

Dad Taught Me Everything I Know: A Study of Paternal Influence On Deviance and
Politics

By Michael J. Staley

Presented

to

The Department of Sociology

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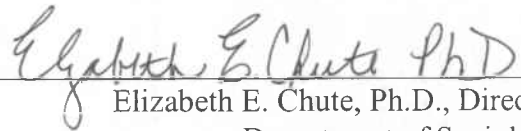
Honors Thesis

April 2006

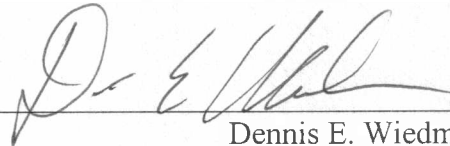
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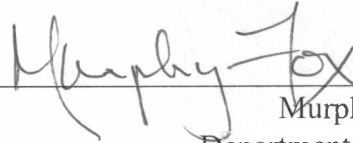
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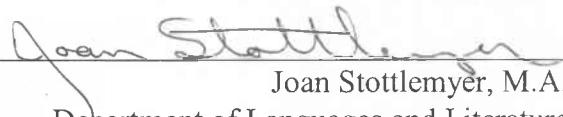
Elizabeth E. Chute, Ph.D., Director
Department of Sociology



Dennis E. Wiedmann, M.A.
Department of Political Science



Murphy Fox, M.A.
Department of Sociology



Joan Stottlemeyer, M.A.
Department of Languages and Literature

April 13, 2006

ABSTRACT

The father figure is disappearing from homes throughout the occidental world. Nonetheless, the relationship fathers have with their sons is irreplaceable. In this study, qualitative methods were used to better understand the father's influence on his son. The study found that there was little difference between those adolescents walking the streets and those who are incarcerated. Males, ages eighteen to twenty-three, were interviewed regarding their family history, political views, and delinquency, and how their fathers contributed to their childhood. Additionally, learning of attitudes and behaviors is more related to the son's perception of the father, rather than actions or words the father speaks directly to the individual. Social theory is used to analyze both types of data. Families with high cohesion have sons that are less likely to get into trouble, and those who discuss politics in front of their children—not at their children—are more likely to have influence on the offspring's political beliefs. Other principles were also supported, especially Lowney's Law, Merton's Anomie, and Sutherland and Cressey's Differential Association Theory. The study conclusively found that boys with loving, active fathers or guardians in the home are more likely to be involved politically, and less likely to engage in socially unacceptable behavior.

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INTRODUCTION

Juvenile delinquency is one of the most studied genres of criminology and sociology today. However, the roots of delinquency are studied to a lesser degree. Without studying the source of delinquency, society cannot possibly prevent criminal behavior. The role of the father is believed by many to be extremely influential in the lives of children. This study seeks to examine the father/son relationship more carefully.

Throughout the past four years, I have worked with delinquent youths in many capacities. I first encountered them while working at the Margaret Stuart Shelter Home—a facility designed to be a safe house for runaways, homeless teens, and those sentenced there by the court. By and large, most of the residents came via the justice system. In many of these cases, I saw “throwaways”—those teens who no one seemed to want. These kids were often the worst of the worst and had no hope for the future. After a few months of seeing this cycle, I began to wonder, *What happened to these kids that makes them so much different than other kids?* Since that time, I have devoted much of my research efforts to explaining the difference between kids in group homes and jail and those in suburban homes.

I have also worked with kids from a Child Protective viewpoint. More often than not, fathers are either abusive to the children or simply not present at all. I believe it more than a coincidence that these children—the abused and fatherless—often find themselves in prison or group homes before their eighteenth birthdays.

Overwhelmingly, boys account for a larger percentage of “youths in the system” than girls. Thus, I have decided to focus my research on adolescent males and their

fathers. A great deal of research has been completed on the relationship between girls and their mothers—e.g., *Reviving Ophelia*, by Mary Pipher, etc. On the other hand, there is little research centered on the relationship between fathers and sons.

I do recognize that, while this research focuses on success, delinquency, and political involvements, there are many other people in a boy's life who have a great potential to influence him. Efforts were made to control for these other variables, and I do mention such influences when they are obvious in the research, but it is hard to separate all influences in anyone's life.

My interest in the political socialization—the second part of this research—stems from sitting at my grandparents' table during lunch hours. I believe that I adopted most of my political values from these conversations. However, I have noticed that many of my peers credit their political views primarily to their parents; of course, there are some who say they developed their own political views independent of family influence. I seek to test these claims.

By considering past research and meshing it with new research, I hope to gain a well-rounded view of delinquency and political influence. Even though this work is largely inductive, I hypothesize that delinquents will come from homes where the father does not participate in the child's life or where the father is completely absent. I also predict that the majority of politicalization will come from the father figure in the home. I predict that the son will infer his political values, not learn them through direct communication.

LITERATURE REVIEW

For years, researchers have attempted to get to the roots of juvenile delinquency. However, answers as to its causes continue to vary. The present research question is as follows: What is the relationship/family status of a delinquent male youth with his father and has the father's political ideology influenced the adolescent in any way? And does the assumption still hold true that the only difference between delinquents in jail and adolescents on the street is that the ones in jail simply got caught?

Researchers have identified key aspects that separate those on the streets and those in jail. Such elements are the following: socioeconomic levels and location of residence (Beyers, Loeber, Wilkstrom, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2001), the adolescent's self-esteem and level of mental functioning (Parker & Benson, 2004), and family status and parental discipline (Lowney, 2001).

Poverty and Delinquency

Lower socioeconomic adolescent delinquents are far more likely to be under legal supervision or incarcerated.¹ Some social scientists are quick to connect Marx's conflict theory to delinquency. Ihekwoaba Ondwudiwe (2004) argues that society is ruled by "those who wield power." In a capitalist state, those with money have power; thus, laws are designed around the crimes of the poor. Using the same perspective, Marc Colvin and John Pauly (1983) apply the conflict model, arguing that: "oppressive" working conditions and the constant battle to try to make ends meet make parents go home unhappy; the children see the unhappiness and turn to delinquent acts as an outlet for their

¹There are ten times the number of lower class juveniles than upper class juveniles behind bars (Beyers et al., 2001).

frustration. Parental unhappiness can be interpreted by children as self-disapproval—which will eventually lead to frustration. Then the children grow up and have children of their own and the cycle is reborn (Ondwudiwe, 2004; Colvin & Pauly, 1983).

This concept was later developed into the “Differential Oppression Theory” by Robert Regoli and John Hewitt (2004). These authors argue that oppression begins at birth in the poor family and culminates at the “pubertal period.” Because children have no recourse to change their lifestyle, they are subject to whatever behaviors might exist in the home; thus, they will possess undesirable, perhaps illegal, behavior patterns as a method of working through their harsh childhood (Regoli & Hewitt, 2004). By the same token, it is hard to decipher if the delinquent teen is circumventing years of built-up anxiety or if he is mimicking the behaviors within the dysfunctional home. Sutherland and Cressey (1996) point out that unhappiness within the home does not necessarily lead to delinquent behavior. Jail, however, is not exclusive to poor youth; as Beyers (2001) and others acknowledge, there are a number of upper class youth who populate the system. Beyers uses elements such as bad friends, discipline not persistent, and low school motivation (Beyers et al., 2001).

As Lowney reports in *What Were Your Parents Doing Back Then* (2001), crime is not a syndrome of poverty. The youth in the study were middle to upper class and engaged in illegal drug activity to a great extent. While some of the adolescents were caught, and some even removed from the home and made wards of the state, others had little dealing with officials. Lowney explains that the delinquency may have been caused

by dysfunctional, non-traditional, or even abusive homes. While socioeconomic status (SES) is an important factor, it is not delinquency's sole root.

Self-Image and Mental Functioning

It has long been held that those students with lower self-esteem are much more likely to commit crimes. Lowney's research is somewhat divided on the subject. Some of Lowney's subjects had a lack of self-confidence, but others had an inflated sense of self. Drug use also played heavily into self-esteem, but it could not be established if drugs were the result or the cause. Drugs seemed to depress some, while others used the drugs because they were depressed or had low self-esteem. Past research has made claims that there is a slight direction between the two variables. Rosenberg and Rosenberg (1978) state: "[S]elf-esteem is a more potent causal determinant of delinquency than the reverse" (as quoted in Wells and Rankin, 1983: 13). The researchers claim that adolescents who participate in "non-delinquent activities," such as after school sports, music, Big Brothers, Big Sisters, have higher levels of self-esteem (Wells and Rankin, 1983). The individual's participation in these activities may be an alternative to deviant behavior; thus, it is difficult to determine whether it is the positive activities or the high levels of self-esteem that keep the juvenile from misbehaving. Perception of self may be important, but it is still hard to establish a directional correlation between the two.

As Kenneth Wooden points out in his 2000 edition of *Weeping in the Playtime of Others*, many detained juveniles have questionable levels of mental functioning. Wooden claims that a great number of detained youth are borderline developmentally disabled; still others can be clearly classified as mentally challenged (Wooden, 2000). These

incarcerated youth may not have been fully aware of their actions when they committed them, releasing them from any accountability for the crime.

Modes of Parenting and Socialization

Questionable parenting has taken the majority of the blame for juvenile delinquency. As Parker and Benson (2004) make clear, parenting plays a large role in the child's development. These researchers distinguish parental support from parental monitoring. Parental monitoring deals primarily with knowing where the child is spending time and what he or she is doing; parental support, on the other hand, deals with the approval of the parent for the activities of a child. Parker and Benson's study seems to indicate that a parent's open disapproval of an activity is less important than how the adolescent perceives the parent's views on the subject.

Parker and Benson continue to claim that monitoring may be more important in preventing delinquency because adolescents view monitoring as an indication of caring and of love. Lowney's Law relates to the matter directly: 1. Love your children, 2. *Communicate* that love, and 3. Discipline your children (2003, emphasis mine). Monitoring is a communication of love.

Eysneck and Trasler (as cited in Netter, 1978) claim that illegal or abnormal behaviors can be related to improper socialization. These symbolic interactionists rely on rewards and punishments to deter and instill an effective consciousness. Three elements are important to this type of parenting: timing, intensity, and certainty. The sooner the timing of the reward or the punishment, the more effective it will be in promoting or deterring the behavior in the future; the severity of the punishment or the reward also

suggests continued progress or avoidance (Nettler, 1978). Recent research has, however, shown that severity of punishment does not necessarily mean that the act will not be repeated; often, a weak punishment is enough to make a point. Lastly, certainty, which may be the most important factor, deals with how often the youth is caught doing good or bad. If an adolescent knows that he will not be caught while breaking windows, the probability of the act's happening increases tremendously. Most deviance occurs because the adolescent feels he will not be caught in the act (Lowney, 2002).

Classical conditioning also deals with transmission of behavioral techniques; that is, behavior is learned from parents. Bandura and Walters also expand on this theory to include modeling. Modeling occurs when a child views a respected peer or an authority figure is disciplined or rewarded for an act (Lowney, 2002).

Family status is also a very important element in determining cause of delinquency. Lowney (2001) points out that most of his delinquent subjects come from single-parent homes. Thus, half of the parenting structure exists. Having a missing parent can often lead a child to develop a feeling of abandonment. Additionally, the single parent is much more likely to work multiple jobs to sustain the family, which, in turn reduces parental monitoring. Despite his suggestions, however, Lowney does acknowledge one individual in his study as "supermom." This figure managed to maintain a well-functioning family that resembled a functional two-parent household. McCord (1982), reviewed below, discusses this type of parent.

Similar to Lowney's findings, Rodney and Mupier (1999) hypothesized that "those youth who live in the home where the biological fathers are present will show

fewer problem behaviors than do those whose biological fathers do not live in the home” (Rodney & Mupier, 1999: 48). The authors cited some shocking statistics that support their hypothesis: Children who live in homes without their fathers are 11 times more likely to be violent; the same children are six times as likely to come from homes where the parents are not married; and children who do not have both parents present in the home are much more likely to have behavioral problems at school (Rodney & Mupier, 1999). The same authors, however, also acknowledge McCord’s 1982 study. McCord claimed that as long as the single mother was “affectionate,” the children in the family are not likely to participate in illegal activity (Rodney and Mupier, 1999). The author’s data reveals that, indeed, those with fathers in the home were less likely to engage in wrongdoing. Some of the findings were not statistically significant, which supports McCord’s single-parent theory. In conclusion, the study suggests that, while fathers are not completely necessary to ensure that a son remain law abiding during adolescence, frequent contact or visits are recommended in these homes because he provides a role model for the child. The author’s point is clear: “[T]he cycle of fathers’ absence must be broken” (Rodney & Mupier, 1999: 58).

Matherne and Thomas (2001) discuss family “environment”—different from family “status”—at length. They describe the family in two terms: cohesion and adaptability. Cohesion refers to the bond between parents and family members. Families with high levels of cohesion seem to be dependent on one another, and family members are loyal to each other. Families with low cohesiveness are marked by high levels of independence. On the other hand, adaptability refers to the ability of the family structure

to cope with certain stressors. The power figure in the family often moves from parent to parent in families with high adaptability.

Parental discipline is also a factor in determining the causes of delinquency. Children who are physically disciplined are much more likely to replay that violence in their everyday lives. In other words, violent means to an end are taught as acceptable solutions (Ptacek, n.d.). Still, not every child who is physically disciplined is a violent offender. As Popenoe (1996) demonstrates in his book, parental discipline is a communication of love; therefore, children often view discipline as a form of love. Granted, there is a fine line between acceptable parental discipline and physical abuse.

Influence of Peers

Many researchers of delinquency have pointed to associations with peers as the leading cause of delinquency. This extra-familial relationship—especially when the child and his or her friend are of the same sex—is deemed by Sutherland and Cressey (1966) to be more influential than even parental bonds. Nonetheless, Gary F. Jensen (1972) found in a survey of adolescent white males, that just because a teenager has a friend who has been in trouble does not mean that the teenager will engage in the activity himself or herself, however it is more likely. The relationship between a delinquent youth and his or her friend is not direct or absolute: “[M]any well-supervised and emotionally supported adolescents have delinquent friends, engage in delinquent action and exhibit tenuous commitments to conventional moral standards” (Jensen, 1972: 568). Jensen’s study concluded that those children who develop friendships with delinquents are more likely to become delinquents themselves; however, parental monitoring of some youths can

prevent delinquency. The number of delinquent friends the child has bears no impact on determining whether or not the child himself or herself will become a delinquent, and the number of delinquent friends a teenager possessed had no impact on the “affectionate father-son relationships and delinquent behavior” (Jensen, 1972, 570:573-4).

Perhaps the first encounter children have with other children of similar age is at school. It is here that these fundamental primary bonds—friendships—begin to form. Travis Hirshi (1969) and Jane B. Sprott (2004) discuss classroom environment and how it helps or inhibits a child from making good behavioral choices. Indeed, the researcher found that if the bond is strong within the classroom, then the children in it would be less likely to be disruptive and ultimately engage in delinquent behavior. Sprott also brought to light another factor: early aggression is perhaps the most important risk factor in determining delinquency. Sprott concludes with this comment:

In order to understand why an emotionally supportive classroom environment relates to lower levels of violence, it is important to consider what may be lacking in these children’s lives. The deficit may have to do with social bonds; children with difficult behavioural problems (e.g., early aggression or involvement in relatively serious violence) may antagonize others and may consequently feel rationally unattached or neglected. For these children, an emotionally supportive classroom may provide a sense of connectedness that they would not otherwise feel. . . . (Sprott, 2004:553-573)

Clearly, a supportive adult role outside of the home can to some degree replace those that are absent within the home.

In *Deviant Reality* (2002), a qualitative research project, Lowney and Winslow explain many theories. In relation to parenting, Reckless' control model (1978) explains that internal controls were never developed. Due to lack of parental monitoring there are no external controls; thus, the adolescent is free to make decisions—sometimes the wrong ones—for himself or herself. The containment model can be viewed as a part of Eysneck and Trasler's research (as cited in Netter, 1978), which was previously mentioned. Reckless (1978) identifies two forms of control: internal and external. Internal control refers to consciousness—the mental controls one possesses to stop oneself from acting. External controls are those things that stop the individual from acting despite his or her will to do so (Lowney, 2002). Additionally, external controls can lead to the development of internal controls.

Differential association theory, developed by Sutherland and Cressey (1978), contains a list of important elements in deviance. These elements are as follows:

1. Deviant behavior is learned rather than inherited;
2. It is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication;
3. The principal part of learning occurs within intimate personal groups rather than through impersonal agencies such as movies and newspapers;
4. The learning includes a. techniques of committing delinquent acts and b. the specific direction of motives and drives, rationalizations, and attitudes;
5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable ;
6. A person becomes deviant because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violations of law;
7. Differential

associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity [Bandura and Walters, as cited in Netter]; 8. This process involves all the mechanisms involved in other learning; and 9. Deviant behavior is not explained by needs and values, since nondeviant behavior is an expression of the same needs and values.

(Lowney, 2002:37)

Differential association is, perhaps, a synthesis of many of the theories discussed previously. Point six adds a new dimension to explaining deviance. It considers the possibility that an offender may weigh the costs versus benefits of being delinquent. However, without proper socialization, outlined by Eysneck and Trasler (as cited in Netter, 1978), costs and benefits may be hard for the individual to identify.

Anomie

Robert Merton modifies and adapts Durkeimian anomie to relate specifically to crime. Merton identifies five aspects that an individual will use to adapt to society, and then defines the criminal act by identifying the cultural goal in mind as a “+,” or a “-.” A “+” sign means that the cultural goal is desirable, while the “-” means that the goal is not desirable. Likewise, Merton does the same with “institutionalized means”; here, the “+” sign means that the means to the goal is desirable, and the “-” is equivalent of an illegal action. The only significant aspect or “mode of adaptation” is the “innovation” role. The “innovator” uses alternate means to attain a positive cultural goal (Merton 1938, as cited in Lemert, 2004). For instance, it is a good (“+”) goal to be rich, but robbing a bank, the means, is an anomie (“-”) way to achieve wealth.

The aspect that Durkheim and Merton completely ignore, however, is the

influence of family and peers on delinquency. Durkheim and Merton explain deviant behavior as an act committed solely from the individual's perspective, not the viewpoint of a person within a near group.

Labeling Theory

Labeling theory has been thought by many to encourage illegal or inappropriate behavior. For instance, if a child is told that he is an "idiot," he or she will likely fulfill the role of an idiot and perform poorly academically. Likewise, if a child is labelled a "delinquent youth"—a court ordered label after a number of offenses—he or she will surely fill the shoes of a delinquent (Lowney, 2002). Labelling theory is characterized as something that happens after an initial incident, or primary deviance. The juvenile usually commits a misdeed in order to label the deed; therefore, this theory reasons out the actions of the youth during his or her second and subsequent crimes (Lowney, 2002; Onwudiwe, 2004). However, an individual can be wrongfully accused and the label applied, which is an equally tragic situation.

Political Predictions

Political discussions and disagreements are not uncommon among fathers and sons. However, how many of the sons' political views come from the fathers is a question that is hard to directly answer. Additionally, I recognize that political influences can come from other sources as well, such as mothers, siblings, grandparents, teachers, and many others who come into contact with the child.

There are many factors that weigh on how a particular person votes, or conveys his or her political beliefs. Here are a few of the points that political scientists use to

predict outcomes of elections:²

- Urban vs. Rural: Urban voters have traditionally been viewed as liberal; thus, they tend to vote for the Democratic candidate. In the 2004 election, a 28% margin separated Bush from Kerry within rural voters; and in the 2000 election a 22% margin existed between Bush and Gore among rural voters (“Social Groups and the Presidential Vote, 2004 and 2000,” 2005).
- Wealthy vs. Poor: The poor are generally for distribution of wealth—a liberal idea in concept—which also requires a larger government to dole out the acquired funds. The 2000 and 2004 Presidential elections support this theory: in both elections, the poor voted for the Democratic candidate.
- Geographic location: Those living in the New England states and on the coasts have consistently voted for the Democratic candidate in past elections, while those living in the interior of the U.S. have voted for the Republican candidate (Fiorina, 2005).
- Educated vs. Un-educated: Those who are educated tend to vote for the Democratic candidate while those who are uneducated tend to vote for the Republican hopeful. The 2000 and 2004 elections do not confirm this stereotype, however. In 2000 and 2004, both the very highly educated and the very under-educated voted for the Democratic candidate. Those in the middle categories tended to vote for the Republican candidate (“Social Groups and the Presidential

²These stereotypical observations are derived from DiMaggio, Evans, and Bryson’s “Have Americans’ Attitudes Become More Polarized?” *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (1996: 690-775, as cited in Fiorina, 2005). The explanations afterward, however, are the author’s observations.

Vote, 2004 and 2000,” 2005).

Virginia Gray and Russell Hanson cite Daniel Elazar’s 1984 study on political culture within the states. Elazar identifies three categories that describe the mentality of a state’s political thinking: individualist, moralist, and traditionalist. Montana is identified as a “moralist” state. Gray and Hanson explain the role of government within the moralist realm:

...[G]overnment’s role is to advance the public interest or the good of the commonwealth. Thus government is a positive force in the lives of citizens.

Politics revolve around issues; corruption is not tolerated. Politics are a matter of concern to all citizens; it is therefore a citizen’s duty to participate in elections.

(Gray & Hanson, 2004: 22)

While government is generally viewed as a non-corrupt entity that promotes the lives of citizens in Montana, it is quite limited in size and power. Take, for instance, the type of legislature. State legislators in Montana are compensated only \$7000.00 for their seventy-five-day, every-other-year session. Additionally, the legislature has only approximately fifty permanent staff members. These characteristics give Montana a legislative Squire’s ranking of 43.³

However, Montanans are motivated, as the moralist model would predict, to be politically involved. According to Gray and Hanson, Montana had the second highest voter turnout in elections from 1997 to 2002 in all of the fifty states (Gray & Hanson,

³Squire’s ranking is based on a comparison to Congress’ salary, staff, and session length. The worst score possible is fifty, and the best score is one.

2004:93). Overall, Montanans feel a general obligation to vote.

Because of moralism, past evidence on voting, and the geographic location, I predict that all respondents will identify themselves as Republicans, and will have a conservative ideology.

From the data given above, we can generalize when trying to explain the causes of delinquency:

- First, delinquents come from a lower socioeconomic class (Colvin & Pauly, 1983; Regoli & Hewitt, 2004);
- Second, they come from “the wrong side of town”—usually a poverty stricken neighborhood (Beyers, 2001);
- Third, self-esteem is not a determining factor of delinquency;⁴
- Fourth, lower mentally functioning individuals are at a higher risk of delinquency, or at least of getting caught committing illegal acts (Wooden, 2000);
- Fifth, family environments of delinquents are not cohesive and are unadaptable—when there is only one parent in the home, the likelihood of delinquent behavior drastically increases (Parker & Benson, 2004; Lowney, 2001; Rodney & Mupier, 1999; Matherne & Thomas, 2001); and
- Sixth, parental discipline is generally lacking or sporadic, and is usually carried out in a physical means (Ptacek, n.d.; Lowney, 2001; Popenoe, 1996).

⁴Based on Wells and Rankin’s 1983 study, it is unclear whether bad self-concept leads a juvenile to commit delinquent acts, or whether delinquent acts cause the adolescent to have an undesirable self-concept. Therefore, this variable is non-directional and cannot be used, though it is noteworthy when an individual has a poor self-image.

METHODOLOGY

The subjects interviewed are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three. Because of legal statute, the individual may consent to the interview; there is no concern for parental permission.

Participants

I selected the participants based on contacts that I had made throughout my four years at Carroll College. I desired to get a varied group of individuals from many walks of life, and for the most part, I succeeded. However, it must be noted that this sample is not random and is quite small. Participants were also selected based on whether or not I felt they would be honest about some of the personal questions in the interview.

The present research was conducted in an urban city surrounded by a sparsely developed area. The community has about 27,000 people living in it. By most standards, Helena is a small town; however, it is quite urban when comparing sizes of towns throughout the rest of Montana. Additionally, it is the state capital. For these reasons—urbanization, locale of government—the urban area tends to vote Democratic, while the rest of the state votes Republican (Fiorina 2005: 22).

Measures

Ten young adult males were interviewed. They were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three. Again, the students selected were not from a random sample due to the small scope of this project. In addition, those selected to be interviewed had to have at least a limited amount of rapport with the interviewer to ensure some level of accuracy and truthfulness. The identity of the individuals interviewed will remain totally

anonymous. The interviews were based on questions from Lowney's self-reporting survey; however, bilateral discussion between the interviewer and the individual led to other questions that stimulated further discussion. The researcher then could gather a clearer understanding of the situation surrounding the simple yes or no answer. These results were not quantified; however, they are described in the latter portion of this paper.

The interviews took place in a setting of the respondent's choice. Some conversations took place in coffee shops while others took place in my living room. Questions during this interview were divided into three sections: the first section discussed the individual, his upbringing, his family background, self-perception, etc. The second section dealt with the politics of the individual and how they correspond to his father's politics. The third portion of the survey asked questions about any possible criminal and/or socially delinquent past and how the respondent viewed the action or omission. For a complete copy of the outline of the survey, see Appendix A..

Analysis

The interviews are broken down into case studies. The case studies are "laced" with appropriate theory from the "Literature Review" section of this work. Application of past theory, along with my findings, is important to reach a conclusion on the father's influence concerning politics and deviance.

RESULTS

Qualitative research is most valuable to understanding delinquent behavior. Below are synopses of each person's interview. Instead of using a subject number or the individual's real name, the individual being discussed is given a pseudonym. The subjects are also listed in order of their relationship with their father. In other words, those who reported relationships that were not cohesive, had little monitoring, that the subject considered abusive, etc., are listed first, while those who reported strong relationships with their fathers last.

Jordan. Jordan was different from any other subject interviewed because he was almost resentful of his father. Jordan indicated that his mother was both the disciplinarian and the caregiver for the family. The family was middle class. Jordan reported that his family was connected and flexible in its parenting style. Jordan said that he communicated freely with his mother but told his father "about half as much." He immediately said that his dad is "a bit pessimistic." Jordan says that the family has moved twelve times, which has created a somewhat disorganized household, and the children have no sense of permanency. Jordan never had a curfew, but was punished by his mother; her most used form of discipline was spraying vinegar in his mouth when he did something wrong. I predict that Jordan will not have a weak relationship with his father because there is no cohesion and because his father was not a monitoring factor.

Based on Jordan's responses, Jordan had a rather low level of self-esteem and a questionable self-image. When asked about his schooling, he said that he took it for granted; he then added, "I have a low opinion of my intellect." He looked down at the

floor and stirred his coffee, which indicated that he was rather ashamed of this view. In this case, it appears as though the “self-image variable is directional,” contrary to past researcher’s findings. Because he felt depressed and alone, Jordan often—admittedly—committed wrongful acts to gain attention.

Jordan made friends easily; however, he also indicated that he did not have many friends. Jordan experienced unhealthy guilt after he did something wrong. He said it often drives him to not only confess his wrongdoing, but to also say things that are not necessarily true. Jordan has internal controls developed, as evidenced by his guilt. However, he tried to “over-correct” his wrongdoings by lying to restore balance to a situation. Marvin B. Scott and Stanford M. Lyman (1968) were foundational researchers on this type of behavior. Justifications or excuses are types of “accounts”—accounts are statements made “whenever an action is subjected to valuative inquiry” (Scott & Lyman, 1968:46). Jordan uses verbal lubrication to restore normative order to a circumstance in which he acted wrongly. At one point, Jordan was considered an “at-risk-youth” because of his appearance. Many were leary of him and usually avoided him.

When politics were mentioned, Jordan immediately stated before any questions were even asked, “I don’t really know where I stand.” He later identified himself as a moderate who was mostly Republican. He said that both of Jordan’s parents are conservative Republicans. However, Jordan and his family are not very politically engaged. Jordan remarked that most media were nothing more than “propaganda.” Additionally, Jordan’s father discussed politics while watching television. Jordan’s ideology tended to be more liberal, however. He indicated that abortion and gay rights

were his two top issues—which is interesting because both of his parents, he claimed, were very opposed to gay rights. When responding to healthcare issues, Jordan remarked that he “ponders socialism,” because that way everyone would receive the help he or she needed. Clearly, Jordan is influenced little by his parents politically. Perhaps his resentfulness of his father has caused him to become rebellious in his political views.

Jordan admitted to skipping school when he was left home alone. Jordan consistently broke the rules when external controls were not present. He expressed a general disinterest in school, perhaps because of his view of his “low intellect.” Jordan reports one incident of alcohol use before he turned eighteen. His parents found out, and he felt guilty and did not drink until he became legal to do so. This scenario is an example of instilling internal controls—Jordan refrained from drinking because he did not want to disappoint his parents. Jordan also drove drunk while he was twenty-one. He reported actually thinking to himself that his father “used to drive drunk all the time,” so he would not get caught and his parents would not care. This act could be due to negative modeling by his father. Jordan also reports taking a car for a ride when the owner didn’t know about it. Here is another example of Jordan’s misbehaving when external controls are not present—indeed, there is no element of “certainty” present. On another occasion, Jordan and his friends threw a log into a yard while trying to break a shed. Jordan failed to recall the reason why he was trying to destroy the shed, but was genuinely sorry for the incident. He was able to get away before the owner could identify him. Again, Jordan did not think that he would be caught; thus, it was almost certain that he *would not* be caught. Additionally, it is very likely that Jordan participated in this act because of peer

influence—not because of his own will to destroy the shed.

Sexually, Jordan views masturbation as wrong. He calls it a “struggle” because he views it as a temptation to which he succumbs; he also remarked that it is degrading and does not like thinking about the things he does when he masturbates. Jordan’s parents have never discussed sex with him, but he had an understanding that sex before marriage is wrong, which is obviously inferred from the parents. Inference is a strong element when considering how Jordan’s internal controls were developed.

Jordan claims that his father questions his every move and life decision. He feels that his dad doubts his actions and his profession. Jordan also fears that his father views his career as temporary and illegitimate. Overall, Jordan expressed a form of moderate resentment towards his father, especially near the end of the interview. There is low cohesion within this family, except between Jordan and his mother and perhaps a few of his siblings. The father in this case certainly bears little weight on Jordan’s life decisions.

Isaac. Isaac presents a more unusual case than any of the other individuals who were interviewed. He came from a relatively smaller family. Isaac claimed that he never met his biological father because his mother was seventeen when she became pregnant with him. While he was growing up, his mother married; thus, Isaac lived with his stepfather for most of his life. Isaac claimed that he got very little support from his family and that they do not communicate frequently; yet he still is “pretty comfortable” talking to each of his parents. The family is separated, but was structured when Isaac lived in the home. Isaac and his stepfather had a rocky relationship at times due to his stepfather’s alcoholism. Isaac reported that he was “talked to death,” and was “grounded” on

occasion as forms of discipline. Ptacek's theory is supported here; Isaac was not physically punished and he never became violent. He reported that his younger siblings, however, were simply put on restrictions—early curfew, etc. Isaac's curfew consistently became later and later as he progressed through high school, which is evidence of a more structured family.

Isaac had a moderately positive self-image. He viewed himself as outgoing, happy, sometimes was depressed. Isaac, while in high school, attempted suicide by cutting his wrists horizontally. However, he was forced to stop when a friend caught him cutting his wrists vertically. Isaac's case supports past researchers' conclusions; Isaac was unclear if the depression caused him to act defiantly, or if the deviance caused him to become depressed—the variable is non-directional. Isaac explained that he was very depressed and has since learned to deal with that kind of depression.

Politically, Isaac described himself as a moderate; his position on the issues confirms that stance. He reported that his mother and father are both Democrats and are liberal in their thought. Isaac's parents were quite politically active, and often wondered why Isaac was not more involved. However, Isaac didn't recall his parents discussing politics in front of him until he was fourteen. Isaac is social justice minded; he claims healthcare as his most important issue, followed by the environment. Isaac sums up his political engagement by stating that "I am very active; I follow the political scene pretty well." Isaac recently converted to a rather conservative religious denomination, but still held liberal ideals—evidence that parental influence often overrides other factors in life.

Despite his somewhat broken past, Isaac had a relatively clean delinquency

record. He once drove home drunk, and thinks very little of the matter. His parent's threats (e.g., "You'll go to rehab") caused Isaac to refrain from drug and alcohol use during his high school years. Isaac, after he turned eighteen, reported that he "smoked pot" and drank an occasional beer, but never got drunk. Unlike many of the other subjects, Isaac's boundaries were vocally directed at him; few of his boundaries were inferred. These served as external controls that quite possibly kept him from participating in delinquent acts.

Isaac had sex out of wedlock once. His mother found out about the incident, and told him to make sure he was using protection; "nothing really happened." Isaac, however, does not want to have sex again until marriage; this claim is a clear indicator that there are many influencing parties developing controls in Isaac's life.

Isaac is perhaps the most unique subject in all of the interviews because his family status is so much different. He mentioned his father only in a negative light throughout the interview and spoke very little of him overall. It is clear that Isaac made many decisions for himself in his childhood. Isaac and his father have little connection; their cohesiveness is low. It is not an unfair presumption that Isaac's father had little influence in Isaac's life.

Matt. Matt has nine siblings. He is one of the youngest of the children. His parents are lower class. He also reported that his level of communication has decreased with his parents since adolescence, a contrast to most other subjects; moreover, he viewed this decline as a good thing. The family has moved a considerable number of times, which has decreased the overall stability of the family. Additionally, his father has

changed careers several times, which he reported has affected the family's income greatly. The effects of these factors have possibly led to a loose relationship between Matt and his siblings and Matt communicated infrequently with either of his parents, especially his father. His family style is also supported by his statements regarding discipline. Living in a structured environment, he was disciplined by being spanked with a belt with his pants on in younger years; in his late teens he was grounded. Ptacek's (n.d.) theory on discipline is not directly supported by Matt's claim; at present he is not violent, despite his father's violent punishment.

He felt that he is not an outgoing person, but he not shy either; he is happy, and he viewed himself as strong, despite his rather small build. By that same token, however, he understood that others view him as a shy, "reserved" person. Within the last year, he has tried to change the way others see him by communicating more and accepting more people for who they are. The positive reaction that Matt receives from his friends caused him to think highly of himself—which may cause him stay out of trouble, even though theory does not necessarily support this effect of positive self-image.

He said he made friends easily, but it took time for him to feel comfortable around someone. His father has directly recommended to him to lose friends that he viewed as wayward. Matt's external controls have been abnormally strong.

After he did something wrong, Matt felt guilt, but he said that does not impair him or make him feel isolated. He described his level of guilt as "healthy." Matt claimed that he was abused verbally in his upbringing; his dad often yelled loudly at him and other brothers and sisters constantly belittled him. He admitted indirectly that this may have

caused him to appear as a shy or reserved person. Abuse often has an effect that causes individuals to become withdrawn. This shyness may be caused from constant belittling that has caused Matt to doubt himself.

Matt is politically conservative. At the very first political question, he openly explained, "I don't approve of *abortion*, and that's the main reason" (Italics are added because he emphasized that word heavily). When it comes to the issues, he ranked abortion as the most important issue, followed by the death penalty. On other issues, however, he turned out to be a moderate. Matt's political engagements extend to Pro-Life rallies, including marching on the Capitol Building steps, reading the newspaper occasionally, and voting when he next gets the opportunity.⁵

When it comes to delinquency, Matt, like those discussed previously, has no significant deviant past. He reported, that even though he was home-schooled, he did not do his work and skipped his lessons when his parents were not at home. It is likely that Matt became dependant on his parents' strong external controls, so when his parents were not present, he did not have the internal controls to stay on task. He said that he broke his curfew on more than one occasion. Matt has become violent with his younger brother once or twice, but neither told their father so they could avoid being yelled at. In his childhood, he stole a toy rifle, which his parents never found out about. Sexually, Matt admitted to masturbating, an activity that his father later found out about and talked with him about. Matt said that he does not like to masturbate and feels that it is wrong. Additionally, he looked at pornography once but felt guilty later and has not done it again.

⁵Matt was not of legal voting age at the time of the last election.

Matt once took coins from a broken coin machine, yet another incident that his father never knew about. He says, however, that he would have been severely reprimanded had his father ever found out.

Matt admitted to carrying a concealed weapon on two occasions. Both times, his father found out and approved of the action. Both times he was hiding a hunting weapon.

Matt's relationship with his father seemed somewhat broken and rigid. Throughout the interview, he usually only talked about his father when it came to discipline. At the conclusion of the interview he stated that his father never said, "I love you," even though Matt regularly told his father before bed. There is a disconnect between Matt and his father that may have been caused by not only belittling, but also because Matt felt deserted by his father.

Kevin. Kevin came from a family of four. Kevin presented a case very similar to that of Andrew; therefore, it is unnecessary to discuss Kevin at length. Kevin had an element of arrogance and sarcasm about the interview.

Kevin's self-image was moderately positive. Sometimes he claimed, "I don't feel in the right place." In other words, he felt that he is somehow unable to be outgoing.

Politically, Kevin reported that he "can be liberal," but is mostly conservative and is a Republican. Both of his parents were conservative Republicans, but he does have a brother who is actively a Democrat. He was most concerned about the environment. Kevin reports that he is more likely to be politically engaged around elections than at any other time. Kevin openly admitted that he does not look to his parents for political advice. He said they are "very Christian," and that he tried to develop his own position.

One important distinction is that Kevin's deviance record is much different from Andrew's. Kevin admitted that he drank beer at parties in high school, that he smoked pot on one occasion, and lied to his father in rare circumstances. He said that he discussed many of the issues with his father more from a friend's perspective. Kevin said that his father's experimental drug use and his general disapproval of it made him think about the consequences of his actions when he was at parties, but he never stopped doing them because of these thoughts. Because the external controls in Kevin's life were minimal, the internal controls did not develop; thus, Kevin did not live up to the standards that his father had set forth.

Kevin has also admitted to vandalizing a public school, drinking on the weekends, even to the point of intoxication, and driving while drunk. Kevin was unsure how his father felt about drinking, but felt marginally guilty about driving while intoxicated—there are some internal controls present here.

Kevin had a questionable sexual history. He reported having sex with a female—whose name he cannot remember—while intoxicated. He regreted it immensely and acknowledged that it was perhaps unsafe. He also reported that his dad never talked specifically about sex while in the home, but that he was once caught masturbating and looking at pornography. He said that his father scolded him for looking at the pornography but did not seem to care that he was masturbating. Kevin may be somewhat confused, since he viewed pornography necessary for masturbation; in the end, Kevin disregarded his father's directives, and still looks at pornography and masturbates.

Kevin seemed disconnected from his father, and he does not discuss many of the

main issues in his life with him. He reiterated at the end of the interview that his parents' standards are high, and that is why he has kept a great deal from them. He could not conform to his father's ideals and was never given all the tools to conform to society's standards; he therefore chose what rules he will follow. Kevin fit the role of Merton's innovator better than anyone else in this study because he desires to fulfill society's expectations of him, but does not use the socially acceptable means.

Daren. Daren family was rather large. The lower-middle class family was intact, and Daren called his family "mostly connected." The family seemed to be generally stable and was somewhere between "structured" and "flexible" in its parenting style. Daren stated, "There is order, but room for movement, too."

Daren's statements regarding punishment fit well with his "ordered" label; during early years, a wooden spoon was used to spank the children, and in later years, family discussions were used as a method of peer pressure. Despite the physical discipline used in the family, Daren did not report any violent acts, which does not necessarily agree with Ptacek's (n.d.) findings. On the other hand, the peer pressure may have been an effective means to develop Daren's internal controls; Daren reports that he is presently very conscious of other's feelings.

Daren had a somewhat positive outlook on life and his self-image. He hesitated at nearly every question, and qualified each statement with a "somewhat" or a "sort of." He felt that his parents generally accept him, but they do not know about his sexual orientation. He believed that, "in the end," they would accept him fully, but only after the family "talked heavily." He described himself as "fairly comfortable" when he talked to

his father about issues in his life.

Making acquaintances was quite easy for Daren, but close friends “are really hard.” Moreover, he admitted that he loses contact with most of those he knows rather quickly. His parents approved of most of his friends growing up, but “they haven’t met everyone.” Keeping items such as “bad friends” from parents is a method of avoiding judgement, which, in a sense, is also an internal control. Even if the internal control is malicious, it avoids keeping the situation away from the external control.

Daren felt that his guilt is unhealthy and causes him to become “hard” on himself. He described it as a “nagging” feeling. Daren has never been in any trouble with the law or with his parents, but he did have a sexual past that does not conform with his father’s ideals.

Daren claimed to be a liberal, and his ideology matches that label relatively well. Both of his parents were moderate Republicans. The family was not politically engaged; however, they did vote, and they encouraged their children, including Daren, to vote. Daren identified the environment and abortion as his most crucial issues. Daren reported that he voted in the last election and that he wants to become more “aware” of the political environment around him. In Daren’s case, it appeared that his father’s influence only extends as far as voting—not *how* he votes.

Daren has a limited deviant past. He admitted to smoking marijuana twice, but stopped because it made him feel uncomfortable. He strongly concurred that his parents never used drugs. Daren also reported that he uses alcohol regularly and that his father has talked about alcohol abuse to him within the last year, citing biblical references to

discourage such behavior. Daren was positive that his parents had sex before marriage; and likewise, Daren has also had sex with another male, and has participated in sexual activity with other females. He knew that his father has never discussed sex before marriage with him but was unsure if his father ever discussed homosexuality. His father did discuss with him the negative effects of viewing pornography, but Daren continued to look at it from time to time. When it comes to sexual deviance, Daren's father has had little influence; Daren's father's pre-marital sexual acts may override suggestions that Daren wait until marriage for sex. Overall, he did not discuss sex with his father; however, he did experience moderate guilt for these actions that go against traditional Judeo-Christian values. The controls set forth in the home were not adopted by Daren.

Daren's relationship with his father can be summed up as close friends, but there are limits; Daren was unwilling to reveal certain aspects, mostly surrounding his sexual past, with his father. This communication barrier causes Daren to hide parts of his life. There was a disconnect present that may be quite damaging to the relationship, even though Daren did not report a great number of delinquent acts.

Josh. Josh's family was upper-middle class. He spoke candidly about his relationship with his father. Josh's parents are married and he has four siblings, three older, and one younger. The family has been plagued by medical problems and near deaths repeatedly for the past ten years. Josh has Type I diabetes, which added stress to the family situation. His level of communication with his parents has increased since he arrived at college, but was limited in high school. He described his family as connected and having a flexible parenting style. As with many other subjects, Josh's statements

confirmed his label; he did not have a curfew while growing up and his parents usually spoke to him after he did something wrong.

Josh was generally outgoing, happy, views himself as physically strong. When asked how other perceive him, he reported that his peers often think he is depressed. He explained that he “just gets into a funk.” He said that when he is around other male friends he plays the part of a “tough guy” and is “crude.” He quickly retraced the comment by saying, “But that’s just not me; that’s just how boys are.” It became clear at this point that Josh had a clear understanding of what it “means to be a boy.”

Politically, Josh identified himself as economically conservative and socially liberal. His ideology matched his labels fairly consistently. Both of his parents were conservative Republicans, but Josh reported that he votes independently. Josh did not depend on his parents’ political views; according to his views on the issues. Josh’s father’s political influence does not extend very far. He said that his mother and father spoke about politics at him and in front of him during his upbringing; still, however, Josh broke out of his parents’ desired political caste. He identifies healthcare and the environment as his two most important issues. Josh reported that he did not vote in the last election, but plans to in the future and watches TV to stay informed.

Josh had a slightly more significant deviant record. He was suspended from school three times: first, for telling a girl that she was “nipped out”; second for destruction of a school bus; and third for a fight in junior high. He reported that on these occasions, his dad was disappointed, but did not become angry; “Dad figured the school was already taking care of it.” Josh has been in two or three fights, all of which his father

found out about; his father was upset, but Josh did not recall being punished. At parties where marijuana was being smoked, Josh did not smoke; he knew that it was “crossing the line” and that he knew “where [his dad] stood.” This is an especially interesting situation: Josh inferred from his father the boundaries (Parker and Benson, 2004), but did not have the internal controls to uphold those mores.

Josh gave alcohol to his younger brother, an incident that his father did not find out about. Josh said that he would not have done it, but his brother made the choice to drink anyway, so he did not see the harm in getting drunk with him. Josh has smoked “pot” from time to time “for fun” with friends. His father has no knowledge of this drug use, and Josh felt that he is not harming anyone. Josh also drinks alcohol weekly, but does not get drunk. He said that he “thinks” his father would be “okay” with this activity. Here again, Josh did not have the internal controls to stop him from participating in smoking marijuana. Perhaps it is because Josh’s parents’ weak discipline style did not provide strong enough external controls—therefore, Josh never developed strong internal controls.

Josh recently started having sex with his girlfriend. He said that this sexual intercourse is the one detail that he would not share with his father. He knows where his father stood on the issue of sex before marriage and that it is “very taboo.” Josh inferred these boundaries from his father; and in fear of disappointing him, Josh did not discuss his sexual dealings with his father. Josh claimed that he “used to masturbate a lot” before he started having sex with his girlfriend. He said he stopped, but doesn’t feel that it is wrong, even though his father implied several times that it is. The internal controls were

never developed; thus, Josh does not follow his father's rules at all times.

Josh said that he has only become aggressive with his younger brother; "I just beat on him." Ptacek's theory (n.d.) is once again not supported. Josh was not punished physically in his upbringing; therefore, Josh's minimally violent nature toward his sibling is not explained by a history of violence.

Josh seemed to have a limited relationship with his father, especially since he started having sex with his girlfriend. He also said that he thinks his dad knows he drinks, and that his dad would probably disapprove, but he considered this not as big of a concern. Josh's father was reportedly "harsher" on the first two kids in the family, and then became more lenient with the younger children. Josh's father, he claimed, is an introvert. More like his mother, Josh said he is an extrovert that is emotional: "it makes me a better person—more confident." Josh felt little pressure from his father or his family, and was comfortable expressing himself, even to his friends. This lack of pressure, however, in his childhood may have been translated as a lack of caring. Lowney's Law clearly states that discipline is a communication of love. It is conceivable that there is little cohesion between Josh and his father, which would explain why Josh does not talk to him about every aspect of his life.

Andrew. Andrew grew up with both parents in their upper-middle class home. Unlike many of the other subjects, his mother was the disciplinarian and his father was the caregiver. He felt that his family was flexible in its parenting style, and in between connected and enmeshed when it came to cohesiveness. Andrew's statements regarding his family were supported by his lenient curfews (midnight and two in the morning, on

weekdays and weekends respectively).

Andrew practiced his faith regularly, as did his parents. He had a positive outlook on life and for his future. However, he did behave arrogantly at times during the interview. Andrew had a high sense of self-esteem. His inflated sense of self may or may not have contributed to his staying out of trouble. As past researchers have claimed, self-image is a non-directional variable. In any case, Andrew had a great deal of positive support coming from other sources. Andrew currently has a relatively loose support structure when it comes to his friends; he stated, "There's people I care about, but I don't need all that much support—I'm fairly independent." Along those lines, he reported that he frequently "calls out" his friends when they make poor decisions.

Andrew was equally confusing politically. He labelled himself a "radically liberal conservative." Andrew then gave a long and, frankly, irrelevant explanation of the meaning of the expression. For this work's purposes, it means that he is a moderate. Andrew's parents were both conservative Republicans, but did little to engage the family in politics. Andrew identified welfare and the death penalty as the two most important issues. When discussing welfare, Andrew stated that capitalism is "unbalanced" and that the poor are suffering—a statement that tends to put Andrew on the left of the political gammet. Andrew and his family all vote, but only involved themselves in politics a small amount.

Andrew reported a nearly completely clean deviant record. Andrew's father told him it was "okay" to masturbate, yet, interestingly, Andrew felt that it is very wrong. Andrew reported that he does occasionally masturbate but felt guilt after doing it: "I don't

like what I have to think about while doing it.” This situation is interesting when evaluating where the internal controls have been formed. Certainly, it is a testament that fathers are not the sole influence when it comes to a son’s sexual dealings.

Andrew’s relationship with his father is connected, but there seems to be little relationship between Andrew’s beliefs and his father’s influence. Andrew mentioned his father very few times during the interview and when asked gave short and simple answers. He described his dad as wanting “personal gain” and he wants more collective good, which is the largest distinguishing factor between Andrew and his father, especially when it comes to politics.

Sam. Sam came from a large family; he had two older sisters and two younger brothers—one sister died in infancy. He described his family as “connected” and “structured,” which was supported by the curfews that his parents expected of him, as well as the forms of discipline. The family was upper-middle class. Sam responded to most questions with a simple, “Yeah, I guess,” with an intermittent grin. He kept good eye contact, which led me to believe that his responses were true.

Sam had a positive self image: he felt that his parents accept him, that he is a good student, that he is outgoing—yet shy if asked to perform—happy, physically strong and “normal.” He said he is sometimes not himself: “In high school, I tried being the ‘tough guy’ instead of being myself.” Sam stated that he had to “break it up” when one of his friends was doing drugs. This reveals a strong character that Sam possesses, despite his easy-going nature. Sam remembered friends that his parents didn’t like, but didn’t end the friendship, despite his parents’ will. Additionally, Sam had the restraint to leave an area

where pot was being used because he felt that it was wrong.

Sam has well-developed internal controls. In the situations that he described above, no external controls were readily available; thus, he guided himself through the circumstances to a successful solution. Because Sam has these internal controls, it is unlikely that he will be regularly in trouble with the law throughout the course of his life.

When Sam does something wrong, he is plagued by guilt. He said that sometimes it causes him to not want to be around other people or in a group. Nonetheless, he felt it is his guilt that forces him to confess his wrongdoing.

Sam's guilt was so strong that it may be considered unhealthy. Perhaps his internal controls are overdeveloped, which causes individuals to punish themselves mentally for an action that cannot be reversed.

After changing his mind, Sam claimed that he is a conservative Republican; his political characteristics are identical to his parents. Out of the nine questions asked,⁶ Sam identified abortion and the environment as the top two issues. His hesitant and unsure answers were supporting evidence that he was not very politically engaged. Overall, Sam's reported ideology made him appear moderate more than anything else.

Sam didn't report any level of significant deviant behavior. Sam reported that after he broke his curfew, his father was standing at the door waiting for him. After his father found out about a drinking party that took place in the woods, he simply said, "Don't do it again." Certainly, an external control was present in this situation—his father—but, the leniency in which his father handled the circumstance is evidence that the father acknowledges Sam's internal controls.

⁶See Appendix A, page two, for a full list of the issues.

Sam reported that he was in a fight while playing sports. His father approved of his fighting back. Sam reported that he was physically disciplined in his youth; this instance may corroborate Ptacek's discipline theory (n.d.). Perhaps the greatest offense that Sam committed, but was never caught (either by law enforcement or his parents) was drinking while driving. He reported that he was very ashamed of himself afterwards and feels that his father would be greatly disappointed. Parker and Benson's theory (2004) is supported by Sam's implication. Sam viewed "letting his father down" as a greater control than any other consequence that might have ensued.

Sam also reported damaging property, another incident that his father did not discover. Sam said that he has never taken full accountability for the incident, but feels guilty about the damage still. His body shifted positions and his eyes focused on his shoes; there was obvious remorse for this action.

Sam thought his father had sex out of wedlock before marriage, but he also thought that his dad regretted doing it. The two have never discussed the issue, but Sam refrains from sex before marriage because of his perception of his father's expectations and because of his own religious practices. Here, two external controls have developed into effective internal controls.

While with friends, Sam reported "maybe" shaking a vending machine to get "stuff" out of it for free. He laughed at this incident, showing that he doesn't view it as an offense—~~theft~~. Authority figures, such as the police, seemed to have little effect on Sam. While out one night, Sam lied to the police to keep his friend from getting into trouble. Again, Sam looked at the floor with shame. He said that his dad would have

been honest, and Sam wishes he could tell the truth now. There are two theories that apply to the present situation. First, external controls are less important—the police are the external controls here—and Sam’s inference of his father’s values outweigh any external control that was present. Indeed, guilt and feelings of inferiority to role models are effective methods of deterring crime.

Overall, Sam felt as if his dad has been a good influence on his life. He called his father his “friend” and feels like they will be lifelong “buddies.” He also indicated that his father supports him tremendously in his activities. The cohesion element between Sam and his father is quite high, which may have led to Sam’s adopting his father’s political labels and been an effective means of keeping Sam out of trouble.

Luke. Luke, like Isaac, had a smaller family setting. Luke reported that his father is his “best friend” and that he was extremely comfortable talking about life with his father. He claimed that his family is enmeshed; it seemed that this family is very cohesive. Luke said that his family was flexible while he was growing up, and he had the freedom he wanted.

Luke reported that his father did not attend church, but that he and his mother practiced their faith regularly. Furthermore, Luke said that he did not always attend church; this activity became more commonplace in high school and college. I predicted that Luke will have many influential sources in addition to his father.

Luke had a very positive self-image. He claimed that he is an outgoing person, especially around friends. Depression is a condition that Luke struggled with. As he looked down at the floor, he said that his depression “comes and goes,” but that his father

struggled with it as well. However, Luke's depression has never driven him to commit unlawful acts or acts that are socially unacceptable. This premise disagrees with most research on the effects of self-image—researchers claim that it has an effect, but are unsure in which way (good or bad; in this case, it had not bearing at all.

Luke admitted to drinking because of friends' influence within the past year; he said that he wanted to be liked, because he likes most of those who are around him. Luke reported that he did not drink while in high school because it was against the rules. As Sutherland and Cressey (1966) point out, peers can be more influential than parents. Luke experienced very unhealthy guilt. This guilt may be caused by a "betrayal" of his internal controls. He said that he feels as though he is letting his father down when he succumbs to peer pressure and drinks.

Politically, Luke identified himself as a moderate. His father explained most issues to him, and his father is a Republican. Luke reported that his father often engaged him in conversation after watching the evening news or a political movie. Luke said that he "butts heads" with his father on only one issue—gay rights and sexual issues—which he ranked dead last in terms of importance. Luke favors civil unions and equal rights for homosexuals, whereas his father does not subscribe to the same line of thought. Luke also explained that his parents were active members of the Republican Party in his hometown. Despite this high level of influence, Luke forgot to vote in the last election. He reported that his father was very upset. There is some other element at work influencing Luke, but his parents are clearly the strongest factor of all, especially his father.

Luke had a delinquent record that resembled that of a model child. He reports that

he once punched another male peer in self-defense and was not punished for it, but he felt bad about it anyway. This guilt may be evidence that Luke has very strong internal controls. Luke is a virgin; he says that his father has never talked about the issue and Luke doubts that his father even cares. Rather, Luke says that his religious beliefs “keep [him] pure.” Again, here is evidence that there are many factors influencing Luke, not just his father.

In sum, Luke’s relationship with his father has impacted his life, especially politically. Luke talked freely and often about how “great” and “nice” his father was. Overall, Luke’s father has been very influential in his life. Luke grew up with a strong monitor, a close friend, and very cohesive family—all elements that contribute to Luke’s behavioral success.

DISCUSSION

I was able to determine causes for certain types of delinquency in some of the subjects, which provides grounds to relate the case to theory discussed previously. Additionally, many of the variables mesh together; thus, it is hard to attribute an individual’s wrongdoing to simply one aspect. As stated earlier, delinquency is almost never explained by one theory or one cause, but a blend of many.

Those interviewed showed that delinquency is not limited to those who are behind bars. Many of those interviewed, though not all, explained many wrongdoings they had committed in the past. Most of these actions their fathers never found out about, and certainly law enforcement was almost never involved. In only one case, Josh, authorities

outside of the home intervened. In that situation, his parents felt that the situation was being taken care of, so they did not discipline Josh at all. Therefore, the reasons pointed out previously may have more effect on the likelihood of incarceration than the actual crimes do: socioeconomic levels and location of residence (Beyers et al., 2002), the adolescent's self-esteem and level of mental functioning (Parker & Benson, 2004), family status (Rodney & Mupier, 1999), and parental discipline (Lowney, 2001).

Most of those in this portion of the study came from middle to upper-middle class families. The average participant ranked his family "seven" on an SES scale of one to ten. However, two individuals reported lower class distinctions, Matt and Jordan. Matt had a near "clean" record when it came to deviancy; however, Jordan was a bit more daring. When comparing the two, Matt did explain that his family at times could have been a "six or a seven," but only recently had a major loss in income. Jordan, on the other hand, reported that his family has consistently been a "two to a three" throughout his childhood. Additionally, Jordan did not have the spotless delinquency record that many of the others did. Nonetheless, he was never caught for his actions—many of which were or had the potential to be very harmful and dangerous. Jordan indicated a different axis of poverty that, as Lowney (2001) explains, is probably more to blame than the low income itself. In most working class families, both parents are likely to work, and thus be home less than higher income families that can afford to have only one parent in the work force. Jordan claimed that he skipped school, damaged property, and a few other actions because his mother was not home. And finally, the "cycle of theory" is complete; if his mother was not home, he was counting on not getting caught—there was

no level of “certainty” present (Eyesneck & Trasler as cited in Nettler, 1978). In most cases, such as Jordan’s, poverty causes parents to be away from home, which reduces the level of monitoring (Parker & Benson, 2004). Therefore, it is not the lower income that causes delinquency; it is the lack of supervision—poverty forces parents out of the home; it does not encourage an adolescent to become violent or display unwanted behavior.

Most participants in the interviewing process relayed that they had fairly positive self-images. Some of them had inflated senses of self, such as Andrew. However, Andrew had a relatively empty delinquent history. Perhaps the individual with the lowest self-esteem was Jordan. And likewise, Jordan reported the most deviant behavior. Luke, however, also reported experiences with bouts of depression. Yet, Luke reported a minimal amount of deviant behavior. Isaac presents a similar case—while even admitting attempted suicide, his delinquent record involved only minor infractions, most of which were status crimes. Out of all the cases—about half of the total number interviewed—that reported low self-image or depression, no one direction could be determined. Prior studies, such as Lowney (2001), Rosenberg and Rosenberg (1978), and Wells and Rankin (1983), are supported by the present study. While it seems there is some correlation among self-image and depression and delinquency, it is nearly impossible to find a direction between the variables. In some cases, depression moved the adolescent to deviant behavior, but in other cases, the delinquent behavior caused the individual to be wrought with guilt, which eventually results in a poor self-image. Luke, who still experiences intense guilt after an incident in fourth grade, is a prime example of the latter link among the variables.

This study presented the most support for those theories and principles based on parenting and socialization. Most of the subjects in the qualitative portion of the study came from families with multiple siblings and both parents still in the home—with the exception of the convoluted family history of Isaac. However, many of those in the study reported, despite the fact that their fathers still lived in the home, that they had little contact, minimal conversation, and an overall marginal relationship with their fathers.

No one reported that their family had a “rigid”⁷ parenting style. However, about half did report that their parents had a “structured” discipline style, and clearly some were more so than others. Those that were “structured” were usually marked by strict curfews, high expectations from school, and usually some form of physical discipline. On the other hand, those who reported a “flexible” upbringing usually had lax or no curfews and were usually disciplined by having conversation or were just scolded. In the worse case scenario, the individual was grounded. It is also noteworthy that those who had a flexible upbringing were also younger in the family; usually the older siblings in these families had a more structured upbringing. It is not unusual to hear that parents with large families become more “easy going” with the younger children. The case is simply not so with Matt, who was the second youngest of ten children. He reported that his family was structured. Still, Matt had no delinquency record that would alter the conclusions of the author in the present study. There appeared to be no major differences in terms of delinquency between those who reported flexible or structured parenting styles.

Because the present study does not distinguish which type—“structured,” or

⁷ The terms “rigid,” “structured,” “flexible,” and “chaotic” are attributed to Matherne and Thomas, 2001.

“flexible”—of family, I will turn to other theories. Bandura and Walters (as cited in Netter, 1978) provide a more likely theory, especially considering that most families with multiple children have evolving parenting styles. The first children have a structured childhood—clear and set parameters to define what is acceptable and what is not. The second or subsequent children have parents who are somewhat more relaxed. However, the younger children observe the consequences of actions by the other siblings with the more structured style of parenting. In time, they learn what is right and what is wrong without even committing the act, and they learn what the punishment and expectations are if they do commit the misdeed. Josh’s childhood presents the best case for this principle. Josh, one of the younger children in his home, had a clear understanding of right and wrong when he was growing up but had “flexible” parents. Josh also reported that his parents were “a lot harder” on the older kids in his family. Josh, since going to college, started becoming sexually active, but refuses to tell his father about this part of his life. He knows what his father will think of the action—and as many of the young men reported in this study, disappointing one’s father is worse than most punishments. Josh reported that his older siblings advised him not to tell his father. Thus, a modeling approach is set within the family. Modeling seems to be more significant to this study than family parenting style, especially within larger families.

Family status was hard to measure in the present study. Most participants came from intact families. Even Isaac, who never knew his birth father, was raised with a step-father in the home. The sample size would have to be increased in order to include “broken” families or those with an non-traditional background. Therefore, Lowney’s

(2001) conclusion that families with half the parenting structure in the home, as well as Rodney and Mupier's (1999) theory that families with biological fathers in the home are less apt to have children in trouble, are hard to support in the present study. However, there is certainly no evidence that opposes either Lowney's or Rodney and Mupier's theories.

Isaac is perhaps the only individual who can be considered in support of McCord's study (1982). Isaac's stepfather, an alcoholic who was usually not home or emotionally unavailable, was completely overshadowed by Isaac's mother, who was both the caregiver and disciplinarian in the family. Isaac claimed that his mother worked, but was a very constant and present source of love and structure in his life.

Other cases, such as Matt's, Kevin's, Jordan's, and Josh's, presented a somewhat absent father. In these families, though less so than Isaac's, one parent was more dominant than the other. In each of the cases, the children turned out to be non-delinquent, successful children. Therefore, there is no doubt that two-parent families are preferable to single-parent families. However, single-parent families, or families in which the father is unavailable to the children, are not doomed simply by their family status. A dominant, loving character can preserve a child from falling into a cycle of crime.

Matherne and Thomas (2001) discuss not only adaptability—family parenting styles, such as “structured,” etc.—but also cohesion. Cohesion was addressed in the quantitative portion of the discussion section. As discussed previously, some fathers in the study seemed to be disconnected from their sons, though they lived under the same

roof. Sons seemed to have a less clear set of expectations from their fathers when they were distant. From an antithetical perception, Luke spoke very highly of his father and claimed that his father was one of his best friends. Luke understood the expectations and limitations that his father set for him and usually followed those guidelines. The high level of cohesion between Luke and his father also set the stakes high to maintain the friendship. Luke did not want to commit wrongdoing because it would potentially threaten the friendship he had with this father. Sam reports a similar story; his father is one of his “biggest fans” when he plays football. Committing socially unacceptable acts would disappoint his father and threaten the relationship he has with his father, so he chooses to refrain from wrongdoing.

On the other hand, Jordan’s father is present in the home and has a clear set of rules and guidelines, but Jordan does not necessarily view his father as his friend. Therefore, he realizes that he is disappointing his father, but the stakes are not very high; disappointing his father is something that Jordan has, unfortunately, become accustomed to. The stakes were low when it came to his father because he viewed his father as a “pessimist” in his life, rather than an empowering figure. Jordan’s childhood is marked by low level of cohesiveness with his father—and Jordan’s current independence reinforces that conclusion tremendously.

Gary Jensen (1972) provides the most pertinent information on peer relationships. Most of the respondents in this section reported that they had to, at some point their lives, break off a friendship with someone because of differing values—either the parents’ values or those of the individual himself. Sam reported that he had to end a friendship

when his friend started doing drugs; Andrew said that he has “called out friends”; and Isaac claimed having to sacrifice his entire group of friends in high school because they were making poor choices. However, Sam did not break off his friendship until his parents had warned him several times, and Isaac did not end a friendship until after an incident when he delivered an ecstasy pill for a friend. Had Sam been present when his friends used marijuana, or had Isaac been caught with the ecstasy pill on his person, the situation might have looked different.

Indeed, in those situations in which the father figure was less present than in others, there seemed to be more mention of friends. Josh reported that he spent a lot of time with his friends in high school, and that he and his father spent very little time together. Josh clearly relied on his friends for guidance in high school even though he was being supervised to some degree by his father. Josh’s deviance record, which includes vandalism and inappropriate language, shows that he often looked to his friends as a model rather than his father.

Emotional environment plays a large part in an adolescent’s upbringing. Sprott (2004) studied behavior in the classroom. While the present study did not include specifically behaviors while at school, the concept of environment did surface indirectly throughout the interview. Luke and Sam had home environments where they felt comfortable talking to their parents. And, not surprisingly, neither Luke or Sam committed many deviant acts. Then there are Daren and Josh who feel “fairly comfortable” talking to their fathers, but do not feel comfortable talking about sex or any aspect of it with them. And finally, Matt, Jordan, and Isaac do not talk to their fathers

about much of anything in their lives. These fathers tend to present themselves as unavailable to their children, or at least uninterested. Fathers have traditionally struggled with being emotionally available to their children. The “Marlboro Man” is an image that many fathers want to portray to their sons. In reality, this type of persona pushes the child away and makes him feel uncomfortable sharing the details of his life.

Everyone in the sample, with the exception of Isaac, referred to his father as the guiding force in his political life. Daren was different in political party identification but still possessed many of the same values, just to a different intensity. Additionally, most everyone else, except Matt, had slightly more liberal ideology than his father. Matt maintained the same level of ideology—or so it appeared—as his father.

As Gray and Hanson (2004) claim, Montana is a moralistic state; thus, there is usually a high level of political involvement. When it comes to voting, this moralism tended to be true. All but two voted in the last Presidential election—Luke forgot and Matt was ineligible due to his age. Most young adults, as evidenced in the 2004 elections, do not vote. Along other lines, however, it appears that the participants do not politically engage themselves to a great extent. Most report watching the news or reading the newspaper from time to time, but do not formally belong to any political parties or participate in any activist groups. Fiorina (2004) found similar results—abortion was an outlying issue. Two of the participants claim that they attend or belong to a Pro-Life group, but even then they claim that their relationship with the organization is loose.

Jordan presented an interesting political case. His father, he reports, talked politics *to* him regularly. However, he never saw his father live by the principles he was

advocating. Therefore, he relied a great deal on the information he was getting from other sources. Jordan calls himself a moderate but tends to fall to the left of the middle when considering his issues. For instance, Jordan says that his father is vehemently against civil unions and gay marriage. Yet Jordan endorses civil union and is “working through” the gay marriage issue. Matt and Luke told a similar story when this one issue was singled out. Luke went as far as saying that it is one major issues that divides him from his father politically.

Those that observed their fathers making comments about a certain party, candidate, or issue were more likely to identify with their father on that issue. Kevin reported that his father talked politics in front of him, in settings such as at dinner or while watching the evening news. Kevin reported fairly shallow reasons for his political beliefs. His usual response was, “Well, that’s what my family believes.” Again, however, Kevin tended to fall to the left of his parents. At the conclusion of his interview, he said that his mother and father were extremely “Christian,” and that he didn’t agree with them on everything.

The measures that Gray and Hanson (2004) use to predict how an individual will vote turned out to be relatively insignificant to the present study. Most of the respondents came from a community similar to Helena, give or take a few thousand people. Luke came from a community of only five hundred people, but his political preferences did not differ a great deal from others in the sample.

The two factors that perhaps played a large role in the current study were geographic location and religious preference. Most of the individuals interviewed came

from a moralistic state—and thus were concerned with social justice issues (e.g., abortion, welfare, the environment, etc.). Second, all of the individuals that were interviewed responded that they currently practice their faith. Most reported that they were Catholic, and a few responded that they were non-denominational Christian, but still went to church regularly. The traditional difference that Catholics vote Democratic and Protestants vote Republican is not supported in any way by this study. The only Catholic who voted Democratic was Isaac—whose parents, interestingly enough, do not participate in any church.

Fathers' influence on their sons politically seems to be more significant than even fathers' influence on delinquency. Most of the respondents had agreeing party preferences and similar ideologies. Of course, the study would have to be repeated with a larger sample to confirm these findings.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

If the present study is ever to be reproduced, I suggest adjusting a few elements: first, funding needs to be secured so that a larger sample might be interviewed and surveyed. The sample size was the greatest limiting factor to the entire work. Second, the interviewer needs to examine more closely the reasons why an individual does *not* demonstrate delinquent behavior instead of focusing on why the subject committed a certain act.

The father is an irreplaceable and necessary element to the home. No matter what role he provides within the family (caretaker or disciplinarian), he is essential to raising a well-rounded son. Not only must he be present, he must also be available to the son to talk and to be willing to share with the son emotional elements of his own life.

Availability is equally important as having the father simply in the home.

The evolution of fatherhood has progressed from fathers' having little to do with any children in the home, to the father's being present, to the father's sharing an equal role with the mother. Certain aspects have driven this effort: first, and foremost, the Industrial Revolution set in motion a new society that works hard and experiences more hardship—generally speaking—is the family farm is no longer the only concern of the family. Second, in the middle of the twentieth century, women with children were forced to be working citizens, leaving no one at home to take care of domestic needs—fathers have continuously had to try to fill the gap that is left from women leaving the home; and lastly, fathers have started facing a whole new set of elements that most fathers never had to deal with in the past—drugs, sexuality, demand for higher education, and many other variables in the son's life are more visible and present than they ever were in the past.

Now, a new approach to fathering must replace the old “tough guy” mentality that has been used for a great deal of time. One approach is identified by William Pollack, Ph.D. He contends that fathers must play a much different role in order for their sons to succeed in life. Boys are bound by “gender straight jackets” and have been forced to hide their emotions for too long. It is the father who has the ability to break this cycle of emotional unawareness and empower the son to be adaptable and flexible and to

acknowledge and work through the many problems that society presents to its youth
(Pollack, 1998).

Fathers must be more than physically present for their sons; they must be available
in all aspects to ensure that their sons will grow up to be successful, well-rounded, and
loving members of the greater society.

APPENDIX A: QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Age:

Family Background:

Siblings:

Parents: single, with someone else but no remarried, married, divorced, remarried, remarried and divorced, adoptive, non-legal surrogate, foster, or deceased?

Who is the primary disciplinarian? Care giver (who did you talk to about problems?)

Did your family experience any troubling times, such as divorce or separation?

Have social services of any kind been involved in your family?

Did you ever witness your parents argue? Hit one-another? Hit a sibling? Witness any other kinds of abuse?

How well or comfortable do you feel with sharing the details of your life with your father or mother? Since adolescence, has this level of communication ever changed?

Would you say that your family is disengaged, separated, connected, or enmeshed? (Explain terms)

Would you say that your family is rigid, structured, flexible, or chaotic?

Does any member of your home use drugs or alcohol excessively?

Throughout your life, how many times has your family moved? House-to-house? City-to-city?

Were you able to drive in high school?

Discipline:

What forms of discipline did the disciplinarian use when you were growing up? If physical forms of discipline were used, expound.

Did you have a curfew?

Family Income:

How would you rank your family socioeconomically on a scale of 1-10? One is the lowest and represents approximately \$10,000.

Does your family own their home?

Religion:

Do you practice your faith regularly?

Do your parents practice their faith regularly? (Mother/Father) Is it the same faith?

Ethnicity:

What is your racial background?

Health:

- Would you consider yourself a healthy person?
- Did you have any illnesses, physical or mental?
- Did you or do you have to stay home or away from your regular activities frequently due to illness?
- Have you ever been prescribed a drug such as Ritalin for hyperactivity, or Paxil for depression or anxiety? Are you taking such medications at this time?

Sexual Orientation:

- Does your father know about your sexual orientation? Does your mother?
- Do they accept your orientation?
- Are your parents gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered?

Education/Schooling:

- Highest Level of Education completed:
- ACT/SAT/IQ Score:
- How would you rate yourself as a student? Why?

Self-Concept:

Do you view *yourself* as:

- Outgoing?
- Shy?
- Happy?
- Sad?
- Depressed?
- Strong?
- Weak?
- Annoying?
- Normal?
- Weird?

Have any of these qualities ever driven you to do something that you think is abnormal?

Do *others* view you as:

- Outgoing?
- Shy?
- Happy?
- Sad?
- Depressed?
- Strong?
- Weak?
- Annoying?
- Normal?
- Weird?

Do you every purposely act a certain way to fulfill your freinds' perceptions of you?

Do you think that other's perception of you has changed within the last year?

Have you tried to change the way others perceive you?

Socialization:

How well do you make friends? Acquaintances? Close friends?

How well do you keep friends?

Do you currently have a group of friends that supports you?

Have you ever struggled with a friend?

Have you ever had friends that your parents or guardians disapproved of?

Miscellaneous:

After doing something wrong, do you experience guilt?

Does the guilt affect you in such a way that you feel you are unable to function?

Does the guilt every cause you to confess your wrongdoing(s)?

Were you abused physically, mentally, or sexually in any way?

If so, who by?

Were you ever sexually exploited in your youth?

Have you ever been considered an "at-risk-youth"?

Do you plan on being married, celibate, in a committed relationship with a person of the same sex, a lifelong relationship, and or a monogamous relationship?

Do you plan of having children? Biologically? Foster? Adoptive? How many?

What is your favorite color? Your dad's?

What is your favorite food? Your dad's?

What is your view of the world/society today? Are things looking good or bad for the future?

Politics:

Do you consider yourself liberal, moderate, or conservative? Explain why.

Do you consider yourself to part of any political party?

Is your father liberal, moderate, or conservative? Your mother?

What political party does your father claim to be a part of? Your mother?

Have you participated in a political rally of any kind or belonged/contributed to a political activist group? Have either of your parents?

Do you parents encourage you to be politically engaged?

In your upbringing, did your parents discuss politics in front of you?

Regarding the following issues, how do you feel:

Environment
Death Penalty
Healthcare
Abortion
Social Security
Municipal Ownership
Sexual Issues/Gay Rights
Religion in Schools
Welfare

Rank the issues from 1 to 9; 1 is the most important to you, 9 is the least. Avoid ties, please.

Do you vote? Do your parents? Siblings?

In an ideal world, would there be a large or a small government?

Who is your favorite President? Why?

Sum up your political engagements/activity?

Criminal Delinquent Past:¹

While the under the age of 18, have you ever:

Skipped school?
Run away from home?
Been on school probation or suspension?
Been expelled from school?
Defied your parents' authority? How?
Drank beer?
Bought beer?
Drank liquor?
Bought liquor?
Had a fist fight with one person?
Beat up on kids who did not do anything to you?
Used pot?
Been in a place where pot was being used and you didn't? Why?
Done other drugs?
Sold drugs of any kind?

¹Adapted from Jeremiah Lowney's *Self Report of Delinquency* (n.d.)

Have you *ever*:

- Driven while drunk?
- Forcefully robbed someone?
- Participated in a gang fight?
- Taken a car for a ride without the owner's knowledge?
- Contributed alcohol to a minor?
- Had a fist fight?
- Stolen small items (worth less than 10)?
- Used pot?
- Drank alcohol?
- Sold drugs?
- Deliberately damaged property?

Even if it was just an "experiment," please answer "yes" to any of the following questions.

- Frequented a house of prostitution?
- Engaged yourself in prostitution?
- Stripped for money or done other sexually provocative acts in exchange for something?
- While unmarried, had sex with a female?
- Had sex with another male?
- Forced sex on another person who did not desire it?
- Looked at or used pornography for personal gratification by using illegal means?
- Masturbated?
- Gone fishing without a license?
- Hurt someone physically, mentally, or otherwise, just to see them squirm?

Since the age of 16, have you ever:

- Possessed drug paraphernalia?
- Intentionally erased or destroyed someone else's phone messages?
- Tampered with a coin dispenser or vending machine?
- Fired a gun in a place of public right-of-way?
- Loaned or given away lewd obscene material? On the Internet?
- Provided false information to a peace officer?
- Received telecommunications services without paying for them?
- Carried a concealed weapon?
- Signed a fictitious name to an important document?
- Used obscene or filthy language while on the telephone?
- Improperly gained access to someone else's e-mail account?

At any age, have you ever:

Been arrested? What for? Did you tell me about that earlier?

Been convicted of a misdemeanor? What? What was your father's response?

Been convicted of a felony? What? What was your father's response?

Have you ever been incarcerated? How long? Where? For what?

Have you ever been placed in a youth shelter, foster care, etc.?

Other:

Have you ever cried in front of your father?

Did your father ever say "I love you?"

Let's talk about your relationship with your father. [From here, the researcher and the subject interacted on the relationship with his father. Questions varied.]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the support of family and friends, this thesis would have never gotten off the ground. A special thank you to my parents and grandparents, who have been a sounding board for frustration and who have been able to participate in my excitement at this work's completion; and to Lucy Richards who helped with "number crunching," even though that data was not included in the present study. Of course, my readers, especially Dr. Libbie Chute, who encouraged me to write "parsimoniously" and offered excellent advice when needed. I would also like to thank Father Jerry Lowney for his advice regarding sampling and for his devotion to teaching criminal theory. And finally to Marie Fowler, who so readily and willingly loves those she serves, despite the circumstances of the child. Thank you: you are an inspiration to all who desire to enter the field of social work—you challenge us never to lose sight of "saving the world."

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