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A STUDY OF THE EFFICACY AND INTERACTIONS OF SEVERAL THEORIES FOR EXPLAINING REBELLIOUSNESS AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

RAYMOND A. EVE*

The purpose of this article is to compare the efficacy of three main categories of theoretical explanations which have been used in the past in an attempt to explain delinquent or deviant adolescent behavior. This comparison will be made in terms of the ability of the three theories to account for the variance in delinquent or deviant behaviors in a public secondary school population. The later portion of this article will have a second purpose—an assessment of the manner in which the three theories are interrelated, if indeed they are.

There has been a confusing proliferation of social-psychological theories attempting to explain the occurrence of all adolescent deviant or delinquent behavior (or some subset of these behaviors). Few attempts have been made to organize this mass of theorizing into a parsimonious framework. Perhaps the lack of integration follows from the failure to distinguish two clearly distinct and apparently unrelated categories of dependent variables examined in this article.

On the one hand, many authors—especially those who focus on college-age populations, but also to some degree those concerned with high-school populations—are apparently concerned about deviant behavior among the young, which can be labeled “revolutionary” in character. Following Merton’s¹ typology of goals and means, such behavior is characterized by the student’s rejection of both the goals and means which the existing secondary school prescribes for them. It should be noted, however, that Merton would label such behavior as “rebellious” rather than “revolutionary.” In this article, the term “rebellious” will be used in a different manner. The term “revolutionary” will be used here to refer to behaviors wherein students would like to see the school develop a new set of goal prescriptions and a more satisfactory set of prescribed means for the attainment of these goals. Such people often coalesce into a fairly large aggregate, characterized by a

relatively high degree of communication among members and often involving a more-or-less collectively held ideology.

On the other hand, much of what is labeled as deviant or delinquent behavior within the high school does not appear to have this “revolutionary” quality associated with it. Rather, this second class of behavior is usually characterized by acceptance of the legitimacy of the school system in terms of its right to exist as it is presently organized. Simultaneously, however, the individual student either rejects the legitimate goals of the school as desirable or attainable for himself or attempts to obtain legitimate goals by illegitimate means. It appears that behaviors of a revolutionary character are usually either referred to as such in the literature or are labeled “student dissent” while the behaviors in the second category are more often called “delinquent,” “mischievous,” or “rebellious.” Stinchcombe² has labeled some of the behaviors which belong in the second category as “expressive alienation” or “rebellion.” The term “rebellion,” as used here, will refer to this second general class of behaviors.

The second category of deviant behaviors, “rebellious,” will be the focus of this paper. It is assumed that the causes of the two types of deviant behavior are sufficiently independent of one another that it makes little sense to try to deal with them within a single study.

THREE THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS FOR REBELLIOUS BEHAVIOR IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

Having limited the scope of this study to high school rebellion, there are still a multitude of theories to explain the occurrence of even this delimited phenomenon. The problem the researcher faces in developing theory in this area is that of fitting many seemingly disparate studies into some type of framework, one which will do more than simply present them as a collection of seemingly unrelated bits of unrelated theory.

One fact helpful in constructing such a frame-

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¹ R. MERTON, *SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE* 125-49 (1949).

² A. STINCHCOMBE, *REBELLION IN HIGH SCHOOL* (1964).

work is that most explanations of delinquency within the high school social milieu are either explicit or subconscious adaptations of theories prominent in the area of delinquency research. Hirschi³ has achieved probably the most parsimonious and productive categorization of the tremendous number of different theoretical explanations for delinquent behavior and attitudes. His scheme can be used to handle the central problem of theory organization.

Hirschi suggests that three fundamental perspectives on delinquency, crime and deviant behavior dominate current thinking in these areas. The three types of theories discussed by Hirschi are strain or anomie theories, culture conflict theories and social control or bond theories.

Strain or Anomie Theories

Strain theory depicts individuals as universally socialized, within a given society, to desire certain common legitimate goals. Whenever the social, cultural, or personality systems, either singularly or in interaction, prevent the attainment of these goals by some members of the populace, these persons experience "frustration," "anomie," "alienation," or any of several other forms of internal social psychological motivations which are said to lead to attempts to use illegitimate means to obtain legitimate goals.

Cloward and Ohlin⁴ see the source of strain as blocked occupational opportunities, as does Stinchcombe.⁵

The most notable exception to the use of the occupational structure as a source of strain, which still fits within the strain theory perspective, is Cohen.⁶ His conception of the source of strain is that it can be located in the lack of regard a student is held in by his teachers and other middle-class adults. Cohen believes that through reaction-formation, this strain creates a counter-culture among boys experiencing the strain, and hence, delinquent behavior becomes malicious, destructive and negativistic in nature.

Culture Conflict Theories

The second category of theories are the "culture conflict" or "cultural deviance" theories. In culture

³ T. HIRSCHI, *CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY* (1969).

⁴ R. CLOWARD & L. OHLIN, *DELINQUENCY AND OPPORTUNITY* (1960).

⁵ A. STINCHCOMBE, *supra* note 2.

⁶ Cohen, *The Sociology of the Deviant Act*, 30 AM. SOC. REV. 5 (1965).

conflict theory, it is assumed that the delinquent or deviant belongs to some group or community, and that he conforms rigorously to its norms. However, these norms are in conflict with those of some larger or more powerful external group. Most frequently, these theories suggest that delinquent behavior is the result of adolescents conforming stringently to lower-class community norms. These norms are for the most part in conflict with the law, which is seen largely as an institutionalized instrument of middle-class self-interest.

Social Control or Bond Theories

Hirschi describes a third set of theories, to which, incidentally, his own work belongs. The social control or social bond theory can be divided into two sub-categories. One type of control theory focuses on social controls which are external to the person and are used to coerce the individual into conformity. Hirschi places little emphasis on this first category of social control and formulates his discussion of social control in terms of controls which are internal to the person. This article will follow Hirschi in that it will be concerned, primarily, with internal rather than external social controls.

Internal social control theory suggest that deviant and delinquent acts are committed by persons who are "free" to commit such acts because their social "ties" to the conventional order have been broken. While strain and culture conflict theories ask the question, "Why do people ever deviate?," control theory asks, "Why do people ever conform?" Man is seen, by control theorists, as having an active, aggressive, manipulating nature and if social psychological barricades to deviance are not well developed in the individual through the socialization process, he may rather inadvertently or indifferently commit infractions against the conventional social order.

An Early Examination of Causal Explanations

Hirschi⁷ presents a strong case for his contention that the use of social control theory (which emphasizes social-psychological controls internal to the individual) is more successful in accounting for variation in self-reported delinquency among over 1,500 male high school students from schools in the Bay Area of San Francisco than are anomie or culture conflict theories. Hirschi studied high school students, but he did not confine his analysis to the school settings either with respect to delin-

⁷ T. HIRSCHI, *supra* note 3.

quent acts or with respect to causal variables. As implied in the preceding discussion, Hirschi apparently sees the three types of theory as more or less mutually exclusive with respect to one another, rather than seeing them as cumulative in their explanatory power. Hirschi seemingly bases this assumption of orthogonality on his belief that the three types of theory are built on different assumptions about the nature of man and society.

Because human nature is complicated, Hirschi's assumption concerning the mutual exclusiveness of these three theories seems to require empirical testing. It was the central goal of the present study to test just this assumption. This article attempts to measure the independent variables which are central to each of the three categories of theory and to relate these to relevant dependent phenomena in an attempt to determine whether or not the three theories are indeed mutually exclusive. Subsequent analysis will show that the theories are *not* mutually exclusive. Based on this finding, an exploratory analysis of the interrelationships between the three types of theories is also undertaken.

THE STUDY

Methodology

The sample for this study consisted of 300 eleventh and twelfth graders in a county-operated public high school located on the edge of a southeastern city of about 100,000 people. The questionnaires were administered in the spring of 1971. Although the school is a county school and might therefore be expected to be characterized by low-income rural students, in fact the school's socio-geographic location is closer to that of a suburban school than to a typical southern rural high school. For example, the students' estimated family incomes had an annual mean of \$20,800 (mode = \$20,000, median = \$15,357), though there was much variation (appropriate standard deviation was \$25,814). Average parental education tended to be high, with 49% of the fathers and 42% of the mothers having at least some college education. The average age of the sample was seventeen. Males represented 44.7% of the sample and females constituted 55.2%. The racial distribution approximated the national average with 20.5% of the sample being black respondents and 79.2% being white. The high school studied was, therefore, quite heterogeneous and the analysis indicated that it was not particularly unusual as compared to the average public United States secondary school.

Sampling Methods

A pre-test of the questionnaire was conducted on a sample of seventy-five tenth graders drawn from the same school as the primary sample. On the basis of this pre-test, the questionnaire was revised where necessary and re-administered two weeks later to almost the total eleventh and twelfth grade populations. The questionnaire was administered by graduate students from the Sociology Department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The questionnaire was administered in many different classrooms simultaneously in an effort to minimize interrespondent communication. The questionnaires were administered with teachers absent from the rooms and with the graduate students presenting a standardized introduction. The students were assured strongly that the questionnaire would be anonymous. A total of 306 questionnaires were filled out by respondents, but six were omitted from the analysis, because it was clear that these questionnaires came from students who had not taken the questionnaire items seriously.

The Selection of Measures to Evaluate Variation in the Dependent Concepts

Since all three types of theories purport to explain approximately the same phenomena—high school rebellion—the task of comparing the efficacy of theories must begin by identifying measures that can reasonably be considered indices of these phenomena. Seven variables indicative of student rebellion were chosen from among ten questionnaire measures. The variables were selected on the basis of an extensive review of the literature in all three theoretical areas. The dependent variables employed are: (1) "absolute" amount of drug use; (2) cheating on exams; (3) unexcused absences; (4) skipping school alone; (5) skipping school in a group; (6) fights in school; and (7) being sent out of class for misbehavior.

Analysis of the Dependent Variables and Creation of the Dependent Scales

The degree of covariance among the ten measures of the dependent variables and the degree to which these measures tended to cluster along more than one underlying dimension was explored by performing a factor analysis on the ten dependent measures.

All of the dependent measures were factor-analyzed. An initial principal-components run was performed on these items, and based on the appli-

cation of the discontinuity test to the Eigenvalues obtained, a two-factor solution emerged. The first dimension might properly be termed a "traditional deviance" factor, while the second factor appeared to be related to a more recent form of high school deviance—drug use.

The next research task was to create two dependent scales, because of the possibility that the independent variables of interest might have different causal influences with respect to traditional deviance, as opposed to drug use. Upon inspection, the associations between the drug use items were fairly strong ($r = +.54$ to $+.28$).

Since the items concerning drug use involved the use of amphetamines, barbiturates, marijuana, LSD and narcotics, it seemed reasonable to suppose that these items might have Guttman scale properties. However, a percent improvement of only 0.1275 and a coefficient of scalability of 0.8182 made it necessary to reject this idea. Hence, the decision was made to simply add these items together.

A traditional deviance scale was created by using the non-drug use items with their precise weightings and then by dividing this number by the item's standard deviations. This procedure produced a six-item scale of traditional deviance.⁸

The Semantic Interpretation of the Analysis of the Dependent Measures

Semantically, the analysis indicated that an "institutional" or "traditional" deviance factor existed in the data and that this factor was primarily unrelated to the drug use scale as indicated by the factor loadings. The term "traditional" is used to describe the first factor, since the items associated with this factor tend to be ones which for a great many years have been associated with high school rebelliousness.

Drug use, on the other hand, is a more recent problem on the high school scene. Interestingly, the factor analysis of the dependent variables indicates that drug use represents a distinct underlying source of rebelliousness and is little related to traditional deviance. Thus, if one uses drugs, there is a fairly low probability that the individual also engages in traditional high school deviance,

⁸ This scale has the following scaling coefficients: reliability (alpha) equalled .72; internal consistency (rho) equalled .9; and invalidity (ψ^2) equalled .0009. For a fuller explanation of rho and psi-squared, see Heise & Bohrnstedt, *Validity, Invalidity, and Reliability in Sociological Methodology* 104-29 (E. Borgatta & G. Bohrnstedt eds. 1970).

the converse also being true. Perhaps this finding should not be particularly startling as it fits rather well in the typology of delinquent behaviors suggested by Cloward and Ohlin.⁹

Selecting Independent Measures and Creating Independent Variable Scales

The next task was to create a set of scales which could be used to measure the three independent concepts. Since one goal of the study was a rudimentary assessment of the relative efficacy of each of the three causal theories, it was important that the three scales be based on a representative conceptualization of the three theories. An extensive literature review was carried out to identify those variables and measures employed in the most influential studies. Thus, the scales developed here should give some indication of the robustness of each of the theories in accounting for the types of dependent variables in which we are interested.¹⁰

Strain theory measures were largely derived from the work of Arthur Stinchcombe,¹¹ Cloward and Ohlin¹² and James Coleman.¹³ Some of the strain measures employed were inter-generational and intra-generational economic strain, inter-generational and intra-generational educational strain, strain related to expected marital status, strain associated with grades, and strain associated with an external locus of control.¹⁴

⁹ R. CLOWARD & L. OHLIN, *supra* note 4.

¹⁰ Since one intention of this article is to attempt a general assessment of efficacy of three different theories for explaining deviance on one or more dimensions, interest is centered on obtaining as accurate a set of measurements of explained variance as possible rather than on the development of scales which are short and easy to use as is often the case where psychometric testing ease is the goal. Due to this fact, it seems desirable to create scales based on all possibly appropriate items we have available: it is also desirable that these general scales be weighted not with unit-weights, but with precise weights.

¹¹ A. STINCHCOMBE, *supra* note 2.

¹² R. CLOWARD & L. OHLIN, *supra* note 4.

¹³ J. COLEMAN, *EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY* (1966).

¹⁴ Some of the strain measures were developed using scale items such as: "How many years of education would you *like* to have completed when you are 25"? and "How many years of education do you *expect* to have obtained when you are 35"? The difference between the two answers given by a respondent appears to represent the type of strain that Cloward and Ohlin suggest adolescents should perceive according to blocked opportunity theory.

Also, heavy reliance was placed on "locus of control" items developed by Coleman such as "Every time I try to get ahead, something or someone stops me." See J. COLEMAN, *supra* note 13, at 23.

Under social control theory, most of the social control measures are derived from the work of Travis Hirschi.¹⁵ The measures used represent Hirschi's four dimensions of social control: attachment to conventional others, commitment to conventional goals, holding conventional beliefs and involvement in conventional activities.¹⁶

Theories of culture conflict in the area of criminal or delinquent behavior have in the U.S. been heavily influenced by Sutherland's and Cressey's theory of differential association.¹⁷ This is a highly class-linked conception. In this study, however, emphasis was placed on a somewhat different aspect of culture conflict theory. Culture conflict theory usually implies value conflicts between the lower and middle classes. In this research attention was focused on value disparities between adults and what is popularly referred to as the "youth culture."

An attempt was made to isolate deviant values which were actually subcultural by having the respondents make a forced choice between a conventional, middle-class value and a hypothesized subcultural value. The items used to assess culture conflict consisted of six "situational dilemma" questions which attempted to measure adherence to possible youth subculture norms, as suggested by Parsons,¹⁸ Eisenstadt,¹⁹ Bronfenbrenner,²⁰ Coleman²¹ and England.²²

¹⁵ T. HIRSCHI, *supra* note 3.

¹⁶ Many of the questions used to attempt to measure social control have been used previously by Hirschi. For example, a respondent would be asked: "Does your mother (father) know whom you are with when you are away from home?" or "It is alright to get around the law if you can get away with it?" Responses were placed on five-point Likert-style scales. Also, questions were asked such as, "How close do you feel to your mother?," etc. Almost none of the questions was of the open-ended type.

¹⁷ E. SUTHERLAND & D. CRESSEY, *CRIMINOLOGY* (1970).

¹⁸ T. PARSONS & E. SHILS, *TOWARD A GENERAL THEORY OF ACTION* (1951).

¹⁹ S. N. EISENSTADT, *FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION* (1956).

²⁰ See U. BROFENBRENNER, *TWO WORLDS OF CHILDHOOD* (1970); Bronfenbrenner, *Standards of Social Behavior Among School Children in Four Cultures*, 3 *INT'L J. PSYCH.* 31 (1968); Bronfenbrenner, *Response to Pressure From Peers Among Soviet and American School Children*, 2 *INT'L J. PSYCH.* 199 (1967); U. Bronfenbrenner, *Adults and Peers as Sources of Conformity and Autonomy* (unpublished paper presented at the Conference on Social Science Research Council, Puerto Rico, 1965).

²¹ J. COLEMAN, *THE ADOLESCENT SOCIETY* (1961).

²² England, *A Theory of Middle Class Juvenile Delinquency*, 50 *J. CRIM. L.C. & P.S.* 535 (1960).

Among the dimensions tested for culture conflict in this study were values such as cheating on academic work, mischief directed against the orderly functioning of the school, emphasis on physical conflict, emphasis on athletic performance, emphasis on partying and emphasis on automobiles.

It is hoped that the construction of the measures from the items indicated has approximated the explanatory power of the three theoretical perspectives insofar as the current state of the art in these areas of theory will permit.

Analysis of the Independent Variables and the Creation of Associated Scales

The next step in the research was to use non-parametric and parametric statistics to eliminate those measures of the independent items which showed no association with any of the dependent scales. If an independent item was not related to the dependent scales, the item was dropped from the analysis based on the view that it might introduce invalid variance into future comparative and descriptive statistics.

Of the various strain variables employed in this study, only three were found to be significantly related to either of the dependent scales at the 0.05 significance level. Analysis of these three items indicates that their effect is not additive, nor are they very powerful. Collectively, they are very weakly related to our dependent phenomena. These findings lend support to Hirschi's criticism of strain theory, as formulated by Cloward and Ohlin, that it overly relies on the salience of the distant future with respect to the adolescent's behavior in the present.

Social Control Variables' Relationship to the Dependent Variables

A large number of the social control variables were found to be significantly related to the dependent variables. Unfortunately, space does not permit a detailed description of this process. The sixteen social control measures were subjected to a principle components factor analysis in which it was discerned that they clearly yielded a one-factor solution. Seven of the social control measures were combined to create a social control scale.²³

²³ The reliability of this scale as measured by coefficient alpha was equal to .71; its internal consistency equalled .90; and its invalidity was found to be equal to .04.

Culture Conflict Variables' Relationships to the Dependent Scales

In examining the independent measures which were constructed to measure culture conflict it was found that six of these measures were significantly related to the dependent scales. These six items included mischief directed against the orderly functioning of the school, cheating, partying, finking on a friend, the emphasis placed on athletics and the emphasis on automobiles.

Again, as in the case of strain theory, the zero-order correlations are not high, but they are statistically significant. As was the case with the social control measures, these six measures were subject to a factor analysis which clearly indicated a one-factor solution.²⁴

Multicolinearity

The possibility arises that accurate assessment of the individual effects of each of the three theoretical explanations might be impossible because of an excessively high level of multicollinearity among the independent variables. Multicollinearity could occur if the three independent scales were highly intercorrelated, and though in extreme cases it may be possible to distinguish between concepts based on theoretical grounds, empirically the concepts may have been so interwoven that they could not have been considered sufficiently independent of one another to perform operations such as multiple-regression or path analysis. In operational terms, this would mean that if a correlation matrix involving the three scales was computed and the intercorrelations were quite high, the research design would not allow answers to the questions central to this study. Fortunately, it was found that the correlation coefficients among the measures were in the .2 to .4 range. These magnitudes are not great enough to produce serious multicollinearity. Hence, the research could proceed with confidence in comparing the efficacy of the three theories being tested.

The next step was to regress the set or sets of dependent variables onto each set or sets of variables used as indicators of the three causal concepts. To the extent that the items employed in this study accurately reflect the theories being analyzed, the magnitude of the regression coefficients would allow an assessment of the relative efficacy of each theory with respect to high school deviance

in the school under study. The results of this regression analysis appear in Table I.

This analysis demonstrates that all three theoretical perspectives are able to account for at least some significant proportion of the variation in traditional high school deviance and in drug use. Thus, the orientation in this intellectual area in recent years, which sought to prove one of these theories correct while simultaneously demonstrating the other two to be clearly wrong, is overly simplistic. Examination of Table I yields a number of findings. First, if we look at the multiple regression coefficient for each of the three theories in their uncontrolled state, we notice that each of the three theories has some explanatory power. However, it appears that at least in this study, social control theory has substantially greater explanatory power than either of the other theories. Strain theory and culture conflict theory appear to be roughly equal in terms of their ability to explain variance. Looking at the social control variables when they are controlled for sex and race, we find that the control variables have little influence on the multiple regression coefficients associated with drug use. However, when we look at traditional deviance, there is a mild indication that the relationship between internal social control and traditional deviance may be somewhat more clearly articulated for blacks in this sample and an even stronger association is indicated for males. Finally, there is some indication that the relationship between social control and traditional deviance is stronger for upper socioeconomic respondents than for respondents from lower status groups.

In examining the relationship between the dependent variables and the strain variables, the relationships are not quite as clear. The relationship between strain variables and drug use, for example, appears more clearly articulated for males and blacks than for other members of the sample. If, however, attention is directed to the relationship between the strain variables and traditional deviance, it appears that only for the black respondents is there manifested a clearer relationship than for the other respondents. It should be noted, though, that this stronger relationship for black respondents is quite small in magnitude.

Finally, if we turn our attention to the relationship between culture conflict variables and the dependent variables, the clearest effect is that of race on the initial relationship. It appears that the relationship between culture conflict and traditional deviance is more clearly articulated for white respondents than for black respondents. Very little

²⁴ The scale coefficients for the culture conflict scale were: reliability (alpha) equalled .79; internal consistency (rho) equalled .87; and invalidity equalled .0002.

TABLE I

		DRUG USE	TRADITIONAL DEVIANCE
SOCIAL CONTROL THEORY	UNCONTROLLED:	.210	.315
	CONTROLLING FOR:		
	SEX: MALES	.231	.446
	FEMALES	.239	.319
	RACE: BLACK	.196	.433
WHITE	.250	.327	
CLASS: LOWER	.247	.191	
UPPER	.217	.333	

STRAIN THEORY	UNCONTROLLED:	.083	.077
	CONTROLLING FOR:		
	SEX: MALES	.152	.090
	FEMALES	.062	.088
	RACE: BLACK	.174	.143
WHITE	.075	.073	
CLASS: LOWER	.119	.086	
UPPER	.070	.049	

CULTURE CONFLICT THEORY	UNCONTROLLED:	.088	.161
	CONTROLLING FOR:		
	SEX: MALES	.054	.112
	FEMALES	.105	.156
	RACE: BLACK	.099	.065
WHITE	.101	.201	
CLASS: LOWER	.143	.205	
UPPER	.122	.181	

difference between categories of the control variables can be seen in their effect on the drug use scale.

The recognition that each of the three theories has some explanatory power might well be followed by the question, "Are the effects of these three theoretical perspectives additive or are the data better accounted for by some type of interaction model?" The next section attempts to answer this question.

A PROPOSED MODEL

Having discovered that all three independent concepts (social control, strain and culture conflict) account for significant proportions of the variance in traditional high school deviance and in drug use behavior, it seemed imperative to conduct at least an exploratory examination of the

possible interaction effects among the three theories.

It will be remembered that social control theory depicts people as restrained from engaging in delinquent acts through the effect of various types of internal social-psychological barriers to deviance. Thus, to the extent that an individual has a high level of social control, he ought to be reluctant to engage in deviant behavior. This reluctance may come from the fear of losing the love or regard of those to whom the individual is attached or from his rational fear of losing future rewards such as money or power, or it may simply be that he has so internalized conventional mores that he suffers serious psychological and perhaps even physical discomfort when faced with an impulse toward unconventional behavior.

In the previous section social control theory was

shown to be the most vigorous theory related to the dependent variables. It seems reasonable to assume that greater social control builds substantial barriers to deviance, and any motivation toward deviance must be quite powerful to overcome these barriers among those with high levels of social control. Where, and of what nature, are the sources of these motivations toward deviant behavior?

Consideration of the strain theories, culture conflict theories, and labeling theories of deviant behavior might lead to an answer to this question. In earlier portions of this article it was suggested that strain theorists use as a heuristic device, the idea that all members of society hold an encompassing and agreed-upon set of goals and values. They further suggest that when the attainment of these goals and values is blocked for some individuals, these persons experience intense internal turmoil, such as frustration, alienation and anomie. It is assumed that these internal frustrations will, on at least some occasions, lead those experiencing them to "act out" in ways which represent the use of illegitimate means to obtain legitimate goals, though such persons could simply act out these internal turmoils in expressive ways such as vandalism or malicious assault. In either event, we may have found one type of hypothesized motivation for deviant behavior—internal emotional "pressure" which strives for release.

Turning to culture conflict theory, we find postulated a very different motivation to deviant behavior. From this perspective, we obtain the picture of "deviance" as an attempt to live up to local values and goals, where these values and goals do not recognize nor conflict with the "external" justification for the existence of certain legal definitions of rule-breaking. Thus, individuals who break external rules in conflict with local standards actually represent, in some sense, the finest product of their community of reference. These rule-breakers are willing to risk legal sanctions, physical abuse or perhaps even death in order to live up to sub-cultural standards. Thus, a second type of hypothesized motivation to "deviance" is the desire to be respected, liked and supported for upholding the subculture's values of one's community in the face of external formal sanctions.

Not addressed previously in this article are the etiological approaches to deviant behavior such as labeling theory. It appears necessary to consider this fourth perspective in order to complete the groundwork for the model which shall shortly be proposed.

Labeling theory can itself be divided on the basis of two basic hypotheses. The first of these hypotheses suggested that official reactions to rule-breaking lead to official labeling of the offender by the legal authorities. This labeling, it is suggested, leads to stigmatization of the individual, causing those around him to interact with him on the basis of interactional norms which are consistent with the negative label. This may be another motivation for deviant behavior. Conventional society's reaction to the labeled individual essentially forces him to associate with unconventional others. Culture conflict theory explains how resulting differential association could easily lead to at least one type of motivation towards deviant behavior. Further, the systematic exclusion of the individual from the attainment of conventional economic, occupational and prestige goals can effectively produce the same motivations to deviance that have been described in our discussion of strain theory.

The second hypothesis of labeling theory relates, at least partly, to the first one. The external reactions to the stigmatized individual may become internalized as part of the individual's self-concept. To the degree that the individual's self-concept is congruent with the reaction of other people to the label, the individual can be expected to be motivated in ways which are consistent with his image of himself as deviant.

It should be noted that if one utilizes this conception of labeling theory, it does not add any additional predictive power to the system already considered. It does, however, provide us with the conception of a feedback mechanism leading from the dependent phenomena back to the concepts of social control, strain and culture conflict.

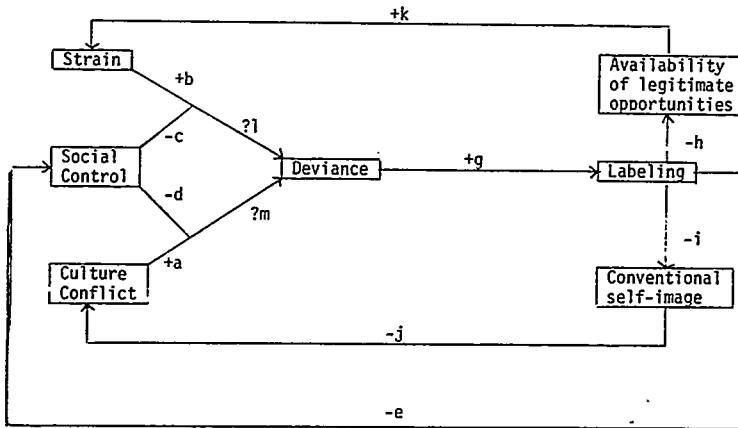
Figure 1 represents a path model of hypothesized relationships among the various phenomena under discussion here.²⁵

²⁵ The coefficients in Figure 1 appear as letters rather than numerical values inasmuch as it is not possible to perform path analysis on the model. There are too many unknowns in the set of simultaneous structural equations to permit a unique solution. Therefore, relationships are represented with alphabets to denote that their exact magnitude cannot be determined in this paper. It should be noted that this problem could be overcome in a replication which employed enough exogenous, "instrumental" variables in the questionnaire.

Plus signs in the diagram indicate variables which the author anticipates would be positively related to each other if it were possible to determine path coefficients, while negative signs indicate anticipated inverse relationships.

The two question marks preceding the alphabets "1"

FIGURE 1



Interpretation of the Model

At the outset, it should be stated that the model presented in Figure 1 is somewhat simplified, representing only those paths which are theoretically most defensible. Certainly, a great deal of additional complexity could be introduced, but the following analysis will indicate that such complexity would most likely represent refinements of the basic model, rather than inconsistencies in it.

Notice must be taken that social control is normally seen as operating as a set of barriers to deviant action rather than as motivation to such behavior. Hence, the effects of a high level of social control operate to contain the effects of high levels of strain or culture conflict. Thus, the possibility exists that if social control is well enough developed, the motivations to deviance provided by culture conflict and strain may be of insufficient strength to "break through" the social control barriers, resulting in overt deviant acts. This possibility is strongly suggested by the magnitudes of the multiple regression coefficients obtained in the pre-

vious analysis. The purpose of the foregoing analysis, then, is to test the following hypotheses:

HYPOTHESIS I: Culture conflict and strain are related in a positive direction to high school deviance in inverse proportion to the level of social control present.²⁶

HYPOTHESIS Ia: For those individuals with high levels of social control, there will be little or no relationship between: (1) strain and high school deviance, and (2) culture conflict and high school deviance.

HYPOTHESIS Ib: For those individuals who are low on social control, there will be substantial association between (1) strain and high school deviance, and (2) culture conflict and high school deviance.

Using the scales which were created in the earlier analysis, the results relevant to the two subhypotheses are presented in Table II.

Results Relative to Interaction Effects²⁷

In Table II, it is quite clear that the subhypotheses are supported in the case where the de-

²⁶ At least partial support and justification for such a hypothesis is provided in Jensen, *Containment and Delinquency: Analysis of a Theory*, 2 U. WASH. J. SOC. 1 (1970).

²⁷ A number of reviewers have suggested that the table which appears above might be improved upon if the effects of sex, race, and socioeconomic status could be incorporated into the table. Analyses were undertaken to assess the impact of the suggested control variables.

and "m" indicate that the directionality of path coefficients caused by the interactions of "b" and "c" and of "d" and "a" are problematic. For example, if levels of strain were quite low and social control quite low, "l" might very well be positive and large. However, if strain is quite high and social control is quite low, "l" might very well be zero or negative as social control manifests its "barrier" effects. The situation is analogous with coefficients "a", "d" and "m". Even if we knew the numerical value of coefficients "a" through "k", using path analysis-techniques, we would not be able to solve the dilemma of interaction terms and the exact nature of "l" and "m" would remain unknown.

TABLE II

The Correlation Between		Low Social Control	High Social Control	Uncontrolled Relation
A. Strain	(1) traditional deviance	$r = .3097$ (N= 101) $s = .001$	$r = .1141$ (N= 100) $s = .001$	$r = .2490$ (N= 300) $s = .001$
	and			
	(2) drug use	$r = .1877$ (N= 101) $s = .030$	$r = .0203$ (N= 100) $s = .421$	$r = .2125$ (N= 300) $s = .001$
B. Culture conflict	(1) traditional deviance	$r = .2984$ (N= 101) $s = .001$	$r = .4059$ (N= 100) $s = .001$	$r = .3998$ (N= 300) $s = .001$
	and			
	(2) drug use	$r = .2554$ (N= 101) $s = .005$	$r = .0538$ (N= 100) $s = .298$	$r = .2715$ (N= 300) $s = .001$

pendent phenomenon under investigation is drug use. In fact, the relationships between strain and drug use and between culture conflict and drug use are essentially reduced to zero.

When focusing on the traditional deviance phenomenon, however, the results are somewhat less striking. As expected, the relationship between strain and traditional deviance is noticeably reduced by high levels of social control. However, in the case of the relationship between culture conflict and traditional deviance, the relationship under conditions of high social control is practically unchanged when compared to the uncontrolled relationship. In fact, it seems that there may be a slight tendency for the relationship to be weaker in the presence of low social control. This latter finding, however, is not statistically significant when an F-test is applied to the difference in the magnitude of the correlation coefficients for the uncontrolled and low levels of social control.

Nevertheless, the possibility that traditional deviance is related to cultural conflict in a direction opposite to that originally predicted might be meaningful. Since we are considering relatively mild symbolic forms of deviance and rebellion when we use the term traditional deviance in this

article, it is possible that students with extremely high levels of social control may orient themselves to an adolescent culture as a type of signalling behavior to their parents that they desire more autonomy and less intensive control. Adolescence represents an interlinking sphere between the child's particularistic and ascriptive statuses on the one hand and the universalistic-achievement oriented roles he is expected to fulfill on the other. It is possible that many parents resist the child's tendency to begin acting independently in accordance with the new responsibilities expected of his increasingly adult status. Conformity to adolescent cultural norms may serve as an attempt by the adolescent to convince the parent that he wishes to move beyond the restrictive control hitherto experienced in his relations with them.

CONCLUSIONS

The research reported here shows that high levels of social control appear to be strongly related to lower levels of drug use, but less strongly related to lower levels of traditional deviance. A partial explanation for this may lie in the possibility that students may see drug use as a more radical type of deviance than those behaviors which make up the traditional deviance. If this is the case, social control apparently begins to function as a suppressor variable only at some point toward the extreme end of a deviance continuum.

There is inductive and empirical evidence to indicate that social control does demonstrate a degree of containment effect with respect to the motivation for deviant behavior represented in the concepts of strain and culture conflict. However, the strength of this containment effect may vary in proportion to the degree to which a contemplated deviant behavior is perceived as extreme.

A number of conclusions can be derived from the foregoing analysis. First, it is clear that for at least some deviant behaviors, the question is not which of the three theoretical perspectives discussed here provides the exclusive explanation of adolescent social deviance. Rather, in many cases all three theories have some significant explanatory power. The results of this study indicate a fair probability that social control theory manifests the greatest explanatory power, followed by culture and strain theories. To what degree this ordering represents a function of the set of dependent variables chosen for this study is, of course, unknown. However, there is little reason to suspect that use of a different set of dependent variables would

Unfortunately when the sample is partitioned by a number of control variables simultaneously, the cell frequencies drop to a level which in many cases would leave interpretation of the relationships open to question. However, even though many of the relationships in these additional analyses were not statistically significant, nearly all indications were that the general patterns that we find in the table above appear to be repeated closely even within categories of race, sex, and socioeconomic status. The task will remain for a future replication to determine if any subtle differences according to these background variables are of significant import.

change greatly the relative magnitudes of explanatory power provided by the three theories.

In addition, the preceding analysis has established the fact that a high level of social control is able, under certain circumstances, to suppress the causal effects of strain and culture conflict. It has been hypothesized that this suppression effect is

particularly clear for the more extreme or novel forms of deviance.

Finally, a model has been proposed which offers a first step toward specifying the interrelationships between strain, culture conflict, social control and labeling perspectives on the etiology of adolescent deviant behavior.