Order Number 9303944

Family stress, antisocial behavior and the behaviorally/emotionally disturbed girl

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The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1992

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FAMILY STRESS, ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND THE BEHAVIORALLY/EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED GIRL

by

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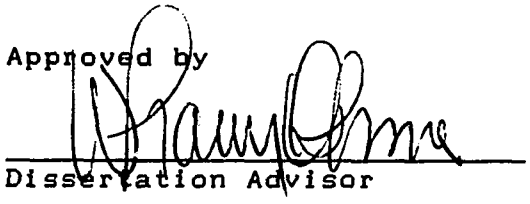
A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro
1992

Approved by



Dissertation Advisor

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation Advisor

Committee Members

March 16, 1992
Date of Acceptance by Committee

March 16, 1992
Date of Final Oral Examination

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my committee, Dr. Larry Osborne, Dr. Lloyd Bond, Dr. Scott Hinkle and Dr. Barabara DeBaryshe, particularly Dr. Osborne, my chairman. I would like to thank the central office staff of Eckerd Family Youth Alternatives, Inc. for the help they gave in securing the data for this study. My family and friends deserve special recognition for their support and understanding throughout this project.

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The contribution of family stressors to a behaviorally/emotionally disturbed girl's level of antisocial behavior was assessed to develop a profile of such girls and their families in order to identify counseling interventions.

The total sample size was 328 girls between 10 and 16 years of age enrolled in the Eckerd Wilderness Educational System (EWES) camping program between 1982 and 1987. The typical girl in this study was white, fourteen and one-half years old, Protestant, and low-average intelligence. She was in the program about a year. Her most prevalent antisocial behavior was school truancy associated with later classification as either a dependent adjudicated adolescent or as a delinquent adjudicated adolescent. She tended to use alcohol more than drugs. In school, she received special education services through a self-contained Emotionally Handicapped classroom. She repeated first grade. She reentered her community school in either the eighth or ninth grade.

In a typical EWES family, a natural mother had custody of her daughter, and she lives in the mother's home. The natural mother was married, resided in the suburbs of a

city, and was a high school graduate. Family income ranged between $9,000 and $24,000 per year. Parental substance abuse was a major problem. Sexual abuse of the girl was more prevalent than physical abuse and neglect.

Two multiple regression analyses indicated that type of home community, parental marital status, parental education, parental substance abuse and a girl's living arrangements were predictive of the severity of her antisocial behavior. Two stepwise logistic regression analyses indicated that parental substance abuse, marital status, child custody and family income are useful in identifying both the type and the severity of a girl's antisocial behavior.

An unequal N analysis of variance yielded no significant results in determining whether parental sexual abuse, physical abuse, neglect or substance abuse contributed more to a girl's antisocial behavior. Likewise, two ANOVA's yielded no significant results in differentiating between the mean values for antisocial behavior exhibited by girls grouped by sexual abuse, physical abuse and neglect.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Defiant, hostile behavior and acts of violence by youth have been steadily increasing in the United States during the last several decades. Aggressive, conduct-disordered students with antisocial behaviors are increasingly of particular concern for communities and school systems (Olweus, 1987; Shinn, Ramsey, Walker, O'Neill, & Stieber, 1987).

The reported incidents of juvenile homicide, rape, robbery and aggravated assault, as well as misdemeanors and status offenses, grew steadily throughout the 1960s and the 1970s (Zimring, 1979). There was a 30% surge in the number of juveniles in custody per 100,000 population from 1975 to 1985 (Children in Custody, 1989). In Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, the murder rate for youth under 20 years of age quadrupled from a total of nine in 1986 to 36 in 1990; the number of arrests for assault with weapons increased 74%; and the number of sexual assaults committed by youth under 16 years of age nearly tripled, from 5 to 13 (Children and Violence, 1991).

Accompanying the dramatic increases in victim-related juvenile antisocial behavior and violence was an escalation of juvenile self-aggression: drug use (Johnston, O'Malley, &

Bachman, 1987), juvenile suicide (Wade, 1987), and an increased youth mortality rate during the decades of the 60s, 70s and 80s (Shaffer & Fisher, 1981; Uhlenberg & Eggebeen, 1986). Most disturbingly, the peak age for committing violent offenses shifted downward from 23 for murder, 19 for robbery, and 24 for aggravated assault in 1965 to 19 for murder, 17 for robbery, and 21 for aggravated assault in 1980; simultaneously arrest rates increased 45% (Blumstein, Cohen, & Farrington, 1988, p. 9). Although the typical empirical study of juvenile antisocial behavior during the last three decades focuses on males, Sarri (1983) indicates that statistics detailing a rise in youth delinquency, violence and aggression are inflated by a growing increase in female antisocial behavior.

Conceivably the most troubling children encountered by juvenile authorities and school officials are those displaying antisocial behavior resulting from behavioral/emotional disturbances. These troubled children create problems due to their inability to maintain satisfactory social relationships (Division of Exceptional Children, 1988). Nonetheless, research results suggest that behaviorally or emotionally disturbed children do not form a homogeneous population and, in turn, are defined differently by various mental health facilities and state departments of education (Skiba & Casey, 1985).

Depending upon the social agency handling deviant behavior, antisocial juveniles are variously labeled as violent and assaultive (Widom, 1989), conduct-disordered (Patterson, 1986), antisocial (Loeber, 1990), seriously behaviorally-emotionally handicapped (Behar & Stephens, 1978), or behavior-disordered (Brand, Crous, & Hanekom, 1990). These terms, for the most part, are interchangeable.

Such youth do not constitute a large segment of society; yet, they account for much in terms of behavioral disturbance. Through strict interpretation of the most common definitions for describing behaviorally or emotionally disturbed youngsters, Wood (1985) related that only 1.5-3.0% of the total American student population should be considered for identification. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 3rd edition, revised (DSM-III-R), (American Psychiatric Association, 1987), cites 9% of males and 2% of females under the age of 18 years can be considered to have some type of disorder connected to antisocial behavior.

Because of the abrasive manner in which these children interact socially, they often are not readily identified as emotionally disturbed by community agencies or are frequently treated solely as discipline problems (Alexson & Sinclair, 1986; Kauffman, 1977; Sabornie & Kauffman, 1985; Stotsky, Browne, & Lister, 1986; Westendorp, Brink, Roberson, & Oritz, 1986; Wood, 1985). Their behavior tends

to arouse a punitive response in others that may override a rival nurturing, caring response necessary for addressing the needs of aggressive emotionally disturbed children (Wood, 1985, p. 224). Such youth may or may not be under the jurisdiction of the court.

Closely related to the increase in reported criminal youth violence, aggression and antisocial acts is a dramatic rise in the rate of admission to residential treatment facilities for emotionally disturbed children. Dougherty, Saxe, Cross, and Silverman (1987) report an increased rate of admissions in such treatment from 11.4 per 100,000 children in 1969 to 28.3 in 1981, an increase approximating 250%. This increase appears even more startling given the decrease in federal and state funding for emotionally handicapped children and the increased costs for services and care during the 70s and 80s (Zabel, 1991).

Antisocial behavior in emotionally disturbed children cannot be ignored. Olweus (1987) has identified 7% of the total school population as having notable antisocial behavior, with 2% being severely aggressive. Sroufe and Rutter (1984) caution that even mild antisocial behavior in childhood can sometimes be predictive of severely disordered adult behavior. Tragically, antisocial aggressive behavior is remarkably stable over time and not readily responsive to change once it comes to the attention of criminal justice or

mental health professionals (Griffin, 1987; Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz, & Walder, 1984; Olweus, 1987).

Studies suggest a relationship between family variables and the behavior of antisocial youth (Cohen &, Brook, 1987; Fatout, 1990; Greenwald, 1990; Morash & Rucker, 1989; Stewart & Zaenglein-Senger, 1984; Wolfe, Jaffe, Wilson, & Zak, 1985). Research has shown the parent/child relationship in families with an identified aggressive emotionally disturbed child is strained and frequently dysfunctional (Allen, 1988; Amoroso & Ware, 1986; Maynard & Olson, 1987; Molin, 1986; Smith, Burleigh, Sewell, & Krisak, 1984). Fatout (1990) states that when the family fails to provide a safe, predictable, secure world for a child and perceives the child as an extension of the parent, appropriate separation and individuation is impaired. The child is caught in an identification with the inconsistent, disturbed adult. This lack of personal identity plus confusion caused by parental inconsistency blocks the child's ability to predict the outcome of behavior, and the child does not learn to gradually internalize controls.

Communication in families is the pathway for healthy or faulty personality development in children (Molin, 1986). An over-close or symbiotic relationship between parent and child or a family's desire to exclude a child can lead to self-destructive behavior (Molin, 1986). Certain and exact rules are followed in family interaction; it is difficult

for a child to change until the family's expectations or rules change (Kirby, 1981).

Parenting skills in dysfunctional families are often minimal and exacerbate the family's child-rearing problems (Olweus, 1987; Patterson, 1986). Families who operate in chronic upheaval miss opportunities to establish behavioral norms and the accompanying internal controls for children (Stewart & Zaenglein-Senger, 1988). Healthy adjustment and emotional control are developed through gradual accumulation of mild and pleasant life events. However, when unpleasant emotions accumulate too quickly, emotional immaturity results (Humphrey, 1988). The child's degree of adjustment depends upon adequate satisfaction of basic needs and desires within the framework of family relationships and the requirements of society (Humphrey, 1988).

Stressed families with troubling children must struggle not only with external factors but also with their own inadequate coping mechanisms and the added strain of distressed, aggressive children and their antisocial acts (Depue & Monroe, 1986; Olweus, 1987; Patterson, 1986). As the child attempts to cope with the family's difficulties, emotional problems arise (Chandler, 1981).

Most antisocial children and their families compound the dilemma presented by an aggressive, hostile child with their view that the behavior is the accepted norm (Downes, 1966; Kirby, 1981; Vogel & Bell, 1960). Stressed, abusive

family members show significantly less independence from one another (are more enmeshed) than members of nonabusive families (Justice & Calvert, 1990). To further complicate the situation, both children and their parents exhibit high rates of denial and refuse to acknowledge the nature or consequences of their problems (Depue & Monroe, 1986; Maynard & Olson, 1987; Redl & Wineman, 1951; Willits, 1987).

Research efforts from many different theoretical perspectives lead to a variety of explanations for the relationships between family variables and antisocial behavior in children, particularly male children (Hegar and Yungman, 1989; McCord, McCord & Howard, 1961; Olweus, 1987; Patterson, 1986; Vogel & Bell, 1960; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). There is meager information relating family and psychological variables to the development of severe aggression, hostility and antisocial behavior in girls from dysfunctional, stressed families. Few studies concentrate upon these family variables as negative stressors affecting female development and leading to emotional disturbances and subsequent antisocial behavior.

These limited findings suggest implications for further study concerning the origin of antisocial behavior in girls and ways to treat these difficulties. The literature supports a need for further investigation of the amount of family stress and the quality of children's relationships with their families (Webster-Stratton, 1989) and the

identification of specific stressful life events that adversely influence the process of child/parent attachment (Deutsch & Erickson, 1989). Theoretical models and general understanding of youthful waywardness will be improved from a more thorough examination of the consequences of growing up in a dysfunctional family (Van Voorhis, Cullen, Mathers, & Garner, 1988).

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was: (1) to provide descriptive characteristics of girls who have been identified as emotionally disturbed, who have been engaged in antisocial conduct, and who have agreed to participate in the Eckerd Family Youth Alternatives, Inc. Wilderness Camping Program, (2) to offer a descriptive analysis of the family variables correlated with girls' emotional development, and (3) to perform analyses that determine the relationship of family stressors to the types and severity of antisocial behavior exhibited by the girls, and (4) determine family variables that distinguish the more antisocial girls from the less antisocial girls.

To investigate these research issues, six questions concerning negative family stress and the resultant antisocial behavior in girls were developed:

1) What is the descriptive profile (personal and family background characteristics) of girls who attend the Eckerd Wilderness Camping Program?

2) What is the relative contribution of family stressors to antisocial behavior; that is, can family stressors predict the severity of the antisocial behavior?

3) Do girls identified by the court as having committed a specific crime (adjudicated delinquents) have more family stressors than girls under general court supervision for less severe offenses (adjudicated dependents)?

4) What is the relative importance of the family stressors in predicting types of antisocial, aggressive behavior; specifically, do certain family stressors contribute to girls' antisocial, aggressive behavior?

5) Do girls who have been both sexually abused and physically abused exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either sexually abused or physically abused?

6) Do girls who have been sexually abused exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either neglected or physically abused?

From the research questions, six directional hypotheses were developed:

1) Girls whose families exhibit higher numbers of stressors will show higher levels of antisocial behavior.

2) The family stressors experienced by girls will predict the severity of girls' antisocial conduct.

3) Families of delinquent girls will exhibit more family stressors than those of girls under court supervision for less severe offenses (adjudicated dependents).

4) Certain family stressors experienced by a girl will distinguish between types of antisocial, aggressive behavior.

5) Girls who have been both sexually abused and physically abused will exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either sexually abused or physically abused.

6) Girls who have been sexually abused will exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either neglected or physically abused.

Nature of the Study

The focus of this research was to investigate the overall question, "What relationship exists between the stressors exhibited by families of emotionally disturbed girls and the girls' intensity and types of antisocial behavior?" The research examined whether multiple family stressors are significantly related to the severity and types of antisocial conduct exhibited by girls. The research questions arose from the general hypothesis that the more stressed the families, the more antisocial behavior would be exhibited by girls in the family.

Certain family variables have been related to hostility, aggressiveness and antisocial behavior. There is

an emphasis in the literature on the following: socioeconomic status, defined by yearly income and education level (Elder, Van Nguyen, & Caspi, 1985; Loeber, 1990; Masten, Garmezy, Tellegen, Larkin, & Larsen, 1988; Morash & Rucker, 1989; Patterson, 1986; Ramsey & Walker, 1988;), race (Conger, McCarty, Yang, Lahey, & Kropp, 1984, 1984; Morash & Tucker, 1989), marital status of parents (Chandler, 1981; Dadds, 1987; Loeber & Dishion, 1984; Vogel & Bell, 1960), type of home community (Dadds, 1987; Kinlock, 1986), department of protective services intervention (Dadds, 1987), neglect (Chandler, 1981; Gilbert, Christensen, & Margolin, 1984), physical and/or sexual abuse (Cavaiola & Schiff, 1988; Chandler, 1989; Finkelhor, 1986; Patterson, 1986; Thomas & Chess, 1984; Van Dalen, 1989; Wolfe, Fairbank, Kelly, & Bradlyn, 1983), and parental substance abuse (Dadds, 1987; Gabel, Swanson, & Shindledecker, 1990; Griffin, 1987; Rutter, 1988;).

Need for the Study

Since neither sensory impairment nor physical characteristics readily distinguish antisocial behaviorally/emotionally disturbed youth from their peers, identification and interventions for such students, although mandated by law (the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (PL 94-142), 1975), remain unclear and open to interpretation by school systems, mental health facilities and juvenile courts (Ysseldyke, Algozzine, & Epps, 1983). A

bewildering state of affairs exists in the classification of emotionally disturbed children (Paul, 1985; Stotsky, Browne, & Lister, 1986). Potter, Ysseldyke, Regan and Algozzine (1983) relate that (special education) classifications are haphazard because they not only serve an administrative function to justify both state and federal funding, but also serve an organizational purpose in defining the types of services that will be provided. Even the present definition for what constitutes a child's serious emotional disturbance lacks validity because it remains ambiguous and unclear in light of the interpretations given to PL 94-142 (Wood, 1985).

However, the most widely accepted educational definition for an emotional or a behavioral disturbance has its origin in the writings of Bower (1969). This definition outlines the handicapping effects of behavioral or emotional disturbances for students in the public schools. The DSM-III-R (American Psychiatric Association, 1987) details the more common patterns of behaviors associated with hostile, antisocial youth under the rubric "Conduct Disorder"--group type, solitary aggressive type and undifferentiated type. Depending upon whether a child has a psychoeducational assessment through a school system or a mental health facility determines which labeling system will apply (Stotsky, Browne, & Lister, 1986). The DSM-III-R labels depend more heavily on behavior-specific criteria that

affect general social functioning while the education label focuses more closely on interference with academic functioning.

Skiba & Casey (1985) report that in a meta-analysis of 41 "best" studies in the area of emotional disturbance for children, none had unambiguous results since poor design and convoluted reporting weakened the findings. Unfortunately, such research appears to be plagued by methodological flaws and does little to clarify exactly how to identify emotionally disturbed students or offer precise intervention (Skiba & Casey, 1985).

Stotsky, Browne, & Lister (1986) report a similar situation in actual delivery of therapeutic services. Their findings showed that three populations of emotionally disturbed children (public school, private day school and private residential school) could not be definitively separated, contrary to the expectation that children in public schools would be least disturbed and private residential school children the most disturbed. Characteristics overlapped and did not make up a continuum of severity based upon IQ, academic achievement, psychiatric diagnosis, or behavioral disturbance (Stotsky, Browne, & Lister, 1986).

Part of the mandated process for identifying and serving emotionally disturbed students is parental involvement in each phase of the process. Inevitably, at

some point during the meetings required by law with even the most hostile and defensive of parents, the question arises, "Am I to blame for my child's problems?" Implicit in the question are undertones of guilt, fear, anger and shame. If crucial change is to occur, local communities, juvenile court systems and educational institutions need to deliver services not only to antisocial students requiring specific counseling interventions, but to the families of these students as well.

The interaction between family stress levels and girls' levels of antisocial behavior will be investigated to describe family background as a component in the description of girls at risk for emotional problems. Also, results of the study can suggest implications for counseling interventions for these families.

Significance of the Study

Research into the dynamics of strained and dysfunctional relationships of families is needed in order to assess the influence of family stressors in producing antisocial girls. Juvenile antisocial behavior is increasing in frequency and intensity. Researchers appear divided on issues concerning a precise cause and effect relationship between family stress and the development of antisocial behavior in conduct disordered children. There appears to be agreement, though, that both internal and external stressors experienced by the families of such

children are predictive of the development of behavioral and emotional problems (Conger, McCarty, Yang, Lahey, & Kropp, 1984; Hill, 1958; & Olweus, 1987). Because each child is a product of her or his family environment, family stress must be considered to figure significantly in the ultimate expression of a child's behavior.

The overall question also relates closely to much of the current popular literature concerning the effects of growing up in dysfunctional families (Bradshaw, 1988). However, the popular writing and interest in the subject have outdistanced the empirical studies in the field. Additional research will broaden the information base from which decisions for helping troubled children and families are made.

The implications for research targeting family stress and the development of antisocial behavior are many. During the 1980s families throughout the industrialized world were affected by changes in the global economy. In the United States, the increasing divorce rate, the number of women in the work force and the rise in single parent homes, along with an increase in remarriages, have added to family stress (Hetherington, 1988). The escalated use of highly addictive drugs, cutting across previous age and economic barriers, by an alarming number of individuals has brought inordinate stress to families (Jacobson, 1987). By studying the effect family stressors have on the promotion of antisocial

behavior in girls, early identification and intervention can be helpful in averting potential problems of greater magnitude. A study that addresses the facets of family stress on the antisocial behavior of girls would suggest implications for identifying girls at risk for emotional problems and counseling interventions for these girls and their families.

Definition of Terms

Aggression

In this paper, "aggression" is defined as antisocial "acts that injure or irritate another person" (Eron, 1987, p. 435) and qualify a child for consideration as an emotionally or behaviorally disturbed student, based upon either DSM-III-R or psychoeducational criteria, because of frequency, duration and intensity of the behaviors. "Aggressiveness" is a general term denoting aggressive feelings, aggressive behavior, or both (Nye, 1973, p. 48).

Antisocial Behavior

"Antisocial" behavior is defined as any of a collection of behaviors (including, but not limited to, aspects of difficult temperament, hyperactivity, overt conduct problems or aggressiveness, withdrawal, poor peer relations, academic problems, covert or concealing conduct problems, association with deviant peers, delinquency resulting in arrest, and recidivism) that appear in many different forms at different developmental levels and violate the rights of others and

major societal norms or rules (Loeber, 1990, p. 6). Such violations include, but are not limited to, delinquent acts, deliberate thefts, extortion, vandalism, physical aggression, and victimless behaviors including truancy and substance abuse (Loeber, 1990, p. 5).

Aggressive, Antisocial Child

The "aggressive, antisocial child" is defined as one who has a negative self-image, high levels of anxiety, is resentful of directions and admonishings, tends to rebel against set limits in an antisocial manner, is frequently not constructive or purposeful in activities, and is dissatisfied with outcomes of endeavors (Friedman, 1973, p. 266). Such children "incite caretakers or peers to angry, impatient, punitive, or even avoidant reactions" (Loeber, 1990, p. 5).

Parent

The term "parent" defines the role of primary caregiver(s) of a child. When the caregiver(s) are other than the birth mother and biological father, distinctions are made.

Stressors

"Stressors" are defined as those events or situations that produce (in the context of this research) negative change in the family social system--changes in boundaries, structure, goals and processes of roles or values (Burr, 1973). Life events or conditions that bring about both

physiological and emotional responses and for which a person has little or no preparation are stressors (Youngs, 1985; Hill, 1958).

Stress

"Stress" is defined in the terms of Seyle (1965) as everyday wear and tear on the body, the positive and negative physical and emotional or mental effects arising from the pace of life at any given moment. Stress is continuous at various levels, unlike crisis that may flare from some particular major stressor. When faced with stress, a person must either remove the stressing factor or develop coping mechanisms for adaptation. Though some stress can promote optimal psychological health, left unresolved, negative stress, particularly for a child, degrades one's psychological and physical well-being (Chandler, 1981; Seyle, 1965).

Lazarus (1977) defines stress as a cognitive process involving appraisal of environmental stimuli. Environmental stressors stimulate a person to evaluate encounters with the environment as either irrelevant, benign-positive or stressful with a harm-loss, threat or challenge potential (Lazarus, 1977, p. 153). Once an appraisal is made, application of coping strategies, proven successful in the past, are used. Coping takes place through a combination of cognitive problem-solving, emotion regulation and/or physiological changes (Lazarus, 1977, p. 153).

Jenkins (1979) proposes a third definition which integrates elements of both the physiological definition of Seyle and the cognitive definition of Lazarus. Jenkins (1979) defines stress in terms of four interacting levels of response (biological, physiological, interpersonal, and sociocultural) to five aspects of stress in organisms (adaptive ability, the stressor itself, alarm reaction, defensive reaction, and pathological end-state from failure to cope with stress successfully).

Therefore, for the purpose of this study, stress is defined as a pathological end-state condition incorporating the explanations of Seyle, Lazarus, and Jenkins. By citing a combination of ideas from Rutter (1981), Youngs (1985) and Chandler (1981), the working definition of stress for this study becomes: Stress is a response of the body to any stimulus (stressor) that requires change of adaptation (strain) producing a mental state (distress--emotional tension arising from traumatic life events or the perception of these life events as traumatic) requiring an involuntary bodily reaction or response (adrenaline release) that results in extreme patterns of behavior (pathological end-states). For children, pathological end-states include those antisocial behaviors that result in a child's identification as emotionally disturbed. The stress state exists as both a physical and psychological process that

includes what a person is doing and what is happening to the body.

Emotionally Disturbed

The educational definition for emotional disturbance originated with Bower (1969). Students are classified on the basis of the extent to which they exhibit specific features of one condition (inclusionary principle) and do not exhibit the characteristics of another (exclusionary principle) (Ysseldyke, Algozzine, & Epps, 1983, p. 161). The characteristics specifically identifying a child as emotionally or behaviorally disturbed involve one or more of the following: (a) an inability to achieve adequate academic progress (not due to a learning disability); (b) an inability to maintain satisfactory interpersonal and/or intrapersonal relationships; (c) inappropriate or immature types of behavior or feelings under normal conditions; (d) a general pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression, and (e) a tendency to develop physical symptoms, pains or fears associated with personal or school problems (Division of Exceptional Children, 1988).

Adjudicated Dependent

An "adjudicated dependent" is defined legally as any youth under the supervision of the state due to court decisions related to one of the following: neglect, abuse, abandonment, chronic truancy, chronic runaway, and

ungovernability (Eckerd Family Youth Alternatives, Inc., 1990, p. 12).

Adjudicated Delinquent

"Adjudicated delinquent" youth are those who have committed a crime against property, against another person, or have repeatedly violated the restrictions placed upon them by the courts (Eckerd Family Youth Alternatives, Inc., 1990, p. 12).

Organization of the Study

Chapter 2 includes a review of the associated literature divided into four main topics. The first section outlines a primary overview of the major theories of aggression--the driving force behind antisocial human behavior. The second section emphasizes the role stress plays in family interaction and the interplay of family dynamics. The third section addresses the primary variables considered to be possible stressors influencing families. The fourth group of studies investigate aggressive antisocial behavior in girls.

Chapter 3 includes the components of the methodology of the study: the research questions, a description of the study sample, procedures used for collecting the data, the analyses of the data, and the limitations of the study. Chapter 4 addresses the research questions by testing associated hypotheses through statistical analysis. Chapter

5 offers a summary and description of the statistical analysis, recommendations for application of the findings from the study, and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The supportive research and literature review is divided into four main sections. The first section presents an overview of the major theories of aggression, the emotional and behavioral energy behind antisocial acts. The second focuses on the role stress plays in family interaction and the resulting interplay of family variables that lead to antisocial behavior in children. Few studies investigate the effects of only one stressing family variable. Distinct categorization is not always possible; however, an attempt will be made to address the primary variables under the appropriate subheadings of the third section. The fourth section details studies of girls' aggression and antisocial behavior.

Major Theoretical Positions of Aggression: The Foundation of Antisocial Behavior

Feshbach (1971) relates there are no definitive statements about the nature of aggression, nor can scientific investigation alone provide for moral evaluation of aggression. Aggression in humans must be viewed as only one form of social behavior--one in which all other forms of human interaction coexist (Kaufmann, 1970). "Aggression" as a theoretical concept is elusive and much-debated. The

following discussion summarizes some of the more distinct theories and widely held opinions concerning the term "aggression."

Instinct Theory

Instinct theories can be traced back to the early Greeks (Johnson, 1972). Modern-day scientific investigators, however, quickly became disillusioned with attempts to decipher the term "instinct" and to make meaningful use of an instinct theory. Freud (1959), Lorenz (1966), Ardrey (1966) and Storr (1968) have built strong arguments for instinctive aggressive behavior in humans. These authors discount environmental effects. Ethologists such as Lorenz (1966) and Ardrey (1966) carried the issue into the mainstream of thought; yet, their writings were clouded by journalistic and poetic expression (Johnson, 1972). Broadly stated, instinct theories suggest aggression results as an unlearned biological drive which evolved as a survival mechanism for the species. Aggression is built into the genetic makeup of humans and must come out. Instinct theorists suggest since humans cannot rid themselves of an aggressive energy, it must be channelled into socially constructive outlets such as athletics and artistic expression if society is to be protected.

Learning Theories

Learning theories suggest aggression is learned, often by trial and error efforts, through positive and negative

reinforcement. Prosocial behavior and values can be taught while antisocial behaviors are punished. Parents and society, however, tend to use a haphazard approach and as a rule unwittingly teach lessons counter to desirable outcomes (Arnold & Brungardt, 1983; Johnson, 1972).

Social Learning Theories

Social learning theories build on an extension of learning theory. Basic to social theory is the concept of modeling of behavior (Bandura & Walters, 1963). As people model behavior, such modeling influences others. Negative models produce antisocial effects. Social learning theory differs from learning theory in the emphasis on vicarious conditioning (e.g., observing a model gain recognition for positive accomplishment) and reinforcement (e.g, praise) given by others for social motives.

Social influences begin operating early in life. By limiting a child's contact with aggressive models and accentuating positive modeling, parents can inhibit the development of aggressive behavior (Johnson, 1972). Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950) suggest that the authoritarian personality, a product of a pressured, stressed society, fails to provide love and nonaggressive modeling. Thus, from the nursery to government boardrooms, modern-day humans are offered authoritarian aggressiveness as a problem-solving model.

Patterson (1974, 1982, 1986) and associates (Patterson, Dishion, & Bank, 1984; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984) have added much to the understanding of the social learning process of aggressive behavior in children. Central to this research is Patterson's Coercion Model. Aggression becomes a way to handle unhealthy stimuli coming from a hostile environment. A complex pattern of aversive child-parent and parent-child interaction develops when aggressive, non-compliant child behavior is tolerated. Learning is central to such a coercive process. In the early years, this learning process is fostered by parental permission for aggressive behavior, actual aggression modeled and employed by the parents, a lack of parental monitoring, parental coldness and rejection, failure of the family to handle stress through strategic problem-solving and an inconsistent pattern of discipline that undermines a child's ability to develop sufficient levels of age-appropriate self-control. Salient predictors for the development of aggression in children are unskilled, unaffectionate parents coupled with a child who is strong-willed, irritable, overactive and easily stimulated in temperament. Too, these parents typically nag, scold and badger, but seldom carry through with the threats. The actual training for aggression as problem-solving behavior arises as relatively trivial behavior is left uncensored by parents until it escalates to the point of parental outbursts of verbal and physical

assault. A pattern of attack/counter-attack/positive outcome reinforces the child's coercive patterns (Patterson, 1982).

Physiological Theories

Belief that chemical or neural processes or malfunctions in the brain cause aggression is the basis for physiological theories (Dugger, 1981). Such malfunction can occur anytime there is change in the chemical or genetic coding responsible for an individual's growth and development; however, the biological characteristics that are most easily accessed for observation are age, sex, physical activity levels, and intellectual ability. Such theories stress drug control of aggression (Johnson, 1972). Mark and Ervin's (1970) research does show certain brain mechanisms located in the limbic portion of the brain that can produce aggressive behavior. Yet, these mechanisms from an evolutionary primitive portion of the brain are more than adequately held in check by the more evolved neocortex. Their research, while acknowledging biological factors of aggression, suggests it is learning experiences, accumulated from one's family and society, that dictate the expression of aggression.

In contrast to theories concerning social and learning influences, Rowe (1990), basing his premise upon his own literature search, argues for a biological origin for parent-child (or sibling) resemblance and weak family

environmental effects on personality development and the ultimate expression of aggressive, antisocial behavior. Rowe (1990, p. 606) states, "Perhaps how the twig is bent, at least by family experiences, has very little to do with the ultimate traits a child will develop.". From his review of the literature, he concludes biology and not environmental variables produce effects on personality development. Such effects as social class, religiosity, home features (number of books, number of rooms), diet and nutrition, parental values, parental modeling, child-rearing styles, family size, divorce, maternal employment and father absence/presence can be dismissed as causative agents (Rowe 1990, p. 608).

Environmental Theories

Environmental theorists suggest environments filled with negative chronic stress and desolation that assault healthy psychological and physiological development support the development of aggression (Montagu, 1968). Such environments exist because of social and political factors like poverty and despotism (Johnson, 1972). Only through the elimination of poverty and corruption, by de-emphasizing power and emphasizing cooperation and sharing, can crime, conflict and antisocial acts be reduced (Johnson, 1972).

Antisocial behavior exists as a reflection of the aggression experienced by humans. Major theorists have speculated about the origin of aggression for decades

without reaching definite conclusions. One general theme, however, threads through the various theories: Negative stress aggravates human aggressive tendencies which, in turn, lead to antisocial acts.

Stress and the Family

Stress is an unavoidable condition of life. Both pleasant and unpleasant experiences cause stress; however, it is not "eustress", the stress reaction to positive events, that is of concern, as Hans Seyle points out in the introduction to Miller's (1982) Childstress!. For children, specifically, the negative conditions producing "dis-stress" are profoundly important. Various family conditions and circumstances hinder favorable child development, possibly producing all manner of life-long problems unless the child is extremely resilient. In particular, the literature supports the development of emotional disturbance in stressed families. Emotional disturbance is often accompanied by aggression, hostility and antisocial conduct because of family circumstances or events overloading a child's coping mechanisms. Variables such as marital status, and discord of parents, neglect, parental substance abuse, physical and/or sexual abuse, socioeconomic status, and type of home community, combined with other factors, can significantly distress children.

Rutter (1981) argues that the term stress, in itself, is "unhelpfully broad." He reviews several approaches and

definitions, finally settling with suggesting five definitive processes through which stress and early life experiences can be linked with future emotional disorder.

> (1) An event may trigger an immediate disturbance which then continues independently of the initial provocation.
> (2) Bodily changes involving the neuro-endocrine system (see also Hennessy & Levine, 1979) occur because of some particular event which later influences functioning.
> (3) Early life events, such as an institutional upbringing, lead to altered patterns of behavior which become an overt disorder later in life.
> (4) Change in family conditions lead to chains of adversity which add more and more stress to the child, i.e., the death of a parent.
> (5) Early life events may sensitize an individual to stress or modify coping styles in such a manner as to either protect or predispose the child for disorder later in life when faced with mounting stress. (p. 346)

Deprived or disturbed families with poor parent/child relationships, histories of separations and divorce and with poor problem-solving skills are at particular risk. Life events that involve forms of loss or disappointment or disturbed interpersonal relationships are those most likely to become the stressors that provoke psychiatric disturbances in children (Rutter, 1981). Strong evidence establishes aggression as a manifestation of an antisocial personality disorder that has its origin in childhood conduct disturbance (Rutter, 1987). Rutter, citing research, notes the effect of conduct disturbance in children as a forerunner of antisocial behavior (in boys)

and inadequate or dependent-type personality disorder (in girls). Because antisocial and other personality disorders in parents predispose conduct disorders in children, Rutter (1987) reiterates that such behavioral effects possibly are due more to disturbed social relationships than specific abnormal behavioral characteristics or antisocial acts.

Research in the area of family stress has its historical roots in the writings of Burgess (1926), Angell (1936), Cavan and Ranck (1938), Koos (1946) and Hill (1958). Hill's (1958) A, B, C,--X (crisis) model provides a framework for describing the dynamics of family stress (McCubbin, Joy, Cauble, Comeau, Patterson, & Needle, 1980). The components of Hill's model interact in a unique pattern set by each individual family: A crisis-precipitating event, [A], replete with related hardship combines with [B], the family's repertory of resources for meeting crisis, and [C], the definition the family gives to the event, to produce [X], the stress-producing crisis. A system for categorizing family crisis can be built around (1) the source of family trouble--either internal or external to the family, (2) effects upon the family makeup, which combine loss of a family member, the addition of an unexpected member or loss of morale and family unity and (3) the type of event influencing the family (Hill, 1958, p. 141).

Each family's ability to adjust to stress is dependent upon four factors: (1) a member's personal resources

(economic well-being, cognitive ability to perceive stress realistically and problem solve, physical well-being and psychological resources), (2) the family's internal resources, (3) social support and (4) coping ability, a process of attaining a balance in the family system between internal and external factors which facilitates organization and cooperation and encourages individual growth and development (McCubbin et al., 1980, p. 865).

Stress, therefore, disrupts healthy family functioning. Parents, attempting to cope with pressures both within and outside the family, are drained of energy and emotional resources. Children suffer because the parents are unable to provide adequate care and nurturance: the greater the stress, the more vulnerable the children.

Inherent in the family's ability to adjust to crisis, though, is the fact that the family is a unit of interaction; there is a reciprocal movement between and among the individual members (Frager, 1985). This reciprocal process, a possible key factor in physical and emotional abuse, will provide a starting point for exploring the literature pertaining to the development of antisocial behavior displayed by emotionally disturbed children from stressed families.

Family Dynamics and Interactions

Physical Abuse

Recent research in developmental psychology indicates aggressive behavior in infants and toddlers is associated with abuse and neglect (Widom, 1989). Physically abused children suffer effects at both a conscious and unconscious level. Van Dalen (1989) summarizes a chaining of reactions that lead to a self-perpetuating cycle of parent/child behavior.

> The conscious effects are: cognitive confusion, resulting from an intense search for explanation, the child's conclusion that s/he caused the abuse by her/his badness, and if permitted, anger. The unconscious effects are: repression of anger, guilt, punishment-seeking behavior and gratification in the resulting punishment due to the assuaging of guilt and exhilaration in feelings of power at being able to excite anger in the adult. The final effect is the child's effort to elicit positive responses from the abuser, requiring denial of and resignation about the abuse. (p. 386)

Belsky (1984, p. 91), exploring the etiology of child maltreatment, gives three major determinants for parental functioning: 1) the personality/psychological well-being of the parent, 2) the characteristics of the child, and 3) the contextual sources of stress and support.

That parents regulate children and, additionally, children regulate parents is the focus of Bell and Chapman's (1986) discussion of such a control model of socialization.

This model operates from the assumption that an equilibrium exists when both the expectations of children and parents are met. When too much or too little of a behavioral expectation is given too soon or too late, disequilibrium results. These expectations are outgrowths of experiences between child and parent as well as between parent and child. The conclusions supportive of the assumption come from 14 studies, dealing with the variables of dependence/independence, activity/hyperactivity and person-orientation/responsiveness, conducted since the model was proposed in 1971. The authors conclude from the studies that aggressive, overactive child behavior elicits upper-limit controls from parents (i.e., more power-assertive and intense discipline). Power assertive discipline is a trademark of physically abusive families (Patterson, 1986).

The converse also was shown to be true; lower-limit parent control was used with nonaggressive, nonirritating child behavior (Bell & Chapman, 1986). Parents and children tend to develop a global response pattern (a behavioral set) to one another's behavior in order to maintain an equilibrium of upper- and lower-limit control.

Control of stress issues in abusive and nonabusive families was studied by Wolf, Fairbank, Kelly and Bradlyn (1983) through physiological measures (skin conductance response, heart rate, and respiration). Measurements were taken during and after viewing videotaped scenes involving

stressful and nonstressful behavior in children. Skin conductance responses showed greater emotional arousal for the abusive groups during stressful scenes, and high respiration rates indicated a prolonged arousal state both during and after stressful scenes. The findings support the relationship between parents' arousal to stress-producing child behavior and control responses leading to parental aggression.

Fatout (1990) relates when parents see a child as "bad," the child embraces the "badness" image and may use provoking behavior to attempt to gain control through a predictable negative response--violence and abuse--from the parent. Reidy (1980) supports this observation. Children who have been physically abused display more aggression in their play with other children and toward adults in authority than nonabused children.

Loss of control and lack of tolerance were two major reasons given by Dubanoski and McIntosh (1984) for abuse among military families when contrasted with civilian families. Stresses such as family discord, birth of additional children, caring for children without respite and imposed relocation and isolation were also potential abuse-producing stressors for military families. In civilian families, separation and divorce figured most prominently in abuse situations.

A comparison of mother-child interactions of physically abused and nonabused children during play and task situations was conducted by Mash, Johnston and Kovitz (1983). Observations were made on 18 physically abusive mothers (AMs) and their 18 children and 18 nonabusive mothers (NAMs) and their 18 children (mean age 55.44 months for all children). AMs perceived their children to have significantly more behavior problems and were more directive and controlling of their children. These AM behaviors especially increased during stressful periods when mother and child were under increased demands to perform. Results indicated that AMs failed to modulate their behavior despite the performance of their children. The prospect exists that such a conflicting response style is more prone to occur in situations of situationally induced stress. Dietrich, Berkowitz, Kadushin and McGloin (1990) found abusers tended to believe hitting their child was justified if they thought the child had been defiant and they themselves had been under substantial environmental stress.

Because they often exhibit more stress-provoking behavior, abused children are more likely to be referred for treatment either through school interventions or through the public welfare system (Timmons-Mitchell, 1986). Children identified as overtly aggressive and troublesome often have associated attention deficits and impulse control problems causing them to act on feelings connected with violent

experiences instead of verbalizing these feelings (Fatout, 1990).

Children, because of a mismatch in temperament with their parents' temperaments and parents' attempts to control behavior, can become victims of physical abuse. In their landmark New York Longitudinal Study, Thomas and Chess (1984) focused on the identification and categorization of temperament in 133 subjects from early infancy to early adulthood. In the study, three distinct groups could be identified by temperament through nine categories: (1) the "easy child"--40% of the subjects, (2) the "difficult child"--10% of the subjects and (3) the "slow-to-warm-up child"--15% of the subjects. Temperament, the authors note, is a categorical term that suggests genetic tendency, but not etiology, which is not gender-linked, is not definitively shaped by parental attitudes and practices, crystallizes in the first few months of life, and tends to show stability over time. The authors suggest that children with the difficult child pattern are children most at risk for the development of behavior problems and abuse in early and middle childhood. Physical affliction increases the likelihood of risk. However, stress and inappropriate demands for change and adaptation taxing the child's developmental capacities can lead to severe problems for either one of the temperamental types.

Dadds (1987), in a review of the literature, supports the origins of child behavior problems that elicit potential abuse in the context of family influences. Conclusions derived by Dadds (1987) summarize the reciprocal effects between aggressive, trying children and their parents in stressed families:

> 1. The biological state of the newborn, in interaction with the personal, marital and social adjustment of the parents, is the precursor of later problematic behavior.
> 2. Irritating behavior has its roots in the infant's repertoire of distress signals and nurturance-seeking and is supported and shaped as the caregivers interact with the infant.
> 3. Once a repertoire of oppositional behaviors is established, the child is blocked from learning appropriate prosocial alternatives. As the child matures from infancy to middle childhood, the parents cannot teach or will not demand more prosocial behavior.
> 4. The presence of family stressors--marital discord, maternal depression, lack of social support, minimal father involvement, divorce, financial stress, an ill member of the family--cloud the caregiver's view of the degree of inappropriate behavior and increase the possibility of conflict with the child.
> 5. The quality of the parental marriage and social-support network buffers the negative effects of stress for the family and the development of the child. (p. 352)

The reciprocal process outlined by Dadds (1987) supports the potential for physical abuse in families emotionally ill-equipped to handle the pressure of an aggressive child. Research by McCord, McCord and Howard (1961, p. 91) established that aggressive boys were more

likely to have been raised by parents who 1) treated the boy in a rejecting and punitive manner, 2) failed to impose direct controls on his behavior, 3) modeled deviant behavior, and 4) were often in intense conflict.

Physical abuse of a child is often a direct result of stressed, power-assertive parents attempting to control a child. The child's needs and demands are interpreted as the child's deliberate attempt to behave badly (Fatout, 1990). When the parent becomes angry and loses self-control, the child becomes a victim. Children learn verbal and physical aggression as a problem-solving strategy (Olweus, 1987).

Closely related to physical abuse is neglect. Instead of suffering physical injury, the child experiences inadequate fulfillment of basic needs.

Neglect

Hegar and Yungman (1989) have established a typology that explores etiological factors related to major categories of child maltreatment: abuse (battering, over-discipline and torture); neglect (physical, developmental and emotional); and sexual abuse (sadistic abuse, incest, violent-onset abuse and other sexual misuse). The authors maintain the focus of child maltreatment must lie completely with the adults responsible for a child's safety and welfare. In attempting to establish a causal typology, the authors emphasize five etiological factors:

1) phenomenological stressors that include feelings of loss of control, life change stressors such as divorce or employment changes, and social stressors that include poverty, difficult living conditions, and environmental insecurity; 2) personality; 3) lack of parenting skill and knowledge; 4) culture and belief about child rearing; and 5) role and relationship problems.

Hegar and Yungman's (1989) definition of neglect includes deprivation of basic necessities, such as food, clothing, shelter and hygiene; deprivation of experiences necessary for growth and development, such as supervision and services to promote education, health, and mental health; and a failure to meet children's needs for attention, security, self-esteem and emotional nurturance. Insufficient income and inadequate housing are associated more often with child neglect than other types of child maltreatment. Most researchers reviewed by the authors also link substance abuse with increased incidences of child neglect.

Chandler (1981) reports children react aggressively to the stress of significant others not meeting their needs or to excessive real or perceived demands from their environment. These children are referred for psychological interventions because their behavior becomes troubling, either for themselves or for others (Chandler, 1981). Distressed families are characterized by low levels of

marital and child alliance resulting in low levels of mutual support (Gilbert, Christensen, & Margolin, 1984). This lack of interpersonal support exacerbates problems and an inability to successfully accommodate either internal or external change to the family (Gilbert, Christensen, & Margolin, 1984).

Billings and Moos (1983) relate that high levels of stress and lack of support put children of depressed parents at greater risk for dysfunction and neglect. Children of chronic depressives show significantly greater impairment than children of acutely depressed parents. The needs of children of depressed parents overtax a family system already filled with substantial overt conflict, less cohesion, low levels of expressiveness and disorganization. The potential for both physical and emotional neglect becomes a serious issue in such families.

Garbarino and Plantz (1986) report that many "runaway" children are actually "castaways": children put out of their homes by their parents--the ultimate in neglect. Citing various studies, the authors conclude 10-33% of children served in runaway shelters are victims of this extreme type of neglect.

Widom (1989) relates that being abused as a child significantly increases one's risk of committing crimes as an adult. Also, abused males tend to commit more crimes of violence. Neglected children, when studied separately from

physically or sexually abused children, may actually be found to manifest higher levels of future violent behavior (Garbarino & Plantz, 1986).

Parents who neglect their children fail to provide the basic requirements for physical health, emotional well-being and mental stimulation. Neglect is characterized by parental unresponsiveness in contrast to the active, assaultive nature of physical or sexual abuse.

Sexual Abuse

In an in-depth study of the prevalence of child sexual abuse in North America, Peters, Wyatt and Finkelhor (Finkelhor, 1986) found a range of 6% to 62% of incidences of sexual abuse for girls and 3% to 31% for boys depending upon geography and socioeconomic status. Like neglect, sexual abuse is often hard to separate from physical abuse.

Van Dalen (1989) argues that sexual abuse and physical abuse may be very different phenomena. Whereas physical abuse is experienced outside the body and is always painful, sexual abuse can be insidious--a process that is experienced both outside and inside the body, with the possibility of pleasurable sensations (Van Dalen, 1989). Sexual abuse violates the child by destroying the psychological boundaries between a child and an adult. Sexual abuse has extensive repercussions. Byrne and Valiserri (1982) concluded that all sexually abused children eventually suffer emotional and behavioral difficulties. Fontana and

Bersharav (1979) hypothesized that physically and sexually abused children are at high risk for juvenile delinquency, committing murders and becoming perpetrators of violence.

Cavaiola and Schiff (1988), in order to investigate differences in types of abuse, randomly sampled 500 cases from an eight-week adolescent chemical dependency treatment program. One hundred and fifty cases of physical and/or sexual abuse were identified in the sample: 76 were physically abused, 29 were sexually abused by someone other than a parent, 24 were victims of incest as well as physical abuse, and 21 were incest victims. This group of abused children was then compared with both a 60 case nonabused sample from the same treatment program and a 60 case group from nine suburban, urban and rural New Jersey high schools.

Results confirmed higher incidences of physical abuse for males while girls suffered much less overall physical abuse but significantly higher rates of sexual abuse and incest and of incest coupled with physical abuse. Divorced parents were over represented in the abuse categories. More mothers than fathers were the custodial parent. Conversely, more of the nonchemically dependent adolescents resided with both parents. The mean age at the start of abuse for sexually abused victims was somewhat higher than for those suffering physical abuse. In physical abuse cases, the perpetrator was most likely the biological father (53.9% of the cases). Out of the total abused chemically dependent

group, 73.8% of the perpetrators had histories of chemical dependency, 12.1% had chemical dependency and psychiatric histories, and 6.6% had chemical dependency histories and were themselves abuse victims.

The behavior problems, resulting from the trauma of the abuse, exhibited by the adolescents tended toward self-destruction: chemical addiction, suicide, accidents, and legal problems. Additionally, other-directed destructiveness was exemplified by homicidal thoughts and animal cruelty. Thoughts of hurting others were greatest within the incest and sexually abused categories. As adults, abused children and adolescents tend to use violence to achieve personal and social goals, to use chemicals that override self-control, and to hold suppressed anger--often expressed as violence against authority--toward their victimizers (Cavaiola & Schiff, 1988).

Gordon (1989) compared data from 17 states gathered in the 1983 National Study of Child Neglect and Reporting to determine the differences between biological and stepfather sexual abuse of daughters. The focus of the investigation was the role stress played in incidences of sexual abuse. Results showed that a significantly greater proportion of victims of stepfather abuse were black, lived in a household having only one caretaker, who was female, and to be a member of a family with a child suffering from a physical or medical disability. Victims of biological father sexual

abuse, on the other hand, were more apt to live in a household with only a male caretaker, to be younger than victims of stepfather sexual abuse and to have biological fathers who had significantly higher rates of insufficient income, marital problems or instability, and alcohol/drug problems. Stressors that seriously influenced both biological fathers and stepfathers in the study were alcohol/drug dependency, mental/emotional health problems, social isolation, spouse abuse, inability to cope with parenting responsibilities, and disruption of the family due to death or absence of the spouse. Neglect, physical abuse and sexual abuse support the removal of children from a home. Dalgleish and Drew (1989) indicate severity of abuse, aspects of parenting, aspects of the marital relationship, and the family's lack of cooperation as the four most salient factors contributing to the court's decision to separate a child from the family.

Sexual abuse, although not an uncommon occurrence for males, is more often experienced by female children. Sexual abuse destroys the boundaries between responsibility and trust, between adult and child, and between parent and offspring. The stage for sexual abuse is often set by parental substance abuse and a poor marital relationship.

Marital Discord and Parental Functioning

The tone of family dynamics is determined by the quality of the relationship parents have within their

marriage. The marital relationship, serving as the first order support system for parents, has the ultimate potential for exerting either the most positive or negative effect on parental functioning (Belsky, 1984). Marital discord and conflict have been identified as prominent sources of child distress leading to aggression and antisocial child behavior.

Loeber and Dishion (1984), as part of a 3-year longitudinal study, investigated fourth-, seventh- and tenth-grade boys who fight only at home and those who fight both at home and school. Analysis of the data revealed that boys who were reported by their mothers and their teachers to be fighters showed higher overall levels of antisocial behavior. There were lower levels of appropriate parent monitoring and discipline coupled with higher rates of parental coercion in the group which fought in more than one setting. These boys were found to also have families characterized by marital discord, rejecting parents and poor problem-solving skills. Boys who fought only at home had less coercive mothers and more effective parenting.

Vogel and Bell (1960), in a study of nine dysfunctional families contrasted with nine "well" families, described the emotionally disturbed child as an embodiment of the conflicts in a stressed marriage. The child serves as a scapegoat whose role becomes one of maintaining the family's solidarity through his or her deviant behavior. The child

uses deviant behavior to subdue the parents' overt aggression and hostility by keeping the focus on himself or herself, the scapegoat. Through a complex balance of inconsistent messages, both implicit and explicit, the child is alternately criticized and rewarded for troubling behavior. The parents, in turn, rationalize their own behavior and interpret the child's problem as willful acting-out.

The relationship between children and parents forms an intricate interplay of dynamics. Amoroso and Ware (1986) investigated the nature of the family relationship and discovered that it leads to problems when severe or inconsistent discipline is combined with a child's perceptions of the parents' unhappy marital situation and a strictly patriarchal authority system where there is an extreme inequality in parental authority. Home environment is a socializing force and a major factor in children's perception of self and others (Amoroso & Ware, 1986). A child's eccentric or maladaptive social behavior becomes an expression of what is normal for her or his particular family (Kirby, 1981). Smith, Burleigh, Sewell and Krisak (1984) concluded that modeling may be a primary factor in the development and continuation of pathology for children.

McCord, McCord and Howard (1961) found aggressive boys are more likely to suffer punitive and inconsistent discipline, frequent threats, rejection by the parents and

to have reinforcement for the view that the world is a dangerous and hostile place. In addition, aggressive boys have few demands placed upon them at home, are less supervised and are either overcontrolled or undercontrolled by their mothers. The homes for such boys become stressful from intense conflict with one parent denigrating the other, from disagreements over child-rearing and from outspoken announcements about life dissatisfaction. Marital discord and parental negative behavior toward the child are associated with unfavorable parental perceptions of child behavior (Christensen, Phillips, Glasgow, and Johnson, 1983).

Cummings, Iannotti and Zahn-Waxler (1985) explored the effects of an environment of conflict and anger between adults on two-year old toddlers. The results indicate that the children were strikingly influenced by this environment. Accentuated distress was the most obvious and direct effect. Over time, and with repeated exposure to anger between adults, the distress became more accentuated. The data also documented the risk for aggression in children who witness conflict. Even very young children are significantly influenced by conflict between adults; the children did not simply learn or model specific aggressive behavior but reacted to their own stress situations later with aggression. Children already identified as aggressive were more subject to displays of aggression in later stressful

situations. Boys in this study reacted more aggressively than girls; yet both boys and girls displayed distress equally while adults argued. The authors postulate that the girls may display their distress more through withdrawal or becoming anxious.

Ramsey and Walker (1988) studied 80 fourth-graders in a longitudinal study of family management practices--discipline, monitoring, positive reinforcement and problem-solving--and family status variables--marital discord, marital status, family size, birth order and total family income. The boys were classified as either antisocial or non-antisocial based upon scores on antisocial constructs from home observations, child and teacher interviews and peer nominations. A second set of measures was based on the aggression subscale score on the Achenback Child Behavior Checklist. A non-antisocial control group was identified by low antisocial aggression scores on the two measures. Results indicate that the 39 antisocial subjects engaged in higher levels of antisocial behavior both at home and in school. The family management practices of the antisocial group were markedly negative with harsh, inconsistent discipline practices, characterized by lack of structure and low levels of competent parenting skills. Monitoring was low and inconsistent. The antisocial boys, compared to the control group, were less likely to come from intact families or from those marked by marital discord. Family size and

birth order were not significant factors. A majority of the antisocial subjects were in lower income categories. Fathers of the antisocial subjects had a much higher incidence of arrest than the controls; sixteen percent had been arrested three or more times.

Children who witness family violence, like wife battering, show a significant prevalence of behavior problems and diminished social competence (Wolfe, Jaffe, Wilson, & Zak, 1985). Girls subjected to witnessing family violence, unlike boys, may not express immediate signs of maladjustment during childhood; yet, as adults they may suffer higher incidences of mental health and family problems (Wolfe, Jaffe, Wilson, & Zak, 1985). Hodges, Tierney and Buchsbaum (1984) found stressful life events for the mother were more predictive of adjustment in the child than actual perceived stress of the child. Aggression, concentration problems and acting-out toward the parent can be reasonably predicted for children in divorced families (Wolfe, Jaffe, Wilson, & Zak, 1985).

Marital discord is a particularly devastating stressor for children. The parents not only model aggressive interaction as a means of handling conflict and stress but also fail to provide a comforting, loving home for the child. Such conflict between spouses leads to separations and divorce. Hetherington (1972) and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) report that negative effects of divorce are more

extreme for boys than for girls, yet delayed effects such as rebellious behavior, depression and disruption in heterosexual relations have been found for adolescent girls from divorced families. Problems with poor impulse control, aggression, non-compliance and poor achievement characterize the differences found between children in divorced families and non-divorced families, especially when the single parent lacks or is lax in using positive parenting skills (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1982).

When marriages fail and families disintegrate there is accompanying financial hardships. When the family's income is not adequate, factors such as poor quality housing and unsafe neighborhoods contribute to the stress children experience.

SES, Race and Community

In the empirical literature on child aggression and antisocial behavior, race, SES and community characteristics, unlike the more substantiated family stressors, have not been explored as individually as other stressors. Race, SES and community elements are often combined with additional variables in statistical analysis to account for variance.

In discussing family factors as predictors of later delinquent behavior in adolescents, Loeber (1990) addresses the issue of such factors as community, race and SES by describing sleeper effects, those demographic factors having

long-range repercussions. The impact of such forces only slowly emerges over time and is more likely to appear when the influence of such factors creates increased deficits for the child. SES was found to be a weak predictor for later recidivism in antisocial children. The impact of expanding levels of poverty is closely correlated with the recent increase in youth violence--violence both directed toward children and adolescents and committed by children and adolescents--the have-nots filch from those that have (Children and Violence, 1991).

When antisocial fourth-grade boys were compared to a control group, Ramsey and Walker (1988) found most antisocial boys (72%) were in lower income categories (less than $10,000 to $20,000 annually) while 20% of the control group had an annual family income of $30,000 or more. Presence of a criminal subculture in a neighborhood, more likely to exist in an area with a low economic level, increases the probability of youth having an officially recognized criminal status and an escalation of deviant behavior (Simcha-Fagan & Schwartz, 1986). Therefore, certain family variables may exert much larger influences if measured in longitudinal studies than in concurrent studies.

One particular study (Masten, Garmezy, Tellegen, Pellegrini, Larkin, & Larsen, 1988), addressing stress factors for children, implicated SES and community setting as risk factors for disruptive behavior. A sample of 205

children, predominantly lower to middle class, was drawn from two elementary schools in Minneapolis. SES was determined by the higher occupational status of the one or two parenting adults in the household using the Duncan Socioeconomic Index. Teacher ratings and peer assessments were used to measure school and social competence. Results indicated that disadvantaged children, with lower IQ and SES, and fewer positive family qualities were generally more disruptive and less socially competent, especially when stress was high. Hodges, Tierney and Buchsbaum (1984) also link lower SES with child psychopathology. Perceived inadequacy of income, low total income and older age of the mother predicted a variety of adjustment problems in children whatever the marital status of the parents. Inadequate income and being from a divorced family were related to increased child anxiety and depression.

Westendorp, Brink, Roberson and Oritz (1986) found that the demographic variables, ethnicity or race, gender, marital history and social class of the parents were determinants in whether an adolescent was placed in the mental health or juvenile justice system. In the study, black males were over represented in the juvenile justice system. Families of girls tended to prefer mental health facilities for their daughters (Westendorp, Brink, Roberson, & Oritz, 1986). Cernkovich and Giordano (1987) found that a control theory of delinquency (Arnold & Brungardt, 1983)

does a better job of explaining female than male delinquency. Control theory, according to Arnold & Brungardt (1983, p. 161), supposes a person will commit illegal acts if needs can as easily or more easily be met than acting legally, unless internal or external controls prevent illegal behavior. While blacks are considerably more delinquent in mother-only homes, Cernkovich and Giordano (1987) found family variables are more predictive of the delinquency of whites than for that of nonwhites. Parents who are more attached (bonded) with their adolescents have greater indirect and direct control on their children's behavior (Hirschi, 1969). Gove and Crutchfield (1982) and Rosenbaum (1989) state parental attachment factors explain delinquency better than any other element. Youth served by the juvenile justice system were more often from families with histories of martial problems (Westendorp, Brink, Roberson, & Oritz, 1986).

Community factors such as low SES, the increase in suburban overcrowding and isolation, the decline of involvement with extended families, increased numbers of employed mothers--especially those that are sole providers for their families--and modeling of violence in the media may all be factors leading to the development of defiant behaviors in children (Dadds, 1987).

Cohen and Brook (1987) measured the effect of stressful childhood environmental risk factors on the development of

psychopathology. Through the analyses of long-acting, stable, and more proximal risk factors, they were able to identify the stability and duration of problems. The follow-up study consisted of 74% of the original sample of a longitudinal study of children living in two upstate New York counties in 1975. Results indicate that parental sociopathy and heavy handed discipline were strongly predictive of contemporary and future conduct problems. Family instability, low SES, poor physical housing and nontraditional family structure were less predictive of future problems.

Elder, Van Nguyen and Caspi (1985) determined that family economic distress adversely influenced the psychological well-being of girls, but not boys, due to the increased rejecting behavior of fathers. Girls considered to be unattractive were especially ill-treated by their distressed fathers.

Morash and Rucker (1989) explored the link between early childbearing and delinquent outcomes within data sets from the London Longitudinal Survey, the Philadelphia Cohort Study, the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, and the National Survey of Children. Race and ethnicity, SES and community structure figured significantly in the assessment. Learning, school behavior problems and early conduct problems were also considered along with delinquency as dependent variables. Findings indicate children of early

childbearing mothers become more involved with the juvenile justice system. The most pronounced characteristics of early childbearing families include low family income, related welfare support and large number of children. Public housing residency and having stepfathers were predictive of delinquency for Hispanics. Blacks living with only a mother were significantly more delinquent than those with both parents. In general, children whose mothers gave birth at an early age were more apt to have a background of adversity, to be disadvantaged throughout life, to need social agency support, to have poorer housing, to have several siblings and be more at risk for delinquency--especially in a family headed by a single mother. Poverty, poor and inadequate housing, alcohol and drug abuse and antisocial and aggressive family behavior put children at extreme risk for maltreatment (Hegar & Yungman, 1989).

Support for these findings comes from Conger, McCarty, Yang, Lahey and Kropp (1984). Demographic circumstances described as environmental stressors (low income, public assistance, single-parenthood, large number of children, early childbearing and a history of low academic achievement) account, at least in part, for mothers' emotional distress, authoritarian child-rearing values and negative perceptions of children--factors that mediate children's antisocial behavior. Cohen and Brook (1987) associate poverty, poor housing, family instability and

family sociopathy with long-term risks for the development of critical immaturity, conduct and affective problems.

Kinlock (1986), reporting on family conflict, found more disobedience by adolescent males from authoritarian families reported in small-town communities. Female disobedience was more prevalent in larger communities with authoritarian homes. Overall, official data seem to indicate there are few differences between rural and urban delinquency; differences are inconsistent by geographic area, and are decreasing (Arnold & Brungardt, 1983, p. 106).

The environmental context in which SES, race factors and community influences are expressed may contribute to the effect of these variables. Therefore, the development of unruly, antisocial behavior must also be reviewed as a function of socialization within the emotional atmosphere of a stressful physical environment. The process of socialization is implicit in the reciprocal interaction between parents and children and forms a large volume of the research literature. Several lengthy longitudinal studies give this idea much weight.

Olweus (1987) collected a volume of data on aggressive children in Norway and Sweden from many large and complex studies, including questionnaire data, gathered in 1983 from 140,000 Norwegian students and 17,000 Swedish students. In a longitudinal study begun in 1983, data were collected from 2,400 Norwegian students and their parents and from

approximately 400 teachers. In the early 1970's, a longitudinal study was begun that followed 900 boys from early childhood to young adulthood (Olweus, 1987). Data were collected from teacher ratings, peer ratings, grades, self-reports, parental reports, projective tests, hormonal studies, family interviews and official records. Home, SES, community and school influences were investigated along with the subjects' overt behavior.

Based on the results of these studies, Olweus has defined overtly aggressive children as bullies who repeatedly, and over time, intentionally inflict or attempt to inflict, injury or discomfort upon others. Between a bully and a victim, there is usually a mismatch in size and strength. By extrapolating from the Scandinavian data, Olweus projects that there are 2.1 million American children in grades 1-9 with serious aggressiveness. Likewise, there are approximately 2.7 million victims of frequent aggression in the American schools. The percentage of victims falls from 11.6% in grades 2-6 to about 5.3% in grades 7-9. The percentage for aggressive children, however, remains fairly stable at about 10%.

Boys are both more aggressive and more often the targets of others' aggression. Children who become victims of bullies are characterized by an anxious personality pattern, physical weakness and closer contact and a more positive relationship with parents, particularly

overprotective mothers. Bullies have an aggressive personality pattern, physical strength and a family system that offers too little love and too few restraints, especially on aggressive behavior. Children from areas that suffer socioeconomic problems and from stressed families are at much greater risk for becoming aggressive.

Huesmann and Eron (1984) report that aggressiveness is determined by a myriad number of interacting individual and environmental factors. Their basic premise is that habitual aggressiveness is learned early in life--usually within the first ten-year period. It is during this time frame that the constellation of social and behavioral disposition forms and becomes highly resistant to change. Stressful, frustrating home and community environments in which children are victimized provide aggressive modeling that reinforces aggression. The coercive style learned in early childhood follows the individual into adolescence and young adulthood.

No matter where a child may live or what his or her socioeconomic status may be, television is almost certainly a part of daily experience and contributes to a child's world view. A number of studies, particularly in the 1970's, emphasize the powerful socializing effects television has for providing aggressive models, serving as a stimulant for antisocial behavior, and reinforcing the

aggressiveness of children (Geen & Thomas, 1986; Huesmann & Malamuth, 1986).

Environmental factors that result in family stress are closely related to economic conditions. Poor quality housing in poor minority neighborhoods puts children at risk for exposure to violence. Children see and hear verbal and physical aggression expressed in every conceivable form. Alcohol and drugs, although not exclusive problems of the poor, figure significantly in the aggressive displays endured by many children in low income areas.

Substance Abuse

A child's world view is shaped by the experiences from his family of origin (Rutter, 1988). Parental substance abuse distorts the entire family process. The family is drained economically and emotionally. Children imprisoned in such families are primed for aggressive, antisocial behavior resulting from their distorted world view.

Gabel, Swanson and Shindledecker (1990) studied children with oppositional-defiant disorder, conduct disorder and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder in a day treatment program. Background data indicated the children were most often from chaotic, violent homes in which substance abuse and child abuse/maltreatment were common. Griffin (1987) also found violent, assaultive behaviorally maladjusted adolescents, who once had been enrolled in a short-term residential program, to come from

homes in which physical violence, alcohol-related problems, child neglect, drug abuse, family disintegration, parent or sibling in legal system and family mental illness were prevalent. When compared to nonviolent behaviorally maladjusted youth and randomly selected individuals from the total treatment program, family violence and alcohol problems were twice as high in the aggressive violent group of youth.

Less effective family management practices leading to antisocial patterns in children are common for parents who are heavy substance abusers. Heavy alcohol use by mothers correlates with detached parental involvement and inadequate monitoring (Patterson, 1986).

Gabel, Finn and Ahmad (1988) found that an extremely high percentage of severely aggressive/destructive children (95% of their study sample) was referred to out-of-home placement. Fifty-eight percent had histories of parent substance abuse.

Substance abuse weakens parents' ability to model emotional stability for children. Alcohol and drugs lower inhibitions and intensify aggressive behavior while interacting with other stressors like marital problems, low SES, physical and sexual abuse, and neglect to complicate the lives of children. Families that abuse alcohol and drugs often have long histories of undisciplined behavior.

Each new generation tends to repeat the pattern set by the preceding generation.

Stability Over Time

Severe antisocial aggressive behavior appears to most often occur when there is a convergence of predisposing and initiating variables; however, once a distinctive style of antisocial behavior develops, it continues to endure (Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz, & Walder, 1984). Vulnerable children who live and mature in families with environmental influences that inhibit or fail to facilitate optimal development will likely develop emotional/behavioral pathology (Greenwald, 1990). These children are just as much at risk for emotional disturbance as those who are malnourished or have defective immune systems are at risk for physical disease (Greenwald, 1990). Unfortunately, without intervention and change, families perpetuate unhealthy emotional climates. The most conspicuous aspect of aggressive antisocial behavior, therefore, is its enduring nature.

Griffin (1987) studied three groups of adolescents who had been labeled as emotionally/behaviorally disturbed before the age of nine. The purpose of the study was to establish and describe variables from childhood that were predictive of later serious aggressive behavior in adolescents. The group which had been identified as having the most overt aggressive behavior before age nine exhibited

a significantly greater number of conduct disorders (Behavior Problem Indicator coefficient--.60), academic problems (Academic Achievement Indicator coefficient--.54), organic indicators (Organic Indicator coefficient--.34), and family problems (Family Problem Indicator coefficient--.32)--the predictor variables from childhood. Even in childhood, severe aggressive tendencies set certain children apart from other emotionally disturbed children. Family violence, over twice as frequent for the aggressive youth as for the comparison groups, appears to teach the child a behavioral repertoire of aggressive behavior at an early age.

Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz and Walder (1984) have studied data from over 600 subjects in a 22 year longitudinal study on aggression. The overwhelming evidence from this project is that aggressive behavior, once established, remains exceptionally stable over time, situation and generations. Children who are nominated as more aggressive by their third-grade peers on the average commit more serious crimes as adults. A grandparent's level of aggression relates notably to his or her own child's level of aggression 22 years later and moderately to a grandchild's. The strongest relationship exists between a parent's aggression and his or her child's at the same age a generation later. Results indicate there is a strong tendency for aggressive children to grow up to produce aggressive offspring (Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz, & Walder,

1984). The data clearly support that the exhibition of aggression in school often is an important predictor for severe antisocial behavior in adulthood. The aggression may evolve as criminal activity, assault, child abuse, spouse abuse and/or driving violations. Both aggressive male and female 8-year-olds at the beginning of the study displayed more aggression (males almost 5 times more; females almost 3.5 times more) as thirty-year-olds than nonaggressive subjects. The subjects who had been nominated as aggressive by their third-grade peers were shown to have committed more serious crimes as adults. Children at the top of the aggression curve at age 8 are also at the top later as adults. Although IQ and aggression are related at age 8, there was no significant effect in the relationship for 30-year-old adults. Stability of aggression increases with age, particularly for males. The authors conclude that stability across time and generations is a result of possible genetic effects and environmental factors.

The longitudinal results of Olweus (1987) show that 60 percent of boys who were nominated as bullies in grades 6-9 had at least one court conviction by age 24. Approximately 40% had three or more convictions by the same age.

Burnett and Daniels (1985) investigated the long-term effect of violent and nonviolent families of origin upon young adult men by assessing their ability to cope with stressful situations in interpersonal conflict resolution.

Findings indicate that young men from nonviolent families could constructively resolve conflict. Added stress did not impair this ability. The conflict resolution skills appear to be the result of having learned more constructive skills from their parents. The men from violent families had significantly more difficulty with the tasks and impaired ability to constructively resolve conflict when under stress--an indication that violent home environments accentuate later stress-induced problems and perpetuate the family violence in succeeding generations.

Patterns of family antisocial behavior, once established, are not easily broken. When children, especially male children, grow up using hostility and aggression as a means to interact with others, the likelihood for their becoming emotionally unstable, antisocial adults increases dramatically. As new families form, the old family structure is repeated in the new generation. Repetitions of timeworn family patterns are especially hard for boys to avoid. Girls do not easily escape the harmful effects of such families either. The way in which girls react to such childhood upheaval, though, has its differences.

Aggression, Antisocial Behavior and Girls

The empirical and clinical literature involving the development of antisocial behavior in emotionally disturbed girls is meager. Campbell (1984, p. 139) states, "Our

knowledge of aggressive behavior is general and among females in particular is fragmentary and inadequate." When female antisocial behavior is studied, most projects focus on female aggression as a manifestation of delinquency, not emotional disturbance (Figueira-McDonough, 1985). Boys are studied at much earlier ages and in light of their aggressive behavior as a manifestation of emotional turmoil (Patterson, 1986). Such studies, however, do provide substantiating evidence for a link between negative family variables and the deleterious effects suffered by girls.

Family Influences and Socialization

Johnson and O'Leary (1987) used the Peterson-Quay Problem Checklist and Children's Perception Questionnaire as instruments to study 42 girls: 25 girls exhibiting a conduct problem and 17 girls not displaying conduct disorders. Parents completed the Short Marital Adjustment Scale and the O'Leary-Porter Scale to measure marital adjustment and conflict. Parents also completed the Parental Behavior and Feelings Inventory and the Personality Research Form to measure parents' prediction of their feelings and behaviors toward their children. Findings indicated that parents of the CD girls were more hostile than the contrast group parents, that the girls appeared to be modeling the behavior of their mothers and that the girls' perceptions of their own behavior problems and their parents' marriage satisfaction tended to correspond to their

parents' negative perceptions. No correlations could be established between reported levels of martial satisfaction and the girls' conduct.

Eron (1980) states that most girls are trained to be nonaggressive; therefore, aggressive models, such as those provided by television, have only a minimal effect upon them. Also, girls express aggression more through fantasy and are better able to see media portrayals of violence realistically (Eron, 1980). In contrast, boys tend to believe the violence portrayed on television is more realistic and are unable to separate fantasy and reality. Eron suggests that aggression could eventually be reduced in society if television violence was made less available to children and boys trained to regard aggression the same way girls do.

The socialization of female aggression was examined in a longitudinal study by Miller and Sperry (1987) as a function of language and communication. Three toddlers (girls; mean age 27 months) and their mothers were observed intensely in their South Baltimore homes under natural conditions. Findings indicate that a child's socialization of anger and aggressive behavior is a combination of the caregiver's own life experiences, personal belief systems about child-rearing, and the process of rearing a child. A prominent discovery from the observations was that social and moral (cultural) standards are used to justify the

socialization process with a child. Depending upon whether the display of aggression or anger is construed as self-defense or self-indulgence determines the mother's tolerance and how she reinforces a particular display (Miller & Sperry, 1987).

Saarni (1987) cites the importance of the Miller and Sperry (1987) study as a key piece of information for understanding not only the socialization of anger and aggression, but also the concept of socialization of all emotion. She elaborates upon the Miller and Sperry (1987) study by organizing the socialization process into four principles: (1) a parent's belief system forms the script from which a girl is taught the experiential meaning of emotions and subsequent behavior (anger-aggression); (2) the meaningfulness of such emotion is situated in the context of a human relationship; (3) the management of emotions, particularly anger and aggression, is culturally determined by tolerance or intolerance for particular emotional displays; and (4) feelings lead to adaptation through behavioral responses. Finally, children learn to cope with feelings through the socialization process. This coping process ultimately decides whether the child develops normally or becomes troubled or troubling (Chandler, 1981).

Eron's (1980) view that girls are socialized to be nonaggressive is supported by Eagly and Steffen's (1986) meta-analysis. Adult female aggression compared to adult

male aggression was the subject of Eagly and Steffen's (1986) meta-analysis of empirical studies including only behavioral measures of aggression from the social psychological literature on aggression. The authors' findings support the stereotypical impression of males being more aggressive than females, with the sex difference more pronounced for physical aggression. Women report more guilt and anxiety as a consequence of aggression, more concern about the harm aggression causes victims and more danger about potential harm for themselves in an aggressive encounter (Eagly & Steffen, 1986).

Family dysfunction and female delinquency were evaluated by Rosenbaum (1989) in a follow-up study of 240 women who were wards of the California Youth Authority (CYA), primarily for status offenses, and who continued their criminal behavior into adulthood, in the early 1960s. All the girls came from extremely dysfunctional families where conformity to societal expectations was the exception rather than the rule. Adult records were obtained for 159 of the original sample. The ethnic makeup was 51% white, 30% black, 9% Latino and 10% Asian or Native American. Findings included: 1) Ninety-six percent had an adult arrest record--all but 6 of the 159 had at least one arrest after their release from the CYA. 2) Only 7% came from intact homes. 3) By the time girls in the original sample were 16, their mothers had been married an average of four

times. 4) Multiple marriages meant other children in the family were often fathered by different men. 5) Criminal records were held by 76% of other family members. 6) Fifty-one percent of the mothers had felony arrest records. Fathers tended to have alcohol related problems involving violence, assault and arrest. Thirty-four per cent of the fathers and 31% of the mothers were alcoholics. 7) Thirty-seven per cent of the mothers had been charged with child abuse and/or neglect. 8) Nurturing and support were lacking in these homes. 9) The daughters tended to repeat the patterns set by their mothers by choosing older males with criminal histories as mates and to give birth to children at a young age. 10) The authors suggest that girls may have more difficulty in handling the stress of dysfunctional homes than males. Therefore, runaway rates are higher for girls than boys.

Risk Factors

Williams, Anderson, McGee and Silva (1990) examined risk factors and behavioral and emotional disorder in 792 11-year old children. Behavior disorder was found to be related in a general way to an overall number of disadvantages; girls, in particular, seemed to be more susceptible to an increase in the number of adverse family background factors (sex of the child, maternal depression, marital status of the parents and reading difficulties). No support was found linking an emotionally disturbed child's

actual diagnosis and differences in background circumstances.

Miller, Downs and Gondoli (1989) examined interview data from a sample of 45 alcoholic women in treatment and 40 nonalcoholic randomly selected women based upon recall of teenage delinquent activity and the results of the Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test. Results indicated that alcoholic women were much more likely to report a history of stealing and court appearances when other childhood variables (changes in parental family, parent alcohol problems, father's overall violence, sexual abuse, and police interviews and court appearances) were controlled. Running away and fighting were also significantly higher for alcoholic women than the nonalcoholic group; however, these relationships were weaker when other childhood variables (cutting class, stealing, driving offenses, police interviews and court appearances, vandalism, prostitution and drug dealing) were controlled.

Family problems (serious illness, drinking, divorce, mental illness and death of a family member) and parental interactions (communication, acceptance and congeniality) were examined by Steward and Zaenglein-Senger (1984) to decide their relationship to female delinquency. A sample of 1,088 female eighth to twelfth graders in a midwestern, white, nonmetropolitan, upper-working to upper-middle class community were studied. About 70% of the fathers had high

school educations. About 25% had four or more years of college. A group-administered questionnaire was used as a research instrument. Significant findings suggest the most consistent association between divorce and delinquency. Family member mental illness was significantly related to status violations, shoplifting, theft and fist fighting. Family alcohol problems were related to school truancy and sex with multiple partners, assault, fist fighting, shoplifting and vandalism. Family interaction variables (e. g., communication, acceptance and congeniality) were also found to be significantly related, although inversely, to shoplifting, vandalism, theft and status offenses. In other words, the more positive the reported family interactions, the lower the incidences of girls' delinquent behavior.

Divorce, another possible factor to consider when considering girls' emotional problems, has been investigated by Hetherington (1988). The author studied 180 families six years after divorce. Family conflict was found to be higher in families with early-maturing girls than with late-maturing girls. Early-maturing girls were inclined to be alienated and disengaged, talked less with their mothers but interrupted their mothers more. They became more involved with and were more influenced by older peers.

Conflict between mothers and daughters was particularly intense in the two years following a remarriage (Hetherington, 1988). Girls in remarried families were more

demanding, hostile, coercive, and less warm to both parents than girls in mother-only or non-divorced homes. After two years, problems diminished to some degree; yet, these girls were still more antagonistic and disruptive with their parents than girls in mother-only or non-divorced families.

In remarried families, stepfathers were more likely to be disengaged, showing low involvement, warmth, monitoring, control and maturity demands and by higher hostility when children were demanding (Hetherington, 1988). After the first two-year period of remarriage in which stepfathers tended to tolerate stepdaughters, problems involving parental authority and the girls' respect for the mothers escalated. Remarried families in which mothers and daughters were very close before the remarriage showed the most strained parent-child relationships. Girls in such families were disposed to resist, ignore and criticize the mother. Stepfathers tended to have negative, rejecting attitudes toward their stepdaughters who offered sulky, negativistic, hostile behavior in return (Hetherington, 1988).

Marital satisfaction was related to positive family relations in non-divorced families. In families where the mother has remarried, marital satisfaction was related to increased family conflict and behavior problems for stepdaughters (Hetherington, 1988). Overall, girls in remarried families exhibited more problems than girls in

non-divorced families or girls in mother-only families who had not remarried after six years.

Problems of enmeshed mother-daughter relations and the negative effects have been studied by Wade (1987). The author administered Hamsburg's Separation Anxiety Test and Gunerson's Diagnostic Interview for Borderline Disorder to determine whether adolescent girls consider suicide as a resolution of separation-individuation conflict. Conclusions indicate many suicidal girls are locked into antisocial, borderline symptomatology with mothers who exhibit the same problems. Such a condition becomes intergenerational. The mothers of the girls in the study had not been able to successfully separate from their own mothers, thus extending the same situation into another generation. The girls felt rejection and loneliness and vacillated between antisocial acting-out behavior in imitation of independence contrasted with regressive, smothering relationships with maternal substitutes. Hostile interchanges with others were routine.

Sex Differences

Eagly and Steffen's (1986) findings indicate the overall success rate for predicting sex differences in aggressive behavior is moderate. The authors cautioned that the best-known empirical method for studying human aggression--the teacher-learner and accompanying laboratory paradigm in which a subject models another's aggressive

behavior and is observed by raters--favor eliciting aggression in males and in greater aggression of males toward females. The authors contend socialization and upbringing may be responsible for much of the lack of demonstrated aggression for females.

Chesney-Lind (1989), arguing for a feminist model for understanding female delinquency, maintains that higher incidences of arrest for girls for ungovernability, runaway, sex offenses and offenses related to the home environment do not reflect a higher incidence of these activities among females, but are a result of more stringent social sanctions against such activities by girls. Chesney-Lind believes girls are often victimized by the juvenile justice system for the very coping behaviors they developed to deal with the stress and abuse of intolerable family situations. Supporting Chesney-Lind's assessment, there appears to be a distinct difference between the way a girl's aggressive, acting-out behavior is handled by authorities and the way a boy's is handled (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Figueira-McDonough, 1985; Westendorp, Brink, Roberson, & Oritz, 1986). Often aggressive behavior tolerated or encouraged in young males results in punishment for girls.

Johnston & Kaplan (1988) tested the hypothesized effect of aggression on observed mental health treatment rates for adolescent males over that of female adolescents by administering a questionnaire to a 50% representative sample

of 7th graders attending Houston public schools. The dependent variable from the questionnaire was the self-report of having seen a mental health professional any time before 1971.

The independent variable, aggression, was measured by responses to five items detailing problem behavior or aggression. Findings indicate young adolescent males are more frequently treated for aggressive behavior than females. The difference does, however, narrow as adolescents get older--male rates decrease while female rates increase (Johnston and Kaplan, 1988).

Stark, Spirito, Williams and Guevremont (1989), in assessing coping strategies for stressed adolescents, found females more often cited problems with parents, a boyfriend, friends and school as major stressors. Females were found to view undesirable events as more undesirable and desirable events as more desirable than boys. The results were obtained from a sample of 14-17 year old high school students drawn from 10 high schools. White students composed 75% of the sample.

Canter (1982), in examining sex differences of family bonds as possible explanation of sex differences in self-report delinquency, found stronger family bonds to be controls against deviance. Family bonds were found to be generally stronger for girls, while their inhibitory effect for delinquency was stronger for males. Youth (both boys

and girls) from broken homes reported more delinquency than youth from intact homes.

Hyde (1984) provided a comprehensive meta-analysis of gender differences in aggression, estimates of the magnitude of the differences and analysis of the effects developmentally for all ages. Overall results showed that about 5% of the variance in aggression is due to gender-differences that are substantiated, but definitely not large. Analyses suggested a modest negative association between age of subjects and magnitude of differences: the younger the child, the greater the gender differences in aggression. Preschoolers were more hyperaggressive than college students. Findings indicate preschool males are more aggressive when supervised by adults, whereas preschool girls tend to show slightly more aggression when unsupervised (Besevegis & Lore, 1983). Hyde (1984, p. 732) concludes, "Within-gender variation is far larger than between gender-variation."

Conclusion

Girls, while bombarded by the same family stressors as their brothers, tend to react differently (Gove & Herb, 1974). Females exhibit less reactivity of the adrenal-medullary system than males in stressful, challenging situations; males produce significant amounts of adrenaline while females produce little, if any (Frankenhaeuser, 1980, p. 64). Only a small percentage of girls, compared to boys,

develop severe aggression and antisocial methods for handling their families' dysfunction and receive less mental health treatment than males (Gove & Herb, 1974; Johnson & Kaplan, 1988). However, girls from severely stressed families find the ability and desire to give love and respect and live with dignity very difficult (Miller, Downs, & Gondoli, 1989). Childhood stress and trauma fosters girls' emotional instability and their tendency to use provoking behavior in coping with life.

Summary and Conclusions from the Literature

This review of the literature establishes the deleterious effects of aggressive behavior patterns for the antisocial individual, as well as reason for society's concern. For girls, in particular, antisocial behavior becomes doubly punishing. The behavior itself not only creates social conflict, but also carries the added stigma of degenerate and improper female behavior.

Abuse, neglect, marital discord, social and economic factors coupled with parental substance abuse create stressful environments in which to grow and develop. When such stressors incapacitate parents and block the parents' delivery of adequate parenting and nurturance, children suffer. Possibly Thomas and Chess (1984, p. 8) summarize the findings of this literature review most succinctly:

> Demands, stresses and conflicts, when in keeping with the child's developmental potentials, temperamental characteristics and capacitates for mastery, are constructive in their consequences. It is, rather, excessive stress resulting from poorness of fit between the environmental expectations and demands and the capacities of the child at a particular level of development that leads to disturbed behavioral functioning. (p. 8)

Whether the origin of such behavior has its roots in the stressful family system with its dysfunctional socialization practices or in the complex mix of human biology and culture, antisocial behavior cannot be ignored. Girls, without doubt, face myriad difficulties when expressing aggression. Therefore, more research is needed to probe the role family stressors play in the development of antisocial behavior in girls.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter contains an explanation of the methods used to:

1) Describe the characteristics of emotionally disturbed girls attending the Eckerd Wilderness Educational System (EWES) therapeutic camping program.

2) Describe the family characteristics of EWES girls;

3) Describe the modal antisocial EWES girl;

4) Describe the modal EWES family;

5) Examine the influences of community factors (SES, race, community, and parent educational level) on EWES girls' level of antisocial behavior;

6) Explore the connections between family stressors and the neglect, sexual abuse and physical abuse of EWES girls. This chapter also includes the research questions and hypotheses to be tested, a description of the subjects and population sample, sampling procedures, procedures for analyzing the data, and a discussion of the limitations of the study.

The literature supports investigation of girls' antisocial behavior. The role of family stressors as contributing factors for antisocial behavior is supported by

both theory and research. The study will seek to answer the following research questions:

1) What is the descriptive profile (personal and family background characteristics) of girls who attend the Eckerd Wilderness Camping Program?

2) What is the relative contribution of family stressors to antisocial behavior; that is, can family stressors predict the severity of the antisocial behavior?

3) Do girls identified as dependent adjudicated have more family stressors than girls identified as adjudicated delinquent?

4) What is the relative importance of the family stressors in predicting types of antisocial, aggressive behavior; that is, do certain specific family stressors contribute to EWES girls' antisocial, aggressive behavior?

5) Do EWES girls who have been both sexually abused and physically abused exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either sexually abused or physically abused?

6) Do girls who have been sexually abused exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either neglected or physically abused?

Hypotheses

To address the research questions developed for this study, five directional hypotheses were tested at a .05 level of significance, a sixth at .15.

1) Girls whose families exhibit higher numbers of stressors will show higher levels of antisocial behavior.

2) The family stressors experienced by girls will predict the severity of girls' antisocial conduct.

3) Families of delinquent girls will exhibit more family stressors than those of girls under court supervision for less severe offenses (adjudicated dependents).

4) Certain family stressors experienced by a girl will distinguish between types of antisocial, aggressive behavior.

5) Girls who have been both sexually abused and physically abused will exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either sexually abused or physically abused.

6) Girls who have been sexually abused will exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either neglected or physically abused.

Subjects

This section details sample selection, sample size, and procedures used for the study. Information is drawn from the 1989-90 Annual Descriptive Summary (1990, pp. 7-12) of the Eckerd Family Youth Alternatives, Inc.

This study involved 328 girls served by Eckerd Family Youth Alternatives, Inc. (corporate office located at 100 North Starcrest Drive, Clearwater, Florida) from the

foundation's Eckerd Wilderness Educational System (EWES), a therapeutic wilderness camping program for aggressive, emotionally disturbed youth. Since 1968, the Eckerd Camping Program has served 7,812 boys and girls.

The EWES is a year-round residential therapy program for emotionally troubled youth serving children who cannot function in a normal community, school or family setting. Each camper enters the program identified as "emotionally disturbed" by state department of exceptional children's guidelines or through mental health assessments. Typical presenting problems with entering campers are low self-esteem, maladaptive relationships with peers and adults, and poor social skills. Behaviorally, the entering camper has poor self-control and exhibits aggressive, undisciplined behavior. The family backgrounds of new campers indicate troubled family settings marked by at least one, but usually several, conditions that stress the family (Behar & Stephens, 1977).

Of the 638 campers entering the program for fiscal year 1989-90, 84.5% were male and 15.5% female. Arnold and Brungardt (1983) indicate higher admission percentages are typical for boys for such outdoor programs given traditional sex roles of our society and the kinds of physical activities involved in wilderness camping programs. However, the EWES 5:1 sex ratio more closely approximates the 3:1 sex ratio Arnold and Brungardt (1983, p. 370) cite

for aggregate commitments to public juvenile facilities. The authors, citing the 1975 Children in Custody: A Report on the Juvenile Detention and Correctional Facility Census, relate the typical ratio of boys to girls in therapeutic camp, farm and ranch settings is usually closer to fourteen boys for every girl.

The sample for this study was drawn from corporate office data for a period of several years. The sample is composed of girls from two camps in Florida (E-NINI-HASSEE, all girls and E-MA-CHAMEE, co-ed), two in North Carolina (E-TOH-KALU and E-MA-HENWU, co-ed), one in Rhode Island (E-HUN-TEE, co-ed), and one in Vermont (E-WEN-AKEE, co-ed). The other seven camps located throughout Florida, North Carolina, Vermont, Rhode Island and Tennessee serve only males.

In addition to the "emotionally disturbed" label, entering campers can be further grouped as adjudicated dependent, adjudicated delinquent, or neither of these categories if there has been no legal action taken by the courts. Adjudicated dependent youth are those under the supervision of the state due to neglect, abuse, abandonment, chronic truancy, chronic runaway, and ungovernability. Adjudicated delinquent youth have been classified by six types of convictions: crimes against property, crimes against persons, drug-related crimes, misdemeanor, status offenses (e.g., runaway, truancy, incorrigible) and other

(e.g., probation violation, trespassing, disturbing the peace). A conviction is defined as any offense leading to referral to a legal magistrate or convening body on which specific action is taken in direct connection with the offense (see Appendix A). An emerging trend for the late 1980s is more campers entering the Eckerd program having been involved with the legal system (Annual Report, 1990, p. 12).

Sample Selection

In an earlier pilot study comparing aggressive behaviorally/emotionally disturbed students with nonaggressive behaviorally/emotionally disturbed and a control group of regular education students, subject participation and cooperation were found to be major obstacles in the study of antisocial children and their families. Sample size was nominal and restricted statistical analysis.

Sample selection for this study was significantly restricted by problems relating to state or organizational polices which prohibited the use of data from five North Carolina mental health or Department of Human Resources programs. Subject selection was also complicated since the anticipated ratio of boys to girls in the population of emotionally disturbed children is 9 to 2 (American Psychiatric Association, 1987). Therefore, because the

exploratory, descriptive nature of this study dictates a large sample size, an adequate intact data set was needed.

The search for subjects was widened to include private agencies and organizations. The Eckerd Family Youth Alternatives, Inc. agreed to the use of their data. A main component of the program's organization is the support of research. Each camper's parent or guardian agrees, as a condition for entering the program, to allow the use of application information to become part of a data base for future research.

Procedure

Before an EWES prospect can enter camp, a lengthy diagnostic and evaluative process has been conducted. Each potential camper (PC) is nominated by any public or private children's services professional connected with a school system, juvenile court, or mental health center. The agency worker contacts the parent or guardian to obtain cooperation in completing an application (Appendix B), secures the PC's willingness to participate in the referral process, and sends the required materials to a district referral committee.

The North Carolina screening and referral committee, typical of all EWES screening and referral committees, is composed of representatives from the major state governmental agencies involved with children and young adults, including the Administrative Office of the Courts--

Juvenile Services, Health Services, Mental Health, Public Education, Training Schools, Social Services, Youth Advocacy, and three representatives of the Therapeutic Camping System (A. Stone, personal communication, October 2, 1991). Referral materials include the application completed by the parent/guardian and the camp-agency liaison, copies of a psychological and educational evaluation--conducted by a licensed psychologist--less than 12 months-old, a detailed social-developmental history--taken by the agency worker--outlining current problems, events leading to referral and contributing historical factors. A school referral also requires a copy of a current Individual Education Plan (IEP) and a state-approved Administrative Placement Committee letter.

The screening and referral committee meets once per month to review applications. Acceptance criteria, as established by the N. C. Department of Human Resources Therapeutic Camping System Handbook (1990) include:

> 1) Age--10-15 years of age at the time of the Screening Committee review. Final selection may be influenced by physical size and/or developmental age of the child.
> 2) Prospective campers must have demonstrable conflict with the law or exhibit behavioral problems (i.e.) "acting out," withdrawing, "delinquent". A psychological or psychiatric evaluation, conducted within 12 months of referral, must indicate the adaptive behavior patterns and functioning intelligence level.

> 3) Prospective campers must demonstrate functioning intelligence which will allow for adaptation to the camp program and understand the cause and effect relationship of the therapeutic and educational process of the program.
> 4) The prospective camper must agree to be willing to participate in the program and to be concerned about their behavior.
> 5) Prospective campers must be in good health or be able to compensate for any physical handicap due to the active physical program. Campers cannot be on any medication that would affect their motor coordination or ability, or impair their judgement or decision -making ability. No refrigerated medicines are allowed; any necessary non-refrigerated medications required for participation in the program must be provided by parents, guardians, and/or referring agencies. (p. 4-5)

Once the potential camper (PC) is selected as a candidate, the home-camp liaison, a certified social worker, contacts the referring agency to set a home visit with the PC and the family. During the visit the purpose and structure of the camping program is explained along with an outline of the physical facilities and the expectations under which the camper will operate during her or his stay. The camp-home liaison shows pictures of the camp and answers questions. At this point the PC can agree or disagree to continue the procedure. If agreement is obtained, a camp visit is arranged. The PC, the family and the agency contact visit the camp for a tour and a session of questions and answers with an active on-site group. At this point, the PC or parent/guardian again has the opportunity to stop the process. The Eckerd Wilderness Educational System

emphasizes full camper and family participation in all stages of the process. Often, due to the nature of the PC's problems and resultant legal troubles, the decision to attend camp becomes an alternative to placement in a state juvenile training school. From the PC's point of view, the decision to attend camp may be construed as the lesser of two evils.

Once a PC decides to attend camp, she or he is assigned to a waiting list, has a full medical and dental exam, and finalizes her or his paperwork. A key component of camp entry is the release forms signed by the parent or guardian and the camper agreeing to the use of application data for research and possible photos and interviews for publications and media releases.

After the camper enters the program, data from the standardized application forms are sent to the main office in Clearwater, Florida for transcription into machine readable form for later computer analysis. The data for this study was transferred from the main computer files to a floppy disk using a LOTUS format. Each subject's data was designated only through a "case" number as an additional safeguard to protect the subjects' identities. The data was analyzed using the Statistical Analysis System (SAS).

Data Analysis

Upon examination of the full computer data set for the study, it was found that most of the data were in

categorical form. Therefore, the analysis presented in the original study proposal had to be changed.

To answer the first research question, "What is the descriptive profile (personal and family background characteristics) of girls who attend the Eckerd Wilderness Camping Program?," basic descriptive statistics for the sample included, where appropriate for the variables, means, standard deviations, frequencies and percentages for demographic variables, family stressors and the girls' characteristics. The descriptive profile for the girls in the sample included length of camp stay, grade upon reentry to community, age, race, IQ, adjudicated dependent status, adjudicated delinquent status, repeated grades, history of school truancy, religious preference, special education services, drug use, alcohol use, and history of sexual perpetration. The descriptive profile for the family included living status of the camper, custody, parents' marital status, history of physically abusing the camper, history of sexually abusing the camper, history of neglecting the camper, type of home community, family income level, parent level of education, and parental substance abuse (drug and alcohol).

An additional part of the descriptive analysis was to include a principle components analysis, a canonical correlation analysis and a simple correlation analysis. In

place of the originally proposed analyses, the modal individual and modal family were described.

The essential purpose of this investigation was an attempt to relate current antisocial behavior on the part of the subjects of this study to specific characteristics of dysfunctional families (i.e., family stressors). The dependent variable (i.e., current antisocial/aggressive behavior) can be conceived of quantitatively along a severity dimension as well as typologically, that is, qualitatively. In this investigation, both ways of conceptualization were examined.

Adopting the quantitative view for current antisocial behavior, the girls' offenses were scaled via a weighting procedure. Because most of the raw data were collected in categorical form on the admission applications, the dependent variable, Degree of Antisocial Behavior (DOA), was established by scaling the various categories of antisocial behavior into levels with assigned weighted values.

The DOA, serving as the dependent variable, was determined by a rank ordering of 28 possible offenses listed in the EWES handbook of computer codes. A survey (Appendix C) was developed to gather input from school principals, court counselors, law enforcement officers and attorneys (Table 1). One survey was mailed to each respondent with a self-addressed, stamped envelope provided for a return reply. Of 15 surveys, 14, or 93.3%, were returned.

The responses for each individual offense were averaged to obtain a mean for each offense. The offenses were then rank ordered by the means. Once the final ordering was completed, the antisocial acts listed in the raw data were weighted according to their positions in the rank order. School truancy was considered the least antisocial act and weighted 1. Behavior that would place a girl as adjudicated dependent was weighted 2. Alcohol use was weighted 3. Drug use was weighted 3. Sexual perpetration was weighted 4. Behavior that would place a girl as adjudicated delinquent was weighted 5. Because the antisocial behaviors were coded either "yes" or "no" in the data, this weighting scheme resulted in a scale that could range from one (truant with no other offenses) to a maximum of eighteen, if the individual was recorded as having engaged in all the above antisocial behaviors.

Table 1

Experts in Handling Antisocial Behavior of Youth

Occupation	Male	Female	Mean Age	White	Black
Principal	2		43.0	1	1
Court Counselor	1		39.0	1	
Attorney	4	4	35.5	7	1
Deputy Sheriff	1	1	45.5	2	

To investigate the issue of background family variables contributing to current antisocial behavior and to answer the second question, "What is the relative contribution of family stressors to antisocial behavior; that is, can family stressors predict the severity of the antisocial behavior?", a forward selection multiple regression procedure was undertaken. The Degree of Antisocial Behavior score (DOA) was used as the dependent variable. This procedure selected the one stressor most highly related to antisocial behavior and then added significant predictors to the regression in order of their importance until the addition of further stressor variables was no longer added to the prediction. A separate unequal N analysis of variance was used to analyze the categorical parental abuse aspects of the question separately. A second forward selection multiple regression

was then utilized, including all the family stressors, to further examine the question.

To investigate the relationship between family stressors and the identification of girls by legal classification, the third research question, "Do girls identified as adjudicated delinquent have more family stressors than girls identified as dependent adjudicated?", logistic regression analysis was performed. The logistic regression analysis replaced a stepwise discriminant function analysis (which requires more or less continuous independent variables). The logistic regression analysis was performed using the family variables (race, living status, custody status, history of physical abuse, history of sexual abuse, history of neglect, history of substance abuse, parental educational level, parental income level, and type of community) as discriminating variables and the classification of girls as adjudicated dependent, adjudicated delinquent, or both, as a grouping variable. In logistic regression the assumption of continuous independent variables may be relaxed, and the dependent variable becomes the probability of being assigned to one of the dependent categories. The adequacy of the logistic analysis was assessed by the extent to which the "goodness of fit" test resulted in a correct classification of the girls into one of the three groups based upon the family background data.

The fourth question, "What is the relative importance of the family stressors in predicting types of antisocial, aggressive behavior, and do certain specific family stressors contribute to EWES girls' antisocial, aggressive behavior?", addressed the behavior typologically or qualitatively. The question regarding the relative importance of family stressors in predicting type of antisocial, aggressive behavior was investigated via a stepwise logistic regression analysis, once more with family stressors as independent variables and type of antisocial behavior (victimless aggression, aggression against others, aggression against property, and aggression against self) as the grouping variables.

An analysis of variance was performed to answer the fifth question, "Do EWES girls who have been both sexually abused and physically abused exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either sexually abused or physically abused?", and to determine the significance of main effects and group differences. The dependent variable, the severity of antisocial behavior, was once again represented by the summed weighted values assigned to antisocial, aggressive acts (truancy, dependent adjudication, alcohol use, drug use, sexual perpetration, and delinquent adjudication) in order to arrive at a Degree of Antisocial Behavior (DOA) score. The three groups for the analysis consisted of those girls who have been reported

to be either sexually abused or physically abused and those who have been reported as both sexually and physically abused.

A second analysis of variance was performed to answer the sixth question, "Do girls who have been sexually abused exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either neglected or physically abused?", again, to determine the significance of main effects and group differences. The dependent variable, the severity of antisocial behavior, was represented, as in the previous analysis, by the summed weighted values assigned to antisocial, aggressive acts (truancy, dependent adjudication, alcohol use, drug use, sexual perpetration, and delinquent adjudication) to establish a Degree of Antisocial Behavior (DOA) score. The three groups for the analysis consisted of those girls who have been reported as neglected, physically or sexually abused. The groups were independent; that is, only cases that fit exclusively into one or the other of the three categories were used for analysis.

Limitations

Recognition of methodological limitations of the study is essential to a definitive interpretation of the results. One notable limitation to this study was associated with the restricted population of subjects. The EWES girls, by definition, are all classified emotionally disturbed and have encountered problems within the social context of their

home communities. Further restrictions to variance in the population are a function of camp acceptance policies and the volunteer nature of camp participation. Those girls who were willing to participate in the EWES program may differ systematically from nonvolunteers. Results necessarily cannot be generalized to all populations of girls or even all aggressive, emotionally disturbed girls.

Also, because the overall population of identified emotionally disturbed girls is quite small in comparison to that of boys and large sample sizes are needed to strengthen statistical significance, all available EWES cases were used for the purpose of analysis.

The descriptive, exploratory nature of the study limits the investigation to a cross-section study. The data represent a particular group of girls who, although geographically diverse, historically were linked by camp attendance during a given period of time.

Sibling and peer influences, another possible source of stress for the girls, were not included in the scope of this study. The exploratory and descriptive nature of the model was focused only on factors that originate with or are under the control of the parents.

Because the data were collected through a rigorous application process (Appendix A) involving a state and federal regulated psychoeducational assessment and ending with a sworn parental statement of truthfulness, items that

were not verified through court documentation are assumed to be truthful self-reports. Verification of sexual abuse, neglect, adjudicated dependent and delinquent status is possible through a juvenile disposition order signed by a presiding judge (Appendix B). The data represent only occurrences of antisocial behavior which the girls and their families have acknowledged, documented by court involvement, or substantiated through psychological testing and an accompanying social-developmental history. The possibility exists that there are additional antisocial acts and/or incidents relating to the girls' conduct or family circumstances not included in the data set. Another limitation to this study must be consideration for the reliability of the data and the degree to which the limitations affect generalizability of the research. The study should be considered as preliminary and as an attempt to delineate family stressor variables associated with antisocial behavior in emotionally disturbed girls. The results provide some direction for determining family stressor variables to examine in future studies of antisocial emotionally disturbed girls.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY OF DATA RESULTS

Introduction

In this chapter a summary of the statistical analyses will be presented as they pertain to the six research questions and the accompanying hypotheses. The discussion of the analyses follows the order established in the methodology section. First, a descriptive profile of the girls who attend the Eckerd Wilderness Educational System (EWES) camping program will be presented, followed by a descriptive profile of background family characteristics. Then, in turn, each of the five remaining research questions will be discussed and, according to the statistical significance, the associated hypothesis either accepted or rejected.

For this study, the total sampling frame was 328 cases, girls between the ages of 10 and 16 enrolled in the EWES camping program between 1982 and 1987. Due to missing data, some of the variables were not as fully representative of the total sample. The question becomes one of the possibility of bias emerging from this missing data and skewing results. To investigate the question, means and standard deviations or frequency counts were computed for both the available data and the missing portion on three

variables that had a high proportion of available data (age, race, and truancy) and three variables that had much missing data (IQ, family income, and parental substance abuse). Table 2 is constructed in such a manner that the means and standard deviations or the frequencies for six representative variables can be compared and contrasted.

Age, race and truancy all had little missing data. IQ, family income, and parental substance abuse had the greatest amount of missing data. Of the cases where IQ or parental income data were available, no cases for age or race were missing. Where truancy data were available, the same consistent orderliness was evident. Since truancy data were reported in a *yes/no* format, *frequency* values were recorded in the table instead of means and standard deviations. The close similarity in means and standard deviations and frequencies indicate no aberrant skew exists.

Of the available information for truant girls, 48 had parents who were substance abusers; 41 had parents who were not. In cases where the girls were not truant, 19 had parents who were substance abusers and 22 had parents who were not substance abusers. Where truancy data were not available in comparison to parental substance abuse, there was one substance-abusing parent, and seven who were not substance abusers. Again, the missing data appear to be random.

The reader can discern that variables with a large amount of missing data, when compared to variables containing a large portion of the data, show no biased pattern, indicating no subgroup of girls in the sample was overrepresented or ignored. Therefore, the reader can assume the same random proportion of cases with missing data in the EWES sample would apply in other similar populations. Such an explanation is not conclusive; however, it is suggestive and gives more assurance that there is no pattern to the missing data and that occurrences are random throughout the total sampling frame.

Table 2

Comparison of Available Data and Missing Data Means For Bias

	AGE				RACE						
	Data Available			Data Not Available	Data Available						Data Not Available
					White			Nonwhite			
	N	Mean	SD	N	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
IQ Scores	126	94.45	13.72	0	112	94.99	13.90	14	90.14	11.75	0
Parental Income	131	2.13	.92	0	116	2.16	.93	15	1.87	.92	0

	TRUANCY								
	Data Available						Data Not Available		
	Yes			No					
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
IQ Scores	82	94.90	13.33	41	93.49	14.77	3	94.33	13.05
Parental Income	88	2.11	.93	36	2.11	.92	7	2.40	1.13

Note: Mean of Parent Income values, 1 = $0-8,999; 2 = $9-24,999

Table 2 (Continued)

	Age			Race					Truancy					
	Data Available		Data Not Available	Data Available				Data Not Available	Data Available				Data Not Available	
				White		Nonwhite			Truant		Nontruant			
	Yes	No		Yes	No	Yes	No		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Parental Substance Abuse	68	70	0	60	62	8	8	0	48	41	19	22	1	7

Note: Total N for sampling frame = 328

Descriptive Profile

The first research question asked: What is the descriptive profile (personal and family background characteristics) of girls who attend the Eckerd Wilderness Camping Program?: Descriptive statistics were determined and used to describe the modal individual and the modal family. The girls' personal background characteristics were established through questions on the EWES application (Appendix B): Dependent and delinquent adjudicated status--Question 5, page 2; drug and alcohol use--Question 6, page 3; truancy--Question 8, page 4; and demographic characteristics--Question 5, page 2. Similarly, the custodial parents' background data were originated in the application, Question 9 on page 5.

The average length of camp stay was found to be almost a year, 345.0 days (SD=250.6). The majority of the girls (70.1%), upon returning to the community schools, entered junior high, grades 7 (21.4%), 8 (24.0%) and 9 (24.7%). The mean age of the sample, necessarily restricted because of entrance requirements, was found to be 14.6 (SD=1.5). The mean IQ of the sample was 94.5 (SD=13.7) (See Table 3).

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for IQ, Length of Camp Stay and Age

Variable	N	Mean	SD
IQ	126	94.45	13.72
Length of Camp Stay (Number of Days)	248	344.99	250.64
Age (Years)	327	14.58	1.46

Note: Variable N=144; Total Sampling Frame N=328

The majority of the girls were white (84.5%). Black girls composed 12.5% of the sample, Hispanic girls 2.5% and oriental girls .3% (Table 4).

Table 4

Race

	Frequencies	%
Black	40	12.5
White	270	84.6
Oriental	1	0.3
Hispanic	8	2.5

Note: Variable N=319; Total Sampling Frame N=328

The percentage of dependent adjudicated and delinquent adjudicated girls was found to be relatively equal, 35% and 33.8% respectively. A large percentage (66.2%) was found to have a history of school truancy. A little over half (53.6%) had used alcohol, while 43.5% had used drugs. A history of sexual perpetration was held by 6.7% (See Table 5).

Table 5

Incidents of Antisocial Behavior

Incident	N	Frequency	%
Truancy	299	198	66.2
Dependent Adjudicated	302	108	35.8
Delinquent Adjudicated	302	102	33.8
Drug Use	138	60	43.5
Alcohol Use	138	74	53.6
Sexual Perpetration	135	9	6.7

Note: Variable N represents number of cases of the total N of 328

The religious preference indicated by a majority of the girls was protestant (59.3%). The remaining preferences were Catholic (16.7%), Jewish (.9%), "Other" (15.7%) or "Unknown" (7.4%) (See Table 6).

Table 6

Religious Preference

	Frequency	%
Protestant	64	59.3
Catholic	18	16.7
Jewish	1	0.9
Other	17	15.7
Unknown	8	7.4

Note: Variable N=108; Total Sampling Frame N=328

As seen in Table 7, of the girls receiving special education services prior to entering the EWES program, 16.9% were served in a self-contained EH classroom, 9.2% in a resource room EH program, 6.2 % in LD classrooms, 5.4% in alternative school programs, and 3.1% in private schools. Additionally, 1.5% were classified as severely emotionally disturbed; 1.5% were served in severely learning disabled classes, and 1.5% were receiving academically gifted services. Table 8 indicates that over half of those who had repeated a grade (56.1%) had been retained in either first or second grade.

Table 7

Special Education Classification Prior to Camp Entry

	Frequency	%
Self-Contained EH Classroom	22	16.9
Resource Room EH	12	9.2
LD Classroom	8	6.2
Alternative School	7	5.4
Private School	4	3.1
Severely Emotionally Disturbed	2	1.5
Severely Learning Disabled	2	1.5
Academically Gifted Services	2	1.5

Note: Variable N=130; Total Sampling Frame N=328

Table 8

Grade upon Reentry to the Community and Grades Repeated

Reentry:	Frequency	%	Repeated:	Frequency	%
			0	32	35.2
			1	38	41.8
			2	13	14.3
3	1	0.3	3	1	1.1
4	7	2.3	4	2	2.2
5	6	1.9	5	1	1.1
6	40	13.0	6	1	1.1
7	66	21.4	7	1	1.1
8	74	24.0	8	2	2.2
9	76	24.7			
10	26	8.4			
11	8	2.6			
12	2	0.6			

Note: Variable N=306 Variable N=91 Total N=328

As seen in Table 9, 14.2% of the girls lived with both natural parents; custody of their daughters was shared in 16.0% of the cases. While natural mothers had custody of their daughters in 39.8% of the cases, the girls lived with natural mothers in 27.7% of the cases and with natural

mothers/stepfathers 13.8% of the time. Natural fathers had custody 3.8% of the time and had their daughters living with them in 2.2% of the cases or with natural fathers/stepmothers in 3.1% of the cases. In adoptive families the girl lived with both parents in 7.2% of the cases while adoptive parents shared custody in 8.8% of the cases. Adoptive mothers had custody in .6% of the cases and had their daughters living with them (.6%). Adoptive fathers had custody in .6% of the cases with .3% of the daughters living with an adoptive father. Other relatives were custodial caretakers in only 2.5% of the cases in contrast to the 6.9% of the girls who resided with other relatives. The state had custody of the girls in 25.4% of the cases. Foster home placement occurred for 9.1% of the girls and group home placement for 6.0%. "Other" custody arrangements were found to be 2.5%, and "other" living arrangements were 8.8%. Custodial parents were married couples in 45.1% of the sample, a divorced parent in 43.1% of the cases, a single parent in 9.0% cases, and a widowed parent in 2.8% of the cases.

Table 9

Living Status and Custody (Frequencies and Percentages)

Living Status Upon Acceptance By EWES

	Frequency	%
Both Natural Parents	45	14.2
Both Adoptive Parents	23	7.2
Natural Mother	88	27.7
Adoptive Mother	2	0.6
Natural Father	7	2.2
Adoptive Father	1	0.3
Mother/Stepfather	44	13.8
Father/Stepmother	10	3.1
Other Relative	22	6.9
Foster Home	29	9.1
Group Home	19	6.0
Other	28	8.8

Note: Variable N=318; Total Sampling Frame N=328

Custody Status upon Acceptance by EWES

	Frequency	%
Both Natural Parents	51	16.0
Both Adoptive Parents	28	8.8
Natural Mother	127	39.8
Adoptive Mother	2	0.6
Natural Father	12	3.8
Adoptive Father	2	0.6
Other Relatives	8	2.5
State	81	25.4
Other	8	2.5

Note: Variable N=319; Total Sampling Frame N=328

Of the 328 cases in the available data set, data concerning the presence or absence of parental physical abuse was noted in 41.7 % of the cases; of these, 32.1% of the girls had been physically abused. Similarly, 42.1% of the total sample indicated sexual abuse occurred in 44.2% of the reported cases. Out of 41.5% of the reported cases from the total sample, neglect occurred in 33.1%. Parental substance abuse was found in 49.3% of the reported cases from 42.1% of the total sample (See Table 10).

Table 10

Incidents of Parental Physical Abuse, Sexual Abuse, Neglect and Substance Abuse

Incident	N	Frequency	%
Physical Abuse	137	44	32.1
Sexual Abuse	138	61	44.2
Neglect	136	45	33.1
Substance Abuse	138	68	49.3

Note: Variable N values represent number of cases of the total N of 328.

The families resided in large cities in 17.4% of the cases, urban areas in 8.1% of the cases, city suburbs in 37.6 % of the cases, small towns in 25.5% of the cases, and rural areas in 11.4% of the cases (See Table 11).

Table 11

Type of Home Community

	Frequency	%
Large City	26	17.4
Urban Area	12	8.1
City Suburbs	56	37.6
Small Town	38	25.5
Rural	17	11.4

Note: Variable N=149; Total Sampling Frame N=328

Family income was found to range from $0-8,999 in 28.2% of the cases, $9,000-24,999 in 39.7% of the cases, $25,000-39,999 in 22.9% of the cases, and $40,000 and above in 9.2% of the cases. Thirty-one percent of the parents had no high school diploma, 6.2% had a GED, 38.8% were high school graduates, 11.6 had 2 years of college, 9.3% had four years of college, 2.3% had 6 years of college, and .8% had 8 years of college (See Table 12).

Table 12

Custodial Parental Income, Education Level, and Marital Status (Frequencies and Percentages)

Parental Income

	Frequency	%
$00000-8,999	37	28.2
$9,000-24,999	52	39.7
$25,000-39,999	30	22.9
$40,000+	12	9.2

Note: Variable N=131; Total Sampling Frame N=328

Custodial Parent's Educational Level

	Frequency	%
No High School Diploma	40	31.0
GED	8	6.2
High School Diploma	50	38.8
2 Years College	15	11.6
4 Years College	12	9.3
6 Years College	3	2.3
8 Years College	1	0.8

Note: Variable N=129; Total Sampling Frame N=328

Marital Status

	Frequency	%
Married	65	45.1
Divorced	62	43.1
Single	13	9.0
Widowed	4	2.8

Note: Variable N=144; Total Sampling Frame N=328

In summary, the description of girls who enroll in the Eckerd Wilderness Camping Program can be best profiled through a discussion of a modal person. The description is constructed through the use of the highest frequency and percentage counts from each of the personal variable tables.

Table 13 describes the typical girl in this study as white, fourteen and one half years old, a Protestant, and with an IQ in the low average range, 95.5. The modal EWES girl has been in the program a little less than a year, 345 days. Her most prevalent antisocial behavior is school truancy associated with her later classification as either a dependent adjudicated adolescent or as a delinquent adjudicated adolescent. A typical girl tends to use alcohol more than drugs. In school, the modal EWES girl receives special education services through a self-contained

Emotionally Handicapped classroom. If she repeated a grade, it was first grade. She reenters her community school in either the eighth or ninth grade.

Likewise, a summary of a modal family for Eckerd Wilderness Camp girls, based upon frequencies and percentages of the family stressor variables, can be constructed. In the modal family, a natural mother has custody of her daughter with the daughter living in her home. The natural mother is married, resides in the suburbs of a city and is a high school graduate. Family income is between $9,000 and $24,000 per year. In the modal family, substance abuse, the use of alcohol, drugs or both, is a major problem. Sexual abuse of the girl was more prevalent than physical abuse and neglect. The collective results discussed in a description of the modal girl and modal family lend support to the first hypothesis which states that girls who experience higher numbers of family stressors will exhibit higher numbers of antisocial behaviors. A succinct summary of the modal person and family is presented in Table 14.

Table 13

Personal Characteristics of the Modal Girl

Variable	Frequency	%	N
Race - White	270	84.5	319
Truancy	198	66.2	299
Dependent Adjudicated Status	108	35.8	302
Delinquent Adjudicated Status	102	33.8	302
Alcohol Use	74	53.6	138
Religion - Protestant	64	59.3	108
Special Education - EH Classroom	22	16.9	130
Repeated Grade - First	38	41.8	91
Reentry Grade - Eight	76	24.7	306
Reentry Grade - Nine	74	24.0	306

Total Sampling Frame N=328

Table 14

Characteristics of the Modal EWES Family

Variable	Frequency	%	N
Living status - natural mother	88	27.7	318
Custody - natural mother	127	39.8	319
Marital status - married	65	45.1	144
Parental substance abuse	68	49.3	138
Parental sexual abuse	61	44.2	137
Community - suburbs	56	37.6	149
Income - $9,000 to $24,999	52	39.7	131
Parental education - HS	50	38.8	129

Total Sampling Frame N=328

Table 15

Means and Standard Deviations for IQ, Length of Camp Stay and Age for the Modal EWES Girl

Variable	N	Mean	SD
IQ	126	94.45	13.72
Length of Camp Stay (Number of Days)	248	344.99	250.64
Age (Years)	327	14.58	1.46

Note: Total Sampling Frame N=328

The second research question asked: What is the relative contribution of family stressors--living status of the camper, custody, parents' marital status, history of physically abusing the camper, history of sexually abusing the camper, history of neglecting the camper, type of home community, family income level, parent level of education, race, and parental substance abuse (drug and alcohol)-- to antisocial behavior; that is, can family stressors predict the severity of the antisocial behavior? A forward selection multiple regression procedure was used to address the question and test the second hypothesis: The family stressors experienced by girls will predict the severity of girls' antisocial conduct. In order to include the

variables race and parental marital status--coded as nominal data in the original data set--in the regression procedure, both variables were dichotomized. Since white girls were the majority race, the variable was divided into "white" and "others." Likewise, the marital status variable for the custodial parent was dichotomized as "married" or "other."

A regression analysis employing the usual .05 alpha level allowed no variable to enter the equation since none had a significant "F-to-enter"; that is, by themselves, none of the variables accounted for enough variability to give a p value of .05 or less. In as much as this research was essentially exploratory, the .05 significance level for a Type I error was successively relaxed to .10 and .15. The following results are for the analysis at the .15 alpha level. The reader should note carefully that this is a very liberal Type I error rate and that the results to be discussed are tentative and suggestive at best. The results will require further independent confirmation.

"Living status" was the first of the independent variables to be entered into the forward selection regression analysis [$F(1, 118) = 2.52$, $p < .15$]. An R-Square of .0209 indicated that about 2% of the variance in the dependent variable, Degree of Antisocial Behavior Score, was accounted for by the independent variable, living status. The listwise N for the regression model was 119.

Type of community was entered next [partial $F(1, 117) = 2.61$, $p = .15$]. An R-Square of .0423 indicated that about 4% of variance of the dependent variable, Degree of Antisocial Behavior Score, was accounted for by a combination of the independent variables, type of community and living status. The assumption can be made that the type of community in which a girl resides also contributes to the severity of her antisocial behavior.

Parental marital status was entered as the third independent variable [partial $F(1, 116)=3.41$ $p < .10$]. The R-Square.0697 indicated that about 7% of the variance in Degree of Antisocial Behavior (DOA) was accounted for by the independent variable, parental marital status, in combination with living status and type of community.

Parental education level was the final independent variable entered into the regression [partial $F(1, 115)$ value of 2.81 $p<.10$]. The R-Square of .0918 indicates that about 9% of the dependent variable, Degree of Antisocial Behavior Score, was accounted for when the independent variables, living status, type of community, parental marital status and parental education level were all entered into the model. Additionally, the overall $F(4, 115)$ value of 2.91, $p<.05$ was also significant lending support to the tentative hypothesis that family stressors can be predictive of a EWES girl's severity of antisocial behavior. In particular, the model suggests that the type of community a

family lives in, the parental marital status, the parental education level and a girl's "living status" in combination affect the severity of a girl's antisocial behavior.

In addition to an examination of the successive "variance explained" in the dependent variable, the regression coefficients for each of the independent variables were also examined. The regression coefficients explain how much change can be expected in the dependent variable if, holding others constant, a given independent variable increases by one unit.

It would be recalled that the DOA measure was scaled from 1 (truancy) to 5 (delinquent adjudication). The coding scale for "living status" ranged from 1 (both natural parents) to 12 (other living arrangements besides residency with relatives or in state supported foster or group homes). The findings indicate that the DOA increased by .26 scale points when the predictor variable, "living status" increased by one unit. Similarly, DOA increased by an average of .69 when the predictor, "type of community," increased by one unit. The coding scale for "type of community" ranged from 1 (rural) to 5 (large city). This later finding accords with the literature which suggests the more urban a girl's home community, the more likely she will engage in antisocial behavior.

The regression coefficient for the variable parental marital status was -1.60 indicating that the dependent

variable, the DOA, decreases when a girl's custodial parent is married, supporting the hypothesis that the family stressors divorce, single mother status or widowed mother status are related to an EWES girl's severity of antisocial behavior.

The regression coefficient for the variable parental educational status was -.45 indicating that the dependent variable, the DOA, decreases when a girl's custodial parent has more education. This finding supports the hypothesis that custodial parents with lower education levels experienced more stressing family situations and, therefore, were associated with a girl's severity of antisocial behavior.

Because of the well-documented finding in the literature that various forms of abuse in childhood often leads to later delinquent behavior, a separate unequal N regression analysis was performed to examine the effects of parent sexual abuse, physical abuse and neglect, and substance abuse on the severity of the girls' antisocial behavior. The analysis sought to determine whether any one or more of the family stressors would be more predictive of the severity of a girl's antisocial behavior than another. First all possible interactions between and among the variables and the accompanying main effects of the variables were explored.

Results [$F(15, 117)$, 1.46, $p<.15$] indicate no statistically significant results were obtained at the .05 significance level for the whole model. However, in looking at the Type I Sums of Squares for the interaction between and among the main effects of the abuse categories included in the analysis, parental substance abuse is significant at $p<.001$, a strong indication that a girl's level of antisocial behavior can be predicted from knowledge of the degree of her parents' substance abuse. The conclusion can be drawn that Hypothesis 2 receives support for the predictive value of the variables living status, type of community, parental marital status, parental education level, and parental substance abuse at the .15 alpha level.

Based on the strong probability that parental substance abuse contributes to predicting the severity of a girl's antisocial conduct, another forward selection multiple regression procedure was used to analyze the data at the .05 significance level, including all the available family stressors--living status of the camper, race, custody, parents' marital status, history of physically abusing the camper, history of sexually abusing the camper, history of neglecting the camper, type of home community, family income level, parent level of education, and parental substance abuse (drug and alcohol). When the abuse categorical variables were included, "parental substance abuse" was the first and only variable entered [partial $F(1, 115) = 8.60$,

p,.05]. An R-Square of .06954 indicated that about 7% of the variance in the dependent variable, Degree of Antisocial Behavior, was accounted for by the independent variable, parental substance abuse. The indication is that substance abuse by a girl's custodial parents contributes to the severity of her antisocial behavior. When the alpha level was relaxed to .10 and .15, no other variables met the significance level for entry into the model. The findings from an examination of the regression coefficients indicate that DOA increases by 2.26 scale points when the predictor, "parental substance abuse," increases by one unit. Such an increase indicates that parental substance abuse has the potential to exert a major influence in determining a girl's antisocial behavior severity.

Logistic regression analyses were undertaken to answer both Question 3 and Question 4. In logistic regression the dependent variable is the log of the odds ratio of being assigned to one of the dependent categories.

The third question asked whether girls identified by the court as having committed a specific crime (adjudicated delinquents) have more family stressors than girls under general court supervision for less severe offenses (adjudicated dependents). A stepwise logistic regression analysis was used to identify those stressors that are most important in distinguishing severe from less severe offenders and to address the third hypothesis.

The procedure uses a maximum likelihood method of estimation. The groups to which the girls could be assigned were defined as Dependent Adjudicated, Delinquent Adjudicated, Both Dependent and Delinquent Adjudicated, and No Adjudicated Status. Because the group--"Both Dependent and Delinquent"--was so small (N=8), the group was eliminated from the analysis to reduce anomalous skew.

In the analysis for Question III, the variable "family income level" was selected as the first entry into the model at a .05 significance level. The model Chi-Square was 11.402 with 2 degrees of freedom, $p < .01$, indicating this model did a good job of discriminating for selection of placement in the groups. The goodness-of-fit Chi-Square of 5.1032 with 9 degrees of freedom was not significant, supporting the fit of the model to the data. "Family custody status" was entered as the second and last family stressor to the model. The model Chi-Square of 11.402 with 2 degrees of freedom, $p < .01$, once again indicated appropriate discrimination for placement in the groups. The Chi-Square goodness-of-fit test of 5.1032, 9 degrees of freedom--with "family custody status" included--indicates the model fits the data well. Hypothesis 3 is supported to the extent that family income level and the custody arrangement for EWES girls can be used to distinguish delinquent adjudicated girls from dependent adjudicated girls. The hypothesis that families of delinquent girls

will exhibit more family stressors than those of girls under court supervision for less severe offenses (adjudicated dependents) was supported.

The fourth question concerned the relative importance of the family stressors in predicting types of antisocial, aggressive behavior. That is, do certain family stressors contribute to the types of girls' antisocial, aggressive behavior?

A second stepwise logistic regression analysis was used to address the question and the fourth hypothesis. The subjects were assigned to one of three groups: the Victimless Offense Group, the Harm to Others or Property Group, and the Harm to Self Group. The group categories were set by using the severity levels of the Degree of Aggression score, established in the earlier multiple regression.

In the analysis for Question IV, the variable concerning parental substance abuse was selected as the first entry into the model at the .05 alpha level. The Chi-Square was 4.598 with 1 degree of freedom, $p < .01$, indicating this model did a good job of discriminating for selection of placement in the groups. The goodness-of-fit Chi-Square of 12.6387 with 10 degrees of freedom was not significant. Results support a good fit of the model to the data.

The variable concerning parental marital status was entered in the second step. The model Chi-Square was 8.947 with 2 degree of freedom, $p < .01$, indicating this model did a good job of discriminating for selection of placement in the groups. The Chi-Square of 13.4459 with 9 degrees of freedom for the goodness-of-fit test for the model, with the variable marital status included, indicates the model fits the data well. Parental substance abuse and marital status were the only independent variables entered into the model, inferring a significant contribution of parental substance abuse and marital status to predicting the probability of girls being assigned to one of the types of antisocial behavior groups. Hypothesis 4, stating that certain family stressors experienced by a girl will distinguish between types of antisocial, aggressive behavior, was supported.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to examine the fifth research question, "Do girls who have been both sexually abused and physically abused exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either sexually abused or physically abused?," and to test the fifth hypothesis: Girls who have been both sexually abused and physically abused will exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either sexually abused or physically abused.

No statistically significant results were obtained at the .05 alpha level [$F(2, 72) = .01$, $p > .15$], indicating that

no one grouping of abused girls was any more inclined toward antisocial behavior than another. Findings do not support the hypothesis that subjects both physically and sexually abused were more prone to antisocial behavior than those who were physically abused only or sexually abused only. Hypothesis 5 was not sustained.

A second analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine the sixth research question," Do girls who have been sexually abused exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either neglected or physically abused?," and to address the hypothesis: Girls who have been sexually abused will exhibit more antisocial behavior than girls who have been either neglected or physically abused.

No statistically significant results were obtained at the .05 alpha level [$F(2, 78) = .01$, $p > .15$], an indication that the degree of antisocial behavior exhibited by sexually abused girls, in all probability, was no more severe than that exhibited by either neglected girls or physically abused girls. Therefore, no support was found for Hypothesis 6.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was designed as an exploratory, descriptive investigation to: (1) profile characteristics of girls who have been identified as emotionally disturbed, who have been engaged in antisocial conduct, and who have agreed to participate in the Eckerd Family Youth Alternatives, Inc. Wilderness Camping Program (EWES), (2) offer a descriptive analysis of the family variables relating to girls' emotional development, (3) perform analyses that determine the relationship of family stressors identified through a literature review as to types and severity of antisocial behavior exhibited by the girls, and (4) determine family variables that distinguish the more antisocial girls from the less antisocial girls.

The literature supports a relationship between events and circumstances that stress families and the resulting antisocial behavior in children. While there is much evidence supportive of the deleterious effects of family stress on boys, there is a lack of and a need for research material concerning the effects of family stress on the development of antisocial behavior in girls. The present research investigated the effects of race, living status of

the camper, custody, parental marital status, history of physical abuse of the camper, history of sexual abuse of the camper, history of neglect of the camper, type of home community, family income, parent education level, and parental substance abuse as family stressors and the contributions made by these factors to the antisocial behavior of girls.

The data on girls served by the EWES offered an occasion to investigate family stressors in relationship to the types and severity of behaviorally/emotionally disturbed girls' antisocial behavior. Data in this study presented an opportunity to develop an at-risk profile of girls in stressed families and to provide counseling professionals with implications for treatment for such girls and their families. Essentially, therefore, the purpose of this investigation was an attempt to relate current antisocial behavior on the part of the subjects of this study to specific characteristics (i.e., family stressors) of dysfunctional families.

The reader should keep in mind that the results of the current study must be considered in light of effects observed between and among various family stressors within a very select group of girls having problems of all types--specifically, girls identified as emotionally disturbed, or engaged in a high incidence of antisocial behavior. If the comparisons of the marker variables (family stressors) under

consideration in this study were undertaken comparing the EWES girls, as a group, to a group of girls drawn from the general population of teenage girls, some of the comparisons might yield astonishing results. Such study, however, is beyond the scope of the investigation at hand.

The research examined whether multiple family stressors are significantly related to the severity and types of antisocial conduct exhibited by girls. The foundation hypothesis for the study was that the more stressed the families were, the more antisocial behavior would be exhibited by girls in the family. A need for such information is substantiated by reports and studies arising in the wake of increased antisocial behavior and violence by today's youth.

Discussion

Introduction

Any child has the right to be raised in a safe environment simply because he or she is born. Parents in families stressed by environmental factors, socioeconomic status, substance abuse, marital discord and/or their own childhood victimization, often fail to provide love and nurturance that is tender and caring. Children in such families grow up feeling afraid, ashamed and guilty--often with no understanding of such feelings, yet confused because the adults who feed, clothe and give them attention also are the ones who administer ill-treatment. Young children see

their parents in light of godlike glory; their belief is that a parent is omnipotent. When children experience constant conflict or abuse, a sense of powerlessness results. The child's self-concept is battered; the right to be a human of worth and dignity is compromised. The loss of control over one's physical safety at the hands of a parent can irrevocably change a person's relationship with the world (Horowitz, 1976).

Because some adults think anything can be done to children because they are not fully aware of what is happening, children suffer the frustrations and anger of stressed parents. A child, however, is capable of feeling the same emotions as an adult. The difference lies in the child's incapacity to interpret and express the feelings or the fears that accompany the parents' inconsistent behavior. The parents' disturbed behavior, over time, becomes more likely to produce emotional disturbance than any one single event. It is the stress originating in close human relationships that produces the most crippling harm (Horowitz, 1976).

Physical abuse and parental neglect are major problems in stressed families. However, sexual abuse of children is particularly difficult to rationalize and comprehend, for it is so uniquely an act of the human species. Of all the creatures on earth, only humans rape their young. In other species, sexual attraction, behavior and mating is

controlled by hormonal cycles and scents. Human sexual abuse becomes just another act of violence perpetrated by the powerful against the weak and trusting.

As the child grows and matures, parental inconsistency and unpredictability breeds insecurity and resentment in the child. Acting out, antisocial behavior becomes a child's way to handle the unconscious fears, terrors, shame and self-doubt that have their beginnings in the stressed, chaotic households of childhood. For some girls in their early and midteens, victimized by early life experiences, antisocial behavior becomes a way to fight back and avenge themselves.

Results from the Data Analyses

Six questions were central to this study in an attempt to describe the role family stressors play in the antisocial behavior of Eckerd Wilderness Educational System (EWES) girls. Results of the data analyses will be discussed in terms of findings and implications for counseling interventions.

Question 1 was concerned with the description of the EWES girls and their families. Through the description of a modal person and a modal family, it was found that the typical girl was white, between 14 and 15 years of age, a Protestant, used alcohol more than other drugs, received special education services in a self-contained Emotionally Handicapped classroom, had repeated first grade, had been

truant from school often, had low average academic ability, was in junior high, and was adjudicated if she had gone to court for antisocial behaviors. In contrast to the literature's emphasis on the stressing effects of minority status, the majority of EWES girls are white The small number of minority girls in this sample could be representative of the attitudes minority families hold toward camp placement or the fact the girls must volunteer for the program. Further study could clarify the possibility that minority girls are less aware of the EWES treatment option or that the juvenile justice system places more minority girls in other facilities. There is evidence that, once referred to the juvenile justice system, females receive more severe dispositions than males (Sarri, 1983; Figueira-McDonough, 1985).

Truancy, low-average ability, retention and designation as Emotionally Handicapped combine to increase academic problems. An at-risk profile such as the one developed in this study should alert both community mental health providers and school counselors to the need for a supportive school environment and academic programming. Family counseling offered in conjunction with school programs for emotionally handicapped children could be both preventative and crisis oriented.

When EWES girls appear before a judge for antisocial behavior, they are quite often adjudicated (almost 70% in

this study sample). The implication is for counseling interventions offered to girls at an early age and for family counseling to come as a directive from the legal system. The typical EWES girl, almost fifteen years of age, surely has given indications of problems before referral to camp.

The modal family profile of EWES girls closely fits the synopsis one would expect, based on a review of the current literature, of a troubled family. The girl's natural mother has custody of her daughter; yet, a wide discrepancy exists between those girls whose mothers have custody and who actually live with their mothers, a signal that their relationship may be strained and less than satisfactory.

The modal family is headed by a married couple; however, in over half the sample cases (54.9%), the head of household was either divorced, single or widowed--a salient factor found in the literature concerning emotionally disturbed children. The data did not distinguish between married couples who had had only one spouse and those who were remarried.

That the modal head of household had earned a high school diploma was not to be expected given the emphasis in the literature concerning poor education serving as a family stressor relating youth to antisocial behavior. With 63% of the EWES girls' parents having a high school or better education, an explanation may be that increased parental

education influences girls to become involved in treatment programs like that of wilderness camp. Another explanation could be that the majority (84.6%) of the families were white and whites are, statistically, better-educated than most other race groups. These findings urge further investigation. Even with an adequate educational background, though, the modal family's income ($24,999 or less per year) would present financial problems, especially for a large family.

Contrary to the expectations established by the literature review, the modal EWES family resides in the suburbs of a city. The volunteer nature of the EWES program may have also affected this finding. Typically suburban youth are familiar with camping and camps through Scouts, churches and summer YMCA programs, advantages not as readily available to more urban or rural youth.

Possibly the most disturbing factors in the modal EWES family are the prevalence of parental substance abuse and sexual abuse of girls. Both conditions indicate a definite need for family counseling interventions that break such family patterns, alleviate family stresses leading to such behavior, and help insure a safe and protective home for girls.

The intent behind Question 2 was the examination of family stressors as predictors of the severity of a girl's antisocial behavior. A forward selection multiple

regression procedure was used to analyze the data. Significant statistical findings indicate an EWES girl's degree of antisocial behavior is influenced by her parents' type of home community, parental marital status, a girl's living situation, and her custodial parent's education level. These results underscore main points found in the current literature, especially pertaining to boys' behavioral problems. Of note, however, is that this study dealt only with female subjects. These findings support Hetherington's (1972) contention that young girls may be just as traumatized by marital discord as young boys. Girls' misbehavior and conduct problems, however, do not become obvious until early to middle adolescence.

Because education provides an avenue for increased socioeconomic status, the findings regarding parental education level are also supportive of other current research targeting financially stressed family situations as contributing to the violence of youth (Children and Violence, 1991). In this study, 39.7% of the sample families made $24,999 or less per year, while 28.2% made $8,999 or less. When the two groups are combined, 67.9% of the families had to subsist on $24,999 or less, regardless of the number of members in a family. Of the total sample, 75% had no more than a high school education. Findings from a second multiple regression that included the total number of family stressors indicate parental substance abuse was

the most predictive of the severity of girls' antisocial behavior.

It can be said that the family stressors, type of home community, parental marital status, an EWES girl's living situation, her custodial parent's education level, and custodial parent's substance abuse are predictive of the severity of her antisocial conduct. That the parental abuse categories, when analyzed separately, yielded no significant results may be due to the fact that they are all equally stressing to a family and show little, if any, variance in their means during statistical analysis.

In answering Question III, only two discriminating family stressors, parental custody status and family income proved to be significantly predictive of membership in the adjudicated delinquent group. This finding, however, does offer a means of identifying girls more at risk for antisocial behavior or more at risk for discrimination in the adjudication process. A reoccurring theme in this study suggests that the better a parent's SES, the greater the buffer against a girl's developing severe antisocial conduct.

Such a finding, combined with others in this study, implies that a possible avenue for helping girls engaged in antisocial behavior is through parent education--not only in terms of teaching actual parenting skills, but also through assisting parents in obtaining high school diplomas and

advanced technical or college training that leads to profitable employment. Increased parental education could serve to lower girls' antisocial behavior by raising parents' awareness of child growth and development issues, of prenatal health issues, of environmental and community factors that impact on a child's growth and development, and of the need for providing a caring, nurturing home for optimal child development. Such knowledge could circumvent much of the frustration, anger and helplessness that develops in children whose needs are ignored and/or misinterpreted.

The results of the analysis for Question 4 connect parental substance abuse and marital status in distinguishing between types of antisocial behavior in which girls engage. The associated implications for counseling interventions are for not only aiding children in coping with the dysfunctional nature of the addicted family, but also for decreasing parental substance abuse and reducing marital strife. There exists an unequivocal need to integrate individual and family therapy in the treatment of children and adolescents through an ecological model involving both the home and the school (Power & Bartholomew, 1987).

Question 5 explored to what extent girls who had been both sexually abused and physically abused differ in antisocial behavior from girls who had been either sexually

abused or physically abused. No statistical significance was found between the mean scores for the groups. The indication, therefore, is that a girl's degree of antisocial conduct does not necessarily increase when she has experienced multiple types of abuse.

Question 6 was structured much like Question 5, with the substitution of neglect for the combination of sexual abuse and physical abuse. Again, no statistically significant difference between the group means was discovered.

These two questions, though, are at the heart of this study. Simply because no difference was found between the group means only underscores what the literature illustrates and what is intuitively apparent to even the general public: Abuse of any type is damaging. Child abuse prevents the free growth of the child's emotional spirit.

Conclusions

The intent of this research was to answer the overall question, "What relationship exists between the stressors exhibited by families of emotionally disturbed girls and the intensity and types of antisocial behavior exhibited by these girls?" The results of the current investigation demonstrated a relationship among and between certain marker variables, those family stressors available from the EWES data files, and EWES girls' antisocial behavior. The study did not explain any mechanism through which certain girls

become antisocial in contrast to other girls, faced with essentially the same type and degree of family stress, do not. It can be speculated that certain variables outside the parameters of this research act as both mediating and moderating effects.

Data analyses suggest parental substance abuse, educational level, marital status, and a girl's type of home community serve as proxies in a complicated process leading to a girl's demonstrated level of antisocial behavior. For instance, parent education level in and of itself offers nothing to substantiate a link between antisocial behavior and education. The complex mix of (or lack of) values, determination, motivation and aspiration--to name a few--that compel individuals to engage in educational pursuits could be construed to operate as determinants in the development of, or the prevention of, antisocial behavior. Likewise, the same line of thinking can be applied to the variables parental substance abuse, marital status , custody status and home community.

Self-image and self-esteem certainly might serve as operatives in a parent's child-rearing practices or marital relationship. Perceptions of the self and an individual's response to these perceptions can be assumed to connect intimately with factors such as SES, alcohol and drug use, and confidence in relationship building and child rearing. The conjecture can be made that the more distorted the self-

image and the lower self-esteem falls, the more impaired interpersonal relationships become.

Community and cultural values and norms also form an interrelationship with other variables that either support or discourage antisocial behavior. Even those who may not agree with the established community values or norms face community pressure to either fit in or become an outsider. Such pressures, in turn, might influence educational aspirations, expectations for the marital relationship, child care and alcohol and drug use.

Even society's attempts to combat the problem of antisocial behavior through the justice system and mental health treatment efforts could become intervening variables between family stressors and a child's antisocial behavior. Such interventions can allow for an introduction to a network of similarly troubled, or unfortunately even more troubled, people. Problem behavior could be reinforced and strengthened in such cases.

The issue of extraneous variables interacting with and influencing the expression of the marker variables certainly raises more important questions--questions that urge further study. Although no definitive means for the development of a girl's antisocial behavior emerged from this study, certain salient points became evident.

Findings in this study are quite supportive of the current literature suggesting that family stressors increase

the likelihood of a girl developing antisocial behavioral and emotional problems. Parental marital strife, inadequate education and the associated lowering of income, substance abuse and the crowded living conditions found in urban communities put girls at risk for increased severe antisocial behavior and delinquent acts. The stressed families are also more likely to neglect and abuse their children, necessitating that state agencies intervene to remove girls from their homes.

This research offers many implications for counselors. As the numbers of youth involved in serious antisocial acts continue to grow, both individuals and society must become involved. The most expeditious route for assisting the youth of America is through helping families learn to cope with stress, build parenting skills, provide means to obtain education, and to break the bonds of poverty that often restrict even the most concerned families. Mental health, school and career counselors have a vital and integral role in offering girls and their families assistance in the 90s.

Recommendations

Based upon the results of this study, the following recommendations are made:

1. The most important recommendation to come from this study is for program development in local communities involving the family as a focus of intervention. Such programming could include both parent skills training and

family counseling that is associated with the state and federal requirements for services to behaviorally-emotionally handicapped students. Such treatment and educational interventions may lay a foundation for reducing the escalating violence society is currently experiencing.

2. Since the literature suggests that the emotional trauma experienced by girls more often blossoms in early to middle adolescence as opposed to the behavioral difficulties experienced by boys at earlier ages, more counseling efforts are specifically needed for girls during the later elementary and the early junior high school years.

3. Because antisocial behavior affects not only the individual but society as a whole and almost necessarily involves the legal system, it is recommended that counselors focus upon raising the awareness level of the police, the courts and the lawmakers to the needs of emotionally handicapped girls, given that the literature shows a sex bias in the differential handling of boys' and girls' antisocial behavior.

4. Because the rapid rise in youth violence and antisocial behavior has reached phenomenal levels, it is recommended that serious attention be given to providing some level of parental involvement in a child's therapy program, especially when the courts must intervene. Ethically, coercive therapy should never be a consideration. Yet, court counselors, school counselors and family social

workers are often very much a necessary part of a dysfunctional family's "system" and could serve under the court's mandate to offer every available opportunity to include a child's family in counseling efforts.

5. Serious consideration needs to be given to offering a course in family dynamics and the causes of family stress as a requirement for high school graduation. Students could be taught the nature of family interaction and the effects of stress on family systems. A vital component of such a course would be stress management training.

6. Since childhood physical and sexual abuse and neglect are closely related to the development of antisocial behavior, parents charged with such offenses need counseling that involves stress-reduction training, as well as supportive child management training (Craft, 1981).

7. A component of counseling offered by local mental health centers could focus on in-home services to eligible students as a means of overcoming family resistance.

8. There exists a need, also, for the expansion and execution of family counseling programs offered in combination with school counseling offered to students. "Effective school-based approaches for children and youth with emotional or behavioral disorders are presently available, but a lack of commitment to youngsters and their families and the scarcity of resources have stymied their implementation" (Zabel, 1991, p. 301). There exists a

definite need for school counselors to receive more training in family systems counseling (Knox, 1981). Too, there is a growing awareness of the need for strategic family therapy in the school setting (Stone & Peeks, 1986).

Suggestions for Further Research

The results of this study raise issues for future research. Based upon the emphasis in the literature concerning Emotionally Handicapped boys, a need exists for a similar study comparing EWES boys with EWES girls. A study involving measures of family stressors that present data in scaled form may be useful in more precisely predicting an association between particular family stressors and certain kinds of girls' antisocial behavior.

Given that a larger number of girls in this study had been sexually abused in contrast to physically abused and neglected, consideration should be given to more closely examining the effect sexual abuse has in promoting a girl's antisocial behavior. More study is also needed concerning the buffering effects education has for families of EWES girls. And finally, a study which separates the highly antisocial girls and contrasts them with girls in the same data set who showed a lesser degree of antisocial behavior would help distinguish those characteristics that contribute to appropriate behavior in the face of family stress.

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APPENDIX A

Juvenile Disposition Order

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

_____ County

File No.

In The General Court of Justice
District Court Division

In the Matter of

Name of Juvenile

Date of Birth | Age

Address

City, State, Zip

Date of Hearing

JUVENILE
DISPOSITION ORDER

G.S. 7A-651

This case came on for disposition, the above named juvenile having been found within the juvenile jurisdiction of the Court as

☐ Delinquent ☐ Undisciplined ☐ Abused ☐ Neglected ☐ Dependent.

The following persons were present for the hearing:

Name of Attorney at Law Who Represented the Juvenile ☐ Waived

After considering the factual evidence, the needs of the juvenile, and the available resources, the court finds from the facts shown below that the following disposition would best provide for the protection, treatment, rehabilitation, or supervision of the juvenile.

Findings of Fact ..

AOC-J-501
Rev. ' 82

—OVER—

The Court concludes as a Matter of Law:

It is therefore ORDERED that

Date Order Entered	Date Signed
	Signature of Presiding Judge

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

_____ County

File No

In The General Court of Justice
District Court Division

In the Matter of

Name of Juvenile

Date of Birth | Age

Address

City, State, Zip

Date of Hearing

JUVENILE ADJUDICATION ORDER

G.S. 7A-637

This case was heard at a session for juvenile hearings on a Petition alleging the above named juvenile or juveniles to be as follows:

Allegation

The following persons were present at the hearing:

In the adjudication part of the hearing, the Court finds as indicated below:

☐ 1. That the juvenile or juveniles were represented by an attorney at law:

Name of Attorney(s)

OR:

☐ 2. That the proceeding did not involve alleged delinquency and the parties were advised of their right to counsel and waived their right to such counsel.

3. That the parties received adequate notice of the facts alleged in the petition so that they knew the nature of the proceeding and had an opportunity to prepare for the hearing; and
4. That the parties had their right to confront and cross-examine witnesses explained to them; and
5. That the parties were informed of their privilege against self-incrimination.

Based on the evidence presented, the Court finds that the following facts have been proved

☐ beyond a reasonable doubt (for delinquent matters), or
☐ by clear and convincing evidence:

AOC-J-500
Rev 5/87

-OVER-

CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

As a matter of law, the Court concludes said juvenile(s) ☐ to be ☐ not to be within its juvenile jurisdiction as

☐ Delinquent ☐ Undisciplined ☐ Abused ☐ Neglected ☐ Dependent.

It is therefore ORDERED that

(That the Court proceed to the disposition part of the hearing, or that the case be continued for disposition after evaluation, or that the petition be dismissed because the conditions alleged do not exist or because the juvenile is not in need of the care, protection or supervision of the State, etc.)

APPENDIX B

Wilderness Camp Application

Unique Identifier Code
(DYS CENTRAL OFFICE USE ONLY)

NC DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES
DIVISION OF YOUTH SERVICES
THERAPEUTIC CAMPING SYSTEM

REFERRAL FORM

Department of Human Resources'
(COMMITTEE USE ONLY)

1. FAMILY

Name of applicant _____ (Last / First / Middle) MO DA YR (Date of Birth)

Parent(s) or legal guardian participating in treatment, including home visits and camp family conferences

Name _____ ( ) _____ (Last / First / Middle / Phone)

Address _____ Zip Code _____

2. REFERRING AGENCY

Name _____ ( ) _____ Phone

Address _____ Zip Code _____

Service worker from above agency participating in treatment, including initial home visit and quarterly family conferences at camp

Name _____ (Last / First) _____ (Position) ( ) _____ Phone

3. MEDICAL

Name of attending physician _____ ( ) _____ Phone

Applicant currently on medication? Yes ____ No ____

If yes, what? _____ Dosage _____ How Long? _____

If on medication, will be taken off medication at least 30 days before entering camp?

Yes ____ No ____ (If NO, explain on back of page)

4. CONSENT

I, THE PARENT OR LEGAL GUARDIAN OF THE AFOREMENTIONED CHILD, AUTHORIZE THIS REFERRAL TO THE THERAPEUTIC CAMPING SYSTEM AND GIVE PERMISSION FOR THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN TO BE DISCLOSED TO AND USED BY APPROPRIATE PERSONS WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT'S THERAPEUTIC CAMPING SYSTEM. I UNDERSTAND THAT A REFERRAL TO THE THERAPEUTIC CAMPING SYSTEM MAY RESULT IN MY CHILD'S BEING CONSIDERED FOR SPECIAL NEEDS PLACEMENT.

_____ _____

Original signature of parent or legal guardian
(If in custody of the Department of Social Services, Director must sign)

Date Signed

cc: Original and copy to S & R Committee

DYS 9511 (Rev.:7/87)

5. APPLICANT DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Age [yrs | mos] Sex [ ] County of Residence [ ]

Race [ ] Height [ft | ins] Weight [lbs]

Living Situation at Entry [ ]

01 = Parents
02 = Father Only
03 = Mother Only
04 = Father/Stepmother
05 = Mother/Stepfather
06 = Stepfather Only
07 = Stepmother Only
08 = Other Relatives
09 = Neighbor/Friend
10 = Foster Home
11 = Temp. Shelter
12 = Group Home
13 = Hospital
14 = Training School
15 = Other resid. treatment

MISC-R Test Data

Verbal [ ]
Performance [ ]
Full Scale [ ]
Test Date [mo | da | yr]

Last School Grade Completed [ ] Year [ ]

Offense History

Code reason(s) for court contact and disposition(s) below; if there have been no court contacts, code "Unknown" in first contact and disposition boxes.

Reason #1 [ ]	Disposition #1 [ ]
Reason #2 [ ]	Disposition #2 [ ]
Reason #3 [ ]	Disposition #3 [ ]
Reason #4 [ ]	Disposition #4 [ ]
Reason #5 [ ]	Disposition #5 [ ]
Reason #6 [ ]	Disposition #6 [ ]
Reason #7 [ ]	Disposition #7 [ ]

Reason For Contact

01 = Delinquency, property crime
02 = Delinquency, person crime
03 = Delinquency, victimless crime
04 = Runaway
05 = Truancy
06 = Ungovernable
07 = Neglected
08 = Dependent
09 = Abuse
10 = Other
11 = Unknown

Dispositions

01 = Case Dismissed
02 = Court Supervision (not Probation)
03 = Fine/Restitution/Community Service
04 = Referred for Treatment (ex. Day Program, CBA Program, Eckerd Camp)
05 = Intermittent Detention
06 = Probation
07 = Training School
08 = Other
09 = Unknown

Legal Status at Time of Referral [ ]

1 = No current court involvement
2 = Probation
3 = On conditional release
4 = Custody of DSS
5 = Custody and Probation
6 = Custody and conditional release

COMMENTS _____

6. APPLICANT BEHAVIOR CHARACTERISTICS

YES	NO		YES	NO	
☐	☐	Anxiety feelings	☐	☐	Drug-abuse
☐	☐	Excessive dependence on parent	☐	☐	Enuresis/Encopresis
☐	☐	Ambivalent attitude toward parents	☐	☐	Unwilling to accept externally imposed discipline
☐	☐	Inadequate emotional control mechanisms			
☐	☐	Lack of positive self image	☐	☐	Runs away
☐	☐	Phobias	☐	☐	Temper tantrums
☐	☐	Negative peer relationships	☐	☐	Unacceptable agressive behavior
☐	☐	Suicide threats			
☐	☐	Suicide attempts	☐	☐	Problems with siblings
☐	☐	Withdrawal, depression	☐	☐	Stealing
☐	☐	Sexual identification	☐	☐	Fire setting
☐	☐	Alcohol abuse	☐	☐	Staying out late
☐	☐	Destruction of property	☐	☐	Hyperactivity

COMMENTS _____

_____

_____

7. APPLICANT MEDICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Allergies _____

Disabilities _____

Medication _____

Asthma YES ☐ NO ☐

Does applicant have chronic health/physical/emotional problems which would affect his/her or others safety in camp or on out-of-camp trips? YES ☐ NO ☐

If yes, what? _____

_____

Is there any medical/physical limitation which would preclude child from participating in a highly physical and active program? YES ☐ NO ☐

If yes, what? _____

_____

_____

COMMENTS _____

_____

_____

_____

8. APPLICANT EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Number of grades repeated		
Number of days reported truant in last year		
Number of days suspended in last year		
Number of times expelled in last year		

Participation in Special Education Programs:

Learning Disabled	YES		NO	
Behaviorally/Emotionally/Handicapped	YES		NO	
EMH program	YES		NO	

In School Behavior:

Vulgarity	YES		NO	
Disrespect	YES		NO	
Lying	YES		NO	
Undisciplined	YES		NO	
Disobeying rules	YES		NO	
Violence towards teachers	YES		NO	
Violence towards classmates	YES		NO	
Theft	YES		NO	
Destruction of property	YES		NO	
Lack of motivation	YES		NO	
Suffers ridicule from others	YES		NO	

Other and/or comments: _____

_____

_____

_____

9. FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS (with whom living now)

YES	NO	
☐	☐	Marital problems
☐	☐	Excessive discipline
☐	☐	Inadequate parenting skills
☐	☐	Lack of supervision
☐	☐	Parent overprotectiveness
☐	☐	Sexual abuse
☐	☐	Family violence
☐	☐	Suicide threat by parent
☐	☐	Suicide attempt by parent
☐	☐	Reported child neglect
☐	☐	Reported child abuse
☐	☐	Alcohol abuse
☐	☐	Drug abuse
☐	☐	Illegal activity of parent
☐	☐	Parent in prison
☐	☐	Poor parent/child relationship(s)

Family Income ☐

1 = under 5,000
2 = 5,000 - 10,000
3 = 10,000 - 15,000
4 = 15,000 - 20,000
5 = over 20,000

Has program been discussed with child?
Yes ☐ No ☐
If yes, by whom? _____

Social Services

Yes	No	
☐	☐	Medicare
☐	☐	Medicaid
☐	☐	Food Stamps
☐	☐	AFDC
☐	☐	Other social services

Family's Educational History

Highest grade completed

Father ☐ Mother ☐
Stepfather ☐ Stepmother ☐

COMMENTS _____

Current Marital Status of Natural Parents

☐

1= Married
2= Separated
3= Widowed
4=Divorced
5=Never married
6=Father remarried
7=Mother remarried
8=Both parents remarried

APPENDIX C

Survey of Professional Form

PROFESSIONAL OPINION SURVEY OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR

From: Dwaine Phifer
112 Johnstone Road
Cleveland, NC 27013

I am in the process of doing the statistical analysis portion of my dissertation, "Family Stress, Antisocial Behavior and the Behaviorally/Emotionally Disturbed Girl." I need your professional opinion and input to validate my work. The information I am requesting should take no more than five minutes to complete. I have enclosed a SASE for your convenience in returning the form to me by January 13, 1992. Your name is not needed. However, I do need a response to each of the blanks. Please use a pencil in case you wish to make changes in the rank ordering.

Thank you.

_____ _____ _____
Occupation Sex Age

Ethnic group: (CHECK ONE)___White,___Black,___Hispanic,___Native American,___Oriental,___Other

Turn the sheet over to complete the survey (page 2).

Please rank order the following list of antisocial offenses in terms of the degree of severity. Number 1 (one) will equal the LEAST severe and number 28 the MOST severe.

_____Armed Robbery

_____Arson

_____Assault

_____Auto Theft

_____Breaking & Entering

_____Burglary

_____Criminal Mischief

_____Disturbing Peace

_____Drug Related Offense

_____Family-School Problems

_____Grand Larceny

_____Incorrigible Designation

_____Manslaughter

_____Murder

_____Possession of Burglary Tools

_____Possession of Weapons

_____Rape

_____Resisting Arrest

_____Retail Theft

_____Robbery

_____Runaway

_____Sexual Offense

_____Theft/Larceny

_____Trespassing

_____Truancy

_____Any Other Person Offense Not Listed

_____Any Other Property Offense Not Listed

_____Any Other Victimless Offense Not Listed