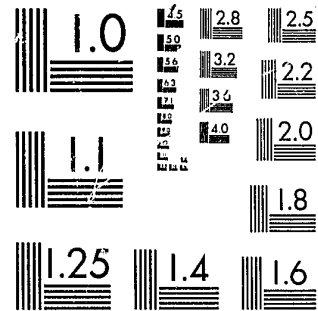


National Criminal Justice Reference Service



This microfiche was produced from documents received for inclusion in the NCJRS data base. Since NCJRS cannot exercise control over the physical condition of the documents submitted, the individual frame quality will vary. The resolution chart on this frame may be used to evaluate the document quality.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

Microfilming procedures used to create this fiche comply with the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504.

Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not represent the official position or policies of the U. S. Department of Justice.

National Institute of Justice
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20531

DATE FILMED

2-11-82

16008

CR Sent 2-22-82

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means without the explicit permission of the authors.

ADOLESCENT EXPERIENCE AND ADULT CRIMINALITY:

TESTING THE ROLE OF SELF-CONCEPT

Frank R. Hellum
Social Science Research Institute
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, CA

James L. Galvin, Ph.D.
Research Center West
National Council on Crime and Delinquency
San Francisco, CA

Kenneth Polk, Ph.D.
Department of Sociology
University of Oregon
Eugene, OR

Presented at
The Cohort Session of
The Stockholm Criminology Symposium
August 11, 1978

Note: The research on which this paper is based was supported by funds granted by the National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Grant MH14806 (Maturational Reform and Rural Delinquency)

Copyright (c) by Frank R. Hellum, James L. Galvin, Ph.D., and Kenneth Polk, Ph.D.

NCJRS

JUL 20 1981

I. INTRODUCTION

ACQUISITIONS

The limitations in testing dynamic theories with static observations are well known in all areas of scientific research. However, in spite of the need to establish time-ordering of events, the realities governing the research enterprise, especially in the social sciences, have offered relatively few opportunities to conduct the type of longitudinal efforts required in the testing of major temporal relationships. Within these disciplines the necessity of having to proceed in a less than ideal world has produced two major responses toward the problem of denial of access to long-term, sequentially ordered observations. On the one hand the methodology of the social sciences has grown increasingly more complex and sophisticated. Much of this effort has been a consequence of the demand for improved research designs and analytical techniques that offer at least a partial solution to the inadequacies of temporally constrained observations.

An opposite effect can be predicted in the area of theoretical development. The inability to adequately test dynamic models has significant detrimental effects in establishing theories of long-term processes. First, from a practical standpoint the ultimate relationships predicted by the model are essentially untestable, and therefore, removed from the process in which theories are

NCJ# 80091

refined and modified on the basis of feedback from a growing body of empirical evidence. Secondly, the theory may be subject to a type of elaboration in which intermediate relationships are proposed as part of the original overall causal sequence. Failure to establish these intermediate relationships through research may lead to a premature abandonment of further efforts offering a more comprehensive test of the theory.

This paper is concerned with a possible current example of a theory of dynamic process in the sociology of deviance whose development may have been severely retarded by an absence of adequate of longitudinal observations. The theory, known as "labeling" or "societal reaction," has become a major perspective in the explanation of deviant behavior, but, as yet, has hardly developed in substantive content beyond the initial formulation offered 40 years ago. The following will document the developments that have facilitated research into labeling, but which may not have provided an adequate test of its basic hypothesis. Two strategies are suggested for evaluating the elaborated model of labeling: (1) Does the intermediate relationship fulfill its proposed role in the labeling process? and, if not, (2) Does the proposed relationship appear to be irrelevant to the overall labeling sequence? Data from an ongoing longitudinal study will be utilized in pursuing both of these strategies and, depending on the results, will serve as a basis for suggesting alternative models subject for future testing.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. The Labeling Perspective: Initial Formulations

Given the primitive theoretical formulations which established an interest in labeling, it would seem more appropriate to characterize these efforts as sharing a common perspective rather than as representing a developed statement of theory. The perspective is one in which the implementation of social control is viewed as having etiological significance in the development of further deviant behavior. The original statement of labeling is generally credited to Tannenbaum (1938) and his description of a process termed "the dramatization of evil."

The focus of Tannenbaum's point of view reflects a prior conception of delinquency causation emanating from the Chicago School (Thrasher, 1928). Within this earlier tradition delinquency was seen as a product of the natural conflict between adolescents and the community. Adolescents normally engage in a variety of acts which, when defined from their perspective, represent forms of play activity offering adventure and excitement. From the community perspective, however, these same activities may be defined as being disruptive, threatening, and therefore delinquent. Out of these conflicting definitions of the situation it is the community that attributes evil to the behavior of the adolescent group, and for Tannenbaum it was the dramatization

of this evil that contributed to the development of delinquent and criminal careers. The drama began when the adolescent was confronted with the community's definition of behavior.

The boy arrested, therefore, is singled out for specialized treatment.... (He) suddenly becomes the center of a major drama in which all sorts of unexpected characters play important roles.... In this entirely new world he is made conscious of himself as a different human being than he was before his arrest. He becomes classified as a thief, perhaps, and the entire world about him has suddenly become a different place for him and will remain different for the rest of his life (1938:19).

The sense of catastrophic change resulting from contacts with agents of social control is tempered by Tannenbaum's recognition of latter states that gradually complete the recasting of the individual into the role of deviant.

The process of making the criminal, therefore, is a process of tagging, defining, (and) identifying.... The person becomes the thing he is described as being. Nor does it seem to matter whether the valuation is made by those who would punish or by those who would reform. In either case the emphasis is upon the conduct that is disapproved of.... The harder they work to reform the evil, the greater the evil grows under their hand. The persistent suggestion, with whatever good intention, works mischief, because it leads to bringing out the bad behavior it would suppress (1938: 19-20).

Another major, and apparently independent, contribution to the labeling perspective can be found in Lemert's distinction between primary and secondary deviance (1951, 1967, 1972). The initial presentation of these concepts was offered in an attempt to move the study of social pathology from an emphasis on the possible pathological characteristics of individuals to a consideration of social processes as the major cause of deviant behavior (Lemert, 1948). According to Lemert, the search for static characteristics influencing deviation focuses on the original or primary

causes of behavior, while the concern with process explores the possibility of emerging secondary or effective causes of deviance. The following illustrates both the nature of the distinction posed by Lemert and the relationship between the imposition of social control and the occurrence of further deviant behavior.

Primary deviation, as contrasted with secondary, is polygenetic, arising out of a variety of social, cultural psychological, and physiological factors, either in adventitious or recurring combinations. While it may be socially recognized and even defined as undesirable, primary deviation has only marginal implications for the status and psychic structure of the person concerned (1972:62).

Secondary deviation is deviant behavior, or social roles based upon it, which becomes a means of defense, attack, or adaption to the overt and covert problems created by the societal reaction to primary deviance. In effect, the original "clauses" of the deviation recede and give way to the central importance of the disapproving, degradational, and isolating reaction of society (1972:48).

If there is a single publication that established a wide range of interest in labeling it can be traced to Howard S. Becker's widely read Outsiders (1963). The term 'labeling' was first derived from this collection of writings which also offered one of the earliest attempts to specify the stages leading to further deviant behavior. Becker's "sequential model" is entirely a descriptive treatment of the main junctures possibly involved in the movement from primary to secondary deviance. The occurrence of a non-conforming act is attributed to a range of social and psychological factors, or even to unintended or accidental rule-violation. The model then examines the alterna-

tives developing from either a public or self reaction to the act. Depending on the reaction, these alternatives may involve varying degrees of stereotyping, social isolation, or role conflict for the labeled deviant. The final stage describes the movement into an organized deviant group and the acquisition of ideology and skills supporting continued deviant behavior (1963:19-39).

As proponents of theory, these writers share three common characteristics. First, they each assert a causal relationship between the societal reaction toward deviance (labeling) and latter acts of individual deviance. Secondly, the primitive theory is one of dynamic process of undetermined but sufficient duration to establish the effect hypothesized. And, finally, there is a failure to specify the conditions that facilitate development of eventual career deviance. Becker, for instance, while discussing experiences that could lead to the amplification of deviance, also allows for the choice of reform or rationalization as important non-career alternatives (1963:36). Lemert offers a similar position (Cosser & Larsen, 1976:246). Thus, in its initial formulation labeling theory appears to offer little more than a sensitizing concept requiring further development and refinement.

B. The Elaboration of Labeling: Self Perception

The labeling perspective generally acknowledges the severity of societal reactions as a significant factor in

producing an effect and, as such, would hypothesize a relationship between exposure to the justice system (i.e., arrest, adjudication and disposition) and further criminal involvement. An empirical test of this basic hypothesis would be both unnecessary and inconclusive. First, given the existence of recidivism it would be surprising if the relationship was not confirmed. Second, there are a variety of theories that can account for the relationship quite independently of labeling (e.g., bio-social theories). The obvious need for greater sophistication has been filled by the addition of social psychological variables as major intervening factors in the labeling process. The elaborated model has included factors such as self-esteem, perceived attitudes of others, and deviant self-image acting as dependent intervening variables in the generation of career deviance. The following focuses on the extent to which changes in self-concept, especially in regard to deviant self-image, have become an integral part of the labeling model subscribed to by both theorists and researchers.

The bulk of all labeling literature can be classified as theoretical in the sense of emphasizing analysis of labeling formulations as compared to empirical testing with primary data. Both proponents and critics of labeling, despite their expressed differences regarding the value the orientation, have generally shared a conception of process in which the imposition of the label influences self-concept

which then determines behavior. For instance, Lofland's work is solely concerned with identity, as both an antecedent and outcome variable, and clearly proposes change in self-image as a major consequence of labeling experiences.

(O)ther things being equal, the greater the consistency, duration and intensity with which a definition is promoted by Others about and Actor, the greater the likelihood that an Actor will embrace the definition as applicable to himself (1969:121).

It is noteworthy that, as the terminology suggests, the assumed significance of identity change is derived from Sutherland's theory of differential association and not from the initial formulations of labeling.

Another proponent, Edwin Schur, in discussing labeling as a process of "role engulfment", contends that "... as role engulfment increases, there is a tendency for the actor to define himself as others define him" (1971:69-70). While Schur recognizes the possibility of independence between the assumption of a deviant role and identity change, he also sites a need to validate identity and the difficulty of continuing to maintain a non-deviant view of self.

Critics of labeling have readily accepted the requirement of changed self-concept as a feature of the labeling process. Among the most persistent of the antagonists, Gove has expressed the view that "... labeling theorists argue that reacting to persons as if they were deviants is the major cause of deviant identities and life styles." (1976:225; 1975:295). Similar characterizations of the labeling model can be found in Akers (1977:30) and Tittle (1975:170). The review of

labeling offered by Wellford describes the relationship between self-concept and behavior as being based on the "postulate of consistency" which has previously been challenged and rejected in the social psychological literature (1975: 341-343).

The research on labeling also indicates an acceptance of self-concept as a major component of the labeling process. In two studies, for example, changes in attitudes as a consequence of labeling serves as the only dependent variable subject to analysis. Foster, et al, (1972) reported that following official intervention seems to have been "...overestimated in the labeling hypothesis." Gibbs (1974) found that among juveniles processed for car theft that juvenile self-concept and self-esteem that went in the opposite direction predicted by labeling (i.e., change measures between time of arrest and final court disposition showed a decrease in delinquent self-concept and in increase in measured self-esteem).

The only available longitudinal study of labeling and delinquency examined a number of variables including self-reported delinquency as well as police contacts (Ageton and Elliott, 1974). However, as the authors state, the major interest of the research was "...the labelling theorists' contention that formal interaction with the social control system (legal processing) propels an individual toward a delinquent self-concept" (:87).

Using a measure of "delinquency orientation", the findings provided partial support for the elaborated labeling model, but indicated differential outcomes according to gender and race. A more recent study of convicted adults examined similar variable relationships and also found major racial differences, but these findings are interpreted as having challenged "... the assumption, widely held within the labeling perspective, that 'spoiled identity' is a necessary socially invariant outcome of deviant commitment and self-definition" (Harris, 1976:432).

III. THE RESEARCH QUESTION

There seems to be a little doubt that self-concept has been inserted in the labeling model as a necessary intervening variable linking the societal reaction to future acts of deviant behavior. With the exception of Lemert's comments in his 1967 publication (which were recanted in the second edition), it would be extremely difficult to justify this elaboration as a requirement of the early formulations of labeling. Lemert's earlier emphasis on adaption to deviant "roles" is not synonymous with acceptance of deviant identity (1951:76-78). The "powerful impact" on self-concept resulting from movement into an organized deviant group occurs, if at all, in the very final stage of Becker's sequential model, and would not be expected as a necessary condition for prolonged deviant activity during the developmental stages of the model (1963:37-39). Tannenbaum's point of view does not provide a conceptualization of discrete stages, and was more likely an expression of an idea gathered from his personal experience of conviction and imprisonment. Given the research findings concerning the tenuous relationship between labeling and self-concept, a major question can be raised as to whether a major error has been made in relying on change in these variables as an adequate test of a perspective. Is deviant identity an intervening

variable in the labeling process? And if not, what is the relationship between societal reactions and change in self-concept?

In order to answer these questions three pre-conditions must be met:

Pre-condition 1: The three major variables, the labeling experience, self-concept, and the occurrence of further deviant behavior must be independently measured.

Pre-condition 2: Observations must be obtained in a longitudinal design of sufficient duration for change in the dependent variable (further deviant behavior) to be possible.

Pre-condition 3: The zero-order relationships between the three variables must be greater than zero and in the predicted direction.

If these pre-conditions are met, it is possible to offer a sequentially ordered hypothesis that permits the evaluation of the role of self-concept in the labeling process.

Hypothesis 1: Self-concept functions as a necessary intervening variable in the relationship between labeling experience and the occurrence of further deviant behavior.

This offers a test of whether self-concept is, in

fact, a necessary intervening variable in the movement from the labeling experience to acts of further deviance. According to the logic of partial analysis (Rosenberg, 1972:98-104) self-concept is an intervening variable, then, when it is introduced as a test factor, the first-order partial relationship between labeling and further deviance should be reduced from the zero-order relationship between these variables. In other words, if self-concept is a necessary intervening variable, then the relationship between labeling and further deviance should be reduced to zero when controlling for the self-concept measure. If a significant reduction does not occur then the findings would point to a rejection of self-concept as a necessary intervening variable. This would then lead to the search for alternative explanations of the importance of self-concept in the labeling process.

IV. RESEARCH PROCEDURES

A. The Study

Data for the present study were derived from an ongoing longitudinal investigation of adolescents in a medium-sized county (1970 population 150,000 in the Pacific Northwest). The population frame consisted of a cohort including all male high school sophomores in the county who completed the first questionnaire in the Fall of 1964. The total of 1227 respondents represented better than 93% of the number eligible.

B. The Study Group

Given the hypothesis, it was necessary to select a group who had undergone the labeling experience (that is, official delinquency involvement), on whom further deviance (that is, adult criminal record) could be measured and who did respond to an appropriate question on self-concept (that is, delinquent self-image). A 100% follow up of the 304 delinquent youth (as determined by juvenile court records) yielded 290 (95%) who had either no adult arrest record (minor traffic excluded) or had some form of adult civilian criminal involvement. Fourteen, who had only military offense records, were excluded. Of the 290,

255 (88%) had also responded to an item concerning delinquent self-image.

C. Study Design and Variables

The first two preconditions are met in the study design. Delinquent Involvement (an index based on three items drawn from juvenile court records: number of acts leading to referrals, severity of alleged acts, and level of juvenile justice system response), delinquent self-image (measured by participant response to the question: "Do you see yourself as delinquent?") and adult criminality based on adult arrest records are independent measures of the three variables. The design provides for the measurement of the relationship over a sufficient period of time. Delinquency includes all official delinquency through age 18, the self-concept item is part of an interview conduct at a point close to the participants' 18th birthday, and adult criminality is measured by arrest records over approximately four years after the group members passed age 18.

Each variable has been dichotomized using the following rule: "With ordinal, interval and ratio scales, seek a 50:50 split and try to avoid dichotomies more extreme than 30:70." Davis, 1971:25)

The delinquency involvement composite (D) originally developed as a trichotomus variable, was recoded using this rule. Of the 255 in the population considered

for this test, 116 or 45% had high or medium composite scores, while 139 or 55% scored in the low category. The remaining two variables provided natural dichotomies. "Officially recorded" adult criminals comprise slightly less than half of the group: 123 or 48% had one or more arrests for some form of alleged criminal act as compared to 132 or 52% with no such record. For the variable of delinquent self-image, 87 or 34% of the group perceived themselves as delinquent, while the remainder (168 or 66%) did not. Concerning this last variable, critics might argue that ^{this} single measure of self-image is insufficiently sensitive. Nonetheless this last distribution by itself calls into question the labeling formulation as expressed in Hypothesis I: among this group of 255 delinquent youth only one third perceived themselves as delinquent.

If the 35 non-respondents on this item were highly skewed in the direction of either more delinquent involvement or adult criminality this might raise further questions about the self-concept measure. As it turns out, this is not the case (see Table 1). The distribution of both variables within the 35 non-respondents differ from that within the 255 member study group but in both cases, the difference is in the less deviant direction (80% low delinquent involvement compared to 55% in the study group; 69% no adult criminality compared to 52% in the study). The study group is somewhat more

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTIONS OF DELINQUENT INVOLVEMENT (D)
AND ADULT CRIMINALITY
AMONG RESPONDENTS (R) AND NON-RESPONDENTS (Non-R)
TO DELINQUENT SELF-IMAGE ITEM

Delinquent Involvement (D)	Delinquent Self-Image		
	R	Non-R	Totals
LoD	55% (139)	80% (28)	65% (167)
M/HD	45% (116)	20% (7)	35% (123)
Totals	100% (255) 88%	100% (35) 12%	100% (290) 100%

$X_2 = 8.19, p < .01$

Adult Criminality (C)	Delinquent Self-Image		
	R	Non-R	Totals
Non-C	52% (132)	69% (24)	54% (156)
C	48% (123)	31% (11)	46% (134)
Totals	100% (255) 88%	100% (35) 12%	100% (290) 100%

$X_2 = 3.50, NS, p < .05$

deviant than the original 290. (See the right column of the table. The difference is significant ($p < .01$) on the measure of delinquent involvement but not significant ($p > .05$) on the dependent variable of adult criminality. Nonetheless the rate of self-concept should be overstated rather than understated among the study group of 255 as compared to the original 290.

D. Zero Order Relationships

Before testing of the role of delinquent self-image (I) in the relationship between delinquency (the delinquency involvement composite, D) and adult criminality (C), it is first necessary to meet the final pre-condition, that is, to establish the nature of the zero-order relationship between each pair of variables (Precondition 3). This pre-condition has three parts. The first (PC3-A) requires a positive relationship between delinquency involvement (the independent variable) and adult criminality (the dependent variable). Yule's Q is to be used as a measure of association, therefore, $PC3-A: Q_{DC} > 0$. Preconditions 3B and 3C specified the necessary relationships between youth's delinquent self-image (the potential intervening variable) and the first two variables. As Davis (1971:94) points out, if the dependent and independent variables are positively related then the intervening variable must be related to them each in the same direction. From a substantive point of view, delinquent self-image and

delinquency involvement as well as self-image and adult criminality must be positively related ($P3B: Q_{DI} > 0$; $P3C: Q_{IC} > 0$).

The top part of Table 2 shows the positive relationship between delinquency and adult criminality. Of those with low delinquency involvement scores, less than 40% (52 of 139 or 37%) showed official records of adult criminality, while just over 60% of those with medium or high delinquency involvement scores had such a record (71 of 116 or 61%). This difference is reflected in the Yule's Q of .45. Confidence intervals (CI) are shown for each Q. In this case the range is from .25 to .65, and Q is statistically significant ($p < .025$). Chi-squares are always shown for the two by two table with, in this case $X_2 = 14.34$ ($p < .001$).

The middle and lower parts of the table show the relationship of delinquent self-image (I) to each of the first two variables. Half of those with more delinquency involvement saw themselves as delinquents (55 of 116 or 47%) while this was true for only one-fourth of the low delinquency group (32 of 139 or 23%). Clearly, delinquent self-image becomes more prevalent as delinquency involvement increases ($Q_{DI} = .37$). A much higher proportion of those with a delinquent self-image acquired adult criminal records (61% as contrasted with 42% for the non-I group). For both relationships Q is significant ($p \leq .025$). In summary, all three of the pre-conditions are met.

TABLE 2

ZERO ORDER RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT (D)
ADULT CRIMINALITY (C), AND DELINQUENT SELF-IMAGE (I)

Adult Criminality (C)	Delinquency Involvement (D)		
	LoD	M/HD	Totals
Non-C	63% (87)	39% (45)	52% (132)
C	37% (52)	61% (71)	48% (123)
Totals	100% (139) 55%	100% (116) 45%	100% (255) 100%

$$Q_{DC} = .45$$

$$CI = .25 - .65, p \leq .025$$

$$X_2 = 14.34, p < .001$$

Delinquency Self-Image (I)	Delinquency Involvement (D)		
	LoD	M/HD	Totals
Non-I	77% (107)	53% (61)	66% (168)
I	23% (32)	47% (55)	34% (87)
Totals	100% (139) 55%	100% (116) 45%	100% (255) 100%

$$Q_{DI} = .50$$

$$CI = .30 - .75, p \leq .025$$

$$X_2 = 16.74, p < .001$$

TABLE 2
(continued)

Adult Criminality (C)	Delinquency Self-Image (I)		
	Non I	I	Totals
Non-C	58% (98)	30% (34)	52% (132)
C	42% (70)	61% (53)	48% (123)
Totals	100% (168) 66%	100% (87) 34%	100% (255) 100%

$$Q_{IC} = .37$$

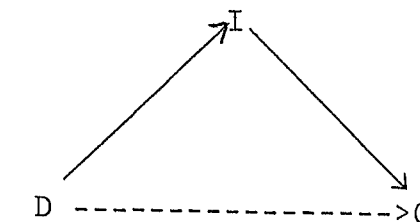
$$CI = .14 - .60$$

$$X_2 = 8.51, p < .01$$

V. FINDINGS:
TESTING THE LABELING FORMULATION

As discussed previously, labeling approaches to understanding the relationship between youthful delinquency and adult criminality place self-concept in a crucial intervening role (see Figure 1). Following the logic of elaboration (Rosenberg, 1972:98-104), this theorized relationship can best be tested by controlling for the effects of self-concept on the zero-order relationship between delinquency involvement (D) and adult criminality (C). In Rosenberg's terms, if self-concept (I) is powerful enough to occupy the status of an intervening variable as defined by survey logic, then the original relationship between delinquency and adult criminality should disappear ($Q_{DC.I} \approx 0$). If this is the case, it can be argued that the impact of delinquency involvement on future adult criminal activity is transmitted through the psychological effects of the delinquency experience.

FIGURE 1
DELINQUENT SELF-IMAGE (I) AS INTERVENING
IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT (D)
AND ADULT CRIMINALITY (C)



---- This relationship should approach zero when controlled for the test variable (I)

The data (see Table 3) do not support this hypothesis. In the original relationship between delinquency and criminality, a larger proportion of those with higher scores on the delinquency involvement composite acquired an adult criminal record. In the conditional tables, which show the zero-order relationship controlled for delinquent self-image (see Table 3), this basic relationship remains. For both the no delinquent self-image group (the left conditional table) and the delinquent self-image group (the right conditional table), those involved in high levels of delinquency as adolescents later proved to be more likely to be arrested as adults. Among those with no delinquent self-image, 57% of those in the more delinquency involved

group also had adult records (35 of 61) compared to 33% in the less delinquency involved group (35 of 107). Among those with a delinquent self-image the relationship weakened somewhat. Of the higher delinquency group, 65% had adult records compared to 53% for the low delinquency group. The partial Q is virtually identical to the zero order Q (.43 compared to .45). Substantively, what this means is that the effect of the official labeling experience is at least partially independent of the mediating influence of self-concept. Regardless of what the young person thought of himself a more serious juvenile record was more likely to be followed by adult criminality.

TABLE 3

ADULT CRIMINALITY (C) BY DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT (D)
CONTROLLING FOR DELINQUENT SELF-IMAGE (I) AS A POTENTIAL
INTERVENING VARIABLE

Adult Criminality (C)	Delinquent Self-Image I					
	Non-I			I		
	Delinquency LoD	Involvement M/HD	Totals	Delinquency LoD	Involvement M/HD	Totals
Non-C	67% (72)	43% (26)	58% (98)	47% (15)	35% (19)	39% (34)
C	33% (35)	57% (35)	42% (70)	53% (17)	65% (36)	61% (53)
Totals	100% (107) 64%	100% (61) 36%	100% (168) 100%	100% (32) 37%	100% (55) 63%	100% (87) 100%

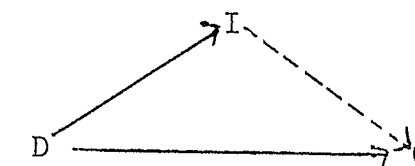
Zero Order	QDC	=	.45
Partial	QDC.Tied I	=	.43
Differential	QDC.Non-I	=	.48
Conditional	QDC.I	=	.47
Conditional	Q	=	.25
Partial X ₂		=	.78 (NS , p > .025)

The gap between the conditional Q's ($Q_{DC \cdot Non \ I} = .47$, $Q_{DC \cdot I} = .25$) indicates that some interaction between the variables may be present. However, Davis (1971:105) states that the search for interaction should not be pursued unless there is a sizeable gap between the partial and the differential. (He uses .10 as a rule of thumb.) In this case, the partial ($Q_{DC \cdot Tied \ I}$) equals .43 and the differential ($Q_{DC \cdot Not \ Tied \ I}$) = .48.

VI. A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE

If self-concept does not function as a powerful intervening another possibility suggested by the logic of survey analysis is that it is, in fact, extraneous (Rosenberg, 1972: 27-37). It may be that extensive delinquent involvement produces simultaneously a delinquent self-image and adult criminality and, further, that any link between self-concept and criminality is an accidental by-product. For this hypothesis to be upheld, the relationship between delinquent self-image and adult criminality will disappear when controlled for delinquency involvement ($Q_{IC \cdot D} \approx 0$). If this is the case, it can be argued that the youths' level of delinquency explains the relationship between delinquent self-image and adult criminality and that self-concept, the psychological variable in the labeling argument, is not necessary for an understanding of the structural relationship between official delinquent involvement and official adult criminality.

FIGURE 2
DELINQUENT SELF-IMAGE (I) AS EXTRANEOUS TO
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT (D)
AND ADULT CRIMINALITY (C)



----- This relationship should go to zero when controlled for the test variable (D)

The data (see Table 4) do not support this hypothesis. In the original relationship, a greater proportion of those with a delinquent self-image acquired an adult criminal record. In the conditional tables (see Table 4), this basic tendency continues, although the potential for interaction is apparent. Among those with less delinquent involvement, one-half of those with a delinquent self-image acquired adult criminal records (17 of 32 or 53%) contrasted with one-third of those with no such image (35 of 107 or 33%). For the group with more delinquent involvement the comparable percentages are 65% and 57%, a much smaller percentage difference (8 points difference for the more delinquent group compared to 20 points for the less delinquent group).

TABLE 4

ADULT CRIMINALITY (C) BY DELINQUENT SELF-IMAGE (I)
CONTROLLING FOR DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT (D) AS A TEST FOR I
AS A POTENTIAL EXTRANEIOUS VARIABLE

Adult Criminalty (C)	Delinquency Involvement (D)					
	Non D			D		
	Delinquent Self-Image			Delinquent Self-Image		
	Non-I	I	Totals	Non-I	I	Totals
Non-C	67% (72)	47% (15)	63% (87)	43% (26)	35% (19)	39% (45)
C	33% (35)	53% (17)	37% (52)	57% (35)	65% (36)	61% (71)
Totals	100% (107) 77%	100% (32) 23%	100% (139) 100%	100% (61) 53%	100% (55) 47%	100% (116) 100%

Zero Order	Q _{IC}	=	.37
Partial	Q _{IC.Tied D}	=	.29
Differential	Q _{IC.Not Tied D}	=	.44
Conditional	Q _{IC . loD}	=	.40
Conditional	Q _{IC . M/HD}	=	.17
Partial	X ²	=	.82 (NS, p > .025)

The partial Q is non-zero but is somewhat smaller than the zero order Q ($Q_{IC} = .37$, $Q_{IC.Tied D} = .29$). For the more delinquent group, Q drops to less than half the zero order Q and it is also less than half the Q for the less delinquent group ($Q_{IC.M/HD} = .17$, $Q_{IC.LoD} = .40$). The data do meet the rule of thumb (Davis, 1971) for speculating about interaction in that the gap between the partial and the differential exceeds 10 points ($Q_{IC.Tied D} = .29$, $Q_{IC.Not Tied D} = .44$, gap = .15). A chi square test for the significance of this difference is available. As Davis (1971:101) points out, it requires either an enormous gap or a large N to produce significance even at the .025 level. Neither is present in this case and the partial chi square is not significant ($p > .025$). Other strategies for pursuing interaction, such as refining the variables into more than two categories, are not appropriate because of the limited N (i.e., 139 cases in the left conditional table and 116 in the right conditional table).

VII. CONCLUSIONS

A. The Role of Self-Image in Labeling Theory

Based on the data available in this longitudinal study, the hypothesis that self-concept functions as a mediating variable in transmitting the labeling experience is not supported: delinquent self-image does not intervene in the relationship between delinquent involvement and adult criminality. That is, the process of official delinquent involvement producing an image of the self as delinquent is not a necessary step in the movement towards increased probability of official adult criminality. In fact it is clear that the official labeling experience directly affects the probability of increased adult criminality.

B. Self-Concept: An Independent Labeling Process ?

The attempt was made to demonstrate that self-concept is extraneous in the relationship between delinquent involvement and adult criminality. The partial Q moved somewhat toward zero, giving some support to this argument, but it remained essentially non-zero. The conditional tables (and Q's) suggested interaction, but the interaction is not significant.

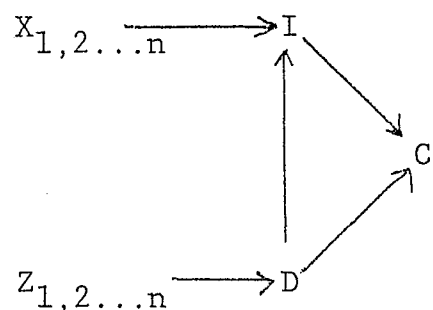
What the data suggest is that these are two independent labeling processes, the official labeling experience and the self-labeling process. These processes appear to

be additive. Referring back to Table 4, it is apparent that when delinquent involvement is low and delinquent self-image is absent, adult criminality is at its lowest (33% in the second row, first column of the left conditional table). Moving along the same row shows the proportion of criminality increasing when either one is present (Column 2 of the left conditional table shows that 53% of the less delinquent involved with a delinquent self-image were arrested as adults; the percentage is 57% for those with more delinquent involvement but no delinquent self-image, as shown in the first column of the right conditional table). Finally, when both are present (the second column of the right table) the proportion of adult criminality increases to 65%.

Substantively this would mean that young persons' likelihood of further deviant behavior is increased if they see themselves as delinquent or if their level of delinquent involvement is relatively high. However this probability is maximized where both conditions are present. If this is so the relationship of delinquent self-image to adult criminality is independent of the structural relationship between delinquent involvement and adult criminality (see Figure 3). It might represent a link in some psychological causal chain leading to adult criminality from family interaction, peer interaction, or some other such variable. Nonetheless, the tendencies in the data (delinquent involvement is apparently a more powerful test variable than is delinquent self-image) lead elsewhere.

FIGURE 3

DELINQUENT SELF-IMAGE (I) WITH RELATIONSHIP
TO ADULT CRIMINALITY (C) INDEPENDENT OF
DELINQUENCY (D) INVOLVEMENT



C. Alternative Explanations of the Role of Self-Concept

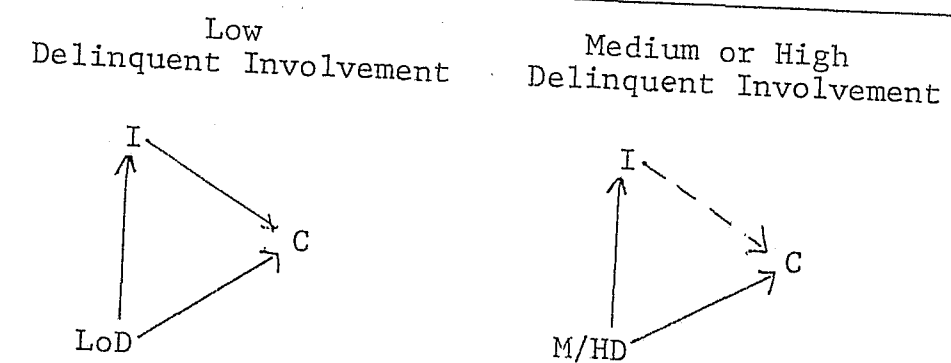
If self-concept is not simply the basis for an independent labeling process, what other explanations are available? What follows is a discussion of two possibilities.

1. Interaction. Some support for interaction (see Figure 4) is present (see the data in Table 4, previously discussed). Among youth with low delinquent involvement, the relationship between delinquent self-image and adult criminality does not change. For this group self-concept is independent of delinquent involvement in relation to adult criminality. For those with more delinquency

involvement, the relationship tends to disappear, indicating that delinquent self-image may be extraneous for this group. From a structural perspective, it could be argued that the structural forces which render youth vulnerable to adult criminal involvement are most apt to appear where delinquent involvement is either extensive or serious or both. Remember that the measure of delinquent involvement includes frequency of acts, seriousness, and level of justice system response, and that the group with a low level of involvement is largely composed of youth picked up once, charged with a minor offense, and then dismissed. For such youth structural vulnerability is much more likely to come from another source.

FIGURE 4

DELINQUENT SELF-IMAGE (I) IN AN INTERACTIVE RELATIONSHIP
WITH DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT (D) AND ADULT CRIMINALITY (C)



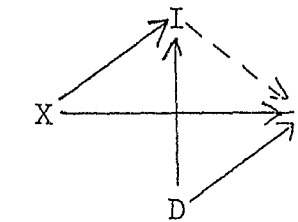
----- This relationship should go to zero when controlled for the test variable (M/HD)

The argument for interaction, however plausible, is not very satisfying. Such arguments are fragile and require strong support in the data, which is not present here. Furthermore, this argument requires at least a fourth variable to be introduced in order to explain the role of delinquent self-image for the 55% of the sample with less delinquency involvement.

2. Extraneous. Since the realm is speculation and additional variables are needed, it is much more direct to hypothesize some variable X that, in combination with delinquency involvement (D), explains the role of self-concept (see Figure 5). In formal terms the second order Q, that is, the relationship between delinquent self-image and adult criminality controlled for delinquency and X, would approximate zero ($Q_{IC \cdot DX} \approx 0$). Such an X would have to meet at least 4 tests.

- X must be temporally or logically prior to both I and C
- X must be related in the same direction to both I and C

FIGURE 5
DELINQUENT SELF-IMAGE (F) AS EXTRANEIOUS
WHEN CONTROLLED FOR DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT (D)
AND A HYPOTHESIZED VARIABLE (X)



-- This relationship should go to zero when controlled for the test variables D and X

- Substantively, it must be expected to have a major impact on the life chances of youth, or at least a greater impact than did the delinquency experience for less involved group.
- The first order relationship among the three variables must not show I to intervene in the relationship between X and C but should show some impact when I and C are controlled for X.

D. Variable X

Within a structural perspective the search for such a variable starts with the non-justice system institutions that have, or can have a crucial impact on youth. First and foremost is the school system. The data to fully test such a variable must, because of length, time, and data availability considerations, be explored in a future article. At the same time it is possible to explore briefly the extent to which this variable might meet the four criteria set forth in the previous section. In this

discussion school experience is defined as the youth structural position within the school as could be measured by GPA, track position, dropping out or other similar indicators (Polk and Schafer, 1972).

1. The adolescent school experience is by definition prior to adult criminality. Given that much delinquency is school-based and much official delinquency starts with a school, it is logically possible to place school experience prior to delinquent self-image.

2. That school position would relate to both adult criminality and delinquent self-image is not unlikely. The inverse relationship of grades, reading scores, grades completed, and other such measures to adult criminality is often discussed. That delinquency referrals, including school based referrals, as well as delinquency self-image would occur more frequently among youth with low grades or non-college bound youth is also plausible.

3. The school experience can be expected to have a much more significant impact on the life chances of youth than would one time minor delinquency involvement.

4. The final test cannot be conducted without data.

School experience is clearly a possibility as variable X. The data necessary to fully carry out such a test are being developed and will be reported in a future paper.

WORKS CITED

- Ageton, Suzanne, and Delbert S. Elliott
1974 "The Effects of Legal Processing on Self-Concept,"
Social Problems 22(1): 87-100.
- Akers, Ronald L.
1977 Deviant Behavior, 2nd Edition, Belmont, California:
Wadsworth Publishing.
- Becker, Howard S.
1963 Outsiders. New York: The Free Press.
- Coser, Lewis A. and Otto N. Larsen (eds.)
1976 The Uses of Controversy in Sociology. New York:
The Free Press.
- Davis, James A.
1971 Elementary Survey Analysis. Englewood Cliffs,
New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Foster, Jack D., Simon Dinitz, and Walter C. Reckless
1972 "Perceptions of Stigma Following Public Inter-
vention for Delinquent Behavior." Social Problems
20(2): 202-209.
- Gibbs, Leonard E.
1974 "The Effects of Juvenile Legal Procedures on
Juvenile Offenders' Self-Attitudes." Journal of
Research in Crime and Delinquency (January):
51-55.
- Gove, Walter R. (ed.)
1975 The Labeling of Deviance. New York: Halstead
Press.
- Gove, Walter R.
1976 "Deviant Behavior, Social Intervention, and Labeling
Theory." Pp. 219-227 in Coser and Larsen (1976).
- Harris, Anthony R.
1976 "Race, Commitment to Deviance, and Spoiled Identity."
American Sociological Review 41(3): 432-442.
- Lemert, Edwin M.
1948 "Some Aspects of a General Theory of Sociopathic
Behavior," Research Studies, State College of
Washington, 16.

- 1951 Social Pathology. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- 1967 Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- 1972 Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control (2nd Edition). Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- 1976 "Response to Critics: Feedback and Choice." Pp. 244-249 in Coser and Larsen (1976).
- Loftland, John
1969 Deviance and Identity. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Polk, Kenneth and Walter E. Schafer
1972 Schools and Delinquency. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Rosenberg, Morris
1972 The Logic of Survey Analysis. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Schur, Edwin M.
1971 Labeling Deviant Behavior. New York: Harper & Row.
- Tannenbaum, Frank
1938 Crime and the Community. Boston: Ginn.
- Thrasher, Frederic M.
1927 The Gang. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tittle, Charles R.
1975 "Labeling and Crime: An Empirical Evaluation." Pp. 157-179 in Gove (1975).
- Wellford, Charles
1975 "Labeling Theory and Criminology: An Assessment." Social Problems 22(3): 332-345.

END