07	2.09	3.52	1.73

<u>Notes</u>
Analysis of simple effects:
 1) Difference between male and female delinquents
    $t(64) = -2.84, p = .004$
 2) Difference between male delinquents and non delinquents
    $t(80) = 2.89, p = .005$

The interaction is illustrated in Figure 9.4 below.

Figure 9.4
<u>Difference</u> in likelihood of using the targets' coping strategies
for behaviour and gender
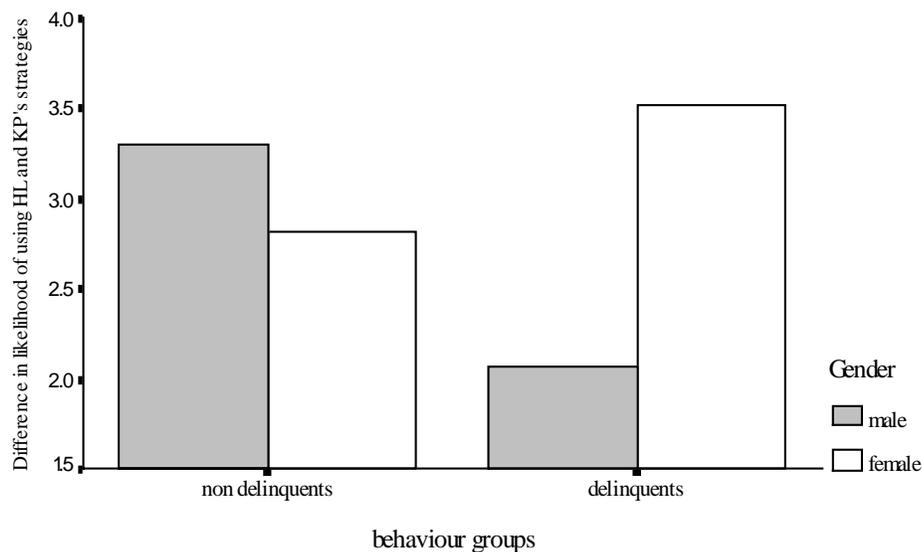
d) <u>Effectiveness of individual-competition and outgroup-derogation coping strategies</u>

There is a significant interaction between behaviour and gender $(F (1, 125) = 5.05, p = .026$, see Appendix E, Table 7.2). Table 9.15 shows the data for the behaviour-gender interaction. Male delinquents compared to female delinquents and male non delinquents, perceive the individual-competitive strategy to be <u>relatively</u> less effective than the outgroup-derogation strategy (Means = 2.34 and 3.91 respectively, and 2.34 and 3.79 respectively). Female delinquents and female non delinquents do not differ in their perception of effectiveness of the individual-competition strategy (Means = 3.91 and 3.79 respectively). Neither did male and female non

delinquents (Means = 3.79 for both). Actual mean scores are presented in

Table 11 in Appendix E.

Table 9.15
Means and standard deviations for <u>difference </u>in effectiveness of
the individual-competition and outgroup-derogation strategies

	Males		Females	
	<u>Means</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Delinquents	2.34	2.43	3.91	1.44
Non Delinquents	3.79	1.52	3.79	1.34

<u>Notes</u>

Analysis of simple effects:

1) Difference between male and female delinquents,
   t(64) = -2.83, p = .002
2) Difference between male delinquents and non delinquents,
   t(80) = 3.19 p = .002

Figure 9.5 illustrates the interaction between behaviour and gender.

Figure 9.5
<u>Difference</u> in perceived effectiveness of the two coping strategies
for behaviour and gender

behaviour groups
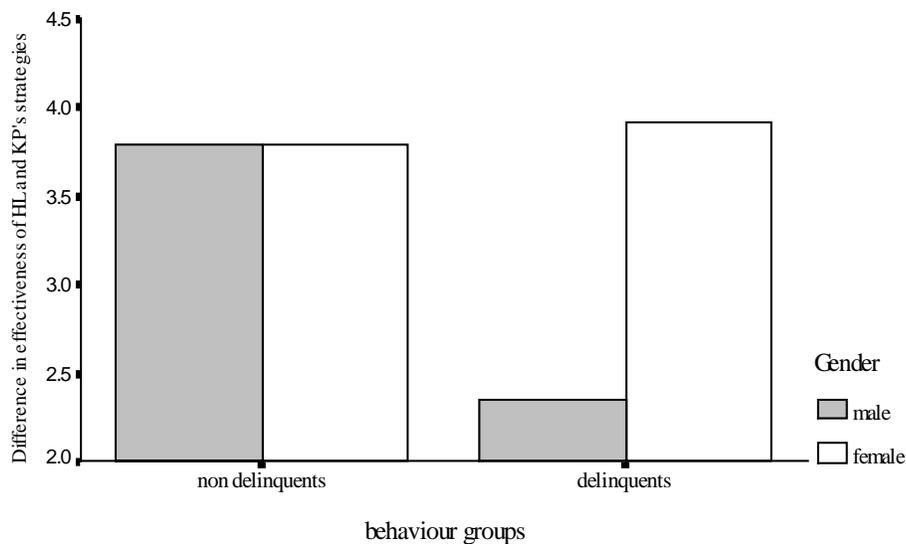
9.3.4   <u>Self-derogation</u>

Self-derogation for both the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy, and the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy was calculated according to Kaplan's (1978) method of weightage of the seven items, which have a minimum value of 10 and a maximum of 100.

A three-way anova was conducted with the <u>difference</u> of self-derogation scores between the two targets as the dependent variable, and behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent), attribution of failure (lack of ability and lack of effort) and and gender of participants (male and female) as independent variables. As there are only two levels of self-derogation, this analysis is identical to a 2x2x2 anova with self-derogation of of the two targets as the within-group variable (Norusis, 1992a). Results of the three-way anova did not reveal any interactions or main effects.

However, to test the hypothesis more effectively, the analysis is repeated with strategy preference (for the individual-competition strategy and for the outgroup-derogation strategy) as an additional factor, such that a four-way anova was conducted with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent), attribution of failure (lack of ability and lack of effort), gender of participants (male and female) as well as strategy preference for the individual-competition or outgroup-derogation strategies as independent variables. Strategy preference for both the targets, HL and KP was calculated from the <u>difference</u> between the factor scores of evaluation of the two strategies, with scores above the zero (the mean) as indicative of a

preference for the individual-competition strategy, and scores below the mean as indicative of a preference for the outgroup-derogation strategy.

Results of the anova revealed a significant three-way interaction of behaviour, attribution of failure and strategy preference (F (1,114) = 5.34, p = .023. See Appendix E, Table 12). A two-way anova with the non delinquent sample did not produce any significant effects. The significant interaction of attribution of failure and strategy preference was found only among the delinquent sample (F (1, 65) = 7.94, p = .006. See Appendix E, Table 13). Means and standard deviations for this analysis are presented in Table 9.16. A small value thus indicates that there is little difference in perceived self-derogation between subjects in the two strategy conditions, while a large difference in the positive direction indicates that the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy has a higher self-derogation score compared to the target with the outgroup-derogation strategy. In other words, a large positive difference indicates that the target with the outgroup-derogation strategy has lower self-derogation scores compared to the one who adopts the individual-competition strategy.

Thus, results revealed that among delinquents for whom failure was attributed to a <u>lack of effort</u>, those who showed a preference for the outgroup-derogation strategy perceive the target with the outgroup-derogation strategy to have lower self-derogation, compared to those who showed a preference for the individual-competition strategy (means = 25.71 and 1.57 respectively).

Also, among delinquents who showed a preference for the individual-competition strategy, those who attributed failure to a <u>lack of</u>

ability perceived the target with the outgroup-derogation strategy to have

lower self-derogation scores than the target who attributed failure to a lack

of effort (means = 27.50 and 1.57 respectively).

Table 9.16
Means and standard deviations for difference in perceived self-derogation
of the two targets for behaviour, attribution of failure and strategy preference

Attribution of failure	Non delinquents				Delinquents			
	Preference for the individual-competition strategy		Preference for the outgroup-derogation strategy		Preference for the individual-competition strategy		Preference for the outgroup-derogation strategy	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
Lack of ability	1.05	26.01	5.00	26.79	27.50	21.88	12.40	27.58
Lack of effort	14.50	24.38	5.38	21.45	1.57	26.93	25.71	23.11

Notes
a) Analysis of simple effects:
    1) Difference between attribution of failure to lack of ability and lack of effort for delinquents in the preference of individual-competition strategy condition, t(27) = 2.25, p = .033
    2) Difference between preference for individual-competition strategy and outgroup-derogation strategy for delinquents in the attribution to lack of effort condition, t(31) = -2.70, p = .011
b) Scores range from - 40 to +60, according to Kaplan's (1978) method of calculating self-derogation

Actual mean scores for this analysis is presented in Appendix E,

Table 14. Figure 9.6 illustrates the interaction of attribution of failure and

strategy preference of the delinquent sample for the difference in perceived

self-derogation.

Figure 9.6
Difference in the two targets' self-derogation for
attribution of failure and strategy preference
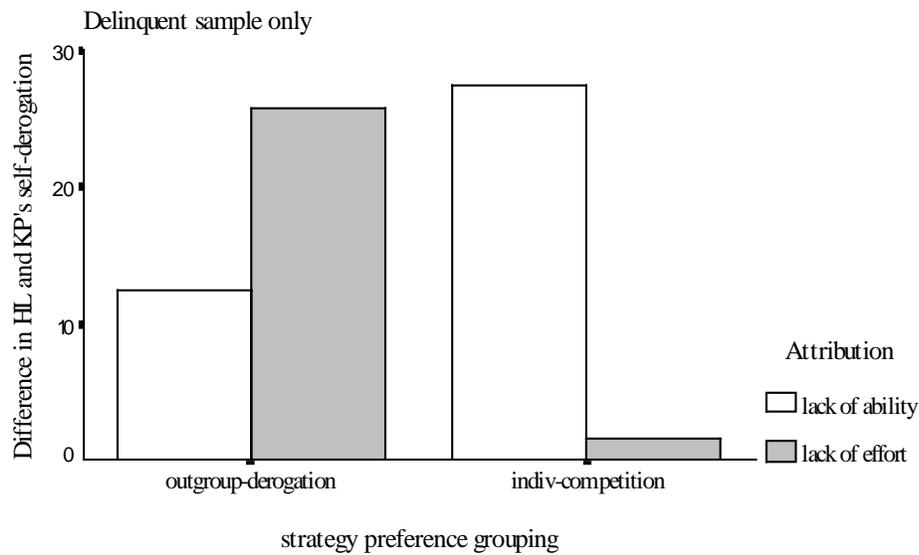
9.3.5 Low self-esteem

The low-self-esteem scale comprises the <u>total</u> score of the items for both the target students who adopt the two coping strategies. As for self-derogation, the <u>difference</u> between the low esteem scores of the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy and the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy is calculated and taken as the low self-esteem variable.

Correlations of the low self-esteem items for the two targets are presented in Tables 9.17 and 9.18.

Table 9.17

Correlations between items on the low self-esteem scale of the target who adopts
the individual-competition strategy

	failure	no good	not proud	no respect	useless	good qualities	self-satisfied
failure	1.000	.5389**	.0238	-.1530	.3420**	.2778**	.3420**
no good		1.000	.1568	-.0708	.2255**	.3907**	.4322**
not proud			1.000	-.0122	.1033	.2355**	.3129**
no respect				1.000	-.1756*	-.0247	.0046
useless					1.000	.3335**	.4475**
good qualities						1.000	.4078**
self-satisfied							1.000

Table 9.18

Correlations between items on the low self-esteem scale of the target who adopts
the outgroup-derogation scale

	failure	no good	not proud	no respect	useless	good qualities	self-satisfied
failure	1.000	.4775**	.2172*	-.2159*	.3999**	.5540**	.2601**
no good		1.000	.2451**	-.0650	.4895**	.5514**	.4070**
not proud			1.000	-.1084	.3519**	.3519**	.2259**
no respect				1.000	-.2046*	-.0749	.0094
useless					1.000	.5038**	.4626**
good qualities						1.000	.4861**
self-satisfied							1.000

For the self-esteem scale of the target who adopts the individual-competition, two items, namely "I wish I could have more respect for myself (abbreviated as "no respect") and "I feel I do not have much to be proud of" (abbreviated as "not proud") did not correlate well with the others. For the self-esteem scale of the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation scale, these same two items "I wish I could have more respect for myself (abbreviated as "no respect") and "I feel I do not have much to be proud of" (abbreviated as "not proud") did not correlated well with the other items on the scale.

Reliability analysis of the two scales did not produce satisfactory alpha values, which are .65 for the low self-esteem of the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy and .71 for the low self-esteem of the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy.

A factor analysis was thus carried out with the two low self-esteem scales. For the, low self-esteem scale of the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy, the analysis yielded two factors, one comprising the "no respect" and the "not proud" items, and the other, comprising the rest of the five items. For the the low self-esteem scale of the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy, the factor analysis also yielded two factors, one of which is the "no respect" item, and the other, the rest of the six items. Thus, for reasons of consistency or uniformity, both the "no respect" and the "not proud" items were left out of both targets' low self-esteem scales.

Another principal components analysis was performed on the remaining five items on both the targets, HL and KP self-derogation scales,

which yielded one factor each for HL and KP, with eigenvalues of 2.50 and 2.84, accounting for 50% and 57.3% of the variance respectively. See Tables 9.19 and 9.20.

Table 9.19

Factor analysis of low self-esteem of target with individual-competition strategy

Low self-esteem of target with individual-competition strategy	Factor loadings
On the whole I am satisfied with myself (reversed scoring)	.75271
At times, I think I am no good at all	.74479
I often feel I am a failure	.71121
I think I have many good qualities (reversed scoring)	.67388
I certainly feel useless at times	.64802

Table 9.20

Factor analysis of low self-esteem of target with outgroup-derogation strategy

Low self-esteem of target with outgroup-derogation strategy	Factor loadings
I think I have many good qualities (reversed scoring)	.83521
At times, I think I am no good at all	.78574
I certainly feel useless at times	.76129
I often feel I am a failure	.71460
On the whole I am satisfied with myself (reversed scoring)	.67783

The five items on both the targets' low self-esteem scales are then added as measures of the two targets' low self-esteem. The difference between these scores is then calculated, and a three-way anova, performed on this low self-esteem difference between the two targets as the dependent variable, with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent), gender of participants (male and female) and attribution of failure (lack of ability and lack of effort) as the independent variables. The analysis showed no

significant main effects or interactions. Neither was there any significant interactions or main effects when the analysis included strategy preference (the individual-competition strategy and the outgroup-derogation strategy).

When a paired t-test was conducted with low self-esteem of the two targets with the <u>whole sample</u>, results revealed a significant difference between the two scores (t (130) = 3.09, p = .002), with the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy having higher levels of low self-esteem than the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy (means = 2.84 and 2.00 respectively). In other words, <u>both</u> delinquent and non delinquent participants perceived that the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy has lower self-esteem than the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy.

9.4   <u>Summary of findings and discussion</u>

One of the aims of this study is to test the hypothesis that delinquents who perceive little prospect of enhancing their low academic status because of their lack of ability, would prefer to cope with negative social comparison by using the group strategy of derogation of the more successful outgroup rather than an individual strategy of competition. The results of this study support this hypothesis.

When faced with negative social comparison in the form of poor academic results, there is an overall preference for the individual-competitive strategy, but delinquents, compared to non delinquents, showed <u>relatively</u> higher evaluation of the outgroup-derogation strategy than of the individual-competitive one when attribution of failure was to a

lack of ability rather than a lack of effort. Hence, the first hypothesis is supported.

There is a possibility of an alternative explanation for the above findings, that participants indicated their preference as a result of matching attribution of failure to the coping strategies. The attribution of failure to a lack of effort may have suggested that participants with this attribution should prefer the coping strategy that favoured another attempt at studying for the examinations (i.e. the individual-competition strategy). Similarly, participants with the attribution of failure to a lack of ability may have perceived that they should opt for the strategy that indicated this lack of ability to study (i.e. the outgroup-derogation strategy). In other words, there is a possible confound of attribution of failure and coping strategies. However, if this had been the case, there would be a difference of evaluation for the two strategies with the <u>non delinquent</u> participants as well as the delinquent participants.

Results showed that non delinquent participants, who are also presented with the same vignettes, showed no difference in their evaluation of the coping strategies. Delinquent participants whose attribution of failure is to the lack of effort do not differ from the non delinquent participants in their preference of coping strategies. It is only the delinquents with the attribution of failure to a lack of ability who showed <u>relative</u> preference for the outgroup-derogation strategy.

Another finding is that the male delinquents compared to female delinquents are more likely to favour the outgroup-derogation strategy.

This is consistent with the literature that more males than females tend to be involved in delinquent behaviours.

This gender difference between male and female delinquents is also evident when the variables are considered separately. In summary, male delinquents compared to female delinquents, like the target who adopts the individual-competitive strategy relatively less than the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy. Male delinquents also perceive themselves to be relatively less similar to the former target, are also relatively less likely to use the individual-competition strategy and perceive this strategy to be relatively less effective than the outgroup-derogation strategy. The finding regarding lesser similarity to the target with the individual-competition strategy than to the target with the outgroup-derogation strategy suggest that male delinquents tend to identify more with the latter than with the former.

It needs to be stressed that among delinquents themselves, there is evidence pointing to the fact that they do not reject the individual-competitive strategy, but in fact prefer it to the outgroup derogation strategy. However, when comparisons are made with non delinquents, delinquents in general tend to evaluate the outgroup-derogation strategy more favourably. This finding lend support to Sykes and Matza's (1957) theory of delinquency (discussed in Chapter Two) that delinquents do not reject conventional norms altogether. However, findings here suggest that they subscribe less to such norms when compared to non delinquents.

The second hypothesis of the study predicts that self-derogation levels of delinquents with preference for the outgroup-derogation strategy

would be lower compared to non delinquents and to those with a higher preference for the individual-competitive strategy. However, this prediction was only partially supported, as findings did not match those of the preference for the coping strategies.

When failure is attributed to <u>effort,</u> delinquents who showed a higher preference for the outgroup-derogation strategy perceive the self-derogation levels of the target who adopts this strategy to be lower than that of the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy, compared to delinquents who favoured the individual-competition strategy. This is not surprising because when attribution of failure is to the lack of effort, it suggests the possibility of academic success through hard work. Moreover, the outgroup-derogation strategy has the added advantage of the group's consensus and social identity. Hence, when there is a benefit of both a group strategy which has the function of protecting self-esteem, and a possibility of success through effort, self-derogation is perceived to be lower.

The perceived self-derogation of the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy when attribution is to a lack of ability is not as low as predicted. This may be due to the possibility that the delinquents who have a preference for this strategy did not have the opportunity to express this in terms of behaviour.

Among delinquents who preferred the individual-competition strategy, the self-derogation of the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy is perceived to be lower than that of the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy when the attribution of failure is

to a lack of ability. In other words, these delinquents perceived higher levels of self-derogation for the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy compared to the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy, <u>despite the fact</u> that they favoured the individual-competition strategy. The individual-competition strategy is based on individual ability, and when failure is attributed to a lack of ability, the self-derogation of those who preferred this strategy tends to be higher because it offers evidence that the strategy is less effective. Hence, the self-derogation of the target who adopts the outgroup-derogation strategy is relatively lower.

In summary, the study presented in this chapter provides evidence that when faced with negative social comparison in terms of academic failure, delinquents show a <u>relative</u> preference for a coping strategy that involves the derogation of the more successful others by members of a group. This outgroup-derogation strategy, which serves the function of protecting self-esteem, is preferred to one that is individualistic and competitive in nature, when the attribution of failure is to a lack of ability rather than a lack of effort. Both delinquents who show a preference for the outgroup-derogation strategy as well as the individual-competitive one, perceive that those who use the former to cope with failure suffer from lower levels of self-derogation. In fact, when self-esteem is measured from the total of the seven items in the scale instead of self-derogation which is computed according to Kaplan's (1978) method, both delinquents and non delinquents perceive the self-esteem of the target who adopts the outgroup-

derogation strategy to be higher compared to that of the target who adopts the individual-competition strategy.

There is therefore sufficient reason in pointing to outgroup derogation as a <u>group</u> response to a negative identity that has its roots in negative social comparison, in particular, that which involves academic achievement. Derogation of the outgroup involves a negative evaluation of norms and values of the outgroup. The next chapter provides evidence to show that delinquents not only differ from non delinquents in terms of conventional norms and values, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, but in fact <u>reverse</u> these norms.

CHAPTER TEN

THE REVERSAL OF CONVENTIONAL NORMS

10.1   Rationale

According to Cohen's (1955) subcultural theory of delinquency, delinquents tend to reverse conventional norms. In his theory, Cohen argues that delinquents, who are mainly from the working-class, react against middle-class values such as respect for property and educational attainment, and through the psychoanalytic defense mechanism of reaction formation, adopt instead the opposite values. This is manifested through such behaviours as vandalism, theft and a lack of interest in academic studies. The findings presented in Chapter Eight provided some initial support for Cohen's theory, showing that delinquents do endorse unconventional values to a greater extent than non delinquents, and that non delinquents endorse conventional values to a greater extent than delinquents.

Although Cohen's theory makes an attempt to combine the sociological variable of class with a psychological explanation, he does not elaborate further to explain the processes that lead to a reversal of conventional values by the delinquent peer group. The findings of social comparison research (discussed in Chapter Three) can be applied to offer another reason for delinquents not adopting conventional values, that delinquents who cannot reach what Cohen terms middle-class aspirations, react by reducing the relevance of these aspirations and derogating others who have attained them. Social comparison research implies that the coping

strategy of reducing the relevance of the dimension of comparison (in particular, that of academic achievement) and derogation of rivals lead to the reversal of the norms held by these rivals. However, the role of the delinquent peer group remains unclarified.

The model of delinquency presented by this thesis, based on social identity and self-categorization theories, elaborates this process of relevance reduction and derogation and incorporates the role of the delinquent peer group or social identity. In other words, the derogation of others necessitates the involvement of the delinquent peer group from which the delinquent social identity is derived. Hence, delinquents would cope with failure not just by a reduction of relevance and derogation of rivals but by the derogation of others who are perceived as the outgroup, and this perception is validated by ingroup members. The study presented in Chapter Nine has shown that in the face of negative social comparisons, delinquents who perceive failure to be caused by a lack of ability rather than a lack of effort tend to show a relative preference for the outgroup-derogation strategy of coping compared to the individual-competition strategy, which is preferred by non delinquents.

A reduction of relevance is taken one step further to involve the reversal of norms, such that what was considered "good" does not becomes irrelevant or unimportant and hence, "neutral", but is considered "bad". Through such a process, the delinquent social identity, like other social identities, offers its members a sense of positive distinctiveness from which their self-esteem is derived. That delinquents tend to suffer from a negative identity because of academic failure and other

negative experiences in the school, as well as in the family has been discussed in Chapter Two. Hence, they do not have many attributes that are positive in the conventional sense. Through membership in a delinquent peer group, delinquents identify with similar others, and this identification facilitates social influence processes which lead to the derogation of the conventional norms and values, at the same time enhancing the self-esteem of its members. The reversal of these conventional norms and values is the product of this outgroup-derogation, and this in turn rewards the delinquent group with a sense of positive distinctiveness. What makes the delinquent group distinctive is its very negative attributes of academic failure and defiance of authority. The redefinition of these attributes as desirable, made possible only by delinquent group membership, gives them a positive value. The main aim of the study presented in this chapter is to find a more detailed empirical verification of this reversal of conventional norms by delinquents than that of the study presented in Chapter Eight.

Identification with similar others plays an important role in the development of the delinquent social identity, as discussed in Chapter Five. Based on self-categorization theory's principle of metacontrast, delinquents would perceive themselves more similar to delinquent others than to others who are not delinquent. This perception results in the categorization of students in the school into the two groups of delinquent and non delinquent, and facilitates the development of the delinquent social identity. Hence, delinquents can be expected to show greater identification with those involved in delinquent acts than other peer groups in the school. Also, delinquents can be expected to show greater identification with similar

others compared to non delinquents. Another important aim of this study is to demonstrate the identification of the delinquents with the delinquent group or a gang, compared to other peer groups and compared with non delinquents.

The literature on peer rejection (Chapter Three) suggests that delinquents are socially rejected. Also, it has been argued that the delinquents' experience of the school is a negative one (Chapter Two). Thus, it can be expected that delinquents would participate less in the activities organized by the school, such as the extracurricular activities compared to the non delinquents, and that those who do would also be less happy. Another aim of this study is to investigate this prediction.

The hypotheses of the study can thus be presented as follows:

1)   Delinquents would show negative evaluations of conventional norms and values , which are positively evaluated by non delinquents, but would show positive evaluations of non conventional norms which are negatively evaluated by non delinquents,

2)   delinquents would show greater identification with groups that demonstrate deviant behaviours compared to non delinquents, who will show greater identification with non deviant groups, and

3)   delinquents compared to non delinquents, would be less likely to participate in the activities organized by the school, but more likely to participate in social activities outside the school.

10.2   Method

The independent variable in this study is behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent). As in the previous study, delinquents and non delinquents are identified based on their self-report on the thirteen-item misbehaviour scale. Those who scored above the median on the total of the thirteen items are classified as "delinquents" and those below the median as "non delinquents".

Dependent variables are the norms and values considered as "good" or "bad", identification with groups in the school, and frequency of participation in school or non-school activities.

10.2.1 Measures

    a) Norms and values

As the study was to be conducted in Singapore schools, a group of nine Singaporean students identified adjectives describing what they perceived to be common conventional and non conventional norms and values of secondary school students in Singapore. The list of adjectives was obtained from a previous unpublished study conducted among high school students in Canberra. Eight items from the list were chosen and rephrased to facilitate better understanding of their meanings by the Singaporean school sample. Seven other items were added to make a total of fifteen adjectival phrases (See Appendix F). Moreover, these items were translated into simple Mandarin. Six of these items were positively phrased, five were negatively phrased and the remaining four were considered neutral. Hence, participants would not be asked to evaluate a totally negative or totally positive list

of items. (See Appendix G for the questionnaire). Participants were told to choose

five of the adjectival phrases that they thought best described each of four social

groups in the school, namely

a) the prefects,

b) those who frequently have to be detained after school as punishment,

c) those who belong to gangs and

d) the "Kiasus"[1].

In order to keep the number of responses by the participants to a minimum, only

these four peer or social groups in the school are selected. Participants then indicate

whether they thought these attributes chosen are "good" or "bad" for each of the

four the groups.

b) Identification

Identification with the above four groups is measured by the following five

items:

1)   whether participants believe people in general think highly of these

         groups,

2)   whether participants themselves personally think highly of these groups,

3)   how much they like these groups,

4)   how well they would fit into these groups, and

---

[1] "Kiasu" means over anxious and highly competitive. "Kiasus" are thus a group
    of students who are very studious and anxious to succeed. They are the
    Singaporean equivalent of "Nerds" or "Squares".

5)   whether they perceive it easy or hard for members of these groups to accept

them should they want to join them.

Participants responded to these questions on six-point rating scales (see Appendix

G).

        c) Participation in school and other social activities

        Participants indicated whether they are members of a list of ten social

groups or social identities that are common in the school. These included their class

membership, whether they are prefects, "Kiasus", or students who frequently have to

be detained after school in the detention class, or members of a gang, as well as

groups based on their extracurricular activities, and social activities which do not

involve the gang (see Appendix G). Participants were also asked to provide a short

description of the distinctive characteristics of these groups.

10.2.2 Participants

        Participants comprise a total of 339 students from Secondary 2 Normal

Academic and Technical streams from five secondary schools in Singapore. As

explained in Chapter Eight, students from the Normal stream are those who will

complete their secondary education in five years instead of four, as contrasted to

students in the Express stream. In other words, they are perceived by the educational

system of the school to be academically less able. Participants are chosen from the

Normal stream because, as found in the first study (Chapter Eight), there are more

delinquents in this stream than from the Express stream.

10.2.3 <u>Procedure</u>

The study was presented to the participants as research on adolescent peer groups. The questionnaire was administered by the teachers in charge of the classes with specific instructions from the researcher (Appendix H). Participants were assured by the researcher that their responses are strictly confidential, that no one except the researcher will see their responses, and that the study was not in any way conducted in association with the school.

Pains were taken to explain to the participants the meaning of the social group or social identity, that members of groups are not necessarily friends but groups of people with a certain name or label, sharing similar interests or activities. Their class itself is given as such an example. Teachers then read out the items one at a time except for the self-report measures of misbehaviours, pausing to allow students to complete their responses, as well as to give them opportunity to seek clarification. As in the previous studies, participants were left on their own to respond to the self-report measures of misbehaviours so as to facilitate their honest responses.

For the section on participants' description of the four social groups, the teachers' instructions were supplemented by an illustration on an overhead transparency with an unrelated group of preschool children as the example, to avoid influencing the participants' responses in any way. Participants were told to choose only five of the attributes that best describe each of the four groups, namely the prefects, the "kiasus", gang members, and members of the detention class, and to

indicate whether they think these five items are good or bad qualities by drawing a circle around "good" or "bad" next to each item.

10.3   Results

The misbehaviour scale comprising the total of thirteen items has a satisfactory reliability alpha value of .84. Intercorrelations between all the items are acceptably high as seen in Table 10.1. A principal component analysis of the thirteen items did not yield one factor but two. However, based on the high intercorrelations and satisfactory alpha value, the thirteen items are added to form the misbehaviour scale. Participants were divided into delinquents and non delinquents based on the median of their total score.

10.3.1 Reversal of conventional norms

Chi-square measures reveal significant differences between the responses of delinquents and non-delinquents. In many cases,   the delinquents and non delinquents assigned the opposite values to the same attributes of the four groups, confirming the hypothesis that there is a reversal of norms among the delinquents. The total number of participants who described the groups in terms of the attributes of each of the four social groups is presented in the Table 10.2.

Table 10.1: Correlations of misbehaviours

MISBEHAVIOURS	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9	D10	D11	D12	D13
D1 smoking	1.0000	.3876**	.2755**	.2701**	.5786**	.4207**	.2945**	.4515**	.3245**	.3922**	.4828**	.4975**	.5419**
D2 losing temper shouting		1.0000	.3743**	.1681**	.3151**	.2951**	.2472**	.4101**	.2655**	.2705**	.3345**	.2873**	.2845**
D3 refusing to obey teacher's order			1.0000	.1462**	.2685**	.2081**	.2188**	.2216**	.2042**	.2016**	.2324**	.2564**	.2766**
D4 gambling				1.0000	.2430**	.2916**	.2714**	.2716**	.1955**	.2701**	.1442**	.2836**	.3166*
D5 playing truant					1.0000	.5364**	.4386**	.4604**	.4265**	.4361**	.5230**	.4858**	.4677**
D6 fighting in and out of school						1.0000	.4517**	.4079**	.4633**	.5209**	.5264**	.3642**	.3802**
D7 stealing and shoplifting							1.0000	.3717**	.4486**	.3571**	.5224**	.4144**	.2719**
D8 using foul language								1.0000	.5304**	.4292**	.5274**	.4882**	.4174**
D9 vandalism									1.0000	.4718**	.4244**	.4854**	.3540**
D10 threatening others										1.0000	.4618**	.3822**	.3565**
D11 seeing "dirty" books/movies											1.0000	.5341**	.4308**
D12 cheating in tests/exams												1.0000	.4572**
D13 drinking alcohol													1.0000

** p < .01

Table 10.2
Number of participants who chose the attributes for gang members,
members of the detention class, "kiasus" and prefects

Attributes of groups	Number of participants choosing the characteristics for each group (N = 338)			
	Gang	Detention class	"Kiasus"	Prefects
always like to have fun	227	221	145	103
ready to fight	199	116	47	36
hate to do homework	194	233	81	63
get angry easily	171	128	51	68
enjoy making noise	149	182	66	40
care a lot about fashion	116	79	79	45
make friends easily	105	86	158	185
like to talk about other people	95	81	61	76
don't worry about the future	95	119	46	20
like to study most of the time	48	62	206	208
always obey rules	36	71	162	227
always very polite	21	30	160	203
enjoy doing things together	56	52	156	120
like to please teachers	10	26	110	146
get scared easily	16	25	78	38

Gangs are perceived to be always liking fun, being ready to fight, hating to do homework, getting angry easily and enjoying making noise. Students who are frequently detained after school (detention class members) share these attributes, and are also perceived to be unworried or unconcerned about their future.

"Kiasus" and prefects are perceived to like studying, to make friends easily, to be always obeying the rules, are always polite, and to enjoy doing things together. Both are also perceived to like pleasing teachers.

<u>Attributes of Gang members</u>

Table 10.3 gives the percentages that have significant chi-squares of delinquents and non delinquents who evaluate the attributes of gang members.

Table10.3
Percentages of Delinquents and Non delinquents
who perceive attributes of the <u>gang</u> as "good or "bad"

Attributes of the gang	Percentage of participants who assigned positive and negative values ("good" and "bad") to the attributes				
	"good"		"bad"		
	% Non delinquents	% Delinquents	% Non delinquents	% Delinquents	$\chi2(1)$
get angry easily	14.3	41.9	85.7	58.1	15.90***
ready to fight	17.8	51.5	82.2	48.5	23.71***
always like to have fun	47.5	80.9	52.5	19.1	25.77***
hate to do homework	12.3	40.0	87.7	60.0	19.56***
care a lot about fashion	52.8	81.0	47.2	19.0	10.48**
don't worry about the future	6.1	32.6	93.9	67.4	10.84***
enjoy making noise	23.2	50.0	76.8	50.0	11.38***
like talking about others	16.4	35.9	83.6	64.1	4.71***

** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

Hence, more delinquents compared to non delinquents perceive these attributes of the gang of getting angry easily, being ready to fight, caring a lot about fashion, always liking to have fun, not worrying about the future, hating to do homework, enjoying making noise and talking about people as "good", whereas more of the non delinquents perceive these attributes as "bad".

A closer analysis comparing the percentages of what has been evaluated as "good" or "bad" for gang members of <u>only the delinquents</u>

shows that many delinquents do not totally reject these norms and values.

A lower percentage of them endorse these norms <u>only when compared with</u>

<u>non delinquents</u>. It is important to note that more than   50% of the

<u>delinquents themselves</u> evaluated the attributes of getting angry easily

(58.1%), hating to do homework (60.0%), not worrying about the future

(67.4%) and talking about others (64.15) as "bad", although more non

delinquents than delinquents consider them as "bad". However, clear

reversals can be seen for liking to have fun and caring a lot about fashion,

with more than   80% of delinquents   themselves evaluating them as

"good".

<u>Attributes of detention class members</u>

Table 10.4 gives the percentages that have significant chi-squares of

delinquents and non delinquents who evaluate the attributes of detention

class members.

Table 10.4
Percentages of delinquents and non delinquents who perceive
attributes of the <u>detention class members</u> as "good" or "bad"

Attributes of the detention class members	Percentage of participants who assigned positive and negative values ("good" and "bad") to the attributes				
	"good"		"bad"		$\chi 2$
	% Non delinquents	% Delinquents	% Non delinquents	% Delinquents	
being ready to fight	13.3	33.8	86.7	66.2	5.96*
caring a lot about fashion	41.1	70.8	56.8	29.2	6.53*
always liking to have fun	41.1	66.1	58.9	33.9	13.50***

 * p < .05
*** p < .001

Likewise, for attributes of members of the detention class, more

delinquents compared to the non delinquents perceive attributes of being

ready to fight, caring a lot about fashion and always liking to have fun to be

"good" whereas more non delinquents perceive them as "bad". When the

percentages of the delinquents are examined without comparison to the non

delinquents, more than 50% of the delinquents themselves evaluated the

attributes of being ready to fight as "bad" (66.2%).

Attributes of prefects

Table 10.5 gives the percentages that have significant chi-squares of

delinquents and non delinquents who evaluate the attributes of prefects.

Table 10.5
Percentages of delinquents and don delinquents who perceive
attributes of the prefects as "good" or "bad"

Attributes of the prefects	Percentage of participants who assigned positive and negative values ("good" and "bad") to the attributes				
	"good"		"bad"		χ^2
	% Non delinquents	% Delinquents	% Non delinquents	% Delinquents	
enjoy making noise	11.1	45.5	88.9	54.4	5.56*
always being polite	99.1	93.7	0.9	6.3	4.30*
liking to study most of the time	92.9	83.8	7.1	16.2	4.08*

* $p < .05$

With regard to prefects, a higher percentage of delinquents compared to

non delinquents evaluated the attribute of enjoying making of noise as

"good", but evaluated the attributes of being polite and liking studies as

"bad". However, for these two attributes, more than 50% of delinquents

themselves evaluated these as "good" (93.7% and 83.8% respectively).

Attributes of "Kiasus"

Table 10.6 gives the percentages that have significant chi-squares of delinquents and non delinquents who evaluate the attributes of the "kiasus".

Table 10.6
Percentages of delinquents and non delinquents who perceive
attributes of the "Kiasus" as "good" or "bad"

Attributes of the "kiasus"	Percentage of participants who assigned positive and negative values ("good" and "bad") to the attributes				
	"good"		"bad"		
	% Non delinquents	% Delinquents	% Non delinquents	% Delinquents	χ^2
getting angry easily	8.0	32.0	92.0	68.0	4.50*
not worrying about the future	18.2	50.0	81.8	50.0	3.82*
hating to do homework	14.7	36.2	85.3	63.8	4.59*
enjoying making noise	25.8	60.0	74.2	40.0	7.80**
always obeying rules	95.6	84.3	4.4	15.7	5.99*
liking to study most of the time	87.9	71.1	12.1	28.9	8.85**

 * $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$

For attributes describing "kiasu" students, a similar pattern is found as for those describing the other groups. A higher percentage of delinquents than non delinquents evaluated the attributes of getting angry easily, not worrying about the future, hating to do homework, and enjoying the making noise, as "good, but a higher percentage evaluated the attributes of liking to study most of the time and always obeying rules as "bad". More than 50% of the delinquents themselves evaluated the attributes of getting angry easily (68.0%) and hating to do homework (63.8%) as "bad".

In summary, these results illustrate the tendency of delinquents to evaluate attributes that are considered "good" by non delinquents as "bad", and those that are considered "bad" by non delinquents as "good". Although this reversal is evident when these two groups are compared with each other, there is also evidence pointing to the fact that the reversal is not total. Delinquents do endorse the conventional norms and values represented by the attributes that describe the four social groups in the school.

10.3.2 <u>Identification</u>

Manovas of the five identification variables with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) as the independent variable were conducted for each of the four groups of the gang, the detention class group, the "kiasus" and the prefects. These are manovas of

a) participants' perceptions of the general regard in which each of the four groups are held,

b) participants' own opinion of each of the four groups,

c) participants' liking for each of the four groups,

d) their ability to fit into each of the four groups and

e) their being accepted by each of the four groups

a)   <u>Perceptions of the general regard in which the groups are held</u>

The manova of the participants' perception of the general regard in which gang members, detention class members, the prefects and the "kiasus" are held, was conducted with behaviour (delinquents and non

delinquents) as the independent variable. Assumptions of homogeneity of variances for the four within-group variables were satisfied (see Appendix I, Table 1). However, the assumption of homogeneity of dispersion was violated (Boxes M = 19.78, F(10, 398914) = 1.95, p = .035). Hence, Pillai's criterion was chosen as the test of significance because of its robustness (Tabachnik and Fidell, 1989).

Results revealed a significant main effect of behaviour (F(4, 286) = 4.37, p = .002. See Appendix I, Table 2). Univariate F-tests showed that there was a significant effect only on the variable regarding participants' perception of the general regard in which gang members are held (F(1, 289) = 14.47, p = .000.).

Means and standard deviations of the four variables are presented in Table 10.7. Ratings are on a six-point scale, with 1 representing very poor opinions and 6 very high opinions. Delinquents tend to perceive that gang members are generally held in higher regard than non delinquents (means = 2.87 and 2.08 respectively).

Table 10.7
Means and standard deviations of delinquents and non delinquents perceptions of
the general regard in which the four groups are held

General regard in which the groups are held	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
gang members	2.07***	1.49	2.87***	1.70
detention class members	2.41	1.41	2.64	1.57
"kiasus"	3.76	1.36	3.67	1.43
prefects	4.30	1.47	3.94	1.69

*** p < .001

Notes:
Analysis of paired ttests with the delinquent sample only
1) delinquents' perception of the general regard for gang members and detention class members $t(150) = -1.30$, $p = .195$
2) delinquents' perception of the general regard for gang members and the "kiasus" $t(149) = -4.03$, $p = .000$
3) delinquents' perception of the general regard for gang members and prefects $t(145) = -5.45$, $p = .000$
Analysis of paired ttests with the non delinquent sample only
1) non delinquents' perception of the general regard for gang members and and detention class members $t(150) = 3.20$ $p = .002$
2) delinquents' perception of the general regard for gang members and the "kiasus" $t(149) = -10.14$, $p = .000$
3) delinquents' perception of the general regard for gang members and prefects $t(145) = -12.05$, $p = .000$

Paired ttests conducted with only delinquents (with Bonferroni's adjustment applied to the significance levels to protect against Type 1 error, $\alpha < .013$) revealed that there is no significant differences regarding delinquents' perceptions of the general regard in which gang members and detention class members are held (means = 2.87 and 2.64 respectively), but there are significant differences between delinquents' perceptions of the general regard for gang members and the "kiasus" (means = 2.87 and 3.67 respectively), and the prefects (means = 2.87 and 3.94 respectively). In other words, delinquents perceive that the general regard in which the gang is held is lower than that of other groups.

Similarly, paired ttests conducted with non delinquents revealed that there are significant differences between non delinquents' perceptions of the general opinion of the gang with members of the detention class (means = 2.07 and 2.41 respectively,), with the "kiasus" (means = 2.07 and 3.76 respectively,) and with the prefects (means = 2.07 and 4.30 respectively,). Thus, non delinquents perceive that the general opinion of tha gang is poorer than that of other groups.

Figure 10.1 illustrates the means for both delinquents and non delinquents' perceptions of the general regard in which the four groups are held.

Figure 10.1
Delinquents and non delinquents' perceptions of the general
regard in which the four groups are held
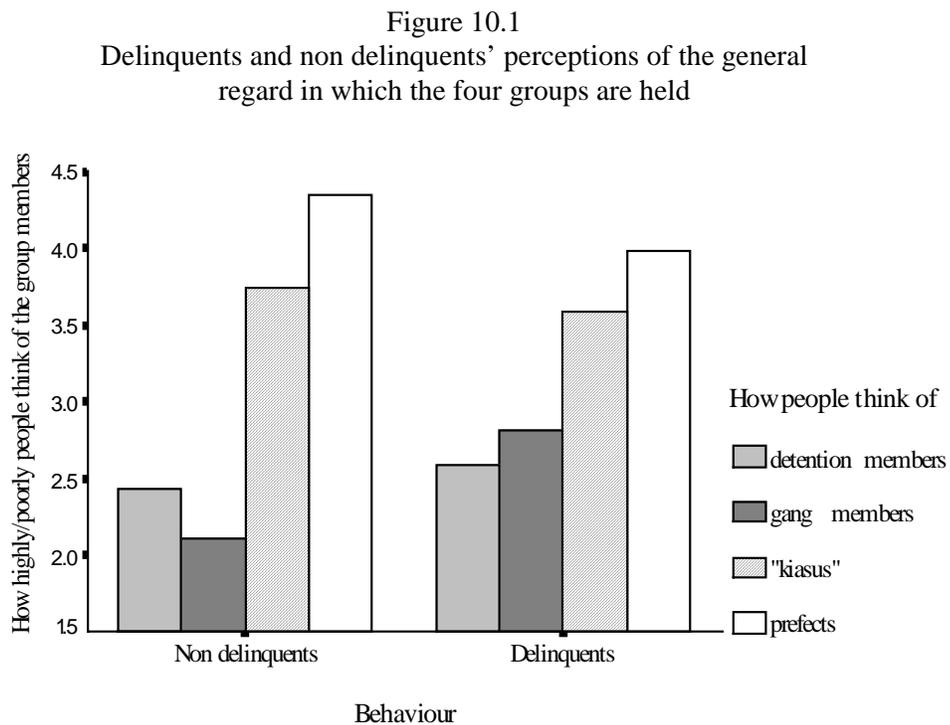
Behaviour

b)   Participants' own opinion of the groups

The manova of the four variables of participants' own opinion regarding gang members, detention class members, the prefects and the "kiasus" with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) as the independent variable was conducted. Tests indicated that there are no violations of the assumptions of homogeneity of variances for the four variables (see Appendix I, Table 3). The multivariate homogeneity of dispersion assumption was also satisfied (Boxes M = 15.02, F(10, 396372) = 1.48, p = .139).

Results yielded a significant effect of behaviour, (F(4, 286) = 5.43, p = .000. See Appendix 8C, Table 4). Univariate F-tests showed that there are significant differences between delinquents and non delinquents with regard to participants' opinions of gang members (F (1, 288) = 15.03, p = .000) and prefects (F(1, 288) = 7.95, p = .005).

The means of participants' own opinions regarding the four groups with standard deviations is presented in Table 10.9 and illustrated in Figure 10.2.

Table 10.8
Means and standard deviations of delinquents and non delinquents' own
opinion of the four groups

Participants own opinion of the groups	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
gang members	2.34***	1.53	3.09***	1.68
detention class members	2.64	1.46	2.82	1.49
"kiasus"	3.70	1.35	3.54	1.46
prefects	4.08**	1.49	3.59**	1.59

*** p < .001
 ** p < .01

Notes:
Analysis of paired ttests with the delinquent sample only
1) delinquents' own opinion of gang members and detention class members
   t(150) = -1.84, p = .067
2) delinquents' own opinion of gang members and the "kiasus" t(149) = -2.36,
   p = .019
3) delinquents' own opinion of gang members and the prefects t(145) = -2.66,
   p .009
Analysis of paired ttests with the non delinquent sample only
1) non delinquents' own opinion of gang members and detention class
   members t(149) = 2.67, p = .008
2) non delinquents' own opinion of gang members and the "kiasus"
   t(150) = -7.85, p = .000
3) non delinquents' own opinion of gang members and the prefects
   t(149) = -9.20, p .000

Ratings are on a six-point scale, with 1 representing very poor opinions
and 6, very high opinions. Thus, delinquents have a higher opinion of gang
members than non delinquents (means = 3.09 and 2.34 respectively), and
non delinquents have a higher opinion of prefects that non delinquents
(4.08 and 3.59 respectively).

Figure 10.2
Delinquents and non delinquents' own opinion of the four groups
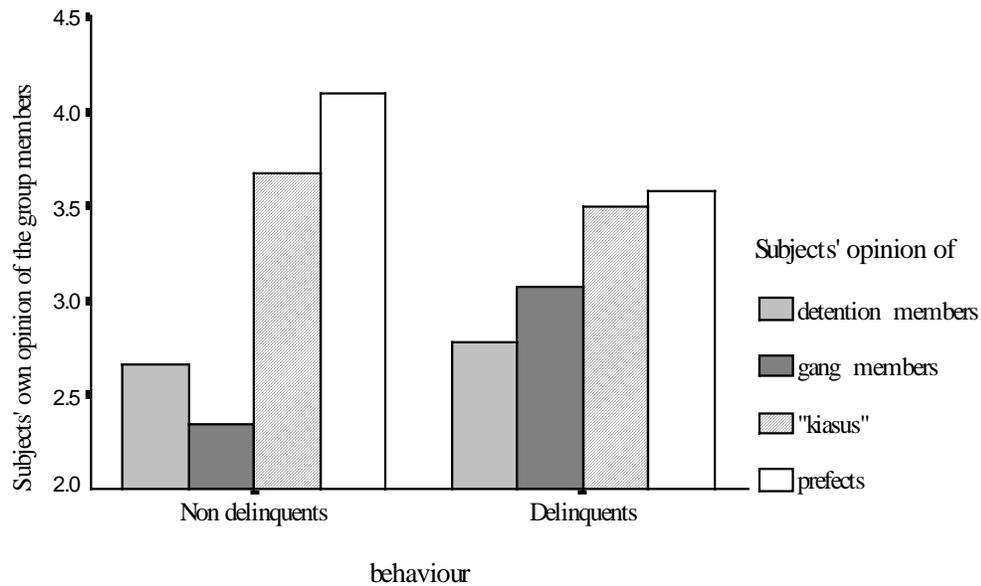
Paired comparisons (applying Bonferroni's adjustment of $\alpha < .013$) with delinquents only showed that there is no significant differences between delinquents perceptions of gang and detention class members (means = 3.09 and 2.82 respectively), and the "kiasus" (means = 3.09 and 3.54 respectively), but there are significant differences between delinquents' opinion of gang members and the prefects (means = 3.09 and 3.59 respectively).

Similarly, among the non delinquents, paired ttests showed that there are significant differences between non delinquents' perception of gang members and detention class members (means = 2.34 and 2.64 respectively), with the "kiasus" (means = 2.34 and 3.70 respectively), and with the prefects (means = 2.3 and 4.08 respectively).

c)   Participants' liking for members of the groups

Similarly, a manova was conducted with regard to participants' liking for members of the four groups with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) as the independent variable. Homogeneity of variances assumptions were satisfied for all four variables (see Appendix I, Table 5) and the multivariate homogeneity of dispersion (Boxes M = 11.50, F(10, 382852) = 1.13, p = .332).

Results showed a significant effect of behaviour (F(4, 280) = 6.86, p = .000. See Appendix I, Table 6). Univariate F-tests indicate that there are differences between delinquents and non delinquents with regard to liking for gang members and for prefects (F(1, 283) = 15.84, p = .000 and F(1,283) = 10.77, p = .001 respectively).

Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 10.9. Ratings for participants' liking of the members of the groups are on a six-point scale with 1 for dislike very much and 6 for like very much. Delinquents like gang members more than non delinquents do (means = 2.92 and 2.12 respectively), but non delinquents like prefects better than delinquents do (means = 3.73 and 3.11 respectively).

Paired ttests (applying Bonferroni's adjustment of α < .013) with the delinquent sample showed no significant differences between delinquents' liking for all the four groups.

However, paired ttests with non delinquents showed that they tend to like detention class members better than gang members (means = 2.43 and 2.12 respectively). "Kiasus" are also liked better than gang members

(means = 3.57 and 2.12 respectively), and so also the prefects (means = 3.73 and 2.12 respectively).

Table 10.9
Means and standard deviations of delinquents and non delinquents'
liking for the four groups

Participants' liking for the groups	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
gang members	2.12***	1.50	2.93***	1.69
detention class members	2.43	1.49	2.63	1.41
"kiasus"	3.57	1.56	3.29	1.58
prefects	3.73**	1.56	3.11**	1.57

*** $p < .001$
 ** $p < .01$

Notes:
Analysis of paired ttests with the delinquent sample only
1) delinquents' liking for gang members and detention class members
    t(149) = -2.13, p = .035
2) delinquents' liking for gang members and "kiasus" t(148) = -1.82, p = .071
3) delinquents' liking for gang members and prefects t(142) = -1.14, p = .256
Analysis of paired ttests with the non delinquent sample only
1) non delinquents' liking for gang members and detention class members
    t(148) = 2.55, p = .012
2) non delinquents' liking for gang members and "kiasus" t(151) = -8.21,
    p = .000
3) non delinquents' liking for gang members and prefects t(147) = -8.89,
    p = .000

Figure 10.3 illustrates the means of the four variables for delinquents and non delinquents.

Figure 10.3
Delinquents and non delinquents' liking for members of the four groups
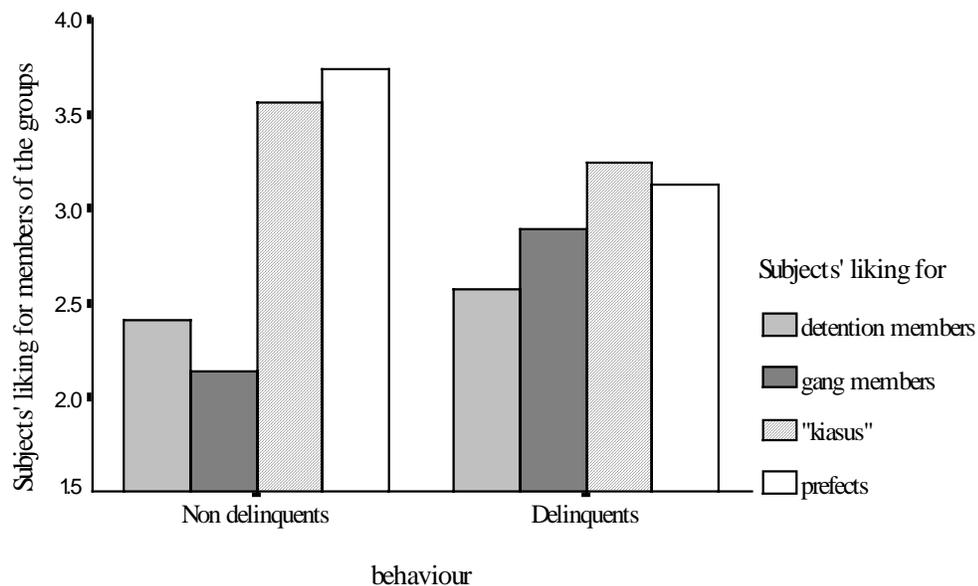
d)   Participants' ability to fit into the groups

An inverse transformation was performed on the variable of participants' ability to fit in with the "kiasus" in order to satisfy the assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances. The manova of participants' ability to fit into the four groups was conducted with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) as the independent variable. Homogeneity of variance tests showed that the assumptions for the variables were satisfied (see Appendix I, Table 7). However, the multivariate homogeneity of dispersion assumption was violated (Boxes M = 35.61, F(10. 384915) = 3.51, p = .000). Hence, the more robust Pillai's criterion was selected as the significance tests. Results showed a significant main effect of behaviour (F(4, 281) = 5.71, p = .000. See Appendix I, Table 8). Univariate F-tests indicate differences between delinquents and

non delinquents' ability to fit in with gang members (F(1, 284) = 15.62, p = .000) and with the prefects (F(1, 284) = 5.42, p = .021).

Delinquents perceive that they fit in better with gang members than non delinquents (means = 2.99 and 2.13 respectively, on a six-point scale with higher numbers representing greater perception of fit). Non delinquents tend to fit in better with prefects than delinquents (means = 3.11 and 2.69 respectively). Table 10.10 presents the means and standard deviations of delinquents and non delinquents ability to fit into the four groups.

Table 10.10
Means and standard deviations of delinquents and non delinquents' ability to fit into the four groups

Participants ability to fit into the groups	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
gang members	2.13***	1.52	2.99***	1.70
detention class members	2.38	1.50	2.71	1.58
"kiasus"	3.22	1.49	3.12	3.52
prefects	3.11*	1.58	2.69*	1.55

*** p < .001
* p < .05

Notes:
Analysis of paired ttests with the delinquent sample only
1) delinquents' ability to fit in with gang members and detention class
   members t(148) = -1.39, p = .168
2) delinquents' ability to fit in with gang members and the "kiasus"
   t(149) = -0.23, p = .820
3) delinquents' ability to fit in with gang members and the prefects
   t(142) = 1,24, p = .216
Analysis of paired ttests with the non delinquent sample only
1) non delinquents' ability to fit in with gang members and detention class
   members t(148) = 2.05, p = .043
2) non delinquents' ability to fit in with gang members and the "kiasus"
   t(150) =-6.20, p = .000
3) non delinquents' ability to fit in with gang members and the prefects
   t(148) = -5.36, p = .000

Paired ttests with delinquents showed that there are no significant differences between delinquents' perceived ability to fit into the gang and the other three groups. However, for non delinquents, paired ttests (Bonferroni's adjustment of $\alpha < .013$) showed that non delinquents perceived differences between their ability to fit in with gang members and the "kiasus" (means = 2.13 and 3.22 respectively) and with gang members and prefects (means = 2.13 and 3.11 respectively). Non delinquents perceive that there is no difference between their ability to fit in with gang members and with detention class members (means = 2.13 and 2.38 respectively). Means of the variables for the four groups are illustrated in Figure 10.4.

Figure 10.4
Delinquents and non delinquents' ability to fit into the four groups
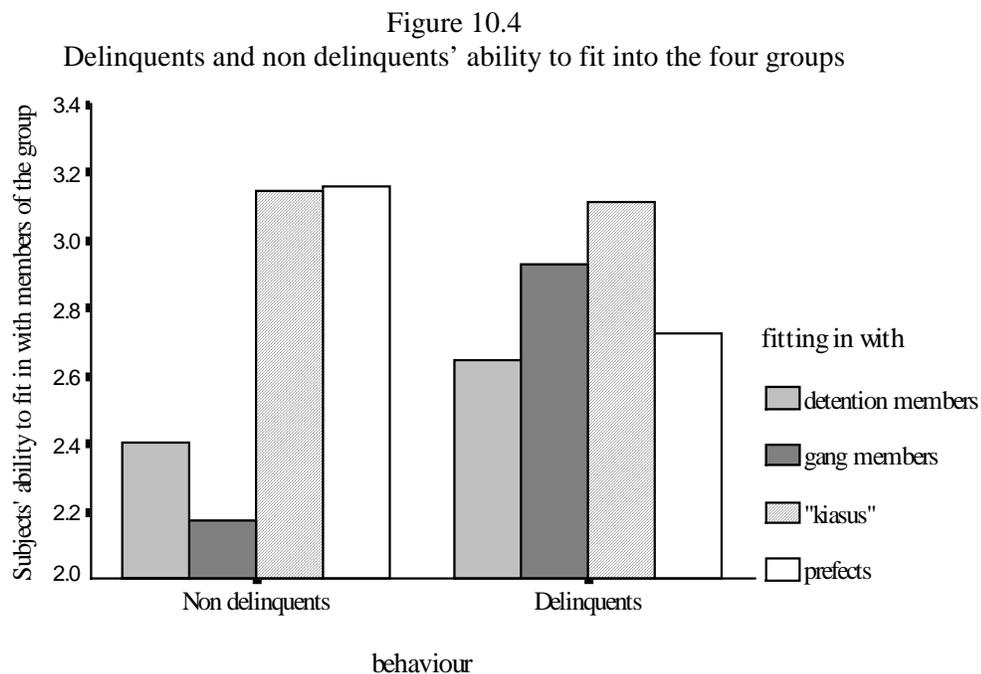
e)   Acceptance of participants by members of other groups

An inverse transformation was performed on the variable of participants' perceptions of acceptance by prefects in order to satisfy the assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances. A manova of the four variables of participants' acceptance by members of the four groups with behaviour (delinquents and non delinquents) did not produce any significant effects (F(4, 282) = .98, p = .420). Tests of homogeneity of variances indicated that the assumptions were not violated except for participants' perceptions of acceptance by prefects, inspite of the transformation (see Appendix I, Table 9). Neither was the assumption of multivariate assumption of dispersion satisfied (Boxes M = 29.28, p = .001).

Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 10.11. Ratings were on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 representing very easy and 6 very hard).

Table 10.11
Means and standard deviations of delinquents and non delinquents' acceptance by members of the four groups.

Acceptance by groups	Non delinquents		Delinquents		Total	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
gang members	3.50	1.94	3.25	1.86	3.37	1.90
detention class	3.30	1.86	3.14	1.82	3.22	1.83
"kiasus"	3.71	1.55	3.72	1.70	3.71	1.63
prefects	4.04	1.55	4.32	2.87	4.18	2.29

Notes:
Analysis of paired ttests
1) participants' perception of their acceptance by gang members and detention class members t(297) = -1.87, p = .063
2) participants' perception of their acceptance by gang members and "kiasus" t(298) = -2.93, p = .004
3) participants' perceptions of their acceptance by gang members and prefects t(292) = -4.69, p = .000

Paired ttests (Bonferroni's adjustment of α < .013) with the total delinquent and non delinquent sample showed that participants find it easier to be

accepted by gang members than by the "kiasus" (means = 3.37 and 3.71 respectively) and by gang members than by the prefects (means = 3.37 and 4.18 respectively).

Identification factor

The five identification variables of participants' perceptions of the general opinion of the groups, their own opinion of the groups, their liking for members of the groups, their ability to fit in with members of the groups and their acceptance by members of the groups of the four groups of gang members, detention class members, the "kiasus" and the prefects were subjected to four principal component analyses, one for each of the four groups. The analyses did not produce one factor but two. However, when the variable regarding acceptance of participants by members of each of the four groups was excluded from the analyses, one factor for each of the four groups was obtained, representing identification with the gang, with members of the detention class, with prefects and with the "kiasus". Reliability analyses of the four identification scales of the four groups are reasonably high, with the exception of identification with "kiasu" students (α = .61). Factor loadings, eigenvalues, percentage of variances explained as well as the alpha values are presented in Table 10.13.

Table 10.12
Factor loadings, eigenvalues and percentage of variances explained and
alpha values of identification with the four groups

Identification Variables	Factor loadings	Eigenvalues	Variance explained	Reliability alpha
Gang				
personal opinion of the group	.93143			
liking for the group	.88997	3.15	78.8%	.91
general opinion of the group	.87760			
fitting into the group	.84982			
Detention Class				
personal opinion of the group	.87035			
liking for the group	.85951	2.77	69.2%	.85
general opinion of the group	.82721			
fitting into the group	.76729			
Prefects				
personal opinion of the group	.86833			
liking for the group	.86567	2.57	64.2%	.81
general opinion of the group	.81680			
fitting into the group	.62932			
"Kiasus"				
personal opinion of the group	.83742			
liking for the group	.79801	2.09	52.2%	.61
general opinion of the group	.69405			
fitting into the group	.51713			

Intercorrelations between the variables for each scale are presented

in Table 10.14.

Table 10.13
Intercorrelations between identification variables

Identification variables	Fitting into group	General opinion of the group	Personal opinion of the group	Liking for the group
Gang				
fitting into the group	1.000	.6385**	.7225**	.6741**
general opinion of the group		1.000	.6947**	.7864**
personal opinion of the group			1.000	.7895**
liking for the group				1.000
Detention class				
fitting into the group	1.000	.4409**	.6619**	.4893**
general opinion of the group		1.000	.7464**	.5565**
personal opinion of the group			1.000	.6375**
liking for the group				1.000
Prefects				
fitting into the group	1.000	.2771**	.5203**	.3626**
general opinion of the group		1.000	.6997**	.5797**
personal opinion of the group			1.000	.6549**
liking for the group				1.000
"Kiasus"				
fitting into the group	1.000	.0662	.3770**	.2574**
general opinion of the group		1.000	.5298**	.3510**
personal opinion of the group			1.000	.5163**
liking for the group				1.000

** $p < .01$

A manova of factors representing identification with gang members, detention class members, "kiasus" and "prefects" was conducted with behaviour (delinquent and non delinquent) as the independent variable. Both univariate homogeneity of variances (see Appendix I Table 10) and the multivariate homogeneity of dispersion assumptions were satisfied (Boxes M = 16.39, $F_{(10, 539568)}$ = 1.62, p = .095) Results showed a significant effect of behaviour ($F_{(4, 333)}$ = 8.17, p = .000). See Appendix I,

Table 11.). Univariate F-tests showed that there are differences between delinquents and non delinquents with regard to their identification with gang members (F(1, 336) = 24.04, p = .000) and with prefects (F(1, 336) = 11.57, p = .001).

Delinquents identify more with gang members that non delinquents (means = .26 and -.26 respectively) and non delinquents identify more with prefects than delinquents (means = .18 and -.18 respectively). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 10.14.

Table 10.14
Means and standard deviations of delinquents and non delinquents' identification with the four groups

Participants' identification with the groups	Non delinquents		Delinquents	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
gang members	- .26***	.93	.26***	1.00
detention class members	-.07	1.02	.09	.98
"kiasus"	.07	.95	-.07	1.04
prefects	.18**	.96	-.18**	1.00

*** p < .001
  ** p < .01

Notes:
Analysis of paired ttests for the delinquent sample:
1) delinquents' identification with gang members and detention class members
   t(167) = -2.01, p = .046
2) delinquents' identification with gang members and the "kiasus"
   t(167) = 2.95 p = .004
3) delinquents' identification with gang members and the prefects
   t(167) = 3.86 p = .000
Analysis of paired ttests for the non delinquent sample:
1) non delinquents' identification with gang members and detention class
   members t(169) = 2.51, p = .013
2) non delinquents' identification with gang members and the "kiasus"
   t(169) = -3.18, p = .002
3) non delinquents' identification with gang members and the prefects
   t(169) = -3.97, p = .000
       Paired ttests with the delinquents (using Bonferroni's adjustment of

α < .013) showed that delinquents do not differ in their identification with

gang and detention class members (means = .26 and .09 respectively), but there are differences between delinquents' identification with gang members and with "kiasus" (means = .26 and -.07 respectively) and between gang members and the prefects (means = .26 and -.18 respectively).

For non delinquents, paired ttests indicate that they do not differ in their identification between gang and detention class members but do differ in their identification between gang members and the "kiasus" (means = -.26 and .07 respectively) and between gang members and the prefects (means = -.26 and .18 respectively).

Figure 10.5 illustrates the means of the identification factors with the four groups of delinquents and non delinquents.

Figure 10.5
Delinquents and non delinquents identification with the four groups
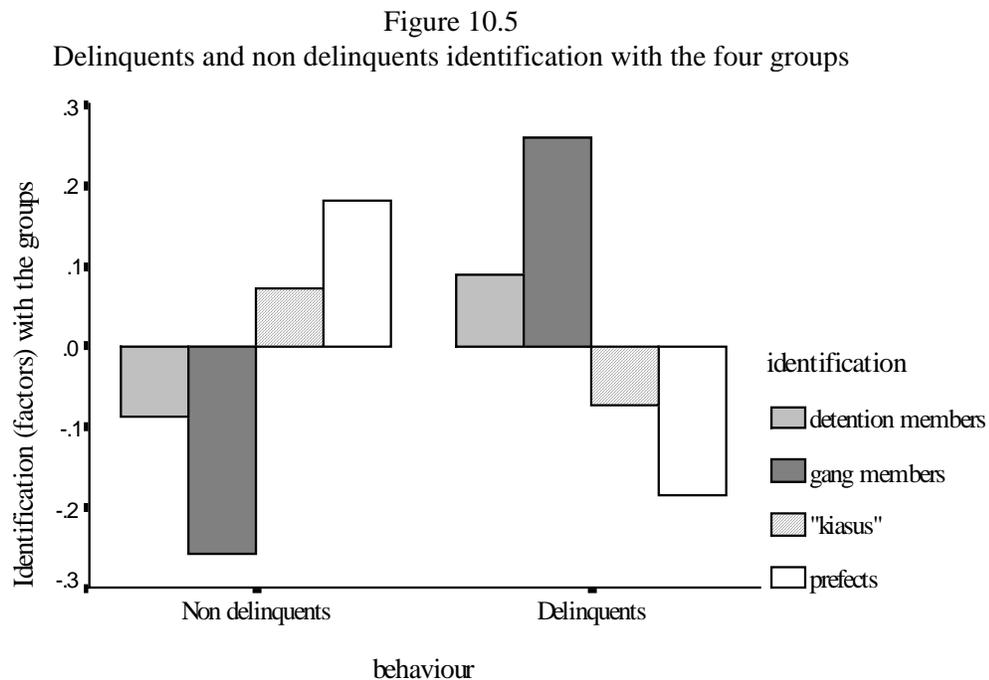
10.3.3 Membership in social groups

Results did not support the hypothesis that delinquents would belong to fewer extracurricular activity groups and social groups. However, as can be expected, more delinquents than non delinquents are members of gangs, detention classes and groups outside the school. 7.7% of delinquents compared to 1.8% of non delinquents are members of detention class (see Table 10.15).

Table 10.15
Percentages of delinquents and non delinquents who are members
and not members of the detention class

members of detention class	Members	Non members
Delinquents	7.7	92.3
Non delinquents	1.8	98.2

χ2 =6.69, df = 1, p = .009

58.5% of delinquents admit to being members of the gang compared to 11.9% of non delinquents (see Table 10.16).

Table 10.16
Percentages of delinquents and non delinquents who are members
and not members of a gang

members of gangs	Members	Non members
Delinquents	58.5	41.5
Non delinquents	11.9	88.1

χ2(1) = 23.00, p = .009

16.1% of delinquents are members of other groups compared to only 7.1% of non delinquents (see Table 10.17).

Table 10.17
Percentages of delinquents and non delinquents who are members
and not members of other groups

members of other groups	Members	Non members
Delinquents	16.1	83.9
Non delinquents	7.1	92.9

$\chi 2(1) = 6.72$, p = .009

Results also give no support to the hypothesis that delinquents would be less happy compared to non delinquents as members of the extracurricular activity and social groups they belong to.

10.4   Summary of findings and discussion

The first hypothesis of this study is that delinquents would show a reversal of conventional norms in terms of having opposite evaluations of the normative attributes of four social groups in the school. The study presented in this chapter has provided evidence for this. Thus, delinquents showed a tendency to evaluate positively attributes of the gang and detention class members such as getting angry easily, being ready to fight, hating to do homework and enjoying making noise, which non delinquents evaluate negatively. Conversely, delinquents have negative evaluations of such attributes of the "kiasus" and prefects as always obeying rules, always being polite and liking to study most of the time, which the non delinquents evaluate positively.

However, although more delinquents place higher positive values on attributes that many non delinquents consider as negative and there is evidence of reversal of norms, this reversal is not total, but comes to light only when the delinquents are compared to non delinquents. When the

delinquent sample is considered by itself, more than 50% of the delinquents indicated that such attributes of the gang as not worrying about the future and hating to do homework, and of detention group members as being ready to fight, were bad, though this percentage is significantly lower than that of non delinquents.

In terms of identification, delinquents and non delinquents showed differences in their identification with the gang and detention class in that the former identified more with members of these groups. The reverse is true of identification with prefects, that is, it is the non delinquents who identified more with this group. Contrary to expectations, there was no difference between delinquents and non delinquents regarding their identification with "kiasu" students. This suggests that the delinquents perceive themselves as similar to the "kiasus", who are very studious, competitive and over anxious, as do the non delinquents, in keeping with the evidence that the former do not demonstrate total reversals of the norm of studying hard. This finding may be taken as an indirect evidence of the delinquents not wanting to be different from the "kiasus". There is also evidence showing that delinquents perceive that being accepted by the "kiasus" and prefects is harder than being accepted by gang members and those of the detention class, as membership and acceptance by the former groups is dependent upon academic ability. This finding lends further support to the idea that delinquents do not have easy access to the higher status groups in the school.

Although there is support for the first two hypotheses, the third hypothesis was not fully confirmed. There is no difference between

delinquents and non delinquents' participation in school-organized and social activities. One possible reason why this hypothesis was not confirmed in this study could be due to overlapping interpretations in the terms "gang" and "social" groups. Participants who are members of gangs may have indicated a membership in the social group column in the questionnaire instead of the column for gang membership, or may have indicated their gang membership in both columns for social group as well as the gang. Extra-curricular activities are compulsory in all schools in Singapore and there is a high probability that members of the same gang would also be members of these same groups. Moreover, these extracurricular activities and social groups may serve to relieve the pressure or boredom of academic studies, which explains why delinquents participate in them. The second part of the hypothesis, however, is confirmed, that delinquents are more likely than non delinquents to participate in social activities outside the school.

In conclusion, the main findings thus demonstrate some support for both Cohen's theory that delinquent students represent a subculture which reverses conventional norms, as well as Matza's theory that they do not totally disagree with or reject these norms. This thesis suggests that the ambivalence is a consequence of the variability of identity, as explained in Chapter Six. This is investigated in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE VARIABILITY OF THE DELINQUENT SELF:
ANTI-AUTHORITY ATTTITUDES AND
ENDORSEMENT OF NEUTRALIZATIONTECHNIQUES
AMONG SELF-REPORT DELINQUENTS

11.1 Rationale

The evidence from the study presented in the previous chapter has provided further insight into the norms and values of delinquents. While there is support for Cohen's (1955) subcultural theory that delinquents have a tendency to negatively evaluate norms that non delinquents evaluate positively and vice-versa, there are also indications that this redefinition or reversal is not total. For example, delinquents still place a high value on academic achievement and report that studies are important. They also show some support for other norms such as being polite and obeying rules. Thus, there is evidence to support both Cohen's (1955) theory as well as Matza's (1964), that delinquents are not totally deviant but that they have the potential to drift in and out of such behaviours.

As discussed in Chapter Five, although Matza explains that delinquent behaviours are facilitated through the use of the techniques of neutralization, he does not elaborate on the conditions that govern the use of such techniques. Self-categorization theory's concept of personal and social identities and the variability of the self offers an explanation of this as well as a reconciliation of both Cohen's and Matza's perspectives.

It is through identification with similar others, vis-a-vis other adolescent social groups that delinquents derive their sense of identity. The

presence of others as the outgroup makes the delinquent social identity salient, and when delinquent norms predominate, feelings of guilt or shame are not associated with the delinquent acts. In other words, shame and guilt would be experienced when delinquents are <u>not</u> in the company of members of their social identity or gang. It is under such conditions, when most shame or guilt is experienced that the use of the techniques of neutralization described by Matza (1964; Sykes and Matza, 1957) would be employed.

These techniques include the delinquents' denial of responsibility for their actions, a denial that the delinquent acts have caused injury or hurt, rationalizing that the delinquent acts committed are justified because the victim or victims deserve them, condemning those who condemn the delinquent acts, and putting the interest of their group above those of society. These neutralization techniques can thus be considered as indicators of the level of shame or guilt. They involve an externalization of blame and it therefore follows that delinquents who employ these techniques would be those who experience a high level of shame and guilt and need these rationalizations to alleviate these feelings. Thus, delinquents whose delinquent social identities are <u>not</u> salient, would be more likely to employ these techniques than when their social identity as a delinquent is salient.

Likewise, when their delinquent social identity is salient, delinquents can be expected to be more defiant of authority than when their identity as members of their family is salient. Hence, delinquents whose social identity is salient would be less likely to experience shame or guilt

and would have lower levels of self-derogation. Delinquents whose delinquent social identity is salient would therefore manifest attitudes and behaviours that are more in support of Cohen's (1955) subcultural theory. Matza's (1964) so-called "drift" in and out of delinquency is therefore not so much a movement in or out of certain behaviours as much as a <u>change of identity</u>, which is influenced by the social context.

The main aim of the study presented in this chapter is to test empirically this idea of the variability of the delinquent self, that under different conditions of salience, delinquents would demonstrate different attitudes towards authority as well as variations in their tendency to use the neutralization techniques.

Emler and Reicher's (1995) theory of delinquency explains that delinquent behaviour is very much a public act, committed in the presence of similar or ingroup others as a manifestation of the delinquent's reputation. In other words, the distinction between public and private context is an important one. More anti-authority attitudes would be manifested under conditions where the delinquent social identity is salient and in public than in private conditions. Also, when the family identity is salient and confrontation by authority is public, more shame or guilt would be experienced by the delinquents, since according to Emler and Reicher (1995), delinquents want to keep their delinquent acts apart from their families. Hence, greater endorsement of the neutralization techniques can be expected.

In summary, the tentative predictions involved in the study presented here can be stated as follows:

1) when their delinquent social identity is salient, delinquents would be more likely to be anti-authority, relative to contexts where their family identity is salient, and that this would take place under public confrontation of authority rather than private, and

2) delinquents whose family social identity is salient would be more likely to endorse the techniques of neutralization than when their delinquent social identity is salient, and that this would be under public rather than private confrontation conditions.

Participants were presented with a scenario of the school's speech day and exhibition of students' work, and a vignette of a student (given the gender-neutral name of Ming Wah and presented as of the same gender as the participants) who breaks the school rules by littering and is confronted by a prefect. In the family salience condition, the student in the vignette is with his or her family members, and in the gang salience condition , the student in the vignette is with his or her gang members. In the private confrontation condition, the prefect calls the student aside and tells him or her quietly to pick up the litter. In the public confrontation condition, the prefect tells the students in the presence of his or her family or gang to pick up the litter.

To manipulate salience either as a gang or family member, participants are asked to think of their families or their gangs, and are told to list things that make their being in the family or the gang special, the good things they can say about their family or the gang, how the family or

the gang has helped them and happy occasions they have spent with the family or the gang (see the Questionnaire in Appendix J, Questions 1 to 4).

11.2   Method

11.2.1 Participants

The initial sample comprises 236 school students, both delinquents and non delinquents from the Normal Academic and Technical streams of two secondary schools in Singapore. As only delinquents are of interest in this study, they are identified from their scores above the median on the self-report of the thirteen misbehaviour items used in the previous studies. The final sample comprises 122 delinquents. Non delinquents are not included.

11.2.2 Design

The design is 2x2x2, involving salience (family and gang member), confrontation of authority (private and public) and gender of participants (male and female).

11.2.3 Measures

Dependent measures are attitudes towards authority and delinquents' endorsement of the techniques of neutralization. Anti-authority attitudes are measured in terms of

1)   how much participants like or dislike the prefect in the vignette,

2)   whether participants think the prefect is right or wrong in

        confronting the student about his or her behaviour,

3)   whether they think the student in the vignette is wrong in littering,

4)   whether they think the student in the vignette feels sorry for having

        littered.

To suit the vignette, only four of the techniques of neutralization

mentioned by Sykes and Matza (1957) are used. They are condemning the

condemner, denial of responsibility, denial of damage and loyalty to group

norms instead of society's (see Appendix J, Questions 5 to 8).

11.2.4 Procedure

        Participants were randomly divided into the four conditions as

depicted in the figure   below. (Appendix J gives two forms of the

questionnaire – the family salience/private confrontation by authority and

the gang salience/public confrontation by authority conditions.)

Figure 11.1
Conditions in the study

		Salience	
		family	gang
Confrontation by authority	public		
	private		

Detailed instructions regarding the procedure for conducting the study

were given to each teacher in charge of the class (see Appendix K).

Students from four classes in each school were first told to assemble in the

school hall where they were given numbers from 1 to 4 randomly to group

them into the four experimental conditions, after which they returned to the

classes to answer the questionnaire. Participants were told that the purpose

of the grouping exercise is to ensure confidentiality, that after the

questionnaires have been collected, they would not be identified by their seating positions in the class. The researcher accompanied the teachers to each of the four classes to assure participants that the questionnaires are to be seen only by the researcher and not by any teacher or the principal of the school. Depending on the salience condition, the study was presented either as research on family relationships or on relationship with members of the gang.

After participants returned to the four classrooms which represented the four conditions, the questionnaires were distributed, and the class teachers then read out the items aloud one at a time, pausing for every one to finish before proceeding to the next. This was to allow time for clarification. All items except the self-report on misbehaviours were read aloud for the same reasons as that given in the two previous studies, that is, to prevent the teacher from inadvertently influencing participants' responses by an unintended admonishing tone of voice or facial expression.

11.3   Results

11.3.1 Composition of participants in secondary schools

The misbehaviour scale comprising thirteen items has a reliability alpha value of .93. Intercorrelations between the thirteen items are presented in Table 11.2. The delinquency variable comprised the total of these items, and those who scored above the median were identified as

delinquents. The number and percentage of the delinquent sample by salience, confrontation by authority and gender is given in Table 11.1 below.

Table 11.1
Composition of school delinquents by salience,
confrontation by authority and gender

| | Family identity | | Gang identity | | |
	male	female	male	female	Total
private confrontation	21	6	18	12	57
	17.21%	4.92%	14.75%	9.84%	46.72%
public confrontation	18	8	21	18	65
	14.75%	6.56%	17.21%	14.75%	53.27
Total	39	14	39	30	122
	31.96%	11.48%	31.96%	24.59%	100%

Table 11.2: Correlations of misbehaviours

MISBEHAVIOURS	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9	D10	D11	D12	D13
D1 smoking	1.0000	.5040**	.6001**	.5221**	.5910**	.7178**	.5461**	.5367**	.5429**	.3204**	.5008**	.5151**	.6392**
D2 losing temper shouting		1.0000	.6676**	.4809**	.5605**	.5440**	.4774**	.5802**	.4800**	.3112**	.5592**	.4779**	.5061**
D3 refusing to obey teacher's orders			1.0000	.5302**	.7063**	.6402**	.5657**	.5647**	.6560**	.2894**	.6111**	.5530**	.5388**
D4 gambling				1.0000	.4844**	.5359**	.6029**	.5683**	.5203**	.2560**	.4960**	.5029**	.6719**
D5 playing truant					1.0000	.6155**	.5925**	.5762**	.5888**	.2773**	.5551**	.6513**	.5249**
D6 fighting in and out of school						1.0000	.6194**	.5622**	.5799**	.3847**	.5845**	.5852**	.5764**
D7 stealing and shoplifting							1.0000	.4761**	.6762**	.3466**	.6290**	.6324**	.6388**
D8 using foul language								1.0000	.5857**	.2733**	.4889**	.5326**	.6215**
D9 vandalism									1.0000	.3485**	.6190**	.7270**	.5370**
D10 threatening others										1.0000	.3765**	.3417**	.3075**
D11 seeing "dirty" books/movies											1.0000	.7122**	.6210**
D12 cheating in tests/exams												1.0000	.5717**
D13 drinking alcohol													1.0000

* p < .05, ** p < .01

11.3.2 <u>Manipulation checks</u>

Participants were asked the following questions:

1)   how close they are to either their family <u>or</u> their gang,

2)   how close they perceive the target student is to his or her family <u>or</u>

gang members, and

3)   to what extent they think the target student heard the remarks of the

prefect in the vignette.

To satisfy assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances,

a reflect and inverse transformation was performed on the variable of

participants' perceptions of how close the target student is to his or her

family or gang members.

A manova of the variables with the transformations was carried out.

All assumptions of univariate homogeneity of variances (see Appendix L,

Table 1) and the multivariate homogeneity of dispersion (Boxes M =

101.55, F(70, 4687) = 1.22, p = .103) were satisfied. Results did not yield

any significant effects. Thus there is no difference between male and

female delinquents in their family or gang identity with regard to how close

they are to their family or gang members respectively in the private or

public confrontation conditions. In fact, the delinquents in all conditions

perceive themselves to be rather close to their family or gang members

(overall mean = 4.92 out of a possible maximum of 6). Also, there is no

difference in their perceptions regarding how close they perceive the target

student to be to his or her family or gang members (overall mean = 4.82

out of a possible maximum of 6). Thus, the manipulation of salience can be

said to be successful. There is no difference with regard to participants' perception of the target student having heard the prefect's remark in the public or private conditions. Means and standard deviations for the whole sample of delinquents are presented below in Tables 11.3a to 11.3c.

Table 11.3a
Means and standard deviations for
participants' perception of how close they are to family or gang members

Confrontation of authority	Family		Gang		Total	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d
private	4.75	1.55	5.06	1.29	4.94	1.39
public	4.81	1.62	5.07	1.23		

Table 11.3b
Means and standard deviations for
participants' perceptions of how close the target student is to family or gang

Confrontation of authority	Family		Gang		Total	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d
private	4.50	1.91	4.71	1.44	4.80	1.52
public	4.81	1.52	5.10	1.26		

Table 11.3c
Means and standard deviations for
participants' perceptions of to what extent the target heard the prefects' remarks

Confrontation of authority	Family		Gang		Total	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d
private	3.11	1.75	3.19	1.64	3.36	1.77
public	3.62	2.08	3.50	1.69		

11.3.3 Attitudes towards authority

It is predicted that when the delinquent social identity is salient, delinquents would have a greater tendency to be anti-authority under conditions where authority is confronted in public, than when the family identity is salient, and under private confrontation of authority.

Transformations were performed on three of the four authority variables to satisfy the assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances. An inverse transformation was carried out on participants' perception of whether the target student was right or wrong in littering. Reflect and inverse transformations were carried out on participants' perceptions of whether the prefect was right or wrong in reprimanding the target student and on participants' perception of the target's dislike for the prefect. The fourth variable of whether the target is sorry for having littered did not need a transformation.

A manova of the above four variables was not performed because of the presence of singular variance-covariance matrices. Hence separate anovas were conducted on the four variables with salience (family and gang), confrontation with authority (private or public) and gender (male and female) as the independent variables.

1.   Participants' perceptions of whether the target is right or wrong

The anova of participants' perception of whether the target is right or wrong revealed a significant main effect of gender (F(1, 114) = 9.47, p = .003, see Appendix L, Table 2). No other interactions or main effects are significant. Male delinquents compared to female delinquents are less likely to perceive that the target is wrong for having littered (means = 2.72 and 2.14 respectively, higher means indicating higher tendency to perceive the target as not wrong for having littered).

2.	Participants' perceptions of whether the prefect is right or wrong

The anova of participants' perceptions of whether the prefect is right or wrong yielded a significant interaction of confrontation by authority and salience (F(1, 114) = 7.57, p = .007, see Appendix 3C, Table 3). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 11.4

Table 11.4
Means and standard deviations for delinquents' perceptions of whether the prefect is right or wrong in the salience of family and gang identity, and in private and public confrontation conditions

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Salience	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Family	5.38	1.39	4.23	2.07
Gang	4.61	2.03	5.43	1.28

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
1) Difference between family salience in the private and public confrontation of authority conditions, t(52) =   2.39, p = .021
2) Difference between public confrontation of authority in the family and gang salience conditions, t(64) = -2.66, p = .011
Other comparisons are non significant.

When the family identity is salient, delinquents in the private confrontation condition are more likely to perceive that the prefect is right, compared to those in the public confrontation condition (means = 5.38 and 4.23 respectively. Ratings are on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 representing very wrong and 6 representing totally right. Higher means indicate greater tendency to perceive the prefect as right). Also, in the public confrontation condition, delinquents whose gang identity is salient are more likely than those whose family identity is salient to perceive the prefect as right (means = 5.43 and 4.23 respectively). Figure 11.2 illustrates delinquents' perception of whether the prefect is right or wrong in reprimanding the target.

Figure 11.2
Delinquents' perception of whether the prefect is right in reprimanding the target
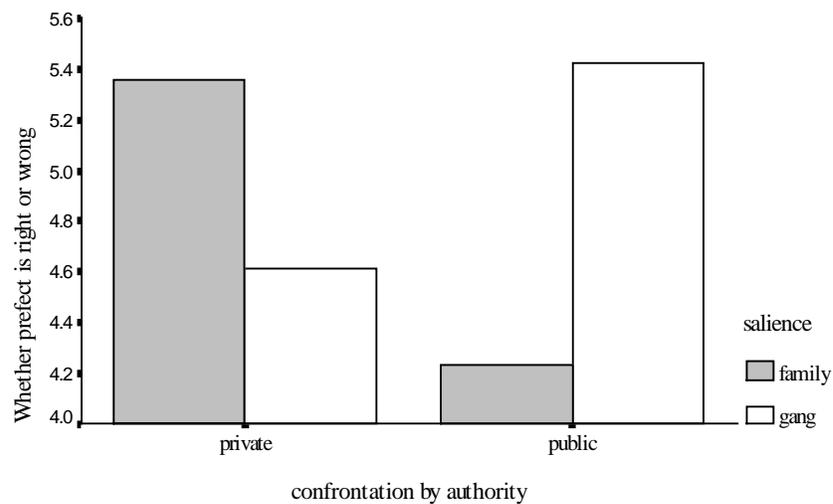
3.   Participants' perceptions of how much the target dislikes the prefect

The anova of participants' perception of how much the target dislikes the prefect revealed a weak but significant interaction of confrontation by authority and gender ($F(1, 113) = 4.09$, $p = .046$. See Appendix L, Table 4). Main effects are not significant. Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 11.5

Table 11.5
Means and standard deviations for male and female delinquents' perception of the target's dislike for the prefect in private in public confrontation conditions

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Gender	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Males	3.26	1.74	4.89	1.48
Females	3.78	1.86	4.24	1.42

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
Difference between male delinquents in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, $t(76) = 4.48$, $p = .000$
Other comparisons are non significant.

There is no significant difference in female delinquents' perception of the target's dislike for the prefect in the two confrontation conditions. However, male delinquents tend to perceive greater dislike for the prefect in the public confrontation condition than in the private confrontation condition.(means = 4.89 and 3.26 respectively. Ratings are on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 for no dislike at all and 6 for dislike very much). Figure 11.3 illustrates this interaction.

Figure 11.3
Male and female delinquents' perception of the target's dislike for the prefect
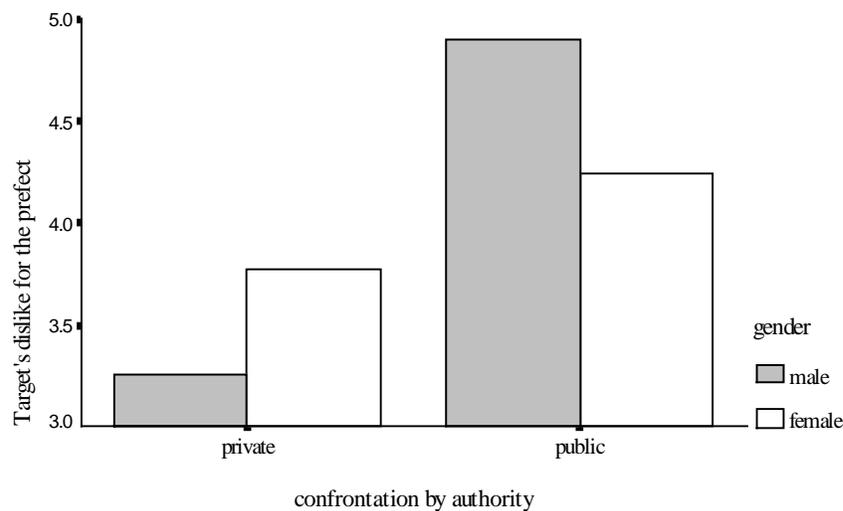
4. Participants' perceptions of whether the target feels sorry having littered

The anova of participants' perception of whether the target feels sorry for littering produced no significant interactions or main effects (see Appendix L, Table 5).

5.   <u>Attitudes towards authority as a factor</u>

A principal components analysis of the four anti-authority

measures produced one factor with an eigenvalue of 1.74,

accounting for 43.5% of the variance.. Factor loadings are given in

Table 11.6 below.

Table 11.6
Factor loadings of anti-authority variables

Anti-authority Variables	Factor Loadings
participants' perception of whether the prefect is right or wrong	.76118
subject's perception of whether the target feels sorry for littering	.68643
participants' perception of whether the target is right or wrong	.66405
participants' perception of target's dislike for the prefect	.49752

The four items on the scale are also highly intercorrelated, as

can be seen from Table 11.7 below.

Table 11.7
Intercorrelations between anti-authority variables

Anti-authority Variables	Dislike	Target right	Prefect right	Target sorry
participants' perception of target's dislike for the prefect	1.000	.1217	.2393**	.1527*
participants' perception of whether the target is right or wrong		1.000	.3165**	.2768**
participants' perception of whether the prefect is right or wrong			1.000	.3285**
subject's perception of whether the target feels sorry for littering				1.000

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

The anova of the transformation of the anti-authority factor yielded a

significant interaction of confrontation by authority and salience ($F(1, 113)$

= 4.80, p = .03. See Appendix L, Table 6). A constant of 10 was added to the anti-authority factor to avoid negative values, and a square root transformation carried out to satisfy assumptions of normality. A higher value is indicative of greater anti-authority attitudes. Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 11.8

Table 11.8

Means and standard deviations for delinquents' attitude towards authority

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Salience	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Family	9.85	.80	10.81	1.29
Gang	10.39	1.48	10.29	.85

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
Difference of family salience in private and public confrontation conditions, t(52) = -3.25, p = .002.
Other comparisons are not significant.

Thus, delinquents whose family identity is salient and in a public confrontation condition are more anti-authority compared to those who are confronted by authority in private (means = 10.81 and 9.85 respectively). However, the anti-authority attitudes of delinquents whose gang identity is salient are not affected by public or private confrontation of authority. The interaction of salience and confrontation by authority is illustrated in Figure 11.4.

Figure 11.4

Anti-attitudes of delinquents in the salience of their family and gang identity
and in private and public confrontation of authority
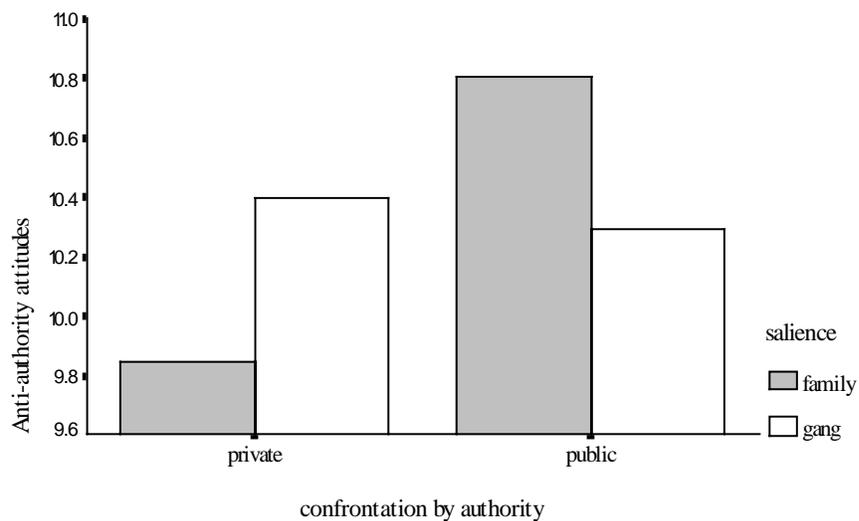
11.3.4 Endorsement of neutralization techniques

It is predicted that the delinquents' endorsement of neutralization techniques would vary as a result of the difference in salience of their family and gang identities, and under different conditions of confrontation by authority. Specifically, delinquents whose family social identity is salient in public would be more likely to experience higher levels of guilt, manifested in their greater endorsement of the techniques of neutralization, than when their delinquent social identity is salient.

Inverse transformations were performed on the four neutralization techniques of denial of responsibility, denial of damage, condemnation of the condemner and appeal to higher loyalty to satisfy assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances.

A manova of the four neutralization techniques was not performed because, as in the case of the variables measuring anti-authority attitudes, there is presence of singular variance -covariance matrices. Separate anovas were then carried out with the four endorsement of neutralization techniques variables, with confrontation by authority (private and public), salience (family and gang) and gender (male and female) as the independent variables. The ratings for the endorsement of neutralization techniques are all on a six-point scale, with 1 representing no endorsement and 6 representing total endorsement.

However, no significant results were obtained except for the technique of appealing to higher loyalty. Neither was there any significant results when the anti-authority variables were considered as one factor. With regard to the technique of appealing to higher loyalty, a significant interaction was obtained for confrontation by authority and gender ($F(1, 114) = 5.57$, $p = .020$, see Appendix L, Table 7).

Male delinquents tend to show greater endorsement of appeal to higher loyalty when confrontation is in a public than private setting (means = 3.28 and 2.13 respectively) and also when compared to females in the public confrontation (3.28 and 1.96 respectively). The data for this analysis is presented in Table 11.9, and illustrated in Figure 11.5.

Table 11.9
Means and standard deviations of delinquents' endorsement of
appeal to higher loyalty

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Gender	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Males	2.13	1.73	3.28	1.99
Females	2.61	2.09	1.96	1.61

Notes:

Analysis of simple effects:

1) Difference between male delinquents in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, $t(76) = 2.80$, $p = .006$

2) Difference between male and female delinquents in the public confrontation by authority condition, $t(63) = -3.00$, $p = .004$

Other comparisons are non significant.

Figure 11.5
Delinquents' endorsement of appeal to higher loyalty
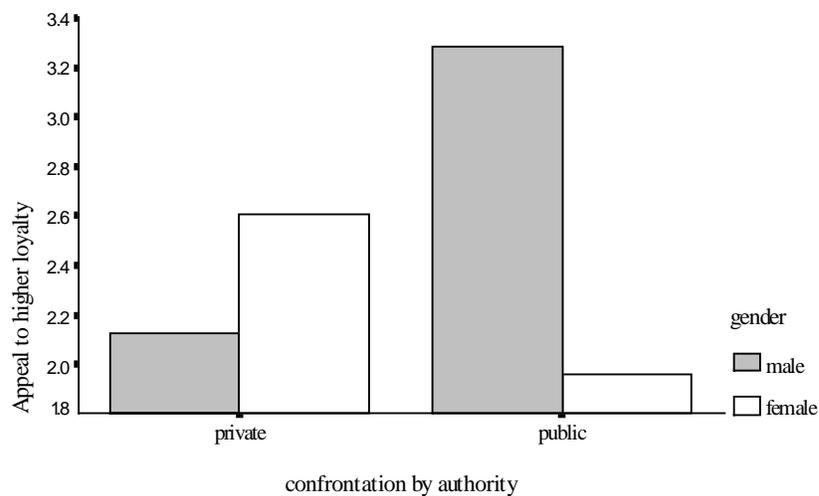
11.4   Summary of findings and discussion

The findings of the study presented in this chapter suggest that delinquents have changing attitudes towards authority depending on the salience of their identities and the context in which authority is confronted.

The first hypothesis that delinquents whose gang rather than family identity is salient would demonstrate more anti-authority attitudes when

confronted by authority in public rather than in private, is not supported. Results indicate that delinquents whose <u>gang</u> identity is salient and whose confrontation by authority is public did not differ in their anti-authority attitudes from those whose confrontation by authority is private. In other words, they were consistently anti-authority regardless of whether the confrontation by authority is in public or in private, as long as they are in their gang identity.

An interesting finding is that delinquents showed a tendency to be more anti-authority when their <u>family</u> identity is salient when they are confronted by authority in the <u>public</u> rather than private setting. Confrontation by authority in public seemed to increase anti-authority attitudes. However, delinquents in their <u>family</u> identity and whose confrontation by authority is in <u>private</u> showed the lowest anti-authority attitudes. In other words, the family identity tends to be more sensitive to changes in context than the gang identity.

One possible explanation for the findings is that when their identity as members of a gang is salient, there is the awareness of others who are non-gang members. Hence, the salience of the gang identity enables relationships to operate on an <u>intergroup</u> rather than interpersonal basis. In other words, delinquents tend to behave as members of their gang rather than as individuals, and attitudes in general tend to be more extreme in intergroup situations. Even when confrontation of authority is private, delinquents in their gang identity are anti-authority because they are relating to the prefect as members of their gang, perceiving the prefect as an outgroup member, whose attitude towards authority then becomes

sharply in contrast to theirs. The same processes operate when confrontation of authority is in public, hence there is no evidence of a difference in delinquents' attitudes towards authority in both private and public confrontation conditions.

Contrary to predictions, when confrontation by authority is in public, anti-authority attitudes of delinquents in their gang identity are not higher compared to those in their family identity. One possible reason could be the absence of a rival gang in the vignette. Although confrontation by authority presents an intergroup context vis-a-vis the prefect, there is no overt threat or challenge to the delinquents' identity as gang members, as would be if a rival gang were to be present.

When their identity as family members is salient, relationships operate on an <u>interpersonal</u> rather than an intergroup basis. Delinquents relate to the prefect as individuals rather than as members of a group. In the private confrontation condition where family members did not hear the prefect's reprimand for littering, the target student in the vignette is not shamed. Hence, there is no reason for delinquents to be especially anti-authority, in particular, against the authority of the school.

One possible reason why delinquents tend to be more anti-authority when their family identity is salient in the public confrontation condition may be due to delinquents having to face a clash of two identities which are normally kept separate (Emler and Reicher, 1995). By reprimanding the target student publicly, the prefect behaves as a member of the outgroup, which may bring out the salience of the delinquent or gang identity. Yet the target student is with his or her family members and also in the identity as a

family member. Hence, this dilemma may be a source of anger, which is manifested in the anti-authority attitudes.

Another source of anger is the shame that the target student has to experience under these circumstances. The prefect's reprimand may serve to highlight the target student's inconsistency as a family member, and as shown in Tangney's (1992) research on shame, shame can lead to anger. Hence, the public and intergroup context heightens the sense of shame for delinquents in their family identity, causing them to be more anti-authority.

Shame would also involve greater rationalizations or the use of neutralization techniques. Under these circumstances, there should be greater endorsement of neutralization techniques by delinquents in their family identity rather than their gang identity, and when confrontation by authority is public than in private. However, findings of this study failed to show sufficient support for the second hypothesis regarding the endorsement of neutralization techniques, that delinquents in their family identity and in the public confrontation condition would experience more shame.

One possible reason for this lack of differences in the endorsement of neutralization techniques between delinquents whose gang and family identities are salient may be due to the fact that the sample involved in this study comprises delinquents who are not serious offenders or incarcerated delinquents. Hence, they are less likely to be sensitive to shame and may find the techniques of neutralization less relevant. Moreover, there is evidence demonstrating that delinquents who are involved in serious law-

breaking activities tend to differ from those who are involved in less serious delinquent behaviour (Emler and Reicher , 1995).

Nevertheless, the results of this study suggest that the identities of delinquents is not fixed but variable. Under different situations or contexts and under different salience of identities, delinquents' attitude towards authority does not remain constant but varies. Thus, there is evidence to support Cohen's (1955) theory that delinquents do not uphold conventional norms and values when in their gang identity is salient. However, when their family identity is salient and under private conditions, delinquents are less anti-authority and uphold conventional values in contrast to conditions when their gang identity is salient. Hence, there is also support for the drift theory of delinquency (Sykes and Matza, 1957; Matza, 1964) as drift is explained in terms of the shift of identities.

In order to test the hypotheses of this study more effectively, it is necessary to repeat the study with a sample of delinquents who have been incarcerated and are detained at the detention centres. This replication study is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE VARIABILITY OF THE DELINQUENT SELF:
ANTI-AUTHORITY ATTTITUDES AND
ENDORSEMENT OF NEUTRALIZATIONTECHNIQUES
AMONG INCARCERATED DELINQUENTS

12.1   Rationale

In the study reported in the previous chapter, differences with regard to the endorsement of neutralization techniques did not find strong empirical support. One possible explanation for the weak results may be because the sample comprised self-report school delinquents or "non serious" delinquents.

Emler, Reicher and Ross (1987) found differences between serious delinquents and non serious delinquents. They also cited similar findings by Braithwaite and Law (1978, cited in Emler and Reicher, 1995) and by Gibson (1971, cited in Emler and Reicher, 1995). Based on these findings, Emler and Reicher argue that group differences should be more marked with respect to serious delinquency.

A sample of officially defined and incarcerated delinquents or delinquents involved in more serious acts might produce stronger confirmation of the hypotheses regarding the variability of the delinquent self. A replication of the previous study is thus attempted with participants from detention homes rather than from secondary schools.

Tentative hypotheses are thus similar to that of the previous study, that

1)   when their delinquent social identity is salient, delinquents would
        be more likely to be anti-authority, relative to contexts where their
        family identity is salient, and that this would take place under
        public confrontation of authority rather than private, and

2)   delinquents whose family social identity is salient would be more
        likely to endorse the techniques of neutralization than when their
        delinquent social identity is salient, and that this would be under
        public rather than private confrontation conditions.

12.2   Method

12.2.1 Participants

The sample comprises 117 male and female inmates, who are all
incarcerated delinquents from two detention homes in Singapore, one for
boys and the other for girls.

12.2.2 Design

The design is similar to that of the previous study, involving a
2x2x2 manipulation of salience (family and gang), confrontation by
authority (private and public) and gender of participants (male and female).

12.2.3 Measures

The dependent measures of attitude towards authority and
delinquents' endorsement of the techniques of neutralizations are similar to
those used in the previous study with the secondary school sample. As this

sample involved incarcerated delinquents, the self-report measures on the thirteen misbehaviour items were omitted (see Appendix M).

12.3.4 Procedure

The questionnaire was administered to incarcerated delinquents by the researcher to thirteen to fifteen participants at a time for four times, each representing one of the four conditions, as depicted in the Figure 11.1. in the previous chapter.

As with the secondary school sample, participants were assured of confidentiality. The researcher read out the instructions and the items of the questionnaire one at a time, pausing for each item to be answered before proceeding to the next. Supervisors from each of the detention centres were present to translate the instructions and the items on the questionnaire whenever participants indicated they needed further clarification, into Mandarin, Chinese dialects or Malay.

12.3   Results

12.3.1 Composition of participants

The number and percentage of the sample in the detention homes by salience, confrontation by authority and gender is given in Table 12.1 below.

Table 12.1
Composition of detention home delinquents by salience,
confrontation by authority and gender

	Family identity		Gang identity		
	male	female	male	female	Total
private confrontation	13	15	14	15	57
	11.11%	12.82%	11.97%	12.82%	48.72%
public confrontation	15	15	15	15	60
	12.82%	12.82%	12.82%	12.82%	51.28%
Total	28	30	29	30	117
	23.93%	25.64%	24.79%	25.64%	100%

12.3.2 Manipulation checks

Manipulation checks were similar to those carried out in the previous chapter. To satisfy assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances, a reflect and inverse transformation was performed on the variable of participants' perception of how close they are to their family or gang members, and a reflect and square root transformation performed on how close participants perceive the target is to his or her family or gang.

A manova of the above variables with the transformations was conducted with salience, confrontation by authority and gender as independent variables. All univariate tests of homogeneity (see Appendix N, Table 1) and the multivariate test of homogeneity of dispersion (Boxes $M = 84.87$, $F(70, 15971) = 1.06$, $p = .337$) showed that the assumptions were satisfied.

Results showed that the main effect for confrontation by authority is significant ($F(4, 106) = 6.14$, $p = .000$) as well as that of gender ($F(4, 106) = 4.09$, $p = .004$, see Appendix N, Table 2). This is qualified by a

significant interaction for salience and confrontation by authority (F(4, 106) = 2.86, p = .027).

Univariate F-tests showed that the main effect for participants' perceptions of whether the target student heard the prefects' remarks is significant (F(1, 109) = 21.06, p = .000). Delinquents in the public condition thought the target heard the prefects' remarks to a greater extent than delinquents in the private condition (means = 4.03 and 2.53 respectively. Ratings are on a six-point scale, with 1 representing not likely to have heard at all, and 6, representing very likely to have heard). Thus, the manipulation of confrontation by authority can be said to be successful.

The interaction is significant for the variable of participants' perception of how close they are to their family or gang members (F(1, 109) = 7.49, p = .007). Means and standard deviation are presented in Table 12.2 below.

Table 12.2
Means and standard deviation of participants' perceptions of how close
they are to family or gang members

	Salience			
	Family		Gang	
Confrontation by authority	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d
Private confrontation	5.46	.96	5.10	1.31
Public confrontation	4.50	1.55	5.47	.78

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
Difference between family and gang salience in the public confrontation
by authority condition, t(58) = -3.06, p = .004.
Other comparisons are non significant.

The results therefore showed that delinquents in the public confrontation condition and in their gang identity perceived themselves to

be closer to their gang members than delinquents in their family identity to their family members (means = 5.47 and 4.50 respectively. Ratings are on a six-point scale, with 1 representing not close at all, and 6, very close).

For the variable of participants' perception of how close they perceive the target student is to his or her family or gang member, no significant differences are found. The overall mean for the delinquents in the detention home is 4.98, out of a maximum of 6 (ratings are on a six-point scale with 1 for not close at all, and 6 for very close). Thus, the manipulation of salience in the vignette can be said to be successful in that both delinquents in their family and gang identities perceived that the target student is close to their family or gang.

12.3.3 Attitudes towards authority

It is predicted that the delinquents' attitude towards authority will vary because of differences in salience of their family and gang identity, and also as a result of how they are confronted by authority, either in private or publicly. Specifically, delinquents whose gang identity is salient in the public confrontation condition are expected to show greater anti-authority attitudes.

To satisfy the assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances, the variable of whether participants perceive the target Ming Wah as right or wrong was subjected to an inverse transformation. The transformed variable with the other three variables of participants' perceptions of the target's dislike for the prefect, participants' perception of whether the prefect is right or wrong and whether the target feels sorry for

littering were not subjected to a manova due to the presence of singular variance-covariance matrices. Hence, the four variables are subjected to separate 3-way anovas with salience (family and gang), confrontation by authority (private and public) and gender (male and female) as independent variables.

1.   Participants' perceptions of whether the target is right or wrong

The anova of participants' perceptions of whether the target is right or wrong yielded a significant interaction of confrontation of authority and salience ($F(1, 108) = 5.65$, $p = .019$. See Appendix N, Table 3 and Table 12.3 below). A higher value indicates greater perception that the target is right.

<div align="center">

Table 12.3

Means and standard deviations for participants' perceptions of
whether the target is right or wrong

</div>

| Salience	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Family	1.29	.82	2.53	1.83
Gang	2.21	1.82	2.13	1.87

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
1) Difference between family salience in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, $t(55) = 3.47$, $p = .001$
2) Difference between family and gang salience in the private confrontation by authority conditions, $t(54) = 2.10$, $p = .038$
Other comparisons are not significant.

Thus, delinquents whose gang identity is salient show no difference with regard to their perceptions of whether the target is right or wrong, regardless of whether confrontation by authority is private or public. However, confrontation by authority makes a significant difference to delinquents whose family identity is salient. In public, delinquents whose

family identity is salient are more likely to perceive target as being right than those in the private confrontation condition (means = 2.53 and 1.29 respectively). When confrontation by authority is private, delinquents whose gang identity is salient are more likely than those whose family identity is salient, to perceive the prefect as being right (means = 2.21 and 1.29 respectively). Figure 12.1 illustrates these findings.
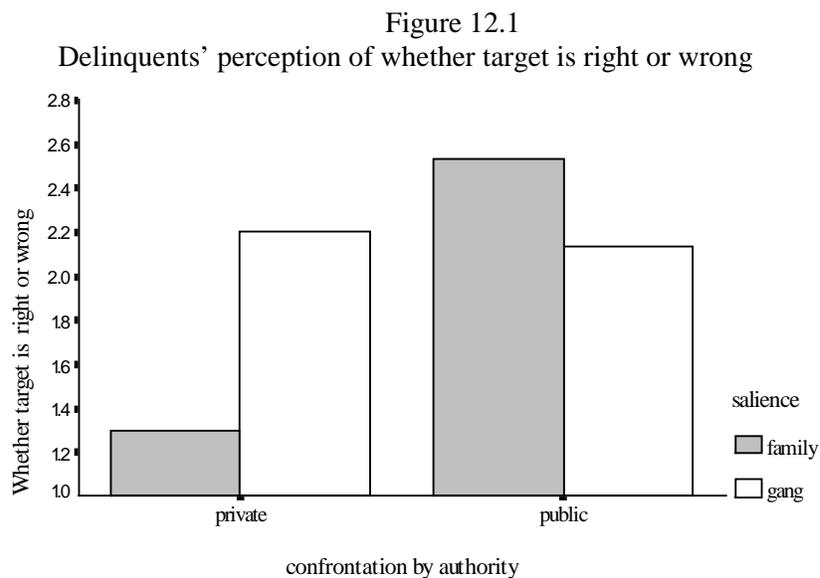
Figure 12.1
Delinquents' perception of whether target is right or wrong

2.   Participants' perceptions of whether the prefect is right or wrong

The anova of participants' perceptions of whether the prefect is right or wrong yielded a significant interaction of confrontation of authority and gender (F(1, 109) = 7.43, p = .007, see Appendix N, Table 4). It is important to note that the assumption of homogeneity of variance for this variable has been violated. Hence, the conclusion that the interaction is significant can be drawn with some reservations. Means and standard

deviations are presented in Table 12.4. Ratings are on a six-point scale, with 1 for very wrong, and 6 for totally right.

Table 12.4
Means and standard deviations for participants' perceptions of
whether the prefect is right or wrong

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Gender	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Males	6.00	.00	4.80	1.47
Females	5.60	1.27	5.47	1.14

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
Difference between male delinquents in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, t(55) = -4.98, p = .000.
Other comparisons are not significant.

Thus, male delinquents have a greater tendency to perceive that the prefect is right in reprimanding the target student privately when he or she littered compared to a public confrontation setting (means = 6.00 and 4.80 respectively. Ratings are on a scale of 1 to 6 with 1 representing very wrong and 6, totally right). However, the public or private setting does not make a difference for female delinquents. Figure 12.2 illustrates the difference between male and female delinquents' perception of the prefect's actions.

Figure 12.2
Male and female delinquents' perception of the prefects' reprimand
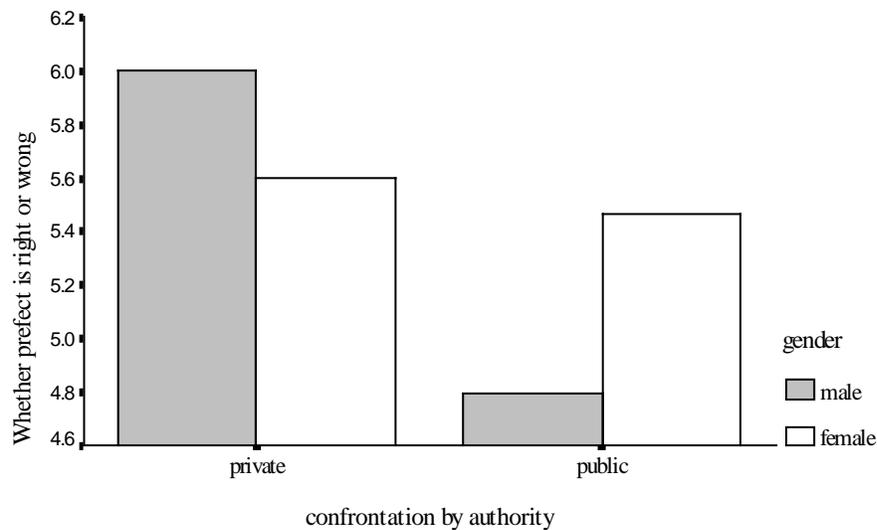
3.   Participants' perceptions of how much the target dislikes the prefect

The anova of participants' perception of whether the target dislikes the prefect yielded a significant interaction of confrontation by authority and gender ($F(1, 109) = 5.23$, $p = .024$. See Appendix N, Table 5). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 12.5. Male delinquents in the public confrontation condition have a greater tendency to perceive that the target dislike the prefect compared male delinquents in the private confrontation condition (means = 4.70 and 2.63 respectively. Higher means indicate greater dislike). In the public confrontation condition, male delinquents tend to dislike the prefect more than female delinquents (means = 4.70 and 3.73 respectively). There is no difference between the target's dislike for the prefect in the public and private conditions for female delinquents.

Table 12.5
Means and standard deviations for participants' perceptions of
the target's dislike for the prefect

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Gender	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Males	2.63	1.69	4.70	1.44
Females	2.97	1.52	3.73	1.53

Notes:

Analysis of simple effects:

1) Difference between male delinquents in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, t(55) = -4.95, p = .000

2) Difference between male and female delinquents in the public confrontation by authority condition, t(58) = 2.52, p = .015.

Other comparisons are not significant

Figure 12.3 illustrates the delinquents' perception of the target's dislike for the prefect.
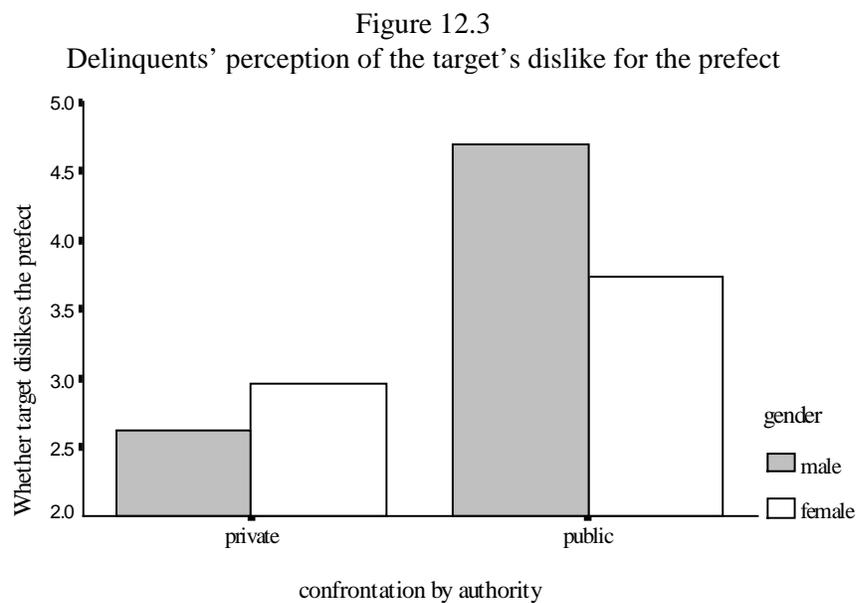
Figure 12.3
Delinquents' perception of the target's dislike for the prefect

4.   Participants' perceptions of whether the target feels sorry for having

littered

The anova of participants' perceptions of whether the target feels

sorry for littering produced significant main effects for confrontation by

authority ($F(1, 109) = 5.73$, $p = .018$) and salience ($F(1, 109) = 8.89$, $p =$

$.004$). The interactions were not significant (see Appendix N, Table 6).

Delinquents in the private confrontation condition are more likely to

perceive that the target feels sorry for littering than delinquents in the

public confrontation condition (means = 3.77 and 3.10 respectively, see

Table 12.6). Ratings are on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 representing not

feeling bad at all and 6, representing feeling very bad). Delinquents whose

family identity is salient have a higher tendency to perceive that the target

feels sorry for littering compared to delinquents whose gang identity is

salient (means = 3.84 and 3.02 respectively, see Table 12.6).

Table 12.6
Means and standard deviations for participants' perceptions of
whether the target feels sorry for having littered

	Mean	s.d.
Confrontation by authority		
private	3.77*	1.45
public	3.10*	1.63
Salience		
family	3.84**	1.54
gang	3.01**	1.51

** p < .01
 * p < .05

5.   Attitudes towards authority as a factor

A principal components analysis of the four variables measuring attitudes towards authority produced one factor, with an eigenvalue of 1.68, accounting for 42% of the variance. The variables are generally well-correlated. Factor loadings are presented in Table 12.7 and intercorrelations in Table 12.8.

Table 12.7
Factor loadings of Anti-authority variables for detention homes sample

Anti-authority Variables	Factor Loadings
participants' perception of target's dislike for the prefect	.70460
participants' perception of whether the target is right or wrong	.67728
participants' perception of whether the prefect is right or wrong	.62393
subject's perception of whether the target feels sorry for littering	.57965

Table 12.8
Intercorrelations between anti-authority variables for detention homes sample

Anti-authority Variables	Dislike	Target right	Prefect right	Target sorry
participants' perception of target's dislike for the prefect	1.000	.2283*	.28278	.3003**
participants' perception of whether the target is right or wrong		1.000	.2895**	.2059*
participants' perception of whether the prefect is right or wrong			1.000	.1284
subject's perception of whether the target feels sorry for littering				1.000

** p < .01
 * p < .05

A square root transformation was performed on this factor to satisfy assumptions of normality. An anova of the square-root of the anti-authority factor yielded a significant interaction of confrontation of authority and a significant interaction of salience (F(1, 108) = 6.19, p = .014) and confrontation of authority and gender (F(1, 108) = 6.38, p = .013, see

Appendix N, Table 7). Means and standard deviations are presented in

Tables 12.9 and 12.10. A constant of 10 is added to avoid negative values.

Higher values indicate greater anti-authority attitudes.

Table 12.9
Means and standard deviations for delinquents anti-authority attitudes in their
family and gang identity, in private and public confrontation conditions

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Salience	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Family	9.20	.49	10.49	1.15
Gang	9.85	.75	10.36	.94

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
1) Difference between family salience in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, t(55) = -5.66, p = .000
2) Difference between family and gang salience in the private confrontation by authority condition, t(54) = -3.77, p = .000
Other comparisons are not significant.

Table 12.10
Means and standard deviations for male and female anti-authority attitudes in
private in public confrontation conditions

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Gender	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Males	9.49	.63	10.79	1.17
Females	9.58	.70	10.07	.75

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
1) Difference between male delinquents in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, t(55) = -5.34, p = .000
2) Difference between male and female delinquents in the public confrontation by authority, t(58) = 2.86, p = .006
Other comparisons are not significant.

Thus, delinquents whose family identity is salient are affected by public

and private conditions of confrontation, such that those in the public

confrontation condition demonstrate greater anti-authority attitudes

compared to those in the private confrontation condition (means = 10.49 and 9.20 respectively). Delinquents whose gang identity is salient, and in the private and public confrontation conditions do not differ in their attitudes to authority, which remains constantly high. In the private confrontation condition, delinquents whose gang identity is salient are more likely to be anti-authority than those whose family identity is salient (means = 9.85 and 9.20 respectively). Results are illustrated in Figure 12.4.

Figure 12.4
Delinquents' anti-authority attitudes in public and private confrontation
conditions and salience of family and gang identity
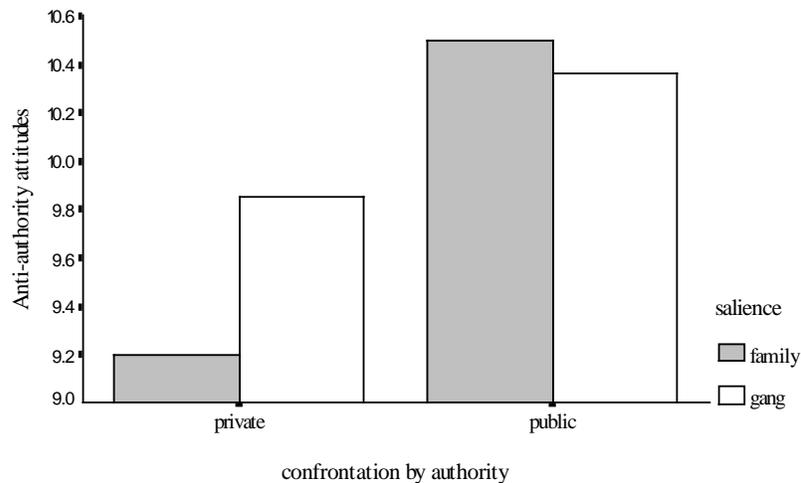
Male delinquents show a significant difference with regard to their attitudes towards authority. Those in the public confrontation condition are more anti-authority than those in the private confrontation condition (means = 10.79 and 9.49 respectively). In the public confrontation condition, male delinquents are significantly more anti-authority than

female delinquents (means = 10.79 and 10.07 respectively), as shown in Figure 12.5.

Figure 12.5
Male and female delinquents' anti-authority attitudes in
public and private confrontation conditions
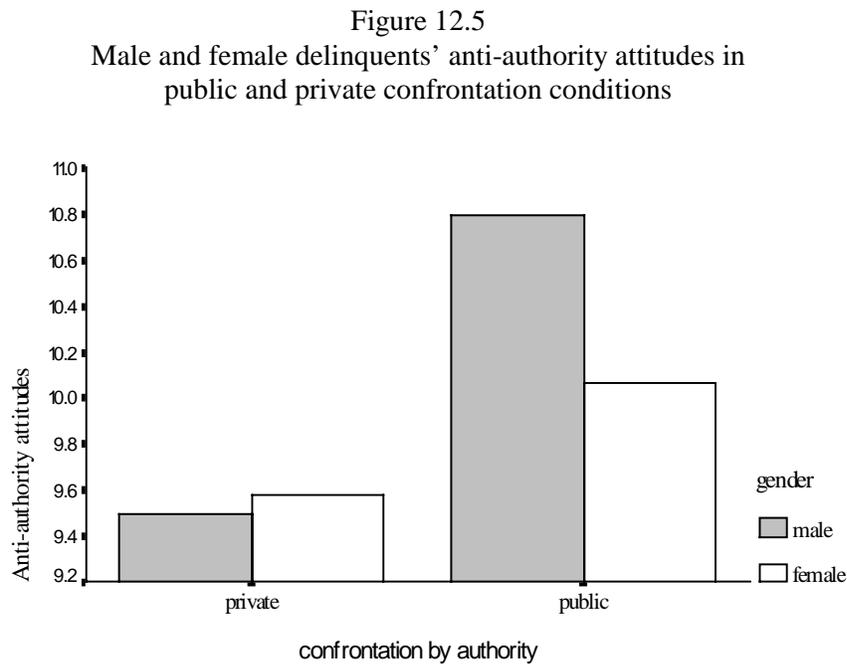
12.3.4 Endorsement of neutralization techniques

The second hypothesis of this study predicts that the delinquents' endorsement of neutralization techniques would vary as a result of the different salience of their gang and family identities, and under different conditions of confrontation by authority. Specifically, delinquents whose family identity is salient would be more likely to endorse the use of these techniques in the public confrontation condition than those who perceived confrontation by authority to be in private.

Inverse transformations were performed on the four neutralization techniques of denial of responsibility, denial of damage, condemnation of the condemner and appeal to higher loyalty to satisfy assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variances.

A manova of the four neutralization techniques was not performed because, as in the case of the variables measuring anti-authority attitudes, there is presence of singular variance -covariance matrices. Separate anovas were then carried out with the four endorsement of neutralization techniques variables, with confrontation by authority (private and public), salience (family and gang) and gender (male and female) as the independent variables. The ratings for the endorsement of neutralization techniques are all on a six-point scale, with 1 representing no endorsement and 6 representing total endorsement.

1.   Condemnation of the condemner

The anova for the condemnation of the condemner yielded a significant main effect of gender (F(1, 109) = 12.05, p = .001) and a significant interaction of confrontation by authority and salience (F(1, 109) = 5.54, p = .02. See Appendix N, Table 8). Male delinquents tend to endorse condemnation of the condemner to a greater extent than female delinquents (means = 2.86 and 1.85 respectively).

The data of the interaction is presented in Table 12.11 below, and illustrated in Figure 12.6.

Delinquents whose family identity is salient show a greater tendency to endorse the condemnation of the condemner when confrontation by authority is public rather than private (means = 3.07 and 1.54 respectively). When confrontation by authority is private, delinquents whose gang identity is salient tend to endorse condemnation of the condemner to a greater extent than those whose family identity is salient

(means = 2.34 and 1.54 respectively). Delinquents whose gang identity is

salient are not affected by the confrontation by authority conditions.

Table 12.11
Means and standard deviations of delinquents' endorsement of
condemnation of the condemner

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Salience	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Family	1.54	1.40	3.07	2.13
Gang	2.34	1.82	2.37	1.71

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects
1) Difference between family salience in the private and public
confrontation by authority conditions, t(56) = 3.47, p = .001
2) Difference between family and gang salience in the private
confrontation by authority condition, t(55) = 2.45, p = .018
Other comparisons are not significant.

Figure 12.6
Delinquents' endorsement of condemnation of the condemner
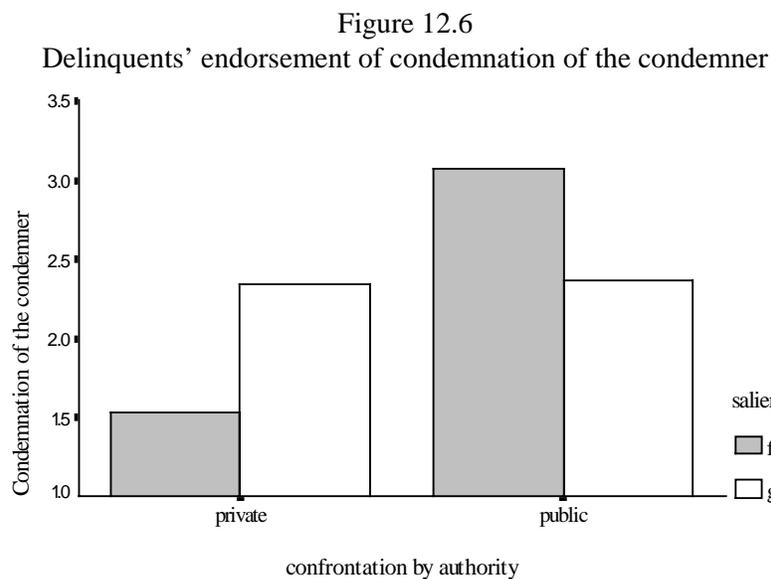
2. Denial of responsibility

The anova for denial of damage produced a a significant main

effect of gender (F(1, 109) = 15.76, p = .000, see Appendix N, Table 9).

Male delinquents are more likely to endorse the denial of responsibility

compared to female delinquents (means = 2.77 and 1.73 respectively).

There is also a significant interaction of confrontation of authority and salience (F(1, 109) = 17.19, p = .000, see Appendix N, Table 9). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 12.12 below.

Table 12.12
Means and standard deviations of delinquents' endorsement of
denial of responsibility

	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Salience	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Family	1.32	.72	3.33	2.04
Gang	2.21	1.63	2.03	1.79

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
1) Difference between family salience in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, t(56) = 4.87, p = .000
2) Difference between family and gang salience in the public confrontation by authority condition, t(58) = -3.05, p = .003
Other comparisons are not significant.

Delinquents whose family identity is salient in public show a greater tendency to endorse the technique of denial of responsibility than those whose family identity is salient in private (means = 3.33 and 1.32 respectively). In the public confrontation condition, delinquents whose family identity is salient are also more likely to endorse denial of responsibility than those whose gang identity is salient (means = 3.33 and 2.03 respectively). However, delinquents whose gang identity is salient show no significant difference with regard to denial of responsibility either in the public or private confrontation conditions. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 12.7 below.

Figure 12.7
Delinquents' endorsement of denial of responsibility
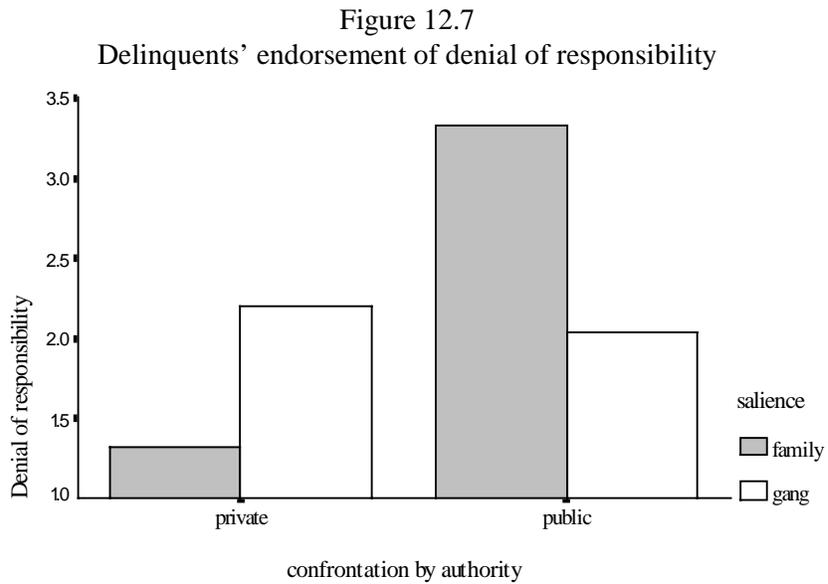
3.   Denial of damage

The anova of denial of damage revealed a a main effect of gender $(F(1, 109) = 9.56, p = .003)$ and a significant interaction of confrontation by authority and salience $(F(1, 109) = 6.17, p = .015$, see Appendix N, Table 10). Male delinquents tend to endorse denial of damage to a greater extent than female delinquents (means = 2.40 and 1.63 respectively). Table 12.13 presents the means and standard deviations of the interaction, which is illustrated in Figure 12.8.

Table 12.13
Means and standard deviations of delinquents' endorsement of
denial of damage

| Salience	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Family	1.46	1.07	2.70	1.95
Gang	2.07	1.73	1.77	1.45

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
1) Difference between family salience in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, $t(56) = 2.95$, $p = .005$
2) Difference between family and gang salience in the public confrontation by authority condition, $t(58) = -2.22$, $p = .030$
Other comparisons are not significant.

Figure 12.8
Delinquents' endorsement of denial of damage
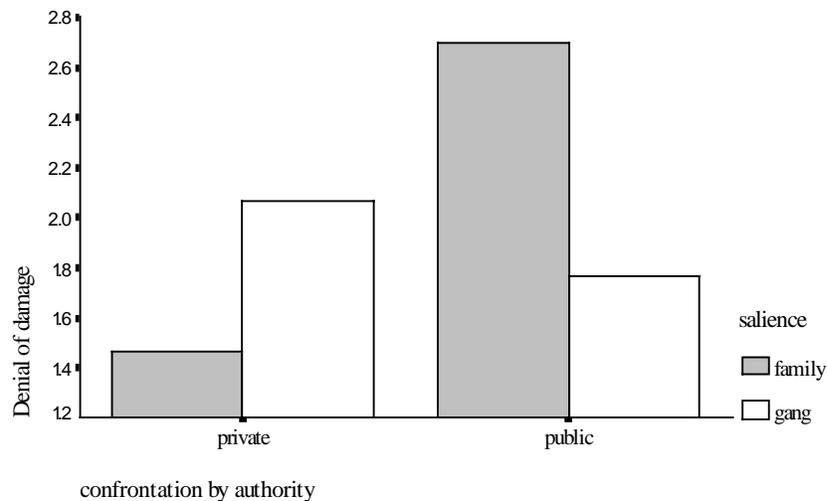
Delinquents whose family identity is salient and in the public confrontation condition tend to have greater endorsement of denial of damage than those in the private confrontation condition (means = 2.70 and 1.46 respectively). In the public confrontation condition, delinquents whose family identity is salient are also more likely to endorse denial of damage

than those in their gang identity (means = 2.70 and 1.77 respectively). For

delinquents whose gang identity is salient, their endorsement of denial of

damage is not affected by public or private confrontation of authority.

4.   Appeal to higher loyalty

The anova of the appeal to higher loyalty produced similar results

as the other three neutralization techniques above. The main effect of

gender (F (1, 109) = 39.85, p = .000) and the interaction of confrontation

by authority and salience is significant (F(1, 109) 11.27, p = .000. See

Appendix N, Table 11). Consistent with the findings of the other three

neutralization techniques, male delinquents are more likely to endorse

appeal to higher loyalty compared to female delinquents (means = 3.65 and

1.65 respectively). Means and standard deviations of the interaction is

presented in Table 12.14 below.

Table 12.14
Means and standard deviations of delinquents' endorsement of
appeal to higher loyalty

|	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Salience	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Family	1.93	1.41	3.67	2.07
Gang	2.55	1.80	2.30	1.91

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
Difference between   family salience in the private and public
confrontation by authority conditions, t(56) = 3.32, p = .002
Other comparisons are not significant.

Delinquents whose family identity is salience and in the public

confrontation condition are more likely to endorse the appeal to higher

loyalty than those in the private condition (means = 3.67 and 1.93 respectively). However, delinquents whose gang identity is salient showed no difference with regard to endorsement of the appeal to higher loyalty regardless of public or private confrontation by authority. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 12.9.

Figure 12.9
Delinquents' endorsement of appeal to higher loyalty
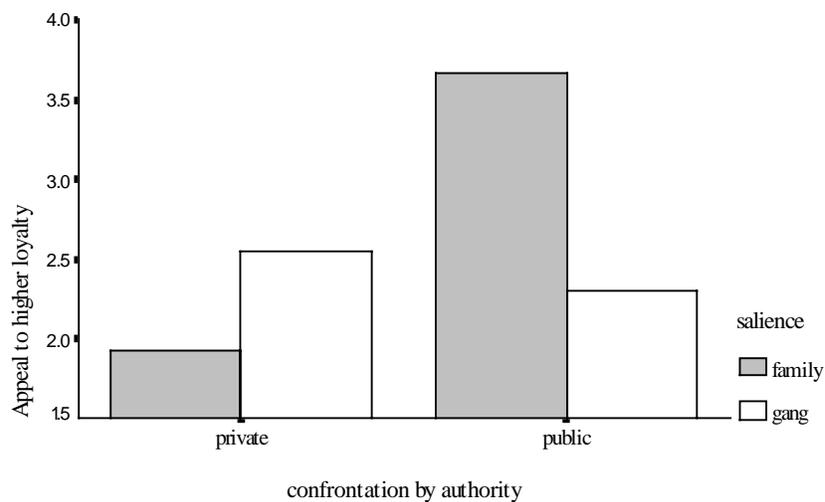
Figure 12.10 illustrates the difference between male and female delinquents for the four neutralization techniques.

Figure 12.10

Male and female delinquents' endorsement of neutralization techniques
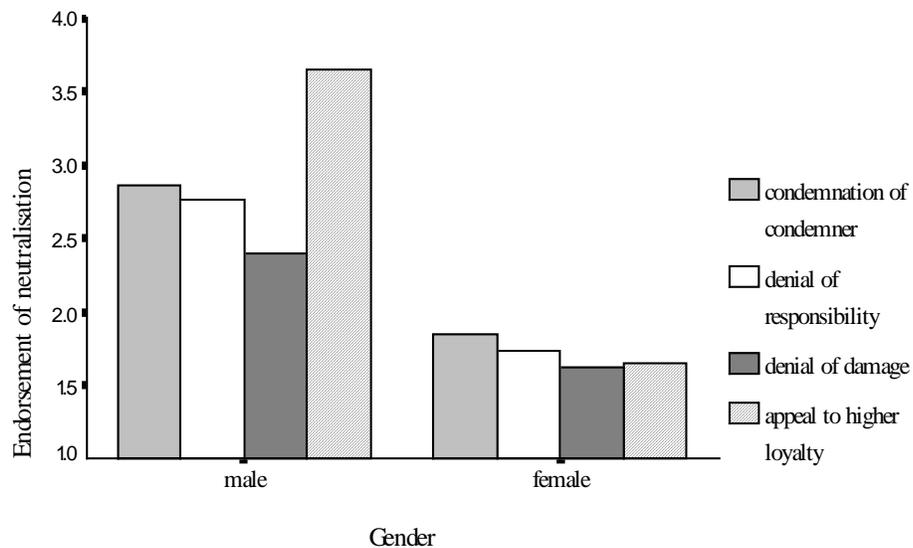
5.   Neutralization as a factor

For the sample from the detention homes, the principal component analysis of the four techniques of neutralization produced one factor with an eigenvalue of 2.73, accounting for 68.3% of the variance. An inverse transformation was performed on the factor to satisfy the assumptions of normality. Factor loadings are presented in Table 12.15. Intercorrelations are given in Table 12.16. A constant of 10 is added to the factor to avoid negative values.

Table 12.15

Factor loadings of neutralization techniques

Neutralization techniques	Factor Loadings
2. denial of responsibility	.88020
3. denial of damage	.87537
1. condemnation of the condemner	.80378
4. appeal to higher loyalty	.73764

Table 12.16
Intercorrelations among neutralization technique variables

Neutralization techniques	1	2	3	4
1. denial of responsibility	1.000	.6885**	.6125**	.3345**
2. denial of responsibility		1.000	.6518**	.5421**
3. denial of damage			1.000	.6063**
4. higher loyalty				1.000

** $p < .01$

The anova of this neutralization factor with confrontation by authority, salience and gender produced similar results as that of the four neutralization techniques. The main effect of gender ($F(1, 109) = 27.01$, p = .000) as well as the interaction between confrontation by authority and salience is significant ($F(1, 109) = 15.20$, p = .000. See Appendix N, Table 12). Male delinquents are more likely to use neutralization than female delinquents (means = 10.39 and 9.63 respectively). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 12.17 below.

Table 12.17
Means and standard deviations of delinquents' endorsement of
neutralization techniques

|	Private confrontation		Public confrontation	
Salience	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Family	9.51	.51	10.58	1.18
Gang	9.99	.99	9.88	.92

Notes:
Analysis of simple effects:
1) Difference between family salience in the private and public confrontation by authority conditions, $t(56) = 4.52$, p = .000
2) Difference between family and gang salience in the public confrontation by authority condition, $t(58) = -2.72$, p = .009
Other comparisons are not significant.

Delinquents whose family identity is salient tend to endorse the neutralization techniques to a greater extent when confrontation by authority is public rather than private (means = 10.58 and 9.51

respectively). In the public confrontation condition, delinquents whose family identity is salience tend to endorse the neutralization techniques to a greater extent than those whose gang identity is salient (means = 10.58 and 9.88 respectively). The interaction is illustrated in Figure 12.11.

Figure 12.11
Delinquents' endorsement of neutralization techniques
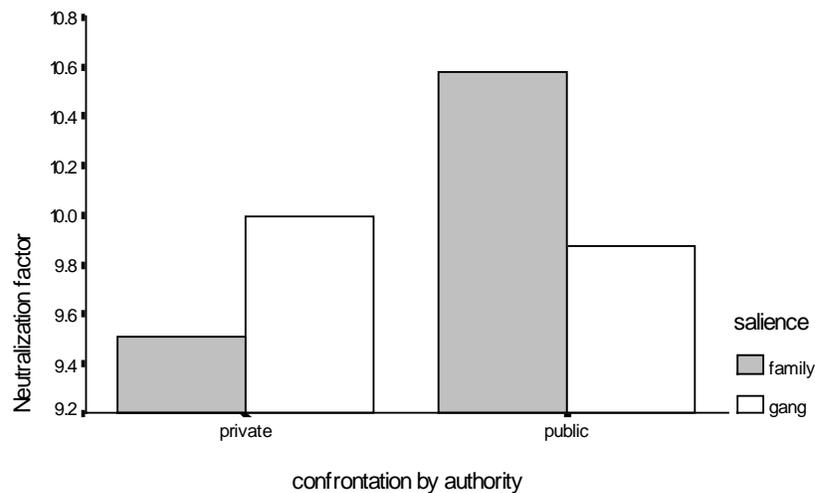
12.4   Summary of findings and discussion

There is consistency in the findings of this study of incarcerated delinquents with that involving the sample of self-report delinquents in the secondary schools presented in the previous chapter. Results of this study confirmed that regardless of whether the incarcerated delinquents are confronted by authority in private or in public, there is no difference in their anti-authority attitudes as long as their gang identity is salient. However, when confronted by authority in public and when their family identity is salient, delinquents tend to be more anti-authority than when

confrontation by authority is in private. Also, male delinquents tend to be more anti-authority when confronted by authority in public than in private.

As in the previous study reported in Chapter Eleven, intergroup processes, which enable delinquents in their gang identity to perceive the prefect as a representative of authority and a member of the outgroup, may explain why delinquents in their gang identity showed consistent anti-authority attitudes regardless of whether confrontation by authority is in private or in public. However, the anti-authority levels of delinquents in their gang identity are not higher than that of delinquents in their family identity when confrontation by authority is in public. One possible reason could be because the context in the vignette did not include the presence of a rival gang which could overtly threaten or challenge their gang identity. As such, there is no necessity for delinquents in their gang identity to demonstrate competitively higher anti-authority attitudes in the presence of the prefect in order to enhance their reputation. The delinquents' gang identity would be most salient in the presence of a rival gang, and anti-authority attitudes are likely to be increased to a greater extent.

Moreover, in the presence of an audience where confrontation by authority is in public, delinquents who are in their family identity also demonstrate high anti-authority attitudes. One explanation given for this finding is that delinquents are confronted with a clash of two social identities, their family and their gang, which are normally kept separate (Emler and Reicher, 1995). Although the target is in the company of family members in the vignette, the public reprimand by the prefect also brings out the salience of the gang identity. Having this dilemma may arouse

feelings of frustration and anger which are expressed in higher anti-authority attitudes.

Another explanation is that delinquents whose family identity is salient tend to experience greater levels of shame, and that this is translated into anger (Tangney, 1992) and into greater anti-authority attitudes. It is argued that those who experience more shame would therefore be more inclined to use rationalizations reflected in their endorsement of the neutralization techniques. The previous study involving self-report delinquents in the schools did not yield empirical evidence to support of this explanation.

However, findings of this study regarding the incarcerated delinquents' endorsement of neutralization techniques showed evidence in support of the idea that delinquents whose family identity is salient tend to perceive the target to experience more shame when confrontation by authority is in public. This is demonstrated by their endorsement of the neutralization techniques to a greater extent than those delinquents whose confrontation by authority is in private. Thus, the second hypothesis is supported.

It is important to note that the techniques of neutralization may not only be indicators of shame or guilt but also expressions of defiance, and hence closely related to anti-authority attitudes. In fact, there is a correlation of .59, (p < .000) between the two. This suggests a close relationship between shame, expressions of defiance and anti-authority attitudes. It is therefore not surprising that male delinquents are more likely to endorse the techniques of neutralization than female delinquents, a

finding which is consistent with other research (Braithwaite, 1989; Emler and Reicher, 1995).

The lowest anti-authority attitudes are found among delinquents whose family rather than gang identity is salient, and where confrontation by authority is in private. There are implications for social control theory. The theory suggests that delinquents tend not to have close ties with the family unlike non delinquents, whose affliliations with the family act as a deterrent against committing delinquent acts. However, this finding shows that social control in terms of shame operates not only for non delinquents but also for delinquents. As long as delinquents are in their family identity and in a context where there is no audience and where there is no need to demonstrate a delinquent reputation, delinquents can be relatively law-abiding.

In summary, results of this study demonstrate that the attitude towards authority of delinquents is not stable but varies with the salience of their identities. Incarcerated delinquents who have been publicly labelled and stigmatized show contextual variability regarding their attitude towards authority and their perception of shame as reflected in their endorsement of the neutralization techniques. Specifically, these incarcerated delinquents who are assumed to have a chronically delinquent identity as a result of the labelling process are shown to be less anti-authority and endorsed the neutralization techniques to a lesser extent when their family identity is salient and when confrontation by authority is seen to be in private than in public. In other words, the labelling and stigmatization that these delinquents have undergone in the process of being incarcerated does not

have a stable effect that applies regardless of social context. Thus, the findings of this study point to a major weakness in labelling theory, and show that labelling does not lead to the development of a permanent identity, and that reintegration into society is possible. Moreover, the findings do lend strong support for Matza's (1964) theory of drift, as well as self-categorization theory, that contextual shifts in identity can produce differences in attitude and behaviour.

The next chapter explores the idea of the variability of the delinquent self a step further by examining delinquents' levels of self-derogation under different salience of family and gang identities and preference of coping strategies.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE VARIABILITY OF THE DELINQUENT SELF:
SELF-DEROGATION AMONG SELF-REPORT SCHOOL DELINQUENTS

13.1   Rationale

The previous two studies reported in Chapters Eleven and Twelve demonstrated that the delinquent self is not a fixed or stable entity but varies according to the salience of its social identities. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that when delinquents think of themselves as family members rather than as members of a gang, and when they are publicly confronted to challenge authority, they are more likely to experience more shame and use more rationalizations against feelings of guilt, and are more inclined towards having anti-authority attitudes.

It is likely that levels of self-esteem or self-derogation are affected by variations in the salience of the family or gang identities, and are closely linked to delinquents' perceived ability to cope with negative experiences. However, studies on the self-esteem of delinquents have not been conclusive. On the one hand, there is evidence to show that the self-esteem of delinquents is not low (Kaplan, 1978, 1980; Leung and Lau, 1989; Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 1978; Rosenberg et al., 1989) but tends to be higher especially after engaging in delinquent behaviour (Kaplan et al. 1986, 1987; and Zieman and Benson, 1983). On the other hand, Bynner et al. (1981), McCarthy and Hoge (1984) and Wells and Rankin (1983)

provided evidence to the contrary. Similarly, Emler and Reicher (1995) question the view that delinquency stems from low self-esteem.

However, if the delinquent self is not a fixed entity, then the contradictory findings regarding their self-esteem may be partially if not fully, explained by this variability. Thus, the self-esteem of delinquents may vary according to the salience of their identities. When their gang identity is salient and they can derive their positive distinctiveness from this identity as predicted by social identity theory, one can expect their self-esteem to be higher. However, when their gang identity is not salient, their sense of self-derogation can be expected to be higher.

Based on this argument, the hypothesis for this study, which is only a <u>preliminary</u> one, can be stated more specifically as follows: that delinquents whose gang is salient would be more likely to have lower levels of self-derogation, compared with those whose family identity is salient, when their strategy of coping with failure involves membership in a group.

13.2   <u>Method</u>

13.2.1 <u>Participants</u>

This study involves 53 participants from two classes of students of one secondary school, who are from the Normal Technical stream. As the main aim of the study is not a comparison of delinquents with non delinquents but to demonstrate the variability of the delinquent identity,

only delinquents in the school were selected using the same self-report checklist of misbehaviours as the previous studies.

13.2.2 <u>Design</u>

The vignettes of two hypothetical students, HL and KP, (used in the second study reported in Chapter Nine) who are faced with negative social comparisons are presented, each using the individual-competitive and group-derogation coping strategies respectively. Here, coping strategies are between-group variables, in that participants are presented with either HL's individual-competition strategy, or KP's outgroup-derogation strategy. In place of the hypothetical student (Ming Wah, used in the previous study), either HL or KP is presented in the vignette as the student who litters and is confronted by the prefect. The manipulation of public and private confrontation of authority is omitted because of the smaller sample size. Confrontation by authority is thus presented only in the public context (see Appendix O).

Because of the reduced sample size, gender is also not included as a variable in this study. Salience and coping strategy (individual-competitive or group-derogation) are the two independent variables. Hence, the study is 2x2, with salience (family and gang) and coping strategy (individual-competitive and group-derogation) as the independent variables.

13.2.3 Measures

The dependent variable, self-derogation is measured by Kaplan's self-derogation scale (used in Chapter Nine) The items in the scale, which are presented to the participants in both English and Mandarin are

1.   I wish I could have more respect for myself

2.   I feel I do not have much to be proud of

3.   I often feel I am a failure

4.   At times, I think I am no good at all

5.   I certainly feel useless at times

6.   I think I have many good qualities

7.   On the whole I am satisfied with myself

As in Chapter Nine, the self-derogation score is calculated as the total of the items and weighted according to Kaplan's method (1978), and self-esteem is simply the addition of all the items in the scale.

13.2.4 Procedure

Unlike the study presented in Chapter Nine where the participants are also self-report school delinquents, the participants in this study were not told to assemble in the hall and regrouped because of the smaller sample size and constraints of time. Instead, they were given four different sets of questionnaire representing the four conditions, (see Table 13.1 below) which were randomly distributed and administered by teacher in the same manner as participants in the study reported in Chapter Nine.

Table 13.1
Formats in the questionnaire

	Coping strategy	
Salience	Individual-competition (HL's strategy)	Outgroup-derogation (KP's strategy)
family		
gang		

13.3   Results

13.3.1 Composition of participants

A total of 53 students participated in the study, but only 28 are identified as delinquents through the self-report of the thirteen misbehaviour items. The composition of the sample is given in the Table 13.2 below.

Table 13.2
Composition of participants

	Coping strategy		
Salience	Individual-competition	Outgroup-derogation	Total
family	4	9	13
	14.3%	32.1%	46.4%
gang	7	8	15
	25.0%	28.6%	53.6%
Total	11	17	28
	39.3%	60.7%	100%

Note:
Because of the low cell sizes, results have to be interpreted with caution.

13.3.2 <u>Manipulation checks</u>

A manova of how close participants perceive themselves to be to their family or gang, and how close they perceive the target student is to his or her family or gang was performed with salience (family and gang) and coping strategy (individual-competition and outgroup-derogation) as the independent variables. Results showed that there are no significant differences with regard to the variables among the delinquents in the four conditions of the 2x2 design. Ratings are on a scale of 1 to 6, with higher numbers representing greater closeness. The overall mean for participants' perception of how close they are to family or gang members is 5.18, and the overall mean for participants' perception of how close the target student is to his or her family or gang members is 4.86. Manipulations of salience of family and gang identities can therefore be said to be successful. Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 13.3.

Table 13.3
Means and standard deviations of manipulation variables

Manipulation variables	Individual-competitive strategy		outgroup-derogation strategy	
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
participants' perception of how close they are to family or gang members				
family	5.25	1.50	5.11	1.27
gang	4.71	.76	5.25	1.39
total	4.91	1.04	5.17	1.28
participants' perception of how close the target student is to family or gang				
family	5.50	1.00	4.22	1.86
gang	4.14	1.34	4.50	1.60
total	4.63	1.36	4.35	1.69

13.3.3 <u>Self-esteem</u>

A principal components analysis of the seven items in the self-esteem or self-derogation scale produced 3 factors, the factor loadings, eigenvalues and percentages of variance explained are shown in Table 13.4.

Table 13.4
Factor loadings of low self-esteem variables

Self-esteem variables	Factor	Eigenvalue	Percentage of variance
<u>Factor 1</u>		1.99	28.5
I certainly feel useless at times	.78658		
I often feel I am a failure	.78242		
At times, I think I'm no good at all	.76734		
<u>Factor 2</u>		1.67	23.9
I think I have many good qualities	.78351		
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	.78030		
<u>Factor 3</u>		1.18	17.0
I feel I do not have much to be proud of	.72070		
I wish I could have more respect for myself	.70498		

Due to the small size of the sample, a manova of the three factors of self-esteem was not performed. Instead, separate anovas on each of the three factors were conducted with salience and strategy as independent variables. Results did not yield any significant results for the first and the third factor. However, the anova of the second factor, which comprises items measuring high rather than low self-esteem revealed a significant interaction of salience and strategy (F(1, 24) = 6.53, p = .017. See Appendix P, Table 1). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 13.5. Scores for the items that comprise the self-esteem factor are <u>reversed scored</u>, thus, lower values indicate higher levels of self-esteem.

Table 13.5
Means and standard deviations of delinquents' perception of
the target's self-esteem (factor 2)

	Strategy			
	Individual-competition		Outgroup-derogation	
Salience	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
family	9.19	1.36	10.33	.61
gang	9.57	.89	8.87	.96

Notes:

Analysis of simple effects:

Difference between family and gang salience in the outgroup-strategy condition, $t(15) = 3.81$, $p = .002$

Other comparisons are not significant.

Thus, delinquents whose coping strategy is outgroup-derogation rather than individual-competitive, and who are in their <u>family</u> identity perceive that the target's levels of <u>low</u> self-esteem are higher than those in their gang identity (means = 10.33 and 8.89 respectively). In other words, delinquents who are in their gang identity and whose coping strategy is outgroup-derogation tend to perceive the target's levels of self-esteem to be higher than those in their family identity. This interaction of salience and coping strategy is illustrated in Figure 13.1.

Figure 13.1

Delinquents' perception of the <u>low</u> self-esteem (factor 2) levels of the target
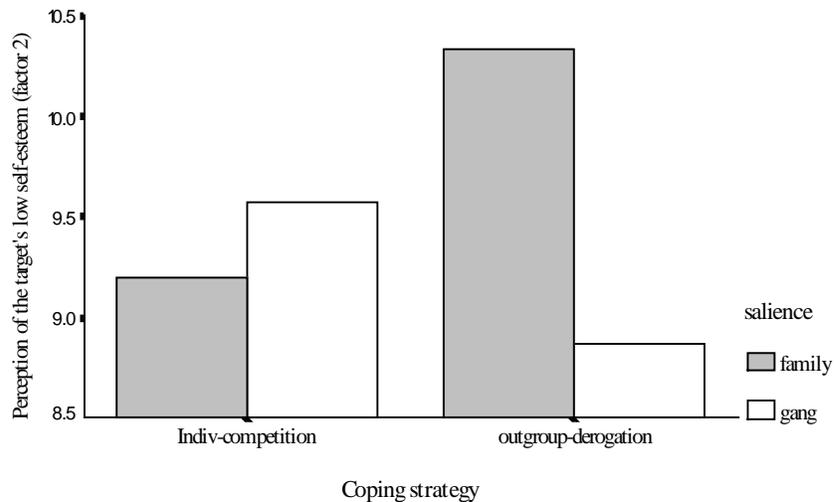
13.3.4   <u>Self-derogation</u>

When self-derogation was measured using Kaplan's (1978) method of weighting the items on the scale, the anova of self-derogation with salience and coping strategy with the delinquent sample did not produce any significant results.

13.5   <u>Summary of findings and discussion</u>

Findings of this preliminary study appear to support the hypothesis and show support for social identity theory, that delinquents whose gang identity is salient and whose method of coping involves a <u>group</u> strategy of derogation of the outgroup rather than to compete individually tend to have higher levels of self-esteem. However, this conclusion cannot be drawn without reservations because of the small sample size comprising only 28 participants. Nevertheless, there is sufficient indication that the results are consistent with the findings of the other two studies reported in Chapters

Eleven and Twelve, that the delinquent self, which includes self-esteem or self-derogation, tend to be context-dependent and variable rather than fixed or stable.

The studies presented in Chapters Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen demonstrate that the anti-authority attitudes, feelings of shame reflected in rationalizations against guilt and endorsement of neutralization techniques and sense of self-esteem of delinquents tend to fluctuate depending on the social context that they are in.

When delinquents think of themselves as members of a gang, they tend to manifest high anti-authority attitudes regardless of whether confrontation by authority is in private or in public. They also tend to have higher sense of self-esteem when their gang rather than family identity is salient, and preferred the group strategy of outgroup-derogation to that of individual-competition.

The difference in their attitude towards authority and endorsement of neutralization techniques is more evident when they are in their family social identity but under different social conditions. Anti-authority attitudes and endorsement of neutralization techniques are higher when confrontation by authority is in public than in private. But when delinquents are in a situation without the presence of an audience, and when they think of themselves as family members rather than belonging to a gang or a group, they demonstrate lower anti-authority attitudes and endorsement of neutralization techniques, compared to conditions when their delinquent social identity is salient. In other words, results of these

studies indicate that the family identity of delinquents tends to be more sensitive to contextual or situational factors than their gang identity

These findings point to the weaknesses in social control and labelling theories. They demonstrate that social control factors do not operate for non delinquents only. They also apply to delinquents who are in their family identity and under non threatening conditions, where there is no threat to their self-esteem and where their reputation is not at stake. Also, the process of labelling does not confer a stable identity, and that labelled and incarcerated delinquents can be exhibit relatively law-abiding attitudes under conditions where their delinquent or gang identity is not salient.

Moreover, the variability of the delinquent self in terms of attitudes towards authority, rationalization against guilt or shame and self-esteem not only offer support for social identity and self-categorization theories but also reconciles the subcultural theory of delinquency (Cohen, 1955) with drift theory (Sykes and Matza, 1957; Matza, 1964). Delinquents do uphold subcultural norms, but only when their gang or delinquent identity is salient, and they do drift in and out of delinquent behaviours which is explained by a shift in their social identities.

This shift or context variability of the self also helps to explain why research on delinquent's self-esteem and peer relationships within the group (discussed in Chapter Two) which may have tapped the different salience of the delinquents' identity, are apparently contradictory.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CONCLUSION: A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

14.1   Preamble

This chapter summarizes the findings of the six studies reported in

the thesis with regard to three issues that the thesis addresses. These are

firstly, the negative identity in terms of low and stable status which lead to

differences between delinquents and non delinquents, the importance of the

delinquent peer group as a means of coping with this negative identity, and

the variable nature of the delinquent social identity.

Theoretical as well as applied implications of these findings are

then discussed, as well as the limitations and future directions.

14.2   Summary of findings

14.2.1   Characteristics of the delinquent social identity

The first study in this thesis which is reported in Chapter Eight

demonstrated how members of the delinquent peer group or social identity

differ from other adolescent groups in terms of perceptions of their status

in the Singaporean school system,   stability of this status, as well as

reputation concerns, their values or norms and their experience of guilt as

manifested in their endorsement of neutralization techniques.

Findings showed that there are more delinquents in the weaker

Normal Academic and Normal Technical streams than in the better Express

stream in the school. Students in general that is, both the delinquents as well as the non delinquents, perceive that students in the weaker streams have a lower status in the social context of the school. However, delinquents are more likely than non delinquents to perceive that the low status is stable across situations. More specifically, delinquents are more likely to perceive that students who are academically weak would be despised not only by their peers both within and outside the school environment but also by their family members at home.

Results of the first study also demonstrated that compared with non delinquents, delinquents have greater concerns about their reputation with members of their group. Delinquents also have a greater tendency to endorse neutralization techniques and hold norms and values that are unconventional compared to non delinquents. Furthermore, delinquents tend to have negative experiences both at home and at school.

Results of the study are consistent with other findings regarding the gender differential, that males have a greater tendency towards delinquent behaviour than females (Braithwaite, 1989; Emler and Reicher, 1995), and that there is a relationship between delinquent behaviour and academic performance (Lynam et al., 1993; Tremblay et al., 1992; Zingraff, et al., 1994).

Emler and Reicher (1995) argue that the relationship between poor orientation to authority and academic failure is reciprocal. However, regardless of the direction of this relationship, adolescents who have a poor orientation to authority and who fail in academic studies are thus

perceived to be different from those who are more academically able and can maintain some measure of consistency with their identity as students.

Following self-categorization theory, these differences between delinquents and non delinquents lead to the development as well as the maintenance of two distinct social groups in the school -- those who are academically successful and respectful of the authority of the school, and those who are failures and who disregard authority, within the larger social category of the student identity. Especially in societies such as Singapore where a high value is placed on academic achievement, it is not surprising that the latter group of students tend to suffer from low status in the social environment of the school and also perceive this low status as stable since mobility is based on academic performance. Boundaries between the two groups thus become impermeable. Under these conditions, the identification of low status group members with each other would be stronger compared to other groups. This has been verified by the research of Ellemers and her colleagues (Ellemers et al., 1988, Ellemers et al., 1990, 1993).

Such differences not only serve to increase the identification of members of the low status group but also contribute to the development of the delinquent social identity. When the salience of the identity is emphasized, these differences tend to become more extreme in the presence of other groups. Other factors such as labelling or stigmatization (Braithwaite, 1989) help to keep members more firmly entrenched in their delinquent social identity.

Once the delinquent social identity has been established, its reputation, manifested in delinquent behaviours, has to be maintained (Emler and Hopkins, 1990). The norms and values of the delinquent group are the reverse of the conventional (Cohen, 1955), and it is this reversal that gives the delinquent social identity its positive distinctiveness and enhances self-esteem of its members. Compared to non delinquents, delinquents have a greater tendency to use neutralization techniques as rationalizations against shame and guilt (Sykes and Matza, 1957; Matza, 1964).

14.2.2 The delinquent peer group as a coping strategy

Results of the study second study in this thesis reported in Chapter Nine confirmed the main hypothesis that when faced with negative social comparison in the form of academic failure, delinquents show relative preference for a group strategy of coping which involves derogation of the outgroup rather than an individual method involving competition. This is especially so when failure is attributed to a lack of ability rather than a lack of effort.

Participants were also found to perceive that the outgroup-derogation strategy is more likely to lower the levels of self-derogation. The target who adopted the outgroup-derogation strategy of coping with failure is perceived by the delinquents to have lower self-derogation when attribution of failure is to a lack of effort. When failure is due to a lack of effort, the possibility of improving one's social status through academic achievement becomes possible. The thesis argues based on social identity

theory, that the adoption of the <u>group</u> rather than an individual coping strategy has the advantage of imparting to the members of the group a heightened sense of esteem through the social identity of the group. Results also showed that even delinquents who indicated a preference for the individual-competition strategy when attribution of failure is to a lack of ability realized that the lowering of self-derogation is more likely through the outgroup-derogation strategy than through the individual-competition strategy.

Thus, the study provides evidence that delinquents' strategy of derogating the outgroup is a form of coping with failure. In fact, derogation of others decreases the level of self-derogation of delinquents with poor self-esteem. This thesis suggests that the delinquent social identity functions as a group coping strategy against the threat of negative social comparison, and that it is the only strategy available that affords its members the opportunity for increasing self-esteem and lowering self-derogation.

Social comparison researchers have outlined the methods undertaken by people who suffer from the consequences of negative social comparison, which involve such negative emotions as feelings of inadequacy, self-discrepancy, shame, guilt, anger, resentment and jealousy (Brickman and Bulman, 1977; Higgins, 1978; Salovey and Rodin, 1984 and Tangney, 1995). The methods of coping include the distancing of relationships (Baumeister et al., 1994; Salovey and Rodin, 1988 and Salovey, 1991), the denigration of rivals (Salovey and Rodin, 1984), the

avoidance of comparisons altogether (Brickman and Bulman, 1977; Wood, 1985) and comparisons on a different dimension (Tesser, 1988; 1991).

The importance of being consistent in one's social identity has been emphasized by Emler and Hopkins (1990). The above methods of dealing with the consequences of negative social comparison tend to be individualistic in the sense that they fail to take into consideration the role of the peer group, which has been found to play an important role in the development of the adolescent identity (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966; and Waterman, 1985). Without the involvement of the peer group, students who are perceived either by themselves or by others as academic failures and who demonstrate attitudes that are against the authority of the school, still remain inconsistent in their social identity of students. What is required is a group strategy of coping, as the group of similar members who identify with one another not only gives the delinquents a sense of consistency with its members but more importantly, as a result of this sense of self-consistency, helps to increase their self-esteem.

Derogation of the outgroup necessarily involves a rejection of their norms. In the case of delinquents, this rejection also takes the form of a redefinition and reversal of conventional norms or values. The third study of this thesis which is reported in Chapter Ten, demonstrated this reversal and redefinition of conventional norms and values. Participants given a list of conventional and unconventional attributes evaluated them as "good" or "bad" for four social groups found in the school, namely, the prefects, the "kiasu" (overly competitive and anxious) students, students who are frequently detained after school hours, and members of gangs.

As predicted, when the attributes ascribed to gang members and students in detention classes are "non conventional" such as being ready to fight, caring a lot about fashion and always wanting to have fun, more delinquents evaluated these as "good" whereas more non delinquents evaluated these same attributes as "bad". However, when the attributes ascribed to prefects and "kiasu" students are "conventional" such as obeying rules and liking to study most of the time, more delinquents evaluated these as "bad" but more non delinquents evaluated these as "good". Thus, results provided evidence that the norms and values of delinquents compared to non delinquents are a reversal of the conventional.

However, the results of the study also indicate that this reversal is not total. When the responses of only the delinquents are analyzed, more delinquents are found to endorse norms and values that are conventional. For example, for the attributes of liking to study in describing "kiasu" students and the prefects, more than half of the delinquents sampled evaluated these as "good", although their percentage is significantly lower when compared to the non delinquents. Conversely, when the attributes of hating to do homework and not worrying about the future in describing the gang, more the half of the delinquents sampled evaluated these as "bad".

The evidence suggests that Cohen (1955) is not wrong in his explanation of the reversal of conventional norms as reaction formation, in that delinquents only derogate and devalue what they would want but cannot attain for themselves -- a case of the proverbial "sour grapes". The study also showed that delinquents tend to identify more with members of the gang and students in the detention classes. Non delinquents, on the

other hand, showed greater tendency to identify with the prefects and the "kiasu" students. Hence, the evidence points to social groups in the school being differentiated on the basis of orientation to authority and academic achievement.

The evidence that the reversal is not total also lends support to the drift theory of delinquency (Sykes and Matza, 1957; Matza. 1964) that delinquent behaviour is not constant or stable and that delinquents drift in and out of such behaviours. However, Sykes and Matza did not elucidate the processes involved in the drift, which is explained by self-categorization theory's concept of the variable self.

14.2.3 Variability of the delinquent social identity

The last three studies of the thesis provided empirical evidence of differing attitudes due to a shift of identities. The main hypothesis is that delinquents would demonstrate differing attitudes towards authority and differing levels of shame and guilt, as manifested in their endorsement of neutralization techniques depending on the salience of their delinquent social identity.

Both incarcerated delinquents from detention homes as well as self-report delinquents in schools sampled in the study were consistent in showing the variability of the delinquent self under private and public confrontation of authority and under differing salience of identities. Delinquents in their family identity were more anti-authority when in public than in private, but delinquents in their gang identity were not affected by public or private confrontation by authority.

Results regarding the endorsement of neutralization techniques show similar conclusions. Delinquents in their family identity show greater endorsement of such techniques, which is indicative of higher levels of shame when confrontation by authority is public rather than private. Similarly, in their gang identity, delinquents tend not to be affected by public or private confrontation by authority.

Preliminary findings from the last study also support the hypothesis that delinquents in their gang identity have lower levels of self-derogation when their strategy of coping with negative social comparison or failure is the derogation of the outgroup rather than one based on individual competition.

Thus, these findings illustrate self-categorization's concept of the fluidity or variability of the self, and explain how delinquents "drift" in and out of delinquent behaviours. This "drift is in fact a shift of identities as a result of contextual factors. Under different contexts or situations, delinquents demonstrate differing attitudes and behaviour. Thus, when their delinquent social identity is not salient and when an audience is not present, delinquent attitudes and behaviour would not be manifested. On the other hand, when the delinquent social identity becomes salient and this is publicly observed by an audience, delinquents can be expected to be more anti-authority in their attitudes which may be translated into delinquent behaviour.

In summary, the findings of this thesis illustrate that delinquency has its roots in negative identity, of which the derogation of the more successful others or the outgroup is the only viable method of coping

which affords delinquents some measure of self-esteem. Empirical evidence of differences between delinquents and non delinquents with respect to status, reputation concerns and endorsement of neutralization techniques are provided in Chapter Eight. Evidence that delinquents would prefer the outgroup-derogation strategy of coping with negative social comparison is given in the study presented in Chapter Nine. Such a coping strategy contributes to the development as well as the entrenchment of the delinquent in this social identity. This necessarily involves a redefinition and reversal of conventional norms as proposed by Cohen's subcultural theory of delinquency, and verified in the study presented in Chapter Ten. However, results of this study also provide evidence in support of Sykes and Matza's "drift" theory, which is explained by self-categorization theory's concept of the variability of the self. Evidence of this is provided in the studies presented in Chapters Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen.

In other words, the thesis employs concepts of social identity and self-categorization theories to explore the processes involved in the relationship between poor academic achievement and delinquent behaviour, and explain the role of the delinquent peer group as a coping strategy as well as the variable or context-dependent nature of the delinquent social identity.

14.3 Limitations of the thesis

The studies reported in this thesis are retrospective in nature in the sense that the delinquent participants have already admitted through self-reports, to committing delinquent acts. Thus, one limitation of this thesis

is that the studies do not show the actual processes of how low status groups discriminate against and reverse the norms of the outgroup. In other words, what needs to be demonstrated is how pre-delinquent or pre-deviant groups become delinquent in reversing norms and values when presented with low status and a negative identity. Major obstacles to conducting such studies are ethical issues as well as the time constraints. Participants in such studies would have to be given negative false feedback on concerns pertinent to their self-esteem, and also over a period of time necessary for the development of a negative identity.

The dependent measures used in this study are mainly based on participants' perceptions and attitudes reflected through rating scales rather than behavioural measures themselves. Such studies would involve the direct measurement of delinquent behaviours, provoked by the manipulations in the studies. Hence, such studies are not likely to meet the approval of most ethics committees.

A methodological limitation concerns the use of self-report measures and rating scales with delinquent participants who have a short attention span and a rather weak command of the English language. Although these measures allowed a greater number of participants to be sampled in a relatively short time, what is uncertain is the extent to which these participants have understood the items in the questionnaires.

Another limitation concerns the small sample size in the last study reported in Chapter Thirteen, which examines the self-derogation of delinquents in different identity salience conditions. A replication with a

larger sample would enable the results to be interpreted with greater confidence.

14.4   Future directions

Similar studies can be conducted with a larger sample of participants to illustrate the variability of the delinquent social identity with regard to societal norms and self-esteem. Specifically, similar studies can be conducted involving manipulations of identity salience and public and private confrontation of authority as independent variables and commitment to conventional norms and self-esteem as the dependent variables. Comparisons between measures of personal or individual self-esteem as opposed to collective self-esteem (Crocker and Luhtanen, 1990) can also be made.

The role of contextual factors that affect the salience of an identity requires further examination. There is a need to understand the specific social circumstances that would cause delinquents to experience their identity as positive or negative. The question of what events or conditions would make the delinquent social identity so salient to the extent that it becomes manifested in delinquent behaviours would also need to be answered.

The studies presented in the last three chapters of this thesis could also be replicated with the introduction in the vignette of another relevant outgroup such as rival gangs, in addition to the outgroup representing authority. The presence of a rival gang is likely to pose a threat or a

challenge to delinquents to maintain and enhance their reputation, and provoke them to greater levels of delinquent attitudes and behaviour.

It would be interesting to investigate delinquents' attitudes and behaviours under circumstances where social identities which are normally kept separate, are brought together. Studies employing observation and interviews could be carried out with delinquents who are interviewed by the principal in the presence of their parents and other family members, teachers, prefects, members of their own gang as well as members of rival gangs.

Having established that delinquent behaviour involves group processes, future studies can be undertaken to explore specific the within-group dynamics that operate within delinquent gangs, with regard to such issues as how members are recruited, how norm violations by members are handled, how gang leadership is chosen, and how social influence processes operate among members. An understanding of these processes may provide some clues as to what alternative positive social identities may be acceptable.

Another area for future research would be to investigate the ameliorating factors both at home and at school which prevent the differentiation of adolescents into two distinct groups of the successful and conforming, and the failures and delinquent. The specific roles of parents, siblings, close relatives in the family, and the role of teachers, student leaders and peers that serve to alleviate negative experiences within the family and at school must be studied in greater detail. In other words, the

focus of intervention is on interpersonal factors so as to prevent the activation of the delinquent social identity.

The efficacy of intervention programmes using group-based strategies which take into account the varying salience of the delinquent social identity can be studied and compared with other programmes that focus on counselling the individual delinquent.

Finally, on the intergroup level, comparative studies can be carried out on the identity-enhancement strategies of groups with negative or deviant identities, such as homosexuals and religious cults. Also, cross-cultural studies comparing delinquent behaviours in authority-oriented and status-stratified societies and those that are more socially egalitarian would provide a deeper understanding of the social context of delinquency.

14.5   Implications of the findings

The thesis contributes to a better understanding of delinquency by focusing on delinquent behaviour as behaviour which must be interpreted in terms of intergroup relationships rather than merely the interpersonal. It reconciles the subcultural theory of delinquency (Cohen, 1955) which deals with delinquent behaviour as behaviour of a collective in which reversals of conventional norms are part of a delinquent subculture, and the theory of delinquency as "drift" (Sykes and Matza, 1957, Matza, 1964) which is explained as the shift in the salience of one identity to another. In other words, there is empirical support for both the theories. While the subcultural theory focuses on delinquent behaviour only at the intergroup level where the delinquent social identity is salient, "drift" theory deals

with the changes in the behaviour of delinquents as a result of the varying salience of their identities, such that relationships operate either at the intergroup or interpersonal levels.

The apparently contradictory findings regarding the self-esteem or self-derogation of delinquents in the research of Kaplan (1978, 1980), Rosenberg et al. (1989) and Zieman and Benson (1983) and that of McCarty and Hoge (1984) and Wells and Rankin (1983) may possibly be explained in terms of the varying salience of personal and social identities. According to social identity theory, the increase in self-esteem of delinquents is the result of the salience of the delinquent social identity which makes positive distinctiveness possible. Thus, without the benefit of the salient delinquent social identity, which operates at the intergroup level, delinquents are more likely to suffer from higher levels of self-derogation.

Similarly, the variability of the delinquent social identity also explains the apparent contradictions in the research on the nature of peer relationships. On one hand, peer relationships among delinquents have been described as lacking in intimacy and interpersonal attraction (Klein and Crawford, 1968) but others argue that friendships among delinquents are close (Giordano, et al. 1986). Pabon and his colleagues (Pabon et al. 1992) pointed out that peer relationships among delinquents operate at two levels, one which provides affection and intimacy while the other provides a sense of companionship and belonging. The shift in the nature of relationships between these two levels among delinquents are thus explained by the differing salience of their identities.

Implications of the findings of this thesis with regard to interventions are many. Firstly, results of the first study have shown that delinquents perceive academic failure to have repercussions on their relationships in the family. This suggests that family and school factors are likely to be reciprocal in their effects. An important step towards intervention would be to break this negative link between the family and the school. If either the family or the school can ameliorate the negative effects of the other, this could prevent the development of a negative identity so that adolescents would not resort to seeking self-esteem through association with a delinquent social identity. In other words, the school can take measures to negate the effects of a dysfunctional family rather than to augment them, and conversely, the family can act to shield the adolescent from the negative experiences in school. It is only when both the family and the school are negative that adolescents who are inconsistent with both social identities as members of the family and as students in failing to live up to expectations, that an alternative positive identity is likely to be sought.

Interpersonal relationships at home and at school can be strengthened so as to reduce situations when the delinquent social identity is likely to be salient. Thus, it may prove useful for delinquents to be counselled not only individually on a one to one basis but with members of their families so that their family identity, which has been shown to be more sensitive to situational factors, can be strengthened. The focus of interpersonal elements within the family in Braithwaite's reintegrative

shaming conferences   is likely to be a major contributory factor of its success.

In schools, preventive measures can be taken to avoid situations where the delinquent social identity becomes salient. One such measure would be to integrate both academically able and weak students in terms of cooperative learning and study groups, in a peer tutoring programme or as pastoral care groups, where students interact on an interpersonal rather than an intergroup basis. Educators can play a role by avoiding stereotyping of students based on their behaviour or academic ability. Reprimands and punishments ought to be carried out when students are not in their delinquent social identity and in private so that the guilt aroused would not be accompanied by anger, resentment and the desire for revenge. Pains also need to be taken so as not to jeopardize the students' self-worth, which would otherwise drive them to seek alternative means of preserving their self-esteem.

As the delinquent social identity provides its members with an enhancement of their self-esteem, programmes implemented for delinquents must therefore take into account the group processes that are part and parcel of the delinquent social identity as well as focusing on the needs of individual members.

Provision of activities not related to academic performance such as the creative arts or sports provide students who are academically weak with the opportunity for an alternative positive identity would help to enhance their social status and self-esteem. Social comparisons which are inevitable in the environment of the school (Goethals and Darley, 1987) can then take

place on another dimension. It is important that such activities be given sufficient status and recognition so that adolescents can participate in these activities without having to engage in the reversal of norms in order to achieve positive distinctiveness. This would provide them with another means of achieving success, other than that which is perceived by the young in Singapore (Kuo, 1988) which is defined strictly in academic terms.

In summary, intervention and remedial programmes should therefore provide adolescents with the opportunity to achieve positiveness, self-esteem and status. Given that these are more likely to be found in the group or within a social identity, these programmes may have a better chance of success when they focus not only on individual delinquents but consider delinquents as a group in their social identity.

14.6   A final word

The thesis contributes to a better understanding of delinquent behaviour in three ways. Firstly, it elaborates on the relationship between academic performance and delinquent behaviour, showing that social comparison processes operate with regard to academic performance, and that delinquent behaviour is a form of coping with the consequences of negative comparisons which involve the peer group. Secondly, the thesis explains why the peer group is important and the role it plays in enhancing the self-esteem of delinquents through outgroup derogation, in giving social validity to the reversal of norms which establishes positive distinctiveness and the delinquent reputation.   Finally, the thesis

demonstrates the context-dependent and variable nature of the delinquent social identity, the fact that delinquent attitudes and behaviour are not stable or fixed.

Intervention and remedial programmes for delinquents would therefore need to take the findings of this thesis into consideration, and provide means whereby adolescents who are academically and socially disadvantaged can achieve alternative positive social identities without having to resort to "social creativity" by the derogation and reversal of norms through delinquent or gang membership.

Delinquency is thus shown to be a form of group behaviour, a response to a negative identity and a means of coping that involves "social creativity", and not a kind of deviant behaviour that arises out of inherent pathological tendencies in individuals.

Questionnaire for the study reported in Chapter Eight

A STUDY OF STUDENT PEER GROUPS IN SINGAPORE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

This is a study on how teenagers in secondary schools relate to one another. The aim is to have a better understanding of teenagers. Your answers will be confidential -- that means that only the researcher will see them. You have the promise that neither your teachers nor your parents or anyone else, except the researcher, will be reading them. There are no names or any way for anyone to tell which questionnaire belongs to whom. It is important that you are honest in answering them.

You can choose not to take part in this study, and may stop anytime.

If you choose to take part in this study, please complete the consent form below. This will be collected **separately** from the questionnaire.

Statement of Consent

I have read and understood the above instructions and agree to take part in this study

Name:_____

Class_____

Signature:_____

Date:_____

Age: _____

Sex: Male / Female

Class:_____

Answer the following questions by drawing ONE circle around either (a), (b) or (c).

1.   Which class of students in the school are thought of by other students as **least** important in the school?

    (a) Express
    (b) Normal Academic
    (c) Normal Technical

2.   Which class of students are **most** thought of by other students as important in the school?

    (a) Express
    (b) Normal Academic
    (c) Normal Technical

3.   Which class of students are principals and teachers **most** proud of ?

    (a) Express
    (b) Normal Academic
    (c) Normal Technical

4.   Which class of students are principals and teachers **least** proud of ?

    (a) Express
    (b) Normal Academic
    (c) Normal Technical

5.   Which class of students are teachers **most** happy to teach?

    (a) Express
    (b) Normal Academic
    (c) Normal Technical

6.   Which class of students are teachers **least** happy to teach?

    (a) Express
    (b) Normal Academic
    (c) Normal Technical

7.   Which class do students in general think **most** highly of?

(a) Express
(b) Normal Academic
(c) Normal Technical

8.   Which class do students in general think **least** highly of?

(a) Express
(b) Normal Academic
(c) Normal Technical

Answer the following questions by drawing a circle around a number which is closest to your answer.

9.   How easy or hard is it for students who are looked down by others to change what others think of them in school?

very hard 1----------2----------3----------4----------5-----------6 very easy

10.   How easy or hard is it for people to change their minds about students they look down on?

very hard 1----------2----------3----------4----------5-----------6 very easy

11.   Are students who are looked down in school likely to be thought of differently by students in the school when they are at a shopping centre?

very differently 1----------2----------3----------4----------5-----------6 very likely to
                                                                        stay the same

12.   Are students who are looked down in school likely to be thought of differently at home by members of their family ?

very differently 1----------2----------3----------4----------5-----------6 very likely to
                                                                        stay the same

13.   How easy or hard is it for students to change classes and move to the a **better** stream?

        very hard 1----------2----------3----------4----------5-----------6 very easy

14.   How easy or hard is it for students to change classes and move to a **poorer** or **weaker** stream?

        very hard 1----------2----------3----------4----------5-----------6 very easy

To what extent do you <u>agree</u> or <u>disagree</u> with the following statements? Draw a circle around the number which is closest to your answer.

15.   Students who are looked down on by others in school are often unfairly treated by the school.

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4--------5---------6 totally agree

16.   The education system is unfair especially to students who are looked down on by others.

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4--------5---------6 totally agree

17.   I am in this class/stream because of my own ability and effort.

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4--------5---------6 totally agree

18.   It is because of others that I am in this class/stream.

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4--------5---------6 totally agree

19.   I have no problems getting along with my mother

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4--------5---------6 totally agree

20.   I have no problems getting along with my father

totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4---------5---------6 totally agree

21.   I am not worried about showing my report book to my parents

totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4---------5---------6 totally agree

22.   My parents are usually satisfied with my results

totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4---------5---------6 totally agree

23.   School rules are for the teachers' good more than for the students'.

totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4---------5---------6 totally agree

24.   Teachers enjoy scolding students

totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4---------5---------6 totally agree

25.   Students are often unfairly punished

totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4---------5---------6 totally agree

26.   Teachers often like to blame students for things they did not do.

totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4---------5---------6 totally agree

27.   How important are the following actions to you?
        Put a circle around a number to show how important -- 1 for not important at all and 6 for very important

Actions	Importance
	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6 not impt very impt
a) getting good marks in school	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6
b) doing what your group or gang is doing	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6
c) getting your own way	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6
d) pleasing your parents	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6
e) being tough and not easily bullied	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6
f) keeping school rules	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6
g) others thinking of you as tough or "cool"	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6
h) having good manners & being courteous	1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6

How far do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Draw a circle around the number closest to your answer.

28.   I enjoy being a member of my class

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

29.   The members of my class get along well with each other

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

30.   The members of my class have a lot in common with each other

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

31.   I prefer to be a member of this class than any other class

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

Suppose a student were to be involved in the following situations.
To what extent do you <u>agree</u> or <u>disagree</u> with the following statements that are made by
the student? (a) and (b) are what the students say.

32.   <u>Situation 1</u>:   A VCR was stolen from the AVA room by this student

a)   "School's fault -- who ask them don't lock the room properly"

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

b)   "No problem -- can always buy another one!"

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

33.   <u>Situation 2</u>:   The student and his friends started a fight with students from
                            another school over a staring incident.

a)   "Who says we start the fight?!"

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

b)   "Must show them we are tough -- or else we will lose face"!

        totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

34.   <u>Situation 3:</u>   The student and some of his friends were caught spray painting
the wall outside the principal's office

a)   "Who ask the principal to be so ngeow[1]"?

totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

b)   "Paint only -- easy to wash away".

totally disagree 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 totally agree

35.   ***Below are some behaviours that students are sometimes guilty of.***
How often have you done the following? Please draw a circle around the
number which is closest to your answer

Behaviours	1-----2----3----4----5----6 never very often
a) smoking with a group of friends in school	1----2----3----4----5----6
b) losing temper and shouting at class/schoolmate	1----2----3----4----5----6
c) refusing to obey teacher's orders	1----2----3----4----5----6
d) shouting back at a teacher	1----2----3----4----5----6
e) playing truant with a group of friends	1----2----3----4----5----6
f) fighting	1----2----3----4----5----6
g) stealing something	1----2----3----4----5----6
h) using foul language ("bad words")	1----2----3----4----5----6

---

[1] "ngeow" is a colloquail term for "nasty".

36.   Suppose you are involved in one of the above behaviours, how important is it that members of your group know about it?

        not important 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 very
        at all   important

37.   If you have been asked to become a prefect or class monitor, how important that you ask your friends about it first before you say yes or no?

        not important 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 very
        at all   important

38.   I f a teacher were to ask you to help carry books to the staffroom, how important that your friends **do not** know or see you doing this?

        not important 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 very
        at all   important

39.   If a teacher praises you, how important to you that your friends **do not** hear it?

        not important 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 very
        at all   important

40.   How important to you that your group members know that you are doing the same things as they are?

        not important 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 very
        at all   important

41.   How ashamed would you be if you **and your group of friends** were to be scolded by a teacher in front of other students?

        not ashamed 1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6 very
        at all   ashamed

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

APPENDIX B
Results for the study reported in Chapter Eight

Table 1
One-way anova of delinquent behaviours factor with stream

The assumption of homogeneity of variance has not been met.
Levene test =11.0, df = 2,264, p = .000

Source	D.F	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F ratio	F Probability
Between groups	2	.0014	.0007	**9.039**	**.0002**
Within groups	264	.0200	.0001		
Total	266	.0214			

NB: 3 subjects missing

Table 2.1
Status: Number and percentage of students who perceive stream as most highly thought of

Stream perceived as **most** highly thought of	Non delinquents 135	Delinquents 132	Total 267
Express	114	96	210
	42.7%	36.0%	78.7%
Normal Academic	13	19	32
	4.9%	7.1%	12.0%
Normal Technical	8	17	25
	3.0%	6.4%	9.4%

NB: 2 subjects missing

Table 2.2
Status: Number and percentage of students who perceive stream as least highly thought of

Stream perceived as **least** highly thought of	Non delinquents 135	Delinquents 132	Total 267
Express	22	35	57
	8.2%	13.1%	21.3%
Normal Academic	11	11	22
	4.1%	4.1%	8.2%
Normal Technical	102	86	188
	38.2%	32.2%	70.4%

NB: 2 subjects missing
$\chi2$ (2) = 8.03, p = .018

Table 2.3
Status: Number and percentage of students who perceive stream
teachers and principals are most proud of

Stream that teachers and principals are **most** proud of	Non delinquents 135	Delinquents 132	Total 267
Express	122	111	233
	45.7%	41.6%	87.3%
Normal Academic	7	8	15
	2.6%	3.0%	5.6%
Normal Technical	6	13	19
	2.2%	4.9%	7.1%

NB: 2 subjects missing

Table 2.4
Status: Number and percentage of students who perceive streams which
teachers and principals are least proud of

Stream that teachers and principals are **least** proud of	Non delinquents 134	Delinquents 132	Total 266
Express	12	13	25
	4.5%	4.9%	9.4%
Normal Academic	17	24	41
	6.4%	9.0%	15.4%
Normal Technical	105	95	200
	39.5%	35.7%	75.2%

NB: 3 subjects missing

Table 2.5
Status: Number and percentage of students who perceive stream which
teachers are most happy to teach

Stream that teachers are **most** happy to teach	Non delinquents 134	Delinquents 132	Total 266
Express	96	84	180
	36.1%	31.6%	67.7%
Normal Academic	21	24	45
	7.9%	9.0%	16.9%
Normal Technical	17	24	41
	6.4%	9.0%	15.4%

NB: 3 subjects missing

Table 2.6
Status: Number and percentage of students who perceive streams which
teachers are least happy to teach

Stream that teachers are **least** happy go teach	Non delinquents 134	Delinquents 132	Total 266
Express	12	21	33
	4.5%	7.9%	12.4%
Normal Academic	32	37	69
	12.05	13.9%	25.9%
Normal Technical	90	74	164
	33.8%	27.8%	61.7%

NB: 3 subjects missing

Table 2.7
Status: Number and percentage of students who perceive stream
most highly thought of by students in general

Stream that students in general think **most** highly of	Non delinquents 135	Delinquents 132	Total 267
Express	128	112	240
	47.9%	41.9%	89.9%
Normal Academic	2	10	12
	0.7%	3.7%	4.5%
Normal Technical	5	10	15
	1.9%	3.7%	5.6%

NB: 2 subjects missing

Table 2.8
Status: Number and percentage of students who perceive streams
least highly thought of by students in general

Stream that students in general think **least** highly of	Non delinquents 135	Delinquents 132	Total 267
Express	6	9	15
	2.2%	3.4%	5.6%
Normal Academic	16	26	42
	6.0%	9.7%	15.7%
Normal Technical	113	97	210
	42.3%	36.3%	78.7%

NB: 2 missing subjects

Table 3
Tests for homogeneity of variances for stability variables

Stability Variables	Cochrans C (65, 4)	p <
1 (square root transformation)	.3319	.079
2 (square root transformation)	.2857	.690
3 (logarithm transformation)	.2871	.654
4 (logarithm transformation)	.2724	1.00
5	.2544	1.00
6	.3457	.034

1 = how likely for students who are looked down by others to change others' opinion of
    them
2 = how likely for people to change their minds about students they look down upon
3 = whether students looked down in school are likely to be looked down by schoolmates
    at shopping centres
4 = whether students looked down in school are likely to be looked down at home by
     family members
5 = how likely for students to change classes and move to a better stream
6 = how likely for students to change classes and move to a poorer stream

Table 4
Manova table for stability variables

Boxes M = 83.97, F(63, 110281) = 1.27, p = .07

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.05	**2.30**	6.00	255	**.035**	

Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1 (square root)	.28	46.26	.28	.18	1.59	.208
2 (square root)	.81	48.39	.08	.19	.43	.512
3 (logarithm)	.33	17.89	.33	.07	**4.73**	**.031**
4 (logarithm)	.77	19.91	.77	.08	**10.08**	**.002**
5	.003	588.89	.003	2.26	.001	.971
6	1.68	648.95	1.68	2.49	.67	.412

1 = how likely for students who are looked down by others to change others' opinion of
    them
2 = how likely for people to change their minds about students they look down on
3 = whether students looked down in school are likely to be looked down by schoolmates
    at shopping centres
4 = whether students looked down in school are likely to be looked dow at home by
     family members
5 = how likely for students to change classes and move to a better stream
6 = how likely for students to change classes and move to a poorer stream

Table 5
Tests for homogeneity of variances for reputation variables

Reputation Variables	Cochrans C (63, 4)	p <
1	.3508	.027
2	.2719	1.000
3	.2751	1.000
4	.3115	.242
5	.3122	.233
6	.3238	.131

1	the importance of members of their social group knowing about their behaviours,
2	the importance of their friends' approval if they had been selected to become a prefect of a class monitor (hence a member of a different social identity),
3	the importance of their friends not seeing them helping the teacher,
4	the importance of their friends not hearing them being praised by the teacher,
5	the importance of their group members knowing that they are engaged in similar activities, and
6	how ashamed they would feel if they were to be scolded by the teacher in the presence of their friends.

Table 6.1
Manova table for reputation variables for main effect of behaviour

Boxes M = 84.37, F (63, 98152) = 1.28, p = .067

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F
Pillai's	.06	**2.71**	6.00	248.00	**.015**

Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1	19.45	671.78	19.45	2.66	**7.33**	**.007**
2	3.22	705.23	3.22	2.79	1.16	.283
3	1.80	427.08	1.80	1.69	1.07	.303
4	12.32	522.43	12.32	2.06	**5.98**	**.015**
5	17.14	488.15	17.14	1.93	**8.88**	**.003**
6	1.01	527.34	1.01	2.08	.48	.488

1	the importance of members of their social group knowing about their behaviours,
2	the importance of their friends' approval if they had been selected to become a prefect of a class monitor (hence a member of a different social identity),
3	the importance of their friends not seeing them helping the teacher,
4	the importance of their friends not hearing them being praised by the teacher,
5	the importance of their group members knowing that they are engaged in similar activities, and
6	how ashamed they would feel if they were to be scolded by the teacher in the presence of their friends.

Table 6.2
Manova table for reputation variables for interaction of behaviour and gender

Boxes M = 84.37, F (63, 98152) = 1.28, p = .067

Behaviour x gender	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.06	**2.53**	6.00	248	**.021**	

Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1	4.32	671.78	4.32	2.66	1.63	.203
2	12.29	705.23	12.29	2.79	**4.04**	**.037**
3	.001	427.08	.001	1.69	.000	.978
4	1.43	522.43	1.43	2.06	.69	.406
5	9.04	488.15	9.04	1.92	**4.69**	**.031**
6	14.91	527.34	14.91	2.08	**7.15**	**.008**

1   the importance of members of their social group knowing about their behaviours,
2   the importance of their friends' approval if they had been selected to become
    a prefect of a class monitor (hence a member of a different social identity),
3   the importance of their friends not seeing them helping the teacher,
4   the importance of their friends not hearing them being praised by the teacher,
5   the importance of their group members knowing that they are engaged in
    similar activities, and
6   how ashamed they would feel if they were to be scolded by the teacher in
    the presence of their friends.

Table 7
Tests for homogeneity of variances for value variables

Value Variables	Cochrans C (63, 4)	p <
1	.3480	.031
2	.2847	.723
3	.2645	1.000
4	.2797	.859
5	.2966	.457
6	.2895	.605
7	.2645	1.000
8	.3080	.278

1 = getting good marks in school
2 = doing what your group or gang is doing
3 = getting your own way
4 = pleasing your parents
5 = being tough and not easily bullied
6 = keeping school rules
7 = others thinking of you as tough or "cool"
8 = having good manners and being courteous

Table 8
Manova table for values for main effect of behaviour

Boxes M = 127.43, F(108, 103878) = 1.11, p = .204

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F
Pillai's	.16	**5.83**	8.00	247	**.000**

Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1 (reflect and inverse)	.38	13.82	.38	.05	**7.02**	**.009**
2 (reciprocal)	1.16	27.67	1.16	.11	**10.66**	**.001**
3	6.25	558.81	6.25	2.20	2.84	.093
4 (reflect and inverse)	.68	28.09	.68	.11	**6.10**	**.014**
5 (reflect and inverse)	.62	26.27	.62	.10	**5.96**	**.015**
6 (reflect and inverse)	1.64	23.81	1.64	.09	**17.50**	**.000**
7	28.71	682.28	28.71	2.69	**10.69**	**.001**
8 (reflect and inverse)	.85	20.09	.85	.08	**10.78**	**.001**

1 = getting good marks in school
2 = doing what your group or gang is doing
3 = getting your own way
4 = pleasing your parents
5 = being tough and not easily bullied
6 = keeping school rules
7 = others thinking of you as tough or "cool"
8 = having good manners and being courteous

Table 9
Tests for homogeneity of variances for neutralization techniques variables

Neutralization Techniques Variables	Cochrans C (64, 4)	p <
blaming victim	.2699	1.000
denial of victim	.2944	.499
denial of responsibility	.2849	.718
appeal to higher loyalty	.3323	.071
condemning the condemners	.3218	.141
denial of damage	.3769	.004

Table 10

Manova table for endorsement of neutralization techniques for main effect of behaviour

Boxes M = 123.43, F(63, 101689) = 1.87, p = .000

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.17	**8.40**	6.00	251.00	**.000**	

Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1	1.83	790.57	1.83	3.08	.59	.442
2	13.88	545.75	13.88	2.13	**6.51**	**.011**
3	22.82	571.52	22.82	2.23	**10.22**	**.002**
4	96.60	679.82	96.60	2.66	**36.38**	**.000**
5	34.63	577.68	34.63	2.25	**15.35**	**.000**
6	41.79	424.07	41.79	1.66	**25.23**	**.000**

1 blaming victim
2 denial of victim
3 denial of responsibility
4 appeal to higher loyalty
5 condemning condemners
6 denial of damage

Table 11

Tests for homogeneity of variances for family variables

Family Variables	Cochrans C (64, 4)	p <
getting along with mother	.3037	.337
(Inverse and reciprocal transformation)		
getting along with father	.2876	.651
(Inverse and reciprocal transformation)		
worry about showing report book to parents	.2674	1.000
(Inverse and reciprocal transformation)		
parents' satisfaction with results	.2715	1.000

Table 12
Manova table for family variables for main effect of behaviour

Boxes M = 37.63, F(30, 107951) = 1.22, p = . 193

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.07	**4.50**	4.00	251	**.002**	

Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1(inverse and reciprocal)	.73	27.96	.73	.11	**6.65**	**.010**
2(inverse and reciprocal)	1.57	28.18	1.57	.11	**14.19**	**.000**
3(inverse and reciprocal)	.13	29.18	.13	.11	1.15	.285
4	10.84	490.39	10.84	1.93	**5.61**	**.019**

1 = getting along with mother
2 = getting along with father
3 = worry about showing parents report
4 = parents' satisfaction with grades

Table 13
Tests for homogeneity of variances for school variables

School variables	Cochrans C (64, 4)	p <
school rules are more for teachers' good	.2792	.867
teachers enjoy scolding students	.2697	1.000
students are often unfairly punished	.2561	1.000
teachers like to blame students	.2710	1.000

Table 14
Manova table for school variables   for main effect of behaviour

Boxes M = 28.74, F(30, 127044) = .93, p = .576

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.08	**5.36**	4.00	256.00	**.000**	

Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1	25.52	721.22	25.52	2.78	**9.16**	**.003**
2(inverse and reciprocal)	1.07	28.68	1.07	.11	**9.66**	**.002**
3	22.07	669.56	22.07	2.59	**8.54**	**.004**
4	26.17	641.97	26.17	2.47	**10.56**	**.001**

1 = school rules are more for teachers' good

2 = teachers enjoy scolding students

3 = students are often unfairly punished

4 = teachers like to blame students for things they did not do

Table 15
One-way anova of delinquent behaviours factor with
family and school experiences

The assumption of homogeneity of variance has not been met.
Levene test = 6.02, df = 3, 252, p = .001

Source	D.F	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F ratio	F Probability
Between groups	3	.0021	.0007	**10.12**	**.000**
Within groups	252	.0174	.0001		
Total	255	.0195			

NB: 15 cases missing

Table 16
Tests for homogeneity of variances for attribution variables

Attribution variables	Cochrans C (65, 4)	p <
students looked downed are unfairly treated by the school	.3029	.342
the education system is unfair to those looked down by others	.2769	.937
in this stream because of own ability and effort (inverse and reciprocal transformation)	.3033	.336
in this stream because others have been unfair or unkind (reciprocal transformation)	.2689	1.000

Table 17
Manova table for attribution variables for main effect of gender

Boxes M = 41.30, F(30, 127383) = 1.34, p = .103

Gender	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F
Pillai's	.05	**3.43**	4.00	257.00	**.009**

Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1	1.55	607.78	1.55	2.34	.66	.416
2	.86	600.63	.86	2.31	.37	.543
3	.44	27.36	.44	.11	4.16	.043
4	.95	27.47	.95	.11	**9.03**	**.003**

1 = students looked downed are unfairly treated by the school
2 = the education system is unfair to those looked down by others
3 = in this stream because of own ability and effort
4 = in this stream because others have been unfair or unkind

Table 18

Tests for homogeneity of variances for group identification variables

Group identification variables (inverse and reciprocal transformations)	Cochrans C (65, 4)	p <
enjoy being member of the class	.2768	.942
members of the class get along well with each other	.2729	1.000
members of the class have a lot in common	.3123	.221
prefer to be member of own class	.2728	1.000

Table 19

Manova table for identification variables for main effect of behaviour

Boxes M = 33.77, F(30, 127186) = 1.09, p = .333

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillais	.05	**3.20**	4.00	255	**.014**	

Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1 (inverse and reciprocal)	.98	25.44	.98	.09	**9.96**	**.002**
2 (inverse and reciprocal)	.13	23.75	.13	.09	1.41	.236
3 (inverse and reciprocal)	.01	43.63	.01	.17	.05	.822
4 (inverse and reciprocal)	.21	29.18	.21	.11	1.89	.170

1 = enjoy being member of the class
2 = members of the class get along well
3 = members of the class have a lot in common
4 = prefer to be member of own class

Questionnaire for study reported in Chapter Nine

STUDY ON STUDENTS' REACTIONS TO EXAMINATION RESULTS

This is a study on how teenagers in secondary schools make themselves feel better after receiving poor results in the report book. Your answers will be confidential -- that means that only the researcher will see them. You have the promise that neither your teachers nor your parents or anyone else, except the researcher, will be reading them. There are no names or any way for anyone to tell which questionnaire belongs to whom. It is important that you are honest in answering them. You can choose not to take part in this study, and may stop anytime.

If you choose to take part in this study, please complete the consent form below. This will be collected **separately** from the questionnaire.

Statement of Consent

I have read and understood the above instructions and agree to take part in this study

Name:_____

Class_____

Signature:_____

Date:_____

Age: _____
Sex: Male / Female
Class:_____

1.   In the box below, write down your own marks for the following subjects that you
      got for the mid-year examinations. Leave out subjects you are not taking.

Subjects	Marks	Pass/Fail
English Language		
Second Language		
E Maths		
General Science		
Literature		
History		
Geography		
Art		
Technical Drawing		
Computer Appreciation		

2.   How satisfied are you with your results?

            not satisfied at all 1--------2--------3--------4--------5--------6 very satisfied

 Below are the results of a <u>top</u> student.

Subjects	Marks	Pass/Fail
English Language		
Second Language		
E Maths		
General Science		
Literature		
History		
Geography		
Art		
Technical Drawing		
Computer Appreciation		

Attribution of failure to lack of ability condition

The next two pages are results of two students as presented in a report book.

Name: **KP**		
SUBJECTS	MARKS	PASS/FAIL
English Language		
Second Language: Chinese/Malay/Tamil		
Elementary Mathematics		
General Science		
Literature		
History		
Geography		
Art		
General Progress:	Good/Average/Poor	
Results	Pass /Fail	
Teachers' Remarks:		
Although results are poor, this student has been trying very		
hard and has shown very good progress and improvement		
since the beginning of the year. There is good reason to		
believe that the marks will continue to improve.		

Name: **HL**		
SUBJECTS	MARKS	PASS/FAIL
English Language		
Second Language: Chinese/Malay/Tamil		
Elementary Mathematics		
General Science		
Literature		
History		
Geography		
Art		
General Progress:	Good/Average/Poor	
Results	Pass /Fail	
Teachers' Remarks:		
Although results are poor, this student has been trying very		
hard and has shown very good progress and improvement		
since the beginning of the year. There is good reason to		
believe that the marks will continue to improve.		

Attribution of failure to lack of effort condition

The next two pages are results of two students as presented in a report book.

Name: **KP**		
SUBJECTS	MARKS	PASS/FAIL
English Language		
Second Language: Chinese/Malay/Tamil		
Elementary Mathematics		
General Science		
Literature		
History		
Geography		
Art		
General Progress:	Good/Average/Poor	
Results	Pass /Fail	
Teachers' Remarks:		
Results are very poor and disappointing, and shows that this		
student must have been playful, inattentive in class and lazy.		
There has been no progress since the beginning of the year.		

Name: **HL**		
SUBJECTS	MARKS	PASS/FAIL
English Language		
Second Language: Chinese/Malay/Tamil		
Elementary Mathematics		
General Science		
Literature		
History		
Geography		
Art		
General Progress:	Good/Average/Poor	
Results	Pass /Fail	
Teachers' Remarks:		
Results are very poor and disappointing, and shows that this		
student must have been playful, inattentive in class and lazy.		
There has been no progress since the beginning of the year.		

3.   How bad do you think the students' results are?
      Please draw a circle around a number closest to your answer.

          very bad 1------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 not bad at all

4.   How bad do you think the students feel about their results?

          very bad 1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 not bad at all

5.   How do you think the students feel about the teachers' comments in their report
      books?

          very bad 1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 not bad at all

Often, when students do badly in school, they tell themselves things to make them
feel better. Here are two students KP and HL, both who have done badly. They
have different ways of making themselves feel better.

KP's method of making himself feel better:
KP was very disappointed when he saw his report book. After school, he got
together with a group of friends who also did badly. They tell themselves that
getting good marks is not so important, that they are not the kind of students who
are so "kiasu" and "kancheong" that they do not know how to have fun. When
asked to describe how he tries to make himself feel better, this is what he wrote:

> *My kind of people cannot study type. I and my friends think*
> *now we are young and we know how to have fun. We all not*
> *like the kiasu and kancheong kind. Study so hard and don't*
> *know how to enjoy. What for get good marks? Bad results*
> *so what! Got other things in life more important. We all know*
> *worry also no use.*

HL's way of making himself feel better
HL was very disappointed when he saw his report book. He went straight home
after school and avoids his friends. He went to his room to examine his results and
tells himself that he must work harder and spend more time in the library studying.
When asked to describe how he tries to make himself feel better, this is what he
wrote:

> *Why I do so badly I also not sure. Maybe I didn't try hard*
> *enough. Everyone say if study harder, sure can pass, so I think*
> *if I study harder, this time cannot do well, maybe next time can.*
> *I think I must stay at home more, go library and study, must*
> *buy assessment books and do more practice. Maybe can do better*
> *next term. Not give up.*

KP's method of making himself feel better

6.   Do you think **KP**'s method of feeling better will work well?

       will not   1-------2--------3--------4-------5------6 works very well
       work at all

7.   How likely are you to use **KP**'s method of feeling better?

       not likely 1----- --2--------3--------4-------5------6 very likely
       at all

8.   How much do you think you would like **KP** if you were to meet him?

       not like 1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 like very much
       at all

9.   Do you think you are quite similar to **KP**?

       not similar 1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 very similar
       at all

HL's method of making himself feel better

10.   Do you think the **HL**'s method of feeling better will work well?

       will not   1--------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 works very well
       work at all

11.   How likely are you to use **HL**'s method of feeling better?

       not likely 1--------2--------3--------4-------5------6 very likely
       at all

12.   How much do you think you would like **HL** if you were to meet him?

       not like   1-------2--------3--------4-------5------6 like very much
       at all

13.   Do you think you are quite similar to **HL**?

       not similar 1-------2--------3--------4-------5------6 very similar
       at all

If you think **KP** is thinking any of the thoughts in the boxes, draw a line from the boxes to the head

I wish I could have
more respect for myself
我希望能给自己多一点自尊

I feel I do not have
much to be proud of
我觉得我没有什么
能骄傲的

On the whole, I am
satisfied with myself
我对自己很满意

I often feel I am a failure
我时常觉得我是个失败者

I think I have many
good qualities
我 认为我有很多优点

At times, I think
I am no good ar all
有时后我认为
我没有任何优点

I certainly feel
useless at times
我时常觉得我是
个没有用的人

If you think **HL** is thinking any of the thoughts in the boxes, draw a line from the boxes to the head

I wish I could have
more respect for myself
我希望能给自己多一点自尊

I feel I do not have
much to be proud of
我觉得我没有什么
能骄傲的

On the whole, I am
satisfied with myself
我对自己很满意

I often feel I am a failure
我时常觉得我是个失败着

I think I have many
good qualities
我 认为我有很多优点

At times, I think
I am no good at all
有时后我认为
我没有任何优点

I certainly feel
useless at times
我时常觉得我是
个没有用的人

16.   Do you have many friends in school?

        none at all 1--------2--------3------4------5-------6 many friends

17.   Do you think you share the same interests, hobbies, etc as your friends?

        not same at all 1-------2-------3-------4-------5-------6 very much the same

18.   Suppose your group of friends are all transferred to another school except you, how bad would you feel?

        not bad at all 1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 very bad

19.   Suppose your group of friends are all transferred to another school except you, how easy or hard would it be for you to make new friends?

        very hard 1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 very easy

20.   Below are a list of behaviours. How often have you done the following?
       Please draw a circle around the number closest to your answer.

Behaviours	How often
a) smoking	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
b) losing temper, shouting at schoolmate or teacher	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
c) refusing to obey teacher's orders	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
d) gambling	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
e) playing truant ("pontang" lessons or school)	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
f) fighting in and out of school	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
g) stealing, shoplifting	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
h) using foul language ("bad" or swear words)	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
i) destroying public property, vandalism	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
j) threatening others	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
k) seeing "dirty" books or movies	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
l) cheating in tests and exams	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
m) drinking alcohol (beer, etc)	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

Instructions to Teachers for the study reported in Chapter Nine

Instructions to teachers

Introduction:

> First, inform students that this is a study that is being conducted by a
> researcher from NIE and not by the school. Assure them that the teachers
> are not interested in the   questionnaire and their answers, and that
> their responses have total anonymity. Tell   them that only the researcher
> will be looking at the questionnaires, and that there is no way that the
> researcher can identify who they are. The researcher is interested in their
> answers as a whole and not in any individual student. Therefore, their
> honest answers will be appreciated.

Page 1:

Students are to write their age and class, and circle either male or female for sex.

Q.1 & 2
Students are to fill in their marks they have obtained for the mid-year exams.
Read out Q. 2 and tell students to rate how satisfied they feel about this, by
drawing a circle around one of the numbers from 1 to 6.

Tell students to study the results of a **good** student

Page 2:

Tell students to study the results of two students with **poor** results. They are to pay
particular attention to the teacher's comments. (Do not read this out).

Q.3
Read out the question and tell students to circle a number to show what they think
of the results.

Page 3:

Q. 4 & 5
Read out the questions and tell students to circle a number to indicate their
answers to these questions.

Read out the paragraph and explain HL and KP's methods of coping with poor results.
Show the OHT of these 2 students' methods. The OHT should be left on for the students to refer to it as they answer the questions on the following pages.

Page 4:

Q.6 to 13
Read out all the questions and tell students to rate what they think or feel by drawing a circle around one of the numbers.

Pages 5 and 6:

Students are to draw a line from the boxes to the heads of both KP and HL if they think the words in the boxes are suitable. If they think that the words are not appropriate, they can put a cross in the box.

Page 7:

Q 16 to 19
Read out all the questions and tell students to rate what they think or feel by drawing a circle around one of the numbers.

Page 8:

Q.20
Remind students that this questionnaire is read only by the researcher and that they have complete anonymity and confidentiality. Do not read out this section but leave students to answer the items by themselves.

Please convey to the students the researcher's grateful thanks for participating in the study.

HEARTFELT THANKS FOR YOUR HELP!

Results for the study reported in Chapter Nine

Table 1
Tests of univariate homogeneity of variances for manipulation variables

Variables	Cochrans C (15, 8)	p value
subjects' perception of the results of the target students	.1729	1.00
subjects' perception of how these target students felt about the results	.3295	.001
their perception of how these students felt about the teacher's comments	.2769	.014
subjects' own satisfaction with their results	.1759	.968

Table 2
Manova table for manipulation variables

Boxes M = 113.07, F (70, 11413) = 1.41, p = .014

Attribution	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.48	**26.39**	4.00	114	**.000**	
Variable	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1 (reflect & square root)	.004	19.79	.004	.17	.02	.874
2	.95	142.92	.95	1.22	.77	.381
3 (inverse)	3.83	8.55	3.83	.07	**52.44**	**.000**
4	135.67	233.04	135.67	1.99	**68.11**	**.000**

1 = subjects' own satisfaction with results
2 = subjects' perception of how target students felt about their results
3 = subjects' perceptions of the results of the target students
4 = subjects' perception of how the target students felt about the teachers' comments

Table 3
Anova table of <u>difference </u>in evaluation of the two coping strategies with
behaviour, attribution of failure and gender

Cochrans C (16, 8) = .24617, p = .05. Hence the assumption of homogeneity of
variances is satisfied.

Source	Sum of squares	D.F	Mean squares	F ratio	Significance of F
Main effects	32.28	3	10.76	4.63	.004
behaviour	17.20	1	17.21	7.39	.007
attribution of failure	6.29	1	6.29	2.71	.102
gender	7.40	1	7.40	3.18	.077
Two-way interactions	31.99	3	10.67	4.59	.004
behaviour attribution of failure	13.23	1	13.23	**5.69**	**.019**
behaviour gender	12.78	1	12.78	**5.49**	**.021**
gender attribution of failure	4.80	1	4.80	2.06	.153
Three-way interactions	4.06	1	4.06	1.74	.189
behaviour attribution of failure gender					
Explained	89.92	7	1285	5.52	.000
Residual	290.82	125	2.33		
Total	380.74	132	2.88		

Table 4
Means and standard deviations of *actual* scores of evaluation of the two coping
strategies for behaviour and attribution of failure

	Individualcompetitive strategy				Outgroup-derogation strategy			
	ability attribution		effort attribution		ability attribution		effort attribution	
	means	s.d.	means	s.d.	means	s.d.	means	s.d.
Non delinquents	.26	.85	.09	1.05	-.26	.76	-.37	.76
Delinquents	-.39	1.09	.04	.91	.75	1.19	-.10	.85

Table 5
Means and standard deviations of *actual* scores of evaluation of the two coping
strategies for behaviour and gender

	Individualcompetitive strategy				Outgroup-derogation strategy			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	means	s.d.	means	s.d.	means	s.d.	means	s.d.
Non delinquents	.25	.95	.07	.98	-.30	.74	-.35	.78
Delinquents	-.39	1.04	.24	.83	.57	1.22	-.13	.71

Table 6

Tests of univariate homogeneity of variances for evaluation variables

Variables	Cochrans C (16, 8)	p value
1	.1779	.851
2	.1415	1.00
3	.2135	.218
4	.1929	.477

1 = difference in likelihood of using HL and KP's strategies
2 = difference in effectiveness of HL and KP's strategies
3 = difference in liking for HL and KP
4 = difference in similarity to HL and KP

Table 7.1

Manova table for evaluation of strategies variables for
main effect of behaviour

Boxes M = 89.59, F (70, 11426) = 1.12, p = .223

	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.12	**4.25**	4.00	122	**.003**	
Behaviour	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1 (reflect & inverse)	.00	2.11	.00	.02	.19	.665
2 (reflect & inverse)	.03	2.07	.03	.02	2.06	.154
3	14.35	339.33	14.35	2.71	**5.29**	**.023**
4	49.94	466.22	49.94	3.73	**13.39**	**.000**

1 = difference in likelihood of using HL and KP's strategies
2 = difference in effectiveness of HL and KP's strategies
3 = difference in liking for HL and KP
4 = difference in similarity to HL and KP

Table 7.2
Manova table for evaluation of strategies variables for interaction of
behaviour and gender

Boxes M = 89.59, F (70, 11426) = 1.12, p = .223.

	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.08	**2.79**	4.00	122	**.029**	
Behaviour x Gender	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1 (reflect & inverse)	.11	2.11	.11	.02	**6.71**	**.011**
2 (reflect & inverse)	.08	2.07	.08	.02	**5.05**	**.026**
3	16.39	339.33	16.39	2.71	**6.04**	**.015**
4	.02	466.22	.02	3.73	.00	936

1 = difference in likelihood of using HL and KP's strategies
2 = difference in effectiveness of HL and KP's strategies
3 = difference in liking for HL and KP
4 = difference in similarity to HL and KP

Table 8
Means and standard deviations for _actual_ scores of liking for
the targets for behaviour and gender of subjects

Gender	Non delinquents				Delinquents			
	Liking for HL		Liking for KP		Liking for HL		Liking for KP	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
Males	4.79	1.17	1.56	1.64	4.25	1.38	2.56	1.38
Females	4.61	1.07	1.64	.83	5.04	1.11	1.96	1.22

Table 9
Means and standard deviations of _actual_ scores of similarity
to the target for delinquents and non delinquents

	Delinquents		Non delinquents	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
Actual scores on similarity to HL	3.30	1.43	3.95	1.34
Actual scores on similarity to KP	2.11	1.13	1.43	.70

Table 10
Means and standard deviations of <u>actual</u> scores of likelihood
of using the targets' coping strategies

Gender	Non delinquents				Delinquents			
	Liking for HL		Liking for KP		Liking for HL		Liking for KP	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
Males	4.92	1.06	1.62	1.11	4.09	1.38	2.02	1.19
Females	4.50	1.29	1.68	1.12	4.96	1.18	1.43	.79

Table 11
Means and standard deviations for <u>actual </u>scores of effectiveness
of HL and KP's strategies

Gender	Non delinquents				Delinquents			
	Liking for HL		Liking for KP		Liking for HL		Liking for KP	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
Males	5.25	1.07	1.46	.76	4.65	1.17	2.30	1.73
Females	5.14	1.00	1.36	.62	5.35	.88	1.43	.79

Table 12
Anova table of difference in self-derogation of the two targets with behaviour,
attribution of failure, gender and strategy preference

Source	Sum of squares	D.F	Mean squares	F ratio	Significance of F
Main effects	2126.29	4	531.73	.81	.523
attribution of failure	17.84	1	17.84	.03	.870
behaviour	1624.69	1	1624.69	2.47	.119
gender	349.23	1	349.23	.53	.468
strategy preference	49.97	1	49.97	.08	.783
Two-way interactions	4518.69	6	753.12	1.14	.342
attribution of failure behaviour	1729.89	1	1729.89	2.63	.108
attribution of failure gender	1.85	1	1.85	.00	.958
attribution of failure strategy	947.37	1	947.37	1.44	.233
preference	59.49	1	59.49	.09	.764
behaviour gender	81.42	1	81.42	.12	.726
behaviour strategy preference	1963.19	1	1963.19	2.98	.087
gender strategy preference					
Three-way interactions	5074.47	4	1286.62	1.93	.111
attribution of failure behaviour gender	301.69	1	301.69	.46	.500
attribution of failure behaviour strategy preference	3513.86	1	3513.86	**5.34**	**.023**
attribution of failure gender strategy preference	28.96	1	28.96	.04	.834
behaviour gender strategy preference	669.69	1	669.69	1.02	.315
	380.07	1	380.07	.58	.449
Four-way interactions attribution of failure behaviour gender strategy preference					
Explained	13305.24	15	887.02	1.35	.186
Residual	75067.07	114	658.48		
Total	88372.31	129	685.06		

3 cases (2.3%) missing

Table 13
Anova table of <u>difference</u> in self-derogation of HL and KP
with attribution of failure and strategy preference for <u>delinquents</u> only

Source	Sum of squares	D.F	Mean squares	F ratio	Significance of F
Main effects	1280.33	2	640.17	.95	.391
attribution of failure	549.82	1	549.82	.82	.369
strategy preference	282.42	1	282.42	.42	.519
Two-way interactions					
attribution of failure x strategy preference	5325.58	1	5325.58	**7.94**	**.006**
Explained	6374.27	3	2124.76	3.17	.031
Residual	41601.49	62	670.99		
Total	47975.76	65	738.09		

Table 14
Means and standard deviations of <u>actual</u> HL and KP's self-derogation scores for
attribution of failure and strategy preference, for delinquents only.

	HL's self-derogation				KP's self-derogation			
Attribution of failure	Preference for HL's individual-competition strategy		Preference for KP's outgroup-derogation strategy		Preference for HL's individual-competition strategy		Preference for KP's outgroup-derogation strategy	
	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.	Means	s.d.
Lack of ability	57.50	24.93	57.60	15.62	30.00	19.27	45.20	16.61
Lack of effort	54.74	16.11	64.29	13.99	53.16	19.74	38.57	16.57

APPENDIX F
List of adjectives describing high school groups in Canberra

High school groups in Canberra	Adjectives describing groups	Adjectives rephrased for the Singaporean sample
"Nerds" "Geeks" "Squares"	cowardly boring quiet hardworking easily hurt loners intelligent	get scared easily always very polite like to please teachers like to study
"Bommers" "Booners" "Smokers" "Druggoes"	revengeful quarrelsome lazy loud cruel rude	get angry easily ready to fight hate to do homework enjoy making noise

Adjectival phrases added: like to talk about other people
make friends easily
always like to have fun
care a lot about fashion
always obey rules
don't worry about future
enjoy doing things together

Questionnaire for the study reported in Chapter Ten

PEER GROUPS IN SINGAPORE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

This is a study about groups among teenagers in secondary schools. Your answers will be confidential -- that means that only the researcher will see them. You have the promise that neither your teachers nor your parents or anyone else, except the researcher, will be reading them. There are no names or any way for anyone to tell which questionnaire belongs to whom. It is important that you are honest in answering them. You can choose not to take part in this study, and may stop anytime.

If you choose to take part in this study, please complete the consent form below. This will be collected **separately** from the questionnaire.

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:1em;">

<u>Statement of Consent</u>

I have read and understood the above instructions and agree to take part in this study

Name:_____

Class_____

Signature:_____

Date:_____

</div>

Age: _____
Sex: Male / Female
Class:_____

Most students belong to groups. Members of these groups **need not be friends** but share something in common. Examples are your class and ECA groups. Other examples are the "kiasu"or bookworm type of students, social or games groups (such as shopping or mahjong group), and the "sum-seng" group or gangs.

1.   In the table below, add in any other groups which have not been listed
2.   Describe what these groups do that make them different from other groups
3.   Put a tick (✓) to show whether you are a member of the group
4.   Put a star (*) if you are happy as a member of the group

Names of groups	What these groups do that are different from other groups	Put a ✓ if you are a member	Put a * if you are happy as a member of this group
1. your class_____			
2. ECA group _____			
3. ECA group _____			
4. "Kiasu"or bookworm study group			
5. Social group _____			
6. Social group _____			
7. Detention class group			
8. "Sum-seng"or gangs			
9. Prefects group			
10. Others _____			

1. Choose 5 items that best describes the group and circle the numbers
2. Show whether YOU think these 5 items are good or bad qualities by drawing a circle around either good / bad

Detention class group			
1. like to study most of the time	묘欢读书	good / bad	
2. always like to have fun	爱玩乐	good / bad	
3. like to talk about other people	묘欢说他人闲话	good / bad	
4. hate to do homework	不묘欢做功课	good / bad	
5. make friends very easily	容易交朋友	good / bad	
6. get angry easily	容易发脾气	good / bad	
7. always obey rules	时常守规矩	good / bad	
8. care a lot about fashion	注重穿着	good / bad	
9. enjoy making noise	묘欢吵闹	good / bad	
10. don't worry about future	不担心将来的问题	good / bad	
11. ready to fight	随时会打架	good / bad	
12. always very polite	很有礼貌	good / bad	
13. get scared easily	胆小受惊	good / bad	
14. like to please teachers	묘欢讨老师欢心	good / bad	
15. enjoy doing things together	묘欢团体活动	good / bad	

a) How highly or poorly do people think of this group?

   very poor 1——2——3——4——5——6 very high

b) How highly or poorly do YOU and your group think of this group?

   very poor 1——2——3——4——5——6 very high

c) How much do YOU like this group?

   dislike very much 1——2——3——4——5——6 like very much

d) How well do you think you fit in this group?

   not well at all 1——2——3——4——5——6 very well

e) How easy or hard will it be for this group to accept you if you want to join them?

   very easy 1——2——3——4——5——6 very hard

f) How easy or hard will it be for other groups to accept you if you want to join their group?

   very easy 1——2——3——4——5——6 very hard

1 Choose 5 items that best describes the group and circle the numbers
2 Show whether YOU think these 5 items are good or bad qualities by drawing a circle around either good / bad

a) How highly or poorly do people think of this group?

  very poor 1----2----3----4----5----6 very high

b) How highly or poorly do YOU and your group think of this group?

  very poor 1----2----3----4----5----6 very high

c) How much do YOU like this group?

  dislike very much 1----2----3----4----5----6 like very much

d) How well do you think you fit in this group?

  not well at all 1----2----3----4----5----6 very well

e) How easy or hard will it be for this group to accept you if you want to join them?

  very easy 1----2----3----4----5----6 very hard

f) How easy or hard will it be for other groups to accept you if you want to join their group?

  very easy 1----2----3----4----5----6 very hard

Prefects group		
1. like to study most of the time	good / bad	我喜注書
2. always like to have fun	good / bad	我喜長
3. like to talk about other people	good / bad	我喜說他人情形
4. hate to do homework	good / bad	不喜歡做功課
5. make friends very easily	good / bad	容易 交朋友
6. get angry easily	good / bad	容易發脾气
7. always obey rules	good / bad	時常守規則
8. care a lot about fashion	good / bad	非常愛美
9. enjoy making noise	good / bad	我喜歡鬧
10. don't worry about future	good / bad	不担心 我未來的前途
11. ready to fight	good / bad	隨時公打架
12. always very polite	good / bad	很有禮貌
13. get scared easily	good / bad	容易害怕
14. like to please teachers	good / bad	我喜討老師歡心
15. enjoy doing things together	good / bad	我喜歡團体活动

1. Choose 5 items that best describes the group and circle the numbers
2. Show whether YOU think these 5 items are good or bad qualities by drawing a circle around either good / bad

"Kiasu" or Bookworm group		
1. like to study most of the time	我喜欢读书	good / bad
2. always like to have fun	喜欢玩	good / bad
3. like to talk about other people	喜欢说他人闲话	good / bad
4. hate to do homework	不喜欢做功课	good / bad
5. make friends very easily	很易交朋友	good / bad
6. get angry easily	很易发脾气	good / bad
7. always obey rules	时常守规矩	good / bad
8. care a lot about fashion	注重穿着	good / bad
9. enjoy making noise	喜欢吵闹	good / bad
10. don't worry about future	不担心将来成前途	good / bad
11. ready to fight	随时会打架	good / bad
12. always very polite	很有礼貌	good / bad
13. get scared easily	很小容易	good / bad
14. like to please teachers	喜欢讨老师欢心	good / bad
15. enjoy doing things together	喜欢团体活动	good / bad

a) How highly or poorly do people think of this group?

very poor 1——2——3——4——5——6 very high

b) How highly or poorly do YOU and your group think of this group?

very poor 1——2——3——4——5——6 very high

c) How much do YOU like this group?

dislike very much 1——2——3——4——5——6 like very much

d) How well do you think you fit in this group?

not well at all 1——2——3——4——5——6 very well

e) How easy or hard will it be for this group to accept you if you want to join them?

very easy 1——2——3——4——5——6 very hard

f) How easy or hard will it be for other groups to accept you if you want to join their group?

very easy 1——2——3——4——5——6 very hard

1. Choose 5 items that best describes the group and circle the numbers
2. Show whether YOU think these 5 items are good or bad qualities by drawing a circle around either good / bad

a) How highly or poorly do people think of this group?

very poor 1——2——3——4——5——6 very high

b) How highly or poorly do YOU and your group think of this group?

very poor 1——2——3——4——5——6 very high

c) How much do YOU like this group?

dislike very much 1——2——3——4——5——6 like very much

d) How well do you think you fit in this group?

not well at all 1——2——3——4——5——6 very well

e) How easy or hard will it be for this group to accept you if you want to join them?

very easy 1——2——3——4——5——6 very hard

f) How easy or hard will it be for other groups to accept you if you want to join their group?

very easy 1——2——3——4——5——6 very hard

"Sam-seng" or gangs		
1 like to study most of the time	我喜欢读书	good / bad
2 always like to have fun	我喜欢玩	good / bad
3 like to talk about other people	我喜欢谈他人闲话	good / bad
4 hate to do homework	不喜欢做功课	good / bad
5 make friends very easily	容易交朋友	good / bad
6 get angry easily	容易发脾气	good / bad
7 always obey rules	时常守规则	good / bad
8 care a lot about fashion	注重穿着	good / bad
9 enjoy making noise	我喜欢吵闹	good / bad
10 don't worry about future	不担心将来或前途	good / bad
11 ready to fight	随时会打架	good / bad
12 always very polite	很有礼貌	good / bad
13 get scared easily	胆小害怕	good / bad
14 like to please teachers	喜欢讨老师欢心	good / bad
15 enjoy doing things together	我喜欢集体活动	good / bad

Instructions to teachers for the study reported in Chapter Ten

STUDY ON PEER GROUPS IN SINGAPORE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Instructions to teachers

Introduction:

1. First, inform students that this is a study that is being conducted by a researcher from NIE and not by the school. Assure them that the teachers are not interested in the questionnaire and their answers, and that their responses have total anonymity. Tell them that <u>only the researcher will be looking at the questionnaires, and that there is no way that the researcher can identify who they are. The researcher is interested in their answers as a whole and not in any individual student. Therefore, their honest answers will be appreciated.</u>

2. Students are to write their age and class, and circle either male or female for sex.

3. Read out the introduction about groups, and explain the meaning of "group". It is important to stress that members of groups are not necessarily friends but groups of people with a certain name or label, sharing similar interests or activities. Tell students that their class is an example of a group and members of their class are not all friends with each other. Other examples are ECA groups, and groups of teenagers who dress alike or share the same interests.

Column 1
4. Get students to write their class and two of their own ECA groups in the first column. (numbers 1 to 3).

5. Numbers 4 to 10 are examples of other groups that exist in schools. You may need to read out and explain all the groups listed under this column. Under "social" groups, and "others", students are free to write in their own names for these groups.

Column 2
6. Students are to give a short description of these groups. They may not be able to think of descriptions that make these groups different from the rest for all the groups listed. However, it is important that they describe the social groups and other groups in numbers 5, 6 and 10. They may wish to write down the activities that these groups are interested in, for example, shopping centre groups.

Column 3
7.   It is important that students put a tick against the groups that they are members of. They should have a tick for their class and the ECA groups. If they are not members, they leave the space blank.

Column 4
8.   If they are happy as members of the groups, they should indicate with a * in the   space that corresponds to the group. There should not be * where there are no ticks.

Pages 2-5:
There are 2 examples in the OHTs, supposedly written by two people. Show OHTs to help explain the following. In the example, the group is Pre-school children. Explain that one may think that making friends easily (item no. 5) may be bad for this group because children can be led astray by strangers. (OHT1) Someone else may think that making friends easily is good because children need friends to play with. (OHT 2) Similarly, one may think that making noise (item no. 9) is good for children because children need to have fun before going to school (OHT 1). Someone else may think that this is bad because they are not behaving well (OHT 2).

9.   Read out the 15 items on the second page. Students are to choose <u>only 5 items</u> that best describes the group and to circle the 5 items.

10.   In the good/bad column, for the 5 chosen items only, students are to decide whether he or she thinks (that is, the <u>student's personal opinion</u>) the 5 characteristics are good or bad, and circle either good or bad.

        These instructions apply to the other pages except the last page.

Last page:

11.   Remind students that the questionnaire is confidential and that the teachers of the school will not be reading it at all, and that only the researcher will read it. Assure them of their anonymity and that truthful answers will be greatly appreciated by the researcher.

12.   Please convey to the students the researcher's grateful thanks for participating in the study.

HEARTFELT THANKS FOR YOUR HELP!

APPENDIX I
Results for the study reported in Chapter Ten

Table 1
Homogeneity of variances tests for participants' perceptions of the general
regard in which the four groups are held

General regard in which the groups are held	Cochrans C (145, 2)	p <
gang members	.5468	.260
detention class members	.5358	.388
"kiasus"	.5115	.783
prefects	.5623	.132

Table 2
Manova table for perceptions of the general opinion of the groups

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.06	**4.37**	4.00	286	**.002**	
Participants' perception of the general opinion of	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
detention class members	1.75	630.96	1.75	2.18	.79	.372
gang members	36.73	733.56	36.73	2.54	**14.47**	**.000**
"kiasus"	1.82	570.51	1.82	1.97	.92	.338
prefects	9.84	748.24	9.84	2.59	3.80	.052

Table 3
Homogeneity of variances tests for participants' own opinion of the four groups

Participants' own opinion of the groups	Cochrans C (144, 2)	p <
detention class	. 5109	. 793
gang members members	. 5309	. 457
"kiasus"	.5276	.509
prefects	.5269	.519

Table 4
Manova table for perceptions of participants' own opinion of the groups

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.07	**5.43**	4.00	285	**.000**	
Participants' perception of the general opinion of	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
detention class members	.93	611.44	.93	2.12	.44	.508
"kiasus"	2.48	583.86	2.48	2.03	1.22	.269
prefects	19.05	689.66	19.05	2.39	**7.95**	**.005**
gang members	38.31	734.18	38.31	2.55	**15.03**	**.000**

Table 5
Homogeneity of variances tests for participants'liking for members of the four groups

Participants' own opinion of the groups	Cochrans C (142, 2)	p <
detention class members	.5276	.511
gang members	.5419	.318
"kiasus"	.5055	.896
prefects	.5039	.925

Table 6
Manova table for perceptions of participants' liking for members of the groups

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.09	**6.85**	4.00	280	**.000**	
Participants' perception of the general opinion of	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
detention class members	1.94	579.31	1.94	2.04	.95	.332
gang members	40.56	724.62	40.56	2.56	**15.80**	**.000**
"kiasus"	6.98	687.62	6.98	2.43	2.87	.091
prefects	26.91	706.87	26.91	2.49	**10.77**	**.001**

Table 7

Homogeneity of variances tests for participants' ability to fit into the four groups

Participants' own opinion of the groups	Cochrans C (142, 2)	p <
detention class members	.5155	.713
gang members	.5410	.328
"kiasus"	.5604	.149
prefects	.5135	.748

Table 8

Manova table for perceptions of participants' ability to fit into the groups

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.08	**5.71**	4.00	281	**.000**	
Participants' perception of the general opinion of	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
detention class members	4.07	669.26	4.07	2.36	1.73	.190
gang members	40.93	743.98	40.93	2.62	**15.62**	**.000**
"kiasus"	13.54	709.56	13.54	2.49	**5.42**	**.021**
prefects	.39	26.66	.39	.09	4.11	.044

Table 9

Homogeneity of variances tests for participants' acceptance by members of the four groups

Participants' acceptance by members of the groups	Cochrans C (142, 2)	p <
detention class members	.5166	.691
gang members	.5224	.593
"kiasus"	.5588	.159
prefects	.6457	.000

Table 10

Homogeneity of variances tests for participants' identification
with the four groups

Participants' identification with the groups	Cochrans C (83, 2)	p <
detention class members	.5173	.609
gang members	.5367	.342
"kiasus"	.5473	.257
prefects	.5209	.589

Table 11

Manova table for participants' identification with the four groups

Behaviour	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillai's	.09	**8.17**	4.00	333	**.000**	
Participants' perception of the general opinion of	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
detention class members	2.59	334.41	2.59	.99	2.59	.108
gang members	22.50	314.49	22.50	.94	**24.04**	**.000**
"kiasus"	1.75	335.25	1.75	.99	1.76	.186
prefects	11.21	325.78	11.21	.96	**11.56**	**.001**

Questionnaires for the study reported in Chapter Eleven

STUDY OF STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS DISCIPLINE

This is a study on students' attitude towards discipline. Your answers will be confidential -- that means that only the researcher will see them. You have the promise that neither your teachers nor your parents or anyone else, except the researcher, will be reading them. There are no names or any way for anyone to tell which questionnaire belongs to whom. It is important that you are honest in answering them. You can choose not to take part in this study, and may stop anytime.

If you choose to take part in this study, please complete the consent form below. This will be collected **separately** from the questionnaire.

Statement of Consent

I have read and understood the above instructions and agree to take part in this study

Name:_____

Class_____

Signature:_____

Date:_____

Instructions to Teachers conducting the study reported in Chapter Eleven

STUDY ON STUDENTS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH FAMILY MEMBERS

Instruction to teachers

1.   Tell the students that they are participating in a study conducted by a researcher from NIE, and not by the school. For the purpose of ensuring confidentiality, they are to be regrouped with members of other classes while answering the questionnaire, so that they would not be identified. Get students to number themselves from 1 to 4, after which they are to proceed to the hall. They are to take a pen or their pencil case with them.

2.   The teacher **does not** go with them to the hall, but remains in the classroom to distribute a piece of litter[1] and the questionnaire. Place the piece of litter on the shelf under the desks and the questionnaires on the desks. Do not distribute the litter until all students have left the class. Just in case they return early, distribute the litter first. It is important that they do not know that the litter has been deliberately placed under their desks.

When students have returned to the class:
3.   First, assure them that the teachers are not interested in the questionnaire and their answers, and that their responses have total anonymity. Tell them that only the researcher will be looking at the questionnaires, and that there is no way that the researcher can identify who they are. The researcher is interested in their answers as a whole and not in any individual student. Therefore, their honest answers will be appreciated.

4.   Tell students that the study is about their relationship with their **family,** and how this is related to their school life.

Page 1
5.   It is important that students spend some time on this page (about 10 minutes) before proceeding to the next page. Stress that they need not answer in complete sentences or in English .Words and phrases are also acceptable. After every one has completed this page, they can then proceed to the next page.

---

[1] This part of the study is not reported in the thesis

Pages 2- 4

6.   Read out the story of Ming Wah, and **stress the words in bold**.

7.   Read the questions one at a time and wait for all to answer before proceeding to the next question. Tell students not to spend too much time thinking (spontaneous responses are important.) Explain to them that they need to circle only one number, from 1 to 6.

8.   Question No. 15: leave the first column blank.

Page 5

9.   For this section, do not read out the items, but let the students respond on their own. Reassure students of their anonymity and confidentiality.

Second set of questionnaires:[2]

10.   Do not collect the first set of questionnaires. After all have completed the first set, distribute the second set of questionnaires. Explain that this set is for the school, and because honest responses are required, tell students to note that there are no names, class or any information that will give clues to their identity.

11.   Leave students to answer the second set by themselves, and tell them that every question should be answered.

12.   After students have completed both sets, tell them to leave the questionnaires on their desks, and to clear the litter under their desks including the piece of paper with their numbers on their way out before proceeding to the hall. Say this in a casual manner and do not repeat this instruction.

13.   Please convey to the class the researcher's grateful thanks for participating in this study.

Collection

14.   Staple the two sets of questionnaires together and note if the litter has been thrown. If so, put a tick on the top right hand corner of the questionnaire.

HEARTFELT THANKS FOR YOUR HELP!

---

[2] The part of the study which involved the second questionnaire is not included as part of the thesis.

STUDY ON STUDENTS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH FRIENDS

Instruction to teachers

1. Tell the students that they are participating in a study conducted by a researcher from NIE, and not by the school. For the purpose of ensuring confidentiality, they are to be regrouped with members of other classes while answering the questionnaire, so that they would not be identified. Get students to number themselves from 1 to 4, after which they are to proceed to the hall. They are to take a pen or their pencil case with them.

2. The teacher **does not** go with them to the hall, but remains in the classroom to distribute a piece of litter[3] and the questionnaire. Place the piece of litter on the shelf under the desks and the questionnaires on the desks. Do not distribute the litter until all students have left the class. Just in case they return early, distribute the litter first. It is important that they do not know that the litter has been deliberately placed under their desks.

When students have returned to the class:
3. First, assure them that the teachers are not interested in the questionnaire and their answers, and that their responses have total anonymity. Tell them that <u>only the researcher will be looking at the questionnaires, and that there is no way that the researcher can identify who they are. The researcher is interested in their answers as a whole and not in any individual student. Therefore, their honest answers will be appreciated.</u>

4. Tell students that the study is about their relationship with their **gang of friends,** and how this is related to their school life.

Page 1
5. It is important that students spend some time on this page (about 10 minutes) before proceeding to the next page. Stress that they need not answer in complete sentences or in English .Words and phrases are also acceptable. After every one has completed this page, they can then proceed to the next page.

Pages 2- 4
6. Read out the story of Ming Wah, and **stress the words in bold**.

7. Read the questions one at a time and wait for all to answer before proceeding to the next question. Tell students not to spend too much time thinking (spontaneous responses are important.) Explain to them that they need to circle only one number, from 1 to 6.

8. Question No. 15: leave the first column blank.

---

[3] See footnote No. 1

Page 5

9.   For this section, do not read out the items, but let the students respond on their own. Reassure students of their anonymity and confidentiality.

Second set of questionnaires:[4]

10.   Do not collect the first set of questionnaires. After all have completed the first set, distribute the second set of questionnaires. Explain that this set is for the school, and because honest responses are required, tell students to note that there are no names, class or any information that will give clues to their identity.

11.   Leave students to answer the second set by themselves, and tell them that every question should be answered.

12.   After students have completed both sets, tell them to leave the questionnaires on their desks, and to clear the litter under their desks including the piece of paper with their numbers on their way out before proceeding to the hall. Say this in a casual manner and do not repeat this instruction.

13.   Please convey to the class the researcher's grateful thanks for participating in this study.

Collection

14.   Do not collect the questionnaires until all the students have left the class. Staple the two sets of questionnaires together and note if the litter has been thrown. If so, put a tick on the top right hand corner of the questionnaire.

HEARTFELT THANKS FOR YOUR HELP!

---

[4] See footnote No. 2

APPENDIX L
Results of the study reported in Chapter Eleven

Table 1
Homogeneity tests for manipulation variables (Schools)

Variables	Cochrans C (14, 8)	p <
1	.2426	.088
2	.1599	1.000
3	.1882	.689

1 = subjects' perception of how close they are to family or gang members
2 = reflect and inverse transformation of subjects' perceptions of how
    close the target student is to family or gang
3 = subjects' perceptions of to what extent the target heard the prefects'
    remarks

Table 2
Anova table for subjects' perceptions of whether the target is right or wrong

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .1748, p = 1.000
is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.135	1	.135	1.121	.292
self-identification	.122	1	.122	1.1017	.315
gender	1.141	1	1.141	**9.473**	**.003**
2-way interactions					
confrontation x self-identification	.152	1	.152	1.258	.264
confrontation and gender	.244	1	.244	2.026	.157
self-identification x gender	.144	1	.144	1.198	.276
3-way interaction					
confrontation x self-identification x gender	.118	1	.118	.976	.325
Residual	13.726	114	.120		

Table 3
Anova table for subjects' perceptions of whether the prefect is right or wrong

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .1663, p = 1.000
is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.029	1	.029	.260	.611
self-identification	.003	1	.003	.026	.873
gender	.214	1	.214	1.943	.166
2-way interactions					
confrontation x self-identification	.834	1	.834	**7.566**	**.007**
confrontation and gender	.106	1	106	.957	.330
self-identification x gender	.026	1	.026	.239	.626
3-way interaction					
confrontation x self-identification x gender	.004	1	.004	.034	.853
Residual	12.567	114	.110		

Table 4
Anova table for subjects' perceptions of target's dislike for the prefect

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .1565, p = 1.000
is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.738	1	.738	6.848	.010
self-identification	.147	1	.147	1.364	.245
gender	.107	1	.107	.990	.322
2-way interactions					
confrontation x self-identification	.043	1	.043	.402	.527
confrontation and gender	.440	1	.440	**4.086**	**.046**
self-identification x gender	.016	1	.016	.146	.703
3-way interaction					
confrontation x self-identification x gender	.006	1	.006	.053	.818
Residual	12.177	113	.108		

Table 5
Anova table for subjects' perceptions of target's feeling sorry for littering

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .1663, p = 1.000 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.396	1	.396	.132	.717
self-identification	.753	1	.753	.251	.617
gender	9.891	1	9.891	3.298	.072
2-way interactions					
confrontation x self-identification	.003	1	.003	.001	.974
confrontation and gender	.011	1	.011	.004	.951
self-identification x gender	1.756	1	1.756	.585	.446
3-way interaction					
confrontation x self-identification x gender	.454	1	.454	.151	.698
Residual	341.927	114	2.999		

Table 6
Anova table for subjects's attitudes towards authority

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .2339, p = .126 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.063	1	.063	2.106	.150
self-identification	.004	1	.004	.134	.715
gender	.019	1	.019	.639	.426
2-way interactions					
confrontation x self-identification	.143	1	.143	**4.801**	**.030**
confrontation and gender	.045	1	.045	1.520	.220
self-identification x gender	.001	1	.001	.038	.847
3-way interaction					
confrontation x self-identification x gender	.000	1	.000	.008	.929
Residual	3.361	113	.030		

Table 7

Anova of delinquents' endorsement of appeal to higher loyalty

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .1664, p = 1.000 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.051	1	.051	.401	.528
self-identification	.164	1	.164	1.298	.257
gender	.346	1	.346	2.736	.101
2-way interactions					
confrontation x self-identification	.000	1	.000	.003	.957
confrontation and gender	.704	1	.704	**5.570**	**.020**
self-identification x gender	.026	1	.026	.209	.649
3-way interaction					
confrontation x self-identification x gender	.086	1	.086	.679	.412
Residual	14.397	114	.126		

Questionnaire for the study reported in Chapter Twelve

STUDY OF STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS DISCIPLINE

This is a study on students' attitude towards discipline. Your answers will be confidential -- that means that only the researcher will see them. You have the promise that neither your teachers nor your parents or anyone else, except the researcher, will be reading them. There are no names or any way for anyone to tell which questionnaire belongs to whom. It is important that you are honest in answering them. You can choose not to take part in this study, and may stop anytime.

If you choose to take part in this study, please complete the consent form below. This will be collected **separately** from the questionnaire.

<u>Statement of Consent</u>

I have read and understood the above instructions and agree to take part in this study

Name:_____

Class_____

Signature:_____

Date: _____

Family Salience / Private confrontation by authority condition

Age_____
Class_____
Sex Male/Female

1. Think of 3 things that make your family special and write them in the spaces below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

    i)   _____

    ii) _____

    iii) _____

2. Think of 3 good things that you can say about your family, and write them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

    i)   _____

    ii) _____

    iii) _____

3. Think of 3 ways in which your family has helped you, and write them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

    i)   _____

    ii) _____

    iii) _____

4. Think of 3 happy or enjoyable occasions you spent with your family and write them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

    i)   _____

    ii) _____

    iii) _____

Below is a story of a student Ming Wah who invited her family to the school on Speech Day to viewher work in an exhibition. Read the story carefully before answering the questions that follow.

Ming Wah is a student from your class. On the morning of the school's Speech Day, Ming Wah took her family to the exhibition room to view the work that she has done for the term. While they were looking at the exhibits in the room, Ming Wah ate a sweet and threw the wrapper on the floor. She did not notice that a prefect had been watching her. The prefect went up to Ming Wah, called her **quietly to one side** and told her that she has broken a school rule and has to pick up the sweet wrapper and throw it in the bin outside the room.

Answer the following questions by drawing a circle around a number that best suits your answer.

1.   How much do you think Ming Wah will dislike the prefect?

           do not dislike at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 dislike very much

2.   Do you think the prefect is doing the right thing or wrong thing by telling Ming Wah to pick up the wrapper?

           very wrong   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally right

3.   Do you think Ming Wah is wrong in throwing the sweet wrapper?

           very wrong   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally right

4.   Do you think Ming Wah feels sorry for breaking the school rule by littering?

           not bad at all   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very bad

Would you agree with Ming Wah if she were to say these things to the prefect?

5.   "Who ask you to be so yaya and act tough only!"

           don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

6.   "Hey, this is not my business!"

         don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

7.   "Throw paper nothing wrong -- servant will sweep what!"

         don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

8.   "My family here -- more important than that stupid piece of paper!"

         don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

9.   Would Ming Wah feel bad about herself after the prefect caught her littering?

         very bad 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 not bad at all

10.   How likely do you think Ming Wah's family heard the prefect telling Ming Wah to pick up the litter?

         not likely at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very likely

11.   How close do you think Ming Wah is to her family?

         not close at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very close

12.   If there are such students like Ming Wah in your school, would you want her in your group?

         not at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very much

13.   How close are YOU to your family?

         not close at all 1 ------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very close

Gang Salience / Public confrontation by authority condition

Age_____
Class_____
Sex Male/ Female

1. Think of 3 things that make your gang of friends special and write them in the spaces below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

   i) _____

   ii) _____

   iii) _____

2. Think of 3 good things that you can say about your gang of friends, and write them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

   i) _____

   ii) _____

   iii) _____

3. Think of 3 ways in which your gang of friends has helped you, and write them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

   i) _____

   ii) _____

   iii) _____

4. Think of 3 happy or enjoyable occasions you spent with your gang of friends and write them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

   i) _____

   ii) _____

   iii) _____

Below is a story of a student Ming Wah who invited his gang of friends to the school on Speech Day to view his work in an exhibition.. Read the story carefully before answering the questions that follow.

Ming Wah is a student from your class. On the morning of the school's Speech, Ming Wah took his gang of friends to the exhibition room to view the work that he has done for the term. While they were looking at the exhibits in the room, Ming Wah ate a sweet and threw the wrapper on the floor. He did not notice that a prefect had been watching him. The prefect went up to Ming Wah, called him and **in front of his gang of friends**, scolded him for having broken a school rule and told him to pick up the sweet wrapper and throw it in the bin outside the room.

Answer the following questions by drawing a circle around a number that best suits your answer.

1.   How much do you think Ming Wah will dislike the prefect?

            do not dislike at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 dislike very much

2.   Do you think the prefect is doing the right thing or wrong thing by telling Ming Wah to pick up the wrapper?

            very wrong   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally right

3.   Do you think Ming Wah is wrong in throwing the sweet wrapper?

            very wrong   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally right

4.   Do you think Ming Wah feels sorry for breaking the school rule by littering?

            not bad at all   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very bad

Would you agree with Ming Wah if he were to say these things to the prefect?

5.   "Who ask you to be so yaya and act tough only!"

            don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

6.   "Hey, this is not my business!"

        don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

7.   "Throw paper nothing wrong -- servant will sweep what!"

        don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

8.   "My friends here -- more important than that stupid piece of paper!"

        don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

9.   Would Ming Wah feel bad about himself after the prefect caught her littering?

        very bad 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 not bad at all

10.   How likely do you think Ming Wah's gang of friends heard the prefect telling
        Ming   Wah to pick up the litter?

        not likely at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very likely

11.   How close do you think Ming Wah is to his gang of friends?

        not close at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very close

12.   If there are such students like Ming Wah in your school, would you want him in
        your group?

        not at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very much

13.   How close are YOU to your gang of friends?

        not close at all 1 ------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very close

APPENDIX N
Results for the study presented in Chapter Twelve

Table 1
Homogeneity tests for manipulation variables

Variables	Cochrans C (14, 8)	p <
1	.2045	.392
2	.1916	.627
3	.1874	.937

1 = reflect and inverse transformation of participants' perception of how
    close they are to family or gang members
2 = participants' perceptions of how close the target student is to family or gang
3 = participants' perceptions of to what extent the target heard the prefects'
    remarks

Table 2
Manova table for manipulation variables

Salience and confrontation by authority	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillais'	.09	**2.86**	4.00	106	**.027**	
	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1. (reflect inverse)	.41	5.95	.41	.05	**7.49**	**.007**
2	5.22	334.09	5.22	3.07	1.70	.195
3 (reflect & square root)	.39	13.77	.39	.13	3.09	.082
Confrontation by authority	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillais'	.19	**6.14**	4.00	106	**.000**	
	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1. (reflect & inverse)	.12	5.95	.12	.05	2.12	.148
2	64.54	334.09	64.54	3.07	**21.06**	**.000**
3 (reflect & square root)	.15	13.77	.15	.13	1.16	.284
Gender	Value	Exact F	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig of F	
Pillais'	.13	**4.09**	4.00	106	**.004**	
	Hypo SS	Error SS	Hypo MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
1. (reflect & inverse)	.05	5.95	.05	.05	.94	.334
2	8.70	334.09	8.70	3.07	2.84	.095
3 (reflect & square root)	.26	13.77	.26	.13	2.05	.155

1 = participants' perception of how close they are to their family or gang
2 = whether they think the target student heard the remarks of the prefect
3 = participants' perceptions of how close the target student is to his or her
    family or gang members

Table 3

Anova table for participants' perception of whether target is right or wrong

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .167, p = 1.000 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.510	1	.510	4.797	.031
salience	.021	1	.021	.197	.658
gender	.238	1	.238	2.238	.138
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	.601	1	.601	**5.648**	**.019**
confrontation and gender	.282	1	.282	2.649	.107
salience x gender	.029	1	.029	.273	.602
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	.112	1	.112	1.052	.307
Residual	11.493	108	.106		

Table 4

Anova table for participants' perception of whether the prefect is right or wrong

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = ..266, p = .031 is not met

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.654	1	.654	15.49	.000
salience	.029	1	.029	.696	.406
gender	.029	1	.029	.696	.406
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	.029	1	.029	.696	.406
confrontation and gender	.314	1	.314	**7.430**	**.007**
salience x gender	.097	1	.097	2.299	.132
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	.097	1	.097	2.299	.132
Residual	4.600	109	.042		

Table 5

Anova table for participants' perception of whether the target dislikes the prefect

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .167, p = .1.000 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	58.961	1	58.961	24.631	.000
salience	.066	1	.066	.028	.868
gender	2.837	1	2.837	1.185	.279
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	3.528	1	3.528	1.474	.227
confrontation and gender	12.513	1	12.513	**5.227**	**.024**
salience x gender	2.968	1	2.968	1.240	.268
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	1.790	1	1.790	.748	.389
Residual	260.921	109	2.394		

Table 6

Anova table for participants' perception of whether the target feels sorry for littering

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .163, p = .1.000 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	13.115	1	13.115	**5.734**	**.018**
salience	20.330	1	20.330	**8.889**	**.004**
gender	3.843	1	3.843	1.680	.198
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	.824	1	.824	.360	.550
confrontation and gender	.026	1	.026	.011	.916
salience x gender	.529	1	.529	.231	.631
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	.508	1	.508	.222	.638
Residual	249.318	109	2.287		

Table 7
Anova table for participants' attitude towards authority

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .2556, p = .049 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.581	1	.581	33.739	.000
salience	.051	1	.051	2.979	.087
gender	.070	1	.070	4.091	.046
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	.107	1	.107	**6.197**	**.014**
confrontation and gender	.110	1	.110	**6.381**	**.013**
salience x gender	.018.	1	.018	1.065	.304
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	.000	1	.000	.000	.985
Residual	1.861	108	.017		

Table 8
Anova of delinquents' endorsement of condemnation of the condemner

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .1532, p = .1.000 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.720	1	.720	6.452	.012
salience	.113	1	.113	1.014	.316
gender	1.344	1	1.344	**12.046**	**.001**
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	.618	1	.618	**5.544**	**.020**
confrontation and gender	.230	1	.230	2.059	.154
salience x gender	.025	1	.025	.227	.634
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	.018	1	.018	.164	.686
Residual	12.160	109	.112		

Table 9

Anova of delinquents' endorsement of denial of responsibility

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .1916, p = .616 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.606	1	.606	6.412.	.013
salience	.046	1	.046	.484	.488
gender	1.489	1	1.489	**15.76**	**.000**
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	1.624	1	1.624	**17.195**	**.000**
confrontation and gender	.032	1	.032	.336	.563
salience x gender	.149	1	.149	1.579	.212
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	.141	1	.141	1.496	.224
Residual	10.297	109	.094		

Table 10

Anova of delinquents' endorsement of denial of damage

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .1616, p = .1.000 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.280	1	.280	2.758	.100
salience	.075	1	.075	.734	.393
gender	.972	1	.972	**9.562**	**.003**
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	.627	1	.627	**6.171**	**.015**
confrontation and gender	.220	1	.220	2.168	.144
salience x gender	.015	1	.015	.149	.700
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	.005	1	.005	.051	.822
Residual	11.082	109	.102		

Table 11
Anova of delinquents' endorsement of appeal to higher loyalty

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .2036 p = .406 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	.264	1	.264	2.771	.099
salience	.162	1	.162	1.698	.195
gender	3.792	1	3.792	**39.849**	**.000**
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	1.072	1	1.072	**11.267**	**.001**
confrontation and gender	.004	1	.004	.046	.830
salience x gender	.164	1	.164	1.724	.192
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	.052	1	.052	.546	.462
Residual	10.372	109	.095		

Table 12
Anova of delinquents' endorsement of neutralization

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C (14, 8) = .1899, p = .651 is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
confrontation	5.165	1	5.165	7.197	.008
salience	.224	1	.224	.312	.578
gender	19.384	1	19.384	**27.010**	**.000**
2-way interactions					
confrontation x salience	10.910	1	10.910	**15.202**	**.000**
confrontation and gender	1.089	1	1.089	1.517	.221
salience x gender	.005	1	.005	.007	.934
3-way interaction					
confrontation x salience x gender	.110	1	.110	.153	.697
Residual	78.226	109	.718		

Questionnaires for the study reported in Chapter Thirteen

> **STUDY OF STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS DISCIPLINE**

This is a study on students' attitude towards discipline. Your answers will be confidential -- that means that only the researcher will see them. You have the promise that neither your teachers nor your parents or anyone else, except the researcher, will be reading them. There are no names or any way for anyone to tell which questionnaire belongs to whom. It is important that you are honest in answering them. You can choose not to take part in this study, and may stop anytime.

If you choose to take part in this study, please complete the consent form below.
This will be collected **separately** from the questionnaire.

<u>Statement of Consent</u>

I have read and understood the above instructions and agree to take part in this study

Name:_____

Class_____

Signature:_____

Date: _____

Family Salience / Individual-competition coping strategy Condition

Age_____
Class_____
Sex Male/Female

1.   Think of 3 things that make your family special and write them in the spaces
        below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

        i)   _____

        ii)   _____

        iii) _____

2.   Think of 3 good things that you can say about your family, and write them in
        the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

        i)   _____

        ii)   _____

        iii) _____

3.   Think of 3 ways in which your family has helped you, and write them in the
        space   below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

        i)   _____

        ii)   _____

        iii) _____

4.   Think of 3 happy or enjoyable occasions you spent with your family and write
        them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

        i)   _____

        ii)   _____

        iii) _____

5.	Would you say you have done very well or very badly in your mid-year exam?

	Very badly 1------2------3------4------5------6 very well

6.	How satisfied are you with your mid-year exam results?

	not satisfied at all 1------2------3------4------5------6 very satisfied

HL is a student from your class who has done very badly in the mid-year exams. To make himself/herself feel better, **HL** goes straight home and avoids friends. He/She tells himself/herself:

> *Why I do so badly I also not sure. Maybe I didn't try hard*
> *enough. Everyone say if study harder, sure can pass, so I think*
> *if I study harder, this time cannot do well, maybe next time can.*
> *I think I must stay at home more, go library and study, must*
> *buy assessment books and do more practice. Maybe can do better*
> *next term. Not give up.*

7.	Do you think the **HL**'s method of feeling better will work well?

	will not 1--------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 works very well
	work at all

8.	How likely are you to use **HL**'s method of feeling better?

	not likely 1--------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 very likely
	at all

9.	How much do you think you would like **HL** if you were to meet him/her?

	not like 1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 like very much
	at all

10.	Do you think you are quite similar to **HL**?

	not similar 1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 very similar
	at all

On the morning of the school's Speech Day, HL took his/her family to the exhibition room to view the work that he/she has done for the term. While they were looking at the exhibits in the room, HL ate a sweet and threw the wrapper on the floor. He/She did not notice that a prefect had been watching him/her. The prefect went up to HL, called him and **in front of his/her family**, scolded him/her for having broken a school rule and told him/her to pick up the sweet wrapper and throw it in the bin outside the room.

Answer the following questions by drawing a circle around a number that best suits your answer.

11. How much do you think HL will dislike the prefect?

do not dislike at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 dislike very much

12. Do you think the prefect is doing the right thing or wrong thing by telling HL to pick up the wrapper?

very wrong   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally right

13. Do you think HL is wrong in throwing the sweet wrapper?

very wrong   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally right

14. Do you think HL feels sorry for breaking the school rule by littering?

not bad at all   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very bad

Would you agree with HL if he/she were to say these things to the prefect?

15. "Who ask you to be so yaya[1] and act tough only!"

don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

16. "Hey, this is not my business!"

don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

17. "Throw paper nothing wrong -- servant will sweep what!"

don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

18. "My family here -- more important than that stupid piece of paper!"

don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

---

[1] "yaya" is a colloquial term for arrogant

19.   Would HL feel bad about himself/herself after the prefect caught him/her littering?

          very bad 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 not bad at all

20.   How likely do you think HL's family heard the prefect telling HL to pick up the litter?

          not likely at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very likely

21.   How close do you think HL is to his/her family?

          not close at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very close

22.   If there are such students like HL in your school, would you want him/her in your group?

          not at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very much

23.   How close are YOU to your family?

          not close at all 1 ------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very close

24.   What is your father's occupation?

          _____

25.   If you have brothers and sisters, what are their occupations?
         If your brothers and sisters are still in primary or secondary school,
         write down their level and stream (e.g. Sec 1 Normal Academic)
         If you do not have brothers or sisters, please leave the spaces blank.

Relationship Brother/sister	Year in school and stream or occupation

If you think **HL** is thinking any of the thoughts in the boxes, draw a line from the boxes to the head.

I wish I could have
more respect for myself
我希望能给自己多一点自尊

I feel I do not have
much to be proud of
我觉得我没有什么
能骄傲的

On the whole, I am
satisfied with myself
我对自己很满意

I often feel I am a failure
我时常觉得我是个失败者

I think I have many
good qualities
我 认为我有很多优点

At times, I think
I am no good at all
有时后我认为
我没有任何优点

I certainly feel
useless at times
我时常觉得我是
个没有用的人

If you think **HL** is thinking any of the thoughts in the boxes, draw a line from the boxes to the head

I wish I could have
more respect for myself
我希望能给自己多一点自尊

I feel I do not have
much to be proud of
我觉得我没有什么
能骄傲的

On the whole, I am
satisfied with myself
我对自己很满意

I often feel I am a failure
我时常觉得我是个失败者

I think I have many
good qualities
我认为我有很多优点

At times, I think
I am no good at all
有时后我认为
我没有任何优点

I certainly feel
useless at times
我时常觉得我是
个没有用的人

Below are a list of behaviours. How often have you done the following?
Please draw a circle around the number closest to your answer.

Behaviours	How often
a) smoking	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
b) losing temper, shouting at schoolmate or teacher	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
c) refusing to obey teacher's orders	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
d) gambling	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
e) playing truant ("pontang" lessons or school)	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
f) fighting in and out of school	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
g) stealing, shoplifting	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
h) using foul language ("bad" or swear words)	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
i) destroying public property, vandalism	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
j) threatening others	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
k) seeing "dirty" books or movies	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
l) cheating in tests and exams	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
m) drinking alcohol (beer, etc)	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

Gang Salience / Outgroup-derogation coping strategy condition

Age_____
Class_____
Sex Male/ Female

1.   Think of 3 things that make your gang of friends special and write them in the spaces below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

i)   _____

ii)   _____

iii) _____

2.   Think of 3 good things that you can say about your gang of friends, and write them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

i)   _____

ii)   _____

iii) _____

3.   Think of 3 ways in which your gang of friends has helped you, and write them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

i)   _____

ii)   _____

iii) _____

4.   Think of 3 happy or enjoyable occasions you spent with your gang of friends and write them in the space below. You don't have to write in proper sentences.

i)   _____

ii)   _____

iii) _____

5.   Would you say you have done very well or very badly in your mid-year exam?

        Very badly 1------2------3------4------5------6 very well

6.   How satisfied are you with your mid-year exam results?

        not satisfied at all 1------2------3------4------5------6 very satisfied

KP is a student from your class who has done very badly in the mid-year exams. To make himself/herself feel better, **KP** goes out with friends and tells himself/herself:

*My kind of people cannot study type. I and my friends think
now we are young and we know how to have fun. We all not
like the kiasu and kancheong kind. Study so hard and don't
know how to enjoy. What for get good marks? Bad results
so what! Got other things in life more important. We all know
worry also no use.*

7.   Do you think the **KP'**s method of feeling better will work well?

        will not   1--------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 works very well
        work at all

8.   How likely are you to use **KP**'s method of feeling better?

        not likely 1--------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 very likely
        at all

9.   How much do you think you would like **KP** if you were to meet him/her?

        not like   1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 like very much
        at all

10.   Do you think you are quite similar to **KP**?

        not similar 1-------2--------3--------4-------5-------6 very similar
        at all

On the morning of the school's Speech Day, KP took his/her family to the exhibition room to view the work that he/she has done for the term. While they were looking at the exhibits in the room, KP ate a sweet and threw the wrapper on the floor. He/She did not notice that a prefect had been watching him/her. The prefect went up to KP, called him/her and **in front of his/her family**, scolded him/her for having broken a school rule and told him/her to pick up the sweet wrapper and throw it in the bin outside the room.

Answer the following questions by drawing a circle around a number that best suits your answer.

11.   How much do you think KP will dislike the prefect?

        do not dislike at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 dislike very much

12.   Do you think the prefect is doing the right thing or wrong thing by telling KP
        to pick up the wrapper?

                very wrong   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally right

13.   Do you think KP is wrong in throwing the sweet wrapper?

                very wrong   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally right

14.   Do you think KP feels sorry for breaking the school rule by littering?

                not bad at all   1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very bad

Would you agree with KP if he/she were to say these things to the prefect?

15.   "Who ask you to be so yaya and act tough only!"

                don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

16.   "Hey, this is not my business!"

                don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

17.   "Throw paper nothing wrong -- servant will sweep what!"

                don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

18.   "My family here -- more important than that stupid piece of paper!"

                don't agree at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 totally agree

19. Would KP feel bad about himself/herself after the prefect caught him littering?

        very bad 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 not bad at all

20. How likely do you think KP's family heard the prefect telling KP to pick up the litter?

        not likely at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very likely

21. How close do you think KP is to his/her family?

        not close at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very close

22. If there are such students like KP in your school, would you want him/her in your group?

        not at all 1------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very much

23. How close are YOU to your family?

        not close at all 1 ------2------3-------4-------5-------6 very close

24. What is your father's occupation?

        _____

25. If you have brothers and sisters, what are their occupations?
     If your brothers and sisters are still in primary or secondary school,
     write down their level and stream (e.g. Sec 1 Normal Academic)
     If you do not have brothers or sisters, please leave the spaces blank.

Relationship Brother/sister	Year in school and stream or occupation

If you think **KP** is thinking any of the thoughts in the boxes, draw a line from the boxes to the head

I wish I could have
more respect for myself
我希望能给自己多一点自尊

I feel I do not have
much to be proud of
我觉得我没有什么
能骄傲的

On the whole, I am
satisfied with myself
我对自己很满意

I often feel I am a failure
我时常觉得我是个失败者

I think I have many
good qualities
我认为我有很多优点

At times, I think
I am no good at all
有时后我认为
我没有任何优点

I certainly feel
useless at times
我时常觉得我是
个没有用的人

If you think **KP** is thinking any of the thoughts in the boxes, draw a line from the boxes to the head

I wish I could have
more respect for myself
我希望能给自己多一点自尊

I feel I do not have
much to be proud of
我觉得我没有什么
能骄傲的

On the whole, I am
satisfied with myself
我对自己很满意

I often feel I am a failure
我时常觉得我是个失败者

I think I have many
good qualities
我 认为我有很多优点

At times, I think
I am no good at all
有时后我认为
我没有任何优点

I certainly feel
useless at times
我时常觉得我是
个没有用的人

Below are a list of behaviours. How often have you done the following?
Please draw a circle around the number closest to your answer.

Behaviours	How often
a) smoking	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
b) losing temper, shouting at schoolmate or teacher	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
c) refusing to obey teacher's orders	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
d) gambling	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
e) playing truant ("pontang" lessons or school)	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
f) fighting in and out of school	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
g) stealing, shoplifting	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
h) using foul language ("bad" or swear words)	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
i) destroying public property, vandalism	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
j) threatening others	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
k) seeing "dirty" books or movies	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
l) cheating in tests and exams	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often
m) drinking alcohol (beer, etc)	never 1----2----3----4----5----6 very often

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

<u>Results of the study presented in Chapter Thirteen</u>

Table 1
Anova of delinquents' self-esteem (factor)

Assumption of Homogeneity of variances Cochrans C $(6, 4) = 4678$, $p = .206$ is satisfied

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Main effects					
salience	1.91	1	1.91	2.31	.141
strategy	.30	1	.30	.36	.555
2-way interactions					
salience x strategy	5.38	1	5.38	**6.53**	**.017**
Residual	19.78	24	.82		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abjorensen, N. (1995, June 11) Crime researchers back "idea of century". The Canberra Times, p . 1

Abrams, D. (1992) Processes of social identification. In G.M. Breakwell, Social Psychology of Identity and the Self-concept. London: Surrey University Press.

Abrams D. & M. Hogg (1988) Comments on the motivational status of self-esteem in social identity and intergroup discrimination. European Journal of Social Psychology, 18, 317 -334.

Abrams, D. & Hogg, M.A. (1990) Social identification, self-categorization and social influence. In W. Stroebe and M. Hewstone (Eds.) European Review of Social Psychology, Volume 1. John Wiley and Sons.

Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswick, E., Levinson, D.J., & Sanford, R.N. (1950) The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper.

Agnew, R. (1993) Why do they do it? An examination of the intervening mechanisms between "social control" variables and delinquency. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 30, 245 - 266.

Agnew, R. & Peters, A.A. (1986) The techniques of neutralization: An analysis of predisposing and situational factors. Criminal Justice and Behaviour, 13, 81-97.

Aikenhead, M. (1980) Consistency and self-enhancement: Co-existent or mutually exclusive? British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 19, 41 - 48.

Aronson, E., Ellsworth, P.C., Carlsmith, J.M., & Gonzales, M.H. (1990) Methods of research in social psychology. Singapore: McGraw-Hill Publishing

Aspinwall, L.G. & Taylor, S. E. (1993) Effects of social comparison direction, threat, and self-esteem on affect, self-evaluation, and expected success. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64, 708 - 722

Banaji, M.R. & Prentice, D.A. (1994) The self in social contexts. Annual Review of Psychology, 45, 297 - 332

Baumeister, R.F., Stillwell, A.M. and Heatherton, T.F. (1994) Guilt: An interpersonal approach. Psychological Bulletin, 115, 243 - 267.

Berndt, T.J. (1979) Developmental changes in conformity to peers and parents. Development Psychology, 15, 606 - 616.

Bers, S.A. & Rodin, J. (1984) Social-comparison jealousy: A developmental and motivational study. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47, 766- 779.

Binder, A. (1988) Juvenile delinquency. Annual Review of Psychology, 39, 253 - 282.

Blackburn, R. (1993) The Psychology of Criminal Conduct. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons

Bourhis, R.Y., Sachdev, I. & Gagnon, A. (1994) Intergroup research with the Tajfel matrices: Methodological notes. In M.P. Zanna and J.M. Olson (Eds.) The Psychology of Prejudice: The Ontario Symposium, Volume 7. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

Bowker, L.H. & Klein, M.W. (1983) The etiology of female juvenile delinquency and gang membership. Adolescence, 18, 739 -751.

Braithwaite, J. (1977) Australian delinquency: Research and practical considerations. In P.R. Wilson (Ed.), Delinquency in Australia: A critical appraisal. St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

Braithwaite, J. (1989) Crime, shame and reintegration. New York: Cambridge University Press

Breakwell, G. (1986) Coping with Threatened Identities. London: Methuen.

Brickman, P. & Bulman, R. J. (1977) Pleasure and pain in social comparison. In J.M. Suls and R.M. Miller (Eds.) Social comparison processes: theoretical and empirical perspectives (pp. 149 - 168) Washington D.C.: Hemisphere.

Brophy, J.E. (1985) Teacher-student interaction. In J. Dusek (Ed.), Teacher expectancies. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Brown, B.B. (1989) The role of peer groups in adolescents' adjustment to secondary school. In T.J. Berndt and G.W. Ladd, (Eds.), Peer Relationships in Child Development. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.

Brown, B.B. (1990) Peer groups and peer cultures. In S. Feldman & G.R. Elliot (Eds.) At the threshold: The developing adolescent. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Brown, B.B., Clasen, D.R. & Eicher S.A. (1986) Perceptions of peer pressure, peer conformity dispositions, and self-reported behaviour among adolescents. Developmental Psychology, 22, 521 - 530.

Brown, B.B., Eicher, S.A. & Petrie, S. (1986) The importance of peer group ("crowd") affiliation in adolescence. Journal of Adolescence, 9, 73 - 96.

Brown, B.B. & Lohr, M.J. (1987) Peer-group affiliation and adolescent self-esteem: An integration of ego-identity and symbolic-interaction theories. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52, 47 -55.

Brown, R.J. (1984) The role of similarity in intergroup relations. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), The Social Dimension: Volume 2: Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bynner, J.M., O'Malley, P.M. & Bachman, J.G. (1981) Self-esteem and delinquency revisited. Journal of Youth and Adolescent, 10, 407 - 441.

Cairns, R.B., Perrin, J.E. & Cairns, B.D. (1985) Social structure and social cognition in early adolescence: Affiliative patterns. Journal of Early Adolescence, 5, 339 - 355.

Campbell, A. (1987) Self-definition by rejection: The case of gang girls. Social Problems, 34, No. 5, 451 - 465.

Campbell, A. (1991) The girls in the gang. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Campbell, A., Bibel, D., & Muncer, S. (1985) Predicting our own aggression: Person, subculture or situation? British Journal of Social Psychology, 24, 169 - 180.

Campbell, J.D. (1986) Similarity and uniqueness: The effect of attribute type, relevance and individual differences in self-esteem and depression. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50, 281 -294.

Cloward, R. A & Ohlin, L. E. (1972) The conflict subculture. In S. Palmer and A.S. Linsky (Eds.) Rebellion and Retreat: Readings in the Forms and Processes of Deviance. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company.

Cohen, A. K. (1955) Delinquent Boys. Glencoe, The Free Press.

Cohen, A.K. (1972) The functions of the gang subculture. In S. Palmer and A.S. Linsky (Eds.) Rebellion and Retreat: Readings in the Forms and Processes of Deviance. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company.

Cohen, A. K. (1990) Foreword and Overview. In C. R. Huff (Ed.) Gangs in America. London, Sage Publications.

Cohen, J. (1979) High school subcultures and the adult world, Adolescence, 24, 491 - 502.

Coie, J.D. (1990) Toward a theory of peer rejection. In S.R. Asher and J.D. Coie (Eds.) Peer Rejection in Childhood Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Coleman, J.S. (1961) The adolescent society. New York: Free Press.

Coleman, J. (1987) Adolescence and Schooling. In D. Marsland (Ed.) Education and Youth, Contemporary Analysis in Education Series. London: The Falmer Press.

Crocker, J. & Luhtanen, R. (1990) Collective self-esteem and ingroup bias. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58, 60 - 67.

Crocker, J., & Schwartz, I. (1985) Prejudice and ingroup favouritism in a minimal intergroup situation: Effects of self-esteem. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 11, 379 - 386.

Crocker, J., Thompson, L.L., McGraw, K.M. & Ingerman, C. (1987) Downward comparison prejudice and evaluations of others: Effects of self-esteem and threat. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52, 907 -916.

Deutsch, M. & Gerard, H. B. (1955) A study of normative and informational social influences upon individual judgment. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 51, 629 - 636.

Dishion, T.J., Patterson, G.R., Stoolmiller, M. & Skinner, M.L. (1991) Family, school, and behavioural antecedents to early adolescent involvement with antisocial peers. Developmental Psychology, 27, 172 - 180.

Downs, W. R. and Rose, S.R. (1991) The relationship between adolescent peer groups to the incidence of psychosocial problems. Adolescence, 26, 473 - 492.

Dunphy D.C. (1963) The social structure of urban adolescent peer groups. Sociometry, 26, 230 - 246.

Dusek, J. B. (1991) Adolescent development and behaviour. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Eiser, J.R. & Van der Pligt, J. (1984) Accentuation theory, polarization, and the judgment of attitude statements. In J.R. Eiser, Attitude Judgment. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Eiser, J.R. and Mower White, C.J. (1974) Evaluative consistency and social judgment. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 30, 249 -359.

Eiser, J.R. and Mower White, C.J. (1975) Categorization and congruity in attitudinal judgment. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 31, 769 - 775.

Ellemers, N. (1993) The influence of socio-structural variables on identity management strategies. In W. Stroebe and M. Hewstone, European Review of Social Psychology, Vol 4. John Wiley and Sons.

Ellemers, N., van Knippenberg, A. & Wilke, H. (1990) The influence of permeability of group boundaries and stability of group status on strategies of individual mobility and social change. British Journal of Social Psychology 29, 233 - 246.

Ellemers, N., Van Knippenberg, A., De Vries, N. & Wilke, H. (1988) Social identification and permeability of group boundaries. European Journal of Social Psychology, 18, 497 - 513.

Ellemers, N., Wilke, H. & van Knippenberg, A. (1993) Effects of the legitimacy of low group or individual status on individual and collective status enhancement strategies. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64, 766 - 778.

Elliot, D., Huizinger, D., & Ageton, S. (1985) Explaining delinquency and drug use. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Elliot, G.C. (1986) Self-esteem and self-consistency: A theoretical and empirical link between two primary motivations. Social Psychology Quarterly, 49, 207 - 218.

Emler, N. & Hogan, R. (1981) Developing attitudes to law and justice: An integrative review. In S.S. Brehm, S.M. Kassin & F.X. Gibbons (Eds.) Developmental Social Psychology: Theory and Research. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Emler, N. & Hopkins, N. (1990) Reputation, social identity and the self. In D. Abrams and M.A. Hogg (Eds.) Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Emler, N. (1984) Differential involvement in delinquency: toward an interpretation terms of reputation management. Progress in Experimental Personality Research, 13, 173 -239.

Emler, N. (1990) A Social Psychology of Reputation. In W. Stroebe and M. Hewstone, (Eds.) European Review of Social Psychology, Vol. 1. John Wiley and Sons.

Emler, N., Heather, N & Winton, M. (1978) Delinquency and the development of moral reasoning. British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 17, 325 - 331.

Emler, N. & Reicher, S. (1995) Adolescence and Delinquency: The Collective Management of Reputation. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Emler, N., Reicher, S. & Ross, A. (1987) The social context of delinquent conduct. Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 28, No. 1, 99 - 109.

Erickson, M. L. (1971 -72) The group context of delinquent behaviour. Social Problems, 19, 115 - 129.

Erikson, E. (1950) Childhood and society. New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. (1968) Identity, youth and crisis. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Ewing, K.P. (1990) The illusion of wholeness: Culture, self, and the experience of inconsistency. Ethos, 18, 251-278.

Eysenck, S. B.G. & Eysenck. H. J. (1978) Impulsiveness and venturesomeness: Their position in a dimensional system of personality description. Psychological Reports, 43, 1247 - 1255.

Eysenck, S.B.G. & McGurk, B.J. (1980) Impulsiveness and venturesomeness in a detention center population. Psychological Reports, 47, 1299 - 1306.

Feldman, S. S. & Weinberger, D. A. (1994) Self-restraint as a mediator of family influences on boys' delinquent behaviours: A longitudinal study. Child Development, 65, 195 - 211.

Festinger, L. (1950) Informal social communication. Psychological Review, 57, 271 - 282.

Festinger, L (1954) A theory of social comparison processes. Human Relations, 7, 117 - 140.

Fischer, B.J. & Bersani, C.A. (1979) Self-esteem and institutionalized delinquent offenders: The role of background characteristics. Adolescence, 14, 197 - 214.

Friend, R. M. & Gilbert, J. (1973) Threat and fear of negative evaluation as determinants of locus of social comparison. Journal of Personality, 41, 328 - 340

Gaertner, S.L., Mann, J., Murrell, A., & Dovidio, J.F. (1989) Reducing intergroup bias: The benefits of recategorization. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 239 - 249.

Gerard, H.B., & Orive, R. (1987) The dynamics of opinion formation: An informational social comparison model. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 20, pp 171 - 202) San Diego, Academic Press.

Giallambardo, R. (1982) Juvenile delinquency: A book of readings. Singapore: John Wiley & Sons.

Gibbons F.X. & Gerrard, M. (1991) Downward comparison and coping with threat. In J. Suls and T.A. Wills, (Eds.) Social comparison: contemporary theory and research. London: Erlbaum.

Gibbons, F.X.& Gerrard, M. (1989) Effects of upward and downward social comparison on mood states. Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 8, 14 - 31.

Gilbert, P., Pehl, L. & Allan, S. (1994) The phenomenology of shame and guilt: An empirical investigation. British Journal of Medical Psychology, 67, 23 - 36.

Giordano, P.C., Cernkovich, S.A. & Pugh, M.D. (1986) Friendships and delinquency. American Journal of Sociology, 91, 1170 -1202.

Goethals, G.R. (1986a) Fabricating and ignoring social reality: Self-serving estimates of consensus. In J.M. Olson, C.P. Herman, & M.P. Zanna (Eds.), Relative deprivation and social comparison: The Ontario Symposium (Vol. 4 pp 135 - 158) Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Goethals, G.R. (1986b) Social comparison theory: Psychology from the lost and found. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 12, 261 - 278.

Goethals, G.R., & Darley, J.M. (1977) Social comparison theory: An attributional approach. In J.M. Suls & R.L. Miller, Social comparison processes: Theoretical and empirical perspectives. Washington D.C. Hemisphere.

Goethals, G.R., & Darley, J.M. (1987) Social comparison theory: Self-evaluation and group life. In B. Mullen and G.R. Goethals (Eds.) Theories of group behaviour (pp. 21 - 47). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Goethals, G.R., Messick, D.M. & Allison, S.T. (1991) The uniqueness bias: Studies of constructive social comparison. In J. Suls and T.A. Wills (Eds.) Social Comparison. Contemporary Theory and Research, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum (pp 135 - 137).

Gold, M. (1963) Status Forces in Delinquent Boys. Institute for Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,

Gold, M . (1994) Changing the delinquent self. In T.M. Brinthraupt & R.P. Lipka (Eds.) Changing the Self : Philosophies, Techniques and Experiences. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Goode, E. (1984) Deviant Behaviour. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Graham, S. & Barker, G. (1990) The downside of help: An attributional-developmental analysis of helping behaviour as a low ability cue. Journal of Educational Psychology, 82, 7 - 14.

Hakmiller, K.L. (1966) Threat as a determinant of downward comparison. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 2 (Suppl.1.) 32 -39.

Hargreaves, D.H. (1980) Classroom, schools and juvenile delinquency. Educational Analysis, 2, 75 - 87.

Harter, S. (1992) The relationship between perceived competence, affect, and motivational orientation within the classroom: Processes and patterns of change. In A.K. Boggiano & T.S. Pittman (Eds.) Achievement and Motivation: A Socio-Developmental Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haslam, S.A. (1990) A self-categorization theory of accentuation processes in social judgment and stereotyping. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Macquarie University.

Haslam, S.A. & Turner, J.C. (1992) Context-dependent variation in social stereotyping 2: The relationship between frame of reference, self-categorization and accentuation. European Journal of Social Psychology, 22, 251 - 277.

Haslam,S.A, Oakes, P.J., Turner, J.C. & McGarty, C.(1995) Social categorization and group homogeneity: Changes in the perceived applicability of stereotype content as a function of comparative context and trait favourableness. British Journal of Social Psychology, 34, 135-160.

Hazelwood, R.D. (1989) Extremism in response to questionnaires and its relationship to ability. Educational Research, 31, 46 - 51

Heaven, P.C.L. (1989) Orientation to authority and its relation to impulsiveness. Current Psychology, 8, 38 - 45.

Heaven, P.C.L. (1991) Personality correlates of functional and dysfunctional impulsiveness. Personality and Individual Differences, 12, 1213 - 1217.

Heaven, P.C.L. (1993) Personality predictors of self-reported delinquency. Personality and Individual Differences, 14, 67 - 76.

Heaven, P.C.L. (1994) Orientation to authority and delinquency. In P. Heaven Contemporary Adolescence: A Social Psychological Approach. Melbourne: MacMillan.

Higgins, E. T. (1987) Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. Psychological Review, 94, 319 - 340.

Higgins, E.T., Tikocinski, O. & Vookles, J. (1990) Patterns of self-beliefs: The psychological significance of relations among the actual, ideal, ought, can and future selves. In J.M. Olson & M.P. Zanna, Self-inference Processes: The Ontario Symposium. Vol. 6. New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum.

Hinkle, S. & Brown, R. (1990) Intergroup comparisons and social identity: some links and lacunae, In D. Abrams & M. Hogg (Eds.) Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf and Springer.

Hirschi, T. (1969) Causes of delinquency. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hirschi, T. & Hindelang, M.J. (1977) Intelligence and delinquency: A revisionist review. American Sociological Review, 42, 571 - 587.

Hogg, M.A. (1987) Social identity and group cohesiveness. In J.C. Turner, M.A., Hogg, P.J.Oakes, S.D. Reicher, and M.S. Wetherell, Rediscovering the social group: a self-categorization theory. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Hogg, M.A. (1992) The Social Psychology of Group Cohesiveness: From Attraction to Social Identity. New York: New York University Press.

Hogg, M.A. & Abrams, D. (1993) Group Motivation: Social psychological perspectives. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hogg, M.A. & Abrams, D. (1990) Social motivations, self-esteem and social identity. In D. Abrams & M.A. Hogg (Eds.) Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf and Springer.

Hogg, M.A. & McGarty, C. (1990) Self-categorization theory and social identity. In . Abrams & M.A. Hogg (Eds.) Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf and Springer.

Hogg, M.A. & Turner, J.C. (1985) Interpersonal attraction, social identification and psychological group formation. European Journal of Social Psychology, 15, 51 - 66.

Hogg, M.A. and Turner, J.C. (1985) When liking begets solidarity: An experiment on the role of interpersonal attraction in psychological group formation. British Journal of Social Psychology, 24, 267 - 281.

Hogg, M.A. & Turner, J.C. (1987a) Intergroup behaviour, self-stereotyping and the salience of social categories. British Journal of Social Psychology, 26, 325 - 340.

Hogg, M.A. & Turner, J.C. (1987b) Social identity and conformity: A theory of reference informational influence. In W. Doise and S. Moscovici (Eds.) Current issues in European Social Psychology, Volume 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huff, C. R. (1990) Gangs in America. London: Sage Publications.

Hurrelmann, K. & Uwe, E. (1992) Delinquency as a symptom of adolescents' orientation towards status and success. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 21, 119 - 138.

Jail fails, shaming tactics worth try. (1995, June 12) The Canberra Times, p.10.

Jankowski, .M. S. (1991) Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Johnson, V. & Pandina, R.J. (1991) Effects of family environment on adolescent substance use, delinquency, and coping styles. American Journal of Drug, and Alcohol Abuse, 17 (1), 71 - 88.

Johnstone, J.W.C. (1983) Recruitment to a youth gang. Youth and Society, 14, 281 - 300.

Jurkovic, G.J. (1980) The juvenile delinquent as a moral philosopher: A structural-developmental perspective. Psychological Bulletin, 88, 709 - 727.

Juvonen, J. (1991) Deviance, perceived responsibility, and negative peer reactions. Developmental Psychology, 27, 672 - 681.

Kaplan, H.B. (1978) Deviant behaviour and self-enhancement in adolescence. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 7, 253 -277.

Kaplan, H.B. (1980) Deviant behaviour in defense of self. New York, Academic Press.

Kaplan, H.B., Johnson, R.J. & Bailey, C.A. (1987) Deviant peers and deviant behaviour: Further elaboration of a model. Social Psychology Quarterly, 50, 277 - 284.

Kaplan, H.B., Martin, S.S., & Johnson, R.J. (1986) Self-rejection and the explanation of deviance: Specification of the structure among latent constructs. American Journal of Sociology, 92, 384 - 411.

Katz, I., Glass, D. and Cohen, S. (1973) Ambivalence, guilt and the scapegoating of minority group victims. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 9, 423 -436.

Kelley, H.H. (1973) The process of causal attribution. American Psychologist, 28, 107 - 128.

Kernis, M. H., Brockner, J., & Frankel, B. S. (1989) Self-esteem and reactions to failure: The mediating role of overgeneralization. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 707 - 714.

Kirchler, E., Palmonari, A. & Pombeni, M. L. (1994) Social categorization processes as dependent on status differences between groups: a step into adolescents' peer-groups. European Journal of Social Psychology, 24, 541 - 563.

Klein, M. & Crawford, L. (1968) Groups, gangs and cohesiveness. In J. F. Short (Ed.) Gang Delinquency and Delinquent Subcultures. New York, Harper and Row.

Koh, C.E.A. (1988) Transactional Analysis as an approach to understanding secondary school students' discipline and behavioural problems. Unpublished M. Ed. Thesis, National University of Singapore.

Kohlberg, L. (1976) Moral stages and moralization: The cognitive developmental approach. In T. Lickona (Ed.) Moral Development and Behaviour: Theory, Research and Social Issues. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kroger, J. (1989) Identity in Adolescence: The balance between self and other. London: Routledge.

Kuo, E C. (1988) A Study of Singaporean youths: Their Perceptions and Aspirations. Singapore: Ministry of Community Development.

Lamson, A. (1983) The Psychology of Juvenile Crime. New York: Human Sciences Press, Inc.

Lasley, J.R. (1992) Age, social context, and street gang membership: Are "youth" gangs becoming "adult" gangs" Youth and Society, 23, 434 - 451.

Lau, S. & Leung, K. (1992) Relations with parents and school and Chinese adolescents' self-concept, delinquency and academic performance. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 62, 193 - 202.

Lemert, E.M. (1967) <u>Human deviance, social problems and social control</u>. New York, Prentice-Hall.

Lemyre, L & Smith, P. (1985) Intergroup discrimination and self-esteem in the minimal group paradigm. <u>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49,</u> 660 - 670.

Levine, J . M., & Moreland, R. L. (1987) Social comparison and outcome evaluation in group contexts. In J.C. Masters & W.P. Smith (Eds.) <u>Social comparison, social justice and relative deprivation: Theoretical, empirical, and policy perspectives</u> (pp 105 - 127) Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Licitra-Kleckler, D. M. & Waas, G. A. (1993) Perceived social support among high-stress adolescents: The role of peers and family. <u>Journal of Adolescent Research, 8</u> , 381 - 402.

Lim, L.H. (1996, March 6) Family conferencing good for young delinquents: Report. <u>The Straits Times,</u> p. 22

Liska, A. E. & Reed, M. D. (1985) Ties to conventional institutions and delinquency: estimating reciprocal effects. <u>American Sociological Review, 50,</u> 547 - 560.

Lynam, D., Moffitt, T., & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (1993) Explaining the relation between IQ and delinquency: Class, race, test motivation, school failure or self-control?<u> Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 102</u>, 187 - 196.

Major, B., Testa, M. & Bylsma, W.H. (1991) Responses to upward and downward comparisons: The impact of esteem-relevance and perceived control. In J. Suls and T.A. Wills, (Eds.) <u>Social comparison: contemporary theory and research.</u> London: Erlbaum.

Mak, A. (1987) Psychosocial control characteristics and adolescent development. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Australian National University.

Markus, H. & Nurius, P. (1986) Possible selves. <u>American Psychologist, 41,</u> 954 - 969.

Masters, J.C. , & Keil, L.J. (1987) Generic comparison processes in human judgment and behaviour. In J.C. Masters & W.P. Smith (Eds.) <u>Social comparison, social justice and relative deprivation: Theoretical, empirical, and policy perspectives</u> (pp. 11 -54) Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.

Matza, D. (1964) <u>Delinquency and Drift</u>, New York, Wiley.

Miller, W.B. (1958) Lower-class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency. Journal of Social Issues, 14, 5 - 19.

Mau, R. Y. (1992) The validity and devolution of a concept: Student alienation. Adolescence, 27, 731 - 741.

Mau, R. Y. (1995) Adolescent alienation in schools. Paper presented at the 8th Asian Workshop on Child and Adolescent Development, Singapore, 7 - 9 June.

McCarthy, J.D. & Hoge, D.R. (1984) The dynamics of self-esteem and delinquency. American Journal of Sociology, 90, 396 -410.

McCord, J. (1990) Problem behaviours. In S. Feldman & G.R. Elliot (Eds.) At the threshold: The developing adolescent. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

McGarty C. & Penny, R.E.C. (1988) Categorization, accentuation and social judgment. British Journal of Social Psychology, 27, 147 - 157.

McGarty, C. and Turner, J.C. (1992) The effects of categorization on social judgment. British Journal of Social Psychology, 31, 253 - 268.

McGarty, C., Turner, J.C., Oakes, P.J., & Haslam, S.A. (1993) The creation of uncertainty in the influence process: The roles of stimulus information and disagreement with similar others. European Journal of Social Psychology, 23, 17 - 38.

McGarty, C., Haslam, S.A., Hutchinson, K. J. & Turner, J. C. (1994) The effects of salient group memberships on persuasion. Small Group Research, 25, 267 - 293.

McGraw, K. M. (1987) Guilt following transgression: An attribution of responsibility approach. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53, 247 - 256.

McIntyre, J .G. & Dusek, J. B. (1995) Perceived parental rearing practices and styles of coping. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 24, 499 - 509.

Mednick, B. R., Baker, R. L., & Carothers, L.E. (1990) Patterns of family instability and crime: The association of timing of the family's disruption with subsequent adolescent and young adult criminality . Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 19, 201 - 220.

Menard, S & Morse, B.J. (1984) A structuralist critique of the IQ-delinquency hypothesis: Theory and evidence. American Journal of Sociology, 89, 1347 - 1378.

Merton, R.K. (1957) Social theory and social structure. New York: Free Press.

Mettee, D.R. & Smith, G. (1977) Social comparison and interpersonal attraction: The case for dissimilarity. In J.M. Suls & R.L. Miller, Social comparison processes: Theoretical and empirical perspectives.(pp. 69 - 101) Washington D.C. Hemisphere.

Miller, D. (1996, July 9) Juvenile crime on the rise and "a serious problem". The Straits Times, p. 1.

Miller, D. (1994, February 26) 1,878 juvenile offenders last year, up 30% and Singapore's crime rate falls for fifth consecutive year. The Straits Times, Weekly Edition, p. 5.

Miller, D.T., Turnbull, W. & McFarland, C. (1988) Particularistic and universalistic evaluation in the social comparison process. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55, 908 - 917.

Moreland, R.L. (1985) Social categorization and the assimilation of "new" group members. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 48, 1173 - 1190

Mummendey, A. & Schreiber, H.J. (1983) Better or just different? Positive social identity by discrimination against, or by differentiation from outgroups. European Journal of Social Psychology, 13, 389 - 397.

Mummendey, A., Simon, B., Dietze, C., Grunert, M., Haeger, G., Kessler, S., Lettgen, S. & Schaferhoff, S. (1992) Categorization is not enough: Intergroup discrimination in negative outcome allocation. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 28, 25 - 144.

Nadler, E. (1993) Deviance in primary groups: The social negotiation of personal change. In W. Stroebe and M. Hewstone (Eds.) European Review of Social Psychology, Vol. 4, 187 - 222.

Newcomb, A.F. & Bukowski, W.M. (1983) Social impact and social preference as determinants of children's peer group status. Developmental Psychology, 19, 856 - 867.

Newman, P.R. & Newman, B. M. (1976) Early adolescence and its conflict: Group identity versus alienation. Adolescence, 11, 261 - 274.

Norusis, M.J. (1992a) SPSS for Windows. Advanced Statistics Release 5. Chicago: SPSS Inc.

Norusis, M.J. (1992b) SPSS for Windows. Professional Statistics Release 5. Chicago: SPSS Inc.

O'Brien, S.F. & Bierman, K.L. (1988) Conceptions and perceived influence of peer groups: Interviews with preadolescents and adolescents. Child Development, 59, 1360 - 1365.

Oakes, P.J. (1983) Factors determining the salience of group membership in social perception., unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Bristol.

Oakes, P.J. (1987) The Salience of Social Categories. In J.C. Turner, M.A. Hogg, P.J.Oakes, S.D. Reicher and M.S. Wetherell, Rediscovering the social group: a self-categorization theory. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Oakes, P.J. & Turner, J.C. (1980) Social categorization and intergroup bias: does minimal intergroup discrimination make social identity more positive? European Journal of Social Psychology, 10, 295 - 301.

Oakes, P.J., Turner, J.C. & Haslam, S.A. (1991) Perceiving people as group members: The role of fit in the salience of social categorizations. British Journal of Social Psychology, 30, 125 - 144.

Oakes, P.J., Haslam, S.A. & Turner, J.C. (1994) Stereotyping and Social Reality. Oxford: Blackwell.

Orive, R. (1988) Social projection and social comparison of opinions. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54, 953 - 964.

Oyserman, D. & Markus, H.R. (1990). Possible selves and delinquency. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59, 112 - 125.

Oyserman, D. & Saltz, E. (1993) Competence, delinquency and attempts to attain possible selves. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65, 360 - 374.

Pabon, E., Rodriguez, O. & Gurin, G. (1992) Clarifying peer relations and delinquency. Youth and Society, 24, 149 - 165.

Palmer, S. & Linsky, A. S. (1972) <u>Rebellion and Retreat: Readings in the forms and processes of deviance</u>. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company.

Palmonari, A., Carugati, F., Ricci Bitti, P. E., & Sarchielli, G. (1984) Imperfect identities: A socio-psychological perspective for the study of the problems of adolescence. In H. Tajfel (Ed.) <u>The Social Dimension. Volume 1.</u> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parke, R.D. & Ladd, G. W. (1992) <u>Family-peer relationships: Models of linkages.</u> Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence-Erlbaum Associates.

Parker, J.G. & Asher, S.R. (1987) Peer relations and later personal adjustment: Are low-accepted children at risk? <u>Psychological Bulletin, 102,</u> 357 - 389.

Parkhurst, J. T. & Asher, S.R. (1992) Peer rejection in middle school: Subgroup differences in behaviour, loneliness and interpersonal concerns. <u>Developmental Psychology, 28,</u> 231 - 241.

Paternoster, R. & Mazerolle, P. (1994) General strain theory and delinquency: A replication and extension. <u>Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 31</u>, 235 - 265.

Patterson, G.R., DeBaryshe, B.D. Ramsey, E. (1989) A developmental perspective on antisocial behaviour. <u>American Psychologist, 44,</u> 329 - 335.

Patterson, J. M. & McCubbin, H .I. (1987). Adolescent coping style and behaviours: Conceptualization and measurement. <u>Journal of Adolescence, 10,</u> 163 - 186.

Pereira, B. (1996, March 3) Boot camp among innovative ways to deal with juvenile delinquency <u>Sunday Times</u>, p. 23

Pleban, R., & Tesser, A. (1981) The effects of relevance and quality and another's performance on interpersonal closeness. <u>Social Psychology Quarterly, 44,</u> 278 - 285.

Price, J.M. & Dodge, K.A. (1989) Peers' contributions to children's social maladjustment: Description and intervention. In T.J. Berndt and G.W. Ladd (Eds.) <u>Peer relationships in peer development.</u> Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.

Purkey, W.W. (1970) <u>Self-concept and school achievement.</u> Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Reicher, S.D. (1984a) The St. Pauls riot: An explanation of the limits of crowd action in terms a of a social identity model. European Journal of Social Psychology, 14, 1 - 21.

Reicher, S.D. (1984b) Social influence in the crowd: Attitudinal and behavioural effects of de-individuation in conditions of high and low group salience. British Journal of Social Psychology, 23, 341 - 350.

Reicher, S. D. (1987) Crowd behaviour as social action. In J.C Turner, M.A. Hogg, P.J.Oakes, S.D. Reicher, and M.S Wetherell, Rediscovering the social group: a self-categorization theory. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Reicher, S. & Emler, N. (1985) Delinquent behaviour and attitudes to formal authority. British Journal of Social Psychology, 24, 161 - 168.

Riester, A.E & Zucker, R.A. (1968) Adolescent social structure and drinking behaviour. Personnel and Guidance Journal, December, 304 - 312.

Roff, J. D. (1992) Childhood aggression, peer status , and social class as predictors of delinquency. Psychological Reports, 70, 31-34.

Rogers, C.M., Smith, M.D., & Coleman, J.M. (1978) Social comparison in the classroom: The relationship between academic achievement and self-concept. Journal of Educational Psychology, 70, 50 -57.

Rosenberg, F.R. and Rosenberg, M. (1978) Self-esteem and delinquency. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 7, 279 -291.

Rosenberg, M., Schooler, C., & Schoenbach, C. (1989) Self-esteem and adolescent problems: Modelling reciprocal effects. American Sociological Review, 54, 1104 - 1018.

Rubin, K.H., LeMare, L.J., & Lollis, S. (1990) Social withdrawal in childhood: Developmental pathways to peer rejection. In S.R. Asher and J.D. Coie (Eds.) Peer rejection in childhood. pp. 219 -249. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ruble, D.N., Grosovsky, A.H., Frey, K.S. & Cohen, R. (1992) Developmental changes in competence assessment . In A.K. Boggiono & T. Pittman (Eds.) Achievement and motivation: A socio-developmental perspective. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Salovey, P. & Rodin, J. (1984) Some antecedents and consequences of social-comparison jealousy. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47, 780 - 792.

Scott, M. and Lyman, S. (1968) Accounts. American Sociological Review, 33, 46 - 62.

Shaw, J. M. & Scott, W. A. (1991) Influence of parent discipline style on delinquent behaviour: The mediating role of control orientation. Australian Journal of Psychology, 43, 61 - 67.

Shoemaker, D.J. (1990) Theories of delinquency: An examination of explanations of delinquent behaviour. New York: Oxford University Press.

Short, J.F. and Strodbeck, F.L. (1965) Group Processes and Delinquency. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Simons, R.L., Robertson, J. F., & Downs, W.R. (1989) The nature of the association between parental rejection and delinquent behaviour. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 18, 297 - 310.

Simons, R.L., Whitbeck, L.B., Conger, R.D. & Conger, K. (1991) Parenting factors, social skills, and value commitments as precursors to school failure, involvement with deviant peers and delinquent behaviour. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 20, 645 - 664

Singapore Police Force, Criminal Investigation Department (1996). Characteristics of street gangs. (1996 Youth Research Forum)

Smith, D. M. (1987) Peers, Subcultures, and Schools. In D. Marsland (Ed.) Education and Youth, Contemporary Analysis in Education Series. London: The Falmer Press.

Smith, D. A., Visher, C. A. & Jarjoura, G.R. (1991) Dimensions of delinquency: Exploring correlates of participation, frequency, and persistence of delinquent behaviour. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 28, 6 - 32.

Snyder, J.; Dishion, T.J. & Patterson, G.R.(1986) Determinants and consequences of associating with deviant peers during preadolescence and adolescents. Journal of Early Adolescence, 6, 29 - 43.

Snyder, J.J., Dishion, T.J. & Patterson, G.R. (1986) Determinants and consequences of associating with deviant peers during preadolescence and adolescence. Journal of Early Adolescence, 6, 20 -43.

Snyder, S. (1995) Movie portrayals of juvenile delinquency: Part II -- sociology and psychology. Adolescence, 30 , 325 - 337.

Steinberg, L. (1987) Single parents, stepparents, and the susceptibility of adolescents to antisocial peer pressure. Child Development, 58, 269 - 275.

Struch, N. & Schwartz, S.H. (1989) Intergroup aggression: Its predictors and distinctness from in-group bias. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56, 364 - 373.

Suls, J. & Sanders, G.S. (1982) Self-evaluation through social comparison: A developmental analysis. In L. Wheeler (Ed.) Review of Personality and Social Psychology. Volume 3. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications

Sutherland , E.H. & Cressey, D.R. (1974) Criminology. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Sutherland, E.H. & Cressey, D.R. (1978) Criminology. J.B. Lippincott Co.

Sykes, G.M. & Matza, D. (1957) Techniques of neutralization: A theory of delinquency. American Sociological Review, 22, 664 - 670.

Tabachnick, B.G. & Fidell, L. S. (1989) Using Multivariate Statistics. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Tajfel, H. (1969) Cognitive aspects of prejudice. Journal of Social Issues, 25, 79 - 97.

Tajfel, H. (1978) Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations. London: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981) Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. (1982) Social identity and intergroup relations. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. (1984) The Social Dimension Volume 2. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., Billig, M.G., Bundy, R.P. & Flament, C. (1971) Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. European Journal of Social Psychology, 1, 149 - 177.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1979) An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In S. Worschel & W.G. Austin (Eds.) The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Monterey: Brookes-Cole.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986) The social identity theory ofintergroup behaviour. In S. Worschel & W.G. Austin (Eds.) Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Tajfel, H. & Wilkes, A.L. (1963) Classification and quantitative judgement. British Journal of Social Psychology, 54, 101 - 114.

Tangney, J. P., Wagner, P., Fletcher, C. & Gramzow, R. (1992) Shamed into anger? The relation of shame and guilt to anger and self-reported aggression. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 62, 669 - 675.

Taylor, S.E., Wood, J.V. and Lichtman, R.R. (1983) It could be worse: Selective evaluation as a response to victimization. Journal of Social Issues, 39, 19 - 40.

Teo, G. (1996, April 14) What a difference a year can make. The Sunday Times, p. 29.

Tesser, A. (1986) Some effects of self-evaluation maintenance on cognition and action. In R.M. Sorrentino & E.T. Higgins (Eds.) Handbook of motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behaviour. (pp 435 - 464) New York: Guilford.

Tesser, A., & Campbell, J. (1980) Self-definition. The impact of the relative performance and similarity of others. Social Psychology Quarterly, 43, 341- 347.

Tesser, A., & Campbell, J. (1982) Self-evaluation maintenance and the perception of friends and strangers. Journal of Personality, 50, 261 - 279.

Tesser, A., & Collins, J. (1988) Emotion in social reflection and comparison situations: Intuitive, systematic and exploratory approaches. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55, 695 - 709.

Tesser, A., & Smith, J. (1980) Some effects of friendship and task relevance on helping: You don't always help the one you like. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 16, 582 - 590.

Tesser, A., Millar, M., & Moore, J. (1988) Some affective consequences of social comparison and reflection processes: The pain and the pleasure of being close. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54, 49 -61.

Tesser, A.,& Paulhus, D. (1983) The definition of self: Private and public self-evaluation maintenance strategies. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 44, 672 - 682.

Thornberry, T.P., Moore, M. & Christensen, R.L. (1985) The effects of dropping out of high school on subsequent criminal behaviour. Criminology, 23, 3 - 18.

Thornberry, T. P., Krohn, M. D., Lozotte, A. J. & Chard-Wierschem, D. (1993). The role of juvenile delinquent gangs in facilitating delinquent behaviour. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 30, 55 - 87.

Tremblay, R.E., Masse, B., Perron, D. & Leblanc, M. (1992) Early disruptive behaviour, poor school achievement, delinquent behaviour, and delinquent personality: Longitudinal analyses. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 60, 64 - 72.

Turner, J.C. (1978) Social categorization and social discrimination in the minimal group paradigm. In H. Tajfel, (Ed.) Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations. London: Academic Press.

Turner, J.C. (1982) Towards a redefinition of the social group. In H. Tajfel (Ed.) Social identity and intergroup relations. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Turner, J.C. (1984) Social identification and psychological group formation. In H. Tajfel, (Ed.) The Social Dimension Volume 2. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Turner, J.C. (1985) Social categorization and the self-concept: A cognitive theory of group behaviour. Advances in Group Processes, Vol. 2. JAI Press.

Turner, J.C. (1991) Social Influence. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Turner, J.C. & Giles, H. (1981) Intergroup behaviour. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Turner, J.C., Hogg, M., Turner, P.J. & Smith, P.M. (1984) Failure and defeat as determinants of group cohesiveness. British Journal of Social Psychology, 23, 97 -111.

Turner, J.C. & Oakes, P.J. (1989) Self-categorization theory and social influence. In P.B.Paulus (Ed.) The Psychology of Group Influence. Hillsdale: N.J. Erlbaum.

Turner, J.C., Hogg, M.A., Oakes, P.J., Reicher, S.D. and Wetherell, M.S. (1987) Rediscovering the social group: a self-categorization theory. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Turner, J.C., Oakes, P.J., Haslam, S.A. & McGarty, C. (1994) Self and collective: Cognition and social context. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20, 454 - 463.

Turner, J.C., Sachdev, I. & Hogg, M.A. (1983) Social categorization, interpersonal attraction an group formation. British Journal of Social Psychology, 22, 227 - 239.

Van der Pligt, J. & Eiser, J.R. (1984) Negativity and descriptive extremity in impression formation. European Journal of Social Psychology, 10, 415 - 419.

Vigil, J.D. (1988) Group processes and street identity: Adolescent Chicano gang members. Ethos, 16, 421 - 445.

Waas, G. A. & Honer, S. A. (1990) Situational attributions and dispositional inferences: The development of peer reputation. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 36, 239 - 260.

Wagner, U., Lampen, L. & Syllwasschy, J. (1986) In-group inferiority, social identity and out-group devaluation in a modified minimal group study. British Journal of Social Psychology, 25, 15 -23.

Warr, M. (1993) Parents, peers and delinquency. Social Forces, 72, 247 - 264.

Wellford, C. (1975) Labelling theory and criminology: An assessment. Social Problems, 22, 332 - 345.

Wells, L.E. & Rankin, J.H. (1983) Self-concept as a mediating factor in delinquency. Social Psychology Quarterly, 46, 11 -22.

Wetherell, M.S. (1987) Social identity and group polarization. In J.C Turner, M.A. Hogg, P.J.Oakes, S.D. Reicher, and Wetherell, M.S. (1987) Rediscovering the social group: a self-categorization theory. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Wheeler, L, & Zuckerman, M. (1977) Commentary. In J.M. Suls & R.L. Miller, Social comparison processes: Theoretical and empirical perspectives.(pp. 335 -357) Washington D.C. Hemisphere.

Wheeler, L. (1966) Motivation as a determinant of upward comparison. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 2(Suppl.1.) 27 -31.

Wheeler, L. (1991) A brief history of social comparison theory. In J. Suls & T.A. Wills, (Eds.) Social comparison: contemporary theory and research. London: Erlbaum.

Wheeler, L., Shaver, K.G., Jones, R.A., Goethals, G.R., Cooper, J., Robinson, J.E., Gruder, C.L., & Butsine, K.W. (1969) Factors determining the choice of a comparison other. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 5, 219 - 232.

Widdicombe, S. (1988) Dimensions of adolescent identity. In European Journal of Social Psychology, 18, 471 - 483.

Wilder, D.A. (1986) Social categorization: Implications for creation and reduction of intergroup bias. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.) Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Volume 19, New York, Academic Press.

Wills, T.A. (1981) Downward comparison principles in social psychology. Psychological Bulletin, 90, 245 - 271.

Wills, T.A. (1991) Similarity and self-esteem in downward comparison. In J. Suls and T.A. Wills, (Eds.) Social comparison: contemporary theory and research. London: Erlbaum.

Wood, J.V. & Taylor, K.L. (1991) Serving Self-relevant goals through social comparison. In J. Suls and T.A. Wills, (Eds.) Social comparison: contemporary theory and research. London: Erlbaum.

Wood, J.V. (1989) Theory and research concerning social comparisons of personal attributes. Psychological Bulletin, 106, 231 - 248.

Wood, J.V. Taylor, S.E., & Lichtman, R.R. (1985) Social comparison in adjustment to breast cancer. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49, 1169 - 1183.

Wright, J.C., Giammarino, M & Parad, H. W. (1986) Social status in small groups: Individual-group similarity and the social "misfit". Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50, 523 - 536.

Wright, S.C., Taylor, D.M. & Moghaddam, F.M. (1990) Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: From acceptance to collective protest. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58, 994 - 1003.

Yablonsky, L. (1962) The delinquent gang as a near-group . In L. Yablonsky, The Violent Gang. Hammondsworth: Penguin Books.

Yap, E. (1996, May 11) Punishing the Parents: Should they pay for their children's crimes? Straits Times (Life! p. 1)

Zieman, G.L. & Benson, G.P. (1983) Delinquency: The role of self-esteem and social values. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 12, 489 - 500.

Zingraff, M.T., Leiter, J., Johnsen, M.C., & Myers, K. A. (1994) The mediating effect of good school performance on the maltreatment-delinquency relationship. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 31, 62 - 91.