

ABSTRACT

LUTZ, JENNIFER RENEE. A Spoiled Identity? An Examination of the Reflected Appraisal Process among True Deviants and the Falsely Accused. (Under the direction of Dr. Stacy De Coster).

Working from an interactionists perspective, Matsueda's (1992) model of reflected appraisals suggests that appraisals of youths as troublemakers by significant others – actual appraisals – affect the way in which youths consider themselves from the perspective of others – reflected appraisals. With a reflected appraisal deciding whether a youth continues with delinquent behavior. This theory assumes that the identity process suggested in this model operates similarly for those individuals who are falsely labeled as deviant and those who commit acts of deviance prior to receiving their label. Using general strain theory as an alternative explanation, this paper aims to understand delinquency among the group of falsely accused juveniles. Using structural equation modeling on a split sample analysis of delinquents and nondelinquents, the results suggests that the identity process does in fact operate differently across these two groups of juveniles. Inconsistent with the reflected appraisal model, among the nondelinquents, parents influence delinquency directly and not indirectly, through the reflected appraisal pathway. This finding suggests support for the general strain theory interpretation of false accusations and delinquency.

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A Spoiled Identity? An Examination of the Reflected Appraisal Process among True Deviant
and the Falsely Accused

by
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INTRODUCTION

Criminological research underscores the relevance of myriad interconnections between criminal self-identities and illegal behaviors. Research on reentry, for instance, focuses attention on the need for ex-offenders to replace criminal identities with conventional identity scripts in order for successful desistance to occur (Giordano, Cernkovich and Rudolph 2002; Maruna, Lebel, Mitchell and Naples, 2004; Paternoster and Bushway, 2009). This is compatible with the main tenets of labeling and interactionist theories, which posit that a key process predicting continuity in law violation includes accepting society's definition of the self as a law violator (see Tannenbaum 1938; Matsueda 1992 & 2001; Heimer and Matsueda 1994). In an interesting twist, qualitative studies suggest that inner-city residents develop and use criminal or deviant identities to avoid engaging in crime and violence (Anderson 1999; Jones 2009). Despite developments on many fronts in the literature on identities and law violation, researchers have not considered the role of criminal identities in delinquency onset. This may be due to early criticisms of labeling perspectives that led proponents of the perspective to concede that they were interested solely in exploring the perpetuation of law violation (secondary deviance) and not in providing an explanation for primary deviance or the onset of criminal behavior. Given the relevance of criminal identities for persistence in law violation, desistance from crime, and avoidance of criminal perpetuation, the present paper revisits the potential of law-violating identities as relevant for understanding the onset of juvenile delinquency.

In this paper, I pay particular heed to adolescents who are falsely appraised as troublemakers, which is a group ignored in empirical research on etiology. Prior research underscores that informal labels as a delinquent influence continuity in law violation by impacting self-identities in the form of reflected appraisals (Matsueda 1982; Heimer and Matsueda 1994; Bartusch and Matsueda 1996; Triplett 1998). Researchers have not assessed, however, if the reflected appraisals process is equally applicable across groups of delinquent and nondelinquent youths. That is, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that informal labels that have not been earned through engagement in delinquent behaviors lead previously nondelinquent youths to delinquency by spoiling their self-identities. As such, I empirically assess the extent to which delinquent appraisals by others trigger delinquent reflected appraisals of self and subsequent engagement in delinquency among conventional youths. I further assess differences in the reflected appraisals process across groups who have engaged in delinquency previously and those who have not. This allows me to assess whether the reflected appraisal process operates differently among individuals who have been falsely appraised compared to those who have secured their label through engaging in delinquent behaviors. Becker (1963) differentiates between falsely accused individuals and true deviants, but little is known about the identity process among those who are falsely appraised as deviant.

Although the labeling tradition provides a viable explanation for the link between the onset of delinquency and deviant informal labels that have not been earned behaviorally, Agnew's (1992; 2005) general strain theory provides an interesting alternative explanation

for how false accusations produce delinquency. The key process linking informal labels – whether rooted in objective behaviors or not – to delinquency for the labeling/interactionist approach is the development of a spoiled self-identity, or reflected appraisals of self as a rule violator (Matsueda 1992; Heimer and Matsueda 1994). General strain theory proposes that a main source of delinquency is unjust treatment (Agnew 1994). Specifically, the theory offers that stresses and strains lead to negative emotions that spur delinquency as corrective action. Agnew (2001) suggests that unjust treatment is a type of strain that is particularly likely to produce delinquent responses. The experience of being singled out and labeled as delinquent despite not engaging in unlawful behaviors is certainly a form of unjust treatment. Although an undeveloped area of research, recent studies have invoked strain theory in demonstrating links between crime and unjust treatment in the forms of race and gender discrimination (Eitle 2002; Moon, Hays and Blurton 2008; Simons, Chen, Steward and Brody 2003). That is, research indicates that unjust treatment rooted in unjustified assumptions about individuals results in delinquency. The present paper extends this work by offering that wrongful informal labels among the falsely accused may operate as a source of strain/unjust treatment that leads to delinquency without actually impacting self-identities.

The purpose of the paper, then, is to build upon available knowledge of informal labeling to analyze if the identity mechanisms articulated in the theory of reflected appraisals operate similarly among true deviants and falsely accused individuals. The reflected appraisals model may prove suitable principally for understanding secondary delinquency among individuals who have engaged in delinquency prior to receiving their delinquent label,

which is consistent with the tenets of labeling perspectives generally. Alternatively, general strain theory may be applicable mainly for explaining links between false appraisals as a law violator and the onset of delinquent behaviors among previously nondelinquent youths. That is, spoiled self-identities – particularly reflected appraisals as delinquent – resulting from informal labels by significant others may prove much more salient for understanding continuity in law violation than for articulating the onset of law violation among those falsely appraised.

The paper proceeds as follows: I begin with a discussion of Matsueda's (1992) reflected appraisals model of delinquency. Next, I discuss competing explanations for the link between false informal appraisals and delinquency onset. Specifically, I offer that the link between informal labels and delinquency onset may result from the development of law-violating reflected appraisals of self, as articulated in the reflected appraisals model. Otherwise, the link may be produced for reasons articulated in Agnew's (1992; 2006) general strain theory. That is, false accusations may be experienced as a form of unjust treatment that lead youths to delinquency without impacting reflected appraisals of self. From this discussion, I derive competing hypotheses about the link between informal appraisals and delinquency among falsely accused youths. In the following sections, I discuss the data and analytic strategy. The section following the methodology provides a discussion of key findings, and the paper concludes with directions for future research.

THE REFLECTED APPRAISAL MODEL

The interactionist framework draws on labeling perspectives to provide an explanation for links between self-identities and delinquency. Early labeling models emphasize the self-fulfilling prophecy, or the idea that individuals begin to see themselves in the way that others see them. For instance, individuals who perceive that their significant others see them as bad or delinquent are likely to see themselves in this way and are, then, likely to live up to the label by being bad or delinquent (Becker 1963; Lemert 1951; 1972; Tannenbaum 1938). Tannenbaum's (1938) labeling perspective offers that communities begin to view youths who commit deviant acts as deviant or evil, eschewing the less damaging approach of simply viewing deviant behavior as evil. The labeled youths eventually develop deviant self-concepts that reflect the negative labels provided by their community. Essentially, the individual "becomes the thing he is described as being" (Tannenbaum 1938:20).

Matsueda's (1992) symbolic interactionist theory of the self and delinquency draws from labeling and interactionist theories to propose that appraisals of youths as troublemakers or delinquents by significant others – actual appraisals- affect the way in which youths consider themselves from the perspective of others – reflected appraisals. Reflected appraisals of self as delinquent ultimately influence whether or not youths engage in delinquency. Through the process of role taking, Matsueda (1992) offers that reflected appraisals of self mediate the relationship between actual appraisals made by significant others and future law-violating behavior. That is, youths who form actual appraisals of

themselves as rule violators are likely to act upon the spoiled identity and engage in delinquency. Matsueda (1992) embeds the reflected appraisals process within its larger social context, offering that prior delinquency and social status characteristics – including social class, race, urban residence, and residence in a female-headed household – influence actual and reflected appraisals.

The reflected appraisals model effectively incorporates two key empirical implications of labeling theory identified by Paternoster and Iovanni (1989). That is, the theory subsumes the status characteristics hypothesis and the secondary deviance hypothesis. The status characteristics hypothesis proposes that social status characteristics can lead to the imputation of a law-violating stigma, even among those who have not engaged in behaviors warranting such a label. For instance, a youth may be labeled as a troublemaker due to socioeconomic disadvantage, minority status, or residence in a home with a nontraditional family structure. Indeed, Matsueda's (1992) empirical findings show, for instance, that race shapes reflected appraisals of self, even when controlling for prior delinquency. That is, black youths are more likely than their white counterparts to view themselves as troublemakers from the perspective of others, even if their delinquent repertoires are similar. This finding suggests that delinquent self-identities may be relevant for understanding not only the impact of various status characteristics on delinquency but also, and importantly, the onset of juvenile delinquency as the result of delinquent identities that may be shaped by factors other than prior delinquency. Researchers have not focused explicit empirical attention on this possibility, which is surprising given the implications for broadening

labeling perspectives to address both primary and secondary deviance (for exception see Triplett and Jarjoura 1994).

The reflected appraisal model focuses centrally on the secondary deviance hypothesis, which emphasizes that delinquent behaviors are likely to continue as a result of labelling (Paternoster and Iovanni, 1989). Lemert's (1951) main contribution to the labeling perspective lies in his differentiation between primary and secondary deviance. Primary deviance is the original deviant act (onset) and is attributed by labeling perspectives to the very social, cultural, and psychological factors that receive attention in etiological theories of delinquency. Secondary deviance is the outcome of the labeling/reflected appraisal process (Lemert 1951; Matsueda 2001). That is, secondary deviance includes the behaviors in which youths engage to live up to community expectations of them as evil or bad. A main critique of the labelling perspective is its inability to explain primary deviance. However, I propose herein that the labeling perspective – as refined by Matsueda's (1992) reflected appraisals model – may have more to offer by way of understanding primary deviance than conceded by proponents of the perspective.

Although Matsueda's (1992) general model has received relatively strong empirical support across various race and sex groups (see Bartusch and Matsueda 1996; Triplett 1998; Heimer and Matsueda 1994; Heimer 1996; Brownfield and Thompson 2005; Kiyofumi and Triplett 1998; Liu 2000; Zhang 1997), research has not addressed the extent to which the model applies to individuals who are falsely appraised as troublemakers by significant others. That is, researchers have assessed continuity and change in delinquency and conformity that

occurs as a result of role-taking and the formation of reflected appraisals of self as a rule violator without differentiating whether continuity and change patterns vary across groups of individuals who previously engaged in delinquent behavior versus those who have not. Given that a central criticism of labeling models is that they are unable to explain primary deviance or delinquency it is worth considering whether the symbolic interactionist model rises above this critique.

THE FALSELY ACCUSED: LABELING/REFLECTED APPRAISALS MODEL

Becker (1963) provides a classification scheme for understanding the relationship between individual actors, law violating behaviors, and societal labels. This scheme offers an exhaustive classification of people by providing four categories based on an individual's relationship to deviance and labeling. These categories include pure deviants, conformists, secret deviants, and falsely accused individuals. The pure deviant has been involved in deviance and has been labeled as deviant; the conformist has not been deviant and has not been so labeled; the secret deviant has engaged in deviance but has not been labeled as deviant; and the falsely accused is the behaviorally nondeviant who has been labeled as deviant (see Becker 1963; Klemke and Tiedeman 1990; Matsueda 2006; Lemert 1951; Rains 1975). The two categories that should be of most theoretical importance to those interested in the impact of societal labels are the true deviants and the falsely accused, as these are the groups that have received the imputed deviant stigma.

Attention to the falsely accused in the literature has focused primarily on identifying the characteristics of those who are falsely accused (Bowers, 2008; Chevigny 1969; Cray,

1967; Klemke and Tiedeman, 1990; Menard and Pollock, 2014). The literature suggests that those who are falsely accused come from disadvantaged populations (Klemke 1990; Menard and Pollock, 2014). The falsely accused, for instance, are most often poor and are typically ethnic minorities (Bowers, 2008; Chevigny, 1969; Cray, 1967; Klemke and Tiedeman, 1990; Menard and Pollock, 2014).

Although research has demonstrated that targets of false accusations are not randomly distributed in the social structure, insufficient attention has been afforded to understanding if or how false accusations trigger delinquency onset. Within the reflected appraisal model, it is assumed that the identity process is the same for both the true deviants and falsely accused persons. This perspective would suggest that falsely accused individuals accept their spoiled identity and live up to the identity by committing deviant acts. There is much potential for understanding the relationship between structural disadvantage, social identities, and delinquency onset if indeed false accusations are an identity precursor to delinquency onset. As such, the current study focuses on analyzing identity processes among the falsely appraised.

THE FALSELY ACCUSED: GENERAL STRAIN THEORY

Agnew's (1992) general strain theory offers an alternative perspective for understanding delinquent outcomes among juveniles who are falsely accused of law violation. According to general strain theory, responses to false accusations are not the result of spoiled self-identities or reflected appraisals of self as a law violator. Instead, false labels

represent stressors or strains that produce delinquency due to the anger and frustration associated with being treated unfairly.

General strain theory proposes that strains and stresses influence law violation by producing negative emotions (Agnew 1992; 2006). A key strain identified by the theory is the disjuncture between individual ideals of justice and the real-world reality of unjust treatment. Despite Agnew (1994) identifying unjust treatment as one of the most crime-producing strains, unjust treatment has been among the most understudied forms of strain in the delinquency literature (see Agnew 2006). Agnew (2001) proposes that race and gender discriminations are forms of injustice that require more attention in the literature, suggesting that they are likely to be crime-producing strains. Recent evidence supports this claim, with limited research studies on non-representative samples demonstrating links between delinquency and discrimination rooted in racist and sexist prejudices, presumably because discrimination is experienced as unfair and stressful (Eitle, 2002; Moon et. al., 2009 Simmons, Chen, Stewart and Brody, 2003). Along similar lines, false accusations of delinquent behavior can be conceptualized as a form of unfair treatment that proves stressful. This implies that delinquent outcomes among falsely appraised juveniles may produce delinquency because the experience of false accusation is stressful to individuals, not because the experience results in altered self-identities, as proposed in the reflected appraisals model.

HYPOTHESES

Drawing on the discussion of reflected appraisals and general strain, I propose eight hypotheses regarding the process through which actual appraisals impact delinquency among

previously delinquent youths and among those who have not been previously delinquent. The hypotheses for true deviants derive directly from Matsueda's (1992) reflected appraisals model, as these hypotheses are related to the role of deviant appraisals and self-identities in producing continuity in delinquent pathways. I propose competing hypotheses for falsely accused individuals, offering that the reflected appraisals model may apply to the onset of delinquent behaviors if previously nondelinquent youths are set on an identity path that produces primary delinquency. Alternatively, false accusations may lead directly to delinquency without impacting reflected appraisals of self because these accusations are experienced as unjust and stressful.

The True Delinquents

According to Matsueda's (1992) reflected appraisals model, youths begin to see themselves as rule violators from the perspective of others when these others have appraised them as troublemakers or rule violators. Youths who see themselves as law-violating in the eyes of significant others, such as parents, are subsequently likely to live up to these reflections by engaging in law-violating behaviors. This model has been supported on pooled samples of previously delinquent and nondelinquent youths and can apply without alteration to true delinquents, who have engaged in delinquency prior to being appraised as troublemakers. As such, I derive the following hypotheses from the reflected appraisals model:

H1: *Among true deviants, parental appraisals as a rule violator will have a total, positive effect on delinquency.*

H2: *Among true deviants, parental appraisals as a rule violator will have a direct, positive effect on youths' reflected appraisal as a rule violator.*

H3: *Among true deviants, youths' reflected appraisal as a rule violator will have a direct, positive effect on delinquency.*

H4: *Among true deviants, reflected appraisals as a rule violator will mediate the total effect of parental appraisals of the youth as a rule violator on delinquency.*

The Falsely Accused

The main focus of this study is on understanding the understudied category of falsely accused youths. In this vein, I offer competing hypotheses about how false accusations influence delinquency. Although the reflected appraisals model may operate for falsely accused youths, I offer a competing explanation from general strain theory. The reflected appraisals model proposes that the identity processes articulated for true delinquents operate also among falsely accused youths. That is, individuals who are falsely accused as troublemakers are just as likely as their delinquent counterparts who have been so labeled to develop reflected appraisals of themselves as law violators that subsequently produce delinquency. From the reflected appraisals model, I derive the following hypotheses:

H5: *Among the falsely accused, parental appraisals as a rule violator will have a total, positive effect on youths' delinquency.*

H6: *Among the falsely accused, parental appraisals as a rule violator will have a direct, positive effect on reflected appraisal as a rule violator.*

H7: *Among the falsely accused, youths' reflected appraisal as a rule violator will have a direct, positive effect on delinquency.*

H8a: *Among the falsely accused, reflected appraisals as a rule violator will mediate the total effect of parental appraisals of the youth as a rule violator on delinquency.*

General strain theory offers a challenge to this model, positing that false appraisals as a rule violator or troublemaker influence delinquency without necessarily impacting reflected appraisals or self-identities. Instead, the experience of being falsely appraised as a rule violator in the absence of objective behaviors warranting such appraisals is likely to be experienced as unjust and stressful, thereby influencing delinquency without having to fundamentally alter views of the self. I derive the following, alternative strain hypothesis:

H8b: *Among the falsely accused, parental appraisals as a rule violator will have a total, positive effect on delinquency that is not mediated by reflected appraisals as a rule violator.*

DATA AND MODELS

I use the National Youth Survey (NYS), a nationally representative, longitudinal study of delinquency to assess the hypotheses (Elliot, Huizinga, and Ageton 1985; Elliott, Huizinga, and Menard 1989). The NYS is ideal for the study because it is the data used by Matsueda (1992) to test the proposed relationship between reflected appraisals and delinquency (see Collins' [1989] for discussion of data recency in descriptive research and theory-oriented research). The NYS is a national probability sample of 11- to 17-year-olds in the United States in 1976. Seventy-three percent of the final sample of youths (1,725) agreed

to participate in the survey. They were interviewed in their homes for the first time in 1977, and then re-interviewed annually. One parent of each youth was also interviewed during the first wave but not in subsequent waves. My analyses uses variables from the first three waves (1977-1979) in which the attrition rate was only 4% in 1978 and 6% in 1979. Comparisons of respondents across waves indicate that loss by demographic variables and law violation did not influence substantially the underlying distributions on these variables (Elliott, Huizinga, and Menard 1989). I use the data from 1154 youths who reported having engaged in delinquency prior to wave 1 (retrospective report of delinquency using a 24-item scale of delinquency in wave 1) and 565 youths who reported they did not engage in delinquency prior to wave 1.

The substantive model is diagrammed in Figure 2. It also incorporates a measurement model (diagrammed in Figures 2 and 3) to correct for attenuation in substantive parameter estimates due to measurement error. I list all interview items used to capture both single-indicator variables and latent variables in Table 1. Because I propose potential differences in effects among youths who have been delinquent prior to the identity processes specified herein as compared to youths who have not been delinquent previously, I specify and estimate the model separately for delinquents and nondelinquents and then test for similarities and differences in coefficients across these groups. The delinquents and nondelinquents are differentiated using a 24-item delinquency scale that includes a range of seriousness comprised of property, violent, and drug offenses (Elliot et al. 1985). The scale is dichotomized to create two categories: 0 for those who had not engaged in any delinquent

acts prior to the first wave; and 1 for those who had engaged in delinquency prior to the first interview.

Before describing my models, it is worth noting that the only difference between my models and those presented by Matsueda (1992) is that I estimate models across groups of delinquents and nondelinquents, whereas he simply controls for prior delinquency in a pooled model of delinquents and nondelinquents. Consistent with Matsueda's (1994) modeling, I specify a substantive model consisting of four vectors of latent variables. First, I include a set of exogenous variables measured at wave one that capture the structural positions of family income, race, residence in a single-parent household, and urban residence. Age and sex are also included as control variables. Each of these variables is a single-indicator variable as indicated in Table 1.

Second, I include a vector of parental appraisal variables measured at wave one during the parent interviews. The measurement model for parental appraisals, diagrammed in figure 3, includes four latent dimensions, which assess how parents view their children. The four latent constructs for parental appraisals include: likelihood to succeed, sociable, distressed, and rule violator. Although I am interested particularly in parent appraisals of youths as rule violators, as indicated by the hypotheses, I include all the parent appraisal variables incorporated in Matsueda's (1992) model for comparability purposes. Parent appraisals as likely to be successful is a single-indicator item, measured by parents' reports that their child is likely to be successful. The remaining parent appraisal variables are latent variables. Parent appraisals as sociable is measured by two items asking parents to report

how well-liked their child is and how well the child gets along with others. Parental appraisals as distressed is captured by parent reports that their child is often upset and that their child has problems. The final parent appraisal variable – parent appraisal as a rule violator – is a two-indicator variable capturing parents' reports that their child is a troublemaker and that their child breaks rules.

Third, I incorporate a vector of reflected appraisal variables measured at wave two during interviews with the youths. The measurement model for youths' reflected appraisals of self follows Matsueda (1992) and is depicted in Figure 4. The reflected appraisals variables include youths' reflected appraisals of self on the same substantive indicators measured by the parent appraisal items – likelihood to succeed, sociable, distressed, and rule violator. The youths' reflected appraisals are based on how they believe their parents, friends, and teachers assess them. Figure 4 shows the measurement error correlations for the reflected appraisals measurement model, indicating that I added correlations for identical measures that differed only in who the significant other was (e.g., breaks rules from the standpoint of parents, teachers, and friends) and among measures of a given latent construct that referred to a similar significant other (e.g., breaks rules from the standpoint of teacher and troublemaker from the standpoint of teacher) (see Matsueda 1992).

Fourth, my outcome variable is general delinquency during the year between the wave 2 and wave 3 interviews, using the same 24-item scale used to differentiate delinquents and nondelinquents for the splitting of the sample (see table 1). I use the natural log of the mean delinquency scale to correct for skewness.

ESTIMATION OF THE MODELS

The substantive and measurement models are estimated simultaneously using the maximum-likelihood procedures in LISREL 8 (Joreskog and Sorbom, 1993). I estimate the model separately for delinquents and nondelinquents. The model fits the data well for delinquents ($L2 = 998.06$ d.f. = 434) and nondelinquents ($L2 = 901.26$, d.f. = 434). Indeed, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is .032 for delinquents and .039 for nondelinquents, which indicates a close fit between the model and the data for both groups (see Browne and Cudeck, 1993). Additionally, the model produces a comparable fit index (CFI) score of .98 for both groups, which also indicates an acceptable fit for the model (Joreskog and Sorbom 1996). The estimates for the measurement model for delinquents and nondelinquents are presented in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. These estimates show that the observed indicators are reasonably valid and reliable measures of unobserved theoretical constructs. Tables 4 (delinquents) and 6 (nondelinquents) present the total effects, and the unstandardized and standardized parameter estimates of direct effects for the substantive models are in Tables 5 (delinquents) and 7 (nondelinquents).

TRUE DEVIANTS

The results for true deviants support the central hypotheses derived from the reflected appraisals model. Consistent with hypothesis 1, parent appraisals of youths as rule violators exerts a total, positive influence on delinquency among youths who previously had engaged in law violation (Table 4, row 10). That is, parental appraisals of delinquent youths as law violators increase the chances that these youths continue in their delinquency. In addition,

delinquent youths of parents who appraise them to be sociable are more likely to continue in their delinquency, underscoring the group nature of delinquency (see Warr 2002) and affirming Tannenbaum's (1938) emphasis on peers in his deviance amplification model of labeling.

Hypothesis 2 is supported by the finding that parent appraisals as a rule violator increase the likelihood that delinquent youths form reflected appraisals of self as rule violators (Table 5, row 8, column 10). Reflected appraisals of self as a rule violator, in turn, influence future delinquency, which is consistent with hypothesis 3 (Table 5, row 9, column 14). The fourth hypothesis is supported by the finding that parent appraisals of youths as rule violators do not exert a direct effect on delinquency (Table 5, row 9, column 10). That is, the total effect of parent appraisals of youths as rule violators is fully mediated by youths' reflected appraisals of self – including appraisals of self as a rule violator and as sociable. Reflected appraisals of self as a rule violator is the strongest predictor of law violation in the model, as indicated by the completely standardized betas (Table 5, row 9, bolded coefficients). These beta coefficients standardized both latent and observed measures, allowing for comparison in strength of predictors. Consistent with the deviance amplification process, then, this finding suggests that a law-violating identity among previously delinquent youths increases future delinquent behavior.

FALSELY ACCUSED

The results for the falsely accused models show that parental appraisals of well-behaved youths as rule violators increase the chances that these youths will initiate

delinquent behaviors. The mechanisms through which this happens, however, are not supportive of the reflected appraisals model, lending potential support to general strain theory. Consistent with the fifth hypothesis, parent appraisals of their nondelinquent youths as troublemakers increases the chances that their children will engage in delinquency (Table 6, row 10). Inconsistent with the reflected appraisal model and hypothesis 6, reflected appraisals of self as a rule violator among previously nondelinquent youths do not mirror parent appraisals of youths as rule violators. That is, parental appraisals of well-behaved youths as rule violators do not statistically influence youths' reflected appraisals as rule violators (Table 7, row 8, column 10). False appraisals by parents of youths as rule violators, however, decrease well-behaved youths' reflected appraisals of self as likely to be successful. Thus, parent appraisals may influence self-identity processes among well-behaved youths in ways that are influential for life-course outcomes not considered in the present models, including education and work outcomes.

As it stands, however, false appraisals of youths as law violators by parents influence delinquency directly and not indirectly, through the reflected appraisals pathway (compare Table 6, row 10 and Table 7, row 9, column 10). This supports hypothesis 8b over hypothesis 8a, lending support to the general strain theory interpretation of why false attributions matter. Specifically, the findings suggest that false attributions by parents may be experienced as unjust treatment or a source of strain that produces delinquency as corrective action, not as a result of a transformed personal identity.

It is notable, however, that nondelinquent youths who form reflected appraisals of self as rule violators are significantly more likely to engage in delinquency than nondelinquent youths who do not form such appraisals of self (Table 7, row 9, column 15). This raises the question of what leads nondelinquent youths to form reflected appraisals of self as rule-violators from the standpoint of parents, peers, and teachers. The present model provides some clues to answering this question by indicating that black youths who have not been delinquent and males who have not been delinquent are more likely than their non-black, female counterparts to form rule-violating reflected appraisals (Table 7, row 8, columns 2 and 6). This finding highlights the real implications of identity formation of black males based on societal stereotypes of the criminal black male.

COMPARISON OF TRUE DEVIANTS AND FALSELY ACCUSED

Although previous literature implicitly suggests that the identity processes articulated in the reflected appraisals model operate similarly for previously delinquent and nondelinquent youths, a comparison of the models for these groups suggest there are differences in how parental appraisals of youths as rule violators operate that depend on whether these appraisals match youths' actual rule-violating behaviors. Specifically, the reflected appraisals model appears to be better equipped to explain secondary delinquency than primary delinquency, consistent with the contentions of labelling perspective proponents. When comparing coefficients across models, the first difference made apparent is that the total effect of parent appraisals of youths as rule violators on subsequent law violation is stronger among youths who have been delinquent than among those who have

not (comparison of total effect $t=2.98$). This suggests that appraisals as rule violators are more important for producing law violation when rooted in objective behaviors. This underscores the labeling mantra that it is best to label actions and not individuals. The accurate labeling of the behaviors of youths applied specifically to youths and not their behaviors plays a part in perpetuating law violation.

The impact of reflected appraisals of self as a rule violator on delinquency also varies across the nondelinquent and delinquent groups ($t=7.158$). Youths who had engaged in delinquency prior to forming reflected appraisals of self as rule violators are more likely than those who had not engaged in prior delinquency to engage in future delinquency. Nonetheless, reflected appraisals of delinquency lead to future delinquency among both groups.

A final notable difference between the models is that black youths who have not engaged in delinquency previously are more likely to form reflected appraisals of self as rule-violators than are nonblack youths who have not engaged in previous law violation. Alternatively, nonblack youths who have engaged in law violation are more likely to form reflected appraisals of self as rule violators than their black counterparts who have engaged in prior law violation. This finding is statistically significant ($t=3.97$). This suggests that among juveniles with no prior delinquency black youths were more likely to deviant self-identities, while among the juveniles that had engaged in prior delinquency, it was nonblack youths that were more likely to take on a deviant self-identity. This finding speaks to larger implications of race relations in society. Societal stereotypes based on race may lead black

youths to form deviant self-identities even when they have not participated in any criminal activity.

CONCLUSIONS: CONTRIBUTIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This research advances research on labeling and delinquency by providing evidence that the reflected appraisal process operates differently for individuals who are true delinquents and those who are falsely appraised as rule-violators by their parents. I draw four substantive conclusions from the results. First, consistent with the reflected appraisal process and labeling theory more generally, reflected appraisals of self as a rule violator produce future delinquency among both nondelinquents and delinquents. Therefore, regardless of previous participation in delinquent activities, those who form reflected appraisals of self as rule violators are more likely to commit future delinquency.

Second, reflected appraisals of self as rule violators result not only from actual appraisals of self by parents but from other factors as well. Although some of these other factors may include actual appraisals by teachers or peers, measures of such appraisals are unavailable in the NYS. Some important factors that emerged as relevant for understanding reflected appraisals of self in the estimated models include sex and race. Youth's sex operated similarly across the delinquent and nondelinquent youths, with males being more likely than females to develop reflected appraisals of self as rule violators. This is consistent with prior research and theorizing, suggesting that males are more likely than females to form delinquent identities because delinquency is consistent with masculinity and masculine identities but is the antithesis of femininity and feminine identities (see Bartusch and

Matsueda 1996; Heimer 1996; De Coster 2002). The impact of race on the formation of reflected appraisals as rule violators varies across delinquent and nondelinquent youths, with black nondelinquents being more likely than their white counterparts to see themselves as rule violators through the eyes of their parents, teachers, and peers. White youths who have engaged in delinquency are more likely to feel this stigma than are black youths who have engaged in delinquency. Indeed, prior research and theorizing emphasizes stereotypes of the criminal, black man (Devine and Elliot 1995). These stereotypes have real implications for self-identity, which may be related to what this study shows. Alternatively, some theorists note that black males are more likely than other groups to underreport delinquency in self-report surveys (Thornberry and Krohn 2000), perhaps because they are rightfully distrustful of reporting delinquent behaviors for which that have not been punished. The results of the analysis reveal some interesting race dynamics to consider in future research that is related to identity, racial stereotypes, and law violation.

Third, the results for the delinquent youths support the reflected appraisals model with the impact of parent appraisals on delinquency being fully mediated by youths' reflected appraisals as rule violators. However, the impact of parent appraisals as rule violators on delinquency is not fully mediated in the models for youths who had not been delinquent previously. This suggests that false appraisals by parents operate outside the confines of the reflected appraisals model. General strain theory provides a viable alternative for understanding the direct effect on delinquency of false appraisals of youths as troublemakers by parents, as false, negative appraisals may be experienced as unjust and stressful. An

emerging body of work on race and sex discrimination in the strain tradition supports the notion that unfair treatment rooted in misinformed beliefs about individuals is criminogenic (see Eitle 2002; Moon, Hays and Blurton 2008; Simons, Chen, Steward and Brody 2003). To assess the general strain hypotheses more fully requires including measures of negative emotions – including anger, depression, frustration, or anxiety – to better discern if strain mechanisms are at work here. Unfortunately, these measures are unavailable in the NYS. There is a measure of depression in later waves (starting at wave 6), but the parent appraisals measures are available only at wave 1. The null effect of youths reflected appraisals of self as distressed from the standpoint of parents, peers, and teachers might suggest that distress is not the relevant emotion being triggered by false appraisals. Nonetheless, Agnew (1992) identifies anger as the relevant emotion that triggers corrective action in the face of unjust treatment. The pathway from false appraisals to delinquency through such negative emotions is one to be pursued further in future research.

Fourth, this research offers that parental appraisals of youths as rule violators are important for understanding both the onset of delinquency and persistence in delinquency. Thus, the concession that labeling theory can only explain secondary deviance to the exclusion of primary deviance may be worth reconsidering. Indeed, this research finds a significant impact of parent appraisals as a rule violator on delinquency among youths who had not been delinquent previously. In addition, the findings of this study indicate that parent appraisals of youth as rule violators impact youths' reflected appraisals of self. Inconsistent with expectations from the reflected appraisals model of delinquency, parent appraisals as a

rule violator do not influence youths' reflected appraisals as rule violators. However, they do lead youths to view themselves as unlikely to succeed from the standpoint of parents, peers, and teachers. This is likely to have consequences for behaviors and outcomes in other realms – work and education. Understanding these consequences is a worthy pursuit for future research.

An additional future line of research would include considering not only informal labels by parents but also formal labeling and informal labels by other primary groups, including teachers and peers. The labeling perspective suggests that both informal and formal labeling influence subsequent delinquency. However, this study only captures the effects of informal labeling through the actual appraisals of the youth given by their parents. Therefore, missing from the analysis is the effect of formal labeling and other forms of informal labeling on the identity process.

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APPENDICES

Table 1. Descriptions of Observable MeasuresDelinquency 1 – Selection Variable

Delinquency at wave one is a dummy variable (0= no reported delinquency; 1 = delinquency)

The dummies were formed from an additive index of 24 delinquent acts. The delinquent acts included are: auto theft, < \$5 theft, \$5-\$50 theft, > \$50 theft, bought stolen goods, ran away, concealed weapon, aggravated assault, prostitution, sexual intercourse, participated in a gang fight, sold marijuana, hit parent, hit teacher, hit students, disorderly conduct, sold hard drugs, went joyriding, sexual; assault, strong-armed students, strong armed teachers, strong-armed others, committed breaking and entering, panhandled.

Background Variables

<i>Youth Age</i>	Years of age of the youth respondent
<i>Youth Race</i>	Race of the youth respondent (0=black; 1=non-black)
<i>Urban</i>	Urban residency of the youth respondent (0=rural or suburban; 1=urban)
<i>Single Parent Household</i>	Single parent household (0=intact; 1= at least one parent not in the home)
<i>Family Income</i>	Family income (10-point scale in \$4,000 increments; 1=6,000 or less; 10= more than 38,000)
<i>Youth Sex</i>	Sex of the youth respondent (0=males; 1=females)

Parental Appraisals

For the following questions, the parent of the youth respondent was asked, “Now, I’d like more information about how you see your son or daughter. I will read you a list of short phrases. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of the words or phrases as a description of (subject).” The response categories were, “strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree”

Parent appraisal as social 1

Well liked	“My son or daughter is well liked.”
Gets along	“My son or daughter gets along well with other people.”

Parent appraisal as success 1

Success	“My son or daughter is likely to succeed.”
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Parent appraisal as distressed 1

Often upset	“My son or daughter is often upset.”
Problems	“My son or daughter has personal problems.”

Parent appraisal as rule violator 1

Trouble	“My son or daughter gets into trouble.”
Breaks rules	“My son or daughter breaks rule.”

Youth Appraisals

For the following questions, the youth respondent was asked, “I’d like to know how your parents, friends, and teachers would describe you. I’ll read a list of words or phrases and for each I will ask you to tell me how much you think your parents would agree with that description of you. I’ll repeat the list twice more, to learn how your friends and your teachers would describe you.” The response categories were, “strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree”

Youth reflected appraisal as sociable 2

Well liked (parents)	“Parents agree I am well liked.”
Well liked (friends)	“Friends agree I am well liked.”
Well liked (teachers)	“Teachers agree I am well liked.”
Gets along (parents)	“Parents agree I get along well with other people.”
Gets along (friends)	“Friends agree I get along well with other people.”
Gets along (teachers)	“Teachers agree I get along well with other people.”

Youth reflected appraisal as success 2

success (parents)	“Parents agree I am likely to succeed.”
success (friends)	“Friends agree I am likely to succeed.”
success (teachers)	“Teachers agree I am likely to succeed.”

Youth reflected appraisal as distressed 2

Often upset (parents)	“Parents agree I am often upset.”
Often upset (friends)	“Friends agree I am often upset.”
Often upset (teachers)	“Teachers agree I am often upset.”
Problems (parents)	“Parents agree I have a lot of personal problems.”
Problems (friends)	“Friends agree I have a lot of personal problems.”
Problems (teachers)	“Teachers agree I have a lot of personal problems.”

Youth reflected appraisal as rule violator 2

Trouble (parents)	“Parents agree I get into trouble.”
Trouble (friends)	“Friends agree I get into trouble.”
Trouble (teachers)	“Teachers agree I get into trouble.”
Break rules (parents)	“Parents agree I break rules.”
Break rules (friends)	“Friends agree I break rules.”
Break rules (teachers)	“Teachers agree I break rules.”

Delinquency 3- Outcome Variable

An index (mean) of 24 delinquent acts committed between wave 2 and wave 3. (see description above)

Table 2: Parameter Estimates of the Measurement Model: Delinquents

Variables	Observed Variance	Error Variance	Metric Slope	Validity Coefficient
Parental Appraisals:				
SOCIALE 1				
Well-liked	.406	.221	1.000 ^f	.674
Gets Along	.479	.184	1.263**	.784
SUCCESS 1				
Success	.391	.000 ^f	1.000 ^f	1.000 ^f
DISTRESSED 1				
Often Upset	1.084	.668	1.000 ^f	.620
Problems	.871	.162	1.305**	.902
RULE VIOLATOR 1				
Trouble	.749	.345	1.000 ^f	.734
Breaks rules	.995	.446	1.165**	.743
Youth Reflected Appraisals				
SOCIALE 2				
Well-liked (parents)	.385	.279	1.000 ^f	.526
Well-liked (friends)	.300	.197	.984**	.587
Well-liked (teachers)	.345	.217	1.094**	.608
Gets along (parents)	.375	.206	1.259**	.671
Gets along (friends)	.302	.201	.972**	.578
Gets along (teachers)	.302	.178	1.069**	.637
SUCCESS 2				
Success (parents)	.638	.287	1.000 ^f	.742
Success (friends)	.584	.202	1.044**	.809
Success (teachers)	.539	.224	.948**	.765
DISTRESSED 2				
Often upset (parents)	1.046	.683	1.000 ^f	.589
Often upset (friends)	.858	.562	.901**	.587
Often upset (teachers)	.714	.436	.878**	.625
Problems (parents)	.891	.351	1.220**	.779
Problems (friends)	.747	.376	1.010**	.704
Problems (teachers)	.620	.282	.963**	.737
RULE VIOLATOR 2				
Trouble (parents)	.847	.400	1.00 ^f	.726
Trouble (friends)	.809	.335	1.029**	.766
Trouble (teachers)	.751	.323	.977**	.754
Breaks rules (parents)	.853	.433	.969**	.702
Breaks rules (friends)	.855	.383	1.028**	.743
Breaks rules (teachers)	.750	.315	.985**	.761

Note: N=1154

^f fixed parameter

**p<.01 (two-tailed test)

Table 3. Parameter Estimates of the Measurement Model: Nondelinquents

Variables	Observed Variance	Error Variance	Metric Slope	Validity Coefficient
<u>Parental Appraisals:</u>				
SOCIAL 1				
Well-liked	.380	.197	1.000 ^f	.695
Gets Along	.402	.196	1.128**	.762
SUCCESS 1				
Success	.378	.000 ^f	1.000 ^f	1.000 ^f
DISTRESSED 1				
Often Upset	1.052	.765	1.000 ^f	.522
Problems	.648	.173	1.287**	.856
RULE VIOLATOR 1				
Trouble	.549	.214	1.000 ^f	.781
Breaks rules	.869	.477	1.082**	.672
<u>Youth Reflected Appraisals</u>				
SOCIAL 2				
Well-liked (parents)	.317	.189	1.000 ^f	.636
Well-liked (friends)	.373	.230	1.054**	.618
Well-liked (teachers)	.260	.150	.926**	.650
Gets along (parents)	.323	.207	.951**	.599
Gets along (friends)	.275	.156	.962**	.657
Gets along (teachers)	.281	.172	.910**	.618
SUCCESS 2				
Success (parents)	.521	.233	1.000 ^f	.743
Success (friends)	.530	.173	1.115**	.821
Success (teachers)	.499	.162	1.084**	.822
DISTRESSED 2				
Often upset (parents)	.960	.700	1.000 ^f	.519
Often upset (friends)	.866	.509	1.172**	.640
Often upset (teachers)	.784	.431	1.173**	.672
Problems (parents)	.774	.305	1.349**	.778
Problems (friends)	.770	.260	1.407**	.814
Problems (teachers)	.668	.262	1.260**	.781
RULE VIOLATOR 2				
Trouble (parents)	.603	.258	1.00 ^f	.757
Trouble (friends)	.506	.166	.991**	.819
Trouble (teachers)	.463	.169	.921**	.796
Breaks rules (parents)	.630	.300	.974**	.722
Breaks rules (friends)	.444	.221	.801**	.708
Breaks rules (teachers)	.447	.192	.862**	.757

Note: N=565

^f fixed parameter

**p<.01 (two-tailed test)

Table 4. Total Effects of Variables on Delinquency (Delinquents)

Variables	Delinquency
1. Age	.011** (.001)
2. Race	.024** (.008)
3. Urban	.027** (.007)
4. Single Parent Household	.026** (.008)
5. Family Income	-.003** (.001)
6. Sex	-.048** (.006)
7. Sociable1	-.002 (.001)
8. Success1	.004 (.006)
9. Distressed1	-.010 (.008)
10. Rule Violator1	.055** (.009)
11. Sociable2	.075** (.013)
12. Success2	-.004 (.006)
13. Distressed2	-.021** (.007)
14. Rule Violator2	.082** (.007)

*p<.05; **p<.01 (two tailed tests).

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

Table 5. Unstandardized and Standardized Direct Effects for the Structural Model (Delinquents)

Dependent Variables	PREDETERMINED VARIABLES														R ²
	Age (1)	Race (2)	Urban (3)	Single Parent Household (4)	Family Income (5)	Sex (6)	Parent Appraisals			Youth Reflected Appraisals					
							Sociable1 (7)	Success1 (8)	Distressed1 (9)	Rule Violator1 (10)	Sociable2 (11)	Success2 (12)	Distressed2 (13)	Rule Violator2 (14)	
Parental Appraisals															
1. Sociable1	.016* (.007)	-.032 (.043)	.000 (.034)	-.078* (0.039)	.006 (.007)	.003 (.029)									.014
	.074	-.028	.000	-.076	.034	.003									
2. Success1	-.003 (.009)	-.068 (.052)	-.061 (.041)	-.118* (.047)	.012 (.009)	.002 (.036)									.013
	-.008	-.040	-.044	-.079	.046	.002									
3. Distress1	.026* (.010)	-.015 (.059)	.023 (.046)	.070 (.053)	-.029* (.010)	.037 (.040)									.025
	.077	-.008	.016	.045	-.104	.027									
4. Rule Violator1	-.021 (.011)	-.180** (.063)	.125** (0.49)	.016 (.057)	-.018* (.010)	-.100** (.043)									.047
	-.064	-.103	.088	.011	-.065	-.076									
Youth Reflected Appraisals															
5. Sociable2	.002 (.006)	.024 (.032)	.022 (.025)	.022 (.029)	.007 (.005)	.051* (.022)	.199** (.045)	.016 (.022)	.001 (.029)	-.020 (.032)					.101
	.010	.027	.030	.028	.050	.075	.261	.031	.001	-.038					
6. Success2	-.006 (0.10)	.122* (.055)	.070 (.042)	.092 (.048)	.029 (.009)	.006 (.037)	.144* (.073)	.058 (.037)	-.020 (.049)	-.117* (.054)					.087
	-.019	.075	.053	.065	.114	.005	.104	.062	-.022	-.126					
7. Distress2	.010 (.010)	-.108 (.056)	-.070 (.043)	-.017 (.050)	-.027** (.009)	.145** (.039)	-.101* (.074)	-.008 (.051)	.135** (.051)	.134** (.056)					.132
	.032	-.065	-.052	-.012	-.104	.117	-.072	-.009	.145	.141					
8. Rule Violator2	.036** (.010)	.213** (.059)	-.082 (.046)	.114* (.053)	-.011 (.010)	-.204** (.040)	-.154* (.079)	.053** (.040)	-.135* (.054)	.515** (.065)					.242
	.104	.117	-.055	.071	-.040	-.148	-.099	.049	-.130	.490					
Delinquent Behavior															
9. Delinquency3	.009** (.001)	.012 (.008)	.025** (.006)	.015* (.007)	-.003* (.001)	-.026** (.006)	-.006 (.011)	-.001 (.005)	.003 (.007)	.016 (.009)	.075** (.013)	-.004 (.006)	-.021** (.007)	.082** (.007)	.344
	.168	.043	.103	.060	-.057	-.120	-.025	-.006	.021	.095	.229	-.024	-.119	.516	

N = 1154; df=434; RMSEA=.0315; CFI=.984

*p<.05; **p<.01 (two-tailed test)

Table 6. Total Effects of Variables on Delinquency (Nondelinquents)

Variables	Delinquency
1. Age	.001 (.001)
2. Race	.004 (.006)
3. Urban	-.002 (.005)
4. Single Parent Household	.018** (.006)
5. Family Income	.000 (.001)
6. Sex	-.019** (.004)
7.Sociable1	.025** (.011)
8. Success1	.002 (.005)
9. Distressed1	.007 (.006)
10. Rule Violator1	.021** (.007)
11. Sociable2	.011 (.009)
12. Success2	.005 (.005)
13. Distressed2	.006 (.007)
14. Rule Violator2	.016** (.006)

*p<.05; **p<.01 (two tailed tests).

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

Table 7. Unstandardized and Standardized Direct Effects for the Structural Model (Nondelinquents)

Dependent Variables	PREDETERMINED VARIABLES														R ²
	Age (1)	Race (2)	Urban (3)	Single Parent Household (4)	Family Income (5)	Sex (6)	Parent Appraisals			Youth Reflected Appraisals					
							Sociable1 (7)	Success1 (8)	Distressed1 (9)	Rule Violator1 (10)	Sociable2 (11)	Success2 (12)	Distressed2 (13)	Rule Violator2 (14)	
Parental Appraisals															
1. Sociable1	.003** (.010)	.234** (.065)	-.032 (.047)	.100 (.065)	.006 (.009)	-.055 (.041)									.035
2. Success1	.013 .011 (.012)	.187 .077 (.078)	-.031 .079 (.057)	.084 .054 (.078)	.031 .016 (.011)	-.062 .039 (.049)									.010
3. Distress1	.034 -.008 (.012)	.043 -.116 (.078)	.053 .011 (.057)	.031 .133 (.079)	.059 -.002 (.010)	.030 -.054 (.049)									.025
4. Rule Violator1	-.028 -.039** (.013)	-.074 -.442** (.082)	.008 .053 (0.060)	.090 .153 (.082)	-.008 -.025* (.010)	-.049 -.178** (.052)									.191
	-.130	-.261	.038	.095	-.100	-.147									
Youth Reflected Appraisals															
5. Sociable2	.000 (.008)	-.056 (.056)	.008* (.038)	-.078 (.054)	-.002 (.008)	.112** (.036)	.164 (.090)	-.006 (.038)	.002 (.053)	.035 (.056)					.043
6. Success2	-.001 .019 (.011)	-.054 .143 (.077)	.010 .077 (.053)	-.078 -.066 (.074)	-.015 -.008 (.011)	.149 .123 (.049)	.196 -.098 (.121)	-.101 .092 (.052)	.002 -.033 (.073)	.086 -.209* (.078)					.124
7. Distress2	.070 -.013 (.011)	.091 -.143* (.072)	.060 -.076 (.049)	-.044 .113 (.070)	-.035 -.040** (.010)	.109 .006 (.045)	-.078 -.098 (.114)	.105 -.036 (.049)	-.033 .186** (.072)	-.225 .032 (.071)					.204
8. Rule Violator2	-.051 -.002 (.012)	-.096 -.191** (.083)	-.062 -.093 (.057)	.080 .080 (.081)	-.182 -.013 (.011)	.006 -.202** (.053)	-.082 -.156 (.132)	-.044 -.103 (.057)	.196 .224** (.083)	.036 .062 (.083)					.137
	-.008	-.111	-.066	.049	-.049	-.164	.114	-.107	.204	.061					
Delinquent Behavior															
9. Delinquency3	.002* (.001)	.012 (.007)	-0.001 (.005)	.001 (.006)	.001 (.001)	-.012** (.004)	.022 (.011)	.003 (.005)	.002 (.006)	.020** (.007)	.011 (.009)	.005 (.005)	.006 (.007)	.016** (.006)	.128
	.079	.079	-.009	.075	.024	-.116	.188	.037	.025	.233	.081	.050	.058	.191	

N = 565; df=434; RMSEA=.0385; CFI=.979

*p<.05; **p<.01 (two-tailed test)

Note: Numbers in parentheses= standard errors; standardized coefficients = in boldface.

Figure 1. Modified Model of Reflected Appraisals and Behavior

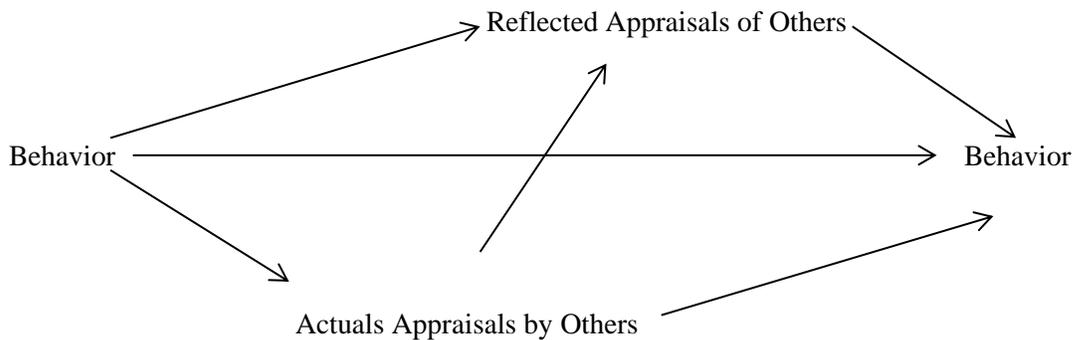


Figure 2. A substantive model of parental appraisals, reflected appraisals, and delinquency

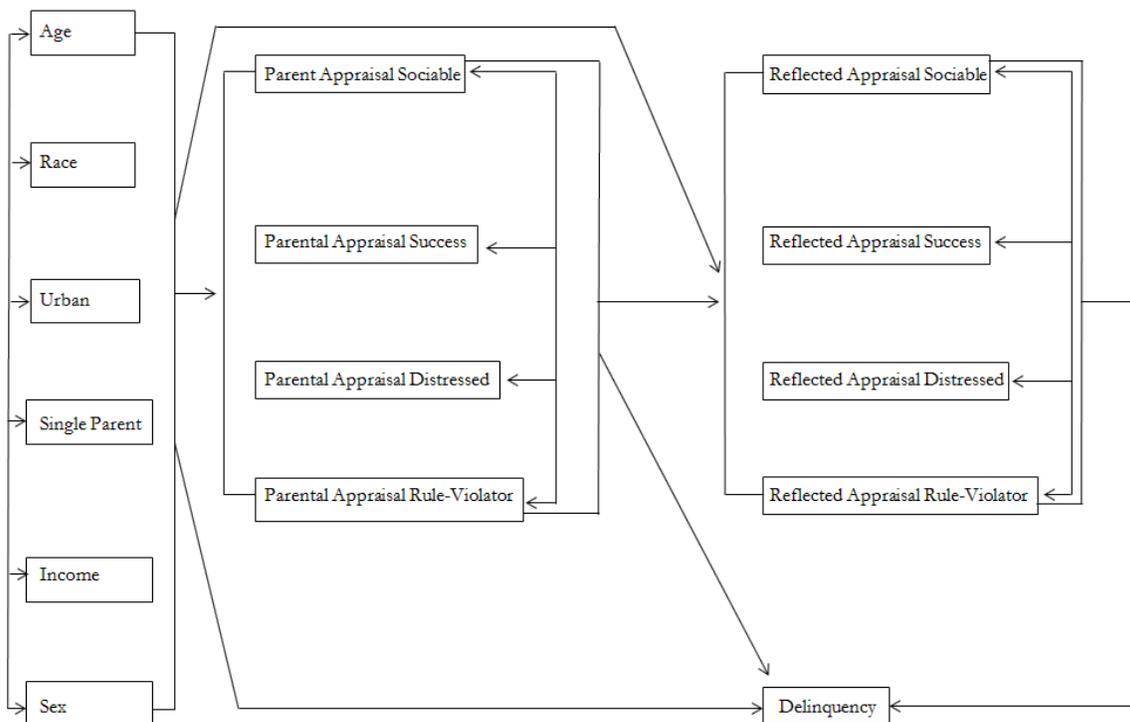


Figure 3. A measurement model of parental appraisals of youth.

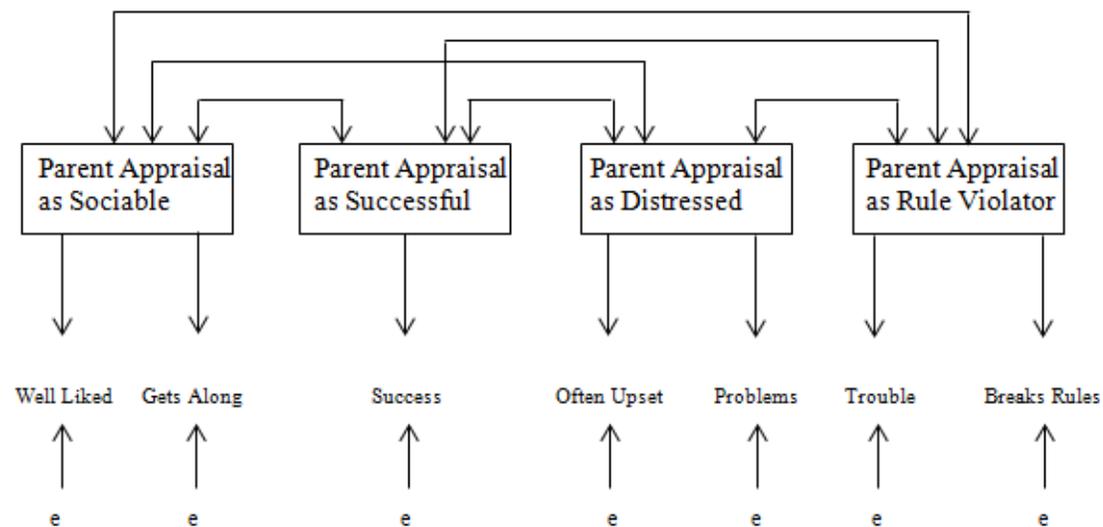


Figure 4. A measurement model of reflected appraisals of self.

