

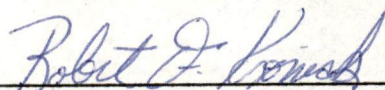
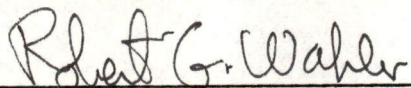
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Elizabeth A. Augustine entitled "Female Adolescent Status Offenders: An Investigation into Demographic and Familial Factors, Offense Pattern and Intellectual and Personality Functioning in a Rural Setting." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

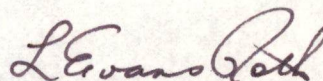


Harold J. Fine, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



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FEMALE ADOLESCENT STATUS OFFENDERS: AN INVESTIGATION INTO
DEMOGRAPHIC AND FAMILIAL FACTORS, OFFENSE PATTERN AND
INTELLECTUAL AND PERSONALITY FUNCTIONING
IN A RURAL SETTING

A Dissertation
Presented for the
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Elizabeth A. Augustine

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ABSTRACT

Current controversy surrounds the issue of a possible rising rate of female delinquency. Although the adolescent girl is clearly an emerging statistic in the juvenile justice system, she continues to receive short shrift in research literature today as she has since the turn of the nineteenth century when she was first labelled a social problem. A review of criminological, sociological and psychological theory and research shows prominent concern with the sexually promiscuous activity of young female offenders.

This study explored twenty rural status offender adolescent females across five dimensions: (1) Demographic Data; (2) Juvenile Court History; (3) Familial Factors; (4) Intelligence as measured by the WISC-R; and (5) Personality Functioning, including both psychological symptomatology and interpersonal adaptation. These areas were investigated for each of the 20 girls, all of whom were currently involved in the juvenile justice system, using three structured interviews: one with the girl, one with her guardian and one with her probation officer. A WISC-R IQ test and a test of Object Relations were also administered.

Statistical comparisons between these subjects and delinquent girl norms were performed on a number of variables across the first four dimensions described above. A systematic review surveyed the nature and incidence of psychological symptomatology. In addition, Object

Relations Technique productions were compared with female adolescent norms.

Significant findings include a higher mean age at first court contact for status offenders than for delinquents, runaway behavior as most frequent charge and a high incidence of: interrupted early caretaking, broken homes, parental disability and death, physical abuse and school dropouts. Mean IQ functioning was found to be Normal. Sexual activity was prominent in the girls' histories as was a range of psychological symptomatology. Interpersonally, the rural girl offenders tended to "people" their world with heterosexual settings and hostile themes.

Cross variable correlations were applied across dimensions and produced moderately strong relationships converging around four variables or variable clusters: (1) school attendance; (2) IQ; (3) depression, hallucinatory and suicidal activity; and (4) parental death.

Because of the exploratory nature of this study no firm conclusions were drawn. Areas meriting further study include noticeable familial, cognitive and psychological differences between the girl school-attenders and non-attenders. Future research is urged to consider the relationship of the father and the rural female status offender, among other environmental factors.

Practical implications of the study include a caution of ascribing the etiology of female status offense to any one factor, the need for careful psychological screening by a psychologist in a juvenile court

setting, community-based alternatives for the adolescent status offender's rehabilitation and/or treatment and programs that foster (or replace) the strengths of the rural family unit.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
The Increase in Female Delinquency	2
A Spurious Increase in Female Crime?	3
The Female Status Offender	5
Juvenile Court Structure, Function and Female Delinquency	6
Implications for Adolescent Females Outside the Law . . .	9
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	15
Theory and Research in Criminology	16
Before Lombroso	18
Lombroso and Ferrero	19
Contemporaries of Lombroso	20
The American statisticians	22
The 1930s	26
The Gluecks	27
W. I. Thomas	28
The 1940s	29
Pollak	31
Back to Lombroso	33
Summary	37
Research and Theory in Psychology and Sociology	38
Personal characteristics	39
Familial factors	40
Intellectual and personality functioning	43
Etiology	49
Endopsychic disturbances	49
Familial and interpersonal disturbances	54
Rural girl offenders	59
Summary	63
III. THE STUDY	65
Demographic Data	67
Age	67
Educational information	68
Socioeconomic status	68
Expectations	68
Juvenile Court History	69
Current offense	69
Previous offense	70

CHAPTER

Expectations	70
Familial Factors	70
Family configuration	70
Expectations	71
History of primary caretaking	71
Expectations	71
Parental death	72
Expectations	72
Incidence of broken homes	72
Expectations	73
Parental divorce and separation	73
Expectations	73
Incidence of parental disability	74
Expectations	74
Parental criminal involvement	75
Expectations	75
Intellectual Functioning	75
IQ	75
Expectations	76
Personality Variables	77
Psychological symptomatology	77
Expectations	78
Interpersonal functioning	79
Object relations theory and female delinquency	80
Expectations	84
Summary of Expectations of the Study	84
Demographic data	84
Juvenile court history	84
Familial factors	84
Intellectual functioning	85
Personality variables	86
Psychiatric clinical symptomatology	86
Interpersonal functioning	86
Methodology	86
Subjects	86
Interviews and instruments	87
Analysis of data	88
Scoring of interviews and instruments	88
Statistical analysis	89
IV. RESULTS	90
The Project, the Subjects and the Community	90
Relationship of Status Offenders to Delinquents	93
Demographic data	93
Age	93
Educational information	93
Socioeconomic status	99

CHAPTER

PAGE

Juvenile court history	100
Current offenses	100
Previous offense	102
Familial Factors	105
Family configuration	105
History of primary caretaking	107
Paternal death	110
Maternal death	111
Incidence of broken homes	111
Incidence of parental separation and divorce	111
Parental disability	111
Parental criminal involvement	112
Intellectual functioning	116
IQ range	116
IQ mean	120
Performance vs. Verbal IQ	120
Personality variables	121
Interpersonal functioning	121
Personal Characteristics and Symptomatology	121
Subjects' children, pregnancies, abortions and birth control	125
Psychological symptomatology	126
Cross-Variable Correlational Patterns	127
Demographic data	128
Juvenile court history	129
Familial factors	131
Intellectual functioning	132
Personality functioning	133
Psychological symptomatology	133
Interpersonal functioning	135
Summary of Results in Relation to Expectations of the Study	137
Demographic data	137
Age	137
Educational variables	137
Families on welfare	138
Juvenile court history	138
Current offense	138
Previous offense	138
Familial factors	138
Family configuration	138
Primary caretaking	139
Parental death	139
Broken homes	139
Parental divorce and separation	139
Parental disability	139
Parental criminal involvement	140
Intellectual functioning	140
IQ range	140

CHAPTER	PAGE
Personality variables	140
Personal characteristics	140
Psychological symptomatology	141
Interpersonal functioning	141
Cross-variable correlational patterns	141
V. DISCUSSION	143
Demographic Data	144
Juvenile Court History	146
Familial Factors	148
Intellectual Functioning	149
Personality Variables	150
Psychological symptomatology	150
Interpersonal functioning	154
Cross-Variable Correlational Patterns	156
VI. CONCLUSION	161
BIBLIOGRAPHY	169
APPENDICES	188
A. CONSENT FORM I	189
B. CONSENT FORM II	190
C. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (SUBJECT)	191
D. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (PARENT/GUARDIAN)	193
E. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (PROBATION OFFICER)	194
VITA	195

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Comparison of Means of Demographic Variables of Status Offenders vs. Delinquent Females	94
2. Subject Age and Summary of Educational History	95
3. Occupation, Education, and Income of Heads of Households . .	97
4. Status Offense Charges	101
5. Current Status Offense(s) and History of Previous Offense(s)	103
6. Comparison of Mean Sibship Size of Status Offenders vs. Delinquents	105
7. Sibship Constellation	106
8. Comparisons of Familial Factors of Status Offenders vs. Female Delinquent Norms	108
9. History of Primary Caretaking	109
10. Family History of Death, Discontinuity, Disease and Discord	113
11. Intelligence Test Scores	117
12. IQ Range	119
13. Comparison of Status Offender vs. Normal Female Adolescent Object Relations Technique Response Sets	122
14. Psychological Symptomatology and Somatic Complaints	123
15. Correlations of Demographic Data vs. Other Variables	128
16. Correlations of Juvenile Court History vs. Other Variables	130
17. Correlations of Familial Factors vs. Other Variables	131
18. Correlations of IQ Scores vs. Other Variables	133

TABLE

PAGE

19. Correlations of Psychological Symptomatology vs. Other Variables	134
20. Correlations of ORT Responses vs. Other Variables	136

GLOSSARY

Judicial Terms

Adjudication	That part of a hearing where evidence is presented.
Disposition	That part of a hearing (if evidence is proved valid) concerning a discussion of what action should be taken on the case in question.
Petition	Document filed requesting court action.
Status Offenses	Charges limited to juveniles taken into protective custody under provision of local statutes for: 1. Curfew Violation 2. Runaway Behavior 3. Truancy 4. Unruliness

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the term "juvenile delinquency" has conjured up the image of bad boy. And this is justifiably so. The female offender, juvenile or otherwise, was a rare phenomenon in the courtroom. In the early 1900s ratios of over 50 males to one female juvenile delinquent were quite common (Short, 1968). Although the girl offender has become more visible since the turn of the century, criminologists and social scientists have shown complacency toward her study because of the relatively "harmless nature of her offenses" (Johnson, 1977). The crimes committed by women and girls were predominantly those classified as victimless, such as sexual misconduct and drug offense, which made her "criminologically much less interesting" than males who committed "more varied, dangerous and dramatic delinquent acts" (Cowie et al., 1968, p. 1). Her crimes called for care and protection rather than punishment. She was classified as "wayward" (Bowlby, 1952) and dubbed PINS, MINS, JINS (person, minor, juvenile in need of supervision) rather than hard core delinquent.

Whether based upon myth or reality, however, the conventional wisdom about the deviance of young women was that it tended to be self-destructive while the deviance of young men was upsetting and harmful to others. She hurt herself; the male struck out. Because the nature of female juvenile delinquency was perceived as relatively innocuous and not too irritating to her community let alone to society,

the serious study of this problem has been neglected. Nearly every contemporary writer on the subject begins his article with a statement strongly decrying the lack of scholarly research on the delinquent female (see Felice and Offord, 1971).

A. THE INCREASE IN FEMALE DELINQUENCY

This neglect, even if previously understandable, is no longer justified. The incidence of female delinquency is shown to be rising at a quick pace. And, the juvenile court, across the nation, is in the midst of vociferous debate as to the expanding number and changing nature of offenses committed by her. Briefly, both sides of the issue need to be reviewed to appreciate how argument has stolen the thunder from research efforts on the female adolescent offender.

By 1966 the male to female ratio in juvenile courts showed a decrease to only four to one (Hoffman and Martin, 1966). FBI Uniform Crime Reports in 1974 reflect a three to one proportion (FBI, 1974). Today the numbers are approaching equality (Conway and Bogdan, 1977). While these data show that young women offenders are shrinking the statistical gap between them and their male counterparts, the type of recorded offense also demonstrates a marked shift in their character. Arrests for more serious crimes (from auto theft to breaking and entering) has shown almost three times as great a rate of increase for females as for males between 1960 and 1974 (FBI, 1974). How is this trend explained? This is the first issue of debate.

A majority of criminologists hold that the changing pattern of female juvenile delinquency parallels and is, in some way, related to

the changing status of women in our society. Price theorizes:

Ambivalence, conflict, and resistance always accompany transition. Today's woman finds herself within a maelstrom of pressures and counterpressures, both ideological and situational. (Price, 1977, p. 103)

Likewise, Freda Adler in Sisters in Crime—The Rise of the New Female Criminal (1975) suggests that as women's roles change and become more open to the opportunities and tensions and uncertainties associated with the traditional male role, more women will engage more frequently in crime. Female delinquents, through self-report, are currently describing themselves as beginning to be treated as peers by male delinquents and being given opportunities to commit crimes (Chesney-Lind, 1973; Kratcoski, 1975) and become partners and entrepreneurs in crime to a greater extent than they have in the past, whereas:

Traditionally women who have engaged in criminal activity have played subservient roles. They have worked under the direction and guidance of men who have been their lovers, husbands or pimps. (Simon, 1975, pp. 3-4)

B. A SPURIOUS INCREASE IN FEMALE CRIME?

The dissenters of the above explanation of female crime rise are a small but forceful and vocal feminist faction. They are socio-criminologists who suggest that the overall increase in conviction rate for women for more violent crimes is fallacious. Johnson (1977) states that law enforcement officials have begun to recognize the capacity of girls to engage in acts previously regarded to be the exclusive domain of boys. In reflecting on a parallel trend occurring in England, Smith (1975) proposes that, "It could well be argued that the recent increase

in officially recorded violence among girls in the U.S. suggests that a change in definition, rather than in behavior, per se, has already taken place" (Smith, 1975, p. 11). The point is that police, social workers, juvenile court judges and their ancillaries appear more ready to define deviant behavior by women and girls as violent or "masculine" because of apparent changes in the social and economic position of women in society. Smart (1976) maintains that it is unlikely that the delinquent girl is more violent, or that her involvement in fights or gangs has changed remarkably. On the contrary, it is suggested that because previous researchers have never interviewed female gang members, their role in delinquency has never been recorded or revealed. Likewise, Weis finds that there has been little change in the types and volume of male and female delinquency since these surveys began:

A comparison of self-report studies of delinquent behavior conducted around 1960, 1964, 1968 and 1971 shows that the mean sex ratios across all delinquent acts and for theft and aggression items have not changed in the direction predicted by the "liberation" theories for this time period. (Weis, 1976, p. 24)

Thus, the interpretation of these statistics may be fallacious—the recent perception of changes in female delinquency being not so much a measure of actual change in the frequency and character of female delinquency but connoting a new appraisal of the situation. Chesney-Lind (1977) considers the rise in female crime rates to solidly reflect changes in police behavior.

Price (1977) has offered that a careful review of data shows that, contrary to impressions that might filter from the mass media, for example, Newsweek's, "Now the Violent Woman" (Woodward and Malamud,

1975), the proportion of females arrested for violent crimes such as murder and aggravated assault has changed hardly at all over the past three decades. Female arrest rates for homicide have been the most stable of all statistics on violent offenses. In a study of homicide in Philadelphia, Marvin E. Wolfgang (Geis, 1974) found that only 8 percent of the city's murders were committed by women and that most of these killings were of husbands or other men with whom the women were emotionally involved. It is suggested that violent acts of aggression against strangers are something that women do not do, unless they are driven by extraordinarily strong circumstances.

Be they artifacts or not, the documented statistical upsurge of more visibly dangerous forms of deviance in females has captured the eyes and tongues of the above social thinkers. It is suggested that shifting figures have diverted the focus toward wordy encounter. And, while the field of juvenile justice is handwringing about crime rise, yes—crime rise, no, the typical, nonaggressive girl statute violator redundantly shuffles into the juvenile justice system and remains a major problem and an enigma for juvenile courts nationwide today (see Armstrong, 1977).

C. THE FEMALE STATUS OFFENDER

Juvenile status offenses are violations of the law, labelled victimless and would not be regarded criminal if committed by an adult. Four petitions have typically lead the girl offender to adjudication: (1) running away, (2) incorrigibility or unruliness, (3) violations of

probation or curfew, and (4) truancy. Unlike the male the young female is usually "turned in" by her parents or relatives rather than arrested by the police. Those that aren't deferred from court action by a fatherly reprimand comprise the bulk of what is shunted into state juvenile correctional facilities or training schools. Seventy percent of the young females housed in state correctional institutions are there for a status offense charge whereas only 20 percent of her male institutionalized colleagues are status offenders (U.S. Department of Justice, 1974). Because the "acts" committed by girls are not deemed serious, one would expect their disposition to be shorter than those given to the males for criminal offenses. Not so. Actually, females stay in a facility for 12 months on the average, whereas juvenile males are incarcerated for only nine months (Singer, 1973). Literature points out that incarcerated females have not committed more serious offenses. Simply, there are fewer dispositional alternatives for female adolescents. It appears, then, that there are more juvenile girls in institutions than the number and kind of offenses warrant. Furthermore, after incarceration they remain on probation for longer periods (Jolly, 1977). The next section of this chapter traces the evolution of the girl offender's disposition in the juvenile justice system.

D. JUVENILE COURT STRUCTURE, FUNCTION AND FEMALE DELINQUENCY

There is ongoing, hearty debate which even further sidesteps research on the female status offender but attacks the structure of the juvenile court. Armstrong (1977), in her feminist-like stance imputes

juvenile courts with a double standard of morality which lends them to a discriminatory enforcement against females. She suggests that the juvenile court is very much concerned with obedience to familial demands. And, because of the vastly different parental expectations regarding appropriate behavior for male and female children, there is a corresponding response from the juvenile court that differs toward male and female children. Females have a much narrower range for acceptable behavior. For example, in the tradition that a woman's place is in the home, judges often decide that it is delinquent for a young woman, but not a young man, to return home at an "unreasonable" hour. Nagel and Weitzman (1971) graphically illustrate the tendency for the court to treat young women in a paternalistic manner and to express concern for their "state of living" or what "they are becoming" over and beyond specific offenses they commit.

Chesney-Lind (1977) argues that decisions after arrest, which determine whether a youth will be counseled or released or referred to court, reveal a "consistent pattern of police paternalism that penalizes women" (p. 123). Not all petitioned juveniles are referred to a court hearing. Some are put on official or unsupervised probation. Girls charged make up about a third of total arrested delinquents and half of those are heard by a judge. Only 20 percent of the boys are referred to court (Chesney-Lind 1978). They are more likely to find their way there for burglary, larceny or car theft (Children's Bureau, HEW, 1967). Terry (1970) indicates that girls are handled more severely in courtrooms, even with their less delinquent records. He

suggests that they're more likely to be institutionalized because of the sexual implications of the offenses and because the judiciary finds it more shocking to have a girl in court than a boy. The inequity between sexes is further explained by Conway and Bogdan (1977) in that the basically "ungovernable" females are translated as being "promiscuous." Jolly (1977) in her report of the U.S. Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency suggests that, "truancy and incorrigibility are often nothing but buffer charges for promiscuity in girls—or the court's fear of future promiscuity" (p. 2). Twenty years ago, sociologist Herbert Herskovitz wrote that:

The predominant expression of delinquency among females is sexual in nature. As for males the only signs of sexual disorder worth society's attention is either rape or the abuse of young children. (Herskovitz, 1959, p. 475)

Evidently, this idea has perpetuated. Those who label the juvenile justice system as paternalistic cite candid comments from court officials such as this typical statement from a Connecticut judge:

Why, most of the girls I commit are for status offenses. I figure if a girl is about to get pregnant, we'll keep her until ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) will pick her up. (Rogers, 1972, p. 227)

Basically, those who attack the juvenile court structure and functioning argue that most of the girls incarcerated in American training schools and detention centers have not violated any law or committed any crime. They are there because they cannot get along with their parents, their parents no longer want them and the court will not allow them to be free. Girls tend to be placed in training schools "for their own protection" which means protection from "temptation" and

their own sexuality, perhaps. More to the point, it's argued that the juvenile court's willingness to involve itself in the enforcement of traditional family values is particularly ominous for women. But there the effort ends—in steamy argument. Unfortunately, the net effect of all this concern is the continued spending of an average \$23,000 a year in government funds in housing each noncriminal female (Conway and Bogdan, 1977). The controversy still shows momentum but with predictably sterile results.

E. IMPLICATIONS FOR ADOLESCENT FEMALES OUTSIDE THE LAW

On the periphery of the above rhetoric though, are emerging a few sharp social-theoreticians who recognize that adolescent female offense is a problem of central concern to society; and, it is a researchable and treatable one. They plead that female delinquency does involve economic, health, legal, religious, moral and ethical issues. It raises questions of the moral code and society's interest in controlling the sexual impulse and in maintaining and intervening in the family system. Albeit, girl's crimes have been considered victimless from the earliest American study on female offense in 1915 (Fernald et al., 1920) to the present (Sandhu, 1977), their consequences are not victimless but far-reaching (Lasch, 1977). Indeed there is tragic evidence that female offenses are far more self-destructive and irreversible in their consequences than most types of male delinquent behavior. As Blos points out,

. . . the delinquent girl risks violating the caring and protective attributes of her maternal role in a way which

may harm her and her offspring for the remainder of her life.
(Blos, 1969, p. 109)

Other researchers have recognized the potential social impact with which female delinquency is armed and decry the paucity of data on her. "While studying delinquent girls we should keep in mind when you train a male you train one individual; when you train a female you train a family" (Vedder and Sommerville, 1975, p. viii).

Traditionally, women have been responsible for socializing succeeding generations to accept the values and institutions of society. A girl's rejection of her parents' moral standards or a woman's rejection of the social code is viewed as a direct threat to the family and therefore to society. Yet, although this threat is regarded to be sufficiently serious to invoke the jurisdiction of the courts, it does not rank with violent or property crimes in terms of resources available for prevention and rehabilitation (Jolly, 1977). The consequences of this anomaly is that for women, there are fewer alternatives to institutionalization and fewer, less effective programs within institutions.

A potential maternal role of the female offender is more than just alluded to above and points to her study with some urgency. And, the subject of preparation for a maternal role is salient in a female delinquent population as the unmarried delinquent female shows a tendency to bear children in her mid-teens.

Granted, not every female offender gives birth to an illegitimate child, but, when population increase is accounted for, the cohabitation of female delinquency and adolescent unwed motherhood is a solid one

and is currently shown to be growing (Friedman et al., 1971; Sandhu, 1977). Even in ethnic and social class groups where promiscuity and illegitimacy is said to be less a social stigma than in white middle-class groups, the girl, her illegitimate child and her family usually face additional handicaps of achieving economic and family stability. Blos' comment above has been especially germane to this current study. As one seven months pregnant, 13 year old subject stated in a psychotherapy session after asked of her plans to care for her child, "I'm not sure I want it, but I'll raise it 'best I can. Or, I'll give it to my mother." This was not an atypical concern and resolution.

Freud never appeared to be satisfied with his work on women and how personality development colors their relationships and behavior in general. He had early in 1905 complained that the social and sexual life of females was "veiled in an impenetrable obscurity" and later wrote:

We now know less about little girls than of boys. But, we need not feel ashamed of this distinction; after all the social and sexual life of an adult woman is a "dark continent" for psychology. (Freud, 1959, p. 212)

Just as Erikson (1964) urged that it would be well if the epigenetic shaping process and impingements upon female adolescents might be better understood through study, others encourage research to soon begin on the troubled group called girl offenders so that her predisposing conditions might be unraveled and such girls, as young girls, recognized at risk. Problems in coping might then become articulated so girls may be dealt with while in a latent or predelinquent

stage, before the onslaught of puberty tempts acting-out behavior and before the consequences of delinquency pose additional stress to the already uncrystallized and vulnerably suggestible personality organization of the adolescent girl.

Currently, in fact, there is some urgency attached toward beginning her study and in thoughtfully planning for her disposition and treatment. Basically, this is spurred on by legislative reform and a shift in the focus of funding. Senator Birch Bayh was instrumental in the passages of a Public Law in Congress in 1974 called the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (U.S. Congress, 1976) designed to assist states and localities and public and private agencies to develop and conduct effective delinquency prevention programs, to divert juveniles from the juvenile justice process and to provide critically needed alternatives to traditional forms of detention and institutionalization. The Act further prohibited housing delinquents with adults and stipulated that status offenders should have shelter outside the legal enforcement structure and juvenile justice authority. Tennessee, among all other states, was to comply with such ruling effective July 1, 1978. A number of states could not comply and, resultantly, previously allocated Federal funds were cut short. What other alternatives are available for the girl offender? Group homes and foster care are among the few choices on scene today. How should she be treated? And, by whom? Research is sparse and inconclusive. Social scientists predict that families and caretakers will go through contortions in order to tag their status offending girl a delinquent so

she might be sent away. Or, the court will label her a status offender, find her out of compliance with probationary rules, such as curfew violation, and upon her being petitioned to court a second time around, she might be shifted into a bona fide delinquent category leading to incarceration.

Chief Clerk to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Delinquency, Mary Kaaren Jolly, comments on our need to work in the community in "Female Delinquency: National Policies and Procedures":

Incarceration masquerades as rehabilitation and serves to only increase our already critical crime rates by providing new students for what have become institutionalized schools of crime. (Jolly, 1977, p. 4)

Superior Court Judge Norma Johnson, in "Special Problems of the Female Offender," demands more research on the female statute violator in order to base her treatment on solid ground. She calls forth investigation in psychosocial, familial and rehabilitative areas. Also apparent is her commonsense approach in lending the following advice:

Social scientists . . . seek to discover what causes people to behave in ways which are actually, as opposed to theoretically, offensive to society at large. To do this they have studied only those who have been severely sanctioned. In the case of female adolescents, they study those who have been incarcerated. We need to look at this girl when she is still in her community. What are the typical social and psychological problems and patterns of girls who are statute violators? Do patterns differ between urban, suburban and rural areas? (Johnson, 1977, p. 9)

The goal of this study is to gain a more lucid look at the female adolescent who finds herself in disharmony with herself, her family, her peers and the juvenile justice system. This research will focus on psychological and interpersonal functioning within her familial and

social context and will extend the literature's more visible urban and suburban based delineation of the adolescent female offender to the oft' neglected rural girl.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The phenomenon called "delinquency" lies at the intersection of several disciplines of the behavioral and life sciences: criminology, psychology, psychiatry, sociology, history, biology, ecology and epidemiology. Each of these disciplines rightfully claims that delinquency can be described in its terms and can, furthermore, be affected by its rational and operational theory. Although sparse, theory and research on the female offender springs from each domain.

The word "delinquency" is a label with ill-defined behavioral references. It has no universal definition but many connotations. For example, in New Mexico, a child is a delinquent who "habitually" refuses to obey his parents, or who is "habitually" wayward, disobedient or uncontrollable; one is unsure of exactly what the imprecise adjective used connotes, i.e., incorrigible. A Massachusetts law defines a juvenile delinquent as a child between seven and 17 who violates any city ordinance or town bylaw or who commits an offense not punishable by death. Under this law, nearly every child is or will be delinquent by definition. Bloch and Flynn prefer the British common-law definition of delinquency, namely, "any act that is committed by an adult that is considered criminal" (Bloch and Flynn, 1956, p. 7). Leo J. Trese defines female delinquency as, "any repetitive behavior on the part of an adolescent girl of normal intelligence which is contrary to

law and exhibits a breakdown of the ego in its management of the impulse" (Trese, 1962, p. 5).

According to Jerome S. Weiss, juvenile delinquency is generally thought of in social or psychological terms but seldom in legal terms (Weiss, 1953). It has even been defined as a child trying to act like an adult. Actually, juvenile delinquency is not a disease or clinical entity. It is a socio-legal concept referring to juvenile behavior outside of the law, and, a delinquent is what the law says. The phrase denotes a child who has been officially acted upon by the courts. More to the point of this study, however, the word delinquency derives from a Latin root that means, "to fail, to do wrong," or "to leave" (Webster, 1951).

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first will trace the major theoretical shifts in criminology that the female offender has experienced since she was first labelled a social problem. The second will provide a review of research and theory on girl offenders from the areas of psychology and sociology. This development will lend solid background to the current conceptualization of today's girl offender and her place in this research—that is, why and how she strays from or leaves the legal norm and emerges as a statistic in the juvenile justice system. As might be seen, the road from the first theoretician, Lombroso, to the present is surprisingly straight.

A. THEORY AND RESEARCH IN CRIMINOLOGY

Through the years research on female criminality has proceeded along different lines and at a different rate than research on male

criminality. Recently, there has been a proliferation of studies and the quality of research on females has improved but, as noted above, this has not always been the case. Historically, in literature, science, and popular thought, women have either been idolized or maligned. The images of women have fluctuated from paragons of virtue to devious enchantresses; unfortunately, these myths persisted in social science research. Instead of exposing these misconceptions, early social scientists often based theories on them. In general, women were believed to be very different from men and almost always inferior.

In socio-criminology, this bias was seen in theories and research which simplified causality and stereotyped female criminality. Historically, five chronological stages in research and literature emerge. The first stage was the prescientific stage, which continued up until the twentieth century. The few things written about female criminality in this stage concentrated on environmental causes, but women were not taken seriously as criminals. A stage which emphasized constitutional, or psychological, causes followed. The third stage which occurred in the 1930s, combined constitutional with environmental factors. In the 1940s, research turned to "numbers and offenses"—the fourth stage. The fifth and last stage of research was the women's prisons stage, which existed until fairly recently. Rasche (1974) found that research on females paralleled their place in society. For instance, during the constitutional/environmental stage, women were seen as the protectorates of males, and research was gingerly conducted in order to protect their privacy and virtue.

The historical stage sequence revolves around three dominant theorists: Cesare Lombroso (1894), W. I. Thomas (1967, originally 1923) and Otto Pollak (1961, originally 1950). One further influence on the direction of theory was not an individual but a school. The American Statisticians were researchers who used tests and measurements to produce a body of literature in the 1920s and 1930s. Their studies preceded any serious work on men and the majority of statisticians were women.

Before Lombroso

The literature on female offenders in the early 1800s was essentially editorial although Pauline Tarnowsky, the very first investigator, looked at Russian peasant murderesses and found their weight, skull size and height different from normals (Tarnowsky, 1908). Raymond de Ryckere (1898) investigated "baby farming" in 1898 which was the practice of paying a woman to "care" for a child with tacit agreement that the child was to be abused, neglected and killed. This female crime, as women were customers and "farmers," when brought to public attention, generated shock of seeing a woman, a stereotyped nurturer, as a killer. Next, Luke Pike (1876) looked at the historical flow of differential crime rates between men and women in England and explained it as a matter of inherent physical weakness of women; that is, crime was a social after effect of biological limitation. George Ellington's Woman of New York (1864) offered a phenomenological study of prostitutes and most common type of literature on female crime at that time concluding that women had a social advantage in that "victims"

and police were reluctant to treat women as criminals. Ely van de Warker (1875) theorized that crime was inevitable in society as women were inherently driven to gain sexual attention of a man and security through marriage—so driven, their biological pride for achievement provoked them to kill illegitimate infants in order to appear chaste to the opposite sex. Men, on the other hand, committed crime when they were hungry or poor. Women's acts were considered biologically and socially determined during this period.

Lombroso and Ferrero

Lombroso and Ferrero wrote The Female Offender in 1894 following the analytical framework in The Criminal Man (Lombroso, 1870). As the founder of the Positivist school, anthropologist-physician Lombroso legitimized criminology to a science although his assumptions and methodology have long been discredited. During this period, primary thought focused on deterrence of the general society rather than individual causes of crime. Lombroso's contribution was his return to the stress on the individual and he stands as a pathfinder in legitimizing this investigative perspective. He contended that the male and female offender displayed "atavisms" or degenerative physical characteristics that were throwbacks to an earlier period in their development. Among other projects he carefully measured body parts of females, mainly prostitutes, finding misshapen skulls, moles and thick black hair as possible signs of degeneration among these girls but with anomalies much less pronounced than in criminal men. So, at the last, he resorted to argument that females show fewer overt unusual physical

signs because they have evolved less than men. Lombroso's contention that women's atavistic qualities had been bred out by sexual selection and feminine qualities such as maternal affection which countered criminal tendencies was wholeheartedly bought by the public. However, when female criminality did "rear its ugly head" its severity was worse than a man's—something like "when she was good she was very, very good but when she was bad she was horrid." Peripherally, however, Lombroso should be credited for his early allusion to parental neglect, sparse maternal affection and desertion as highly causative factors leading to early female theft and prostitution. Many of the themes initiated by Lombroso and Ferrero permeated research for decades. Sociocultural factors, confounding variables, and environmental causes were developed fairly soon to replace Lombroso's biological theories of male crime, but research on female crime shed his influence less rapidly.

Contemporaries of Lombroso

There were several contemporary authors of Lombroso and each followed different lines of research. Prinzing (1899) looked at marriage rates in Germany and found that criminals who were married were more likely to be female except in the oldest age groups, whereas just the opposite was true for males. Another German, Puibaraud (1899), attributed psychological motives to female criminals among which were sex repression, envy, jealousy and vengeance. Several responded to Lombroso's work soon after it was published. Frances Kellor (1900a) tested a number of Lombroso's conclusions about physical features of female offenders in American prisons and institutions and substantiated

very few of Lombroso's findings adding that physical characteristics were too influenced by ethnic origin to be valid. Kellor, however, tested for memory, fatigue, pain, taste, smell and hearing. Compared to normals, he found criminal women were generally inferior in all areas but he wisely attributed this not to personality per se but to the social environment from which the criminals had come, that is, poverty backgrounds (Kellor, 1900a).

Kellor (1900b) next put into print that the myth of the greater depravity of women criminals was the result of the different standards set for the two sexes. This work was a theoretical bridge between the strange statistical manipulations of Lombroso and Ferrero and the in-depth research which came later from the American Statisticians. Criminologists have commended Kellor for recognizing the influence of social factors and the presence of several false assumptions in the existing research literature on female offenders.

Meanwhile, there is not much to be admired in Adams' book, Women and Crime (1914), which followed on the scene. Although he scoffed at Lombroso's findings, Adams operated under many of the myths Lombroso had, such as the greater depravity of female criminals—lack of willpower and "tendency to excess."

Hans Gross (1905) next theorized that deceitfulness was a trait common to all women and came naturally from a history of concealment (of menstruation and socially disapproved aggression). Gross believed menstruation was a causal factor in crime. He attempted to show its role in shoplifting, arson and homicide. Another writer, Fischer (1904),

followed Gross' lead and believed that pregnancy was a causal factor. Granier (1906) wrote of the sex-specific crime of infanticide. He said that the fear of being dismissed in domestics and the inability to provide for a child were major reasons for murdering infants. As the first thought of the woman was to stifle the baby's cries, smothering was the common method employed. At this point in the literature there was a focus and a fascination upon the biology and sexuality of females.

In 1910 and shortly after, several studies analyzed statistics to determine if there were differentials in crime rates, both inter- and intra-sex. Leale (1910) concluded that both sexes probably committed equal amounts of crime, and Conyngton (1911) found 78 percent of female criminals came from the domestic and personal service occupations.

A Chicago study looked at conviction rates next and found, of those arrested, 45 percent of the men were convicted whereas 48 percent of the women were convicted and more likely to receive fines than sentences; in the men's case just the opposite was true (Parmelee, 1915). Finally, Anderson did a study in the court system of Boston looking at 100 offenders against "chastity." He found low mental abilities, cognitive handicaps and rampant alcoholism and suggested preventive treatment, including supervision instead of fines for certain types of offenders (Anderson, 1917-18).

The American Statisticians

Fairly early in the 1900s, research was conducted at Bedford Hills Reformatory for Women in New York. Weidensall (1916) was one of these early researchers and her study compared reformatory inmates to working

girls and school girls on IQ and a variety of mechanical skills. Additionally, she measured height, weight, strength of grip and visual acuity. Interestingly, the criminal women's performance scores formed a bimodal distribution with a group clustered higher than the working or school girls and a group clustered much lower. A clear correlation between an individual's place on this curve and years in school was indicated. Weidensall remarked that criminal women were emotionally unstable, suspicious and unthinking and gave up easily when faced with difficulty. She was the superintendent of the institution and seemed to be fairly progressive for her time in positing that there were different types of female offenders: some were bright but too lazy to go to work; some were truly criminal; and some were just so "dumb" they drifted into crime. She believed that this last type, through guidance and training, could be turned into upstanding and moral workers. This study highlights an important theoretical shift in viewing the female offender—not all of them are made of the same stuff. Criminals formed bad habits and did not break away from them because no one had shown them a better way; however, social conditions were given short shrift.

Another statistical study was done by Mable Fernald et al. (1920) in New York looking at girls in: prisons, workhouses, wayward homes and on probation. Masses of family and personal history data was collected and conclusions drawn were that poor economic background, limited schooling, employment at an early age, meagre job training and inferior intellectual ability were important determinants of female criminality.

Guibord (1917-18) found syphilis run rampant at Bedford Hills and much physical defect among the women there. That these conditions were largely preventable since they were caused by such factors as faulty nutrition and bad hygiene and that defects had some part in causing delinquency were underlined in her conclusions. Guibord believed that simple poverty was too often overlooked as an important cause of crime. This rather straightforward study is exemplary of a trend at that time which thought female criminals should be treated more as juveniles than male criminals even to the use of the term "delinquency" instead of crime. In the early 1900s most legislators essentially felt that all the female offender needed was a good meal and a bath to set her back on a law-abiding path.

Edith Spaulding (1914-15) next undertook a study of 400 women prisoners to form a working classification of offenders, that is, who could do what types of work in the institution, and whose chance of success on the outside was greatest. This was done by investigating the education, home environment, and physical condition of the prisoner. She concluded that 40 percent were totally incapable of work and that mental subnormality was present in 26 percent, and 86 percent were found to be infected with VD.

This compiling of data from case records was the beginning of an ambitious plan of filing and cross-referencing all inmates in regard to their physical and mental capacities. Many ideas and projects were undertaken in this time period by the energetic and competent women professionals who were working in women's corrections. Small numbers

of female criminals were easier to work with, and the general sense was that women needed to be taken care of and treated rather than punished.

Another publication by Spaulding (1923) found that the environmental background of the offender was salient—illness, sudden death of parents, poor supervision during adolescence, the influence of undesirable companions, and early marriage emerged repeatedly in her data collection efforts.

Finally, in ending the statistical era, William Healy and Augusta Bronner wrote a psycho-sociological essay on the treatment of male and female delinquents in Boston. It is a good example of the practice of linking a woman's criminality to her sexuality. Women who were immoral were automatically considered to be criminal. The best chance of rehabilitation for the female was marriage to a "good man" who would guide her morally and keep her in line (Healy and Bronner, 1926). Numerous other studies were done harboring these same general assumptions (e.g., Bingham, 1922-23; Mathews, 1923). All, however, concluded that both environmental background and hereditary factors played a part in criminality. This time period had a protective, treatment-oriented attitude toward the female offender. Her bad habits and especially her sexual immorality were disapproved of, but the common tendency was to think that all she needed was a thorough bathing, or, even better, a fine mate.

The 1930s

The remainder of the 1920s produced few additional studies other than those already mentioned in the American Statistician school. Articles on female criminals increased in the 1930s and 1940s, although they were small in number compared to the flood of studies on male criminals. They were either statistical explorations of a specific subtopic of female crime, statistical reports like the earlier ones done by Spaulding (1923) or beginning psychological theories of female criminality.

Morton (1934) after the fact, but ambitiously, legitimized the infanticide law passed in 1922 that declared it to be manslaughter instead of murder if a woman killed a newborn child. This leniency was due to the belief in "puerperal" or "lactational" insanity which could affect women in the months following birth. It was believed that most infanticide was caused by a mental breakdown from fatigue and overwork noting an absence of vengeance, that most regretted the act and linking infanticide to suicide attempts through self-reports of females.

Several studies published in the 1930s were very similar to those of the early statisticians. Growden (1931-32) investigated IQ and found that black and white misdemeanants had lower scores than noncriminal women. The differential between offenders and normal women, however, was larger for the whites than for the blacks.

Finally, a study done at a correctional school for girls in Wisconsin showed that home environment played a role in commitment. Lumpkin (1932) found that 83 percent of her sample had been influenced

by bad companions, 64 percent came from broken homes, 30 percent had families with multidelinquents, 25 percent had mothers that worked, 22 percent had worked themselves before the age of 15, and 64 percent came from homes which had had contact with one or more social agency. She concluded that bad home environment played a more influential role in the commission of minor offenses than in the case of major crimes.

The Gluecks

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck have unremittingly generated research on delinquency at Harvard Law beginning in 1934 in the tradition of the statisticians. They did not theorize and test hypotheses but collected data on adolescent female recidivists. In their Five Hundred Delinquent Women (1934) the Glueck's characterized their sample as:

. . . a swarm of defective, diseased, antisocial misfits which a reformatory and a parole system are required by society to transform into wholesome and lawabiding. (Glueck and Glueck, 1934, p. 288)

As an aside, a more recent quote (which parallels the Glueck's assessment) came from Lester Maddox when he was Governor of Georgia and remarked, "What the Georgia prison system needs is a better class of clientele; there is nothing wrong with the penal system" (Personal Communication, R. F. Kronick, 1979).

It must be added that since 1934 the Glueck's have shown more sophistication in prose (Glueck and Glueck, 1962, 1972). The purpose of their 1934 study was to determine what factors were causal in delinquency and data covered five areas—the offender's personal, family, reformatory, parole and postparole histories. Their findings were endless, but not always useful, however painstakingly detailed.

They did point out, however, that only 33 percent in the reformatory were not psychotic, psychopathic, epileptic, alcoholic, drug addicted, psychoneurotic or of marked unstable personality. Their thoughts in relation to rehabilitation included a good marriage and the responsibility of bringing up children, the weakening of promiscuous urges with age, and the absorption in a new vocation and a move to a new community. That's all. In their conclusion, the Glueck's wrote that environmental and biological factors made rehabilitation difficult and that criminality was likely to be passed down to the women's children. This is considered their most blatant bias. They encouraged widespread sterilization programs. The other alternative was to isolate those judged to be "defective delinquents" to prevent them from procreating. Clearly, they advocated imprisonment for girl delinquents for the sole purpose of precluding pregnancy. They urged moving women to the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts and making community agencies more preventive.

W. I. Thomas

In his early work, Sex and Society (1907), sociologist Thomas was influenced by a Lombrosian biological/physiological approach using concepts of "katabolic" male and "anabolic" female in accounting for different social and criminal behavior between the sexes. Thomas' later work, The Unadjusted Girl (1923), shows the full impact of a liberal trend in criminology. He worked primarily with troubled immigrant adolescent women in the U.S. and attempted to understand their problems focussing on need for individual treatment. These

thoughts carry over from Lombroso's stance that deviance is pathology, but differ in suggesting that it is a socially induced pathology rather than a biological defect. Basically, Thomas viewed the sexually delinquent girl just as his title denotes, unadjusted, and somewhat on the amoral side. Urbanization broke down her traditional restraints of home and family. By using sex as capital, she attempted to satisfy her wishes for security and recognition, new experience and response. Thomas reduced human motives to these four basic biologically-deprived "wishes" that are expressed through anger, fear, love and a will to gain status. It is interesting to note that he believed women had more varieties of love in their nervous system, thus explaining their bent toward sexual misbehavior. "The prostitute is merely looking for love and tenderness through socially unapproved means" (Thomas, 1923, p. 72).

Historically, Thomas' is an important shift in perspective from the traditional view of protecting society by punishing transgressors, to the rehabilitative and preventive perspective of crime control through socialization. Delinquents are not rebelling against womanhood and inferior evolutionary gains as Lombroso said but merely acting out internal desires illegally. Thomas' work, in retrospect, has had an impact upon social welfare organizations which attempt to deal with young female offenders individually.

The 1940s

The theories of the 1940s could be easily categorized into those with an environmental/sociological focus and those with an emerging psychological scent. Tappan (1947), a sociologist, found that the court

system was a moral enforcer as well as a legal body. "Wayward girls" were given harsher sentences than those who were judged morally superior and he believed the court should restrict itself to the legal realm and not act as a moral enforcer. Additionally, he recommended that probation or other alternatives be used for those girls convicted of a criminal offense. Those not convicted of a criminal offense should never have been committed to institutions. He urged that sociology and the legal system work together and not supplant each other's spheres, for they have different functions.

Diggs (1949) next investigated the girl runaway and concluded that her delinquent behavior was the result of disturbances in her life. She was more likely to be: illegitimate, the oldest child in the family and in worse physical condition than nonrunaways.

The beginning psychological theorists attributed female crime to sex specific personality traits. Belby (1942) believed that female criminals possessed more masculine traits which caused them to commit crime. Porterfield (1946) developed a theory that was very similar to the theory of Thomas in postulating a desire-means dichotomy. The adolescent had basic drives that were repressed because of the good examples set by parents. The child was then forced into a criminal subculture to act out her forbidden desires. He also believed that the community played a crucial role in instilling values in potential delinquents.

Cassity (1941-42) wrote that psychological differences explained why females committed less crime than males and also earmarked different

physical capabilities, the protective attitude of society, the female's preoccupation with her home and her economic dependency. After discovering that female aggressive crime was more severe when it appeared, he believed this reflected repressed aggression in the female. Cassity used examples in place of statistics and led his readers to believe that the female was a volcano ready to explode at the slightest provocation.

The remaining literature in the 1940s was of the type put forth by Monahan (1941). She wrote of her experiences as the warden of a reformatory during the 1920s through the 1940s. This biography has no theoretical or statistical meat, but lends colorful insight into the type of thought dominant in the correctional field at that time. Finally, there were some books that did nothing but sensationalize individual women criminals, such as the one by Jenkins (1949).

Pollak

More recent study by Pollak in The Criminality of Woman (1961, originally 1950) reveals the developing influence of sociology, psychology and psychoanalysis on criminology. Much of his argument has become common currency today and is respected by legislators involved with female offenders. Pollak's major concern was the "masked" character of female offenders which is achieved by the underreporting of their offenses and by the great leniency shown to them by police and courts. In fact, Pollak suggests that women and girls are master-minds behind criminal organization. (Such a belief is far from novel, it having origins in Adam and Eve's situation and based on an evaluation

of females as possessing a power or cunning to be used for evil purposes.) Evidence to support this stance, with the exception of folklore, is difficult to find, for as Pollak himself points out, such women are rarely apprehended. Nonetheless, Pollak found that female criminality was drastically underreported in crimes of pilfering by prostitutes and maids, abortions, perjury, disturbing the peace and abusing children. He also noted that homosexuality and exhibitionism are rather undetected but are committed repeatedly. Pollak explains that a female's public image and feminine role screens her crime from public view. Basically, he admits that females use deceit and indirection and called for the real measure of such "hidden crime" to be sought from unofficial sources.

In the conclusion to his study of female criminality Pollak states, "In our male-dominated culture, women have always been considered as strange, secretive and sometimes as dangerous" (Pollak, 1961, p. 149). Unfortunately, he did little to dispel such myth but rather incorporated it into his analysis and gave folklore a pseudo-scientific status. But, history shall return to Pollak's revamped assumptions two decades hence in psychological endeavor.

Thus, the "occasional biologically inept" offender theory of Lombroso, the "wish satisfaction" theory of Thomas and the "masked behavior" of Pollak represent the principal classical attempts to unravel female offenders. However, since 1950 another shift is noted when theorists preferred to understand female deviance in terms of her inherent heightened social sensitivity.

Firstly, Cohen commented on the female delinquent in his Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (1955). Implicitly he theorized that the female is likely to become involved in delinquency because of her attachment to males since much of her behavior is sex-connected and quite unlike the stealing and malicious hell-raising of her counterpart.

Next, in their New Horizon's In Criminology (1959) Barnes and Teeters rejected the thesis that women commit fewer crimes than men because they are inherently more moral and innocuous. They theorized that women are protected in a male dominated world and generally fear social disapproval more than men. Therefore, females tend to observe prevailing mores to a greater extent than do males. Walter Reckless in The Crime Problem (1961) calls attention to some of the specifics which characterize female offenders. To the on-going dialogue he offered that classifying criminality of women in the same order of phenomena as male crime, in general, clouds the issue. Theories which attempt to explain criminality in males fall short in explaining criminality in females, due to the biological makeup of women and, still, more, because of the role women play in male-dominated societies. The woman must not only be herself, but also play up to, for, or with men, the latter role giving her a second self to an initial self. In order for either of the above theoretical perspectives to "work," one must assume a female's specific emotional allergy to social disapproval.

Back to Lombroso

In the introduction to this section mention was made of Lombroso's work leading a straight road toward contemporary analyses. His

influence appears in the three following attempts carried out more recently.

Cowie, Cowie and Slater's study, Delinquency in Girls (1968), remains close to the Positivist tradition. Although they have clearly rejected the naive concept of atavism they propose a chromosomal explanation of female delinquency that harkens back to the work of Lombroso. They searched for signs of "defective" intelligence, central nervous system dysfunction and impaired physical health. Their findings revealed that:

Delinquent girls more often than boys have other forms of impaired physical health; they are noticed to be oversized, lumpish, uncouth and graceless, with a raised incidence of minor physical defects. (Cowie et al., 1968, pp. 166-7)

Remember, this is 1968. The researchers treated these features as "constitutional predisposing factors." In particular, they were unaware of the social class bias in their institutionalized sample, the fact that poor members of society may have unsatisfactory diets, mediocre medical care and less opportunity to satisfactorily meet the middle-class normative standard of appearance for adolescent girls. Among the more worthy predisposing factors identified was a deprived childhood, a deprivation appearing to hinge mainly on maternal availability recognizing too that in a minority of cases incestuous fathers may play a role in prodding a girl to delinquency.

In spite of the fact that the researchers maintained that they discovered disruptive social and environmental factors in half of the biographies of the delinquent girls they studied, such factors were not lent weight. The writers argued that the female sex is more "immune"

to delinquency than the male sex even where environmental factors can be said to be criminogenic. They implied that girls become delinquent when they are biologically abnormal or where a minor abnormality (e.g., obesity) is combined with extremely stressful environmental factors. Women and girls do not participate to any great extent in violence, robbery or fraud for example, primarily because of their chromosomal and hormonal physiological structure.

Delinquents of both sexes tend to be larger than controls, and overgrown by population standards Markedly masculine traits in girl delinquents have been commented on by psychoanalytical observers We can be sure that they have some physical basis. Common sense suggests that the main factors in predisposing to delinquency are somatic ones, especially hormonal ones" (Cowie et al., 1968, pp. 171-2).

Thus, they treated the study of female delinquency in isolation from all social institutions, the one possible but peripheral exception being the family. Their approach was predicated upon the assumption that deviance can be understood apart from its cultural context.

Social work practitioner Gisela Konopka's study, The Adolescent Girl in Conflict (1966), was next on the scene and displayed in it the influence of Thomas and his liberal tradition within criminology. Her work was descriptive rather than analytical having a strong reliance on anecdotal passages and individual case history. Private and personal conversations that she had with institutionalized delinquent girls and the reports of social workers are a major part of her descriptions of the misery and loneliness experienced by these girls. It is because of her obvious concern for the care of delinquent girls that Konopka's work was particularly influential in the realms of social work and the

helping professions. In this respect she was within the same ballpark as Thomas and more contemporary writers like Vedder and Somerville (1975) who address themselves specifically to the problem of social intervention. Konopka emphasized the significance of personal problems and inadequacies as opposed to social factors such as poverty. It is not the case that she was unaware of these environmental factors, however, but rather that she and others treated them as aggravations to, or causes of, personal maladjustment instead of realizing that so-called delinquent behavior may be rational, meaningful behavior within a given context. Perhaps most surprising is the way in which Konopka appeared to assume that institutionalized girls are representative of all delinquent girls and proceeded to treat their individual problems as characteristic of delinquency as a whole. Like the early studies of male delinquency, it is implicit in her work that all delinquents come from poor or broken homes with insufficient parental guidance and a lack of education. In any case, Konopka's basic assumption is that delinquency is emotionally derived. That is, women and girls have special and intense personal needs which may lead to antisocial or criminal behavior if they are not fully satisfied. These needs are for love, protection and dependency. As the author states:

Adolescent boys, too, often feel lonely and search for understanding and friends. Yet, in general, this does not seem to be the central core of their problems, not their most outspoken ache. While these girls also strive for independence, their need for dependence is unusually great—and almost completely over-looked and unfulfilled. This need for support seems to exist in all adolescent girls"
(Konopka, 1966, pp. 40-1)

She intends inherent needs rather than culturally determinate needs. Konopka's analysis of the emotional needs of women is in fact very close to Thomas' own theory of "wishes" in which he argued that women have an inherently greater need for emotional response or love than men.

Lastly, social anthropologist Vedder worked with Somerville in bringing forth The Delinquent Girl (1975, originally 1970). They account for female delinquency in a manner similar to that of Konopka. They feel the need to justify their attention to girls by remarking that because females raise families and are critical agents of socialization it's worth taking the time to study and control them. Vedder assumes girls play an instigatory role in male delinquency. Like Konopka, he views delinquency as a blocked access or maladjustment to the normal feminine role and attributes high rates of delinquency among black girls to their lack of "healthy" feminine narcissism:

The black girl is, in fact, the antithesis of the American beauty. However loved she may be by her mother . . . she has no real basis of female attractiveness to build a sound feminine narcissism. . . . Perhaps the "black is beautiful" movement will help the Negro girl to increase her femininity and personal satisfaction as a black woman. (Vedder and Somerville, 1975, pp. 159-60)

Such statements pay respect to the individual psychological state of young females, perhaps, but quite ignore the economic and social factors that result from racism and poverty.

Summary

The literature in socio-criminology on the female offender shows repeated attempts to explain why the female seems to commit fewer crimes than the male. Early on, theories ranged from citing women's

greater moral fibre to her inherent biological nature. Next there was focus on an interplay of biological and social variables. That is, women's inherently passive nature and societal role quieted the statistical rise of women's crime rates.

In essentially all socio-criminologic theory, women are defined by their sexual behavior. They are thought to be influenced by psychological and biological drives more so than men. Most theorists, in fact, assumed a unicausal view whereas theories on males regarded crime as a more complex phenomenon. The theories on female criminality were generally contaminated by popular stereotypes and myths regarding women. It is interesting that women criminologists also harbored some of these biases. Their social context was a powerful force even when tempered with scientific training.

B. RESEARCH AND THEORY IN PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

Whereas criminologists have been prolific in generating theory with lesser emphasis on research, psychology and sociology have offered more descriptive study and controlled research on young females in trouble with the law. This section provides an overall review of the adolescent female offender in psychological and sociological research. Some supporting theory is provided to clarify theoretical assumptions behind the research. This section is divided into five core areas following the research plan of the present study and includes:

1. Personal Characteristics
2. Familial Factors

3. Intellectual and Personality Functioning
4. Etiology: Endopsychic, Familial and Interpersonal Disturbances
5. Rural Girl Offenders

A summary concludes this section.

Personal Characteristics

Although Lombroso (1894) and the Glueck's (1934) were unsuccessful in their search for physical defects and bodily weakness in female delinquents, others did follow their approach. Healy and Bronner (1926) found girls to be above weight standards for their age. Fine and Fishman (1968) suggest that the girl delinquent is usually physically immature and Cowie et al. (1968) claim the girls to have "dysplastic physique" (p. 64). Goodman (1976) reports seven case histories of hypersexual delinquent girls of whom six had virilizing hormones in childhood or in utero. Most were hirsute, mesomorphic and young at menarche. In dress, delinquent girls are said to show "much breast" (Lander, 1963) and "buttock" (Galvin, 1965) but upon medical physical examination, most indicate a normal teenage girl. More recently, investigators agree that, physically, the girls run the gamut of looks of the female adolescent (Felice and Offord, 1971).

Delinquent acts are committed from seven to 17 years of age and a consensus of studies show that the girls emerge in court at 13 years old on the average (Galvin, 1956; Kaufman et al., 1959; Trese, 1962), an age which some researchers emphasize is coincident with menarche (Felice and Offord, 1971). Trese (1962) makes much of a comparison with an average age of eight or nine that boys show as beginning their

delinquency and stresses the importance of looking at girls in their own right as a different developmental "type" than boys. It was found that adult women offenders who committed a delinquent act under age 14 were more poorly socialized than older beginning delinquents (Payak, 1963). Additionally, it was found that delinquent girls with an earlier age of onset of antisocial behavior are more apt to break rules and instigate riots in institutions (Groczy, 1969; Miller, 1969). A number of studies concluded that girl offenders perform poorly in school, despite IQ, and, many are at least one grade behind their age (Trese, 1962; Mayer et al., 1967).

Finally, Gilbert (1972) surveyed a state institution for females in Pennsylvania and found more than seven times the incidence of epilepsy in the girls than what is expected in the normal population. But, it is now known that a common anti-epileptic drug, phenytoin (Dilantin), is significantly correlated with deflated IQ scores if given over a period of time (Velimesis, 1975). It is difficult to separate out whether seizure disorders are inherent in more female offenders with the condition spurring on disharmony with the law. Or, are fallen IQ and poor ability to comprehend and judge the outer world the frustrating factors that evince antisocial behavior? This area of concern calls for more study.

Familial Factors

Basically, the girl delinquent is described in the literature as a deprived individual (Johnson, 1978). Although middle-class delinquency appears to be increasing (Mayer et al., 1967), her family has very high

probability of being lower or working class in origin (Sandhu, 1977), its conditions having been described as "disorganized and deplorable" (Schwarfman and Clark, 1967). There is growing awareness that the nature of provocation of female delinquency in the middle class may be quite dissimilar from the lower class (Wise, 1967). For those girls from deprived backgrounds, the literature repeatedly reports an abusive father and an overworked mother who is often alcoholic and admits to prostitution in order to provide for the family (Fine and Fishman, 1968). Trese (1962) notes that 64 percent of the girls in his sample had one or both alcoholic parents. Parental promiscuity (Schwarfman and Clark, 1967) and illegitimacy rates are reportedly high (Otterström, 1964); for instance, between 30 and 40 percent of delinquent girls were found to be illegitimate.

Siblings have been found to be infamously delinquent (Vedder and Somerville, 1975). Cowie et al. (1968) studied over 300 girls in London and discovered not only that size of the family increases the risk of delinquency among sibs, but the delinquent sibs are more likely to be closer in age than nondelinquent sisters or brothers. When comparing delinquent, only female children with others, percentages of only child girl offenders who were charged with a sex offense were lower than for the entire group of delinquent girls and much lower than the percentage in families where girl offenders had only male sibs (Sletto, 1934). More recently, researchers have replicated such findings (Offer, 1969). O'Kelly (1955) found a high incidence of first born girls to commit theft and explains this by their being displaced or rejected for

younger children. Koller (1971) found first and last sibling positions under represented by delinquent girls in his institutionalized sample.

Although delinquency typically does bring to mind its origins in a large family, Wolkind (1974) and Offord et al. (1979) found support for large family size and antisocial behavior in boys but no support for an association between large family size and female delinquency. Early and more recent data appear to conflict with regard to what role, if any, family size plays in female delinquency. It fits together if one assumes that the likelihood of girls to become delinquent is equal across family size. Once a delinquent girl does appear in a family there is a positive correlation between her sibs becoming delinquent and size of the family. Researchers have labelled this phenomenon "delinquent contagion" (Cowie et al., 1968; Fine and Fishman, 1968).

A very early study by Weeks (1940) considered the issue of broken homes among delinquents. At that time he found 70 percent of the girls and 40 percent of the boy delinquents originating from homes where illness, divorce, separation, desertion, long-term hospitalization (medical and/or psychiatric) or death of one or both parents were present. More recent findings agree that between 70 and 75 percent of delinquent girls show broken home histories (Illsley, 1960; Trese, 1962; Mayer et al., 1967; Cowie et al., 1968; Szurek and Berlin, 1969; Felice and Offord, 1971; Friedman et al., 1971; Koller, 1971; Rosenberg, 1973; Adler, 1975; Smart, 1976).

Males were found to show a particularly high incidence of death of the mother, while a father's death was evident in the history of many more female delinquents (Ferdinand, 1964).

The literature has consistently shown a significantly greater percentage of girl offenders to have originated from broken homes than boys. However, recent research has partialled out sex and offense factors (status or delinquent) in relation to incidence of broken homes. Findings suggest that both boy and girl status offenders exhibit a high incidence of broken homes whereas girl delinquents' broken home histories far surpass the boy delinquents' (Offord et al., 1979).

A majority of the remaining intact girls' homes have been found to display intense marital discord and overt aggression between parents and between parents and children (Bernabeau, 1958; Feldman, 1977). Many studies point toward this female's transient family that has settled in a number of communities and has experienced major disrupting events over its lifespan (Nye, 1959; Szurek and Berlin, 1969).

Finally, Cloninger and Guze (1973) report that the incidence of psychiatric illness was twice as high among first degree relatives of institutionalized girls as among boys. Disorders ran the course of sociopathy, alcoholism, drug dependence and hysteria. Offord et al. (1979) found over half of his sample of 65 delinquent girls to have one or both parents diagnosed alcoholic, sociopathic, retarded or to have been hospitalized psychiatrically.

Intellectual and Personality Functioning

Young female offenders have been exposed to a variety of psychological assessment techniques. In dealing with both male and female delinquents, most researchers have found that when SES is controlled, there is no significant difference in assessed intelligence

as compared to other children (Schulman, 1951; Siebert, 1962; Prentice and Kelly, 1963). A series of studies that focus on IQ and girl delinquents report scores consistently falling within the Normal range as measured by perceptual-motor tasks and Dull-Normal range when measured by verbal tests (Jurjevich, 1963a; Compton, 1967; Fine and Fishman, 1968; Miller, 1969). Caplan and Powell (1964) compared both boy and girl delinquents with average and above average IQ's. They found the "smarter" ones to be less disruptive in school, more inclined to commit their crimes solo and less likely to be sent back to a correctional facility after their first trip. Further, Cowie et al. (1968) who investigated girls in a London institution suggest that deficient intelligence increases the risk of delinquency principally in youngest children and that high intelligence tends to protect a girl against delinquency unless the protection is overborne by other severe parental or familial problems.

A number of researchers have discussed trends on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised (Wechsler, 1974) as shown by girl offenders. Wechsler himself suggested that the psychopathic adolescent's pattern of Performance Score as greater than Verbal Score "may not have the same diagnostic value in the case of the girl as it does in the boy delinquent" (Wechsler, 1944, p. 156). Simply, as the female delinquent grows to adulthood she will more likely learn to become more verbally facile and show a higher Verbal than Performance score in contrast to the ex-delinquent male.

Researchers are in line with Wechsler's conclusion (Prentice and Kelly, 1963). But, they suggest that the female delinquent's Wechsler

pattern (PIQ > VIQ) is more diagnostic of learning disability that is a frequent concomitant to delinquency. Offord et al. (1978) looked at school performance, IQ and a number of other variables specific to delinquents such as age at first court contact. They offer that poor grades both antedates and leads to delinquent behavior as an early school failure deflates self-esteem and provokes the child to engage in delinquent behavior in an effort to raise self-regard and gain a feeling of accomplishment and competence.

Exploration of the social skills of delinquent girls has traditionally shown inconclusive results other than maturity reflecting a high correlation with IQ (Durea and Fertman, 1941; Capwell, 1945). More recently, Compton (1967) administered a multi-modal perception test to girl offenders matching for age, IQ, SES and ethnic background with controls. He found that the girl offenders tended to perceptually reduce the size of objects significantly. Because institutionalization was not one of the controlled variables in this study, the results should not be swallowed whole but reduced to size. In a further study it was found that the female offender's perception of time was more present-oriented than normal girls (Davids et al., 1962) but she harbors fantasies of a "Prince Charming" (Konopka, 1966) and a normal married life (Galvin, 1956).

Research using the MMPI on delinquent and nondelinquent girls has shown evidence of emotional disorder along psychopathic and paranoid lines in the delinquents (Capwell, 1945; Jurjevich, 1963b; Gianturco, 1974). Hathaway and Monachesi (1953) also report psychopathic MMPI

peaks for girl delinquents but state they are usually lower than for boy delinquents. Friedman (1971) notes that these girls generally appear to be more seriously disturbed than do delinquent boys and that many more of their cases are referred for psychiatric study than are boys.

A number of projective techniques have been used to study institutionalized girl delinquents. Urban (1963), for example, looked at Draw-A-Person productions and found, with solid significance, that the girls' figures emphasized heavy shading on hair, hands in pockets, clenched fists if hands were visible, and a variety of outfitted clowns, witches and cowboys, in comparison to normal girls. Urban associates these differences in the girl offender's overly narcissistic and sexual concerns, guilt, attempts to control anger, and hostility toward people, respectively.

Although there are a number of studies using the Rorschach measuring hostility and aggression in male delinquents, very few studies have investigated female delinquents. Richardson (1963) found a relative absence of human content responses (H) when comparing delinquent girls with normals. There is evidence supporting the relationship between H and social interest and maturity in social relationships that derives from developmental study (Lerner, 1975). Richardson speculated that female delinquents have a fear of, and much difficulty with, interpersonal relatedness.

Finally, Scott (1967) offers an elegant study which compared delinquent girls with "normals" investigating their concept of happiness.

In describing the happiest moment of their lives nondelinquents mentioned achievement, election and romance; delinquents, on the other hand, named traditional family and school situations. He suggests that the delinquents' absence of romance or a satisfying relationship with a boy indicates difficulty in forming heterosexual relationships. Upon questioning this group again a majority of the girl delinquents described frightening and brutal experiences with males.

Investigators have underlined a pattern of ruptured relationships between the girl offender and her family members, with peer females, with heterosexual encounter and in therapeutic settings. O'Kelly (1957) used a projective test called the Object Relations Technique (ORT) (due to Phillipson, 1955) and looked at a group of female delinquents. The test is similar to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test and is designed to release imaginative stories of various kinds of relationships between people. O'Kelly's sample of institutionalized delinquents had all been charged with theft, promiscuity, truancy and runaway and aggressive behaviors. She found that delinquents "people their world quite differently," than normal adolescent girls. That is, their stories included more figures, they invented more characters that were not pictured on the test cards and they included more "sinister, violent, or dead men in both" (O'Kelly, 1957, p. 387).

More recently, three groups of researchers explored change in interpersonal relatedness in institutionalized girl delinquents as reflected by repeated measures on the ORT. Half of the girls had been involved in psychotherapy. Results showed that treated delinquents:

exhibited a higher level of guilt in their stories (Shore, Massimo and Mack, 1964); showed a more mature future time perspective in their dialogues between the people on the test cards (Ricks, Umbarger and Mack, 1964); and showed a significant rise in stories that included friendly, responsible, initiating, trustful and cooperative people in comparison to pretreatment measures and non-treated delinquents (Shore, Massimo and Kisielewski, 1966).

A handful of additional researchers has investigated interpersonal relatedness of young female offenders through clinical observation. Herskovitz (1969) assumes confusion of identity and poor capacity to relate to people are often found in the promiscuous girl. "She (the girl) assumes the behavior pattern of others, and is or does what others wish. . . . Those with poor object relatedness cannot make friends and particularly they cannot be a friend. They do not understand the individual roles of people" (Herskovitz, 1969, p. 95). Thus, it is suggested that female offenders are not sensitive to the intention or meaning of social interaction in general. Further, Blos (1969) grounds his findings within an object relational grid emphasizing that females act out by segmenting their internal world of objects (people), either good or bad, and turn to the outer world as a tension-relieving part object. He urges that the predominant aspect of the girl's delinquent behavior is essentially a relationship problem with everything else subordinate to this central theme.

Likewise, other researchers have explored the kind and capacity of object relational activity of female delinquents but have built their

cases, and thus conclusions, through historical data only (e.g., Kaufman, Peck and Tigiuri, 1954; Kaufman and Heims, 1958; Kaufman et al., 1959; Bychowski, 1961; Tessman and Kaufman, 1969). A predominant theme of marked difficulty for adolescent female delinquents in their heterosexual relationships runs through discussion sections of such research endeavors but fails to be borne out empirically for, again, the measures they use tend to be retrospective and culled from history rather than from current assessment of intrapsychic and interpersonal functioning in combination with social history (Scott, 1967; Hetherington, 1972). From clinical interviews with girls Loesch and Greenberg (1962) posit that pregnant delinquents for the most part are capable of only dependent or hostile, chaotic relationships with men.

Velimesis (1975) has looked at successful and unsuccessful girl delinquents and stresses that those who do not return to court show a basic grasp of interpersonal competence in comparison to the recidivist girls. Her conclusions are persuasive but not logically compelling as they do not spring from controlled measures but are drawn from unstructured and incidental conversation and observation.

Etiology

Endopsychic disturbances. The psychoanalytic literature has been consistent in its insistence on the importance of early emotional deprivation at the hands of the mother. This lack of love from, or early defects in the child's relationship with, the mother has been described by Healy (1915), Bender (1947), Friedlander (1947, 1949),

Bowlby (1952) and Grygier et al. (1969), to mention but a few, and ascribes the delinquent girl with a very needy and dependent core. Kaufman and Heims (1958) document that the crucial determinant of girl delinquency is an unresolved depression caused by a loss of the primary caretaker through repeated, actual or psychological separations. Such early disturbances as maternal death, separation, prolonged absences, neglect and ambivalence are usually imputed as the source for feeling a lack of love and a profound emptiness. They explain that the girl feels this loss as a sadistic, uncontrollable insult upon her by her environment and restitution occurs by shifting from a frightening passive-receptive stance to the active taking role of the delinquent. More recently, researchers have found depressive features to be typical in a number of studies of delinquent girls and suggest that acting-out is used as a defense against such overwhelming feelings of doom (Kaufman et al., 1959; Reiner and Kaufman, 1959; Chwast, 1967, 1977; Blos, 1969).

Bowlby (1952) and O'Kelly (1955) have shown that an early maternal deprivation (separation from the mother figure for six months or more before age five) typically precedes the specific symptom of stealing in girl offenders. Theoretically it is held that any state of tension revives the early trauma, is perceived by the adolescent as a life-and-death-affair and triggers an irresistible impulse to act and discharge tension.

Literature shows that if the family is "semi-cohesive" many parents of delinquent girls are disturbed (Simcox and Kaufman, 1956)

and impulse-ridden people with a tendency toward destructive patterns of relating. Assumption is made that there is neither a normally adequate parental model for identification and reality orientation nor the security and support necessary for the development of the emotional strength to cope with both the inner and external threats that confront the young girl. Following this same theoretical line, a number of analysts attribute the etiology of female delinquency to: powerful undifferentiated instinctual demands (Hacker, 1945; Wattenberg, 1956), failure in the identification process (A. Freud, 1949) and a defective conscience or superego (Szurek, 1942; Szurek and Berlin, 1969). Further, Blos (1957), having studied with Aichhorn in Vienna, did research on American female delinquents and was "struck by the poor ego integration and impulse disorders" (p. 230), suggesting early trauma or faulty parenting creates such cognitive disturbance and poor reality testing. Greenacre (1978) agrees describing a failure of development at around two years in the use of speech and verbalized thought for communication forcing reliance upon action as a tension releaser. Adequate reality testing requires a reliable organized memory store based on the acquisition of word symbols. If the memory hasn't reached the developmental level of symbolic or verbal practicing, preverbal means for coping (fantasy and action) are the only available resources to modulate tension.

Greenacre further (1978) suggests that girl delinquents were "included out" so that although they were allowed to witness sexual or hostile exchanges between parents, they could not participate and were,

resultantly, overstimulated without being able to master the situation which in turn fostered feelings of helplessness, abandonment and humiliation. She notes that this flow of events leads to a "flair for the dramatic" in which the girl exhibitionistically re-enacts early disturbing scenes as a defensive attempt at mastery.

Eissler (1949) states that the girl delinquent's narrowed relation to the world, that is, through fantasy and action, usually brings with it strong sexually perverse tendencies or intense sexual relationships devoid of mutually empathic concern. People are seen as need-gratifying part or whole objects used or degraded for the pleasure they can provide and the girl delinquent usually develops charm and wit as a means for exacting praise or love.

Deutsch (1944) and Blos (1957) differentiate boys from girls and both stress the girl's relationship with her mother as etiological. Deutsch found the delinquent girl who has failed in her separation from the mother protects herself against regressing by a wild display of pseudoheterosexuality and uncovered that she has no relationship to, nor interest in her sexual partner. In fact, the girl delinquent's hostility toward the male is typically severe. Blos' study agrees and further divides delinquent girls into three discernible "constellations." She will search for gratification that was not forthcoming from the early relationship with her mother—this search usually ending in pregnancy so, "the mother-child unit becomes reestablished by proxy" (Blos, 1969, p. 103). She will use wild pseudoheterosexuality as a defense against hate for the mother who has continually devalued and

emasculated the father. Shoor and Speed (1969) follow this variation. Or, she may become so pained and doubt her own memory of a traumatic past and need to fill in this gap with activity, most likely antisocial.

A recent review of the literature indicates that the role of the father is integral in female personality development (Lynn, 1974; Lamb, 1976). It was found that male and female delinquents are more likely to come from father-absent homes (Glueck and Glueck, 1962; Biller, 1974). Hoffman (1971) found a father's absence having no discernible effect on the moral development of girls, but research by Herzog and Sudia (1968) and Clausen (1966) previous to Hoffman's suggests the very opposite and follows Hetherington's more recent efforts (1972). She found that the effects of father absence emerge during adolescence shown by poor interpersonal relations with males and increased dependency on the mother. Leonard (1966) suggests that father absence through death is more benign on female than male development in that it usually evokes an aggrandized image of men in the girl who, "seeks a love object similar to this ideal or maintains a preoedipal narcissistic attitude such that in adolescence she may be unable to give love but rather seeks narcissistic gratification in being loved" (p. 332). On the other hand, it has been found that elected absence through divorce or separation will more likely evince a hostile and critical attitude toward men that has filtered through the mother's lens and may spur on promiscuity perhaps as a counterphobic denial mechanism (Hetherington et al., 1971; Gerson, 1974). O'Kelly (1955) reports that a majority of female sexual delinquents describe an unsatisfactory relationship with

their fathers. Likewise, Riege's (1972) survey presents self-reports of delinquent girls and shows marked degrees of their embarrassment toward displaying affection to their fathers.

Up to this point in review, the major orientation has been endopsychic (to use Glover's (1960) term). Although the environment influences intrapsychic organization, primacy is given to the manner in which the world is perceived, idiosyncratic fantasies, the strength of cognitive functioning and defensive array that has crystallized in order for the girl delinquent to cope. Once a fantasy is sufficiently established it will press for validation in the world or alter perception, as in transference, to provide a replication of the outer world with the inner. The remaining sections of this chapter shift the focus to include other levels and primarily describe clinical observations of the family influence on the developing personality of the delinquent girl.

Familial and interpersonal disturbances. Johnson and Szurek (1952) extended the theory of superego disturbance in girl delinquency in describing a circumscribed weakness called "superego lacunae." Through clinical observation they found girl delinquents to show moral weakness but specific to only one or two behaviors. The particular sexual or aggressive behavior(s) exhibited by the girl appeared to coincide with unconscious forbidden and unacceptable wishes in the parent, usually the mother. They theorize that covert sanctions by the parent allow room for the delinquent behavior to take place and lend vicarious gratification to the parent's forbidden wishes. Furthermore, the

exacted punishment on the girl helps assuage the parent's own guilt. Johnson and Szurek assume girl delinquents were intimately involved with the mother and have had profound difficulty in separating from her for the mother to have such executive power over her daughter. The mother's always-expecting-the-worst emphasizes, rehashes and provides examples of "acting-out" behavior. The researchers emphasize the effects of the process of interpersonal interaction besides describing the intrapsychic configuration. It is thought that the impact of unconscious communication provides direction and sanction toward antisocial behavior as well as a concomitant negative self-image for the delinquent girl.

Kernberg (1966, 1967, 1970) describes delinquent adolescents in terms of their displaying "structured impulsivity" traced to rigid intrapsychic object representations and unsatisfying and unhealthy interpersonal relations. Their waxing and waning from one behavior (social) to another (antisocial) does not only reflect their internal developmentally deficient psychic state that controls outer appropriate adjustment to reality and moral decision-making, but is also strikingly analogous to the inconsistent and chaotic disciplinary configuration imposed on the delinquent by her family. The point is, even if traumatic separation were not preeminent within the background of an adolescent offender, Kernberg suggests that a family confluence of disturbing events may be etiological in creating a chaotic impulsive personality organization. In this way both intrapsychic and interactional determinants are important in creating faulty interpersonal functioning of adolescent girl offenders.

The work with families has theoretical underpinnings loyal to Erikson (1959), Spitz (1965) and Wynne and his coworkers (e.g., Wynne, 1968; Singer and Wynne, 1965). Erikson's adaptive point of view underlines how the individual is not only shaped by unfolding and maturational processes from within but also by external regulations, restrictions, impingements and permissions which fashion a self-configuration called an ego identity. Spitz, similarly, describes how the mother-child interaction shapes the child by the nature and quality of the mother's behavior—both gratifying and frustrating. Wynne first studied family communication and disciplinary styles as they related to the process of internalization within schizophrenic offspring. Most recently, Singer (1974, 1975) used the same methodology in observing parents and delinquents in conjoint family settings and found parents and delinquents intimately enmeshed in a repetitive, enduring disciplinary pattern nothing that, "restrictive policy-making, loose policing and very lenient punishing strikingly recurred," in the families of delinquent girls.

There has been additional active research in exploring family disturbances in relation to girl delinquency. Here we return to Pollak (see Pollak, 1961) but with his revamped assumptions. Pollak and Friedman (1969) squarely implicate the family dynamic as a leading cause in sexual promiscuity in girl delinquents. Their study involves intact families and concludes with a characteristic family configuration. The father is seen as passive, underachieving, needy and dependent on his wife while the father-daughter relationship is quite

different. Typically, the father's behavior is seductive, incestuously-toned and restrictive toward his delinquent daughter. He is, "caught up in the daughter's unresolved oedipal feelings and goes out of his way to seek attention from her" (Pollak and Friedman, 1969, p. 117). Pollak reports that these girls are pushed and teased toward promiscuous activity by continuous detailed, provocative suspicious questioning and dire warnings by their fathers. Concomitantly, the mother who overtly shows a strong exterior but harbors needy underpinnings, struggles for attention and thrusts the role of the mother usually upon the eldest daughter. Role boundaries in these families are found to be indistinct. In the same vein, incest, which has high incidence in girl delinquent families, was found to involve both parents colluding in relation to the daughter (Kaufman et al., 1954) with the mother's need to place her girl in the maternal role. The girl reacts with a mix of accommodation and pseudo-autonomy by seeking gratification from her father and submitting to him. The young girl's superego formation is weak and reality testing is hampered, for the parents have been inconsistent and inadequate models.

Still other researchers have described a subtle form of inappropriate sexual temptation which appears under the guise of love and tenderness in girl delinquent families (Giffin, Johnson and Litin, 1960). Bychowski (1961) couches his study on an object-relations model and has found that the promiscuous girl is basically disappointed in her relationship with her parents, fearful of relating with males and "splits" off the sensations of physical sexual contact which permits sexual misbehavior.

Early on, Healy (1915) earmarked the etiologic importance of the "family drama" of girl offenders in terms of treatment. From clinical observation, others have suggested that the girl is untreatable in isolation from her family (Ackerman, 1958; Reiner and Kaufman, 1959). Rabinowitz (1969) and Minuchin (1969) report a typical pattern in disorganized low socioeconomic families where siblings take over the socialization process and gain more power than they can handle with delinquent consequences. And, Stabenau et al. (1965) have described in a classic study comparisons between normal, delinquent, and schizophrenic families. He found artificial affect and demandingness on the part of the parents of delinquents. Although the parents were coercive and punitive they overtly appeared "respectable" and "proper" in public. The delinquent families manifested loose, unstable organization, a shifting of family roles, open conflict among members, and superficial and impersonal parent-delinquent child interaction. It was found that parents' demands were for immediate action, and when the parental "standards" were not met, the child was automatically rejected.

Robey (1969) studied runaway girls and concludes that this type of delinquent displays some strength in her resolution to intense family conflict. When she is given the choice of taking over the mother's role or running away she chooses the latter as a method of fighting off the incestuous wishes unconsciously shared by all family members.

Considerable attention has been given to the pregnant or unmarried mother offender. Barglow (1967) found a majority of these girls having dominant and rejecting mothers and fathers with the new baby assuming,

almost always, an integral and, of course, innocent part of the girl's struggle with them. He found a marked tendency toward self-punishment and self-destruction in these subjects. Vincent (1961) compared pregnant and similar non-pregnant girls and, as family histories were controlled, found both having withstood parental rejection but non-pregnant girls having solidly identified with a teacher or another appropriate role model from whom they learned and internalized appropriate mores. It was found that the girl's pregnancy often occurred after the death of a significant family member (Coddington, 1979), with the girl's emotional state during pregnancy dominated by expectation to lose the infant (Greenberg, Loesch and Lakin, 1959). Also, there is agreement that the majority of unwed mother delinquents reenter the world after the pregnancy with little emotional or internal change, remaining still in conflict with their family and capable only of dependent or hostile, chaotic relationships with men (Loesch and Greenberg, 1962).

Rural Girl Offenders

Although research on female delinquency is less complete than that on males, our knowledge about rural girl offenders is even more limited than on girls from urban or suburban locales. Much of the information to date deals with either delinquency rates or degree of sophistication displayed by delinquents across community size (e.g., see Lentz, 1956). Following Ferdinand (1964) the girl offender meets the criteria of rural if she lives in a county: (1) with less than 15 percent of its inhabitants residing in urban places, (2) with 40 to 60 percent of its

inhabitants residing in rural or non-farm residences, and (3) with more than 40 percent of its inhabitants residing on farms.

A minimal inroad was attempted into trends of delinquent behavior comparing urban, village and rural communities by Ferdinand (1964). He broke offenses down in terms of those against authority and those against property. Basically, they resemble status versus delinquent offenses, respectively. Also, Ferdinand delineated sex of the offender and degree of family cohesiveness of each juvenile noting incidence of parental death, separation, divorce and/or desertion. In looking at the males and females jointly, it was found that there is a clear preference for property offenses (theft, damage) to take place in a rural context while offenses in urban areas are significantly more likely to be acts against authority (truancy, runaway behavior, incorrigibility). In comparing rural males and females, however, it was found that males exhibit this pattern in a far more exaggerated manner than females. The ratio of status offense to delinquent offense for males is 13 to one. For rural females the proportion is 1.3 to one.

Next, in looking at males and females jointly in relation to family disorganization across all community contexts and both types of offense, Ferdinand (1964) found that all twelve combinations showed a significantly higher incidence of family disruption than is found in the normal population. In looking more closely at sex and type of offense, the trends are interesting in relation to family structure. Whereas male and female status offenders show the same high incidence of family disorganization across community types, male and female delinquents

differ. As the community becomes more urban, family disruption increases for males but decreases for females.

Furthermore, the type of family disruption that occurs differs between sexes and across community contexts. Consistent with the literature (e.g., Smart, 1976) offending girls are more likely to have lost their father through death than boys (6 percent for males as compared with 11 percent for females). Noteworthy is that for status offending girls the father's death occurs twice as frequently in rural settings as in urban communities. Status offending males do not show the same pattern. But, boy delinquents are especially likely to have experienced a father's death in a rural setting. Both boy and girl delinquents show a high incidence of mother's death in urban areas. It may be summarized that father's deaths are high for both sexes in rural areas and possibly contribute to delinquency in males and status offense in females. Mother's deaths are more visible in urban settings (more so for males) and may lead to delinquent acts by both sexes.

Ferdinand (1964) offers that distinction should be drawn between type of offense and not between the sex of the offender. He suggests that delinquents and status offenders constitute two separate types of juveniles. Delinquents are somewhat less likely to have experienced family disorganization, thus, the researcher holds that these youths may have become delinquent through experiences outside of the family unit. He asserts that "delinquent" families have performed reasonably adequately in shaping and socializing the child and if something went awry it was that the family failed to insulate the youth from external influences.

With the status offender, however, Ferdinand (1964) suggests a different etiology. As family disorganization is high across sex and community, he contends that a severe disturbance centers in the home and that status offenses, committed both by males and females, signal fairly severe personality disturbances.

Ferdinand (1964) repeatedly underlines that fathers in rural contexts appear to play an instrumental role in the family. His removal from the family by death or divorce in rural settings is keenly felt by male delinquents and female status offenders.

Ferdinand (1977) reports that from 1970 to 1975 rural girl referrals to juvenile courts increased 3.8 times greater than for boys. In a somewhat later survey, McDonald et al. (1977) collected age, sex and charged offense data in one district juvenile court in North Dakota, "one of the more rural regions in one of the more rural states" (McDonald et al., 1977, p. 46), over a ten year period beginning in 1965. They found a positive correlation in eight out of the ten years in the greater likelihood of girls than boys to receive more severe dispositions upon adjudication. This finding is consistent with Cohen's (1975, p. 201) "where a larger percentage of males were counselled and released than females." Essentially, percentages were 50 percent for males as opposed to 40 percent for females. This differential also follows the findings of Gibbons and Griswold (1957), Terry (1967) and Chesney-Lind (1973) in investigating years previous to 1965 and up to 1975. McDonald attributes the pattern to Pollak's (1961) "chivalry factor." That is, when girls are referred to the court it is likely to

be for reasons deemed by someone in the community as "serious" and suggests this operates even more so in a rural context.

Summary

For the most part, psychological and sociological research on girl offenders has been spotty and inconclusive. What evolves is a picture of a female adolescent who is similar to her peers in appearance but behaves, thinks and feels quite unlike them. She finds her way to court three or four years later than males, usually around 13 years old. Most likely she is petitioned by her parents who find her difficult to live with and to control. Her overall intellectual ability is usually just below par for her age group. She shows weak verbal and ideational control, is present-oriented, and, as a result, appears to lack firm moral fibre and harbors and masks depressed feelings through alloplastic activity. The girl delinquent has most likely been emotionally deprived, if not abused, by ineffective, seductive parents who exhibit shifting standards and aberrant role relationships. But, the girl is still apt to entertain an ideal of love and marriage and motherhood.

Her family is presumably working or lower class, transient and disorganized with a confluence of unsettling events marking its history. If large, there is good chance for more than one sib to appear before a juvenile court judge. Seemingly, the family is strewn with death, divorce, separation, disability, alcoholism and psychopathology across rural, suburban and urban contexts and across types of offense. Evidently, the most powerful distinguishing factor between girl offenders and "normals" is the frequency of broken homes. Whether

delinquent or status offender, the girl has about a 10 percent likelihood to have had lost her father through death. If she is from a rural community, however, her chances are greater. Furthermore, rural girls show a slightly higher likelihood of committing an act against property rather than authority (truancy, incorrigibility, runaway behavior).

If the girl is middle class, she may have been the target of exploitation by her parents. Her offenses are basically considered sexual in nature and reflect resolutions of deep internal conflicts usually springing from a variation of primary caretaking deprivation or a chronically dysfunctional family system that has failed to meet her needs for clear communication, limits, restrictions and rules. The girl's psychological development may be considered arrested harboring a blurred idea of who she is and a tenuous ability to effect good social judgement and cope at her expected developmental level in the world around her. She may assuage anxiety and depression and become pseudo-autonomous and delinquent against an overpowering mother. She may flee from a tacit incestuous agreement among family members. Or, she may fulfill a parent's denigrating dire prediction of her misbehavior only to find herself opposite a judge from which she is far more likely to receive a more severe disposition than her male cohort, and stay both institutionalized and on official probation for a longer period of time than he.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY

A good deal of the above reviewed literature on female offenders has focussed on institutionalized delinquent girls. One of the reasons that this population has been studied is because of its accessibility in residential or reform school settings. There is, however, another substantial group of females that appears in juvenile court who have been adjudicated for status offenses, put on official probation and are free to stay within the community. They have been charged with truancy, unruliness, runaway behavior and/or are in violation of a community or city curfew. It has been shown that many of these girls are eventually sent off to a correctional facility after repeated statute violation. Although there has been some research among urban and middle class status offenders, the literature rarely extends to the status offender girl who originates in a rural context.

It appears especially timely for research to begin at this point as the juvenile justice system is undergoing a shift in its legislative procedure (see Juvenile Court Structure, Function and Female Delinquency, Chapter I). With the passage of the Juvenile Justice Act in 1974, and for all states, it is no longer within the law to commit status offending juveniles to training schools or to house them with delinquents. For lack of alternatives, many states have been found to be out of compliance with the law. It appears that innovative programs and projects must be implemented for those status offenders who are

seen as troublesome by their families, who are not fit to stay with their families or whose families are not fit to care for their needs. Small group home living arrangements is one possible alternative for their dispositional planning. Out-patient psychiatric treatment, vocational training and rehabilitation programs within the community are also being discussed in the literature. Thoughtful planning might only proceed, however, after we learn more about her current functioning and needs.

The purpose of this study is twofold: (1) to compare a female status offender sample on a number of basic characteristics with female delinquent norms, and (2) to identify emerging factors that appear to be important in the history and present functioning of rural female status offenders. There are five major areas of inquiry:

1. Demographic Data
2. Juvenile Court History
3. Familial Factors
4. Intellectual Functioning
5. Personality Variables
 - a. Psychological Symptomatology
 - b. Interpersonal Functioning

Each of the above areas explores specific variables. Data were collected by direct questioning or by psychological assessment techniques. The analysis of results involves two levels of comparison. The first is a comparing and contrasting of differences between the sample of the present study with published delinquent norms. The

second stage of analysis assumes that the subjects in the present study may not present as a homogeneous group across all levels of inquiry or even within each area of investigation. There is expectation that salient personal, social, behavioral and/or psychological variables may emerge into noticeable clusters that could lead to a differential description of status offending girls.

Material for discussion will focus upon findings of significant differences between the present sample of girl offenders and published delinquent norms, and, trends among the present sample. Finally, and in light of the analyses of data and discussion of results, the conclusion of this study will attempt to capture the current functioning and needs of the present sample and provide some direction for recommendation concerning the planning and treatment of rural female status offenders.

A brief review of the major areas of investigation of this study follows and will declare expectations of findings and note delinquent norm referents.

A. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Age

Literature has been consistent in noting that the first-time delinquent offending girl emerges in juvenile court during her 13th year on the average (e.g., Felice and Offord, 1971) usually concurrent with menarche (Mayer et al., 1967).

Educational Information

Girl delinquents are documented as performing poorly in school, despite IQ, and on the average are at least one grade behind their age in school (Trese, 1962; Mayer et al., 1967). Furthermore, although percentages vary, it has been shown that many are handicapped by a Verbal learning disability (Prentice and Kelly, 1963) and have had special training for such a problem.

Socioeconomic Status

Although middle-class delinquency appears to be increasing (Mayer et al., 1967) a majority of offending girls originate from lower or working class families (Simon, 1975). A high positive correlation has been found between urban girl delinquency and her family solely subsisting on welfare (Koller, 1971). Most recently, Offord et al. (1979) found 24 percent of his institutionalized girls having originated from families subsisting on welfare.

Expectations. It is expected that rural girl status offenders will show no significant difference to the above delinquent patterns in age at first juvenile court contact, grades held back in school and incidence of families of welfare.

In terms of exploring the group further, difficulties with verbal learning are likely to be highly visible within the sample. It is also to be expected that few will be attending school regularly as truancy is a status offense for which the sample is most likely to be petitioned along with unruliness. A rural cultural factor of placing

less value on education and more on home and family, especially for females, may operate in lowered school attendance and performance. Although the literature on female delinquency does not cite academic suspensions incurred by girl offenders, it is thought that they may be a prodromal sign of truancy. Thus a high incidence of suspensions is expected to appear in their educational history.

As it is discussed below (under Methodology) the sample of this study is culled from four similar and primarily white, rural, low-SES counties in East Tennessee. It is expected that surveyed occupation, education and income of heads of households will fall essentially into the lower class subdivisions following Hollingshead and Redlich (1958). This variable is investigated in order to gain a sense of the economic fibre and resources of the girl offender's family unit in the present sample.

B. JUVENILE COURT HISTORY

Current Offense

Research has shown a difference in trends in girl delinquent behavior across community contexts (Mayer et al., 1967; Elkind, 1967; Ferdinand, 1977). Essentially there is a high incidence of acts against property (theft, damage) occurring in rural communities by delinquents. As the community becomes more urban there follows a high number of acts against authority (truancy, unruliness, runaway behavior). As in urban, suburban and rural contexts, rural girl status offenders outnumber girl delinquents (Jolly, 1977). The

literature has not investigated the nature of status offense in which rural girls primarily engage.

Previous Offense

It has been shown that when girl offenders reappear in court they tend to replicate their former charge(s) (Sandu, 1977). Recidivist girls are well-known to show an increase in the number of charges documented on their petitions at each new court contact (Vedder and Sommerville, 1975).

Expectations. Although the literature does not discuss the nature of status offenses committed by rural girl offenders, it is expected that unruly behavior will be the single most frequent complaint as it is the more visible, active and aggressive of status offenses and follows the trend of rural delinquents preferring more destructive resolutions. It is expected that first-time offending girls will show fewer number of charges than recidivist offenders in the sample.

C. FAMILIAL FACTORS

Family Configuration

Both the size of the family from which girl offenders originate and their ordinal position within the sibship constellation have been noted in research. Large family size has been associated with delinquency in a number of studies dealing with girls only (Cowie, Cowie and Slater, 1968; Koller, 1971). More recent findings, however, provide no support for an association between family size and female

delinquency in looking at both non-institutionalized and institutionalized girls across socioeconomic classes (Wolkind, 1974, and Offord et al., 1979). Also, the aspect of ordinal position has been researched with inconclusive evidence in delinquent girls' positions in their sibship (O'Kelly, 1955; Offer, 1969; Koller, 1971).

Expectations. As this study sample originates from an Appalachian context, the likelihood of a significantly larger family size may be evident within the group following Lentz's (1970) survey of rural family size. However, it is expected that ordinal position in the sibship will display no clearcut trend among this study's sample of status offending females.

History of Primary Caretaking

O'Kelly (1955) in a study of institutionalized delinquent girls found one-third to have been separated from their mothers for six months or more before five years of age. She found that the incidence of theft among the girls was significantly higher than among institutionalized non-thieves who had not experienced discontinuous caretaking. Subsequent investigations have explored either male or female delinquents and the incidence of broken homes without looking at the early primary caretaking history (i.e., mother-child relationship) per se.

Expectations. It is expected that a group of female status offender adolescents will show a significantly lower incidence of early interrupted primary caretaking than what has been reported in the

literature for delinquents. It has been found that both male (Bowlby, 1952) and female (O'Kelly, 1955) delinquent thieves show the highest incidence of broken homes and discontinuous care. Since status offenders are not charged with theft, their childhood histories should show a significantly lower rate of discontinuous care, that is, less than 32 percent.

Parental Death

O'Kelly (1955) found 24 percent of institutionalized female delinquent thieves experienced the death of the mother. More recently, Koller (1971) found 12.4 percent of institutionalized girl delinquents who incurred charges from theft to incorrigibility to runaway behavior experienced either the death of a mother or father. Consistent with Ferdinand (1964) who surveyed rural status offending girls, the girls showed a higher percentage of paternal loss than maternal loss: of the girls who showed parental death, 66 percent had lost fathers whereas 33 percent had lost mothers.

Expectations. As parental loss is the only variable in this study to have been investigated in a sample of status offending females, it is expected that this study's sample will follow the literature (Ferdinand, 1964). That is, 14 percent of the girls' fathers will have died and 0 to 1 percent of the girls' mothers will have died.

Incidence of Broken Homes

Weeks (1940) found 70 percent of his institutionalized sample of girls originating from broken homes where divorce, separation, desertion,

long-term hospitalization or death of one or both parents were present. More recent findings note that 70 to 75 percent of delinquent girls show broken home histories (Illsley, 1960; Trese, 1962; Mayer et al., 1967; Cowie et al., 1968; Koller, 1971; Rosenberg, 1973; Adler, 1975; Smart, 1976). The majority of the remainder of homes of delinquent females have been documented to display intense marital discord and overt aggression between parents and/or between parents and children (Bernabeau, 1958; Feldman, 1977).

Expectations. Literature has shown that the intactness of an adolescent offender's home has often been an important variable in influencing the seriousness of committed crime. Since a status offense is a less serious legal infraction than a delinquent act, it is expected that a sample of rural girl offenders will show a lower incidence of broken homes, that is, less than 70 percent.

Parental Divorce and Separation

Koller (1971) reports 24 percent of his urban-originating girl institutionalized sample as having experienced divorce or separation in the family. The literature lacks statistics on the same familial upheaval for rural status offenders.

Expectations. The incidence of rural family divorce and separation rates have characteristically shown a lower percentage in the literature overall (Ferdinand, 1964; Lentz, 1970) in comparison with the national average. It is expected that rural girl offending families will show significantly less than 24 percent incidence of divorce and separation.

Incidence of Parental Disability

Offord et al. (1979) reports 53 percent of his institutionalized sample of girl offenders as having either parent classified as disabled. His criteria of disability was met if either parent was a substance abuser, was criminally involved, or had a history of psychiatric hospitalization or chronic medical disability. This statistic is consistent with previous research done by Simcox and Kaufman (1956) who looked at parental character disorders and Cloninger and Guze (1973) who found the incidence of psychiatric illness twice as high among first degree relatives of institutionalized girls as among boys.

The incidence of alcoholism among parents for a group of three-times recidivist institutionalized girl delinquents was investigated by Trese (1962). She found 64 percent of the girls having either one or both parents alcoholic.

Expectations. Although (following Nye, 1959) noting that a greater degree of disability is confined within the rural family, social service (medical and psychiatric) contact being lower in rural areas, and its incidence therefore unrecorded, it is expected that when directly surveyed the incidence of disability (substance abuse, criminal involvement, psychiatric hospitalization, or chronic medical disability) will show no significant difference from Offord et al.'s (1979) norm of 53 percent.

This study will partial out alcoholism from other criteria. As the rate of alcoholism is significantly higher in rural areas than in non-rural areas (Lentz, 1970) it is expected that alcoholism will appear

as a significant factor and inflate the overall incidence of parental disability.

Parental Criminal Involvement

Consistent with previous research (Fine and Fishman, 1968, and Cloninger and Guze, 1973), Offord et al. (1979) found a significant difference between delinquent institutionalized urban-originating girls and a group of girl controls in looking at the incidence of the father's criminal involvement. Thirty-nine percent of the delinquents' fathers had a criminal record whereas 18 percent of the fathers in the control group had a documented legal history.

Expectations. As the study sample is rural in nature and adult crime against property is more visibly tolerated in such a setting, the degree of incidence of overall criminal involvement has been shown to be less likely than urban norms (Lentz, 1970). Adult crime spurred on by alcoholism is contained within the family and, when troublesome in the community, it is tolerated more so in rural courts without legal consequence (i.e., reprimand with dismissal of charge). Therefore, it is expected that the incidence of parental criminal involvement will be less than the statistic reported by Offord et al. (1979) of 39 percent.

D. INTELLECTUAL FUNCTIONING

IQ

Young offenders have been subject to study by the Wechsler Scale for Intelligence in a number of investigations. In dealing with both

male and female delinquents, most researchers have found that when socioeconomic status is controlled, there is no significant difference in assessed intelligence as compared with other adolescents (Schulman, 1951; Sievert, 1962; Prentice and Kelly, 1963). A series of studies that focus on IQ and girl delinquents only reports scores falling in the Normal or Dull Normal range (Jurjevich, 1963a; Compton, 1967; Fine and Fishman, 1968; Miller, 1969). Recently it was found that a group of ten girls displayed IQ scores ranging from 80 to 106 with an average of 94.1 (Singleton, 1976). These findings corroborate earlier studies that describe the girl offender as functioning with Dull Normal or, at best, Normal Intelligence; literature converges to mean FSIQ = 99.06 and a s.d. of 12.44 (Simon, 1975). In the same review it was also shown that Block Design subtest scaled scores on the WISC-R, which reflect Performance ability, are higher than Vocabulary subtest scaled scores, which are a reliable gross indicator of Verbal ability.

Expectations. Although the literature is bereft of direct IQ study of status offending females, there are no salient reasons to expect dissimilar trends of assessed intelligence as delinquent girls have shown. That is, IQ should fall within the range of Dull Normal or Normal and, on the average, Performance scores should be higher than Verbal scores. However, as the study sample is comprised of rural adolescent girls, the consequences of a confluence of historical factors needs to be considered. It is expected that depressed socioeconomic conditions, possible educational deprivation and limited cultural opportunities springing from a rural environment will have

appreciably taken its toll on the intellectual development of these girls (as assessed by the WISC-R) and will influence IQ scores in a downward direction as compared with delinquent female norms in the literature.

It is expected that the majority of Full Scale IQ scores should fall within the Dull Normal range of measured intelligence and that there will also be a significant difference between mean IQ and delinquent norms. It is also expected that Performance scaled scores will be higher than Verbal scaled scores on the average and in following the literature on delinquency research. This trend should also have been influenced by a rural, more action-oriented, nonverbal milieu.

E. PERSONALITY VARIABLES

Psychological Symptomatology

The etiology of psychological difficulty has been a topic of research in girl delinquent literature but cursorily so. Blos (1969), Chwast (1967, 1977), O'Kelly (1955, 1957), Coddington (1979) and Binder and Krohn (1974) all concluded that underlying depression spurred by recent trauma plays a major part in sexual acting-out of girl offenders. Durea and Fertman (1941) underlined the emotional immaturity of delinquent girls. Aichhorn (1949), Healy and Bronner (1926), Bowlby (1952), and Friedlander (1947) and others discuss maternal rejection as etiological in forming a psychopathological girl delinquent personality. Gerson (1974), Goodman (1976), Herskovitz (1969), Riege (1972), Kaufman et al. (1954, 1958, 1959), Tessman and Kaufman (1969) and Lamb (1976)

cite father-daughter relational problems and the concomitants of incest, albeit sometimes covert, as provocative in young female offense.

Robey (1969), Singer (1974) and Morris (1964) along with Felice and Offord (1972) and Kaufman (1955), to name a few recent investigations, discuss the disorganization of family and home with existing convoluted roles and expectations confusing girl adolescents as etiological in delinquent behavior. Shore et al. (1964, 1966) earmark relational problems with introjected guilt as a frontrunner in complicating the growing girl's struggle with external and internal demands which in turn spur on antisocial delinquent acts. Finally, Singer (1975) notes many of the above psychodynamic etiological factors in boys; however, he goes a bit further in his investigation of the delinquent character and suggests that a delinquent personality organization is not a normal developmental phase that is "outgrown" but should be investigated carefully for major psychological disturbance that could become a chronic adult handicap.

The literature on female delinquents, let alone girl status offenders, lacks an in-depth survey of psychiatric symptomatology. The juvenile justice system has essentially treated girl offenders within their own aegis affording short shrift to current psychological functioning in terms of adaptive capacity and the nature and degree of psychopathology.

Expectations. The aspects of psychiatric symptomatology among status offending girls has not been investigated. Following Singer's (1975) research on boy delinquents, it is expected that a systematic

survey of psychiatric symptomatology will show a variety of difficulties among girl status offenders. This portion of this study is essentially exploratory in nature as literature presents no precedent in terms of current mental status and visible signs of underlying psychological disorder.

Interpersonal Functioning

In conducting research it is a major step to declare one's theoretical perspective that stands behind the assumptions of the study, especially when a psychological projective technique is used to assess personality functioning. The above review of the etiological research on delinquency (see above, beginning p. 54) suggests that the female offender's social history is an especially disrupted and disorganized one and makes strong case for trauma evincing faulty emotional development with consequential impulsive behavioral adaptation. Studies have displayed attributes of the girl offender's mother, her father and her siblings, individually, and qualities of the marital relationship. And, they have widened to envelop and inspect the total family system and its machinations. Such literature has been loyal to behavioral, analytic, family systems, sociological and communications frames of reference in depicting the female delinquent in her world.

In the field of female delinquency investigators have also underlined a pattern of ruptured relationships between the offender and her family members, with contemporary females and peer groups, with heterosexual encounters, and in therapeutic settings. This section of the study will extend such exploration further in looking at the girl's

present functioning in terms of her object relationships or the prevailing style in which she relates to other people—that is, her developmental capacity and enduring mode of entering into relationships with others. A brief introduction to the object relational theoretical underpinnings of this research and a review of relevant study of the female delinquent in the area of her self-expectations of and relationships with others is essential at this point and follows.

Object relations theory and female delinquency. A reformulation of psychoanalytic theory in terms of an object relations perspective postulates that human behavior is predominantly oriented toward making, maintaining and developing interpersonal relationships. This view has made it possible to research and understand a wide range of behavior in terms of what a person gives to and takes from the human relationship in any situation. As an offshoot of psychoanalysis this theory is distilled from the British writings of Klein (1948), Fairbairn (1952), Guntrip (1971, 1962) and Winnicott (1962) and has more recently included American theorists Kernberg (1966) and Kohut (1971). Basically, this school has posited and explored the existence of an inner world of objects or object relationships.

According to object relations theory a person's manner of conducting his relationship with other people is a product of a long history of learning to conduct relationships, deriving from contact with his earliest "objects" (people) upon whom he was dependent for the satisfaction of primary biological and emotional needs. Object relations theory provides that the maintenance and development of these

early relationships are so fundamentally important to the individual that his way of dealing with the world at large is directly influenced by them.

Further, it is held that an individual's special way of involving himself with people and with things in the world, reflected also in his mode of perception, represents an attempt to reconcile two broad and overlapping object relational systems:

The first of these may be described as unconscious ways of conducting relations that were once fantasized as a means of gratification or attack when the individual was frustrated beyond tolerance in early years. It is hypothesized that these conflicted relationships are continually active and seeking resolution in sometimes irrational and primitive ways. Further, it is suggested that they are somewhat destructive toward achieving or maintaining normal or acceptable social relations.

The second of these may be described as the more consciously accumulated experience of relationships which the individual has been exposed to over a long period of time. The individual's repeated testing out of novel approaches in a daily context usually results in learning more acceptable and efficient patterns of interpersonal behavior. Intellectual and environmental resources influence this learning process.

It is the individual's attempt to reconcile these two systems in his current interpersonal interaction that determines his primary mode of relating to others.

Object relations theory holds that when unconscious or primitive styles of relating to people tend to find direct expression in a present relationship, the result will be an impairment in the quality of the relationship and some restriction within the interaction. Thus, the interaction may be narrowed, become less flexible or more rigid. There will be less give-and-take in relationships and more of a replaying of old relationships. Perception may be inaccurate, distorted, or lacking in fullness, emphasizing the wished-for aspects of the relationship sought, or of the consequences feared.

It is important not to confuse one's object-relations with one's relations to objects. A person's relations to objects (and the object world in its entirety) are one's interpersonal relations. One's interpersonal relations are continuously modifying, and being modified by, one's object relations. One's object-relations are part of the internal sphere of mental representations, which exist as a psychological event. The mental representations of the object-world enter various levels of merger with self-representations, and these internal psychic phenomena comprise the set of one's object-relations. For Klein (1948) the inner world is a whole object-relational private sphere of intense emotional experience, constantly competing with and interfering with our outer world living. The inner world revealed in active fantasy as intensely object-relational makes up for the distinctly secondary place accorded to the outer world of real objects.

Such a formulation of object relations theory has given rise to psychodiagnostic test techniques that systematically explore the nature

of a subject's relationships (Laing et al., 1966). What techniques have arisen are shown to be fairly reliable and valid indicators of styles of interpersonal functioning (Coleman, 1974).

Many studies have been reported on object relations in such areas as why a person might habitually be attracted to a certain "type" of other individual as well as to how the loss of an object, for example a mother, in early development may influence how one relates to others in later life. There has been some research on male and female delinquents. Also, there are norms available for "normal" female adolescent interpersonal behavior (Laing, Phillipson and Lee, 1966; Phillipson, 1973; Coleman, 1974).

Phillipson (1955) offers a systematic scoring procedure for the Object Relations Technique (ORT) that reliably describes interpersonal content and theme of subject responses to a dozen ambiguously-peopled pictured cards. Normative data for adolescent girls have shown that a majority of responses deal with males and females in supportive or helpful roles. Research activity on a delinquent girl population (O'Kelly, 1955) has shown a strong tendency for these girls to introduce more hostile men as well as sinister, criminal and violent themes. Inference is made, from ORT stimuli and female delinquent productions, to suggest that interpersonal relationships of girl delinquents are perceived in a parallel and disturbed manner. That is, confronting sinister men in a hostile environment is a major expectation of girl delinquents in interpersonal situations. And, this trend is likely to be reflected by ORT productions.

Expectations. It is thought that female status offenders "people" their world in a different manner than a normal adolescent population. On the ORT it is expected that interpersonal content and theme of stories will significantly stray from female adolescent normative data. This portion of study is essentially exploratory in nature, thus, the direction of differential intrapsychic functioning is not hypothesized.

F. SUMMARY OF EXPECTATIONS OF THE STUDY

Demographic Data

In comparing status offender subjects with girl delinquent norms, there will be no significant difference in:

1. Age at first court contact (delinquent norm: 13 years),
2. Repeated school grades (delinquent norm: one year), and
3. Incidence of families on Welfare (delinquent norm: 25 percent).

Juvenile Court History

1. Unruly behavior will be the single most frequent status offense charge within the sample.
2. First time offending girls will show fewer number of charges than recidivist offenders within the sample.

Familial Factors

1. Family size is expected to be significantly higher than the female delinquent norm ($\bar{x} = 3.68$; s.d. 1.73).
2. Ordinal position in the sibship is expected to show no clear-cut trend among the subjects of the study.

3. Incidence of early interrupted primary caretaking (age one through five) should be significantly lower than the female delinquent norm of 32 percent.
4. Incidence of paternal death will show no significant difference as compared with the rural delinquent norm of 14 percent.
5. Incidence of maternal death will show no significant difference as compared with the rural delinquent norm of 0 to 1 percent.
6. Incidence of broken homes (by death, desertion, separation or divorce) will be significantly lower than the delinquent norm of 70 percent.
7. Incidence of parental divorce and separation will be significantly less than the girl delinquent norm of 24 percent.
8. Incidence of parental disability (psychiatric hospitalization, substance abuse, criminal involvement, chronic medical disability) is expected to show no significant difference as compared with the delinquent girl norm of 53 percent; however, alcoholism is expected to be highly visible in parental disability.
9. Parental criminal involvement is expected to be significantly less than the delinquent girl norm of 39 percent.

Intellectual Functioning

1. A majority of IQ scores are expected to fall within the Dull Normal range of intelligence as assessed by the WISC-R.
2. Average IQ is expected to fall significantly below the delinquent norm ($\bar{x} = 99.06$, s.d. 12.44).

3. Mean Performance scaled scores are expected to be significantly higher than Mean Verbal scaled scores within the sample.

Personality Variables

Psychiatric clinical symptomatology. This portion of the study is essentially exploratory. The literature presents no clear precedent of current mental status and documented signs of psychiatric disorder of delinquent nor status offending adolescent females. It is expected, however, that a systematic survey of psychiatric symptomatology will show a range of difficulties among girl status offenders.

Interpersonal functioning. It is expected that a female status offender will "people" her world in a significantly different manner than members of a normal population. On the Object Relations Technique (ORT) it is expected that interpersonal content and theme will significantly differ from female adolescent norms. This portion of the study is also exploratory in nature, thus, the direction of differential interpersonal functioning is not specifically hypothesized.

G. METHODOLOGY

Subjects

The subjects were 20 female status offenders between the ages of 13 and 17 years, inclusive. They were all referred by juvenile court judges and participation in the study was voluntary. The consent to participate was required by at least one parent or legal guardian and the subject herself. (See Appendices A and B for consent format.)

Interviews and Instruments

Three structured interviews were conducted with:

1. the subject
2. at least one parent or legal guardian, and
3. the probation officer of each subject.

(See Appendices C, D and E for structured interview format.)

In addition to each girl offender undergoing the above structured interview, she was also administered the following psychological tests:

1. Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised (WISC-R), and
2. Object Relations Technique (ORT)

The ORT is a test developed by Phillipson and described and discussed fully by him (Phillipson, 1955, 1964). It consists of a series of 12 shadowy and ambiguous pictures in which one, two, three or more persons may be discerned. Detail is indefinite and there is little to indicate sex or age of the persons or their activities, feelings, or relationships to one another. The test differs from Murray's Thematic Apperception Test in that vagueness of the stimuli evokes a higher degree of imaginative response and also in that the pictures are planned on a theoretical basis to release fantasies of various kinds of object or people relationships.

The following instructions were read to each subject. Her responses were tape recorded:

Look at the pictures and make up a short story about what might be happening in the scene. Tell me what led up to the present situation, what is happening now—what the people are thinking, feeling, and doing—and what will be the conclusion of the story. There are not right or wrong

answers so don't be concerned about the "correctness" of your stories. Just use your imagination to create a story about what might be happening in each picture.

Analysis of Data

Scoring of interviews and instruments. Responses from each of the 60 structured individual interviews with the subject, her parent or legal guardian and her probation officer were organized and tabled according to Demographic Data, Juvenile Court History, Familial Factors and Psychiatric Symptomatology.

The Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised was scored according to standards (Wechsler, 1974).

The 240 ORT stories were scored along two interpersonal dimensions following Phillipson's (1955) schedule: Character Content and Interpersonal Theme. Each story was classified into one character content category and one theme category as shown below:

Character Content

1. Males
2. Females
3. Mixed

Interpersonal Theme

1. Supportive, friendly
2. Actively hostile, suicidal, injurious, criminal
3. Neutral
4. Anxious, unhappy, troubled, sorrowful, expectant of separation and/or loss

Two clinical psychology trainees served as raters and were trained by the researcher on the scoring system and reached .85 rater

reliability on sample stories before each assessed half of the 240 stories produced by the subjects of the study. Raters were unaware of the nature of the sample and the study.

Statistical analysis. All data were analyzed both statistically and descriptively. Four statistical operations were used when their assumptions were met:

1. T-tests were used to compare the study sample with girl delinquent means in four areas: age, grades held back in school, family size and IQ.
2. Chi-square tests were applied to a majority of the remaining nominal proportional comparisons between status offenders and normative data in the following areas: demographic data, familial factors, and interpersonal functioning.
3. Fisher's Exact Test for Proportions was employed for small cell size in analyzing the trend of sibship position.
4. Pearson Product Moment, Point Biserial, phi or Kendall's-Tau Correlation Coefficients were computed on 53 within-sample variables to look for emergent patterns and factors.

Occasionally, the data failed to produce statistically significant results, yet it appeared important to report trends or relative differences. Much of the data, therefore, is presented in frequency counts, percentages or tabled in other descriptive forms.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

After a brief introduction to the project, the subjects and the community, the present chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents the relationship of the sample to normative delinquent data along demographic, juvenile court history, familial, intellectual and interpersonal dimensions. The second section provides some prominent personal characteristics of the sample and a systematic review of psychological clinical symptomatology. The third section presents emergent intra-sample cross-variable correlational patterns.

A. THE PROJECT, THE SUBJECTS AND THE COMMUNITY

The 20 subjects of this study were among 100 youths referred to the Law Enforcement Protection Agency (LEPA) limited grant Project of the Cherokee Mental Health Center, Morristown, Tennessee, which serves four rural county juvenile court districts. The LEPA Project was established in August of 1977 for the purpose of intervening in the family systems of juvenile offenders in an attempt to prevent offenders and their siblings from (re)appearing in juvenile court. Operationally, the service functions of the Project included psychological evaluation of adjudicated juveniles for the court, consultation to probation officers, individual and/or family therapy for suitable cases and appropriate referral to other community and state agencies as demanded by case needs. The Project staff was comprised of one full-time

Master's level psychotherapist, one half-time clinical psychology Ph.D. trainee (the researcher) and two consulting clinical psychologists. All data collected in this study were utilized in working toward LEPA Project goals.

Every juvenile charged as a status offender or delinquent was automatically referred to a juvenile probation officer in the court district and some were subsequently referred by the judge to the central LEPA Project for psychodiagnostic evaluation and recommendations for treatment. The 20 subjects of this study were considered for inclusion in the consecutive order of their referral by the juvenile courts to the LEPA Project. Three criteria were met for including a subject into the study:

1. The referred was a girl between 13 and 17 years of age, inclusive, and was on record with the juvenile court authorities for having been petitioned for a status offense charge; that is, she was brought to court for one or more of the following charges: runaway behavior, truancy, unruliness or violation of city curfew.
2. At least one parent or legal guardian of the girl was available for the purpose of retaining a developmental history and a family history.
3. Both subject and parent/guardian agreed to participate in the study and signed appropriate forms of release of information for the purpose of this research. Perspective subjects and guardians were given opportunity to drop out of the study at any time without legal consequence.

Juvenile court judges not only sanctioned the use of the data encompassed and discussed in this study but welcomed feedback of results and implications for use in their juvenile adjudication process.

Interviews and psychological assessment took place at the Cherokee Mental Health Center or East Tennessee Juvenile Service Center, Knoxville, Tennessee, during the period of January through June, 1978. A licensed Psychological Examiner or clinical psychology trainee conducted the psychological assessment and interviews for which an average of six hours was needed with each subject and her parent/guardian and probation officer. Two subjects were dropped from the study after initial interviews. The first, who was petitioned by the court for runaway behavior, had run off to live with a relative in another county which was not under the aegis of the LEPA Project and could no longer be followed. The second subject got married, refused to continue her participation in the study and moved out of state.

The LEPA Project was based in Morristown, an East Tennessee town of 20,400, fifty miles from Knoxville. The Project's four counties are considered rural (following Bolton, 1976). Three counties were represented by the 20 subjects. Fourteen girls originated from Hamblen, three from Cocke and three from Jefferson counties. The fourth county, Grainger, referred no girls during the data collection period of this study. Interestingly, Grainger county has been earmarked as having the lowest rate of juvenile delinquency of all 95 counties in Tennessee (Tennessee Law Enforcement Planning Commission, 1975). Basically, the

counties offer farming and industrial opportunities for employment in livestock, seasonal tobacco cropping and assembly line textile and furniture manufacturing. The area is essentially Fundamentalist in religious belief.

B. RELATIONSHIP OF STATUS OFFENDERS TO DELINQUENTS

Demographic Data

Table 1 is a summary of demographic data analyzed statistically. Table 2 presents age and educational history. Table 3 presents socioeconomic categorization of subjects' families.

Age. As Table 1 shows, a significant difference was found between the average age of the status offending subjects, 14 years, 4 months, and average girl delinquent age norm of 13 years at first court contact ($t = 2.24$, $p < .01$). It should be noted that although the mean age of the group is higher in comparison with the delinquent norm, three girls in the sample had not reached menarche which does not follow the typical pattern of first court contact being concurrent with menarche.

Educational information. As Table 1 shows, no significant difference was found between the average number of repeated school grades of the sample (.6 years) in comparison to the delinquent girl norm (one year) ($t = 1.58$, $p > .10$). Only ten girls were attending school regularly. Fourteen girls had incurred a total of 20 school suspensions for truancy or unruliness. School records showed academic performance Poor in 14 cases (D average or below), Average in three

TABLE 1
COMPARISON OF MEANS OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
OF STATUS OFFENDERS VS. DELINQUENT FEMALES

Variable	Group	Mean or Percent	S.D.	$\underline{t}$ or $\underline{x}^2$ Value	p. Level
Age	Status Off. Delinquent	14.3 13.0 ^a	1.835 1.830	2.24 ^d	.05
Repeated Grades	Status Off. Delinquent	.6 1.0 ^b	.681 .825	1.58 ^d	ns
Welfare Families	Status Off. Delinquent	30% 25% ^c	--- ---	.1826 ^e	ns

^aAge in years, derived from Felice and Offord (1971).

^bDerived from Mayer et al. (1967).

^cDerived from Offord et al. (1979).

^d $\underline{t}$ value.

^e $\underline{x}^2$ value.

TABLE 2

SUBJECT AGE AND SUMMARY OF EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

Age				School Grade	No. Re- peated Grades	Grade Drop- out	Suspensions No. & Type	Academic Perfor- mance
Current Offense ^a		Initial Offense ^b						
Yrs.	Mos.	Yrs.	Mos.					
13	7	13	7	8	0	---	---	Average ^d
14	0	10	0	9	0	---	1-truancy	Poor ^e
14	3	14	3	9	0	---	1-truancy	Average
14	4	12	6	8	1	---	1-truancy	Poor
14	4	13	10	8	1	---	---	Poor
14	5	14	5	-	1	9th	---	Poor
14	8	11	0	7	2	---	1-truancy	Poor
14	9	14	0	9	0	---	1-fighting	Poor
15	2	14	11	Homebound	1	9th	1-truancy	Poor
15	4	13	0	10	0	---	1-truancy	Ab. Av. ^f
15	9	14	0	-	0	9th	---	Poor
15	10	15	0	-	0	10th	1-truancy	Ab. Av.
15	11	15	11	11	1	---	1-fighting	Poor
16	1	14	0	-	0	9th	1-fighting	Poor
16	7	14	7	-	1	9th	1-fighting	Poor
16	10	16	10	-	0	10th	1-fighting	Average

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Age		Initial Offense ^b		School Grade	No. Re- peated Grades	Grade Drop- out	Suspensions No. & Type	Academic Perfor- mance
Current Offense ^a	Yrs. Mos.	Yrs.	Mos.					
16	11	14	0	-	1	10th	2-t & f ^c	Poor
17	4	17	4	Homebound	0	12th	---	Ab. Av.
17	6	16	0	12	1	---	5-truancy	Poor
17	8	16	10	-	2	10th	---	Poor

^a $\bar{x}$ = 15 yrs. 6 mos.^b $\bar{x}$ = 14 yrs. 4 mos.^c t & f = truancy and fighting.^d Average = C average.^e Poor = D average or below.^f Above Average = B average or above.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, AND INCOME OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS*

Occupation		Education		Income	
Class	Number	Class	Number	Class	Number
I. Executives, Major Professionals	0	I. Graduate Training	0	I. Family \$12,500+ Individual \$8,250+	1 0
II. Managers, Lesser Professionals	0	II. Completed College	0	II. Family \$8,770+ Individual \$4,370+	1 0
III. Semiprofessionals, Small business owners	0	III. Part College, Vocational Training	1	III. Family \$6,651+ Individual \$4,370+	0 3
IV. Clerical, Sales	4	IV. Completed High School	6	IV. Family \$5,056+ Individual \$3,235+	0 9
V. Skilled Laborers (e.g., glass-worker)	4	V. 10-11 years	2	V. Family <\$5,056 Individual <\$3,235	0 0

TABLE 3 (Continued)

Occupation		Education		Income	
Class	Number	Class	Number	Class	Number
VI. Semi-skilled Laborers (waitress, truckdriver, millworker)	6	VI. 7-9 years	11		
VII. Unskilled Laborers	0	VII. Less than 7 years	0		
Unemployed	6			Welfare	6
Total	20		20		20

*Class structure derived from Hollingshead and Redlich (1958).

cases, and Above Average in three cases. Educational history showed the ten girls attending school ranging from grades seven through 12. All attended a public school program. Five of these ten girls had been held back at least one grade year. The remaining ten girls had dropped out of school during high school with two pregnant subjects receiving homebound instruction. The remaining five dropouts had essentially lost interest in schoolwork with one stating also that she needed to care for an infant brother at home so that her mother could work. Of these ten dropouts, five had been held back at least one grade year. As noted above, 14 subjects had been suspended by school authorities at least once. One girl was suspended five times for truancy. All suspensions stemmed from involvement in fighting with female peers and/or truancy. The total number of suspensions was 20 with 13 for truancy, five for fighting and two for a combination of truancy and fighting. Two girls were attending special education tracks tailored for their learning disabilities. Both girls had reported difficulty with reading and language skills. Consistent with the majority of girls obtaining higher Performance than Verbal IQ's on the WISC-R (to be discussed under Intellectual Functioning), nine out of 20 subjects described their functioning as problematic in English composition and comprehension which underscores their poor language and reading skills.

Socioeconomic status. As shown in Table 1, no significant difference was found between the incidence of status offender subjects' families on Welfare and the delinquent norm ($\chi^2 = .1826$; $p > .10$). Table 3 shows that, as expected, a majority of status offender subjects'

families fell within the lower divisions of occupation, education and income.

All subjects were white. Income of households shows six families subsisting on Welfare for a variety of reasons: death of one father and desertion of the mother left one girl as a ward of her aunt and uncle who cared for her by funds disbursed by the court. A second girl's mother died and father deserted which left her in essentially the same situation. Two mothers, as heads of households, were disabled. One girl's father was an unemployed preacher. The last girl's mother refused to allow her to stay with the family and she was living with her two small children at a girlfriend's home and receiving state Welfare.

The remaining 14 girls' households show their employed member(s) falling within three occupational categories, four educational classes and four income divisions. Occupations are included in Table 3. The approximate average income for the employed group was \$6,300 for heads of households and \$15,100 for the two families in which the husband and wife were employed.

Juvenile Court History

Current offenses. Table 4 summarizes status offense charges. The single most frequent charge appearing on a girl's petition was for runaway behavior. It was expected that unruliness would be the most frequent complaint in following the literature that rural delinquents prefer aggressive activity.

TABLE 4
STATUS OFFENSE CHARGES

Charge	Number
Runaway	14
Unruliness	9
Truancy	8
Dependency or Neglect (Child)	2
Curfew Violation	2
Sexual Misconduct	1
Violation of Probationary Rules	<u>1</u>
Total	37*

*The total number of charges is greater than the number of subjects (20) as several subjects had incurred more than one charge on their formal petitions.

In terms of the current court charged offense (refer to Table 5), nine of the 20 girls were charged with a single offense, seven girls with two offenses, two girls with three offenses and two girls were charged with four offenses. The 14 girls who were considered runaways were usually petitioned by parents or guardians. It was discovered that runaway complaints covered more of a range than the girl just "disappearing" from home, however. Although only one girl was overtly charged with sexual misconduct, probation officer information indicated that at least 13 additional girls had been involved in, or were strongly suspected of, various kinds of sexual misbehavior ranging from prostitution to repeated all-night "dates" with male friends.

Previous offense. Only six of the 20 subjects presented as first-time offenders. Fourteen girls had previously appeared before a juvenile court judge with one subject making her twelfth trip to the bench; she was adjudicated on nine previous occasions as a runaway. Current offense and history of previous court contact is presented in Table 5.

As expected, it appears that as the girls reappear in court it is somewhat more likely that they will be cited for multiple charges. The average number of current charges for first-time offenders was 1.4 whereas the average for recidivist girls was 2.0 charges.

TABLE 5
CURRENT STATUS OFFENSE(S) AND HISTORY
OF PREVIOUS OFFENSE(S)

Subject	Current Offense(s)		Previous Offense(s)		Prior Adjudications
	Type	Number	Type	Number	
1	Runaway Unruly	2	None	0	0
2	Runaway Unruly Truancy Curfew	4	Runaway Unruly	2	2
3	Runaway Truancy Sexual Misconduct	3	None	0	0
4	Runaway	1	Runaway	1	1
5	Truancy	1	Truancy	1	1
6	Truancy	1	None	0	0
7	Runaway Unruly	2	Runaway	1	2
8	Unruly	1	Truancy	1	1
9	Unruly	1	Runaway	1	1
10	Runaway Unruly Truancy Curfew	4	Unruly	1	2
11	Unruly Neglect Child	2	Stealth	1	1
12	Runaway Truancy	2	Unruly Runaway Truancy	3	2

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Subject	Current Offense(s)		Previous Offense(s)		Prior Adjudications
	Type	Number	Type	Number	
13	Unruly Truancy	2	None	0	0
14	Runaway Unruly Neglect Child	3	None	1	1
15	Runaway	1	Runaway Unruly	2	4
16	Unruly	1	None	0	0
17	Runaway Truancy	2	Unruly Runaway Stealth	3	11
18	Runaway	1	None	0	0
19	Runaway	1	Runaway	1	2
20	Runaway Violation of Probation	2	Runaway Truancy	2	1

Familial Factors

Family configuration. As expected, the family size of this sample of rural status offenders was significantly larger than the delinquent girl norm. Table 6 presents t-test results.

TABLE 6
COMPARISON OF MEAN SIBSHIP SIZE OF STATUS
OFFENDERS VS. DELINQUENTS

Variable	Group	Mean	S.D.	<u>t</u> -Value	<u>p</u> . Level
Size of Sibship	Status Offenders	5.25	2.34	2.42	.02
	Delinquents	3.68*	1.73		

*Derived from Offord et al. (1979).

Table 7 presents the location of each girl subject in her family constellation. The total number of sibs was 105 including 23 half-siblings. Using Fisher's Exact test for proportions it was found that there is a strong tendency for rural status offender girls to originate in earlyborn positions in small families (≤ 3 sibs) and appear late in the sibship in large families (> 6 sibs) ($\chi^2 = 4.43$; $p < .05$).

In summarizing Table 7 further, none of the subjects are only children. Five are firstborn and four are lastborn. It is noteworthy that of the four lastborns there appears to have been imposed limitation of family size by: death of mother (one girl), death of father (one girl), severe disablement and eventual death of father (one

TABLE 7
SIBSHIP CONSTELLATION

Subject Position in Sibship	Siblings in Family*										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1		1	2		1	1					
2		1		3							
3			1	1		1					
4							1				
5					1		1				
6						1	2				
7									1		
8											
9											1
10											
11											
Total Number of Families		2	3	4	2	3	4		1		1

*Including 23 half- or step-siblings.

girl), or hysterectomy of mother (one girl). Another salient feature of the families is that of the 20 girls, ten had a total of 23 half-sibs. Sixty percent of these half-sibs were older than the subjects.

History of primary caretaking. Table 8 summarizes Chi-square tests computed among the remaining family variables in comparing status offenders with delinquent norms. The first variable, early interrupted caretaking (incidence of 25 percent in the study sample) shows no significant difference to the 32 percent incidence as experienced by institutionalized delinquents. This finding was contrary to the expectations of the study.

Table 9 presents a more detailed caretaking history up to the present court contact. In summary, the 20 girls show a wide variety in living arrangements at the time of their contact with juvenile court and just as varied constellation of primary caretakers.

Only four girls lived with both their natural mother and father. Seven girls lived with natural mothers only, two on whom were semi-absent, working out of town during the weekdays and providing no care for their children during their absence. One girl lived with her natural mother and stepfather, one with her natural father and stepmother and another with her natural mother and the mother's boyfriend. There were three girls who were cared for by maternal aunts. One girl was in a foster home setting and had been in two previous foster homes during the six months prior to her status offense. The remaining two girls were living with a natural sister and a girlfriend, respectively.

TABLE 8
COMPARISONS OF FAMILIAL FACTORS OF STATUS OFFENDERS
VS. FEMALE DELINQUENT NORMS

Variable	Group	% Age Incidence	χ^2 Value	p. Level
Interrupted Caretaking (Age 1-5)	Status Off. Delinquent	25 32 ^a	.0078	ns
Paternal Death	Status Off. Delinquent	20 14 ^b	3.85	.05
Maternal Death	Status Off. Delinquent	5 0-1 ^b	(not computed)	
Broken Home	Status Off. Delinquent	95 70 ^c	9.43	.01
Marital Separation and Divorce	Status Off. Delinquent	70 24 ^d	8.12	.01
Parental Disability	Status Off. Delinquent	80 53 ^e	4.97	.05
Parental Alcoholism	Status Off. Delinquent	75 64 ^f	.8965	ns
Parental Criminal Involvement	Status Off. Delinquent	15 39 ^e	4.22	.05

^aDerived from O'Kelly (1955).

^bDerived from Ferdinand (1964).

^cDerived from Smart (1976).

^dDerived from Koller (1971).

^eDerived from Offord et al. (1979).

^fDerived from Trese (1962).

TABLE 9
HISTORY OF PRIMARY CARETAKING

Subject	Current Caretaker	Experienced Interrupted Caretaking (Age 1 to 5)	Experienced Interrupted Caretaking (Age 5 to Present)	Age at Mother's Desertion
1	Foster	No	Yes	13
2	Mother	No	Yes	5
3	Parents	No	No	-
4	Aunt	No	Yes	12
5	Parents	No	Yes	13
6	Mother	No	Yes	-
7	Sister	No	Yes	-
8	Aunt	Yes	Yes	-
9	Mother	No	Yes	9
10	Mother	No	Yes	6
11	Friend	No	Yes	14
12	Parents	No	No	-
13	Mother	No	No	-
14	Mother	Yes	No	-
15	Mother	Yes	No	-
16	Mother & Stepfather	No	Yes	8
17	Mother	No	No	-
18	Aunt	Yes	No	-
19	Parents	Yes	No	-
20	Father & Stepmother	No	Yes	8

The above description of current living situation is clear-cut in comparison with the girls' interrupted and convoluted patterns of primary caretaking. This material is included in Table 9. Fifteen girls had natural mother as primary caretaker at least through their fifth year. Nine of those girls were subsequently deserted by their mothers for a variety of reasons between ages five and 14. Four of these mothers never returned to the home. The other five "deserting" mothers returned to the home intermittently to "check" on their daughters in times of trouble, such as the girl's pregnancy, their involvement in juvenile court or the mother's remarrying and introducing the new husband to the family and again deserting.

The remaining five girls' histories, that is, those who did not have the mother as primary caretaker, or had interrupted caretaking during their first five years, showed two reasons for this occurrence. One girl's mother died when she was three years old and was raised by a single aunt without interruption. There were four mothers who worked full-time during their daughters' first five years. Each of these girls was cared for by, and lived in the home of, an extended family member for at least two years before their fifth birthday. Caretakers were either grandmother, older sister or aunt.

Paternal death. Contrary to expectations of the study, present results show a significant difference ($\chi^2 = 3.85$; $p < .05$) in comparing the incidence of paternal death in status offenders (20 percent) with delinquent rural norm (14 percent). There is a strong tendency for rural girl offenders to show the death of the father in their histories.

Maternal death. A Chi-square test was not computed on this variable as one girl out of 20 lost her mother through death which is consistent with the expectation of finding 0 to 1 percent of subjects' mothers deceased.

Incidence of broken homes. Contrary to expectation of the study in looking at incidence of broken homes through death, desertion, divorce or separation, not only was there a significant difference between the status offender sample and the delinquent norm, but the difference shows a very high incidence (95 percent) as compared with delinquent normative data (70 percent) ($\chi^2 = 9.43$; $p < .01$).

Incidence of parental separation and divorce. Also unexpected was the finding that the incidence of parental separation and divorce among the sample (70 percent) was significantly higher than the delinquent girl norm (24 percent) ($\chi^2 = 8.12$; $p < .01$).

Parental disability. In referring to Table 8, there was a significant and unexpected difference between the incidence of parental disability within the sample (80 percent) and delinquent girl norms (53 percent) ($\chi^2 = 4.97$, $p < .05$). Disability included alcoholism, psychiatric hospitalization, chronic medical disability and criminal involvement. Also, as expected, in separating out the incidence of parental alcoholism, there was no significant difference found in comparing the sample (75 percent) with the girl delinquent norm (64 percent) ($\chi^2 = .8965$). Interestingly, 15 out of 16 parental disabilities included alcoholism among other types.

Parental criminal involvement. As expected, a significant difference was found between incidence of parental criminal involvement in comparing the status offenders (15 percent) with the delinquent girl norm (39 percent) ($\chi^2 = 4.22$; $p < .05$).

Table 10 presents a descriptive outline of the subjects' family histories of death, discontinuity, disease and discord. In summarizing the table, only one girl of the 20 (Subject 12) originated from a continuously-functioning and intact family structure. That is, no lengthy separations from the mother took place (e.g., foster care) nor did marital separations, divorce or deaths mark the immediate family's history. She did, however, report experiencing physical abuse within the family unit.

All of the 19 remaining girls experienced a number of marital separations of parents, divorce and/or death of a parent. In addition, parental alcoholism, psychiatric hospitalization of a parent, chronic physical disability of a parent, criminal record of a parent, reported physical abuse toward the subject, or a combination of such factors was documented in each of the remaining 19 girls' histories.

Five girls experienced the death of a natural parent. One mother died when her daughter was three years old. Four fathers died when their daughters were between 11 and 16 years of age. In addition to one girl sustaining the death of her natural father, her primary caretaker (grandmother) died just prior to the girl's current court contact. A further subject, who described an unusually close and dependent relationship with her stepfather, was 11 years old and with him when he

TABLE 10

FAMILY HISTORY OF DEATH, DISCONTINUITY, DISEASE AND DISCORD

Subject	Age at Mother's Death	Age at Father's Death	Age at Divorce	Marital Separa- tions	Alco- holic Parent	Psychia- tric Hosp. of Parent	Medical Disabil- ity of Parent	Criminal Record of Parent	Reports of Physi- cal Abuse Toward Subject
1	-	-	4	-	mother	-	-	-	yes
2	-	-	birth, 5 and 11	-	father	-	-	-	no
3	-	-	-	yes	father	-	mother	-	no
4	-	12	-	-	mother	-	father	-	yes
5	-	-	-	yes	mother & father	mother & father	-	-	yes
6	-	-	5	-	-	-	father	-	yes
7	-	-	10	-	mother & father	-	father	father	no
8	-	-	1 month and 12	-	father	mother	-	-	yes
9	-	-	-	yes	father	-	mother	-	no
10	-	-	1, 6, and 12	-	father	-	-	-	no
11	-	-	9	-	mother	-	-	-	no

TABLE 10 (Continued)

Subject	Age at Mother's Death	Age at Father's Death	Age at Divorce	Marital Separa- tions	Alco- holic Parent	Psychia- tric Hosp. of Parent	Medical Disabil- ity of Parent	Criminal Record of Parent	Reports of Physi- cal Abuse Toward Subject
12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	yes
13	-	-	8	-	father	-	-	-	yes
14	-	13	2 and 14	-	mother & father	-	mother & father	-	no
15	-	16	-	yes	father	-	-	-	yes
16	-	-	8	yes	father	mother	father	father	yes
17	-	11	7 and 14	-	father	-	father	father	yes
18	3	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	no
19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	no
20	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	yes

drowned. She also sadly recounted that at six years old she was with her grandfather when he died.

Across the girls' clinical interviews as a whole, the subject of death was a recurring theme. For example, one girl's brother was killed in a motorcycle accident after which time the girl's mother deserted the family. Just prior to her court contact, another subject experienced the death of grandfather and uncle and still another girl's friend "blew his brains out," as she described. It was not unusual for the subjects to interject comments along the same line as one girl provided: "Seems like everyone is dying around me."

Four girls experienced a number of lengthy marital separations in the home without subsequent divorce of parents. Thirteen girls' parents divorced, some several times, yielding a total of 20 divorces. Furthermore, these same 13 subjects vividly reported 17 second, third or fourth remarriages of either mother or father.

The incidence of parental alcohol abuse, psychiatric illness, chronic physical disability, criminal involvement and report of physical abuse toward the subject is also presented in Table 10.

Family histories revealed that six mothers and 12 fathers had severe drinking problems. Three girls experienced both mother and father as alcoholic. The mothers of two girls had multiple in-patient psychiatric hospitalizations. Both mother and father of a third subject were hospitalized for psychiatric illness. Chronic physical disability with recurrent general medical hospitalizations of one or both parents was present in eight of the 20 subjects' histories. Two mothers and

five fathers were sufficiently disabled so as to preclude them from gainful employment. Both mother and father of one girl were physically disabled. Physical disability took a variety of forms: tuberculosis, stroke, cirrhosis, heart dysfunction and ulcerative colitis. Criminal records with subsequent incarceration was documented for the fathers of three girls. Charges were for rape, larceny, receiving and concealing, and attempted murder with one father incarcerated three times.

Finally, there were 11 girls who reported experience(s) of physical abuse from time to time by either father, mother or mother's boyfriend. These reports of abuse, with subsequent bodily bruises and injuries, were verified by at least one family member other than parent or guardian. The State Department of Protective Services was in the midst of investigating a number of these cases.

Clinical interviews also revealed that physical abuse was a euphemism the girls used for reports of recurrent displays of sexual assault on the part of fathers or boyfriends of mothers toward the girls. Because of the sensitive nature of revealing sexual contact between generations within the family unit and the strong cultural taboo for family members to overtly discuss these reports, veracity of the reports was difficult to obtain.

Intellectual Functioning

IQ range. Table 11 presents intelligence test results while Table 12 shows these subjects' IQ range graphically. It was not found, but expected, that the majority of Full Scale Scores would fall within

TABLE 11
INTELLIGENCE TEST SCORES^a

Subject	Range	IQ			Scaled Score	
		Full Scale	Verbal	Performance	Vb ^b	BD ^c
1	Normal	106	111	101	11	11
2	Normal	109	103	115	11	10
3	Dull Normal	80	75	88	5	9
4	Dull Normal	87	78	80	7	7
5	Dull Normal	84	77	93	5	8
6	Dull Normal	86	82	92	8	7
7	Dull Normal	80	79	84	7	4
8	Dull Normal	89	88	91	7	7
9	Dull Normal	88	84	95	6	5
10	Superior	121	122	114	12	13
11	Normal	96	95	101	10	9
12	Normal	96	101	91	9	8
13	Normal	105	105	105	9	9
14	Normal	94	102	83	9	7
15	Borderline	70	74	69	5	2
16	Normal	105	105	106	8	11
17	Normal	98	98	98	7	9

TABLE 11 (Continued)

Subject	Range	IQ			Scaled Score	
		Full Scale	Verbal	Performance	V ^b	BD ^c
18	Normal	94	105	85	13	8
19	Normal	109	105	114	10	10
20	Borderline	75	75	78	5	9
Means		93.6	93.2	94.15	8.2	8.1

^aWechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised (Wechsler, 1974).

^bVocabulary Subtest.

^cBlock Design Subtest.

TABLE 12

IQ RANGE

IQ	Frequency	Tally
Very Superior 130 and Above	0	
Superior 120-129	1	X
Bright Normal 110-119	0	
Normal 90-109	10	XXXXXXXXXX
Dull Normal 80-89	7	XXXXXXX
Borderline 70-79	2	XX
Mental Defective 69 and Below	0	

the Dull Normal range of intellectual functioning. The highest frequency count (10) fell within the Normal range.

IQ mean. Also, contrary to expectations, a t-test showed no significant difference between IQ mean of status offenders ($\bar{x}$ = 93.6; s.d. = 12.95) and the girl delinquent norm ($\bar{x}$ = 99.06; s.d. = 12.44) (t = 1.36; p > .10).

Performance vs. verbal IQ. As expected, a majority of the status offender subjects (70 percent) had Performance IQ's above or equal to Verbal IQ scores. The average Verbal IQ was 93.2 whereas the average Performance IQ was 94.15.

It might be helpful to summarize Table 11. On the WISC-R, Full Scale IQ scores ranged from 121 (Superior) to 70 (Borderline). One girl obtained a Superior score, ten girls fell into the Normal range, seven tested out in the Dull Normal range, and two obtained a Full Scale IQ score in the Borderline range of intellectual functioning.

In a further breakdown of Full Scale intelligence, five subjects attained a higher Verbal IQ whereas 13 subjects attained a higher Performance IQ. Two subjects had equal Verbal and Performance IQ scores. One of these subjects showed a markedly higher Block Design subtest scaled score as compared with her Vocabulary subtest scaled score, suggesting a superior Performance ability and a more motoric or action-oriented approach to her environment. With this subject taken into consideration, 14 girls showed a higher Performance or perceptual-analytic problem-solving ability than skill in comprehending or utilizing oral or written language.

Personality Variables

Interpersonal functioning. As expected, this sample of status offending girls "peopled" their world significantly differently in comparing their responses on the ORT with those of a normal female adolescent population. Table 13 provides an outline of Chi-square test results for ORT Character Content and Interpersonal Theme comparisons.

In summarizing Table 13 in terms of Character Content, noteworthy is the significantly low percentage of females perceived and significantly high percentage of mixed sex settings perceived by the status offender sample in comparison to normative data of girls the same age. Also, in inspecting the Interpersonal Theme percentages, the status offending girls perceived significantly fewer supportive themes whereas they described hostile and malevolent settings significantly more than normals. Percentages of neutral and anxious themes did not significantly stray from Phillipson's (1973) normative data.

B. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND SYMPTOMATOLOGY

As this portion of study was essentially exploratory in nature, comparisons are not made from sample response data to delinquent patterns as no clear-cut referents exist in the literature. Table 14 presents a summary of psychological symptomatology as culled from a semi-structured clinical interview with each subject. It is essential first to lend a brief descriptive background of the subjects in terms of a few important and unexpected personal characteristics the group displays before continuing on with symptomatology.

TABLE 13

COMPARISON OF STATUS OFFENDER VS. NORMAL FEMALE ADOLESCENT
OBJECT RELATIONS TECHNIQUE RESPONSE SETS

Variable	Group	%	χ^2 Value	p. Level
Character Content:				
Males	Status Off.	35	2.51	ns
	Normals*	46		
Females	Status Off.	4	10.01	.005
	Normals	18		
Mixed	Status Off.	61	12.51	.001
	Normals	36		
Interpersonal Theme:				
Supportive	Status Off.	21	23.23	.001
	Normals	54		
Hostile	Status Off.	44	18.66	.001
	Normals	16		
Neutral	Status Off.	21	3.72	ns
	Normals	11		
Anxious	Status Off.	14	.9072	ns
	Normals	19		

*Normative data derived from Phillipson (1973).

TABLE 14

PSYCHOLOGICAL SYMPTOMATOLOGY AND SOMATIC COMPLAINTS

Subject	Sleep Disturbance	Appetite Disturbance	Weight Change ^a	Menstrual Disturbance	Other Somatic Complaints	Reported Hallucinations	Memory Disturbance	Suicidal Ideation and/or Attempts	Other Behavioral Deviations
1	yes	yes	gain	yes	no	no	no	no	no
2	no	no	--	pubertal	no	no	no	no	no
3	yes	yes	loss	no	no	no	no	no	no
4	no	no	--	pubertal	h/a ^b & s/a ^c	no	no	no	alcohol abuse
5	yes	yes	gain	no	no	no	yes	attempt	no
6	yes	yes	loss	no	no	no	no	no	no
7	yes	yes	loss	no	LOC ^d & ulcers	no	no	no	enuresis
8	yes	yes	loss	pubertal	no	no	yes	no	no
9	yes	yes	loss	no	LOC, h/a, auditory & s/a	no	yes	no	enuresis and hair pulling
10	no	no	--	no	LOC	no	yes	no	no
11	yes	yes	loss	no	no	no	no	no	no
12	yes	yes	gain	yes	h/a	no	no	no	rage outbursts
13	no	no	--	no	no	no	no	no	no

TABLE 14 (Continued)

Subject	Sleep Disturbance	Appetite Disturbance	Weight Change ^a	Menstrual Disturbance	Other Somatic Complaints	Reported Hallucinations	Memory Disturbance	Suicidal Ideation and/or Attempts	Other Behavioral Deviations
14	yes	yes	gain	yes	LOC ^d	auditory	yes	ideation	rage outbursts, substance abuse
15	yes	yes	loss	no	LOC	auditory & visual	yes	attempt	enuresis, substance abuse
16	yes	yes	loss	yes	LOC, h/a & s/a ^c	no	no	no	no
17	yes	yes	loss	yes	vertigo, h/a	auditory & visual	yes	ideation	no
18	yes	yes	gain	no	no	no	no	no	substance abuse
19	no	no	--	yes	allergy, ulcers	auditory	yes	focal attempts	enuresis, substance abuse
20	yes	yes	loss	no	no	no	yes	no	enuresis

^aThis criterion met if subject reported 15 pound weight loss or gain within two months prior to clinical interview.

^bh/a = headache.

^cs/a - stomach ache.

^dLOC = periodic loss of consciousness.

Subjects' Children, Pregnancies, Abortions
and Birth Control

None of the 20 subjects had been married. Four girls had already given birth to a total of five children at the time of their current court contact. Two girls (ages 15 and 16) were caring for their children and had no intention of placing them in adoptive or foster care. One of these mothers was caring for her two children on State Welfare; the other and her son were supported by her own mother. Both of these girls who described themselves as "good" mothers were under investigation by the state for alleged neglect of their children and disclosed that they feared losing them. The other two girls that had given birth placed their children for adoption soon after their deliveries. One of these girls explained that she had gotten pregnant with an older step-brother.

Five girls were pregnant either at the time of their status offense charge or during their course of treatment in the LEPA program. One of these girls is cited in the above paragraph as she had previously given birth to a son. Three other pregnant girls intended to carry to full-term and raise their children as one stated, "as best I can, but I'm scared." The last girl's pregnancy was reluctantly terminated by abortion elected by her parents.

Two girls had reported abortions. One 14 year old (noted above) became pregnant after her court appearance and agreed to an abortion soon after treatment began. The other, a 17 year old, reported an abortion at age 15 just prior to her first involvement with juvenile court.

None of the 20 subjects practiced continuous birth control. The majority of girls were apparently concerned that they might get pregnant but, nonetheless, did not comply with referrals to Planned Parenthood. One pregnant female confided that, "I don't want this baby. I expect my mother will take care of it." Another seven month pregnant subject stated, "I don't want this baby because I know what it's like to be raised without a father." She was the only subject whose early childhood history was marked by her mother's death and was subsequently cared for by a single aunt. After the data collection period of this study, and through informal follow-up, it was reported that this girl was involved in a drug-related incident and had been fatally shot before giving birth to her child.

Psychological Symptomatology

As each of the 20 girls had undergone formal psychodiagnostic evaluation, basic questions of mental status were reviewed. The subjects responded to structured questions regarding sleep and appetite patterns, recent weight loss or gain, menstrual disturbance, somatic complaints, disturbances in consciousness, occurrence of hallucinations and/or delusions, difficulty with memory, suicidal ideation/plans/past attempts, drug or alcohol abuse, enuresis, problems with temper or other troublesome behavior and a description of their general mood state. Refer to Table 14.

Fifteen girls reported significant trouble falling asleep, staying asleep, and early morning awakenings of recent origin. These same fifteen subjects described appetite disturbance with ten showing a

significant weight loss of 15 pounds or more over the previous two months before clinical interviews. The five other girls complained of weight gain because of an "increase in appetite."

Five girls' histories included daily enuresis ceasing at ages 6, 10, 10, 14 and 15 years old. Eleven girls complained of current somatic difficulties ranging from headaches, stomachaches, loss of consciousness, ulcers, and smothering sensations to uncontrollable rage-outbursts. Three girls had not reached menarche and six others described irregular and painful menstruation.

Five girls reported auditory hallucinations with two of these subjects describing vivid visual hallucinations concerned with dead significant relatives. Nine girls complained of short-term memory, concentration and attention difficulties.

Two girls had attempted suicide via pills. Yet another girl had marked forearms of multiple focal suicide attempts. Two additional subjects reported chronic suicidal ideation and homicidal ideation. One 14 year old girl admitted to abusing alcohol since her father's death and mother's desertion two years prior to present court contact. Three further girls described abusing a variety of non-prescribed drugs.

C. CROSS-VARIABLE CORRELATIONAL PATTERNS

The appropriate correlational technique was used to obtain cross-variable coefficients on 53 variables both within and across the following five dimensions: Demographic Data, Juvenile Court History, Familial Factors, Intellectual Functioning and Personality Functioning.

Results show a number of salient correlations that appear to partial out important factors within the sample of 20 girl status offenders. The above five categories will be used in presenting results.

Demographic Data

Table 15 presents a summary of significant correlations (with p . levels) of demographic with other variables. Two educational variables emerged as important factors: repeated grades and current school attendance.

TABLE 15
CORRELATIONS OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA VS. OTHER VARIABLES

Compared Variables	Corr.	p . Level
Grade Repeaters vs.		
Enuretic Hx	.69	.001
IQ Range	-.61	.004
School Attendance vs.		
Sleep Difficulties	-.57	.008
Appetite Difficulties	-.57	.008

Those girls who had repeated at least one school grade ($N = 10$) were much more likely to have an enuretic history ($r = .69$; $p < .001$) than the other girls and also to show a lower overall IQ ($r = -.61$; $p < .004$). In fact, there were five girls who had been grade repeaters (total, seven grades repeated), had been suspended from school (total, eight suspensions), had all been enuretic and who had, as a group below

Normal IQ (one Normal, two Dull Normal and two Borderline; $\bar{x}$ IQ = 84).

Only two of these girls were presently attending school.

Interestingly, however, no trend could be shown of the likelihood of grade repetitions or school suspensions being prodromal signs of a girl's eventual dropping out of school. Half of the grade repeaters (N = 10) and half of the girls who had incurred school suspensions (N = 14) were attending school; the other half had dropped out of school.

The ten girls who were currently attending school tended to report fewer sleep and appetite pattern difficulties ($r = -.57$, $p < .008$; $r = -.57$, $p < .008$, respectively) and showed a mean Full Scale IQ of 97.

An emergence of two groups is somewhat visible. That is, there appears to be a small catch of females who have shown difficulties since early childhood (i.e., enuresis) and have had problems in the school setting throughout their history and until their predictable dropping out of school, possibly provoked by a low IQ. The enuretic dropouts, incidentally, had a mean Full Scale IQ of 77. On the other hand, there appears to be another group who are in school, seem to be less depressed, possibly aided by a higher intellectual ability, and showing fewer symptoms of current adolescent turmoil.

Juvenile Court History

Table 16 presents a summary of noteworthy correlations (with p . levels) of juvenile court history factors with other variables. Three judicial variables emerged as important: nature of current offense, recidivism and the number of previous court contacts.

TABLE 16
CORRELATIONS OF JUVENILE COURT HISTORY VS. OTHER VARIABLES

Compared Variables	Corr.	p. Level
Nature of Current Offense vs. Learning Disability	.57	.008
Recidivism vs. Memory Difficulties	.59	.006
Previous Court Contacts vs.		
Hallucinations	.53	.01
Suicide Attempt	.53	.01
Death of Father	.48	.02
IQ Range	0.00	1.00
Full Scale IQ	-.005	.983

In looking at the nature of the offense, it was found that of all girls petitioned for runaway behavior ($N = 14$) nine had reported a verbal learning disability ($r = .57$; $p < .008$). There were a total of nine verbally learning disabled girls.

Eleven of the runaway girls were recidivist. The recidivist girls ($N = 14$) were more likely to report difficulties with memory ($r = .59$, $p < .006$). In fact, all memory-disturbed girls ($N = 9$) were recidivist.

In terms of the number of previously incurred court contacts among recidivist girls, it appears that the higher the number of contacts, the more likely the girl was to have reported hallucinatory activity ($r = .53$; $p < .01$), to have attempted suicide ($r = .53$; $p < .01$) and to have experienced the death of her father ($r = .48$; $p < .02$).

Noteworthy is that IQ range shows a zero correlation in regard to the number of previous court contacts. It appears that whether these

status offender girls displayed a high degree of recidivism or no recidivism at all had very little, if nothing, to do with their overall intellectual ability.

Familial Factors

Table 17 presents a number of correlations (with p . levels) of familial factors with other variables. Three factors emerged in this analysis: parental psychiatric hospitalization, death of father, and size of sibship.

TABLE 17
CORRELATIONS OF FAMILIAL FACTORS VS. OTHER VARIABLES

Compared Variables	Corr.	p . Level
Psychiatric History of Parent vs. Nature of Offense	-.65	.002
Death of Father vs. Hallucinations	.57	.008
Suicide Attempts	.57	.008
Size of Sibship vs. Criminal History of Parent	.50	.02
Depression	-.50	.02
Sibship Position	.80	.001

It was found that all three girls whose parent(s) had a history of psychiatric hospitalization were charged with other than runaway behavior, that is, two for unruliness and one for truancy ($r = -.65$; $p < .002$).

The incidence of paternal death ($N = 4$) arises, again, in correlation with a girl's report of hallucinatory activity ($r = .57$; $p < .008$) and with her having attempted suicide ($r = .57$; $p < .008$).

There appeared a tendency for girls with a large family size to have a criminal father ($r = .50$; $p < .02$) and to show an obverse relationship to clinical signs of depression as measured by a lesser degree of incidence of sleep, appetite and weight change pattern difficulties ($r = -.50$; $p < .02$). This fits nicely with the trend that most current school-attenders originated from larger families and displayed fewer vegetative signs of depression, as statistically noted above.

Also, and consistent with Fisher's Exact Test calculation on sibship size, it was found that status offenders tended to either be earlyborn in small families or laterborn in large families ($r = .80$; $p < .001$).

Intellectual Functioning

Table 18 presents a summary of correlations (with p . levels) of intellectual functioning with other variables. Three intelligence test scores appear as important factors: Full Scale IQ, Verbal IQ and, although to a lesser degree, Performance IQ.

The relationships between Full Scale IQ and recent changes in a subject's weight as well as her reporting difficulties with sleep and appetite patterns are negatively correlated ($r = -.63$, $p < .003$; $r = -.57$, $p < .008$; $r = -.57$, $p < .008$, respectively).

TABLE 18
CORRELATIONS OF IQ SCORES VS. OTHER VARIABLES

Compared Variables	Corr.	p. Level
Full Scale IQ vs.		
Sleep Difficulties	-.57	.008
Appetite Difficulties	-.57	.008
Weight Change	-.63	.003
Verbal IQ vs.		
Grade Repetition	-.57	.008
Academic Performance	.52	.01
Performance IQ vs.		
Appetite Difficulties	-.53	.01
Weight Change	-.47	.03

The relationship between Verbal IQ and school grade repetitions was negative ($r = -.57$; $p < .008$) and positive in relation to academic performance ($r = .52$; $p < .01$).

Performance IQ scores showed obverse relationships with reports of appetite problems ($r = -.53$; $p = .01$) and weight change of recent onset ($r = -.47$; $p < .03$) but not as strong as Full Scale IQ relationships with such complaints as noted above.

Personality Functioning

Psychological symptomatology. Table 19 presents a summary of conspicuous correlations (with p. levels) of reported psychological symptomatology with other variables. Three psychological problems appear to show moderate to strong trends of relationship with variables

across other dimensions: sleep disturbance, suicide attempts and hallucinatory activity.

TABLE 19
CORRELATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SYMPTOMATOLOGY
VS. OTHER VARIABLES

Compared Variables	Corr.	p. Level
Sleep Disturbances vs. Appetite Disturbance	1.0	.001
Suicidal Attempts vs. Hallucinations	.73	.001
Memory Difficulties	.63	.002
Hallucinations vs. Death of Father	.57	.008
Memory Difficulties	.63	.002
Previous Court Contacts	.53	.01
School Suspensions	.52	.01

All 15 subjects who complained of sleep difficulties had also reported a change in their appetites ($r = 1.0$; $p < .001$).

Next, the relationship between reported suicide attempts and current hallucinatory activity is noteworthy ($r = .73$; $p < .001$), as is suicidal history with reporting of memory difficulties ($r = .63$; $p < .002$). As noted above, the girls who reported suicidal activity were more likely to have had experienced the death of their father ($r = .57$; $p < .008$) and to have had many previous court contacts ($r = .53$; $p < .01$).

Of those girls who reported auditory, visual or tactile hallucinations ($N = 5$) three had experienced the death of their father

($r = .57$; $p < .008$). They also tended to report difficulties with memory ($r = .63$; $p < .002$), to have had incurred a number of previous court contacts ($r = .53$; $p < .01$) and school suspensions ($r = .53$; $p < .01$).

Interpersonal functioning. Table 20 presents a summary of salient correlations (with p . levels) of ORT response patterns with other variables. In looking at the sex of the characters perceived, a majority of the perceived males on the ORT were produced by those girls ($N = 4$) whose fathers had died ($r = .50$; $p < .02$) and also by girls who reported hallucinatory activity ($r = .63$; $p < .003$). On the average, they perceived 2.4 more "pure male" ORT stories than the other subjects.

Although the study sample ($N = 20$) perceived a significantly lower amount of "pure female" settings on the ORT than a normal adolescent population ($\chi^2 = 10.01$; $p < .005$) it was found that none of the girls who were attending school ($N = 10$) perceived any pure female character settings ($r = -.67$; $p < .001$). Only the 10 school dropouts were responsible for perceiving female settings in their stories.

The relationships between perceiving hostile versus supportive or neutral interpersonal themes on the ORT were negatively correlated ($r = -.70$, $p < .001$; $r = -.59$, $p < .006$, respectively). It appears that the girls produced hostile themes in lieu of supportive or neutral themes.

Also, and although the sample as a whole produced relatively fewer interpersonal themes displaying anxiety or internal conflict than did normal girl adolescents, those subjects that did produce themes of

TABLE 20
CORRELATIONS OF ORT RESPONSES VS. OTHER VARIABLES

Compared Variables	Corr.	p. Level
Character Content:		
Males vs.		
Death of Father	.50	.02
Hallucinations	.63	.003
Females vs.		
School Attendance	-.67	.001
Mixed Sex vs.		
School Suspensions	.81	.001
ORT Anxiety Themes	.72	.001
Interpersonal Theme:		
Hostile vs.		
Supportive	-.70	.001
Neutral	-.59	.006
Auxious vs.		
School Suspensions	.66	.004
Mixed Sex Content	.72	.001

anxiety tended more to be those girls who exhibited a history of school suspensions ($r = .66$; $p < .004$). Anxiety and intrapsychic turmoil were reflected by ORT productions descriptive of actively and pronounced hostile, suicidal, injurious, criminal, troubled, sorrowful themes that were usually coupled with expectations of imminent separation and/or loss. The relationship between subjects producing anxiety-ridden themes tended also to be interwoven into mixed sex interpersonal themes on the ORT ($r = .72$, $p < .001$).

E. SUMMARY OF RESULTS IN RELATION TO EXPECTATIONS OF THE STUDY

Demographic Data

Age. Contrary to expectation, the status offenders' average age was significantly higher at first court contact ($\bar{x} = 14$ years, 4 months) than the girl delinquent norm ($\bar{x} = 13$ years). Average age at the status offenders' current contact was 15 years, 6 months which, contrary to the literature, underlines the unusual presence of three recidivist subjects not having reached menarche.

Educational variables. Although the status offender sample showed average grade repetitions as slightly lower ($\bar{x} = .6$ years) than the girl delinquent norm ($\bar{x} = 1$ year), the difference was not statistically significant and consistent with expectation. As expected also, the incidence of documented verbal learning disabilities (45 percent) and average number of academic suspensions ($\bar{x} = 1$) was high in the sample. Predictably, school attendance showed a 50 percent rate in the sample.

Families on welfare. Consistent with expectation, although the study sample showed a slightly higher incidence (30 percent) of welfare-recipient families than the delinquent girl norm reports (25 percent), it did not reach significance. Also, as expected, the socioeconomic character of a majority of subjects' families fell into the lower class categories across occupation, education and income.

Juvenile Court History

Current offense. Contrary to expectation, the single most frequent status offense was runaway behavior (65 percent) and not (predicted) unruly behavior although its incidence was 25 percent out of a total of 20 primary status offense charges.

Previous offense. Consistent with expectation, first-time offenders incurred fewer number of charges on their petitions ($\bar{x} = 1.4$) as compared with recidivist subjects ($\bar{x} = 2.0$).

Familial Factors

Family configuration. As predicted, the subjects showed a significantly larger family size ($\bar{x} = 5.25$ siblings) in comparison with the delinquent girl norm ($\bar{x} = 3.68$ siblings). However, and contrary to expectation, the subjects showed a significant ordinal trend in their sibships. Two groups emerged in that an earlyborn group originated from small families (≤ 3 total sibs) and last or penultimate-borns originated from large families (≥ 6 total sibs).

Primary caretaking. Contrary to expectation, the subjects showed no significant difference in relation to the incidence of interrupted early caretaking (between ages one through five). The relative difference of incidence of interrupted caretaking was, however, in the predicted direction (status offenders, 25 percent; delinquent norms, 32 percent).

Parental death. Also, contrary to expectation, the subjects showed a significantly higher incidence of paternal death (20 percent) than the rural girl delinquent norm (14 percent). The comparison of maternal death incidence was not computed.

Broken homes. Contrary to expectation, subjects showed a significant difference in comparison with girl delinquent norm in terms of history of broken home incidence (divorce, separation, desertion of one or both parents, long-term hospitalization or death of parent) in an unpredicted direction. Subject incidence was 95 percent whereas girl delinquent norm is 70 percent.

Parental divorce and separation. Contrary to expectation, the subjects showed a significant difference in comparison with the girl delinquent norm of incidence of parental divorce and separation. In fact, the direction of incidence was opposite to that predicted—subjects showed a 70 percent rate and delinquent norm is a 24 percent rate.

Parental disability. Unexpectedly, the incidence of parental disability (substance abuse, criminal involvement, psychiatric

hospitalization, chronic medical disability) among the subjects (80 percent) showed a significant difference in comparison with the girl delinquent norm (53 percent). It was predicted that in separating out incidence of alcoholism, it would show a high rate and, thusly, inflate overall parental disability. In fact, it was shown that the incidence of parental alcoholism was 75 percent in the sample and was significantly higher than the delinquent girl norm of 64 percent incidence.

Parental criminal involvement. Consistent with the expectation, a significantly lower incidence of criminal parents was found in the sample (15 percent) in comparison with the girl delinquent norm (39 percent).

Intellectual Functioning

IQ range. Contrary to expectation, it was found that the Normal IQ category range had the highest frequency count ($N = 10$) among subjects and not the Dull Normal range ($N = 7$). Also, contrary to expectation, no significant difference was found in comparing the status offender Full Scale IQ mean ($\bar{x} = 93.6$) with the girl delinquent norm ($\bar{x} = 99.06$). As expected, the mean within-sample Performance IQ ($\bar{x} = 94.15$) was slightly higher than the Verbal IQ ($\bar{x} = 93.2$).

Personality Variables

Personal characteristics. A review of sexual history found five pregnant subjects and four subjects having experienced one or more

full-term deliveries prior to their current court contact. Two abortions were reported and birth control practiced inconsistently.

Psychological symptomatology. A review of current psychological complaints and significant past behavioral deviations showed a variety of troublesome symptoms that appeared with some frequency. Symptoms centered on depression with sleep, appetite and weight change concomitants, suicide attempts, gestures and ideation and a variety of cognitive and somatic difficulties. Enuresis was present in the history of five subjects.

Interpersonal functioning. ORT results were consistent with expectations of the study that a status offender sample will "people" their world in a significantly different manner than normal female adolescents. Statistical comparisons showed that the status offenders strayed significantly from normative data in four of seven categories across Character Content and Interpersonal Theme. On the ORT they perceived significantly fewer pure female settings, more mixed sex settings, fewer supportive or friendly interpersonal themes and more hostile interpersonal themes. They did not significantly differ from normative data in the frequency with which they perceived pure male settings nor neutral or anxiety-laden interpersonal themes.

Cross-Variable Correlational Patterns

There appeared a number of relatively strong relationships noted between certain variables within and across the five above dimensions. In brief, clusters of relationships emerged around four salient areas

that accounted for a major portion of the variance: (1) school attendance; (2) IQ; (3) signs of depression, hallucinatory and suicidal activity; and (4) parental death.

In summary, and across all five dimensions of investigation, from a total of 17 specific expectations of this study, statistical results and trends coincided with only seven predictions. Noteworthy is that a majority of Familial Factors appeared inconsistent with research expectations and lend unexpected material for discussion. Discussion will focus on such inconsistencies and upon the four salient variables, as noted above under the cross-variable correlational pattern summary, that appear to account for a good portion of the variance.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In reviewing the findings of this research, two points need to be kept in mind. The first, although assumptions are met in drawing statistical comparisons between this sample and noted delinquent norms, it is a special sample of girl offenders. They are a rural group of statute violators. It seemed predictably obvious that significant differences might emerge between them and the delinquent girl as described in literature reviews. Nonetheless, the data collected herein serves one basic purpose of this study noted earlier, that is, to demonstrate the nature of the essential difference between statute violators and institutionalized delinquents, a task that the literature has chronically neglected.

The second point concerns the sample size and selection of subjects. Optimally, a sample size of forty would have lent more weight to what conclusions are drawn below about discrete means and relative trends displayed by the group whether descriptive of demographic, legal, familial, intellectual or personality dimensions. It is doubtful, however, that the subject selection procedure used was sufficiently biased to allow for the group to be a special sub-sample of the overall rural statistical population. Although juvenile court judges were highly sympathetic to LEPA project goals and voiced comments that "sending girls to the LEPA grant helps my task" and that they wished to see the project continue, it is unlikely that they referred especially

"problem" girls to the project. The researcher had access to juvenile court proceedings and observed the referral-making process by judges. In fact, court officials conferred as to whether psychological evaluations and treatment would be "helpful" and if yes, whether the girl in question would follow through with this new alternative that appeared on the surface to be intrusive to a good number of families of the girls. In fact, one girl the officials considered to be a "lost cause" was not referred to the project as she most likely didn't have enough family fibre behind her to insure her participation in the project. The point, essentially, is that the sample, albeit 20 in number, appears representative of a cross-section of a rural female status offender population.

It is helpful in this chapter, as in previous ones, to keep to the same five-section format in discussing the data collected. That is, Demographic Data, Juvenile Court History, Familial Factors, Intellectual Functioning, and Personality Functioning (including psychological symptomatology and interpersonal adaptation) will be discussed in sequence. Finally, salient cross-variable correlational patterns will be noted and used to create a summary of the rural girl offender.

A. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

The sample showed a significantly higher age at first and subsequent court contacts in comparison to institutionalized, primarily urban-originating, delinquents. Research (e.g., Ferdinand, 1964; Lentz, 1970; MacDonald, 1977) has noted that rural families tend to isolate

and enshroud problems within the family system and guard against external intrusion or intervention more so than families in other community settings. The girls in the study may have been protected by this rural "style" even though their family systems were generally not very cohesive.

One finding that is striking in relation to existing literature on female delinquents is the higher mean age of the sample at court contact. Three subjects had not reached menarche and there were prolific accounts of the girls' children, pregnancies and abortions, the latter of which might well have been under reported. It appears that rural status offenders are especially sexually active. Their sexual activity in combination with scanty knowledge about pregnancy, spiced with myth, creates an adolescent girl who is troublesome to her guardian. The incidence of pregnancy and abortion visible within the present sample is highly consonant with the concern of the delinquency literature that has focussed on the girl offender's potential as childbearer, much to the disgruntlement of current feminist criminologists who wish to play down, if not deny, the marriage of delinquency and pregnancy.

Educationally, incidence of repeated grades among the sample relatively followed the literature of delinquent girls. Verbal learning disabilities, academic suspensions and school nonattendance (or dropout rate) showed very high percentages. It appears that those girls who are high risk for a status offense petition will have had an educational history spotted with learning difficulties, suspensions for

truancy and fighting with females. In addition, they are likely candidates to have dropped out of school and are living at home, the milieu of which is lower class. The parents or guardians of rural offenders are likely to have struggled through a high school education, at best, with many completing only ninth grade. Such parents and/or guardians are usually employed in semi-skilled positions and earning an average income of below \$7,000, if not subsisting on Welfare.

B. JUVENILE COURT HISTORY

Contrary to expectation that unruliness would be the single most frequent current charge, runaway behavior was tallied for 14 girls. As most subjects were petitioned by their parents, it appears that runaway behavior is least tolerated in the rural home. In looking at first offense, 13 girls were cited as runaways by guardians, four petitioned by school authorities for truancy, and the remaining three petitioned for unruliness by guardians. Interestingly enough, when a girl was cited for unruliness, she was usually the younger of an already-runaway sib. It appears that guardians who had already reckoned with runaway behavior in a child may predict that subsequent sibs will follow in the same direction and act on that prediction. Apparently, these are the guardians that petition for unruliness in the home. They fear runaway behavior and appear to take court action more quickly—in the incipient state before the girl leaves the home.

There appear, therefore, to be three visible "roads" to juvenile court for the rural girl offender. Parents petition for running away

after they have tolerated some unruliness for a while or predict that she will run away and take precautions by citing her in the unruly stage. Or, parents will petition only after the girl has run off and has been a behavior problem in the home for some time. Or, school authorities bring the girl to court for truancy. Interestingly enough, the girls that are brought before a judge for truant behavior have been suspended for unmanageable and disorderly conduct a number of times and placed on probation. The flow of events suggests that families will endure a girl's unruliness for quite some time but school authorities see it (usually coupled with spotty attendance) as enough reason, seriously and legally, to confront the girl.

It is also important to consider whether the runaway disposition of the girl offender is real or an artifact of the labelling process of the court. One possible explanation is that unruly running away may be more a function of the nature of the court process rather than the behavior of the cited girl offender. Simply, girls who show such behavior problems may be experiencing severe familial stress and their behavior may stand as symptoms of such familial discord. A mother or guardian may spotlight the girl as troublesome, file a legal complaint on her and proceed to the juvenile court's intervention in order to diffuse some of the overall family turmoil. If this hypothesis of the flow of events is based on some reality, family court, rather than juvenile court, intervention might be a more appropriate resource of mediation for many families of status offending girls.

C. FAMILIAL FACTORS

In addition to the rural girl offender having access to only limited familial financial resources and poorly educated parental model(s), she is apt to have a bevy of sibs and half-sibs in the home with her and significantly more children in the home with her than her urban delinquent cohort. She is also likely to have shifted through a number of early and late guardianship changes and broken home settings, separations, divorces and remarriages especially after the death or disability of a parent or significant other, or, more specifically, criminal involvement of her father. In fact, she appears in worse straits than the delinquent urban-originating girl in these regards (except for the criminal involvement of father) and presents to the juvenile court authorities a plethora of family discord and discontinuity.

A striking incidence of parental alcoholism (75 percent) suggests that in a rural setting the girl whose parent or parents are alcoholic are at high risk to run away from home and become petitioned by parents who may feel powerless in controlling her behavior. Many of these parents who are interviewed complained that their girl was sexually active before running away and that they resorted to the power and control they, evidently, sense in the community with many admitting, "I didn't know what else to do except go to the judge."

Throughout the interviews it became apparent that a special problem of physical abuse directed toward the girl offender exists in a rural setting. Perhaps unlike her urban counterpart, as documented by such press releases as "teenage runaways tell panel of beatings at their

homes" from the Boston Globe (Robinson, 1978) and "Sick with fear, girl fled mother's rage" as noted in the Boston Herald American (Hassett, 1978), the girls in this study specifically complained that such direct physical abuse was forcefully sexual in nature.

It is especially noteworthy that the issue of sexuality has surfaced in all three dimensions discussed and is highly consonant with the focus of concern of juvenile court judges and officials upon this aspect since the turn of the century. Legal authorities have been called upon to treat the situation post hoc (e.g., after physical abuse has taken place, after sexual promiscuity has resulted in pregnancy). Efforts need to be directed toward preventive measures, that is, at intervening in the family systems of girls at risk, before their pregnant appearance in court.

D. INTELLECTUAL FUNCTIONING

Assessment of intelligence shows that, although the sample had the highest frequency IQ count falling within the Normal range of assessed intelligence, the group did not display a normal distribution but one that is skewed to the right with the Dull Normal range over-represented and the Bright Normal range containing but one subject. Unexpectedly, the mean IQ was not significantly different from a delinquent girl literature review that has captured scores of studies conducted through the past 20 years.

The relationship between Verbal and Performance IQ scores indicates that, on the average, the intellectual substrate of these girls shows

strength more so in a motor-integrative or action-oriented problem solving mode rather than in using words. One might extrapolate further in suggesting that it follows that the majority of these girls tended to resolve whatever problems they faced by taking action, i.e., by running away.

It appears that the WISC-R proved to be a sensitive instrument in uncovering Verbal and Performance IQ discrepancies. Three girls showed a 15 point difference or more between Verbal and Performance scores. Wechsler (1974) considers 15 points (one s.d.) to be a possible sign of cerebral dysfunction. One girl (high Performance) had an organic brain syndrome in infancy caused by a toxic agent. The other two (high Verbal) were the only subjects admitting to heavy drug usage from time to time since puberty. There is a good chance that right cerebral brain dysfunction had taken place. Both subjects were referred for neuropsychological examinations.

E. PERSONALITY VARIABLES

Psychological Symptomatology

This portion of study was exploratory in nature and proved a fruitful attempt at gaining a glimpse at psychological complaints of the rural girl offenders. An overview of Table 14 (pp. 123-4) shows a range of symptoms that are indicators of psychological distress, somatic concern (which may be interpreted as defensive attempts to allay depressed feelings), cognitive disturbance, and psychotic-like symptomatology in the form of reported hallucinations and suicidal

ideation. What is at first noticeable is the range of concerns and, second, early onset of some of the difficulties. A review of the most visible symptom cluster (hallucinatory and suicidal activity, memory disturbance, depression) will be discussed below under cross-variable correlational patterns. It is, however, helpful to point out the overall incidence of symptoms, concerns and behavioral deviations present in this group. It is apparent that these concerns would have gone unnoticed if the girls were not referred for psychological evaluation.

In looking at the first three columns of Table 14 (pp. 123-4) a majority of subjects complained of sleep, appetite and weight change problems of some duration. Clinicians suggest that these symptoms are indicators of depression and anxiety. As a whole, these same subjects reported that they felt "low," "depressed," "preoccupied," or "bothered." It may be that their appearance or anticipation of appearance in court may have exacerbated the depression and anxiety somewhat. However, the girls did report at least a two month duration of symptoms of noted sleep, appetite and weight change disturbances, if not a longer duration. Clearly, they are, overall, an unhappy and anxious group.

It appears that the degree of depression inferred in the present group is consistent with literature (e.g., Kaufman et al., 1959; Reiner and Kaufman, 1959; Chwast, 1967, 1977; Blos, 1969) ascribing the delinquent girl with an unusually dependent and dysphoric core. Such research and theoretical pieces suggest that the crucial

determinant of girl delinquency is an unresolved depression caused by shifting primary caretakers through repeated, actual or psychological separation. It has been documented in this study that the histories of the girls have been checkered by repeated separation and loss, whether death or desertion, with noticeable depressive features in the girls.

In reviewing the quality and quantity of somatic complaints of the sample (see Table 14, pp. 123-4), it appears that a number of the girls were not only experiencing psychological distress but showed some serious signs that may be related to central nervous system dysfunction with concomitant frustration and deflated sense of themselves and their abilities. Nearly one-half of the subjects reported periodic episodes of loss of consciousness and one-fourth complained of some rather severe head pain with gastro-intestinal distress. Vertigo, ulcers and allergy were also included in complaints. Although it would be important to filter out so-called "hysterical" symptomatology in differential diagnosis, research has shown that there is a tendency for court-involved adolescents to exhibit abnormal electroencephalographs (Monroe, 1978). There is a strong possibility that a few of the girls who complained of loss of consciousness may have been experiencing absence seizure disorder. Furthermore, Satterfield (1974) suggests that the likelihood of EEG abnormality is greater in individuals with higher Performance WISC-R scaled scores.

In continuing with a review of psychological difficulties (refer to Table 14) it appears essential to consider hallucinatory activity, memory disturbance and suicidal symptomatology next. Firstly, the

incidence of such disturbance is noteworthy in what court officials and even parents considered part of the "picture of such rebellious, acting-out girls," as one juvenile judge offered. Obviously, the degree of complaints (five actively hallucinating girls, two past suicide attempts, one recurrent focal attempt and a number of memory-disturbed girls) points to the possibility of these girls experiencing a good deal of emotional pain. The phenomenological reports of a number of girls is consistent with research which has reported other delinquent girls' feelings of "confusion, hopelessness, and doom" (Kaufman and Heims, 1958).

Although literature (e.g., Bennett, 1960) has been consistent in noting that the incidence of enuresis is twice as high in boys as girls and about 88 percent of children are "dry" by age four and a half, five girls in this study were reportedly diurnal enuretic, the youngest until six years old and the eldest until age 15 years. A growing corpus of opinion is focussing on developmental or maturational factors or lags as causative of enuresis rather than psychodynamic explanations of enuresis as a "desire for regression, a plea for help, the resentment of parents." It has been reported that the highest percentage of enuresis is displayed by rejected and neglected children and lowest in overprotected children. The study sample appears to have undergone long-standing emotional if not physical neglect and loss. The incidence of primary enuresis in the sample further underlines the subjects' difficulty of getting along as "normal" children that such girls may have experienced beginning at an early age, whether

maturational or emotional or a combination thereof. The enuretic difficulty may have been further complicated or exacerbated by how the parent responded to such "a mess" as one guardian described her girl's enuresis. One interviewed father admitted to punishing his daughter by allowing her only one pair of underpants about every third day.

Finally, and in regard to two dramatically and similarly-sounding complaints voiced by two girls of recurrent rage outbursts, the possibility of cerebral dysfunction again arises. The descriptions had an uncanny resemblance to what has been documented as a subtle adolescent seizure disorder that is characteristically recurrent, short-lived, recognized by careful neuropsychological assessment and treatable when diagnosed (Monroe, 1978). If undiagnosed, however, the behavioral manifestations continue to frustrate not only the disordered adolescent but to confuse and frustrate the significant people around her. Her behavior is attributed to controlled volition rather than a possible low seizure threshold and possible CNS dysfunction.

Interpersonal Functioning

Consistent with expectations of the present study, the quality of stories produced by the girls to ORT stimuli differed significantly from normal female adolescent productions in four of seven categories across Character Content and Interpersonal Theme. First, in looking at Character Content, results showed that significantly fewer pure female settings and significantly more mixed sex settings were reported by the group as a whole. Developmentally, for females between ages 14 and 17, Coleman (1974) among others suggests that the content of object

relationships deals mainly with peers and especially heterosexual relationships. Heterosexual relationships are highly valued for mid-adolescent girls as well as friendship in a small female group where, for example, the issues of trust, authority, bodily changes and adolescent struggles may be aired and validated. The parental relationship or dealings with authority in general are topics which are usually tinged with conflict and associated with a considerable degree of anxiety. What is at first apparent in the productions of the study sample girls is the lack of female settings and preoccupation with heterosexual involvement.

This trend may exhibit a mid-adolescent, healthy but somewhat over-vigorous involvement with the opposite sex. In referring to the statistical results of interpersonal theme production, however, it is shown that significantly fewer supportive themes sprang from the stories and significantly more hostile or violent themes were perceived by the girls. This, in fact, is in direct opposition to the normal girl adolescent trend, as it has been shown that girls usually express a higher proportion of constructive or supportive theme between the ages of 14 and 17 years (Coleman, 1974) across SES, especially in regard to heterosexual settings.

What is at first strikingly prominent in the productions of the offender girls' ORT stories is that they repeatedly combined heterosexual settings with hostile or malevolent themes. Research has consistently shown that such a mixture perceived by mid-adolescent girls suggests a fear of rejection from the opposite sex and an interpersonal

expectation of unfair, mistrustful and rather abusive treatment from males in general (Laing, Phillipson and Lee, 1966). Furthermore, it has been shown (Coleman, 1974) that negative and conflictual themes within heterosexual settings are marked in productions on the ORT by ten to 12 year old females. It might be hypothesized that the females of the study sample are displaying an age and maturationally-appropriate preoccupation with the opposite sex, however, seem to be stuck in a somewhat delayed developmental struggle with their perception of males as rejecting, withholding, threatening, and, to an extreme, potentially violent. The girl offenders' perceptions are, doubtless, multi-determined and may be fostered by a faulty relationship with a father or significant other male, internalization of values of contempt and mistrust for males as displayed by a mother figure, among other explanations.

Research activity on a delinquent girl population has shown (O'Kelly, 1955, 1957) a strong tendency for adjudicated females to introduce more hostile and sinister men with criminal and violent themes. Stories produced by the present sample approach such content and themes perhaps indicating that their interpersonal relationships are perceived in a parallel and disturbed manner. Confrontation and hostility appear to be major expectations within their environment, especially in mixed sex settings.

F. CROSS-VARIABLE CORRELATIONAL PATTERNS

Whereas the previous sections of this chapter discussed results rather globally in noting trends that might be expected to describe

rural girl status offenders, this last section will consider a finer analysis of the girl offender per se. Prominent factors, and more so an interplay of factors, may be operative and highly influential in placing the rural girl at high risk for multiple appearances before juvenile court authorities. Briefly, relationships converged around four variables or clusters of variables: (1) school attendance; (2) IQ; (3) vegetative signs of depression, reported hallucinatory and suicidal activity; and (4) parental death.

Firstly, there are blanket statements that may hold for most rural status offender girls. They are distinguished by a high incidence of low SES, broken homes, shifting caretakers, siblings, illness and a tendency to become pregnant in mid-adolescence.

More specifically, it appears that something might be said quite confidently about a girl who presents in a rural juvenile court as a status offender in terms of present and prior school attendance. If she is currently attending a regular school program it is likely that she has an IQ in the high 90's, has performed on an almost average level academically, may have repeated a grade and has been suspended on occasion for truancy or disorderly conduct in school, but does not complain of difficulties in sleeping and eating or show such a high incidence of parental death or disability as her counterpart dropout status offender sister.

The school dropout rural girl offender shows a history of grade repetitions and suspensions but presents as more depressed, provides more somatic concerns, and reports a markedly higher incidence of

parental death, especially paternal. She will also more likely be pregnant or to have reported an abortion in her past. Her intellectual resources appear to hover around 90. If her history has shown behavioral deviations that date to her young childhood such as enuresis, loss of consciousness, rage-outbursts, and so forth, it is likely that she will most definitely have repeated a school grade and have been repeatedly suspended from school.

In considering the nature of rural status offense, it is evident that runaway girls have more likely been to court before, for the same charge. Girls with a number of previous court contacts have a tendency to have been struggling with the turmoil of some rather marked psychological distress shown by their reports of hallucinatory activity, suicidal ideation (if not having displayed suicide attempts), memory disturbances and difficulty in sleep and appetite patterns. They are also likely to have experienced either the death of their mother, another close friend or relative, but most often the death of their father. It may not be just coincidental that the only girl in the sample who experienced the death of her mother (which she vividly recalled at age three) had been involved in a violent drug incident and was killed at 17 years of age.

Perhaps, as Bowlby (1969) has suggested, that the child between ages one and three is especially vulnerable to separation and loss experiences and resultant depression, the subject may have been affected by a relatively permanent susceptibility. Before the age of three "object constancy," or the cognitive ability to accept that an

object exists even when it cannot be directly perceived, is not yet crystallized. An awareness is apparent that the mother exists but internalization is not yet complete. When similar physiological (8th month of pregnancy) or environmental stress recurred in this subject's adolescence the feeling of separation and loss peaked. The subject reported feelings of overwhelming hopelessness and emptiness. Furthermore, her boyfriend was to go on trial the following week for alleged first degree murder.

When looking at the rural girl's family structure, it appears that those girls who present in court for unruly behavior are petitioned by school authorities who will not tolerate her "nonsense and disruption" any longer, or, by a guardian who has become expectant of her imminent runaway behavior and wishes to intervene before she does run off, as perhaps an older sib in the family has already done. Interestingly, those girls who present as unruly or truant have the likelihood of having a parent who was (is) psychiatrically disabled. Research needs to be undertaken to test the idea that she may be in sufficient turmoil to escape and run off, but fears that her parent or guardian is too emotionally unstable to withstand that reaction.

Interpersonally, it appears that those girl offenders who are attending school are adapting better in that they people their world with female and male settings. They do have a tendency to expect hostile and vicious interpersonal treatment especially by males and expect to be rejected and neglected; however, they do not show as pronounced an expectation as those girls who have dropped out of school

entirely. The subjects attending school ($N = 10$) showed no production of pure female settings and this may be explained by their having less need to work or rework problems surrounding female peers in fantasy. They have had an opportunity to relate to their compeers on a daily basis. The non-school attenders, however, showed some need to use fantasy in this regard. It is noteworthy that on informal probes of the nature of their daily interpersonal activities, the dropouts reported spending a good deal of their time caring for children or with boyfriends and their male companions.

Lastly, it has become clear throughout this study that those girls who lost their fathers are apt to experience an especially difficult time with males and are in the throes of ambivalence feeling both hopeful for male contact but frightened and threatened by it. They may become sexually entangled as one way to deny their fright and allay their needs to become dependent, daughterly and loved. Paralleling past research findings of Leonard (1966), Herzog and Sudia (1968), and Lamb (1976) the girls who lost their fathers through death showed an aggradized image of males in their ORT stories. Those girls whose fathers abandoned the family described male images with much more hostility.

Overall, the girls showed severe signs of psychological symptomatology, internal conflict, and overt anxiety and depression. This reaction to stress was shown even though their behavioral activity level was clearly high and legally out of line for a juvenile, enough so for someone to render her a status offender.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The rural girl offender in this research presents with a complicated cultural, familial, psychological and legal set of circumstances. Exploratory findings offer a variety of implications in considering planning and treatment recommendations for her in a rural juvenile court setting.

The less psychologically-disturbed girls plead firstly for community-based programs and services to strengthen the family unit. It appears that alternatives which provide meaningful work and recreational opportunities for adolescent girls could be essential in diverting antisocial energy into more healthy activity. An expanded use of para-professional personnel and volunteer programs to encourage her to stay in school would seem paramount. Youth-initiated programs designed to assist youth may foster a sense of self-regard and direction for young girls. Opportunity for new behavior may mitigate faltering (and false) attempts at achieving mastery and maturity, that is, sexual activity, drug abuse, truanting and unruliness.

In regard to the extensive psychological symptomatology uncovered by individual interviewing, it becomes clear that the role of a clinical psychologist in such a court setting is warranted. It is also evident that such a clinician needs to be aware of community structure and sensitive to certain cultural nuances (e.g., protection of privacy) that are characteristic of the rural family.

Minimally, a psychologist could be utilized as a consultant to intervene and recommend treatment or community referral for girls who are unusually troubled. Psychodiagnostic, and occasional neuropsychological, assessment may clarify the type and degree of disorders presented by the girls. Furthermore, it might be well for juvenile court authorities from judges to court recorders to become alerted, if not trained, to notice clusters of variables noted in this study that make the girl especially vulnerable to reappearing in court. It appears that early recognition of these girls is important—those that show decompensation in cognitive and emotional control, or, plainly, inability to cope with the array of struggles and the numbers of stresses they are confronting within adolescence.

The pattern of findings of this exploration force us into recognizing that present results among the adolescent girl status-offenders confirms past literature in which sexual misbehavior has been a prominent topic. Although probation officers are well aware of her attempts at mastery through pseudo-heterosexual activity, it appears that basic informational sessions regarding sex and bodily functioning would be worthwhile to incorporate into the probational contact between officer and offender.

One can only agree with the conclusions of Cowie, Cowie and Slater (1968) among others, that on the one hand, status offender girls undoubtedly differ from what would be expected of a sample of the general population in personal characteristics such as slightly less than average intelligence, are retarded educationally for some reason

or another, and in many cases show neurotic and borderline symptoms, the result of stresses coming from an unfavorable environment as well as extreme deviation in personality and illness, such as recurrent depression and possibly seizure disorder; yet, on the other hand, these findings, noteworthy as they may be, are dwarfed in importance by the nearly universal evidence of grossly disturbed family life. In fact, present research suggests that the disorganized character of their families exceeds, on some levels, the disturbances noticed in delinquent families.

It is dangerous to generalize about the causes of status offense; each case is the product of a different setting. But it is generally accepted that the shaping of behavior patterns and the emotional experiences provided by the family unit play a major role in a child's later life. If a family is warm and nurturant the children have the basic requirements for developing to the best of their ability. Whatever the role of socioeconomic conditions in the etiology of adolescent offense, currently most psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers believe unsatisfactory human relationships in the home to be a prime cause of maladjustment. If the child misses the satisfaction of a complete relationship—especially, it is believed, with the mother—the child is discontented and frustrated, and in a desire for fulfillment turns unwittingly in the direction of delinquency.

The history of thought and research on the origins of female offense shows a high concentration on the role played by the mother and its contribution to the etiology of delinquency. Traditionally the

father's role in the early years of childhood is thought of primarily in terms of the economic and emotional support he affords the mother.

Investigators have tended to pay little heed to the relationship between father and daughter, and have treated the mother-infant relationship as crucial, and its breakdown as irremediable. This emphasis has, of course, made an impact on psychology, casework and institutional administration—and this impact has been dangerous. The evidence on which administrators and psychiatrists have been making decisions was not only simplistic with regard to deprivation, but was also collected almost exclusively from boys and applied, with excessive confidence, to both sexes. With the gradual expansion of therapeutic and theoretical concern to the family as the prime medium of personal development, it has become obvious that fathers as well as mothers affect the child's pattern of maturation—and that the needs of girls are different from those of boys.

The findings of the present study show a high rate of separation and loss and deprivation of warm, steady relationships with significant, caring people, especially males. It is impossible, however, to ascribe etiological importance to a factor on the basis of frequency alone. Even a correlation is no proof of causality and in this study any evidence of a causal association between deprivation and paternal separation and status offense is entirely lacking and could not possibly, in the framework adopted, be obtained. What has been shown is incidence of deprivation and separation. High as they are, it may merely mean that in the rural population fathers are more ready than

mothers to abandon their children. In cases of separation or divorce mothers usually get custody of the children while fathers become separated by law. However, separation from either parent does not seem to be a single factor in status offense; rather it is part of the entire pathological situation inherent in unstable families.

The frequency of an inadequate or absent father in the family background of rural status offenders suggests that work with problem families should depart from the traditional model. Instead of female therapists/caseworkers concentrating on the social effectiveness of the mothers, we may need more male therapists concentrating on fathers. Even more pertinent than the sex of the professional may be his (or her) understanding of the interlocking pathology and of the need either to find and treat the father or to replace him.

It may be that authority—traditionally a strong class variable symbolized by the father in a rural setting—is just as important for healthy social development as parental love, traditionally vested in the mother. It is inconceivable how a happy and socially adjusted person can develop without both—authority and love—making their lasting imprint from early childhood. Without love it is impossible to accept authority, save in the most rudimentary and superficial manner. Without authority it is impossible to channel and control one's drives. If one of them is needed first, it is probably love; but the blend of love and authority, present in all well-functioning united families, appears essential very early in the years of childhood. It is likely that rural status offenders' families afford minimal glimpses of consistent

affection and clear direction, rules and restrictions amidst ongoing discontinuity, discord and disease.

What is shown in this study is the danger of focusing exclusively on one variable as possibly pathogenic, and of predetermining in this way conclusions for which no objective scientific basis can be found. Both physical and emotional separation and faulty interpersonal perception appear to have occurred in the history and current functioning of the girl-offender. It is difficult to determine whether family upheaval and physical separation contribute in any way to a child's unhappiness and emotional starvation; in many cases physical separation was likely to be the symptom rather than the cause of disturbed relations. In some cases it might even have reduced the emotional deprivation of the adolescent rather than increased it.

In this study, it was found that the tests and oral interviews with the subjects assumed complementary roles, with interviews providing a phenomenological context within which to interpret the test data. A more comprehensive interview with the girls would be valuable. Further areas of investigation could be the girl's perception of herself, her goals in a relationship and her basic approach to people and the world. If this author were to repeat the study she would spend more time talking with the subjects, especially about their preoccupation with fathers.

The frequency of parental deprivation in the life history of rural status offenders suggests that, at least at the stage when rural girls are removed from their homes by court order and placed elsewhere, there

is a permanent need to make the setting as good a substitute for a well-functioning family as possible. If she needs to be sent away to other than a family setting, it is obvious that a small institution would serve such a purpose better than a large one.

It is also apparent that the staff of any institution which is to act as a substitute for the family should contain personnel of both sexes. Relatively small institutions divided into separate cottages, in which the number of offenders does not exceed that of a large family and is served by personnel in which men and women are about equally represented, appear to fit the needs of rural status offender girls when taken out of their homes of origin. Old residential houses within their community appear to be ideal for this type of setting.

The practical implications of this study as listed above may be regarded as reaching too far: the relative importance of the parents' roles and family character in the etiology of rural status offenders has not been proved, either in this or in any other research. But most scientific evidence is of a negative character; statistical checks tend to disprove rather than prove hypotheses. This is also the case with this study: it tends to disprove the relatively important tradition of looking at one factor rather than in utilizing a broad perspective. Can one act upon evidence of this nature?

It appears that action is possible since, as Karl Popper (1959) said, all scientific hypotheses always remain tentative. If hypotheses are tentative, so should social action based upon them: research can lead to a change in social policy or legislation, but further evaluation is always needed to assess the consequences of such a change.

Finally, and with special importance, if we begin to view young rural women offenders as persons who have made fairly logical responses to stressful situations in their lives—responses which are made on the basis of their own limited experience (which is all any of us can ever do)—rather than as criminals who have deliberately set out to break laws, we may possibly approach a more sensitive and humane system, a lower amount of recidivism, and a fair reduction in female offense. In this, I am mildly optimistic.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM I

I understand that I (my daughter) will be given certain tests by Ms. Augustine (or has been administered these tests already by Ms. Augustine) as part of the research for her Ph.D. dissertation in clinical psychology. I understand that no names or identifying material will be used in the report of this project. I also understand that these tests and brief family history interview are necessary for her evaluation as requested by the juvenile court.

I understand that I may decide to stop participating in this study at any time without penalty. I also understand that my agreement to participate will have no bearing on any decisions affecting me (or my daughter) reached by the juvenile court.

NAME _____

WITNESS _____

DATE _____

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM II

I understand that I (my daughter) will be given one test by Ms. Augustine and has been given some tests by the East Tennessee Regional Diagnostic Center for Juveniles that will be used as part of the research for her Ph.D. dissertation in clinical psychology. I understand that no names or identifying material will be used in the report of this project. I also understand that these tests and brief family history interview are necessary for the evaluation as requested by the juvenile court.

I understand that I may decide to stop participating in this study at any time without penalty. I also understand that my agreement to participate will have no bearing on any decisions affecting me (or my daughter) reached by the juvenile court.

NAME _____

WITNESS _____

DATE _____

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (SUBJECT)

Age and Educational Information:

1. Tell me the day, month and year you were born.
2. Are you attending school now or receiving special instruction? What grade are you in? (If the subject has dropped out: What grade did you drop out of school and why?).
3. Have you ever been held back a school year? If so, what grade(s)?
4. Have you ever been suspended from school? If so, why were you suspended?
5. Have you had any special problems in learning in school? If so, what were the areas you had or have difficulty in?
6. Have you attended any special education classes?

Family Constellation:

1. Tell me the ages of all your brothers and sisters.
2. Are they full brothers and sisters?

Family History:

1. Have you had any difficulties in your family that involve physical fighting?

Personal Characteristics:

1. Have you ever been married and/or divorced?
2. Have you ever been pregnant or had an abortion? If so, how old were you at that time?
3. If you have a child (children), who cares for it (them)?
4. Do you practice birth control?

Psychological Symptomatology:

1. Do you have any difficulties in sleeping or eating?
2. Have you lost or gained much weight over the past months?
3. Do you have any problems with your period?
4. Tell me if you have any (other) difficulties with your body?
5. Do you ever get dizzy or black out?
6. Do your ears or your eyes ever play tricks on you as if you heard or saw something that's not real or other people didn't hear or see?
7. Do you ever have problems with remembering names, places, faces or events?
8. How about your attention and concentration, any difficulties?

9. Tell me whether you have ideas or plans to hurt yourself or kill yourself. If you have ever tried to hurt or kill yourself, tell me how.
10. Are there any (other) problems with your behavior or with the way your body works that you can remember from your growing up or that are troublesome for you now (e.g., alcohol or drug abuse, enuresis, rage outbursts)?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (PARENT/GUARDIAN)

Social Class:

1. If you or your husband (wife) are employed, what are your occupations?
2. What grades did you and your husband (wife) complete in school? Have you had any vocational training?
3. I need to know a good estimate of your current family income per year.

Caretaking History:

1. I need to know who has been responsible for taking care of (Subject) since she was born. If her caretaker was other than her natural mother, I need to know why this came about.
2. (If interviewee other than natural mother) Has (Subject's) mother died or ever deserted her family? How old was (Subject) when this took place?

Family History:

1. Is (Subject's) father alive? (If not) How old was (Subject) when he died?
2. Have there been marital separations and/or divorces and remarriages in your family since (Subject) was born? (If so) How old was (Subject) when these took place?
3. Have either you (or your spouse): (1) had problems with abusing alcohol or drugs?; (2) been hospitalized for psychiatric treatment?; (3) have a chronic medical disability? (If so) What is it?; and (4) have a criminal record?

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (PROBATION OFFICER)

1. What is (are) (Subject's) current juvenile court charge(s)?
2. If (Subject's) been to juvenile court before, how many times was she charged, what were her listed offenses and how old was she at each court contact?
3. Describe the nature of the adjudication process, particularly the dispositional recommendations.

VITA

Elizabeth A. Augustine was born in Greenwich, Connecticut, on June 10, 1947. She grew up in Greenwich and graduated from St. Mary High School there, completed a medical assistant's training program in New York City, and worked as a research assistant in a variety of health settings in New York and Philadelphia. Beginning undergraduate study at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, she graduated summa cum laude in 1973 and entered The University of Tennessee Clinical Psychology Training Program in September 1974. She received the Ph.D. degree in December 1979.

Elizabeth completed her clinical psychology internship at Yale University School of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry, and is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Neurology at Yale and resides in New Haven.