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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

GENDER AND JUVENILE CRIME: IMPLICATIONS FOR DETERRENCE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JANUARY, 1996

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Avg	Average
PE	Parental Educational Level
RE	Respondent Educational Level
Suburb	Suburban

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Juvenile crime remains a problem in the United States which influences the quality of life not only of its victims, but of its perpetrators. Adolescent delinquents are evidence of the failure of the deterrence model to prevent their transgressions of the law. The present system of criminal justice in the United States is based upon this model which seeks to prevent crime through a rationally calculated schedule of punishment. The search for an explanation of this failure must consider human nature. An important, distinguishing construct among human beings continues to be biological sex and its concomitant sex roles. For adolescents, this issue is of especial concern because they are completing both their biological and social development in preparation for adulthood. Biological sex, of course, differentially determines the procreative tasks of the sexes while socially determined sex roles often distinguish the behaviors, attitudes, values, and beliefs of men and women. These sex roles have recently been described by the term "gender".¹

Much research has been done in order to determine

¹ S. Balkan and R. J. Berger, "The Changing Nature of Female Delinquency," in *Becoming Female: Perspectives on Development*, ed. C. Kopp (New York: Plenum, 1979), 207.

whether differences exist in the social or gender attributes of men and women. It is this research which has clearly delineated these sex-typed attributes and defined gender. In addition to popular conceptions of masculinity as comprising aggressiveness, dominance, and instrumentalism, social scientists have studied risk-taking, sensation-seeking, and the importance of social status and competence in relation to masculinity. Opposing traits have been considered as feminine. Popularly, these attributes include passivity, obedience, and expressiveness.² Feminine concern for security has been associated with risk-avoidance and a focus on selecting a mate who will confer his achieved social stature and the rewards of his competence in the work place on his woman.

These differences in gender are of interest because they can explain why rates of juvenile delinquency continue to be higher among males than among females.³

While changes in social norms and technological advances in obstetrics and gynecology have minimized the social impact of

² Balkan and Berger, 208.

³ Rachele J. Canter, "Sex Differences in Self-Report Delinquency," Criminology 20, nos. 3 and 4 (November 1982): 389; Meda Chesney-Lind, "Girls, Gangs, and Violence: Anatomy of a Backlash," Humanity and Society 17, no. 3 (August 1993): 336; Clayton A. Hartjen and Sesharajani Kethineni, "Culture, Gender, and Delinquency: A Study of Youths in the United States and India," Woman and Criminal Justice 5, no. 1 (1993): 54; Michael J. Hindelang, "Sex Differences in Criminal Activity," Social Problems 27, no. 2 (December 1979): 147; and Jean E. Rhodes and Karla Fischer, "Spanning the Gender Gap: Gender Differences in Delinquency Among Inner-City Adolescents," Adolescence 28, no. 112 (Winter 1993): 887.

biological, procreative differences between the sexes, social characteristics are still delineated by sex. That is, a given set of behaviors, attitudes, values, and beliefs is considered socially appropriate for males and an opposing set is considered appropriate for females.

It is contended here that it is gender or the differential social characteristics of males and females that are associated with the differential rates of juvenile crime between the sexes. In addition, these gender differences can suggest an explanation of the differential effect of deterrence on young men and women. Such an explanation, upon completion of a causal analysis, would enable the replacement or modification of the deterrence model in order that juvenile crime might be reduced.

While published research on gender among adolescents addresses these problems, it does so by studying individual gender characteristics rather than gender as sets of several characteristics. Given that crime rates continue to vary between young men and young women who have also been found to differ on several social characteristics, studying these differential characteristics as sets or gender will allow a test for a relationship between gender and juvenile delinquency. Specifying differential social characteristics as the crucial variable associated with adolescent crime enables a description of the problem which can facilitate solutions to it. Relying on superficial biological distinctions in explaining

juvenile crime hinders the design of social remedies pertinent to the problem.

Specifying the particular set of social characteristics most associated with juvenile delinquency establishes the role of socialization in the prevention of youthful crime. Focusing on a process which is modifiable, as biological sex is not, facilitates the work of social institutions and agents involved with youth who provide programs and curricula for them which teach cooperation with society in order for the achievement of legitimate success in it.

This paper, then, will address the relationship of gender to juvenile delinquency in order to determine the implications of gender for the effectiveness of the deterrence model in preventing juvenile crime. According to this model, crime is a behavioral offense against society for which punishment should be definite, equitable, sufficient, and administered with all possible immediacy.⁴ A criminal justice system based on this model is intended to prevent as well as punish crime by publicizing the laws and the penalties for failing to abide by those laws.⁵ While most citizens in the United States are familiar with its criminal code and the court system is designed to allot sentences based on it which are of similar severity as the crime, guaranteed, and administered as soon as

⁴ Cesare Beccaria, *On Crimes and Punishments* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1963), 55-6, 58-9.

⁵ Beccaria, 17, 95.

possible, such deterrence works well for adolescent females, but not for adolescent males. Indeed, the rates of juvenile delinquency continue to be higher among males than among females.⁶

Of particular interest here, is the fact that the deterrence model is intended to influence behavior. The attitudes, beliefs, and values of the potential perpetrator are of little importance in assuring the success or failure of this model. An adolescent may want to commit a crime, feel little concern about the nature of the act, and fail to comprehend the inherent wrongness of it, but knowledge of the harm that will accrue to the perpetrator as punishment is expected to prevent such misbehavior.

Such an intent, to address only behavior, effectively eliminates any concern with the attitudes, beliefs, and values that differentiate social classes as a cause of crime. What is it, however, that differentiates teenage males from teenage females? For some people, biological differences or sex are the most obvious and most important distinction. Clearly,

⁶ Stephen A. Cernkovich and Peggy C. Giordano, "A Comparative Analysis of Male and Female Delinquency," *The Sociological Quarterly* 20 (Winter 1979): 132; Gary J. Jensen and Raymond Eve, "Sex Differences in Delinquency," *Criminology* 13, no. 4 (February 1976): 428-9; Ruth Seydlitz, "The Effects of Gender, Age, and Parental Attachment on Delinquency: A Test for Interactions," *Sociological Spectrum* 10 (1990): 209-10; and William E. Thornton and Jennifer James, "Masculinity and Delinquency Revisited," *British Journal of Criminology* 19, no. 3 (July 1979): 231.

young men do commit more crimes than young women. If biological differences are the reason, strength and sheer physical size can be considered as a reason teenage men commit more crimes than teenage women. How does size and strength influence behavior, however, when the deterrence model promises to punish whomever commits a crime irregardless of their height or strength due to their biological constitution? After all, police officers are frequently men and equipped with weapons as well.

Our only other option, then, in relation to males and females are the attitudes, values, and beliefs which constitute gender. Such attributes have already been disregarded in reference to social class, though. If the deterrence model is not designed to influence them as they constitute social class, how is it such characteristics as are pertinent to gender are influenced by the deterrence model? Teenagers have access to knowledge about the criminal justice system in the United States irregardless of their gender. If the deterrence model is designed to simply influence behavior, then it should influence the behavior of young men and young women equitably; they should have similar delinquency rates.

The fact that such rates are disparate suggests that there is a flaw in this reasoning. In order to locate it, this thesis will describe the relationship between biological sex and gender, the relationship between biological sex and juvenile crime, and, finally, the relationship between gender

and juvenile crime. Demonstrating a relationship between the first set of variables will enable the definition of masculinity and femininity and a confirmation of continued association with males and females, respectively, even in modern American society. Establishing the reliability of the association between biological sex and juvenile crime will provide the foundation for demonstrating the association between gender and juvenile crime. Such results will clearly describe juvenile crime as related to socialization rather than to physical, biological, or physiological characteristics.

Specifically, this thesis will discuss the results of a test of the following hypotheses. First, physical size is related to biological sex, that is, young men are usually taller and heavier than young women. Secondly, young men commit more illegal acts than young women. Thirdly, gender or social attributes which are categorically defined as masculine or feminine are associated with males and females, respectively. Finally, gender is differentially associated with juvenile crime; masculine social characteristics are associated with higher levels of juvenile crime than feminine social characteristics. In order to control for the differing physical size of young men and young women, the crimes studied will be victimless, nonviolent crimes.

A statistical analysis of data from a national youth survey conducted in 1988 will serve to test the hypotheses concerning gender and juvenile delinquency. Monitoring the

Future: A Continuing Study of the Lifestyles and Values of Youth is an annual longitudinal survey conducted by the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. Its Caucasian respondents born in 1970 or later comprise the sample of 1,809 high school students whose responses are analyzed here by crosstabulation.

This investigation of the hypotheses mentioned above is informed by a review of the published literature on gender, sex, and juvenile crime. In the next chapter, this material will be discussed in reference to the deterrence model. Chapter three will describe the database from the University of Michigan, the methodology used to acquire this data, and the methodology used here for analysis of that data.

The results of this analysis will be described in chapter four. Conclusions drawn from these results will be elaborated in the final chapter. This discussion includes suggestions for future research as well as the implications of the results of the analysis for the deterrence model. The former topic is of especial interest given the findings and the importance of the resolution of the juvenile crime problem to the quality of life in the United States today.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following chapter comprises a review of the published literature on gender, biological sex, and juvenile delinquency as well as their pertinence to the deterrence model. This discussion will summarize this material and examine its shortcomings.

As it was defined in the introduction, gender is distinguished by attitudes, beliefs, and values; these attributes have been found to be different in males and females. As they are not necessarily coincident with biological sex, but often used to distinguish males from females, they are labeled as masculinity and femininity. Because our interest is in male delinquents, a look at their values, attitudes, and beliefs could be instructive in trying to understand why the deterrence model is inadequate in preventing their crimes.

Keane and his associates in their study of 835 high school students looked at one aspect of masculinity in relation to marijuana use. Controls for age, neighborhood, types of friendships, and socioeconomic status precluded confounding attitudes, beliefs, and values not associated with gender or masculinity. The one aspect of masculinity which was studied was significant in explaining why

deterrence is more effective in preventing crime among young women than young men.

Males are more likely to take risks, while females tend to be risk averse. Because of this, females are more likely to be deterred from delinquency as a result of police contact while male delinquent behavior is likely to be amplified.⁷

In this sample of teenagers, knowledge of the criminal justice system had not just been gained abstractly through the teachings of parents or other adults, it had been acquired through real, personal, and individual experience with apprehension by police officers. Such concrete knowledge was not sufficient to deter young men from further criminal activity. Instead, it increased their participation.

As this study suggests the deterrence model not only does not prevent crime among adolescent males, but encourages it, a review of other studies and other gender characteristics is in order. Perhaps, other attributes of masculinity predispose young men to respond positively to deterrence. Even if this proposition is found to be inaccurate, further study of gender may reveal more about the ways in which the deterrence model is successful in preventing criminal activity among young women.

Mann explains how differential socialization influences the development of gender distinctions.

⁷ Carl Keane, A.R. Gillis, and John Hagan, "Deterrence and Amplification of Juvenile Delinquency by Police Contact," *British Journal of Criminology* 29, no. 4 (Autumn 1989): 348.

A direct result of socialization into male and female gender roles and expectations is that social control tends to operate differently for the sexes in the average American home. Females, for example, are more closely supervised and disciplined than males and thereby less equal than males, witnessed in the fact that males are permitted to violate certain conventional standards for which females would be censured, such as getting drunk or fighting back if challenged.⁸

Socialization, then, may have as much or even more influence on the differences between male and female behaviors, beliefs, values, and attitudes as biology.

Campbell adds to Mann's discussion of fighting by explaining that aggressive behaviors are learned as follows:

while little boys are socialized into acknowledging the values and behavior of fair fighting, girls are strongly discouraged from displaying any aggression. For this reason, they have little opportunity to learn rule-governed fighting in childhood.⁹

If girls have little opportunity to learn or experiment with aggressive behaviors, it is not surprising that they often relinquish control over themselves and their lives to others even as adults. Campbell claims that girls are conditioned not to even desire the independence that boys attain.

It is usually anticipated that teenage boys will struggle to liberate themselves from the control of the family (particularly the mother), and this is considered a healthy part of development toward autonomy. Girls, by contrast, are expected not to escape the informal control system but to change roles within it, moving from object to agents.¹⁰

⁸ Coramae Richey Mann, *Female Crime and Delinquency* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1984), 99.

⁹ Anne Campbell, *Girl Delinquents* (Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 148.

¹⁰ Campbell, 223.

Consistent with this expectation of passivity and submission for females is their role as the focus of male sexual attention. Masculinity requires men to compete for women just as they compete in the workplace. Men, however, do not assume a corresponding role for women.¹¹

Clearly, masculinity includes a willingness to objectify other people. Women are to be attained after a struggle with other men; co-workers become competitors or means to a man's own ends. Women, on the other hand, are expected to express delight in male attention and allow their husbands to assume the control over them that their fathers formerly had. Feminine concern with the happiness and comfort of men and children is expected of women who have them. Such women are the caretakers of the household; their central focus is upon the feelings of other people. Although their husbands rely upon them in this role in order to achieve in the workplace, housework and childcare are unpaid and expected of feminine women; women become just another means to male achievement.

Gender, then, embodies the social roles that males and females are expected to play. Because men and women learn these roles as children, they come to accept them as functions of their biological sex rather than the society in which they

¹¹ Tim Carrigan, Bob Connell, and John Lee, "Hard and Heavy: Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity," in *Beyond Patriarchy*, ed. Michael Kaufman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 173-4; and P.A. Katz, "The Development of Female Identity," in *Becoming Female: Perspectives on Development*, ed. C. Kopp (New York: Plenum, 1979), 19.

live. Bainbridge and Crutchfield explain this acceptance as ideological.

We prefer to define a sex role as an *ideology about the behavior proper for members of a gender category*. Ideology we further define as a *system of beliefs and values capable of being held by a number of persons*.¹²

Clearly, gender has an impact on our overall social behavior. Obviously, such behavior includes anti-social behavior, too. In this respect, gender is of more interest than biological sex because it is a social phenomenon which can vary. The study of its variation should illuminate any associations it may have with anti-social behavior. This focus is the central concern of this monograph.

As aggression and domination help to define masculinity and can easily become anti-social in intent, let's begin by discussing these two components of gender in relation to violence. Here, again, the social development of aggression and dominance can be emphasized.

Whilst animals may rely on instinctive patterns of motor co-ordination to direct their ritual displays of threat and submission, man develops social systems which rely on culture for their transmission.¹³

Further, the masculinity of these rituals can be underscored by the following description of violence.

¹² William Sims Bainbridge and Robert D. Crutchfield, "Sex Role Ideology and Delinquency," *Sociological Perspectives* 26, no. 3 (July 1983): 255.

¹³ Peter E. Marsh, Elisabeth Rosser, and Rom Harrie, *The Rules of Disorder* (Boston: Routledge and K. Paul, 1978), 128.

It would seem that some kind of portrayal of a rival as less than manly is a prerequisite for engaging in aggro towards him. In other words, there are two distinct stages to the ritual. The first consists of a repeated pattern of insults and denigration which portray rivals as feminine. Once this has been achieved, such rivals can be challenged, chased or even 'beaten up.'¹⁴

McCord and Otten discovered that aggression was associated with delinquency among both teenage males and teenage females. Teenage males, however, had higher rates of delinquency and aggression.¹⁵ The fact that this association was found amongst both young men and young women suggests that social factors have more influence on the difference in rates of juvenile delinquency between males and females than biological ones. The difference may be explained, in part, by Berger's discussion of gender role socialization.

Traditional family arrangements have kept females, in comparison to males, dependent and cloistered, and females have been expected to provide support and nurturance to others.¹⁶

A study conducted by Cullen, Golden, and Cullen demonstrated that masculinity, in general, was associated with delinquency among both young men and young women. For young men, however, masculinity provides a stronger predisposition

¹⁴ Marsh, Rosser, and Harrie, 133.

¹⁵ Joan McCord and Laura Otten, "A Consideration of Sex Roles and Motivations for Crime," *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 10, no. 1 (March 1993): 9.

¹⁶ Ronald J. Berger, "Female Delinquency in the Emancipation Era: A Review of the Literature," *Sex Roles* 21, no. 5/6 (1989): 377.

toward juvenile crime.¹⁷ These results expand upon the findings of McCord and Otten about aggression. Cullen and associates included measures of independence, objectivity, dominance, competitiveness, and self-confidence in addition to aggression in defining the concept of masculinity. Of importance to our discussion of different attributes of masculinity having differing associations with delinquency, is their finding that, together, the attributes were more strongly associated with sex than they were individually.¹⁸

According to this study, gender is a very real social phenomenon. Young men learn the values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors considered appropriate to their sex without exclusion. This wholeness of the concept of masculinity suggests that it is not only developed as a totality, but that its perpetration is assured by hegemony. The very confounding of gender and sex in much of the study which has been made of delinquency is evidence of the hegemony of the polarization of gender. Our society defines different behaviors, values, attitudes, and beliefs for each sex at birth by both teaching and expecting them of each newborn. Teaching and expecting are not always in that order in a society which associates masculinity and femininity with biology.

An additional finding of the Cullen and associates

¹⁷ Francis T. Cullen, Kathryn M. Golden, and John B. Cullen, "Sex and Delinquency," *Criminology* 17, no. 3 (November 1979): 307.

¹⁸ Cullen, Golden, and Cullen, 305.

study, however, confirms the necessity of seeking more evidence to support the importance of gender as associated with juvenile delinquency. While masculine male youths are most predisposed to commit crimes, young men are still more predisposed to delinquency than young women even if masculinity is controlled. Evidently, biological variables have a role in relation to teenage crime. Their importance, though, may be much less than previously contended.

Other studies suggest an interaction between biological and social factors or sex and gender. Silverman and Dinitz compared delinquent boys from matriarchal homes with delinquent boys from patriarchal homes. They found that delinquent male youths from matriarchal homes were more masculine than delinquent male youths from patriarchal homes. Their measure of masculinity included toughness, objectification of women, impulsivity, hostility, risk-taking, and a susceptibility to peer pressure towards deviance.¹⁹

Discovery of a pristine distinction between gender and sex is improbable, but giving gender and other related social variables the attention they deserve will shatter the hegemony of sexual stratification that previous reliance on biological explanations of the differences between males and females has built.

Berger explains that

¹⁹ Ira J. Silverman and Simon Dinitz, "Compulsive Masculinity and Delinquency," *Criminology* 11, no. 4 (February 1974): 511.

the occupational sector of society has traditionally been the province of males, and males' identity, more than females', has been shaped by occupational roles. Male socialization has been more conducive to the development of independent, aggressive, and competitive behavioral characteristics,.....Male gender role socialization has encouraged males to respond to conflict with aggressive behavior, blame others for their problems, channel frustration toward external targets (i.e., persons and property), and test their masculinity through a willingness to face danger.²⁰

Clearly, males learn how to achieve, maintain, and advance in a job or career. As children and youths, their attitudes, beliefs, values, and behaviors are shaped by society so they will be comfortable and successful in the world of work outside the home. A study by Hill and Atkinson has even found that family rules concerning appearance are more common for boys than girls. They suggest that such rules are an effort to prepare boys for the labor force where adherence to standard notions of dress is important to success.²¹

Given these findings about gender socialization and their link to the conventional social structure, how is it that the same gender-specific attitudes, beliefs, values, and behaviors are associated with both success in traditional male roles and juvenile delinquency? The answer can be found in the deterrence model upon which the system of justice in the United States is based. While prevention of crime and equitable punishment are laudable hallmarks of the deterrence model

²⁰ Berger, 377.

²¹ Gary D. Hill and Maxine P. Atkinson, "Gender, Familial Control, and Delinquency," *Criminology* 26, no. 1 (1988): 144.

as is its focus on behavior rather than attitudes, beliefs, or values, this elegance and respect for the psychological integrity of the individual acts to undermine the effectiveness of the system of justice based on this model in the United States. Specifically, young males, socialized to seek and enjoy challenges, are stimulated rather than deterred by the prospect of punishment for crimes.²²

Further, their enjoyment of the risk of being caught and the opportunity to challenge authority is not decreased by being punished. In addition, under the deterrence model, such punishment does not include resocialization such as psychological counseling to discourage disobedience to authority and risk-taking. Such attributes are integral parts of the male personality. To modify or eliminate them would be to emasculate young men who need to retain these attributes in order to achieve in legitimate society.

However, for males who have few opportunities to achieve an education, secure an occupation, and, thus, have the social status and financial stability to support a wife and family, frustration of their social expectations may lead them to consider other, perhaps illegal, means to achieving them. The initiative that is required of males may be translated into attitudes and behaviors that are risky to both the males espousing them and society.

²² Keane, Gillis, and Hagan, 348.

Natural selection will especially tend to favor risk-proneness in circumstances where one's anticipated life trajectory, in the absence of risk is so poor that one has little or no expected fitness to lose. As a particular example of this general proposition, dangerous competitive tactics are predicted to be especially prevalent within those demographic categories in which the probability of reproductive failure is high.²³

If criminal behavior is a logical response for males who are deprived of legitimate social opportunities for success, why isn't a similar response common and expected of females who have few opportunities for marriage, or, more frequently, financially rewarding careers?

Although we are now prepared to accept that delinquency among males may be a subculturally normal response to societal frustrations, it is remarkable that even among female urban guerillas, who offer highly articulate accounts of their social grievances, we still ascribe their behavior to clinical disorder.²⁴

The association of female criminality with disease demonstrates the hegemony of the biological model in explaining differences between males and females. Further, this hegemony has strong implications for both the treatment of criminal transgressions and the social opportunities available to females.

Biological variables have been particularly popular in explanations of female delinquency. Deviation from the female stereotype is frequently confused with physical disorder, since no "normal" woman, it is claimed, could be unhappy with her lot in life.²⁵

²³ Martin Daly and Margo Wilson, *Homocide* (New York: A de Gruyter, 1988), 149.

²⁴ Campbell, 48.

²⁵ Campbell, 48.

Viewing femininity as a concomitant of biology both requires women exhibiting masculine attitudes and behaviors to be defined as sick and necessitates their rehabilitation instead of punishment. Similar attitudes and behaviors, when exhibited by men, are defined as normal unless they are extreme or exhibited inappropriately as in aggression used to commit a robbery. In the latter instance, men are simply punished. Diverted to legitimate activities and settings, masculinity allows men to become socially and financially successful and independent.

Whereas it might be seen as weakness for a man to admit to illness, the same is not true of women. Women are far more amenable to psychoanalytic "treatment" both in and out of prison because they are willing to discuss their problems openly rather than deny or minimize them. Their subordinate position vis-a-vis males gears them to a submissive acceptance of such labels by experts, especially when the experts agree with the social mores of society.²⁶

Because males commit crime far more often than women do, such activity is not considered to be inconsistent with masculinity; it is criminal, but not pathological. This explanation of male legal transgressions holds for minority men as well as Caucasian males. For females, to be criminal is to be unfeminine, abnormal, and sick.²⁷

Separating gender from sex in discussing juvenile crime sheds these preconceptions about biological bases for such anti-social behavior. It allows an evaluation of

²⁶ Campbell, 111.

²⁷ Campbell, 110.

individual actions to be made based on attitudes, values and beliefs without an a priori assumption that biological sex is responsible for each of these characteristics. In order to accomplish such an evaluation, without a corresponding bias in favor of biological sex, this variable must be controlled. After all, aren't men, especially young men, taller and heavier than women of similar ages? Couldn't sheer physical size and its accompanying strength account for differences in criminal activity between men and women?

Certainly, girls and women have specialized in crimes such as shoplifting and prostitution which are considered to be victimless and require little physical strength.²⁸ Without studying the potential social associations of gender differences with crime, one confounds them with biological sex differences. Explaining the differences in crime rates between males and females in this manner not only distorts any theoretical understanding of the causes of crime, but precludes the discovery of any real solution. After all, short of drastic measures such as surgical or chemical castration or mood-altering drugs, what can be done about biological attributes?

Viewing differences in crime rates between males and females as due only to biological differences doesn't just bias the treatment of the perpetrators, but forces the development of convoluted explanations for criminal activity which doesn't

²⁸ Berger, 377-8; Mann, 31; Campbell, 93.

fit the biological model.

When the number of women involved increase, the crime itself takes on the trappings of femininity-it becomes a crime requiring psychiatric (and therefore usually psychoanalytic) interpretation. This has happened to such an extent that male shoplifters have had to be re-interpreted as homosexuals to keep in line with the kinds of explanation psychiatrists wish to offer.²⁹

In order to not only resolve the problems of criminals and, thereby, prevent recidivism, but to prevent initial criminal activity, it is necessary to study crime at the earliest ages at which it occurs, that is, among juvenile delinquents.

Adolescents of ages sixteen to eighteen are also of especial interest in relation to gender because their developmental tasks concerning the changes in their physiology are complete. For both boys and girls, biological maturity occurs between the ages of twelve and fifteen. Accepting these physical changes and modifying one's social attitudes and behaviors accordingly are important developmental tasks during this period of time. The influence of these changes on attitudes and behavior is not complete and superceded by social factors until ages fifteen to nineteen.³⁰ It is differing forms of social maturity during this latter period of adolescence that distinguish between young men and young women.

Marriage becomes a much more significant goal for girls during adolescence than occupational success, and their previous academic interests may decline accordingly. In

²⁹ Campbell, 109.

³⁰ Katz, 18.

contrast to the childhood message, what is now being transmitted (by parents, media, and peers) is that although academic excellence and thinking about careers are fine, marriage and maternity are paramount. The effects of this message can be seen in the declining academic performance of adolescent girls.³¹

Given these social conditions, the study of gender in relation to adolescent crime is more pertinent than the study of biological sex. The hegemony of gender ideologies, however, has confounded the study of this topic.

Most research on the topic of female crime and delinquency has reproduced the stereotypes that are found in the society at large. Females are considered primarily in terms of their biology, their sexuality, and their distinctiveness from males. Female roles are assumed to be "natural" and are justified by reference to female physiology or "innate" feminine psychology.³²

Aggression, dominance, and instrumentalism are similarly rewarded in males at work, school, and in the home. Each of these characteristics can be used to commit crimes such as robbery and sexual assault or they can be used to achieve success in sales, construction, or some other legitimate occupation. A model for law enforcement which does not address this paradox becomes flawed in application by a society which has differing cultural expectations of its males and females.

Does the solution to this problem lie in changing the system of justice in the United States or in altering the socialization of its children? Such decisions are best left in the hands of people such as policymakers, parents, and

³¹ Katz, 19-20.

³² Balkan and Berger, 109-10.

citizens, in general. Here, an attempt will be made to study gender and teenage crime in an effort to confirm their relationship.

For the purposes of this paper, juveniles will be youths between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Delinquency will include smoking, alcohol and marijuana use, school truancy, and driving violations. Only driving violations and marijuana use are considered offenses for adults, but the importance of the other activities in the lives of adolescents cannot be denied. For this reason, they are generally prohibited for juveniles in the United States. Selecting these particular offenses also enables a review of their occurrence in a national study sample that includes adolescents from urban, suburban, and rural areas and of differing socio-economic levels. More extreme offenses such as homicide, sexual assault, and burglary are not unique to adolescents nor likely to be as common in their population or across different regions and social classes. Further, smoking, drinking, marijuana use, truancy, and driving violations can occur in the company of others. Indeed, among adults, smoking and drinking are social activities. Engaging in them, for adolescents, could be considered anticipatory socialization or preparation for adulthood. However, for adolescents, these activities as well as truancy and driving violations can preclude the successful achievement of goals such as a high school diploma. Because three of the offenses in question are unique to adolescents,

they will help to explain the unique relationship of gender to crime in this segment of the population. The following section will describe the sample and the methodology used to study this topic.

CHAPTER III

THE METHODOLOGY FOR DATA ANALYSIS

The following chapter begins with a description of the youth survey database used for the analysis of gender, sex, and juvenile delinquency. Included in this description is an explanation of the construction of the variables used in the analysis, itself. The remaining portion of the chapter addresses the methodology used in analyzing these variables.

In order to adequately consider both gender and juvenile delinquency in the United States, a large national database was secured from the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. Monitoring the Future: A Continuing Study of the Lifestyles and Values of Youth is an annual longitudinal survey conducted by the aforementioned organization. The data on which this thesis is based were collected in 1988. The sample consists of students who were high school seniors in the spring of that year, 16,795 respondents. A sample of this size was deemed sufficient for controlling race, region, and socioeconomic status in order that sex and gender could be considered alone in relation to self-reported teenage crime.

To comprise gender, crime, and the control variables, seven hundred and ninety variables were considered. Combinations of variables were made when necessary to comprise the

different characteristics of gender. As above, these attributes included risk-taking, status-seeking, competence, aggression, passivity, obedience, objectification, and independence. Additional variables were combined as measures of truancy, alcohol and marijuana use, driving violations, and smoking. Each of these variables were self-reported responses to questions about delinquency. Region was defined as rural, urban, and suburban. A question on the survey requested that the respondent identify the type of community in which he or she grew up. These types were identified as farm or by a brief description accompanied by a population range. Collapsing the nine choices into three kinds of locales required little selectivity.

The measure of socioeconomic status also required minimal selectivity. No variables indicating family income or parents' occupations were included in the survey. For this reason, the variables indicating the educational attainment of each of the parents and the academic program and success of the respondent were used separately to assess any relationship they might have to incidence of juvenile delinquency.

Due to the limitations of the measure of socioeconomic status and the focus on juvenile crime, nonviolent and status offenses were chosen as the measures of delinquency. Truancy, driving violations, smoking, and marijuana and alcohol use are forms of delinquency which are accessible to teenagers of all socioeconomic backgrounds. Youths from poor rural areas have

similar opportunities to skip school as those teenagers in poor neighborhoods in large cities and juveniles in middle-class suburbs. Similarly, each of these groups of young people could avail themselves of cigarettes, marijuana, and alcoholic beverages. Automobiles are also usually present in all kinds of communities and families;³³ becoming licensed to drive and acquiring a car or the use of one is a rite of passage for American teenagers.

While crimes such as theft and assault may seem to be of greater importance to the security of society, adolescence is a period of development in which children become young adults. Crucial to their healthy adjustment to adulthood is the socialization which will allow them to assume both the rights and responsibilities of maturity and its attending autonomy. Internalizing a respect for rules, laws, and authority will enable them to achieve the transition to adulthood and assure their attainment of stable home and work lives. Youths who break the law in order to drink alcoholic beverages and smoke cigarettes or marijuana may be establishing habits which impede successful marriages and careers. Teenagers who miss school and drive irresponsibly are limiting their future success by curtailing both their academic and social learning. Problems in maintaining a marriage or a job can result in a

³³ Of the sample of 1,809 students who were born in 1970 or later and who were Caucasian, 1,583 or 87.5% were drivers of a motor vehicle, that is, a car, truck, or motorcycle.

search for other, illegitimate opportunities for sustenance. Adults who have dispensed with rules and laws as teenagers may find it easy to do so again.

While such youths were both Caucasian and African-American in the survey, the analysis completed for this monograph included only the Caucasian portion of the sample. This adjustment was made in order to control for race and because African-Americans comprised only about twelve percent of the sample. Such a large proportion of Caucasian youths provided an adequate number of subjects for the analysis. In addition, some previous studies suggested that young African-American delinquents were reared under differing circumstances than young Caucasian delinquents. Such circumstances were found to influence the gender characteristics of such youths.³⁴

Confounding the definition of gender characteristics or their relationship to juvenile crime by including the African-American portion of the sample could skew or overinflate any relationship found between gender and juvenile crime. Certainly, race is not the factor of interest in this thesis nor could it be adequately addressed in relation to juvenile crime by the scope of this paper. Statistically controlling for that portion of the sample which was African-American was an option which would have needlessly complicated the analysis.

³⁴ Ira J. Silverman and Simon Dinitz, "Compulsive Masculinity and Delinquency," *Criminology* 11, no. 4 (February 1974): 513.

Additional crosstabulation tables would have had to be computed and analyzed. Selecting only the Caucasian portion of the sample, initially, eliminated such a wasteful procedure.

Similarly, only sample respondents who were born in 1970 or later were included in the analysis. Selecting only these respondents initially in the computations dispensed with any need for later statistical controls of respondents older than eighteen. The fact that the sample includes only high school seniors further refines the analysis. It is unlikely that many students younger than seventeen were high school seniors. Youths who are seventeen or eighteen are able to become licensed to drive a motor vehicle. Thus, they have opportunities to commit traffic offenses.

During this time period, too, teenagers are preparing for imminent adulthood and its attending responsibilities by expanding their independence and range of experience. Opportunities for other illegitimate activities such as smoking, drinking alcoholic beverages, using marijuana, and missing school may more readily present themselves and be utilized among this age group than among a younger teenage cohort.

The original 1988 sample was chosen by the University of Michigan Research Center from about one hundred and twenty-five high schools throughout the United States. In a three-stage sampling procedure, the participants were drawn by first choosing seventy-four geographical sections across the United States. These land areas are comprised of the twelve urban

portions of the United States which are largest. The areas remaining are regional; ten each are located in the northeast and the west while twenty-four are in the south and eighteen are north central.

From each of the geographical sections, the high schools were chosen. One high school was selected from most areas, but in the large urban areas more than one high school was usually selected. In choosing high schools, those schools with larger numbers of senior students had statistically increased chances of being chosen. In each senior class, a maximum of four hundred students were selected as respondents. Dependent on the size of the senior class, all of the students were included or a random sample of them. Statistical weighting balanced any variations in class size or in the selection of land areas and high schools.

The resulting sample of 16,795 respondents in 1988 was given questionnaires that investigated the same one hundred and seventeen variables. In addition, however, this sample was subsampled in order to apportion it into five comparable groups of respondents. Each group was given a set of differing additional questions that comprised the remaining two-thirds of their questionnaires. The total number of variables was 2,273.

As the demographic variables were those variables which were investigated in the questionnaire portion which was administered to the entire sample, this file was used in the

analysis of the data for this thesis. Of the remaining five files, one was chosen for its variables pertinent to the topic under study here. The subsample size of this particular dataset was 3,386 subjects.

Merging these two files, then, provided access to seven hundred and ninety variables for 3,386 respondents. Selecting just the Caucasian students born in 1970 or later resulted in a sample for analysis of 1,809 respondents. Of adequate size and supplying data on the variables of interest, this sample was used to test the relationships between sex, gender, and juvenile delinquency.

In the instance of variables such as sex, no computation of a new variable was needed. Other variables such as those measuring differing components of gender, region, and juvenile delinquency were constructed of two or more variables from the questionnaire. For most of these new composite variables, it was necessary to recategorize the responses of the original variables comprising them because each had a different number of responses available or reversed the order of the same set of responses. Those subjects whose responses were not identical on the original variables composing a new variable were assigned to missing cases. The selected cases were those subjects who had responded identically on each original variable included in a new composite variable. For example, in creating a new variable in order to describe size, the database variables describing height and weight were utilized.

Respondents who described themselves as 5'3" or less in height were coded as "one" for a height variable. Similarly, respondents who described themselves as weighing 125 or fewer pounds were coded as "one" for a weight variable. The combined height and weight variables comprised a new variable called "size". Only respondents who were coded "one" on both height and weight variables were assigned "one" coding for size. In other words, short students of proportionate weight were included as cases in the category "one" for size. However, students who were both short and heavy, that is, 5'3" or less, but more than 125 pounds were assigned to missing cases; they were not included in the sample of respondents identified by size.³⁵

Each of these new variables were designed to be categorical. Variables other than sex or region were measured in two to four ranges; responses were coded as none, low, moderate, or high depending upon the new variable and the type and range of responses to the original variables comprising it. Measuring gender and juvenile delinquency categorically enabled the study of their relationship to sex statistically as well as the control of region and the educational levels of the respondents and their parents.

Each of these categorical concepts were statistically analyzed by using crosstabulations of the pertinent variables.

³⁵ David Brownfield, "Adolescent Male Status and Delinquent Beha-Behavior," *Sociological Spectrum* 10, (1990): 246-7.

Each component of gender was tested in order to determine its relationship, if any, to biological sex. Controls for region and the educational levels of the respondents and their parents were utilized. It should be mentioned that although all the respondents were high school seniors, a control for their educational level was used because students exhibited differing levels of academic achievement and types of curriculum.

These controls were in place throughout the analysis which also included crosstabulations of each of the components of gender with each of the measures of juvenile delinquency. The only exception was in the crosstabulations between physical size and sex.

Height and weight were used to comprise size which was tested for a relationship with sex. In the interests of controlling for disproportionate heights and weights in the same respondents, each of these original variables were also crosstabulated with sex. The composite variable, size, was crosstabulated with each component of gender and juvenile delinquency for an additional test of a possible relationship of a biological factor with these social factors:

The final intent of the analysis was to discover which factors delineated by the literature, if any, defined gender. Of these factors, a measure of gender would be constructed to be compared with sex in any discovered relationship with juvenile delinquency. This latter variable was to be constructed from the previously mentioned measures of smoking, drinking

alcoholic beverages, using marijuana, truancy, and driving violations. Computation of this composite variable was to be dependent on the discovery of relationships between the individual measures and the various measures of gender.

CHAPTER IV

GENDER AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The results of the analysis of the youth survey data are summarized in the following chapter. Subsequent to this exposition of the findings, the initial hypotheses will be reviewed and discussed in light of the summarized results. The implications of these findings for the deterrence model will be discussed in the conclusion.

The primarily insignificant results of this analysis precluded the construction of composite measures of gender and juvenile delinquency, so no crosstabulations of such measures with each other or with biological sex were computed. The relationships of the individual components of these concepts are still of interest, however, especially in comparison to physical size as this variable is associated with sex.

Variables measuring the height and weight of the teenage respondents exhibited a relationship at the .000 level with biological sex. 72.7% of the boys were tall, that is, 5'10" or taller, while only 4.2% of the girls fell into this height range. Short girls, 5'3" or less, comprised 26.9% of the female respondents, but only .7% of the male respondents. Weight differences were also apportioned in this fashion; 30.9% of the boys weighed 171 or more pounds while only 5.0% of the

girls did so. At the other end of the scale, fully 50.7% of the girls weighed 125 pounds or less, but only 4.6% of the boys fit into this weight range.

In an effort to consider the effect of proportionate height and weight in influencing both actual physical strength and the appearance of possessing such strength, a variable for size was computed using height and weight. As the original sample contains respondents who are tall and thin as well as respondents who are short and stocky, a subsample was constructed in computing the measure of size. Significant at the .000 level, proportions of boys and girls in each category were similar to the proportions found in the height and weight samples. 57.2% of boys were 5'10" or taller and weighed 171 or more pounds, but only 1.0% of girls were of this size range. In contrast, only 1.1% of boys were 5'3" or less and weighed 125 or fewer pounds, but 36.5% of girls were of this size range. Table One exhibits these results. Clearly, they support the first hypothesis, that is, physical size is related to biological sex. Further, this hypothesis asserts that young men are usually taller and heavier than young women. The results of the analysis also support this contention.

If simple physical size facilitates juvenile crime, then teenage boys would be more likely to commit crime than teenage girls. Consideration of offenses such as alcohol or marijuana use, truancy, smoking, and driving violations should preclude

the necessity of sheer physical strength or visual intimidation for engaging in illegal acts. The results of the cross-tabulations between biological sex and driving violations do suggest that physical size is not necessarily associated with juvenile delinquency. While a higher percentage of young men than young women committed a high level of driving violations, the difference in these proportions was minimal even when region, parents' educational level, and respondents' educational level were held constant.

Similar results were found at a low level of violations; the percentages of youths in this category were larger, but the differences between proportions of young men and young women were similar to those differences between percentages of males and females among high level violators. Among youths with no driving offenses, the differences between young men and young women were largest. Proportions of young men were consistently lower than young women in this category even when region, parents' education, and respondents' education were held constant. However, these differences in proportions were small among all respondents with the exception of respondents who were of low educational achievement, who had parents who were of low educational achievement, or who lived in cities. In these groups, the differences between percentages of male youths and female youths with no driving violations were 21.2%, 33.0%, and 19.7%, respectively. All of the crosstabulations concerning driving violations were significant at the

.000 level. Table Two contains these results.

As youths of various heights and weights are able to drive, violating traffic regulations is an equal opportunity offense when this factor alone or biological sex is considered. Analyzing other offenses pertinent only to adolescents and possible irregardless of physical size, is a means of further testing the relation of biological sex to juvenile delinquency. Interestingly, few of these tabulations were significant. Of those results, only one was of any importance. Of youths with parents of low educational achievement, 30.2% of young women smoked cigarettes frequently while only 7.6% of young men had this habit. Differences between proportions of young men and women with parents of low educational achievement on the other measures of smoking cigarettes, infrequently or not at all, were minimal.

The other four significant results demonstrated only minimal differences between proportions of young men and women. Two of these results were found for variables in which the significance disappeared upon controlling for region and educational levels. Thus, the relationships between alcohol use and biological sex as well as between school truancy and biological sex supply no support for the hypothesis that young men have higher rates of delinquency than young women. Marijuana use exhibited a significant crosstabulation with biological sex which remained when a control was in place for respondents with highly educated parents. Because the differing

TABLE 1
PHYSICAL SIZE BY SEX

Percent	Female			Male		
	Small	Medium	Large	Small	Medium	Large
Height	26.9	68.9	4.2	.7	26.6	72.7
Weight	50.7	44.6	4.6	5.0	64.1	30.9
Size	36.5	62.5	1.0	1.1	41.6	57.2

p= .000

TABLE 2
DRIVING VIOLATIONS BY SEX

Percent	Female			Male		
	None	Low	High	None	Low	High
Total	74.7	22.5	2.8	55.9	33.8	10.4
Rural	72.4	24.6	3.0	52.2	38.2	9.5
Suburb	73.1	24.0	3.0	57.4	32.2	10.4
Urban	75.7	21.5	2.8	56.0	33.7	10.3
PE Low*	83.8	14.1	2.0	50.8	37.7	11.5
Average	75.7	23.2	1.1	56.5	33.5	10.1
High	71.9	25.1	3.0	56.8	32.1	11.2
RE Low*	71.1	24.2	4.7	50.3	33.4	16.3
High	76.2	21.7	2.1	60.0	32.3	7.6

p= .000

ences in percentages between male and female youths using this substance were minimal, however, biological sex, again, is not related to juvenile offending. Tables Three, Four, Five, and Six detail each of these crosstabulations. None of them offer any support for the second hypothesis that young men commit more illegal acts than young women.

The lack of any important differences between youths of different sexes on any of these measures which would support higher rates of delinquency for young men than for young women suggests that the third hypothesis, that is, gender as differentially masculine and feminine for males and females, respectively, is false. If gender is differentially associated with juvenile crime as stated in the final hypothesis, then masculine social characteristics could be related to delinquency irregardless of whether young men or young women exhibit this gender. Crosstabulations of the individual components of gender with biological sex do not support the third hypothesis. However, few of these calculations were significant. Of these results, most did not indicate any association with biological sex, but they also did not indicate independence of it.

None of the statistics for sensation-seeking, objectivity or instrumentalism, or aggressiveness were significant, so these components of gender are eliminated from consideration completely. The attributes, competitiveness and obedience each had only one significant crosstabulation. Of these

TABLE 3
CIGARETTE USE BY SEX

%	Female			Male			p
	None	Low	High	None	Low	High	
Total	61.5	27.4	11.1	63.9	24.5	11.6	.08
Rural	64.2	27.8	7.9	63.6	24.9	11.5	.28
Suburb	57.2	30.7	12.1	64.1	24.3	11.5	.03
Urban	62.7	25.9	11.4	64.9	24.1	11.0	.54
PE Low	50.0	19.8	30.2	63.6	28.8	7.6	.003
Avg	63.0	25.8	11.1	67.0	21.0	12.0	.09
High	64.9	28.8	6.2	63.6	28.5	7.9	.56
RE Low	41.9	27.9	30.2	45.6	30.3	24.2	.26
High	69.7	24.7	5.7	72.9	21.7	5.4	.20

TABLE 4
ALCOHOL USE BY SEX

%	Female			Male			p
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	
Total	68.7	24.9	6.4	56.7	32.2	11.1	.000
Rural	79.5	15.9	4.5	58.2	32.8	9.0	.02
Suburb	63.8	32.9	11.3	51.9	35.7	9.7	.01
Urban	65.7	26.2	8.0	57.7	31.1	11.2	.13
PE Low	*	*	*	*	*	*	--
Avg	71.4	19.0	9.5	61.5	23.1	15.4	.81
High	80.4	14.3	5.4	50.0	34.2	3.6	.007
RE Low	*	*	*	*	*	*	--
High	59.2	26.8	11.9	61.1	19.4	12.1	.48

* The sample size for these categories was insufficient for the calculation of statistics.

TABLE 5
TRUANCY BY SEX

%	Female			Male			p
	None	Low	High	None	Low	High	
Total	79.8	18.1	2.2	75.9	20.9	3.2	.001
Rural	87.0	12.1	.9	80.9	15.3	3.8	.005
Suburb	76.0	21.9	2.1	74.7	21.9	3.4	.27
Urban	79.0	18.3	2.7	74.9	22.1	3.1	.03
PE Low	79.5	18.2	2.3	75.0	19.7	5.3	.48
Avg	80.9	17.4	1.7	75.8	21.2	3.0	.01
High	79.6	18.7	1.7	78.6	18.7	2.7	.41
RE Low	67.9	25.9	6.3	65.5	28.8	5.7	.65
High	83.0	15.9	1.0	82.2	16.2	1.6	.36

TABLE 6
MARIJUANA USE BY SEX

Female

Percent	None	Low	High	p
Total	85.1	9.2	5.7	.000
Rural	92.6	5.3	2.1	.59
Suburb	82.4	12.0	5.6	.01
Urban	83.1	9.5	7.4	.05
PE Low	84.0	12.0	4.0	.22
Average	84.0	10.1	5.9	.20
High	88.4	7.8	3.9	.005
RE Low	74.6	13.4	11.9	.02
High	90.2	7.5	2.3	.001

Male

Percent	None	Low	High	p
Total	79.5	6.5	14.0	.000
Rural	88.2	7.4	4.4	.59
Suburb	74.2	8.3	17.5	.01
Urban	81.4	5.9	12.6	.05
PE Low	71.4	7.1	21.4	.22
Average	81.9	7.4	10.7	.20
High	78.0	6.1	15.9	.005
RE Low	76.2	1.6	22.2	.02
High	83.1	7.3	9.7	.001

limited significant results, only obedience was associated with biological sex. While this result was in the expected direction, that is, young women as more obedient than young men, it applies only among respondents of low educational achievement.

Activity versus passivity and willingness to assume risks exhibited three significant crosstabulations. All of these statistics for the former trait demonstrated an association with biological sex and in the expected direction, that is, young women as passive and young men as active. However, the association for all the respondents was rendered insignificant when region and educational levels were held constant with exception of the urban and the high achieving groups of respondents. Among risk-takers, the same groups of respondents exhibited significant results, but there was virtually no association between the variables. Status-seeking, the only gender trait for which several crosstabulations were significant, exhibited only a minimal association with biological sex. Tables Seven through Fourteen detail the statistics for each of the gender components in relation to biological sex. They offer no support for the third hypothesis, that is, gender or male and female social characteristics as associated with biological sex.

In summary, biological sex is related to physical size, but it is not associated with nonviolent measures of juvenile delinquency or with gender. What do these results mean for

TABLE 7
SENSATION-SEEKING BY SEX

%	Female		Male		p
	Low	High	Low	High	
Total	45.4	32.5	32.5	67.5	.00
Rural	61.8	40.9	40.9	59.1	.13
Suburb	44.2	28.0	28.0	72.0	.09
Urban	44.4	34.9	34.9	65.1	.13
PE Low	54.5	60.0	60.0	40.0	.84
Average	49.4	32.3	32.3	67.7	.04
High	33.3	22.2	22.2	77.8	.22
RE Low	57.9	27.5	27.5	72.5	.00
High	38.4	33.8	33.8	66.3	.50

TABLE 8
COMPETITIVENESS BY SEX

%	Female		Male		p
	Low	High	Low	High	
Total	2.7	97.3	2.4	97.6	.35
Rural	2.5	97.5	2.2	97.8	.74
Suburb	2.3	97.7	2.8	97.2	.41
Urban	3.0	97.0	2.2	97.8	.09
PE Low	7.6	92.4	7.5	92.5	.98
Average	2.6	97.4	1.9	98.1	.25
High	1.4	98.6	1.4	98.6	.94
RE Low	13.5	86.5	7.8	92.2	.002
High	.4	99.6	.2	99.8	.32

TABLE 9
INSTRUMENTALISM BY SEX

%	Female		Male		p
	Low	High	Low	High	
Total	29.6	70.4	29.0	71.0	.79
Rural	26.6	73.4	29.0	71.0	.67
Suburb	28.3	71.7	28.6	71.4	.94
Urban	29.9	70.1	28.3	71.7	.59
PE Low	38.5	61.5	4.8	95.2	.005
Average	25.2	74.8	28.2	71.8	.42
High	33.8	66.2	29.7	70.3	.36
RE Low	18.7	81.3	27.0	73.0	.12
High	32.1	67.9	29.6	70.4	.41

TABLE 10
AGGRESSION BY SEX

%	Female		Male		p
	Low	High	Low	High	
Total	98.6	1.4	97.8	2.2	.25
Rural	97.6	2.4	98.9	1.1	.47
Suburb	99.5	.5	94.7	5.3	.005
Urban	98.6	1.4	98.8	1.2	.80
PE Low	90.9	9.1	100.0	.0	.17
Average	99.6	.4	98.0	2.0	.10
High	98.4	1.6	97.8	2.2	.67
RE Low	96.8	3.2	96.8	3.2	.98
High	99.8	.2	98.5	1.5	.05

TABLE 11
OBEDIENCE BY SEX

%	Female		Male		p
	Low	High	Low	High	
Total	21.3	78.7	18.7	81.3	.38
Rural	22.4	77.6	13.3	86.7	.25
Suburb	16.1	83.9	12.6	87.4	.51
Urban	22.3	77.7	25.1	74.9	.53
PE Low	38.5	61.5	12.5	87.5	.20
Average	23.3	76.7	19.8	80.2	.52
High	21.3	78.7	19.6	80.4	.77
RE Low	37.8	62.2	14.1	85.9	.004

TABLE 12
ACTIVITY BY SEX

%	Female		Male		p
	Low	High	Low	High	
Total	58.5	41.5	41.6	58.4	.002
Rural	64.3	35.7	57.7	42.3	.62
Suburb	51.0	49.0	31.0	69.0	.05
Urban	63.6	36.4	41.0	59.0	.003
PE Low	50.0	50.0	100.0	0.0	.06
Average	68.9	31.1	52.4	47.6	.08
High	35.0	65.0	21.7	78.3	.17
RE Low	84.6	15.4	70.4	29.6	.22
High	46.0	54.0	22.7	77.3	.001

TABLE 13
RISK-TAKING BY SEX

%	Female			Male			p
	Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High	
Total	.0	28.7	71.3	.8	19.5	79.7	.000
Rural	.0	39.5	60.5	.0	27.0	73.0	.11
Suburb	.0	28.6	71.4	1.1	24.6	74.3	.25
Urban	.0	27.9	72.1	.9	16.2	82.9	.000
PE Lw	.0	27.6	72.4	.0	13.3	86.7	.28
Avg	.0	27.9	72.1	1.1	17.3	81.6	.01
High	.0	34.2	65.8	.6	23.1	76.3	.06
RE Lw	.0	14.8	85.2	.0	13.3	86.7	.74
High	.0	37.9	62.1	1.1	25.0	73.9	.001

TABLE 14
STATUS-SEEKING BY SEX

Female

%	None	Low	Moderate	High	p
Total	6.1	37.2	37.4	19.2	.000
Rural	5.6	42.7	33.6	18.2	.06
Suburb	7.9	35.6	37.7	18.8	.001
Urban	5.2	36.7	38.8	19.3	.000
PE Low	.0	48.7	33.3	17.9	.01
Average	4.6	37.2	36.0	22.2	.001
High	6.0	36.6	41.2	16.2	.000
RE Low	3.3	32.5	35.0	29.3	.19
High	6.8	40.6	37.4	15.3	.000

Male

%	None	Low	Moderate	High	p
Total	3.4	23.8	38.0	34.8	.000
Rural	2.8	31.1	34.9	31.1	.06
Suburb	5.1	23.5	37.3	34.1	.001
Urban	2.5	21.0	38.0	38.5	.000
PE Low	5.0	25.0	15.0	55.0	.01
Average	2.7	24.7	37.1	35.5	.001
High	2.3	25.7	40.1	32.0	.000
RE Low	4.8	23.0	31.7	40.5	.19
High	3.5	25.2	40.9	30.4	.000

the final hypothesis? Is gender differentially associated with juvenile crime? Are masculine social characteristics associated with higher levels of juvenile crime than female social characteristics? No definite answer can be provided by the foregoing analysis of the youth survey data due to the lack of significant results concerning the relationship between biological sex and gender and the relationship between biological sex and juvenile delinquency. It remains a question to be addressed in future research.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The following discussion will address two topics. First, the implications of the results of the analysis for the deterrence model will be delineated. Secondly, suggestions for additional study will be provided. This latter concern will be covered in some detail in light of the inconclusive results of this research.

The findings of this analysis do not support any propositions for the modification or replacement of the deterrence model by any other model of criminal law on the basis of gender. It is important to remember, however, that these findings did not demonstrate higher rates of delinquency for teenage boys than for teenage girls. This analysis also did not show gender as a whole to be associated with biological sex. A replication of this study which expanded the variables measuring education to parental occupational and family income could provide more accurate data on the incidence of juvenile crime among males and females. Testing variables measuring parental supervision, social activities, and employment would enable the researcher to determine the relationship of opportunity and social control to the incidence of juvenile crime. Knowing whether these factors are important independently of

gender would resolve the question concerning gender and its bipolar relationship to deterrence. Were opportunity and social control found to be the determining factors in participation in delinquent acts, the appropriate explanation might include references to developmental stages of intellectual and moral development or changes in the organization of family life. The validation of either thesis would have little implication for the deterrence model. It would simply suggest that adolescents are different from adults and, as such, are incapable of entering into a societal contract which governs their behavior. For this reason, deterrence would be effective in preventing crime among adults of either gender, but of little assistance in preventing crime among youth.

The insignificance of biological sex and gender to rates of nonviolent juvenile crime among the respondents in this contemporary national survey of youth suggests that important social structural changes may have occurred in the United States. Further research should test hypotheses developed from social control theory in order to determine if a reorganization of family life has produced any differences in the daily routines and associations of young men and women.

The lack of association, on the whole, of gender and biological sex requires further study in order to assure the reliability of this finding. Additional gender traits might be discovered by the administration of a questionnaire which obtained data on a wider range of values, attitudes, beliefs,

and behaviors. Ascertaining the traits which define masculinity and the traits which define femininity and, then, testing for a relationship to biological sex would offer a valuable conceptual tool to scholars who want to discover if and how gender influences individuals independently of biological sex.

Finally, testing the relationship of a rational model of criminal justice, the deterrence model, to crime rates among youths and adults of both biological sexes may reveal important differences between adolescents and adults. The implications of such differences for the organization and administration of criminal justice are already reflected in the separate court systems for adults and adolescents in the United States. Perhaps, public policy has not differentiated its treatment of adult and youthful offenders sufficiently. An entirely different model of criminal justice may be necessary in order to prevent and treat juvenile crime than is effective for adult crime. Only additional, more detailed study will uncover the answers to each of these questions.

APPENDIX
COMPOSITE VARIABLES

Activity

How important is the following in your life: making a contribution to society?

How important is the following in your life: being a leader in my community?

How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below? If we just leave things to God, they will turn out for the best.

Aggression

In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how many times (if any) have you seen a doctor or other professional for an injury suffered in a fight, assault, or auto accident?

In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how many times (if any) have you spent one or more nights in the hospital because of an injury?

Alcohol

On how many occasions (if any) have you had alcohol to drink during the last thirty days?

During the last two weeks, how many times have you had three or four drinks in a row (but no more than that)?

Cigarette Use

Have you ever smoked cigarettes?

How frequently have you smoked cigarettes during the past thirty days?

Competitiveness

Compared with others your age throughout the country, how do you rate yourself on school ability?

How intelligent do you think you are compared with others your age?

Driving Violations

Within the LAST 12 MONTHS, how many times, if any, have you received a ticket (OR been stopped and warned) for moving violations, such as speeding, running a stop light, or improper passing?

Instrumentalism

How important is each of the following to you in your life? working to correct social and economic inequalities.

Marijuana Use

On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana in your lifetime?

On how many occasions (if any) have you used marijuana during the last thirty days?

Obedience

How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below?
I feel that you can't be a good citizen unless you always obey the law.

How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below?
I feel a good citizen should go along with whatever the government does even if he disagrees with it.

Risk-taking

When (if ever) did you first drink enough to feel drunk or very high?

When (if ever) did you FIRST do each of the following things? Don't count anything you took because a doctor told you to. Smoke your first cigarette?

Sensation-seeking

How important is each of the following to you in your life?
Getting away from this area of the country.

How important is each of the following to you in your life?
Discovering new ways to experience things.

How important is each of following to you in your life?
Having plenty of time for recreation and hobbies.

Status-seeking

How important is each of the following to you in your life?
Having lots of money.

Truancy

During the LAST FOUR WEEKS, how many whole days of school have you missed because you skipped or "cut"?

During the LAST FOUR WEEKS, how often have you gone to school, but skipped a class when you weren't supposed to?

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11/21/95

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