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Social Causes of Violent Crimes
among Young Offenders in Hong Kong

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Suggested citation:

Ng, Agnes. 1975. *Social Causes of Violent Crimes among Young Offenders in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Occasional Paper No. 51, Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

SOCIAL CAUSES OF VIOLENT CRIMES
AMONG YOUNG OFFENDERS IN HONG KONG

by

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is commissioned by the Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime and it has been made possible through the co-operation and suggestions of some governmental departments and a number of people. We wish to express our sincere appreciation particularly to the following:-

The Census and Statistics Department for providing us the basic information of the Household Expenditure Survey from which we drew our non-offenders' sample.

The Social Welfare Department and the Prisons' Department for providing us the offenders' sample and facilities for field work.

The Housing Department for providing us the list of unlicensed housing.

The Liaison Committee of the Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime for its co-operation and guidance throughout the study.

Miss Annie Chan, Chairman of the aforementioned Committee, for her encouragement.

In addition to the principal contributors listed in the front page, we also like to express our sincere thanks to Mr. S.L. Wong and Dr. Pedro Ng of the Sociology Department, Chung Chi College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, for their suggestions and keen interest in our project. Mr. Harold Ho of the Social Work Department, also of Chung Chi College, showed much encouragement and support all through the year.

We would also like to acknowledge the help of the clerical staff of the Social Research Centre of the University. They worked diligently to provide all the necessary services to complete the study.

We particularly would like to thank a group of experienced social workers and social work students for rendering field work services in this study.

Last, but not least, we thank our friend Mr. David Malchow, lecturer of the Department of Social Work, University of Hong Kong, for his help in editing our manuscript.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Public Views on Crime

Although studies of crime and delinquency have long been the interest of policy makers and social scientists in Western societies, Hong Kong did not show much interest in this social issue until the crime rate soared in recent years. Ever since the Hong Kong Government launched the Fight-Crime Campaign in 1973, there has been considerable speculation on the causes of crime. It is very interesting to find a variety of controversial views expressed. Government officials working in the Police Force¹ and Prisons Department² tend to believe irresponsible parenthood is the major cause of crime and delinquency, while prominent citizens such as Mrs. Elsie Elliott³ and Mr. A. deo Sales⁴ consider "poor living conditions", "inadequate provision of educational facilities" and "corruption" the root causes of crime. On March, 1974, group discussions involving prisoners from the 13 penal institutions in Hong Kong were held to discuss the social causes of crime. These groups saw "sensational Mass Media", "crowded living conditions", "poverty", "broken homes", "corruption", "influence of gangs", and "drug dependence" as the causes of crime and violence⁵.

A position paper on crime and violence, published in November 1973, by the Hong Kong Council of Social Service and the Hong Kong Social Workers' Association⁶ attempted to ascertain the causes of crime by analysing the Hong Kong society in terms of its economic, cultural and political systems. The paper stresses that "criminals are made not born". It begins by saying that young persons learn to disregard law and social convention through their experiences in the family, school and community. It goes on to say that as a borrowed place on borrowed time, Hong Kong has its unique characteristics in its social, political and economic systems. The result of which is to place high value on accumulation of wealth. Under such influences, people will concentrate on the quick amassing of wealth without giving any thought to the means employed. By so doing, corruption is likely to develop in all sectors

of the society. The causes of crime, it is suggested, are therefore imbedded in this social system "which worships money and rejects both Confucian and Christian values,".

In essence, the paper adopts the systems theory approach in looking at the sources of social deterioration and suggests that unhealthy moral values, social disintegration of the family resulting from rapid social change, inadequacies of the present education system, the crowded living conditions, the lack of overall social policy planning, "corruption in public life", "the lack of social security", and "the mockery of justice" are all factors contributing to the increasing incidence of crime and delinquency.

1.2 Local Studies on Crime and Delinquency

However sound the foregoing view-points may be, there have not been any solid empirical findings to support them. It is also rather unfortunate that very few studies on crime have been done in Hong Kong. The earliest one we can cite is an exploratory study on juvenile delinquency in Hong Kong by Mr. Chang Wah Po⁷ and his students in 1966. By comparing two groups, one being young offenders and the other, students in schools, they wished to explore the causes of delinquency. The samples in both the offenders' and non-offenders' groups were quite substantial. The number of case records studied in the former group was 774; and they were drawn from the probation homes and the approved schools of the Social Welfare Department and institutions of the Prisons' Department. There were, altogether, 600 students in the non-offenders' group, who were drawn from well-known government and subsidized secondary schools, as well as from those who joined club activities at the Tai Hang Tung Community Centre and the Summer Camps organized by the Social Welfare Department. The design of the study followed closely the methodology adopted by Shelton and Eleanor Glueck in 1950⁸. Findings of this study were quite useful and the view that crime resulted from or was caused by many-factors was substantiated. However, the author warned that there might be quite a number of methodological short-comings in that study. The most obvious ones were: (1) The specific group of students

did not match the offenders in many ways. Thus, one could not explain why a large population of youngsters with similar family background, living in the same environment, receiving the same level of education and having the same occupations as those of the offenders did not commit crime; (2) there were great differences in ages between the offenders and the students; on the average the offenders' group was 4 years older than the students' group. Some inherent variables connected with age might have been overlooked in the study; and (3) as the information regarding the offenders was provided by case-records only, the subjectivity of the recorders might bias the information obtained. For these reasons, the reliability of the findings of that study is in question despite it being a valuable study on delinquency itself.

In the late sixties, the social background of the juvenile delinquents became the focus of research. A pilot study of the social background of juvenile delinquents who were convicted and placed in probation homes was done in 1969-71⁹, "A Study of Juvenile Crime in Hong Kong" was done in 1973 by the Research Sub-Committee, Neighbourhood Advisory Council¹⁰, and in the same year a survey of the general background of discharged prisoners under the age of 25 was done by the Hong Kong Discharged Prisoner's Aid Society¹¹. However, none of them delineated the major factors contributing to the incidence of juvenile delinquency in Hong Kong. The Government, being very much concerned with the rising crime rate in Hong Kong, set up a sub-committee on social causes of crime in March 1973 to identify the root causes of crime and to recommend ways of reducing them. While surveying the relevant statistics and local research on crime and receiving opinions from the public, the sub-committee felt that a large scale research project would be most useful in studying the contributing factors of crime. The Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, therefore, was commissioned in early December 1973 to conduct a study of the social causes of violent crimes committed by juvenile offenders in Hong Kong. In this report, we shall present some of the major findings of that study and shall also make various recommendations.

1.3 Theoretical Perspectives on Delinquency

The literature on theories of delinquent behaviour is extensive, complex, and diversified. In general, earlier theories were largely biologically and/or psychologically oriented. Delinquent behaviour was explained essentially in terms of biological characteristics¹² (e.g., a long lower jaw, flattened nose, sparse beard, and low sensitivity to pain) or psychological-motivational traits¹³ (e.g., mental defectiveness and feeble-mindedness). In recent years, however, there has emerged an increasing concern with the broader environment, that is, the social and cultural forces. Consequently, in the correctional field, the emphasis has gradually shifted from the treatment of individuals to the preventive and community-development approaches in tackling the problem of delinquency¹⁴. This social-cultural perspective on delinquency, however, is in itself quite diversified. The following is a sketch of some of the dominant social-cultural theories of delinquent behavior.

The anomie theory, as represented by the work of Robert K. Merton¹⁵, contends that delinquent behavior is a result of a situation in which society prescribes goals of individual success (e.g., the attainment of wealth and power) but the opportunities for achieving these goals are not equal to all. Thus, if an individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis on success but has failed to find legal means for achieving success, he may resort to illegitimate means. In other words, he becomes a delinquent. A major defect in this theory is that it does not explain the fact that many people, who grow up in the same aversive living environments as those of the delinquents, do not turn to crime, whereas some who grow up with a full range of opportunity do.

The delinquent subculture or differential association theory, as represented by the work of Edwin H. Sutherland¹⁶, assumes that criminal behaviour is learned through interaction with other persons who have intimate personal ties with each other. That is, "when persons become criminal, they do so because of contacts with criminal

patterns and because of isolation from anti-criminal patterns." Furthermore, "lawful behaviour developed in early childhood may persist throughout life, and also, delinquent behavior developed in early childhood may persist throughout life." In this sense, the socialization process with the family, the friends, and the neighbourhood environment are important factors that may contribute to delinquent behaviour. According to this theory, we may say that the crime rate in one area is higher than the other because delinquent subcultures in that area are more prevalent than the other, and that there will be more delinquents, therefore, in the slum area because there is a strong delinquent subculture there. Although the theory of differential association is weak in the sense that it does not explain why individuals have the associations they have, it points out the importance of interpersonal contacts in the community, especially the influence of triad societies and delinquent gangs.

In an attempt to integrate the anomie and the differential association theories, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin¹⁷ formulate a hypothesis of differential opportunity. It is hypothesized that delinquency is a result of the systems of forces governing the accessibility to culturally approved goals by legitimate and illegitimate means. Each individual occupies a position in both the legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. Limitations of the accessibility to cultural goals by legitimate means are the principal sources of pressure toward delinquent acts, while the availability of illegitimate means to attain cultural goals is the principal determinant of the resulting delinquent adaptation. If neither legitimate nor illegitimate opportunities are available, there will be no delinquent behaviour. It is also asserted that the delinquent subculture represents a specialized form of adaptation to the discrepancy between the culturally prescribed goals and accepted means. It provides illegal avenues to the success-goals which can not be attained by legal means. According to this hypothesis, therefore, an individual who is denied the legal means to achieve success-goals may not commit delinquent acts, unless he can get access to the delinquent opportunity structures or subcultures, such as those provided by the triad society and drug ring in Hong Kong.

Another major theoretical effort is the control theory, which assumes that delinquency is a result of the breaking down or the weakening of the individual's bond to society. Albert J. Reiss Jr.¹⁸, for instance, defines delinquency as the "behaviour consequent to the failure of personal and social controls to produce behaviour in conformity with the norms of the social system to which legal penalties are attached". He regarded 'control' as being composed of two components, personal control and social control. Personal control, as defined by him, is "the ability of the individual to refrain from meeting needs in ways which conflict with the norms and rules of the community". Social control, on the other hand, is "the ability of social groups or institutions to make norms or rules effective".

Similar to the control theory is the containment theory put forward by Walter C. Reckless¹⁹. Personal control, he says, is 'inner containment' which consists "mainly of self components such as self-control, good self-concept, ego strength, well developed superego, high frustration tolerance, high resistance to diversions, high sense of responsibility, goal orientation, ability to find substitute satisfactions, tension-reducing rationalizations, and so on". In short, it is the personality of the individual. By social control he means "outer containment" which is "the structure buffer in the person's immediate social world which is able to hold him within bounds". These elements in inner and outer containment are the regulators of normative behaviour.

F.I. Nye²⁰ summarizes the control factors into four types: (a) direct control which comes from discipline, restrictions, punishments; (b) internalized control which is the inner control of conscience; (c) indirect control which is exerted by not wanting to hurt or go against the wishes of parents or other individuals with whom the person identifies, and (d) the availability of alternative means to goals.

1.4 Theoretical Framework and General Hypothesis

The above review of literature shows that there exists a diversification of theoretical approaches to the problem of delinquent behaviour. The question arises: what is the approach we are going to take in the present study of juvenile offenders in Hong Kong?

We do not deny that some biological and/or psychological factors may be important determinants of delinquency. In the present study, however, we shall emphasize social-environmental, rather than individual bio-psychological, factors in delinquent behaviour. It is our fundamental assumption that an individual's attitudes and behaviour are molded by the social environment in which he lives. Rather than being an exception, delinquency is a type of behavior which is inevitably affected, not only by the bio-psychological components of an individual, but also by the surrounding social and cultural forces.

Another assumption underlying the present study is that the occurrence of delinquent acts may be due to multiple factors. A number of social forces may, in one way or another, contribute to the occurrence of delinquency. The term "cause" in the present study is thus used in a broad sense. Any factor which may increase the probability of the occurrence of delinquent behaviour is considered a cause.

Because of our belief in the multiple causation model of delinquency, the present study will adopt a similar approach as that of Glueck and Glueck²¹, that is to shoot out in many directions in order to explore and reveal as many possible causes of crime as possible. Nevertheless, a general theoretical guideline is still needed for the purpose of identifying and organizing the social causes

Among the theoretical perspectives presented above we shall mainly, but not exclusively, use the social control approach. It is not only congruent with our emphasis on social factors, but also so

broad and comprehensive that we can consider a number of social variables. As we have mentioned, the fundamental postulate of this approach is that when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken, he is likely to be a delinquent.

As a major proponent of the control perspective, Travis Hirschi²² suggested four elements of the bond to conventional society; they are (1) attachment to others, (2) commitment to social values and norms, (3) involvement in social activities, and (4) belief in the moral validity of social codes. He has also empirically demonstrated how each of these elements is associated with delinquent behaviour. Using these four elements of social bond, we would like to propose the following general hypothesis and use it as a general guideline in identifying and organizing the social variables in the present study:

Whether or not an individual commits delinquent acts would depend on the extent to which he is attached to conventional others (e.g., parents, school, and peers); committed to conventional lines of action (e.g., educational and occupational aspirations), involved in social activities (e.g., recreational and leisure activities), and holding a belief in the moral validity of rules (e.g., laws, police force, individual responsibility, and sense of belonging).

In the following chapters, we shall outline the research procedures, and then examine how the various elements of social bond are related to juvenile delinquency in Hong Kong.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Spt. Yuen Hoi Chui of Police Department, S.C.M.P. 10/8/75.
- 2 Garner, F.G., The Commissioner of Prison, S.C.M.P. 21/9/73.
- 3 S.C.M.P. 23/3/74.
- 4 S.C.M.P. 21/6/73.
- 5 S.C.M.P. 31/3/74.
- 6 HKCSS & HKSWA., "Criminals are made not born", Nov. 1973.
- 7 張華葆「香港少年犯罪研究」社會觀察第二期, 崇基社會系年刊, 1968.
- 8 Shelton Glueck & Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency. Cambridge . Harvard University Press, 1950.
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II. RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 The Universe of the Study

It is commonly recognized that the difficulties and confusion in determining the causes of crimes and delinquency originate in the extremely ambiguous use of the concept itself. Without an awareness of precisely what is meant by crime or delinquency, no delineation of cause is possible¹. The implication here is that research into the causes of crime or delinquency will be affected by the definition chosen. Because of the importance of this definitional problem, we now turn to a discussion of it.

2.2 Definition of Crime

The definition of crime or delinquency is somewhat complicated. A good account of both the common and legal usages of the term "crime" may be found in the remark of Lord Atkin - "The domain of criminal jurisprudence can only be ascertained by examining what acts at any particular period are declared by the state to be crimes, and the only common nature they will be found to possess is that they are prohibited by the State and that those who commit them are punished"². Although some criminologists have sought to widen the definition of crime so as to include types of socially deviant behaviour which are not punishable as offences in the courts but which are regarded as sociologically significant³. Others have classified crime in three ways: legalistic, individualistic, and social⁴, yet, in its most general sense crime is well-recognized as an act prohibited by law upon pain of punishment, and an offence against the criminal law.

Another similar term which is often used loosely to describe what are sometimes called offences is delinquency. This term is even more confusing because it is so overlaid with legal,

normative and moral implications that there is a wealth of adhoc definitions⁵. As J.S. Himes states, "its core reference in social science seems to be social acts of juveniles that are demarcated and evaluated as deviant or antisocial by relevant legal or social norms, and that are usually, though not always socially learnt⁶".

In Hong Kong, the legislation makes no use of the term "juvenile delinquency"; any person, under the age of 16 years, who has committed a crime is classified as a juvenile offender. For legislative purposes, the Government defines persons under 14 years of age as children, and those who have reached the age of 14 but are under the age of 16 as young persons⁷. Young offenders, on the other hand, are defined as persons over 14 and under 21 years of age⁸.

In this study, for practical reasons, we have tried to use the legal definition to delineate the universe of our study while still recognizing the broader theoretical and social orientations involved.

A familiar legalistic classification of crimes is in terms of the seriousness of the offence as indicated by the kind of sentence laid down in relation to it (e.g., felonies versus misdemeanors). This, however, is not very useful and is ambiguous because it is difficult to make clear-cut distinctions between major types of offences.

Another common way to classify the criminal act is in terms of a legal category. Thus, criminals are referred to as murderers, burglars, and rapists etc. This method of classifying criminals also suffers from a number of disadvantages⁹. Nevertheless, as Clinard and Quinney state, "the procedure is desirable because official data concerned with criminal histories exist in terms of legal nomenclature and because the criminal code contains specific, operational definitions of criminal behaviour"¹⁰. Thus, for the purposes of the present study, the definition of crime and its detailed classification is compiled in terms of legal category which is mainly based on the classification of the Hong Kong Judiciary and the Hong Kong Police Department.

Table II - 1

Classification of Violent Crimes¹¹

- I. Rape
- II. Murder and Manslaughter
- III. Attempted Murder
- IV. Serious Assault
 - 1. Wounding - Section 17 (general)
 - 2. Wounding - Section 17 (on Police Officer on duty)
 - 3. Wounding - Section 17 (on Police Officer off duty)
 - 4. Throwing Corrosive Fluid - Section 29
 - 5. Other Felonious Assaults
 - 6. Wounding - Section 19 (general)
 - 7. Wounding - Section 19 (on Police Officer on duty)
 - 8. Wounding - Section 19 (on Police Officer off duty)
 - 9. Causing Actual Bodily Harm - Section 39 (general)
 - 10. Causing Actual Bodily Harm - Section 39
(on Police Officer on duty)
 - 11. Causing Actual Bodily Harm - Section 39
(on Police Officer off duty)
 - 12. Assaults, resists, or obstructs police in execution
of duty
 - 13. Other Serious Assaults (misdemeanours)
- V. Kidnapping
- VI. Robbery with Firearms
- VII. Other Robberies
 - 1. Using force or put in fear
 - 2. Armed with other weapons of offence
 - 3. Assault with intent to rob
- VIII. Criminal Damage to Property
 - 1. Arson
 - 2. Destroying or damaging property other than by Arson
 - 3. Destroying or damaging property with intent to
endanger life
 - 4. Threats to destroy or damage property
 - 5. Possession of implements to destroy or damage property

2.3 Control of the Enquiry

As this project is essentially a study on the causation factors of delinquency, it calls for the selection of youths who are delinquents or criminals, or part of the prison population. In order to make comparisons with this group of young offenders, youths who showed no such signs of delinquency also became subjects of our inquiry. By comparing these two groups we may investigate why some youths became delinquent and why some did not.

In view of the research objective, and after considering the elements of practicality, the comparison method was used to collect and analyse the data in this study. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck in their famous study have also used the same method to study the causal efficacy of a number of factors generally accepted as criminogenic.¹² By applying this method, two samples - an experimental sample and a control sample - are drawn in such a way that a presumed factor, which in this study is the criminal offence, should be introduced into the experimental sample but withheld from the control sample¹³. Apart from this basic factor, various other factors must be held constant as a prerequisite to the comparison of the two different samples. In other words, these two groups must be drawn in such a way that they will be as nearly alike as possible with regard to some major factors potentially affecting the results. In this way, any significant differences in other variables between the two groups may be attributed to the occurrence and non-occurrence of criminal behaviour accorded to the two groups.

In deciding which factors are to be controlled in selecting the control group, we considered the following three factors as important variables:

1. Housing type

Since the residents' living standard, income, socio-economic status, level of education and life style in general varies from one type of housing to another,

in addition to the variation of accommodation standard, it is important to control this factor in order to permit us to find out why it is that even in the same living environment, some youth do not commit legally prohibited acts.

2. Age

Because age, as a matter of common sense, indicates the point a person has reached in the process of biological maturation and development, age-profiles are an easy way of mapping certain kinds of deviated behaviour¹⁴. The control of the age factor will help us to find out the problem of misbehaviour among different age groups.

3. Sex

Numerous sociological studies and psychological experiments have found that the two sexes do vary significantly on a wide diversity of behavioural measures. One of the observations about females is that they are less often found guilty of breaking the laws of society. Even when they do commit crimes, the feminine offences are mainly prostitution and theft. The available data show that they seldom commit violent crimes¹⁵. Therefore, in the study of crimes or delinquency, this factor should be controlled.

2.4 Selecting and Matching Offenders and Non-offenders

As mentioned in the previous section, in this study, we intend to use the matched-sample design to compare and contrast the socio-economic characteristics of young offenders and non-offenders.

2.4.1 Offenders sample

The sample of offenders was composed of all male and female adolescents between the age of 12 to 20 who had been convicted for

crime of violence and had been admitted to an institution operated by the Social Welfare Department or Prisons Department, or entered into a probation order, during the period of March, 1973 to February, 1974. Since records of offenders are kept by the Prisons Department and Social Welfare Department, it was not difficult to secure a list of young offenders who were serving sentences for violent criminal acts during the above-mentioned period.

Altogether, 523 young offenders were included in our list, from which a sample of 500 cases was randomly selected (See Table II-2). The remaining 23 cases were reserved as a sub-sample to replace those non-sampled cases.

Table II - 2

Original sample of violent crime offenders

	Male	Female	Total
SWD Records	283	12	295
Prisons Dept. Records	200	5	205
	<u>483</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>500</u>

By May, 1974, when the interviews were carried out, some of the offenders were no longer in prisons or under probation. These dropouts were not properly part of the population sampled, since the population at issue was the inmates of probation institutes or prisons or youngsters on probation during the above-mentioned period. Thus, after replacements, 479 offenders were finally included in the study and they constituted the offenders' group.

2.4.2 Non-offenders sample

The sample of non-offenders, which was designed to provide a direct comparison with the offenders sample, and sometimes referred to in this report as the control sample, was drawn from the household listing obtained through the 1973 Hong Kong Household Expenditure Survey.

A stratified random sample was drawn by using age, sex and housing type as criteria for stratification, (e.g., a 12 year old boy living at Government Low Cost Housing, or a 13 year old girl living in private tenement). As this control sample was designed to be comparable to that of the offenders sample, it was impossible to apply a single sample fraction to every stratum. That means the sample we drew for the control group is a probability sample drawn by different sampling fractions. It would require tedious statistical weightings if one were to make estimates on population parameters¹⁶ For this study, the information obtained from the control group is used only for comparison with the offenders' group; estimation of population characteristics is neither essential nor important. Thus no attempt is made in this report to make such estimations.

The Census and Statistics Department carried out the Household Expenditure Survey in 1973; it was a sample survey and the sample covered all the urban areas of Hong Kong (i.e., Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, New Kowloon and Tsuen Wan). It was the assistance of this Department that a list of adolescents of age 12 to 20 was prepared. Altogether, there were 1882 youngsters included in the list, classified by sex, age, and housing type. In accordance with the sample frame of the offenders' group, the required sample units for every stratum were selected randomly for inclusion in the control sample¹⁷. As non-responsive cases were expected, we prepared, besides the original sample of 500 non-offenders, a supplementary sample of 100 youngsters, also randomly drawn, to replace those unsuccessful interviews, in order to obtain the required sample size of 500.

Of the required 500 non-offenders in the original sample, complete data was eventually obtained on 491, after using the 100 replacement cases. The sources of attrition in the original sample and replacement sub-sample are shown in Table II-3.

Table II - 3

Result of the interviews

<u>Source of Attrition</u>	<u>1st Stage</u>		<u>2nd Stage</u>		<u>All</u>	
Refusals	25	5.0%	9	9.0%	34	5.7%
Absentees (Not-at-home)	36	7.2%	10	10.0%	46	7.7%
Change of address	23	4.6%	6	6.0%	29	4.8%
Completed Interviews	416	83.2%	75	75.0%	491	81.8%
Sample	500	100.0%	100	100.0%	600	100.0%

Of the several reasons for non-response to the interviews shown in Table II-3, absentees (not-at-home) is the main one. Both refusals and change of address also form part of the non-response sample. The successful rate for the first stage interviews (83.2%) was better than the second stage (75.0%). However, on the whole, the response rate (81.8%) is considered satisfactory.

2.5 Data Collection

In order to meet the research objectives, it was decided to collect data by the method of personal interviews supplemented by the checking of prison and probation records and files. By employing this method, we may ensure a higher response rate.

Since information was needed from both young offenders and non-offenders, two survey field-work operations were organized. The first was directed to young offenders, and the second to non-offenders. Moreover, two separate but comparable interview schedules were prepared to obtain information from the offender sample and the non-offender sample. The respective schedules are set out in Appendix A. In brief, the questions were set under the following main headings:

- 1) Basic personal characteristics
- 2) Family situation
- 3) Living and neighborhood environment
- 4) Educational background and school adjustment

- 5) Attachment to peers
- 6) Leisure activities and exposure to mass media
- 7) Work experience
- 8) Social attitudes and beliefs

The final versions of the interview schedules used in the survey were prepared after conducting a pre-test in April, 1974.

Various types of research designs have been applied in the studies of crime and delinquency; all of them have their advantages and disadvantages in terms of the methodological implications. In spite of its many advantages, the present research design also has its limitations, for example, as the survey schedules of this study are structurally set to obtain the maximal information from both offenders and non-offenders, the interviewer is not allowed to alter the form and the timing of the inquiries; at the same time, the respondents are not encouraged to "talk" too much about the topics being studied. Thus, under such circumstances, the information obtained is geared more to quantitative analysis rather than to qualitative understanding. However, we were fortunate to obtain the consent of a few respondents who were willing to let us do tape-recorded in depth interviews. These interviews served as supplementary research material for our studies and hence helped us to overcome some of the limitations of our research design.

2.6 The Field Staff and Field Operation

The field-workers of this study were professional social workers and social work students of the Chinese University of Hong Kong; a total of 40 interviewers were engaged in carrying out the actual field work. The majority of the interviewers, especially those for the experimental group, possessed professional knowledge and experience in interviewing delinquents.

The fieldwork was divided into two stages. In the first stages, young offenders in the various institutions (See Appendix B) were interviewed by a team of experienced social workers. In order

to check the internal validity of the answers given by the respondents, the field staff also had access to the background information of each offender, such as fathers' occupation, triad membership and previous offences. Such information was collected from the official records so that a cross-check could be made.

The second stage of fieldwork commenced in the last week of July, 1974. Interview-appointment letters were sent to the sample of non-offenders. Most of the interviews were carried out at the respondent's residence in the absence of other family members. The rest were completed in corridors, in playgrounds, or as prearranged, in Community Centres.

2.7 Data Processing

All interview schedules accepted were examined by editors stationed in the Social Research Centre. The schedules were checked for completeness and record consistency. After verification, all schedules were coded. Although most of the answers in the schedules were precoded, we still transferred all the codes of each schedule on a code sheet. This process of coding provided another chance for checking, and facilitated key-punching.

Key-punching was carried out by the Social Research Centre. The tabulation and statistical calculations of the data were done at the Computer Service Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

2.8 Data Analysis and Chi-Square Test

Percentage tables will be used to present the effects of social variables on delinquency. In addition, chi-square tests will also be used to evaluate the statistical significance of inter-sample differences. We arbitrarily consider that statistically significant differences exist between offenders and non-offenders when the probability is equal to or less than 0.01.

Also, in a number of tables, multiple responses from multiple-choice type questions (for example, respondents were asked to name two favourite television programmes) have been combined, so that the total number of responses are much greater than the sample size. In such tables, statistically significant differences should be treated with caution, since the numbers of "cases" are artificially inflated.

2.9 Profile of Respondents

Before we analyse the survey findings, it is important that we have an idea about the profile of our respondents who supplied information for our study.

Tables II-4 to II-6 show that there were, in fact, no significant differences between the sex, age and housing type distributions of the two samples. This reflects that the samples were successfully matched.

2.9.1 Sex

As Table II-4 shows, there were only a relatively small number of girls (3.8% in offenders sample and 4.5% in non-offenders sample) in each of the samples. The matching between the girls in the offenders and non-offenders was satisfactory. However, we cannot place very great faith in the statistical analysis of the girls' data as the samples are too small. Thus, most of the interpretative analysis is applicable only to male adolescents and statistical tests have in general not been applied for inter-sex comparison.

Table II - 4

Sex distribution of respondents

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Male	461	96.2	469	95.5
Female	18	3.8	22	4.5
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0

2.9.2 Age

The age distribution of offenders and non-offenders is presented in Table II-5.

Statistics reveal that more than 50% of the sample in both groups are below the age of 16 years. The average age for the two samples are more or less the same (16.2 years and 16.1 years). On the whole, the matching of age was satisfactory.

Table II - 5

Age distribution of respondents

Age	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
12	11	2.3	23	4.7
13	33	6.9	34	6.9
14	52	10.9	70	14.2
15	97	20.3	77	15.7
16	84	17.5	78	15.9
17	68	14.2	68	13.8
18	58	12.1	69	14.1
19	50	10.4	47	9.6
20	26	5.4	25	5.1
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0

Mean = 16.2 years Mean = 16.1

Median = 16.6 years Median = 16.5

2.9.3 Housing type

Regarding the type of housing in which the respondents were living, either at the time of this study or before they were admitted to the correction institutions, the final result of the matching is presented in Table II-6. In this aspect, the samples achieved were comparable, although the use of housing type as a matching criterion is not as successful as the previous two factors (i.e., sex and age). It must be noted that the "others" included those living in places

such as boats, lorries, and street corner where it is difficult to find the respondents for inclusion in the non-offender sample.

Table II - 6

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
R/E	169	35.3	199	40.5
G.L.C.H	36	7.5	43	8.8
HA/HS	13	2.7	22	4.5
Private Housing	206	43.0	204	41.5
Squatter Area	23	4.8	21	4.3
Others	32	6.7	2	0.4
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0

2.9.4 The offenders

The average age of the offenders' sample at the time of their first conviction is found to be 15.45 years. More than half (50.8%) of the offenders first appeared in court when they were under 16 years of age (see Table II-7). The average number of offences up to the time we selected them for inclusion in the study is 1.5 (see Table II-8).

Table II - 7

Age	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
6 - 11	11	2.3
12	16	3.3
13	44	9.2
14	67	14.0
15	106	22.1
16	92	19.2
17	61	12.7
18	40	8.4
19	32	6.7
20	10	2.1
Total	479	100.0

Table II - 8

Number of offences

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
One	348	72.7
Two	71	14.8
Three	34	7.1
Four	12	2.5
Five	9	1.9
Six	3	0.6
Seven	1	0.2
Eight	1	0.2
Total	479	100.0

Mean = 1.499

With regard to the types of offence the delinquents had committed most recently, robbery ranked highest (74.5%), followed by wounding-assault (21.3%). Table II-9 shows the different types of offences committed by the delinquents sampled.

Table II - 9

The most recent offence committed

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
Rape	2	0.4
Murder (Manslaughter)	7	1.5
Wounding	102	21.3
Robbery	357	74.5
Robbery with firearms	8	1.7
Criminal damage to property	3	0.6
Total	479	100.0

From the above analysis, there can be no doubt of the persistency of the violent criminal behaviours of the offenders' sample.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Rose Grallombardo, ed. Juvenile Delinquency: A book of readings 2nd ed., N.Y. : John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1972, p. 1.
- 2 Proprietary Articles Trade Association V. Att. - Gen. of Canada, The Law Reports (1971) Appeal Cases, pp. 310 ff. at p. 324.
- 3 See E. Sutherland, White Collar Crime, N.Y. : The Dryden Press, 1949.
- 4 M.B. Clinard and R. Quinney, Criminal Behaviour Systems: A typology, N.Y. : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.
- 5 See Travis Hirschi, Causes of Delinquency, Berkley : University of California Press, 1972, pp. 47-64.
- 6 See J. Gould & W.L. Kolb ed., A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, N.Y. : The Free Press, 1965, p. 365.
- 7 Hong Kong Government, Law of Hong Kong Ordinance & Subsidiary Legislation, Juvenile Offenders, Chapter 226 of the revised edition Government printer, 1964.
- 8 Hong Kong Government, Law of Hong Kong Ordinance No. 12 of 1972, Detention Centres, Government printer, 1972.
- 9 For a discussion of various criminal classification systems, see R.R. Korn and L.W. McCordle, Criminology and Penology, N.Y. : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959, pp. 142-156.
- 10 Clinard & Quinney, op.cit. p. 5.
- 11 This list has been compiled with the help of the Census & Statistics Department. Please see Appendix C for a more detailed discussion of the categories of violent crimes.
- 12 Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1950.
- 13 For a good discussion of this method, see B.S. Phillips, Social Research, N.Y. : The MacMillan, 1971, pp. 103-124.
- 14 See Paul Barket ed., A Sociological Portrait, Penguin Books, Ltd., England, 1972.
- 15 Commissioner of Prisons, Annual Departmental Report, 1973-1974, Government Printer, Hong Kong.
- 16 For detail of this sampling technique please see L. Kish, Survey Sampling, London : John Wiley & Son, 1965.
- 17 As a small number of young offenders were found to be living in squatter areas, and the 1973 Household Expenditure Survey did not include domestic households living in the squatter areas, a sub-sample of squatter area non-offenders was prepared.

III. FAMILY CONTROL AND CRIME

3.1 Introduction

The family has long been recognized as the cradle of personality development. Being one of the major socializing agents, the family transmits the contemporary societal values which the child then internalizes. Thus, parents play a significant role in shaping the behavioural patterns of the child throughout childhood and adolescence. Individual behaviour, at least in part, is the result of parental control and supervision. Juvenile criminal or deviant behaviour is often considered to result from insufficient or inappropriate parental supervision and control. It should here be made clear that the term "control" implies not only the negative deterrent forces but also the positive influence through familial education and through the child's modeling of parental behaviour.

In this chapter, we shall discuss several family conditions which may affect the adequacy of parental supervision and control and may hence facilitate the occurrence of delinquent acts. The family conditions to be discussed are grouped into three broad categories: (1) parental integrity, (2) parent-child relationships, and (3) social-economic well-being.

3.2 Parental Integrity

The amount and quality of supervision and control over youths would depend upon parental integrity, i.e. the extent to which both parents are living and are working together for common goals. A family with parental integrity would be more likely than a family without parental integrity to appropriately supervise its youthful members. As a result, the higher the degree of family integrity, the less likely would be the occurrence of juvenile delinquency¹.

A broken home is a family without parental integrity. Usually, the absence of one of the natural parents, be it caused by death, desertion, divorce or separation, will constitute a broken home. However, from a social-psychological point of view, a family is lacking

in parental integrity if the existing parents are rarely living together or usually in conflict with one another. In the following analysis, therefore, the degree of parental integrity will be represented by three indicators: (1) is it a broken home? (2) are parents living together regularly? and (3) how harmonious is the relationship between parents?

Table III - 1

	<u>Broken Home</u>			
	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Parents living together	356	74.3	447	91.0
Broken home	123	25.7	44	9.0
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 47.54$		$P < .001$	

Table III-1 shows that the number of offenders coming from broken homes was significantly greater than the non-offenders coming from such homes. About one-fourth (25.7%) of the offenders as compared to less than one-tenth (9.0%) of the non-offenders came from broken homes. Apparently, offenders were more likely to be from broken homes than non-offenders.

The existence of both natural parents, or in some cases a natural parent plus a step-parent, does not guarantee the intactness of the home unless they live together regularly and harmoniously. Table III-2 shows that the regularity of parents living together was more common in the families of the non-offenders. There were ten per cent more non-offenders than offenders reporting that their parents were living together regularly. A sharper contrast is revealed in table III-3 regarding the parental relationship of the two groups. Obviously the non-offenders were more likely than offenders to have harmoniously related parents. About half (49.3%) of the offenders as compared with just a quarter (27.5%) of the non-offenders reported that the relationship between their parents was disharmonious or just fair. Bearing in mind that these data represent only subjective reports of respondents they nevertheless suggest significant differences between the two groups.

Table III - 2

Parents living together regularly

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	343	85.1	431	94.7
No	60	14.9	24	5.3
Total	403	100.0	455	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 22.36$		$P < .001$	

Table III - 3

Parental relationship

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Harmonious	226	50.7	341	72.6
Fair	117	26.2	117	24.9
Disharmonious	103	23.1	12	2.6
Total	446	100.0	470	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 92.67$		$P < .001$	

Taking the above three aspects as indicators of parental integrity, it is safe to conclude that the offenders came from less favourable home environments. Broken homes and disharmonious parental relationships were conducive to juvenile delinquency. As reported by the offenders themselves, the major causes of parental disharmony were financial problems, irresponsibility of the fathers, personality incompatibility of parents, and issues related to the supervision of children; these problems were rarely reported by the non-offenders. These issues will be elaborated in the following sections.

3.3 Parent-child Relationship

For the family to function as an integrated unit, parental integrity is required; but no less essential is the attachment of children to other family members, especially their parents. Should there be tensions between parents and children, it would be rather difficult for parents to exert proper supervision and control. In this section, we shall present some findings to show how the respondents

(i.e., the juvenile offenders and non-offenders under study) felt about their relationships with other family members, particularly their parents.

Table III - 4

	<u>Number of children in family</u>			
	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 4	80	16.7	76	15.5
4 to 5	180	37.6	212	43.2
6 to 7	146	30.5	152	31.0
More than 8	73	15.2	51	10.3
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0

$$X^2 = 12.067 \quad P < .01$$

Table III-4 presents the condition which permits later comparison of the two groups on similar basis, since the number of children in the families of both groups was quite similar. In other words, although there was significant difference between the family size of the offenders and non-offenders; the following analysis of parent-child relationships cannot be attributed to the difference in terms of the number of children between the families of offenders and non-offenders because it is the quality of relationship that counts.

3.3.1 The bond of affection

To begin with, let us focus on the emotional (i.e., liking or disliking) relationship between parents and their children.

Table III - 5

	<u>Family members who liked respondent best</u>			
	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Every one liked me	81	17.6	257	54.0
Parents	233	50.5	146	30.7
Sibling and relatives	115	25.0	58	12.2
No one liked me	32	6.9	15	3.1
Total	461	100.0	476	100.0

$$X^2 = 136.34 \quad P < .001$$

Though subjective, the responses in table III-5 revealed the respondents' impression of the family members who had probably the best relationship with him. It was found that about one half of the non-offenders (54.0%) reported that every member of the family liked him, but this response came from only one out of six offenders (17.6%); and that more offenders (50.5%, 24.9%) than non-offenders (30.7%, 12.2%) were best liked either by parents or by siblings/relatives, but not by both categories of family members. Hence, the non-offenders generally perceived that they had a more favourable and consistent relationship with their family members than had the offenders.

Table III-6 looks at the same picture from the opposite side. A quarter (25.6%) of the offenders admitted that they were hated or disliked by their family members, as compared with only a small fraction (5.4%) of the non-offenders. Again, the data suggest that the offenders had much less favourable relationships with their family members.

Table III - 6

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Every one disliked me	3	0.7	3	0.6
Parents	64	13.9	3	0.6
Sibling and relatives	51	11.1	20	4.2
No one disliked me	343	74.4	450	94.5
Total	461	100.0	476	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 83.29$		$P < .001$	

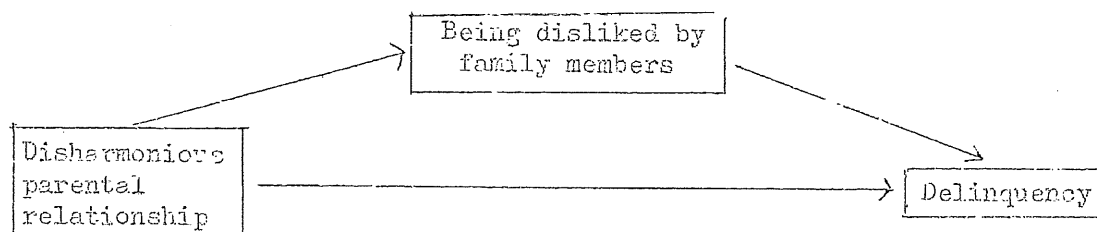
Table III - 7

Parental relationship and the percentage of offenders & non-offenders disliked by family members

	<u>Parental relationship</u>	
	<u>Harmonious</u>	<u>Fair or disharmonious</u>
Offenders	15.9% (220)	33.3% (213)
Non-offenders	3.3% (332)	12.1% (124)

It seems that the parent-child relationship would be conditioned by the relationship between parents. In a family with parental integrity, children would be more likely to feel they are loved and taken care of. Table III-7 confirms this hypothesis. In both the offenders and the non-offenders samples, respondents in families with harmonious parental relationships were less likely to feel disliked by family members than were those in families with fair or disharmonious parental relationships.

It should be remembered that in section 3.2, the disharmonious relationship between parents was found to be a factor contributing to delinquency. Since the parental relationship also affects a child's relationship with other family members, does it mean that the previously confirmed association between delinquency and a youth's being disliked by other family members is in fact spurious? In other words, the association might be due to the possibility that both the independent variable (disliked by other family members) and the dependent variable (delinquency) are related to a third variable (disharmonious parental relationship). However, data in Table III-7 shows that the association is not spurious. More offenders (15.9%, 33.3%) than non-offenders (3.3%, 12.1%) were disliked by family members among both the families with and without harmonious parental relationship. Hence, regardless of the parental relationship, a child's relationship with other family members still has its own bearing upon the tendency to delinquency. The interrelationships can be summarized and diagrammed below:



3.3.2 Parent-child communication

An essential condition of maintaining a smooth parent-child relationship is intimate communication. Table III-8 and III-9 disclose the intimacy and extent of parent-child communication.

Table III - 8

Father-child conversation

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Practically anything	83	19.5	228	51.5
Specific topics	161	37.9	146	33.0
No conversation or only quarrelling	181	42.6	69	15.5
Total	425	100.0	443	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 118.19$		$P < .001$	

The intimacy or extent of conversation offenders had with their fathers was significantly different from that between the non-offenders and their fathers. It is amazing to learn that almost half (42.6%) of the offenders had no communication with their fathers, or whenever they talked, they quarrelled. In the case of the non-offenders, only one out of six had that experience (15.5%). Furthermore, among the offenders who communicated with their fathers, most of their conversations were confined to specific topics such as health, amusement, family affairs, work, school, or money affairs. Non-offenders (51.5%) were much more likely than offenders (19.5%) to converse about practically anything with their fathers. Obviously non-offenders communicated more freely with their fathers.

Table III - 9

Content of Mother-child conversation

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Practically anything	101	23.7	257	54.3
Specific topics	180	42.3	164	34.7
No conversation or only quarrelling	145	34.0	52	11.0
Total	426	100.0	473	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 110.47$		$P < .001$	

Non-offenders communicated more freely than offenders with their mothers as well. Table III-9 shows that a third of the offenders (34.0%) had no conversation or only quarrelled with their mothers, while about one-tenth (11.0%) of the non-offenders had this problem. It is also striking that proportionally more non-offenders (54.3%)

than offenders (23.7%) tended to communicate with their mothers on practically anything.

Table III - 10

<u>Percentage of respondents who would consult their parents when encountering various problems</u>				
	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
Illness	63.3%	(477)	82.9%	(490)
Uncertainty about schooling or present occupation	46.0%	(476)	65.1%	(490)
Short of money	67.4%	(476)	85.7%	(489)
Encounter other difficulties	26.9%	(476)	46.8%	(489)

Not only did the non-offenders communicate more freely with their parents, they were also more inclined to consult, or ask for help from, their parents when they faced various problems. Table III-10 shows that offenders were more reluctant than non-offenders to approach their parents and ask for help when they were facing problems directly related to their well-being, such as those of illness, educational or occupational choice, and financial difficulty. The differences between the two groups in respect to the various problems are all statistically significant ($P < .001$). These findings reinforce the previous observation that the relationships of offenders with their parents were less satisfactory than those of the non-offenders.

3.3.3 Supervisor: who & how

One of the major functions of the family as a social unit is to help its members to internalize contemporary social norms. This is achieved through the parents' interpretation of the relevant social norms, and also through the enforcement of these norms by means of reward (e.g. provision of parental love and material or non-material satisfaction) and punishment (e.g. with-holding of parental love and satisfaction). Parents are expected to play their role in this respect. Otherwise, their children will suffer in one way or another, and will subsequently become delinquent.

Table III - 11

Person mainly responsible for supervision

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Father	122	26.5	100	20.7
Mother	247	53.6	287	59.5
Father and mother	21	4.6	60	12.4
Grandfather or grandmother	14	3.0	7	1.5
Brother or sister	49	10.6	26	5.4
Respondent himself	8	1.7	2	0.4
Total	461	100.0	482	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 36.49$		$P < .001$	

Table III-11 shows that both offenders and non-offenders were supervised mainly by their mothers. Non-offenders were more likely than offenders to be supervised by mothers (59.5% vs. 53.6%) or by both parents (12.4% vs. 4.6%). On the other hand, offenders were more likely than non-offenders to be supervised mainly by fathers (26.5% vs. 20.7%) or by siblings (10.6% vs. 5.4%). These statistics indicate that the offenders were less likely than non-offenders to be supervised by mothers. It hence appears that lack of supervision by mothers would be conducive to delinquent acts.

The above observation about the importance of mothers in supervising children is reinforced by the data in Table III-12. It is found that the offenders and the non-offenders were significantly different in terms of the proportions of mothers working outside the home. Slightly more than half of the offenders (51.1%) had working mothers, while a majority of the mothers of non-offenders (70.6%) were not working. Working mothers were therefore more likely than non-working mothers to have delinquent children.

Table III - 12

Working mothers

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Working	224	51.1	141	29.4
Not working	214	48.9	339	70.6
Total	438	100.0	480	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 45.30$		$P < .001$	

Table III - 13

Mothers' usual method of supervision

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Guidance, advice and setting a good example	277	62.1	324	67.8
Spanking, scolding	118	26.5	109	22.8
Indifferent or inconsistent	51	11.4	45	9.4
Total	446	100.0	478	100.0

$\chi^2 = 3.30$ $P = N.S.$

Since mothers play an important role in supervising their children, it would be meaningful to look first at their methods of supervision. Table III-13 shows the similarity in methods of supervision used by mothers of both groups. As reported by the respondents, most of their mothers (62.1% and 67.8%) supervised their children by providing guidance, giving advice and setting good examples. Approximately a quarter (26.5% and 22.8%) of the mothers used punishment, such as spanking or scolding. One-tenth (11.4% and 9.4%) of the mothers were not concerned or were apathetic about their children's behaviour, including some who employed a variety of strategies in straightening out their children's behaviour. In short, the proportion of mothers employing different methods in supervising their children did not differ significantly between the offender and the non-offender groups.

Table III - 14

Fathers' usual method of supervision

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Guidance, advice and setting a good example	229	51.6	311	67.6
Spanking, scolding	145	32.6	80	17.4
Indifferent or inconsistent	70	15.8	69	15.0
Total	444	100.0	460	100.0

$\chi^2 = 30.96$ $P < .001$

The III-14 shows that the methods used by fathers differed significantly between the two groups. Fewer fathers of the offenders (51.6%) than those of the non-offenders (67.6%) used guidance, advice and example-setting as a means to supervise their children. But, more offenders (32.6%) than non-offenders (17.4%) were scolded or spanked by their fathers. It appears that the use of punishment, rather than personal encouragement, by fathers to supervise their children would contribute to delinquency.

It is not uncommon in a Chinese family for the mother to play a major role in supervising her children, nor is it too strange to find the father being more stern and harsh. Although, as the data have revealed the methods used by mothers may not be related to delinquency, the methods employed by fathers may have significant effects upon children's behaviour. The use of physical punishment, rather than positive advice, by the father does not seem to be an effective way in conveying moral ideas and preventing the occurrence of undesirable conduct.

3.3.4 Reaction to supervision

We have looked at the role of parents in supervising their children, but the question arises: how would the offenders and non-offenders react to their parents' supervision and control? Table III-15 and III-16 reveal some of their attitudes toward parental control.

Table III-15 shows that the difference in response to the opinion that children should inform their parents before going out was significant. Less offenders (78.0%) than non-offenders (91.6%) considered it necessary to inform their parents when going out.

Table III - 15

"Should children inform their parents when they go out?"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	369	78.0	437	91.6
Disagree	104	22.0	40	8.4
Total	473	100.0	477	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 34.16$		P < .001	

Table III - 16

Percentage of respondents who agreed with statements
about parental supervision

	<u>Offenders</u>	<u>Non-offenders</u>
Children should pay filial piety to their parents	97.5% (472)	98.6% (484)
Parents very often do not understand their offspring	73.6% (458)	68.6% (455)
Parents do not give enough freedom to their offspring	43.2% (456)	37.9% (459)
Parents are often stubborn and lack understanding	59.0% (456)	51.4% (453)
Most of what parents teach is right	52.6% (460)	50.9% (446)

However, Table III-16 shows that the two groups did not differ significantly as regards to their opinions on other statements. About the same proportion of offenders and non-offenders felt that children should pay filial piety to their parents, and that most of what parents teach is right. Nonetheless, there were consistently, though slightly, more offenders than non-offenders agreeing with the statements that parents very often do not understand their offspring, and are often stubborn and lack understanding.

The above data suggest that offenders were more likely than non-offenders to have negative attitudes toward parental control.

3.3.5 Identification with Parents

For the children to attach to their parents, it usually takes more than just parental love. They have to be proud of their parents, and want to model after them in one way or the other. Positive modeling by the children is more effective in shaping their behaviour than one way "teaching" and "controlling."

Table III - 17

Father has aspects worth learning

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Plenty	33	7.1	56	12.0
Some	243	52.5	265	56.6
Little or none	187	40.4	147	31.4
Total	463	100.0	468	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 11.66$		$P < .001$	

Table III - 18

Mother has aspects worth learning

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Plenty	35	7.5	41	8.6
Some	196	42.2	244	50.9
Little or none	234	50.3	194	40.5
Total	465	100.0	479	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 9.24$		$P < .01$	

Tables III-17 and III-18 show that there were slight but significant differences between the offenders and non-offenders in the amount of good parental aspects which the respondents considered worth learning. About half of the respondents of the two groups reported that some good aspects of their parents were worth learning. Nevertheless, consistently more non-offenders than offenders reported that plenty or some aspects of their fathers and mothers were worth learning. On the contrary, more offenders than non-offenders expressed that there was little or even no good aspect in their fathers and mothers

which they considered worth learning. These data hence suggest that offenders were less likely than non-offenders to identify with their parents.

3.3.6 The demand for pocket money

One dimension of parent-child relationship is the supply and demand of pocket money. Since three quarters (76.2%) of the violent crimes committed by the offenders sampled in this study were robbery which is closely related with money, it would be more than necessary to examine how offenders and non-offenders differ in terms of the source and the use of money.

Table III-19 presents a completely different picture regarding the source of pocket money between offenders and non-offenders. While pocket money for the non-offenders was predominately provided by their parents (80.0%), a majority (56.2%) of the offenders had to earn their own pocket money. Less than a third (30.7%) of the offenders claimed that their pocket money was supplied by their parents, and some of them (6.9%) relied on stealing and robbery as major sources of pocket money.

Table III - 19

"Major source of pocket-money in the past three years."

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Supplied by parents	147	30.7	392	80.0
Supplied by relatives and friends	30	6.3	27	5.5
Self support	269	56.2	71	14.5
Steal or rob	33	6.9	0	0.0
Total	479	100.0	490	100.0
	$X^2 = 259.74$		$P < .001$	

Table III - 20

"Having enough pocket-money in the past three years?"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	342	71.4	433	88.4
No	137	28.6	57	11.6
Total	479	100.0	490	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 43.56$		$P < .001$	

Table III - 21

"When you were short of money, what did you do?"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Ask parents or sibling for money	53	38.4	25	46.3
Borrow it or earn it	47	34.1	14	25.9
Steal or rob	38	27.5	0	0.0
Reduce expenses	0	0.0	15	27.8
Total	138	100.0	54	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 33.14$		$P < .001$	

As shown in Table III-20, about one out of ten (11.6%) non-offenders had the experience of being short of pocket money in the past three years, but a greater proportion (28.6%) of the offenders had such an experience. The difference was statistically significant. When they were short of money, what would they do? Table III-21 shows that half of the non-offenders (46.3%) would approach their parents or siblings, while a lesser proportion of the offenders (38.4%) did the same. Offenders (34.1%) were more likely than non-offenders (25.9%) to borrow or earn the money themselves. More than a quarter (27.5%) of the offenders who were short of money admitted that they stole or robbed to get the money they needed. Not even one of the offenders who were short of money had ever considered to reduce expenses, while a quarter (27.8%) of the non-offenders had such a consideration.

The differences in the source of supply and management of pocket money were significant between the offenders and non-offenders. Compared with non-offenders, offenders were more likely to face the situation of financial shortage. They were also less likely to receive pocket money from parents, and were thus more likely to be self-supporting through legal or illegal means.

3.3.7 Satisfaction with home life

We have analysed and compared several aspects of the parent-child relationship between the offenders and non-offenders under study. Generally speaking, the previous analysis suggest that the parent-child relationship was less favourable among the offenders than the non-offenders. This general observation was re-confirmed and strengthened by the data about the general satisfaction with family life.

Table III-22 shows that while a majority (61.9%) of the non-offenders expressed satisfaction as regards to their family life, only a third (33.8%) of the offenders had the same feeling. In fact, a quarter (26.5%) of the offenders considered their family life unsatisfactory as compared with a very small number (3.7%) of the non-offenders having such a feeling. In short, offenders were less likely than non-offenders to be generally satisfied with their family life.

Table III - 22

"On the whole, do you consider your family life satisfactory?"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Satisfactory	162	33.8	304	61.9
Fair	190	39.7	169	34.4
Unsatisfactory	127	26.5	18	3.7
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 126.31$		$P < .001$	

3.4 Family Socio-economic Status

Numerous studies have confirmed the proposition that children from poorer families are more likely to commit delinquency. Hence, it is quite possible that family socio-economic status may compound the relationships between juvenile delinquency and other social-familial factors. In order to reduce such a possibility, we matched the offender and the non-offender samples in terms of housing types (see chapter 2). It is expected that people living in similar housing environment would have similar socio-economic status. Our expectation is supported by the data in Table III-23 with regards to the distributions of family income in the two samples. Apparently the total family incomes reported by offenders and non-offenders were quite similar, with the median monthly income of \$1,670 and \$1,579, respectively.

Table III - 23

Total Family Income (all members)

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than \$999	74	18.4	63	14.7
\$1000 - \$1499	98	24.5	137	32.0
\$1500 - \$1999	82	20.5	88	20.6
\$2000 - \$2499	73	18.3	63	14.7
\$2500 and over	73	18.3	77	18.0
Total	400	100.0	428	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 7.47$$

$$P = N.S.$$

However, the fact that the two groups were comparable in terms of housing types and family income levels does not rule out the possibility that their families may differ in regard to other aspects of social-economic status, such as the possession of commodities and the educational background of parents.

Table III - 24

Score of Commodities Possession*

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 8 points	100	20.9	54	11.0
9 - 16 points	199	41.5	187	38.1
More than 17 points	180	37.6	250	50.9
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 25.36$$

$$P < .001$$

* The score is composed by adding up the weighted value of the commodities possessed.

Table III-24 shows that there was a significant difference between offenders and non-offenders in respect to the commodities (e.g. radio, rice cooker, refrigerator, telephone, television set, gramophone, tape recorder, washing machine, air-conditioner, automobile, and amah) possessed by their families. In general, the families of offenders had fewer material possessions than those of non-offenders. The former possessed less commodities than the latter.

Table III-25 and III-26 indicate that offenders and non-offenders also differ in terms of parental education. Both fathers and mothers of non-offenders were generally better educated than those of offenders.

Table III - 25

Father's Educational Level

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
No schooling or self taught	146	43.1	117	29.6
Primary	144	42.5	180	45.6
Secondary	39	11.5	83	21.0
Post-secondary	10	2.9	15	3.8
Total	339	100.0	395	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 19.91$$

$$P < .001$$

Table III - 26

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
No schooling or self-taught	254	68.5	232	54.8
Primary	95	25.6	150	35.5
Secondary	20	5.4	37	8.7
Post-secondary	2	0.5	4	1.0
Total	371	100.0	425	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 17.29$		$P < .001$	

It can now be concluded that after controlling the variable of housing types, the offenders and the non-offenders were found to have similar total family income but they differed significantly in terms of the material possession owned by their families and the educational levels of their parents. In other words, the offenders were likely to be from families with less material possession and less educated parents. One of the reasons could be that parental supervision and control were less effective in these deprived families.

3.5 Summary

Parents are charged with a major responsibility for supervising and controlling the conduct of their children. Unless the children are closely and properly supervised, they may tend to deviate from the conventional pattern of behaviour. In this chapter, we have revealed a number of family conditions which contributed to the inadequate supervision by parents and were hence conducive to delinquency.

Generally speaking, offenders were more likely than non-offenders to come from families (1) without parental integrity, (2) with unfavourable parent-child relationships, and (3) with a relatively low degree of socioeconomic status.

Firstly, offenders were more likely to come from less favourable home environments and from broken homes; their parents were more often reported not living together regularly and were more likely to be perceived as not harmoniously related.

Secondly, offenders generally had a less favourable and consistent relationship with their family members than had the non-offenders. They communicated less freely with their parents, and were less inclined to consult, or ask help from, their parents when they faced various problems. More mothers of the offenders were working, and they appeared to provide relatively less supervision over the offenders. Thus, lack of supervision by mothers would be conducive to delinquent acts.

While mothers of both groups employed similar methods in supervising their children, fathers of offenders were more likely to use physical punishment, rather than personal guidance. Consequently, offenders were more likely than non-offenders to have negative attitudes toward parental control. Proportionally less of them considered it necessary to inform their parents when going out. Also, they were less likely than non-offenders to identify with their parents.

Compared with non-offenders, offenders were more likely to face the situation of financial shortage. They were also less likely to receive pocket money from parents, and were thus more likely to be self-supporting through legal or illegal means. In short, offenders were less likely than non-offenders to be generally satisfied with their family life.

Thirdly, though the total family incomes reported by offenders and non-offenders were quite similar, the families of offenders were poorer in material possession than those of non-offenders. Also, parents of non-offenders were generally better educated than those of offenders. Thus, poorer household environments and less educated parents were more likely to have delinquent children.

FOOTNOTE

- 1 Sprott, W.J.H., The Social Background of Delinquency. Nottingham, University Press, 1954.
Gibbens, T.C.No., Psychiatric Studies of Borstal Lads, Maudsley Monographs No. 11, Oxford University Press, 1963.
Ferguson, T., The Young Delinquent in his Social Setting. Oxford University Press, 1952.

IV. LIVING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD ENVIRONMENT

4.1 Introduction

It has often been assumed that a poor living environment is the breeding ground for juvenile delinquents. Youngsters living in an overcrowded home where disharmonious relationships among family members prevailed would feel very reluctant to stay at home. When the youngsters loitered in the streets, uncontrolled by the family and the school system, they were subjected to all kinds of negative influences that exist in the community. If the neighbourhood environment was conducive to a delinquent subculture, this would render the youngsters unprotected from the many criminal activities that happened around them.

In this chapter, we shall discuss the living and neighbourhood environment as reported by the respondents, and to analyse whether any aspect of the living conditions is conducive to the development of a delinquent. Firstly, the neighbourhood environment as perceived by non-offenders will be analysed. Secondly, the living habits of the offenders and non-offenders will be compared. Finally, the conditions of the living environment, and the degree of satisfaction by the respondents in these aspects, will be discussed.

4.2 Perceived Neighbourhood Environment

Since we have matched as much as possible, the housing types of the non-offenders with those of the offenders, the nature of the neighbourhood environment might be reflected from the opinions gathered from the non-offenders. It is hoped that the subjective feelings of our younger generation on their neighbourhood environment might provide us with some insight into the nature of the environment where the offenders were brought up.

An overwhelming majority (93.0%) of the non-offenders claimed that there were criminals of one type or another in the districts where they lived. The most frequent responses were that there were in their neighbourhood 'members of triad society' (33.0%), 'teddy-boys'¹ (27.0%)

and 'drug addicts' (26.0%). Though the proportion presented might exaggerate the situation because these were subjective responses of the youngsters, the fact that the non-offenders, at so young an age, could apprehend the existence of these deviants around them is rather alarming, and is suggestive of the complexities of the neighbourhood environment in which they lived. As to the nature to crimes which occurred in their neighbourhood, table IV-1 gives a more detailed description.

Table IV - 1

Type of crime which occurred in the neighbourhood
as perceived by non-offenders*

	<u>Responses by non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%
Robberies, burglaries	335	40.4
Theft	173	20.8
Illegal gambling	98	11.8
Gang fight	76	9.2
Drug addiction	65	7.8
Misdemeanour by teddy boys	57	6.9
Indecent assault, rape	8	1.0
Very few offences occur	17	2.1
Total	829	100.0

* Each respondent may check two answers.

Robberies, burglaries and theft constituted more than 60.0% of the crimes mentioned by the non-offenders. These offences were mostly committed against the person or his property.

Moreover, most of non-offenders often live in fear, as more than 70.0% of them admitted that they were afraid that the criminals in their district might give them trouble. A number of them also reported that their family or their neighbours had already been disturbed by these people. Table IV-2 shows that about 31.4% of the non-offenders' family

had been disturbed by the criminals, while about 50.7% of the respondents claimed that their neighbours were sometimes or frequently disturbed by such people.

Table IV - 2

Family or neighbours of non-offenders that were reported to have been disturbed by criminals

	<u>Family</u>		<u>Neighbours</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Frequently	2	0.4	13	2.6
Sometimes or occasionally	152	31.0	236	48.1
Never	335	68.2	223	45.4
No answer	2	0.4	19	3.9
Total	491	100.0	491	100.0

In a neighbourhood environment where at least three out of ten households could not lead a peaceful family life of their own, the seriousness and extensiveness of a 'criminal atmosphere' could not be doubted. It is very fortunate that the non-offenders had not been lured to join the criminal circle. The encompassing control of the families over them in various ways (see chapter III) might be a major factor in reducing the impact of such environmental complexities. The importance of this familial factor is further supported by the following discussion on the living habits and living environment of the offenders.

4.3 Living Habit

As has been pointed out in Chapter II, we have made attempts to match the housing type of the two groups of respondents. However, there were some offenders (6.7%) who lived in street corner, boats, or lorries, and it was not possible to find enough non-offenders to match them. On the whole, the proportion of respondents living in government low cost housing, in resettlement estates and in private housing were quite similar in the two groups. When housing type, the variable that

was often found to be highly correlated with criminal activities, was controlled, the effect of other factors might become more distinguishable. Thus, when comparisons are made between offenders and non-offenders in this section, the group of youngsters who claimed no permanent dwelling place is discarded from analysis. In this way, the housing type of the two groups are satisfactorily matched.

Since familial control has been established to be an important factor in reducing the proneness towards delinquency, it is not too suprising to find that the offenders had a greater tendency to live away from home.

Table IV - 3
Whether living with family

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	355	79.4	482	98.6
No	92	20.6	7	1.4
Total	447	100.0	489	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 90.55 \quad P < .001$$

Table IV-3 shows that one out of five offenders were not living with his family as contrasted with less than 2.0% in the non-offenders' group. Among those offenders who lived away from home, two thirds of them had moved out for more than one year before they were caught for the offence committed. Their reasons for moving out are presented in Table IV-4.

Table IV - 4
Main Reason for moving away from Home

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
Quarrelled with family members	31	26.5
Unwilling to be restricted by family members	20	17.1
Like to be free and live alone	18	15.4
Inadequate space at home	4	3.4
Dissatisfied with living environment	3	2.6
Inharmonious relationship with neighbours	2	1.7
Environment too heterogenous	3	2.6
Trouble with triad society members nearby	3	2.6
Too far from working place	22	18.8
Others	<u>11</u>	<u>9.3</u>
Total	117	100.0

It is quite obvious that the disruption of affectionate familial relationship was the major driving force that induced the offenders to move out. Thus, about 60.0% of these offenders moved out because they quarrelled with, or felt restricted by other family members (see the first three items in table IV-4). Also, one out of five moved out because their home was too far from their working places. In this way, a consequence of their early employment was a weakening of the bond between them and their families.

Not only were there more offenders living away from their families, but also their dwelling places appeared to be more unstable than the non-offenders. Table IV-5 shows that one out of four of the offenders had had the experience of moving house during the past year, out of which more than a third had moved house more than once. It is also distressing to note that there were still ten offenders who remarked that they had

no fixed abode, even though those cases living in temporary dwellings had been eliminated from analysis.

Table IV - 5
Number of times moved house past year

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Not even once	348	77.9	475	97.1
Once	56	12.5	12	2.5
Two to three times	25	5.6	1	0.2
Four times or more	8	1.8	1	0.2
No fixed abode	10	2.2	0	0.0
Total	447	100.0	489	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 78.73 \quad P < .001$$

Moreover, more offenders than non-offenders admitted that they had had the experience of staying overnight in temporary dwellings. As shown in Table IV-6, one third (30.8%) of the offenders reported that they sometimes or often stayed overnight in temporary dwellings as compared to less than 5.0% of the non-offenders who gave such responses. On the other hand, most (93.6%) of the non-offenders, as compared with only half of the offenders, had never stayed away from home.

Table IV - 6
Stayed overnight in temporary dwellings

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Often or very often	35	7.8	0	0.0
Sometimes	103	23.0	14	2.9
Rarely	75	16.8	17	3.5
Never	234	52.4	458	93.6
Total	447	100.0	489	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 192.02 \quad P < .001$$

From the data presented, it is evident that more offenders tended to drift from one dwelling place to another. Living away from family, many of them had no stable residence. They were the rootless group, and they had no security over their own livelihood, nor any sense of belonging to the community. Likewise, they tended to shift from one job to another and often became unemployed in between jobs (see Chapter 6). In this manner, they had to cling to their friends, and spend their leisure with their peers (see Chapter 8). It is thus easy for them to cultivate undesirable habits, and to internalize the values upheld by the delinquent groups. Hence, the living habits of the youngsters is a significant intervening variable in the process whereby they became delinquents. The floating character of their living places deserves far more attention by the policy makers.

4.4 Living Environment

4.4.1 Housing conditions

One possible reason for the offenders to move out was the dissatisfaction with the poor housing conditions. A crowded home, or a shabby house, is very uncomfortable to live in, and makes the youngsters more unwilling to stay at home. Having many households sharing one flat also creates conflicts among neighbours, and often forces the youngsters out into the streets.

Since we have matched the types of housing between the two groups, the physical living environment should be rather similar. However, when housing type is separately analysed, still some differences exist.

Table IV - 7

Number of households in residence with family (In Private Housing)

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
One	91	52.0	133	65.2
Two to three	48	27.4	55	27.0
More than four	36	20.6	16	7.8
Total	175	100.0	204	100.0

$$X^2 = 13.91 \quad P < .001$$

All of the respondents living in resettlement estates and government low cost housing had only one household in the premises, as would be expected. However, for those respondents living in private housing, the offenders' families more often shared the residence with other families. Table IV-7 shows that one-fifth of them even had four or more than four households living in the same flat. Most probably, these were residents of old tenement floors, and it is not too difficult to envisage the crowdedness and poor living conditions of such premises.

Table IV - 8
Number of persons in residence (In Private Housing)

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 6	40	22.9	72	35.3
7 - 10	72	41.1	86	42.2
More than 11	63	36.0	46	22.5
Total	175	100.0	204	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 10.88 \quad P < .01$$

Table IV- 8 shows that for the respondents who lived in private housing, the offenders shared the premises with more other persons than the non-offenders. As for the other housing types, there was no difference between the two groups in terms of the number of persons in residence. Hence, the crowdedness of private housing may be conducive to delinquency.

4.4.2 Satisfaction with living environment

Since it is expected that people living in different housing type perceived their neighbourhood environment differently, the type of housing respondents lived in was separated when analysing the degree of satisfaction with the living environment. The data are presented in Table IV-9.

Table IV - 9

Percentage of offenders and non-offenders who were with various aspects of living environment by housing types

HOUSING TYPE

Aspects of Environment	HOUSING TYPE					Total
	Low Cost Housing	R/E	Private Housing	Squatters	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	
A. <u>Internal Environment</u>	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders
1) Quietude	61% 56%	28% 28%	48% 52%	62% 23%	43.5% 41.6%	43.5% 41.6%
2) Space inside the house	78% 64%	39% 30%	71% 75%	74% 14%	60.3% 51.8%	60.3% 51.8%
3) Ventilation	78% 77%	47% 48%	54% 55%	76% 33%	56.5% 53.8%	56.5% 53.8%
B. <u>External Environment</u>	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders	Offen- ders Non- Offenders
1) Open space outside the house	65% 53%	47% 28%	49% 46%	62% 0%	51.5% 36.1%	51.5% 36.1%
2) Public recreational facilities	57% 46%	54% 33%	35% 27%	29% 0%	44.2% 30.8%	44.2% 30.8%
(Number of Cases)	(49) (62)	(165) (195)	(174) (197)	(53) (21)	(442) (475)	(442) (475)

The totals in the table shows that on the whole there was not much difference in the proportion of offenders and non-offenders who were satisfied with the internal living environment, such as 'quietude', 'space inside the house', and 'ventilation'. However, as regards to the external surroundings of the residence, the offenders were, quite surprisingly, more satisfied than the non-offenders. More than half of the offenders (51.6%), as opposed to only a third of the non-offenders, were satisfied with the open space outside the house. There were also proportionally more offenders (44.2%) than non-offenders (30.8%) who were satisfied with public recreational facilities. These differences in opinion were highly significant ($P < .001$).

A possible interpretation was that the non-offenders were more restricted by their parents in playing or to meeting friends outside their home, or they often felt that their surroundings were too full of persons conducting illegal activities. The offenders, on the other hand, felt more free to enjoy the facilities that were provided in their districts, as evidenced in their report that they often meet their friends and play with them in football-grounds and playgrounds (see Chapter 7).

The housing type in which a respondent lived could more or less tell the degree of his satisfaction with the living environment. The data in Table IV-9 show that respondents, especially the non-offenders, living in squatter areas or resettlement estates were most dissatisfied with their living conditions, while the attitudes of the respondents living in government low-cost housing and in private housing were more favourable. These differences in proportions of satisfaction among youngsters living in different housing types were found to be statistically significant ($P < .001$).

The most striking observation occurs in the squatter area category, where there was unanimous dissatisfaction among the non-offenders towards adequacy of space outside the house and public recreational facilities. It seems that these youngsters, themselves already the very deprived group socially and economically, were the most neglected group with regards to participation in community welfare. Social discontent and potential delinquency might one day evolve from such a group.

Besides, for those youngsters living in resettlement estates, their dissatisfaction regarding overcrowdedness, both inside and outside the residence, as well as noisiness and poor ventilation of the premises, was indicated by their responses to items in these aspects. Living in such an environment, and also being discontented with the provision of adequate public recreational facilities, the youngsters would very likely become frustrated and dissatisfied. If the bonds between them and their families and schools were weakened, they might tend to channel their frustrations through illegitimate means.

4.5 Summary

It is rather alarming that the youngsters (the non-offenders) under study depicted a picture of their neighbourhood that is so true of contemporary local life, in thinking that their districts were bothered by triad society members, 'teddy boys' and drug addicts, that robberies, burglaries, thefts and gang fights were common activities in their neighbourhood, and that quite a few of their neighbours or even their families had been disturbed by criminals.

The offenders were more likely than the non-offenders to live away from home or to have no stable dwelling place. The drifting nature of their living arrangements certainly rendered them more vulnerable to the negative influences that exist in their surroundings.

The over-crowdedness of some of the private housing premises was also found to be possible breeding grounds of delinquents. Re-structuring of such housing conditions or re-location of residents living in crowded spaces should be a major concern of the authorities as a measure to reduce the development of potential delinquents.

The offenders were more satisfied than the non-offenders towards the space outside the house and the provision of public recreational facilities. In our opinions, however, this may indicate that the offenders felt more free and safe to roam in the streets or engage in activities in playgrounds.

On the whole, the living environment might be treated as an important intervening variable in the linking up of family conditions, and educational control, with peer group association, and leisure activities.

FOOTNOTE

- 1 The term 'teddy-boys' (飛仔) is commonly used by people in Hong Kong to refer to those male youngsters wearing strange clothes, having long hair, and loitering in streets doing nothing except teasing or seducing young girls.

V. SCHOOLING AS A CONTROL FACTOR

5.1 Introduction

Education in a broad sense is to provide opportunity for people to live a fuller life which subsequently will improve the quality of community living. It is to a large extent through the educational system that societal values and norms are transmitted to the younger generation. Apart from providing children with essential knowledge and skills to earn their living when they grow up, education should be responsible, in part, for character building. To learn, to create and to achieve are also fundamental psychological needs of a person. When a child reaches the age of five or six, he is normally expected to be in school and he spends as many of his waking hours in school as in his family. School is thus a major socializing agent for the child. It is also a system whereby the child's behaviour is controlled. It will be worthwhile to find out whether those who have less opportunity for education are more prone to become involved in delinquent acts, as a result of the lack of this character controlling factor.

In Hong Kong free primary education was introduced in September 1971¹. Children who reached school age before this time, however, might or might not go to school. The schooling patterns of the offenders and non-offenders are therefore to be compared in three aspects: in order to find out the relationship between delinquency and education. The three aspects to be discussed are (1) The learning characteristics, (2) Motivation for learning and (3) The school drop-out pattern.

5.2 Learning Characteristics

How much the youths could internalize the social normative values through schooling could be reflected in the degree of their educational aspiration, a person who is held within the bond of the educational system would most likely obtain more satisfaction through study by reaching higher classes and acquiring higher status in his class. In Table V-1, a significant difference in terms of educational attainment between offenders and non-offenders is observed.

Table V - 1

Educational attainment

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Below Primary three	58	12.2	2	0.4
Primary four to Primary six	256	54.0	136	27.8
Form one to Form two	114	24.1	150	30.5
Form three to Form four	39	8.2	120	24.4
Form five or above	7	1.5	83	16.9
Total	474	100.0	491	100.0

$$X^2 = 199.11 \quad P < .001$$

The class position of the offenders were also in contrast with the non-offenders as shown in Table V-2.

Table V - 2

School performance in class

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Below average or almost the lowest	158	33.3	76	15.5
About average	228	48.1	296	60.3
Above average or near the top	88	18.6	119	24.2
Total	474	100.0	491	100.0

$$X^2 = 41.92 \quad P < .001$$

On the whole, the data suggest more offenders (66.2%) than non-offenders (28.2%) had attended primary school only, but considerably higher percentages of the non-offenders (71.8%), compared with the offenders (31.8%), had studied up to Form five level. More non-offenders (84.5%) than the offenders (56.7%) reported to perform at about average and above average in class positions. All these reported facts point to the impression that those who remain longer in school and perform well in class are less likely to become delinquent.

5.3 Motivation for Learning

Having compared these two learning characteristics between the offenders and non-offenders, we suspect that motivation for learning may be affected greatly by the parents' expectation on education attainment, the attitude of teachers towards students, and the educational system as a whole. Other supporting factors are the relationships among schoolmates and the conditions of the school environment. In the following sections, we attempt to deal with each factor mentioned.

5.3.1 Parents' expectation and self expectation on educational attainment

Almost half of the non-offenders claimed that their parents expected them to complete post-secondary education, while only a quarter of the offenders had such expectation from their parents.

Since parents might influence the child's own expectations, it is expected that the non-offenders also had higher educational expectations of themselves than the offenders did.

Table V - 3

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Complete primary school	56	21.4	15	5.4
Complete secondary school or matriculated	135	51.5	143	51.1
Post secondary or university	71	27.1	122	43.5
Total	262	100.0	280	100.0

$$x^2 = 38.8 \quad P < .001$$

The table above indicates a significant difference in the respondents' perception of their parents expectation of their children.

Table V - 4

Educational expectation of self

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Complete primary school	120	35.7	22	5.2
Complete secondary school or matriculated	156	46.4	193	45.2
Post secondary or university	60	17.9	212	49.6
Total	336	100.0	427	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 147.75 \quad P < .001$$

Table V-4 reveals a dramatic contrast of such self-expectations. More than one third (35.7%) of the offenders as compared to one twentieth (5.2%) of the non-offenders expected themselves to complete just primary education. On the other hand, nearly half (49.6%) of the non-offenders expected to receive some form of post-graduate education, while approximately one sixth (17.9%) of the offenders had such expectations.

When Tables V-3 and V-4 are compared, it is interesting to observe that for the offenders' group, parents' expectation is higher than self expectation while for the non-offenders' group, self expectation is higher than parents' expectation. One possible interpretation is that offenders wanted to leave school early because they had lower educational aspiration than the non-offenders.

5.3.2 The affectional aspects of schooling environment

One's self-image is usually enhanced by self-fulfillment and favourable reflection from others. School performance and the relationship with teachers and schoolmates affects the child's self-image and thus affect his attitude towards schooling.

Table V-5 shows the general attitude of teachers as recalled by respondents. While both offenders and non-offenders (66.4% : 63.9%) similarly recalled that their teachers were kind and amiable, more offenders than non-offenders (23.8% : 14.7%) claimed that their teachers were authoritarian, irrational or cold. Interestingly enough more non-offenders (21.4%) than offenders thought their teachers were ordinary or strict.

Table V - 5

Respondents' general attitudes toward teachers

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Kind and amiable	296	66.4	301	63.9
Authoritarian, irrational or cold	106	23.8	69	14.7
Ordinary or strict	44	9.8	101	21.4
Total	446	100.0	471	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 29.611 \quad P < .001$$

Moreover, there were slightly more teachers being liked by the non-offenders than by the offenders (Table V-6).

Table V - 6

Number of teachers respondent liked

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
None	141	30.3	110	22.8
One or two	215	46.1	202	41.8
More than three	110	23.6	171	35.4
Total	466	100.0	483	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 10.396 \quad P < .01$$

In the same vein, when we compare the offenders' and non-offenders' relations with schoolmates we find that the latter had more intimate schoolmates than the offenders (Table V-7).

Table V - 7

Number of intimate friends among schoolmates

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
None	74	15.6	16	3.3
One to three	181	38.1	166	33.8
Four to five	105	22.1	146	29.7
More than six	115	24.2	163	33.2
Total	475	100.0	491	100.0

$$X^2 = 52.759 \quad P < .001$$

It is apparent that there were more isolates within the schools in the offenders' group (15.6%) than in the non-offenders' group (3.3%). As the need for peer group association is great in adolescence, isolation would develop an unfavourable impression of school life and less conforming behaviour. To further support this observation, the characteristics of their intimate schoolmates were explored (Table V-8).

Table V - 8

Percentage of offenders and non-offenders whose intimate schoolmates possessed the following personal characteristics*

	<u>Offenders</u>	<u>Non-offenders</u>
	%	%
Good school achievement	66.2 (337)	85.4 (459)
Good conduct	62.8 (325)	90.0 (461)
Willing to offer help	87.0 (332)	91.9 (441)
Had leadership qualities	45.0 (313)	57.4 (406)
Obedient to teachers	56.8 (331)	74.0 (442)
Pay filial piety to parents	80.3 (213)	91.0 (278)
Brave and willing to venture out	71.3 (310)	56.0 (389)
Proficient in "Kung Fu"	40.1 (312)	23.4 (393)
Talented in arts	57.0 (321)	60.2 (407)

* Figures in parenthesis refer to the total number of respondents who provided information to each of the items.

Evidently, as compared with non-offenders, the offenders were less associated with those who had high school performance, who were obedient to teachers, and who paid filial piety to parents. However, they were more likely to prefer those who were brave and willing to venture out and who were proficient in "Kung Fu". It was evident that the offenders were the more active type who favoured adventure and physical activities. If they were properly guided, they might demonstrate leadership in class. Unfortunately, schools in Hong Kong emphasize examinations so much at present that they neglect those who are not rote learners.

As Mr. J. Cater, the Commissioner Against Corruption, pointed out, the whole education system was just a "winner system". Those who won were those who made the examinations. "It seems as though the system is geared to a class structure where at an early age, the few winners are taught that they are superior, and where the losers are forced to accept that they are failures and therefore inferior²." Usually a child with good school performance is the teachers' favourite, while the active child with poor grades is considered a nuisance in class. Judging from the rank positions the offenders attained, there is no doubt that the teacher-pupil relationships were less favourable in the offenders' group than in the non-offenders' group. One may go further to say that environmental and affectional factors may affect the motivation and pattern of learning of a child and their self-image in academic pursuit. Table V-9 shows that most offenders thought they were not the type that would do well in school.

Table V - 9

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	313	67.6	149	33.1
Disagree	150	32.4	301	66.9
Total	463	100.0	450	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 108.61$		$P < .001$	

Moreover, both offenders and non-offenders who admitted that they were not the study type also tended to admit that they did not do too well in examinations. Table V-10 shows self evaluation of school performance and their admittance of being not the type that did well in school.

Table V - 10

Percentage of offenders and non-offenders whose self evaluation of position in class and who considered themselves not the study type

	<u>Below average</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Above average</u>
Offenders	80.0% (155)	62.6% (219)	56.5% (85)
Non-offenders	53.7% (67)	34.1% (273)	18.2% (110)

Though the data did not point out the direction of the association, it is likely that each factor reinforces the other. Hence, one's self-image may account for one's behaviour.

To conclude this section, motivation for learning could certainly be affected by the parents' expectation of educational achievement of their child, the self-expectation of school performance of the child himself and other affectional aspects in school. Tables V-3 and V-4 showed more parents of non-offenders (43.5%) than offenders (27.1%) expected their children to study in post secondary school. Likewise more non-offenders (49.6%) than offenders (17.9%) expected themselves to study in post secondary school.

A child will be less motivated to learn if he has a low self esteem as a result of his resultant poor relationship with schoolmates, and repeated failures in examinations in school. More offenders, as suggested by the foregoing presentations, were unfortunately reported to be in the situation just described. It seems, therefore, that youths who are less motivated to study will have a greater chance to become delinquent.

5.4 Early School Drop-out

Early school drop-out is usually considered as a factor contributing to delinquent behaviour because, assuming that the school is a positive socializing system, the controlling bond between the school and the child will become weakened. The number of drop-outs among offenders and the reasons for dropping out of school are worthy of exploration.

According to Table V-11 below, a large proportion of the offenders (64.7%) were working at the time of this study. About one sixth (17.1%) had given up schooling but was unemployed. Altogether 81.8% offenders were out of school, while less than a quarter (24.0%) of the non-offenders were in this category.

Table V - 11

Reported occupational status of respondents

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Already working	310	64.7	103	21.0
Given up schooling but is unemployed	82	17.1	15	3.0
Full time or part time student	87	18.2	373	76.0
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 327.75 \quad P < .001$$

Looking back at Table V-1, we discover that nine out of ten of the offenders (90.3%) received education at Form 2 level or below. Thus, it is obvious that the school drop-out rate is high among offenders as very few of them had completed secondary education. There is also a distinguishable demarcation at Primary 6 as being the peak of dropping out of school. This phenomenon is not too surprising, as competition for entering into secondary schools is keen and there are not sufficient secondary school places for all the children sitting for the Secondary School Entrance Examination (S.S.E.E.). Parents of this group also might not be able to afford to have their children study in costly private secondary schools.

However, when the reasons for dropping out of school are examined, it is very interesting to find that only a very small proportion (23.9%) of the offenders reported financial difficulties as the reason for their discontinuation of study. Most of them (72.7%) attributed "unable to catch up", "having no motivation to study", or "being expelled from school" as reasons for dropping out of school. When these reasons were compared with those given by the non-offenders who left school, we find that more non-offenders than offenders were secondary school graduates (23.0% : 0.3%), and proportionally less non-offenders than offenders left school for lack of academic motivation (41.6% : 72.7%). Since the financial condition of these two groups of youngsters were quite similar (see Chapter III), it is natural to find that the proportion of respondents to discontinue study for financial difficulties is similar between the two groups. Moreover, since the proportions were relatively small (23.8% and 31.0%), we may consider that financial problem is not the chief reason for dropping out of school. Table V-12 shows the distribution of reasons given by the two groups of respondents.

Table V - 12

Main reasons for dropping out of school

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Unable to catch up	87	23.6	18	15.9
Having no motivation to study	180	48.9	29	25.7
Financial difficulties or ordered by parents	88	23.9	35	31.0
Discontented with teachers or schoolmates	12	3.3	5	4.4
Already graduated from secondary school	1	0.3	26	23.0
Total	368	100.0	113	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 93.54 \quad P < .001$$

Further evidence to support the observation that it is the lack of motivation and interest in attending school as being the chief reason for dropping out of school can be found when we analyse how the respondents looked at their school life experience (Table V-13).

Table V - 13

On the whole, your school-life can be considered as:

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Very enjoyable	160	33.7	197	40.1
Ordinary	110	23.2	186	37.9
Dull and uninteresting	138	29.0	85	17.3
Not worth mentioning or painful	67	14.1	23	4.7
Total	475	100.0	491	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 57.21 \quad P < .001$$

On the whole the offenders considered their school life much less favourably than the non-offenders. Perhaps a commentary which appeared in Wah Kui Yat Pao on 5 Aug., 1974, might well spell out the phenomenon presented here. The author of this commentary, Mr. S.C. Watt (嚴兆祥) argued that the "direct" promotion system in primary schools was the one major factor which discouraged pupils to strive for a better position in class. With the introduction of this "direct" promotion system, only 6% of pupils in each class were allowed to repeat the class. The others, though they failed in many subjects, still had to be promoted to the next grade. If they had not had a good academic foundation in the previous grade, they would most likely fail in the higher grade. Regardless, they continued to be promoted. Inability to catch up with lessons, coupled with repeated failures, might further frustrate the pupils. Loss of interest in, and dropping out from, school are the probable consequences. Such pupils, even when they sat for the Secondary School Entrance Examination, were most likely the failures. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that our findings show that the school drop-out rate was highest at Primary 6.

5.5 Summary

The factors affecting the youngsters' schooling have been identified in the foregoing discussions. The parents of the offenders' group valued education less and provided inadequate supervision for their children; the offenders themselves seemed less motivated to study because they had had less favourable relationship with schoolmates, performed rather poorly in class, had lower self-images and gained little satisfaction from school life. All these factors contributed to their dropping out of school. As a result of this, it seems to be rather unlikely that they would internalize the societal values transmitted to them through school. As judged from the data gathered, the bond between school and the offenders was relatively weak. Once they were out of school, they were more strongly motivated towards adventurous endeavours, in the larger society. These youngsters admired "the brave" and those who are "willing to venture". Nearly half of them found school "dull and uninteresting" or "not worth mentioning". The need for adventure may lead to delinquent acts.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Hong Kong 1975, Report for the year 1974.
- 2 Report of the speech by J. Cater at Luncheon, Rotary Club of Hong Kong. S.C.M.P., 6/3/74.

VI. EMPLOYMENT SITUATION

6.1 Introduction

Employment can be conceptualised as an engagement of a social activity which will result in reward, both social and economic, to the individual. In the process of socialisation, an individual internalizes a semblance of culturally defined goals (e.g., wealth and power). At the same time, he also realizes that there are conventional and legitimate means, such as prestigious and rewarding occupational opportunities, for attaining such goals. However, such conventional and legitimate means are segregately and unequally accessible to different social groups in the society. Some groups, being limited by various constraints, are confined almost exclusively to those occupational or employment categories which practically promise little or no chance for upward socio-economic mobility.

In Hong Kong as in many developing societies, because of poverty, lacking of educational opportunities and the like, many young people begin working at an age when they should hopefully be in school. In the previous discussion on schooling, we saw indications that school drop-outs would likely take up employment at an early age. Would they have chances for upward socio-economic mobility? Would early employment require extra efforts of the youngsters to adjust to a working situation? To answer these questions, we explore, in this chapter, the effects of early employment and child labour on juvenile offences.

6.2 Early Employment

Table VI-1 shows that a general prevalence of early employment was found among the young offenders. Most of them (64.7%) had had work experience in one way or another. Only some of them (16.9%) were still attending school.

Table VI - 1

	<u>Employment status</u>			
	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Already working	310	64.7	103	20.9
Given up school, but is unemployed	82	17.1	15	3.1
Still attending school	81	16.9	358	72.9
Work while study	6	1.3	15	3.1
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 328.57 \quad P < .001$$

The table also points out a significant difference between the two groups in terms of their employment status. Most of the non-offenders (76.0%) were school boys and girls, while for most of the offenders (31.8%) were no longer studying. It is widely believed that appropriate school life helps to regulate one's social and moral behaviour; but at an early age these young offenders were deprived of such discipline and training provided by the school system.

No less striking is that according to Table VI-2, the majority of the young offenders began work at a very early age. About 85.0% of those who had working experience began their first employment when they were less than 16 years of age.

The above data reflect the existence of child labour in our society although compulsory primary education and child labour laws have been introduced in Hong Kong. Further elaboration by comparing the offenders with the non-offenders in terms of age at first employment shows the prevalence of early employment of the young offenders.

Table VI - 2

Age at first employment

<u>Age</u>	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
13 or under	180	42.8	15	12.1
14 to 15	177	42.0	64	52.6
16 or above	64	15.2	45	36.3
Total	421	100.0	124	100.0

$$X^2 = 48.446 \quad P < .001$$

Among the working youngsters of the two groups, the offenders tended to begin full time employment at a much earlier age than the non-offenders did. The reasons behind this phenomena are not difficult to perceive. One of the contributing factors may be unsatisfactory family environment. Our data in Table VI-3 present the fact that 52.5% of the offenders who had unsatisfactory family life experience went out to work at an age as early as 13 or less. There is significant difference shown in the cross-tabulation between age at first employment and family life.

Table VI - 3

Family life and age at first employment among offenders

<u>Age at first employment</u>	<u>Family life</u>							
	<u>Satis- factory</u>		<u>Fair</u>		<u>Not satis- factory</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
13 or under	58	(44.3)	59	(34.7)	63	(52.5)	180	(42.8)
14 to 15	48	(36.6)	80	(47.1)	49	(40.8)	177	(42.0)
16 or above	25	(19.1)	31	(18.2)	8	(6.7)	64	(15.2)
Total	131	(100.0)	170	(100.0)	120	(100.0)	421	(100.0)

$$X^2 = 15.36 \quad P < .01$$

Apart from the above mentioned contributing factor for early employment of young offenders, the parental expectation of the child's educational level also influenced the child's employment pattern. The cross-tabulation of age at first employment and parent's expectation of education level in Table VI-4 shows significant difference between those whose parents expected them to attain higher levels of education and those whose parents expected less education achievement of them. Apparently, the children whose parents expected less academic achievement from them went out to work earlier.

Table VI - 4

Parent's expectation of child's educational level
and age at first employment among offenders

Age at first employment	Parent's expectation of educational level							
	Primary school		Secondary school		Post- secondary		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
13 or under	34	(65.4)	53	(46.9)	13	(22.4)	100	(44.9)
14 to 15	14	(26.9)	41	(36.3)	28	(48.3)	83	(37.2)
16 or above	4	(7.7)	19	(16.8)	17	(29.3)	40	(17.9)
Total	52	(100.0)	113	(100.0)	58	(100.0)	223	(100.0)

$$\chi^2 = 22.22 \quad P < .001$$

In connection with the fact that parents' low expectation of educational level of their children was a factor in prompting employment, the economic situation of the family was also related to early employment. Offenders whose fathers earned very little went out to work earlier. It is reasonable that poorer families would expect their children to leave school and to go to work at an early age in order to supplement the family income. Table VI-5 may well speak to this fact.

Table VI - 5

Father's monthly income and age at
first employment among offenders

Age at first employment	Father's monthly income					
	Less than \$999		More than \$1000		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
13 or under	79	(46.2)	39	(39.4)	118	(43.7)
14 to 15	79	(46.2)	39	(39.4)	118	(43.7)
16 or above	13	(7.6)	21	(21.2)	34	(12.6)
Total	171	(100.0)	99	(100.0)	270	(100.0)

$$\chi^2 = 10.34 \quad P < .01$$

Another crucial factor for early employment is the child's own expectation of educational level to be attained. The less the child expects of an education, the more likely he would drop out of school at lower education level and thus ends up in early employment. Table VI-6 shows the relationship between age at first employment and educational level attained. Most of the offenders who expected to complete primary school education began work at the age of 13 or under, while most of those who had a higher level of educational expectation began work at an age above 13. The data confirms that the lower the level of educational expected to be attained, the younger was the youth offender's age at first employment.

Table VI - 6

Educational motivation and age at
first employment among offenders

Age at first employment	Self-expectation of educational level							
	Primary school		Secondary school		Post- secondary		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under	59	(52.7)	48	(36.7)	8	(19.5)	115	(40.5)
15	43	(38.4)	54	(41.2)	21	(51.2)	118	(41.6)
or above	10	(8.9)	29	(22.1)	12	(29.3)	51	(17.9)
Total	112	(100.0)	131	(100.0)	41	(100.0)	284	(100.0)

$$\chi^2 = 19.52 \quad P < .001$$

In short, poverty and unsatisfactory family environment, lack of educational motivation, and the low educational expectation of parents were some of the factors that led to early employment among the offenders under study. As they were not equipped with adequate education and had to work at such an early age, it was not unlikely that they would face all sorts of frustration and disadvantages in the highly competitive job market in Hong Kong. Some of them eventually resorted to the use of illegal means to achieve their social and economic goals.

6.3- Job Stability and Job Security

Early occupational engagement does not guarantee job stability or security. The limited educational attainment and working capacity of the youngsters render them particularly vulnerable to all sorts of contingencies in the economy. In this study, job stability is conceived in two dimensions: the duration of stay in a job, and the number of jobs held since going out to work. In both dimensions, the data presented in the following discussion reveal the low level of job stability of the young offenders who are out working.

Table VI-7 shows that the young offenders seldom remained in their jobs for long period of time. The shift from one job to another was a common phenomenon. Most of them (57.8%) stayed in a job for less than half a year. The median duration of employment in one place for offenders was 4.7 months as compared to 13.6 months for the non-offenders. The short duration of staying on a job reflects that the unskilled young offenders found temporary jobs more available to them. The nature of jobs held needs further elaboration and will be discussed in later sections.

Table VI - 7

Duration of stay in one job*

	<u>Jobs held by Offenders</u>		<u>Jobs held by Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 1 month	76	7.2	5	2.4
1 to 6 months	536	50.6	62	29.8
7 to 12 months	127	11.9	24	11.5
13 to 18 months	187	17.7	60	28.9
19 months or above	133	12.6	57	27.4
Total	1059	100.0	208	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 58.88 \quad P < .001$$

Each respondent could give particulars to as many as three jobs.

As regards to the number of jobs held since working, Table VI-8 shows an obvious difference between the working youngsters of the two groups.

Table VI - 8

Number of jobs held since working

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
One	61	14.6	47	39.5
Two - three	191	45.8	56	47.0
Four - five	135	32.4	14	11.8
More than six	30	7.2	2	1.7
Total	417	100.0	119	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 47.30 \quad P < .001$$

While 39.5% of the non-offenders did not change their jobs, only 14.6% of the young offenders remained in the same job. Moreover, over one-third of these offenders (39.6%) have had four or more jobs, while only a small proportion of non-offenders (13.5%) had done so. Generally speaking, therefore, offenders have moved from job to job more than non-offenders. This, however, is to a large extent due to the conviction of crime of the offenders. Once when they were convicted they had to leave their job to serve their sentence in correctional institutions.

Additional data show that many offenders (40.0%) were unemployed when the offence was committed. Out of these 40.0%, 16.1% have been unemployed for more than a year. Table VI-9 shows the duration of unemployment before they committed the offence.

Table VI - 9

Duration of unemployment before committing crime

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
One month	27	15.0
One to two months	48	26.6
Three to four months	37	20.5
Five to six months	24	13.4
Half a year to one year	15	8.4
One year or more	29	16.1
Total	180	100.0

The median duration of unemployment before committing crime is 2.9 months. The general prevalence of unemployment among young offenders seems to suggest the influence of financial pressure as a factor in becoming involved in criminal activity.

The high frequency of changing jobs may imply a positive advancement in the occupational ladder. However, table VI-10 shows that as reported by the young offenders, the reasons for changing jobs were mainly negative. That is to say, they changed jobs not for better occupational opportunities, but because of unsatisfactory working conditions.

Table VI - 10

Reasons for job shifting incidence*

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
For better job	170	22.7	46	50.5
Inharmonious relationship with employer or colleagues	115	15.4	10	11.0
Unsatisfactory working hour or too exhausting	146	19.5	19	20.9
No interest in the job	210	28.1	10	11.0
Closing or moving of the factory or firm	107	14.3	6	6.6
Total	748	100.0	91	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 38.131 \quad P < .001$$

* Each respondent could give particulars to as many as three jobs

Among these young offenders, only 22.7% of the changes in employment were motivated by better occupational opportunities open to them. The other reasons were rather negative: No interest in the job (28.1%) inharmonious relationship with employer or colleagues (15.4%), unsatisfactory working hours or too exhausting (19.5%), closing or moving of factory or firm (14.3%). All of these reasons are related to the working conditions. It is hence the 'push force' of the previous job rather than the 'pull force' of the new job that accounts for the frequent shift from one job to another among the young offenders. For the non-offenders, however, the 'pull force' of the new job tends to be the major incentive. Most of these non-offenders (50.5%) changed for a better job.

At this point, we can draw up a generalization that before committing crimes, the young offenders had already experienced a working career which was neither stable nor secure. Interim unemployment, and frequent shifting of jobs, not for improvement but for negative reasons, seem to be the pattern for these early school leavers. Anti-social behaviour would become one of the mechanisms to channelize* such accumulated frustration, especially when they see that criminal activities could promise high and fast rewards.

6.4 Occupational Opportunities

As shown in our analysis of the educational achievement of the young offenders, they were deprived, very early in life, of the chance to move up the formal educational ladder. Accordingly, upward socio-economic mobility through conventional channels remained more of a dream than an actual reality for them. Their occupational alternatives were mostly confined to unskilled and manual labour. Besides the low income of unskilled and manual labour in our society, the stigmatization of the low occupational status of these job categories would indeed have a harmful effect on the youngsters' self image.

Table VI - 11

Types of occupation*

	<u>Jobs held by</u> <u>Offenders</u>		<u>Jobs held by</u> <u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Manufacturing	590	55.5	117	48.4
Commerce	72	6.8	54	22.3
Public service	6	0.6	10	4.1
Personal service	282	26.5	28	11.6
Construction	72	6.7	26	10.8
Communication	17	1.6	3	1.2
Public utilities	13	1.2	2	0.8
Agriculture, fishing, mining	2	0.2	2	0.8
Recreation	10	0.9	0	0.0
Total	1064	100.0	242	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 95.75 \quad P < .001$$

* Each respondent could give particulars to as many as three jobs.

Table VI-11 shows the difference between the working offenders and non-offenders in respect to the types of occupation they have held. Most of the offenders (55.5%) as well as the non-offenders (48.3%) were engaged in the manufacturing industry. It could be that the manufacturing industry is the most readily available occupation for these early

school leavers, as a short period of on-the-job training is usually sufficient for the new comers to do an adequate job. Relatively speaking, compared to the non-offenders, the offenders were more likely to be in personal service and manufacturing, but less likely in commerce. Nevertheless, percentage differences were rather slight.

The slight difference in the type of occupation between the offenders and the non-offenders reveals their similarity in horizontal occupational opportunity. Further elaboration reveals that, vertically, in terms of the economic reward and the level of skill of the jobs held, the two groups diverged significantly. The offenders tended to secure jobs that required less skill and that procured lower income.

Table VI - 12
Level of skill of jobs held

	<u>Jobs held by Offenders</u>		<u>Jobs held by Non-offenders*</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Skilled worker	62	5.8	22	11.3
Semi-skilled worker	526	49.4	112	57.4
Unskilled worker	443	41.6	40	20.5
Salesworker, or other white collar worker	22	2.1	18	9.3
Professional and managerial worker	3	0.3	3	1.5
Work in gambling house	8	0.8	0	0.0
Total	1054	100.0	195	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 51.93 \quad P < .001$$

* In 47 cases of the jobs mentioned, no adequate information was given to allow a clear cut categorization.

Table VI-12 shows that there is a distinct difference in the level of skill required by the job held by the offenders and non-offenders despite the fact that they worked in similar types of industry. Proportionally more non-offenders (68.7%) than offenders (55.2%) were engaged in skilled or semi-skilled jobs. On the other hand, about two-fifth of the jobs held by offenders (41.6%) were unskilled, as contrasted with only about one-fifth for the non-offenders (20.5%).

The low level of skill obtained with a low income. The data in Table VI-13 show that the economic reward for the young offenders was low when compared with the workers in the non-offenders' group. The monthly median income for the offenders was \$364 and for the non-offenders was \$430.

Table VI - 13

Monthly salary of occupation

	<u>Jobs held by Offenders</u>		<u>Jobs held by Non-offenders*</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than \$200	237	22.3	15	7.0
\$200 - 399	360	35.8	80	37.4
\$400 - 599	293	27.5	78	36.4
\$600 or above	174	16.4	41	19.2
Total	1064	100.0	214	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 27.413 \quad F < .001$$

* In 28 cases, no information was available about their monthly income.

More than half of the jobs held by offenders procured a salary of less than \$400; 22.3% even less than \$200. Of course, the effect of such low income on crime commitment can hardly be assessed without more substantial data. However, the combined effects of low educational achievement, low level of skill, and little economic reward easily frustrate an individual youngster in a society where people place a great deal of emphasis on educational and financial success. At what point such accumulated frustration would call forth a resultant action (anti-social or illegal) to resolve the gap between what they want and what they have may, in part, depend on their chance of associating with the deviant groups or subcultures in the society.

6.5 Summary and Implication

In our foregoing analyses, several socio-economic features with regard to employment situation have been characterised among the young offenders:

1. Being deprived of an adequate education, they were more likely than non-offenders to be thrown into the highly competitive market, especially at the very early age of 12 to 15. Their early employment was due to various factors, such as poverty and unsatisfactory family environment, low degree of educational motivation, and the low educational expectation of parents.
2. In addition to early employment, offenders were also more likely than non-offenders to be occupationally unstable and insecure. Most of them did not stay long in their jobs and had had a large number of jobs. The reasons for changing jobs were mostly negative, i.e., related to the unsatisfactory working conditions. It is also noted that a number of them were unemployed at the time of the most recent offence.
3. The jobs held by offenders were largely in the manufacturing industry. Their jobs required less skill and produced lower income than the jobs held by non-offenders.
4. The early employment, the lack of job security and stability, the low economic reward and the poor working conditions were hence some of the factors that produce negative effects on the personality development of the offenders.

From the societal perspective, the employment situation of the young offenders indicates the incompatibility of the socio-cultural demands made on these youngsters. On the one hand, they are 'asked' to orient their conduct and behaviour toward the prospect of accumulating wealth, and on the other, they are largely denied during their formative years of the opportunities to equip themselves for such achievement.

VII. ATTACHMENT TO PEERS

7.1 Introduction

An adolescent needs also to be accepted by people other than his family members. In the process of socialization, peers are actually helping one another in the internalization of social norms through reciprocal interaction in a social situation. Unconsciously though it may be, each one is affecting the other's pattern of behaviour through social activities and communications. However, the "rules of the game" may or may not be the same as those the child has learned from their parents, because schoolmates, playmates or chums may have their own background, and different gangs have different sets of codes of conduct too. To satisfy his social need for acceptance and status, the adolescent is willing to, or feels he must conform to, peers or gang behaviour, be it deviant or otherwise. In other words, the more an individual wishes to be accepted by his peers, the more likely he will be influenced by them.

Attachment to peers in the context of delinquent behaviour is, therefore, analysed by using the following indicators: (1) The attitude of the youngsters on the importance of friendship; (2) The general characteristics of their friends; (3) Where and how friends were made; and (4) The triad involvement of the youngsters and their friends.

7.2 Attitude on the Importance of Friendship

Despite the great value assigned to friendship, the term "friend" as commonly used in daily social conversation is a label to indicate any one you "know" or have met, which may be as infrequent as just once. In such case, the basic components of genuine friendship and the consequential interrelations among friends are mostly absent. The word "friend" (as used in Table VII-1), therefore, was left to the individual respondent's perception. The term "intimate friend" used in Table VII-2 and the subsequent tables connotated a more frequent reciprocal interaction and mutual expectation, as perceived by the respondent, between the respondent and the person he called "friend".

Table VII - 1

Attitude on the importance of friendship

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Very important	227	47.5	249	51.1
Quite important	189	39.5	214	43.9
Not important	62	13.0	24	5.0
Total	478	100.0	487	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 19.30$		$P < .001$	

Table VII-1 shows that approximately half of the offenders (47.5%) and non-offenders (51.1%) thought that friends were very important to them. Four out of ten offenders (39.5%) expressed that friends were quite important to them. While only one out of twenty non-offenders (5.0%) definitely claimed that friends were not important at all, the proportion was obviously higher (13.0%) for the offenders. Thus, significantly more non-offenders than offenders thought that friends were important to them. One tends to hold on to or value things which are considered important. This notion is applicable to friendship, and is supported by data shown in Table VII-2.

Table VII - 2

Number of intimate friends

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
4 or less	205	42.8	146	29.7
5 to 8	123	25.7	171	34.8
9 or more	151	31.5	174	35.5
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 19.24$		$P < .001$	

Table VII-2 disclosed that about half (42.8%) of the offenders had four or less intimate or close friends, including a small number (4.2%) of them who claimed that they had no intimate friends at all, while less than a third (29.7%) of the non-offenders had less than four intimate friends. Approximately a quarter (25.7%) of the offenders, as against one-third (34.3%) of the non-offenders, expressed that they had five to eight intimate friends. However, approximately a third of both offenders (31.5%) and non-offenders (35.5%) said that they had more than nine intimate friends, including some in both groups who claimed that they had more than twenty intimate friends. In general, non-offenders maintained a greater number of intimate friends than the offenders. In such a case, what kind of influence their intimate friends had on these two groups of young people is the crucial area that needs to be explored.

7.3 Characteristics of Intimate Friends

Since so much emphasis have been put on the relationship between delinquency and peer group association, it is necessary for us to explore into the characteristics of the intimate friends whom the sampled youngsters associated with. In this case, the educational background, the occupational status and the general characteristics of their intimate friends are to be discussed.

7.3.1 Educational level

The educational level of the intimate friends of the offenders are to be compared with the educational level of the intimate friends of the non-offenders in the table below.

Table VII - 3

Educational level of intimate friends*

	<u>Friends of Offenders</u>		<u>Friends of Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Below Primary 3	84	7.4	2	0.1
Primary 4 to 6	569	49.8	360	26.1
Form I to IV	420	36.8	760	55.2
Above Form V	69	6.0	256	18.6
Total	1142	100.0	1378	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 309.40 \quad P < .001$$

* Each respondent could describe as many as three of their intimate friends.

Table VII-3 presents a significant picture. The proportion of intimate friends of the offenders with less than three years of formal education (7.4%) was much greater than that of the non-offenders (0.1%). Approximately half of the offenders' intimate friends had completed 4 to 6 years of primary education, whereas a quarter (26.1%) of the non-offenders' intimate friends fell in this category. More than half (55.2%) of the non-offenders had intimate friends with Form I to Form IV education, while a lesser proportion (36.8%) of the offenders' intimate friends had this level of secondary education. In short, the intimate friends of the offenders were in a much lower educational level as compared with those of the non-offenders. The difference is not difficult to understand as most offenders had been school drop-outs (see chapter 5).

7.3.2 Occupational status

The contrast in occupational status is also sharp. Table VII-4 shows that while the majority (75.4%) of the non-offenders' intimate friends remained their student status, not many (21.6%) intimate friends of the offenders were still studying. There was proportionally more offenders' friends (59.3%) than the non-offenders' friends (16.8%) who were semi-skilled or unskilled worker. It is worth noting that a number (3.6%) of the intimate friends of the offenders, as contrasted with none

in non-offenders' group, worked in the disreputable music hall and illegal gambling stall. The occupational status of the intimate friends of both groups was indeed in sharp contrast.

7.3.3 Characteristics of the intimate friends deserved respect

Table VII-5 presents the characteristics of the intimate friends of both the offenders and non-offenders which deserved their respect.

Table VII - 4

Occupational status of intimate friends*

	<u>Friends of Offenders</u>		<u>Friends of Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Still studying in school	232	21.6	1041	75.4
Skilled worker	93	8.7	42	3.0
Semi-skilled and unskilled worker	636	59.3	232	16.8
Sales worker and service worker	36	3.4	14	1.0
White collar or supervisory worker	36	3.4	51	3.7
Work in music hall, gambling stall	39	3.6	0	0.0
Total	1072	100.0	1380	99.9

$$\chi^2 = 745.77 \quad P < .001$$

* Each respondent could describe as many as three friends.

Table VII - 5

Traits of intimate friends deserving most respect*

	<u>Friends of Offenders</u>		<u>Friends of Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Daring and proficient in "Kung Fu"	78	10.9	24	3.3
Intelligence and hard working	88	12.3	196	26.8
Chivalrous	204	28.4	121	16.5
Rich and popular	17	2.4	4	0.5
Candid	330	46.0	388	52.9
Total	717	100.0	733	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 103.40 \quad P < .001$$

* Each respondent could give two answers to this question.

Approximately half of the intimate friends of both offenders (46.0%) and non-offenders (52.9%) were respected for their candidness. More intimate friends of the offenders than those of the non-offenders were respected for their proficiency in "Kung Fu" (10.9% : 3.3%) and chivalry (28.4% : 16.5%), but more intimate friends of the non-offenders (26.8%) were respected for their intelligence and hard work than those of the offenders (12.3%). Worth noticing is the fact that the intimate friends' richness or popularity was not regarded as the most respectable characteristic (2.4% of the offenders and 0.5% of the non-offenders). There was highly significant difference in the characteristic of intimate friends valued by the offenders and non-offenders.

In conclusion, the intimate friends of the offenders had lower level of educational attainment, lower occupational status and more adventurous characteristics (e.g., daring and proficient in "Kung Fu" chivalrous and candid).

7.4 Location of Peers Association

Since the differential association of peers of offenders and non-offenders is highly significant it is necessary to trace the process of association in terms of where and how. (Chapter 8 will discuss in more detail delinquents and peers activities).

Table VII - 6

"Where did you get to know your intimate friends mostly?"*

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
School	181	28.6	425	64.9
Neighbourhood, playground, cafe, party	301	47.6	144	22.0
Factory	100	15.8	61	9.3
Friends' home	51	8.0	25	3.8
Total	633	100.0	655	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 171.65 \quad P < .001$$

* Each respondent could give two answers to this question.

Since the basic need to make friends and to find some playmates and partners in developing one's interest is more or less the same for every adolescent, the difference between the offenders and non-offenders in this aspect may be the manner and location of association. Table VII-6 shows that while the majority (64.9%) of the non-offenders' intimate friends were met in school, only about a quarter (28.6%) of the offenders' friendships were established while at school. This is understandable as most of the non-offenders had been in school for a longer period or were still studying, whereas the majority of the offenders had dropped out and had been working for sometime. On the other hand, nearly half (47.6%) of the offenders' intimate friends, were acquainted in their neighbourhood, while playing at playground, or in a cafe or social party. Obviously, where they met and came to know their intimate friends was significantly different between offenders and non-offenders.

Not only were there differences between the two groups with regards to the locations of getting to know their intimate friends, but also the offenders and non-offenders went to obviously different places to spend their free time with their intimate friends.

Table VII - 7

Location of entertainment with intimate friends*

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Gambling stall, dancehall, billiard room or cafe	208	27.6	29	5.5
Home	20	2.7	78	14.8
Playground, park, beach	340	45.0	223	42.4
Cinema	177	23.4	176	33.5
Youth centre	10	1.3	20	3.8
Total	755	100.0	526	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 161.39 \quad P < .001$$

* Each respondent could give two answers to this question.

Table VII-7 shows that while approximately half of the places mentioned by both offenders (45.0%) and non-offenders (42.4%) were playground, park and beach in which they were to spend their leisure time with their intimate friends, no less than one out of four (27.6%) places mentioned by the offenders was in the category of gambling stall, dance-hall, billiard room or cafe. In the case of non-offenders, only a few (5.5%) of such places were mentioned. Proportionally more (14.8%) non-offenders' intimate friends than the offenders' (2.7%) were invited home to spend their leisure time. It is also of interest to note that youth centres were very seldom the place for entertainment, though they were assumed by agencies to be a major place for entertainment and social activities for the youths. (See also chapter 8).

Assuming that reciprocal influences will take place between friends, especially between intimate friends, it is certain that intimate friends of the offenders who worked in the music hall and gambling stall, who were chivalrous in character, and who were daring and proficient in "Kung Fu", would be highly influential on the offenders who were, in turn, likely to confirm to these reference groups or significant others.

The influence of intimate friends over the offenders was reinforced by the fact that their friends were easily accessible in their neighbourhood and playground, and that they usually entertained themselves in a playground or in gambling stall, dance hall and billiard room.

7.5 Triad Involvement

Much has been said and written on the connection of triad societies¹ with criminal activities. Triads are blamed by the public for their terrifying acts, such as armed robberies, gang brawls, infiltration into schools, intimidation of girls and involvement in extortion rackets. As shown in Table VII-8, most offenders (73.1%) had intimate friends being members of triad society as compared to a small proportion (21.2%) of the non-offenders who admitted that some of their intimate friends were triad members. No less interesting is that about half of the offenders (52.7%) had many intimate friends in triad societies, while only a very few non-offenders (2.8%) had intimate friends in triads. It is worth exploring further the proportion of respondents who were triad members, the channels through which they became associated with the triad members, and the nature of the influence the triad members had on them.

Table VII - 8

Intimate friends being member of triad society

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Many	222	52.7	13	2.8
Some	86	20.4	86	18.4
Very few	16	3.8	102	21.8
Not even one	97	23.0	266	57.0
Total	421	100.0	467	100.0

$$x^2 = 325.73 \quad P < .001$$

Table VII-9 shows that amongst 479 offenders, 181 (37.8%) admitted that they were members of the triad societies while only one of the non-offenders claimed he was a triad member. As the number of triad members in the non-offenders group is negligible, the following discussion will be confined to the offenders' group.

Table VII - 9

Respondents as members of triad society

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	181	37.8	1	0.2
No	298	62.2	490	99.8
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0

$$x^2 = 224.69 \quad P < .001$$

The offenders' main reasons for joining the triad societies is shown in Table VII-10.

Table VII - 10

Main reason for joining the triad society

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
Find friends to spend leisure hours	34	18.8
Get some protection	87	48.0
Being forced to join	6	3.4
Because intimate friends also joined	19	10.5
Mod and heroic	5	2.8
Curious, for fun	20	11.0
Others	10	5.5
Total	181	100.0

It is quite obvious that the major reason for the offenders to join the triad society is to get some protection (48.0%), to spend free hours (18.8%), and to follow the footsteps of their intimate friends (10.5%). The channels for them to join the triad societies were many. Most of them joined through introduction by friends (48.1%) or by his own free will (33.1%). Further details are shown in Table VII-11.

Table VII - 11

Channel in joining triad society

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
By self	60	33.2
Directed by family members	2	1.1
Introduced by friends	87	48.1
Introduced by schoolmates	16	8.8
Introduced by neighbours	6	3.3
Being threatened to join	6	3.3
Introduced by colleagues in factory	2	1.1
Others	2	1.1
Total	181	100.0

It is also useful to find out where the offenders first met their triad acquaintance. Table VII-12 shows that quite a large number of them had their first contact with the triads in their neighbourhood (31.0%) and playground (23.2%), while the rest were in school (8.8%), party (5.5%), herbal tea shop or coffee house (6.7%), illegal gambling stall, opium divan or billiard room (8.8%). A few reported that they had their first contact in youth centre, probation home, training centre, prison and others (16.0%).

Table VII - 12

Places where offenders had their first contact with triad society

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
School	16	8.8
Neighbourhood	56	31.0
Playground	42	23.2
Party	10	5.5
Herbal tea shop or coffee house	12	6.7
Illegal gambling stall, opium divan, billiard room	16	8.8
Youth centre, probation home, prison and others	29	16.0
Total	181	100.0

In what kinds of activities were members of triad society frequently involved? Table VII-13 shows that most activities of the triads were not law abiding ones, as reported by the offenders under study.

Table VII - 13

Common activities participated in by triad members

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
Gang fight	56	30.9
Robbery and collecting protection fees	21	11.6
Opium divan, billiard room, illegal gambling stall	44	24.3
Party, bar, music hall	30	16.6
Picnic, outdoor activities, cinema, tea house and others	19	10.5
No answer	11	6.1
Total	181	100.0

The most frequent activities were gang fight (30.9%), and visiting opium divan, billiard room and illegal gambling stall (24.3%). These triad activities might contribute to delinquent behaviour of the youngsters.

When asked if they wanted to leave the triad society if they could have a choice, only 98 (54.1%) out of 181 triad member offenders said they would like to leave the triads. About half of them maintained that they would like to remain as triad members or could not make up their mind. Apparently triad activities were still attractive to them and thus many of them still wished to remain as triad members.

Many respondents, though themselves not triad members, had had connection with triad societies in one way or another. The characteristics of these youngsters must not be ignored. Table VII-14 shows that a considerable number of youngsters (51.4%) in the offenders group and a small percentage (16.1%) in the non-offenders group had some connection with triads though they had not actually joined the triad society. Hereafter, we will call this group of young people as "triad associates".

Table VII - 14

Having connection with members of triad society

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	246	51.4	79	16.1
No	52	10.8	411	83.7
Not applicable (Triad members)	181	37.8	1	0.2
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 542.13$		$P < .001$	

Among the offenders, the triad associates were in many ways similar to the triad members. They became acquainted with members of triad society in their neighbourhood and playground, and participated in the same kinds of activities as the triad members. (See Tables VII-15 to VII-17).

Table VII - 15

Places where first contact is made by triad associates with members of triad society

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
School	37	15.0	42	53.1
Neighbourhood	78	31.7	15	19.0
Playground	56	22.8	7	8.9
Party	5	2.0	0	0.0
Soft drink shop	9	3.7	2	2.5
Illegal gambling stall, opium divan, billiard room	10	4.1	0	0.0
Youth centre, probation home, prison and others	51	20.7	13	16.5
Total	246	100.0	79	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 47.05$		$P < .001$	

Among the offenders, both the triad members and triad associates made more use of the neighbourhood (31.0% : 31.7%) and the playground (23.2% : 22.8%) as their first contact places with triad elements (see Tables VII-12 and VII-15), although a slightly higher percentage of the triad associates than triad members (15.0% : 8.8%) had their first contact with triad elements in school. Among the non-offenders, most of the triad associates (53.1%) had their first contact with triad elements in school.

Table VII - 16

Triad associates: How did the first connection take place

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Playing ballgames in the playground	51	20.7	15	19.0
Brawls, quarrels	11	4.5	3	3.8
Introduced by family	2	0.8	1	1.3
Introduced by schoolmates	25	10.2	11	13.9
Introduced by friends	70	28.5	12	15.2
Introduced by neighbours	15	6.1	3	3.8
Curious, for fun	7	2.8	0	0.0
Others	65	26.4	34	43.0
Total	246	100.0	79	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 11.76 \quad P = N.S.$$

Again, comparing the triad members with the triad associates within the offenders group with regards to how for first contact with triad elements came about (see Tables VII-10 and VII-16), similarities could be found. Friends were the major channel for associating with triads. Contact through friends had the highest percentage among all other reasons as to how they came into contact with the triad members. One point worth mentioning is that playing ball games in the playground was the second major channel (20.7%) in making triad contacts. The playground was also an important channel for the triad associates in the non-offenders group. About (15.0%) made their first contact with triads in the playground.

Table VII - 17

Most common activities participated
in by the triad associates

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Gang fight	47	19.1	24	30.4
Robbery and collecting protection fees	30	12.2	4	5.1
Opium divan, billiard room, illegal gambling stall	19	7.7	5	6.3
Party, bar, music hall	36	14.6	4	5.1
Picnic, outdoor activities, cinema, tea house and others	56	22.8	2	2.5
No answer	58	23.6	40	50.6
Total	246	100.0	79	100.0

$$X^2 = 39.23 \quad P < .001$$

Table VII-17 shows an interesting comparison between offenders and non-offenders who were triad associates. A higher percentage of non-offenders (30.4%) than offenders (19.1%) participated in gang fight. Violent acts, such as robbery and collecting protection fees, were undertaken more often by the offenders (12.2%) than non-offenders (5.1%). It is also rather unusual to find that more offenders (22.8%) gave enjoying picnic and outdoor activities as triad activities than the non-offenders (2.5%) did. However, we have found that more non-offenders (50.6%) than offenders (23.6%) were evasive, and not responsive to the question as to what they participated most in the triad activities. The non-offenders were more cautious in answering this question, possibly because they did not want to be caught for illegal behaviour. Thus, it is very probable that there might have been some violent or illegal activities not reported by the non-offenders.

From the above analysis, a coherent pattern of the association of offenders with peers and involvement with triads emerged. Many intimate friends of the offenders were triad members (Table VII-8), while nine out of ten of the offenders (89.2%) were triad members or had been in contact with triads. Quite a substantial proportion (77.3%) of the offenders joined the triad society in order to associate with a group to get protection, to spend leisure hours and to associate with their intimate friends. About half (48.1%) of the offenders were introduced to triad members by their friends. Moreover, the places where they came into contact with triad society, e.g., playground, neighbourhood, etc., were also places frequently visited by the offenders and their friends (see Table VII-7). Thus, attachment to peers and involvement with triads for the offenders are two faces of the same coin. Judging from the frequent illegal activities participated in by triad members, it is not unusual to find that many of the offenders' intimate friends also committed offences.

Table VII-18 may be used as a counter check of whether triad involvement will induce offensive behaviour.

Table VII - 18

Intimate friends who committed offences

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
All of them	27	6.2
A majority of them	80	18.5
Some of them	114	26.3
Very few of them	31	7.2
Not even one	181	41.8
Total	<u>433</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table VII-18 shows that except for 41.8% of the offenders who reported that none of their intimate friends had committed any offence, more than half (61.0%) of them admitted that either some or all of their intimate friends had an official criminal record.

A major theoretical controversy in the theories of juvenile delinquency regarding the attachment to peers is whether the adolescent is already a potential delinquent when he joins the gang or undesirable peers or becomes a delinquent only after the association. The answer obtained from this study is suggested in Table VII-19.

Table VII - 19

"Had you already known your intimate friends
when you committed the first offence?"

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
Yes	421	88.0
No	37	7.8
Not sure	20	4.2
Total	478	100.0

The data show that nine out of ten offenders had already known their intimate friends before they committed the first offence. Continuous association after their "official induction" into the criminal circle would, of course, increase the tendency and opportunity for criminal offence. However, it was also very likely that their intimate friends, who were mostly triad members (see Table VII-8) or convicted criminals (see Table VII-18), would facilitate the transaction from potential delinquent to official criminal, if not from normal adolescent to social deviant.

7.6 Summary

Most adolescents have a need for social acceptance, recognition and status, but it seems, according to our data, that more non-offenders thought friends were important to them. Similarly the non-offenders had more intimate friends than the offenders. However, the number of intimate friends one has does not indicate the nature of the influence of peers. It is the characteristics of the intimate friends that matter most.

In regard to the personality traits of their intimate friends whom the offenders and non-offenders admired most, our findings suggest that the offenders valued those who were more chivalrous, daring and proficient in "Kung Fu", while the non-offenders respected those who were intelligent and hard working.

The places where offenders and non-offenders made their acquaintances were quite different. While the majority of the non-offenders reported to have met their friends in school, about half of the offenders indicated that they had acquainted their friends in their neighbourhood or playground. Both offenders and non-offenders suggested that they enjoyed playing ballgames in the playground and going to the park or beach with their friends, but the offenders also spent their leisure hours with their friends in gambling stall, dance hall and billiard room.

Triad involvement reported by the respondents is quite alarming. More intimate friends of offenders than the non-offenders were reported to be triad members. More than half of the offenders admitted that they had many intimate friends in the triad societies but very few of the non-offenders reported in the same manner. Moreover, among offenders, about two-fifth admitted that they were triad members themselves; about one-half reported that they were triad associates, that is, having connections with triad societies. On the other hand, a much smaller proportion of non-offenders (less than one-fifth) reported to have connection with triads and only one said that he belonged to a triad society.

The channels by which the youngsters became triad members and triad associates were mainly introduction by friends and playing in the neighbourhood or playground.

One significant point worth mentioning is that most of the offenders seemed to have already known their intimate friends who were mostly in conguer with the law before they committed the first offence.

As the social bond of attachment to peers is important to the youngsters, their behavioural pattern is subjected very much to the influence of these significant others (see Chapter I). When some

youngsters (the offenders) tended to associate with friends who are less educated, more chivalrous and daring in character, more drawn to criminal influence such as triad society, they will be more likely to be involved in criminal acts and become delinquents themselves.

FOOTNOTE

- 1) Triad societies hereby referred are those criminal gangs which were formed to maintain criminal monopolies and rackets. Since these societies deserve a separate study of its own, there is no attempt to discuss this subject here. For those who are interested in the structure of these societies, please read:
 - 1) Superintendent Norman Temple, S.C.M.P., March 1 & 21, 1975.
 - 2) Morgan, W. "Triad Societies in Hong Kong", H.K. Govt. Press, 1960.
 - 3) "殖民地下的黑社會" in The Undergrad, H.K.U. Student Union Paper, July 1, 1974.

VIII. FREE TIME ACTIVITIES AND EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA

8.1 Introduction

In a highly competitive society where the division of labour and the mechanization of its process provide little opportunity for the expression of the needs and interest of a 'whole' person, free time is important to him for maintaining his physical and mental health. For young persons, in particular, free time allows them opportunity to develop their interests and needs appropriate to their stage of maturation if their free time is used constructively. On the other hand, ill use of free time such as involved in drugs, gambling or fighting will produce harmful effects on the individual's body and mind.

The rise in delinquency and crime among the young has led the public to raise questions of how young people spend their free time. It is often assumed that some free time activities and some programme appeared on the mass media are undesirable influence on the young. Deduced from this rationale, most people think undesirable free activities and mass media are contributory factors of crime and delinquency. Would this assumption be a valid one remains a mere assumption unless it is proven by facts.

As this study deals with the factors contributing to delinquency, it is our concern to examine the extent of the influence of free time activities and mass media on youngsters. In so doing, we shall look into the aspects of: (1) where the youngsters under study spent their free time, (2) frequency in engagement in various items of free time activities, and (3) exposure to mass media.

8.2 Places for Free Time Activities

8.2.1 Youth centres

Community and youth centres, either run by the Social Welfare Department or by voluntary agencies, have been established in every district in Hong Kong and Kowloon for many years to cater for the recreational activities of youngsters living in the vicinity.

Table VIII-1 shows that about three quarters of the respondents (offenders or non-offenders) indicated that they knew about the existence of children and youth centres in the district.

Table VIII - 1

Knowledge of youth centres

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	345	72.0	386	78.6
No	131	27.3	103	21.0
Total	476	100.0	489	100.0

$\chi^2 = 5.476$ Not significant

In regard to how they learned about the centres, some of the youngsters reported that they obtained such information from schoolmates, neighbours, family members, advertisements in newspapers, posters and television but a large number of them (39.7% of offenders, 40.1% of the non-offenders) learned about the centres by passing by the centres in their neighbourhood.

A. Use of youth centres

However high the percentage of youngsters under study who knew about the activities offered in the youth or social centres, the frequency of their participation in these activities had been rather low. Table VIII-2 shows that there is no significant difference between offenders and non-offenders in joining the centre activities. It is noted that only one-third of the offenders as well as non-offenders sometimes or often joined the activities.

Table VIII - 2

Ever joined activities at youth centres

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Never or rarely	314	65.5	334	68.0
Sometimes or often	165	34.5	157	32.0
Total	479	100.0	491	100.0

$\chi^2 = 0.67$ Not significant

A further analysis indicates that for these participants, the most popular activities at youth centres were ball games, followed by other group activities and summer programmes. Another point worth noting is that not many intimate friends were met at youth centres. Only less than one-third of those who sometimes or often took part in youth centres reported that they had met some or many intimate friends there.

It should also be noted that a striking number, as many as two-third of the youngsters reported that they rarely or never joined activities at youth centres. When the reasons of their not participating in these centres were explored, there appeared to be quite different responses between offenders and non-offenders. For the offenders, the most important reason was "lack of interest" (39.5%), followed by "not knowing its existence" (24.4%) and "no time" (17.9%). For the non-offenders, the most important reason was "no time" (25.8%), followed by "lack of interest" (22.4%) and "not knowing its existence" (18.6%) as shown in Table VIII-3.

Table VIII - 3

Main reason for not joining activities at youth centres

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Didn't know its existence	71	24.4	60	18.6
Not interested	115	39.5	72	22.4
Parents did not permit	6	2.1	36	11.2
No time	52	17.9	83	25.8
Worried about complicated environment	4	1.4	27	8.4
No friends wanted to join	9	3.1	16	5.0
Others	34	11.7	28	8.7
Total	291	100.0	322	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 57.54 \quad P < .001$$

One possible interpretation of these data is that the existing youth services have failed to meet the needs or interests of the young people in Hong Kong. Another interpretation may be that the centre programmes are not adequately publicized as seen in the percentage of respondents who indicated that they did not know of the existence of the centres. The "no time" reason given, particularly by the non-offenders, could well represent a condemnation of the demands of an outmoded educational system rather than of the centres. In chapter 5 we have discussed how the examination system in our primary and secondary schools hindered the normal learning development of the young. As most of the non-offenders were still in schools, there should be no surprise to find that they would have "no time" for recreational activities because they were forever busy in preparing for their examinations in schools.

From the table, we also observe that proportionally many more non-offenders than offenders did not join the recreational activities in youth centres because their "parents did not permit them" (11.2% : 2.1%) or they "worried about the complicated environment" inside the

the centre (8.4% : 1.4%). Whether they are right or wrong, some negative perceptions about the youth centre prevent the youngster, especially the non-offenders from participating in the activities¹. On the other hand, a much greater proportion of offenders were "not interested" in the recreational programmes. This suggests the possibility of the need for more adventurous programming related to the findings of chapter 5 that offenders admired those classmates whose characteristics were reported to be "brave and willing to venture out", and "proficient in 'Kung Fu'" (see Table V-8).

All the forgoing discussion suggests that a thorough evaluation and re-orientation of the existing youth services are needed in order that they become more able to meet the needs and interests of the youth, become more accessible to them, and more acceptable to the public as well. It also suggests that the role of non-school learning and growth needs requires the attention of the educational authorities.

8.2.2 'Kung Fu' club (or association)

Our study indicated that the youth under study also participated in activities in types of organization different from the youth centres run by government or voluntary welfare agencies. One of the most popular places the youngsters liked to go was the 'Kung Fu' clubs. Table VIII-4 shows that a higher percentage of offenders (77.5%) as compared with non-offenders (45.2%) joined the 'Kung Fu' associations at those 'Kung Fu' clubs.

Table VIII - 4

Private organization participation

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
'Kung Fu' association	93	77.5	19	45.2
Other organization (e.g., boy scout, church organizations, and trade unions)	27	22.5	23	54.8
Total	120	100.0	42	100.0

$$x^2 = 15.17 \quad P < .001$$

The data again support the findings in the previous chapters that offenders in general appeared to be more adventurous and they expressed more preference to the adventurous types of activities.

In Table VII-7 of chapter 7, there were also indications that more offenders than non-offenders preferred using playground, billiard room, gambling stall, or dance and music hall to meet or to entertain their friends.

On the whole, both offenders and non-offenders did not show much interest in activities organized by the youth centres.

More offenders and non-offenders joined the 'Kung Fu' clubs or associations. And more offenders preferred to use places such as playground, billiard room, gambling stall and so forth to meet and to entertain their friends.

From the information gathered thus far, the offenders appeared to be more versatile than the non-offenders in social activities. Having more opportunities to be exposed to various conditions, the offenders may have more chances to be entangled in delinquent acts. It is also interesting to note that 22.5% of offenders belonged to Boy Scouts and similar organizations, this appears to question the appropriateness of such groups in either treating or preventing juvenile delinquency.

8.3 Free Time Activities

In this study, we listed eleven types of free time activities and asked our respondent to provide information on the frequency they participated in each type of activities. The data are summarized in the following tables.

Table VIII-5 shows no difference exists between the offenders and the non-offenders in the two of the total three items which can be classified as leisure activities (i.e., hiking, camping and swimming, social dance and listening to pop music). However, on the item social dance, more offenders than non-offenders reported to have participate in this type of activities. The possible interpretation may be that

social dancing requires opposite sex patterns. As the offenders were reported to be more versatile in their social skills, they might feel more at ease with opposite sex friends than do the non-offenders. They, therefore, tended to participate more in social dance.

Table VIII - 5

Percentage of leisure activities participation*

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>		<u>Difference</u>	<u>F</u>
	No.	%	No.	%	%	
Hiking, camping, swimming	451	94.0	458	94.0	0	N.S.
Listening to pop music	368	78.0	359	73.0	5	N.S.
Social dance	286	60.0	135	38.0	32	<.001

* Percentages for offenders and non-offenders are based on totals of 477 and 490 respectively.

Table VIII-6 shows that a much higher proportion of the offenders than the non-offenders expressed an active participation in the rest of the eight categories of activities, they are, in the order of percentage difference:

- a) Hanging around in soft drink shop,
- b) Gang fights, brawls,
- c) Smoking,
- d) Gambling,
- e) Drinking,
- f) Going to music hall, prostitutes,
- g) Watching pornographic films, and
- h) Taking drugs.

Table VIII - 6

Percentaged free time activities participation*

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>		<u>Difference</u>	<u>P</u>
	No.	%	No.	%	%	
Hanging around in soft drink shop	410	86.0	236	18.0	68	< .001
Gang fights, brawls	314	66.0	34	7.0	59	< .001
Smoking	312	65.0	45	9.0	56	< .001
Gambling	331	70.0	157	32.0	38	< .001
Drinking	245	51.0	133	27.0	24	< .001
Going to music hall, prostitutes	102	22.0	4	1.0	21	< .001
Watching pornographic films	81	17.0	6	1.0	16	< .001
Taking drugs	76	16.0	0	0.0	16	< .001

Percentages for offenders and non-offenders are based on totals of 477 and 490 respectively.

In our society, most of the listed items (except gang fights and taking drugs) are considered common activities for adults. However, if youths pick these items as their free time activities, they will be frowned upon as undesirable youngsters. In view of the overall preference of the offenders for these types of free time activities, it appears the offenders are more socially mature and are therefore more likely than non-offenders to be caught in the double standards of our societal values.

Respondents also had provided information on the age at which they began to participate in the types of activities listed. Table VIII-7 shows that no significant difference existed between the two groups in respect to the median age.

Table VIII - 7

Media age at which respondents began
types of free time activities

	<u>Offenders</u>	<u>Non-offenders</u>	<u>Age Difference</u>
Hanging around in soft drink shop	14.0	13.6	0.4
Gambling	13.9	14.3	-0.4
Gang fights	14.3	10.6	3.7
Smoking	14.6	15.1	-0.5
Drinking	14.3	14.5	-0.2
Visiting music hall	16.2	19.0	-2.8
Taking drugs	15.8	Not applicable	No applicable
Watching pornographic films	15.6	17.3	-1.7

Most youngsters developed their interest in these 'adult' activities before they were sixteen years old. From the result shown here, the youth in Hong Kong has stepped into their adulthood while they were in their early teens.

To conclude this section on free time activities, no significant difference between offenders and non-offenders in regard to participation in leisure time activities except to the item of the social dance. Explanation for this finding could be that the offenders might feel more at ease with opposite sex friends, so they tended to participate more in this leisure activity.

As regards to free time activities, the offenders expressed more preference to the 'adult' activities listed in Table VIII-6 (except the items of gang fights and taking drugs).

Responses of both offenders and non-offenders indicated that they began their participation in 'adult' activities in their early teens.

The observations listed above suggest that youth in Hong Kong have begun their adulthood at about sixteen years of age. Due to the double standards set in our society regarding adult and youth

behaviour, the offenders under study seemed more likely than the non-offenders to be caught in the conflicting values of our society. Being confused by these values, they were more often caught by the law and became delinquents.

8.4 Exposure to Mass Media

Even though the problem of delinquency existed long before comic books or movies, radio, and television became widely popular, there is today a great deal of concern about the effects of these media on behaviour.

Over the years society has been highly critical of the alleged effects of different forms of mass communication on the development of youngsters. However, no direct cause-effect relationship has ever been established.

Comic books, television, radio, newspapers and magazines have all been considered to be sources of information that provide negative influences on the behaviour of adolescents. Thus, mass media are often regarded as one of the contributing factors to delinquency. However, no systematic studies have been made with regard to the effects of any form of the mass media on the development of criminal behaviour.

Generally, however, most people tend to overestimate the importance of mass media as a major factor in delinquency. Many studies show that while it is possible that overt physical violent behaviour of a delinquent type may result from reading comic books or watching specific television broadcasts, such behaviours are likely to occur only in cases where there is already a developed pattern of deviant behaviour².

8.4.1 Newspapers, comic books and magazines

Reading interest has been analysed between offenders and non-offenders in an attempt to find out what kind of magazines and what topics in the newspapers interest youngsters most.

A. Newspapers

With regard to reading newspapers, both offenders and non-offenders were quite frequent readers. In Table VIII-8, the frequency

of newspaper reading is set out. It can be seen that both groups read newspapers with similar frequency. Most of them read everyday.

Table VIII - 8

Frequency in reading newspapers

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Everyday	312	65.3	344	70.1
Every few days	92	19.2	95	19.3
Not regularly or never	74	15.5	52	10.6
Total	478	100.0	491	100.0

$$X^2 = 5.27 \quad \text{Not significant}$$

In response to the question of the newspaper column they preferred, Table VIII-9 shows that the offenders were more likely than non-offenders to be interested in local news, entertainment, fiction and novel, while non-offenders preferred world news, sports, editorial, and education.

Table VIII - 9

The column in newspapers liked most

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Local news	254	58.2	162	35.3
Entertainment, fiction and novel	108	24.8	107	23.3
World news	26	6.0	75	16.3
Sports	43	9.9	98	21.4
Editorial, education column or features	5	1.1	17	3.7
Total	436	100.0	459	100.0

$$X^2 = 71.57 \quad P < .001$$

As the offenders had received less schooling than the non-offenders as indicated in chapter 5, the above data seem to suggest that offenders tended to read newspaper column written in easy language dealing with themes that were relatively easy for them to know and in which they found it relatively easy to identify with the hero or heroine.

B. Comic books and magazines

Comic books have often been considered to have negative effects on the development of adolescent behaviour, the recent study on "Violence and sex in Children Comic Book" (公仔書之暴力及色情)³ has presented some findings, but there has been little research evidence to support this point of view.

However, we have found out, in this study, that offenders are heavier comic book consumers than non-offenders, as shown in Table VIII-10.

Table VIII - 10

Percentage of respondent often reading the following types of magazines*

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>		<u>Difference</u>	<u>P</u>
	No.	%	No.	%	%	
Comic books	333	71.6	195	39.7	31.9	< .001
Mini, "Play Boy", the 80's etc.	213	44.5	85	15.1	29.4	< .001
"Kung Fu" magazines	242	50.5	140	28.5	22.0	< .001
Magazines on movies	312	65.1	314	64.0	1.1	N.S.

Play Boy could be classified as first class modern literature, criticism and comment. It is put together with Mini and the 80's mainly because of some articles on sex and nude photographs.

When respondents were asked about the frequency of reading the "violence and sex" or "crime and horror" comic books, such as "Little Bargirl" and "Little Hooligans", seven-tenth of the offenders as compared with four-tenth of non-offenders claimed that they often read this type of comic books.

The data in the table also show that a significant difference exists between offenders and non-offenders in types of magazines they read. The offenders generally read magazines on sex and violence (i.e., Mini, Play Boy, the 80's and "Kung Fu") more often than non-offenders. But, referring to the frequency of movie magazine reading, there is no difference between the two groups of both offenders and non-offenders. They were in general fond of reading news about movies and movie stars.

On the whole, both offenders and non-offenders are frequent readers of newspapers. But, the offenders show more interest in reading those columns of local news or entertainment while the non-offenders indicate their interest in columns of world news, sports and editorial.

There is no difference between offenders and non-offenders in regard to the frequency of reading movie magazines, but a significantly higher percentage of offenders than non-offenders reported their interest in reading comic books, and magazines on sex and violence. The data suggest marked differences in reading taste between offenders and non-offenders.

8.4.2 Radio and television

In the present study, we found that television has become more popular than radio among the young people. A great majority of the offenders (81.1%) and of the non-offenders (89.6%) reported that they always watched television, while less than half of the offenders (37.3%) and the non-offenders (44.6%) often listened to radio. Nevertheless, many young people still listen to radio, probably because they can listen to transistor radio sets almost any where while television viewing is still restricted to the home.

With regard to television programme preferences, Table VIII-12 once again shows that the offenders tended to prefer "entertainment" programmes (i.e., dance, music, "Kung Fu", drama, detectives and spies) over "educational" or "serious" programmes such as current affairs, quiz, and philosophic broadcasts, while the non-offenders were more likely than the offenders to prefer the "serious" or "educational" ones.

Table VIII - 11

Television programmes preference*

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Current affairs	20	4.2	58	9.7
Quiz	26	5.5	79	13.2
Sports	46	9.8	87	14.5
Stories of philosophic, or satirical nature	53	11.2	108	18.0
Dance, music	153	32.5	96	16.0
"Kung Fu"	30	6.4	25	4.2
Drama	62	13.2	54	9.0
Detectives, spies	81	17.2	92	15.4
Total	471	100.0	599	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 77.24 \quad P < .001$$

* Each respondent could give two responses to this question.

As to the question of what kind of radio programmes did they enjoy most, the data from Table VIII-12 show no significant difference between the two groups of respondents.

Table VIII - 12

The radio programmes enjoyed most

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Current affairs	9	7.0	16	14.7
Youth time	20	15.5	23	21.0
Popular music or songs	49	38.0	43	39.5
Drama broadcast	51	39.5	27	24.8
Total	129	100.0	109	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 8.323 \quad P = N.S.$$

In short, compared to the non-offenders, the offenders were more likely to be interested in entertainment programmes but less likely to enjoy educational programmes of radio and television.

8.4.3 Movies

Movie attendance is still a major interest of young people in Hong Kong though more and more movies are being labelled as "Not Suitable for Children." The negative effects of movies on young audience have been widely proclaimed, but there has been little research to support or refute such claims. Table VIII-13 shows that many of the young offenders preferred and enjoyed "Kung Fu" films most, while the non-offenders were more interested in films on wars, detectives, spies and adventures. This observation is reconfirmed by the data in Table VIII-14 about the nature of the two films most liked by the respondents. However, there is hardly any measurement to verify the degrees of destructiveness between "Kung Fu" movie and movie on war. Interpretation could be that both non-offenders and offenders preferred movie of destructive themes.

Table VIII - 13

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Classics, love, music and dance	64	13.8	50	10.7
"Kung Fu"	265	57.0	110	23.6
Comedy	32	6.9	61	13.1
Wars, police and robbers, detectives, adventures	88	18.9	203	43.4
Philosophical, scientific	16	3.4	43	9.2
Total	465	100.0	467	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 132.62$		P < .001	

Table VIII - 14

The two films liked most

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
"Kung Fu"	412	54.7	193	27.4
Wars, detectives, spies, adventures	142	18.8	268	38.0
Classics, love, music and dance	106	14.0	101	14.3
Comedy	69	9.1	107	15.2
Philosophical, scientific	26	3.4	36	5.1
Total	755	100.0	705	100.0

$$X^2 = 126.37 \quad P < .001$$

In connection with the question of what two films they liked most, a question on what type of heroes they admired was asked to find out how much influence the heroes on mass-media had on the youngsters. Table VIII-15 shows that when the offenders liked "Kung Fu" film star, the non-offenders admired athletic star and political or historical figures as they preferred films on mass violence (i.e., wars, police and robbers).

Table VIII - 15

Type of heroes adored

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Political or historical figures	18	4.4	53	17.3
Athletic star	89	21.5	139	45.4
"Kung Fu" film star	218	52.6	57	18.6
Musician, singer, film star, T.V. star	64	15.5	44	14.4
Friends and teachers	25	6.0	13	4.3
Total	414	100.0	306	100.0

$$X^2 = 116.38 \quad P < .001$$

Nowadays in Hong Kong, mass media that glorifies crime, violence and sex in lurid pictures and morbid details have their greatest sale⁴. Such publicity not only draws the attention of the adolescents to various aspects of crime commitment, violence, and sex, but also furnished them with rationalizations for any later deviant behaviour committed by them. From mass media, the adolescents learn also of the inconsistent moral values of adults, of sexual misconduct, of business dishonesty, of bribery, and of political corruption. They also get the idea that any crime is alright if one can get away with it, and that adult observation of laws is only relative at best.

The definite preference of the offenders for "violence and sex" magazine and comic books, and "Kung Fu" films is one of the more striking findings of this study as compared to the non-offenders' preference for wars and sports. It may have an implication that delinquency is related to this type of media consumption. But it fails to explain the difference in outcome from a taste for individual violence as compared to a taste for mass violence.

8.5 Summary

The manner in which a youngster spends his free hours becomes a growing concern as more and more varieties of recreational and 'time killing' activities are being made available to the youngsters nowadays. Is there a different pattern of free time activities between the offenders and non-offenders? Are those who are more inclined to indulge in one type of activities more likely to commit delinquent acts? These are the questions which this chapter attempts to illuminate. Three aspects of free time activities engaged by respondents have been analysed. They are: 1) places for free time activities; 2) frequency in engagement in various items of free time activities; and 3) extent of exposure to and preference of mass media programmes and topics.

Participation in activities organized or provided by youth centres was found to be low for both offenders and non-offenders. With regard to the reasons for non-participation, the data suggest that more offenders were not interested in such activities, while more non-offenders were not allowed by parents to join for fear of the complicated environment. It appears that the youth centres need a re-structuring of

their programmes in such a way that the activities would cater more to the interest of the more 'adventurous' group while responsible management would convince parents, youngsters, and school authorities alike of the safety in, and the benefits for joining such activities.

The interest of offenders in 'Kung Fu' associations was quite obvious. Unfortunately, the present study fails to dig deep enough into this problem to allow the unraveling of the motivation behind acquiring 'Kung Fu' skills, or of the actual activities of such associations, so as to assess the relation if any of such organized activities with delinquent behaviour.

A pattern of free time activities can be identified among the offenders, who were more likely than non-offenders to engage in gambling, fighting, smoking, dancing, drinking, visiting prostitutes and music halls, watching pornographic films and taking drugs.

The offenders' selective exposure to a variety of mass media reinforce this pattern of sub-culture. When reading newspapers, they preferred the excitement - imbedded local news and the entertaining fictions and stories. The non-offenders, on the other hand, read more on the more serious news, sports news, editorials, features and education columns.

Corresponding to their own interest in 'Kung Fu' associations, and in free time activities tinted by sex and violence, the offenders were more often than non-offenders to read 'Kung Fu' magazines, comic books, and 'pornographic' magazines. The majority of them also liked 'Kung Fu' film most, and admired 'Kung Fu' film stars. Skills in fighting and boxing appeared to be a much desired value aspired by the offenders.

Television viewing and radio listening appeared to occupy relatively less of the offenders' time when compared with that of the non-offenders'. Also, the offenders tended to prefer 'entertainment' programmes over 'educational' or 'more serious' programmes. The 'time killing' function of mass media was more apparent for the offenders.

In conclusion, two different sets of patterns of free time activities engagement were distinguishable. One, the more adventurous, was identifiable among the offenders; the other, the more educational, seems to be the type more preferred by non-offenders. However, because of the limitation of this study as a one-shot exploration of social variables on delinquency, the relation of crime commitment with type of free time activities and preference in exposure to various aspects of mass media cannot be confirmed, though it is quite suggestive all along.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Other studies have found similar finding. See, for example, (1) A Study on Leisure Activities of Children and Youth, Research and Development Committee, Kowloon City District Youth Council, February 1975; and (2) Angela W.S. Kan, Implications of Concentrated Utilization of Local Facilities and Services in Public Housing Estates in Hong Kong, Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, April 1975.

- 2 For a review of the literature, please see:
 - H.T. Himmelweit,
A.N. Oppenheim
P. Vince
Television and the Child
O.U.P. London 1958.

 - J.D. Halloran, R.L. Brown, and D.C. Chaney
Television and Delinquency
Leicester UN. Press 1970.

 - Herbert Blumer and Philip Hauser, Movies, Delinquency, and Crime,
Macmillan Company, 1933.

 - Frederick M. Thrasher, "The Comics and Delinquency: Cause or Scapegoat"
Journal of Educational Sociology, XXIII, 1949.

 - T.F. Hault, "Comic Books and Juvenile Delinquency". Sociology and Social Research, XXXIII, 1949.

 - Eleanor Maccoby, "Television: Its Impact on School Children," Public Opinion Quarterly. XV, 1951.

 - Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker, Television in the Lives of Our Children, Stanford University Press, 1961.

- 3 Violence and Sex in Children's Comic Books, Joint Interact Council (Rotary District 345) Hong Kong Social Workers' Association, August 1974 Hong Kong.

- 4 "Audience Survey" undertaken by Survey Research H.K. in 1974 and 1975 show that superman programme has most of the young audience. Also, 公仔書研究報告 reported that comic books are the best sale publications.

IX. PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ATTITUDE

9.1 Introduction

Attitude is a person's manner of acting, feeling or thinking that shows his disposition, opinion or belief. Attitudes include both the affective, or feeling component of liking or disliking, and the cognitive, or belief component. The attitude which an individual holds towards a certain object is usually linked with the value system. One's attitude or belief may be developed through interacting with his family members in his family, studying in schools, working in an organization, or associating himself with his peers.

Attitudes are functional in three aspects: (1) to adjust to the external environment so as to maximize rewards or to minimize the penalties; (2) to defend himself through withdrawal from and denial of the realities which confront him; and (3) to acquire standards or frames of reference for understanding his world.

In this connection and also with the assumption that delinquent acts would likely be occurred when one is less committed to a belief in the moral validity of rules, we now attempt to explore the relationship between delinquency and the intensity of the conventional beliefs which the youngsters have incorporated. We shall look into their beliefs and attitudes towards: (1) law and justice, (2) some moral conduct, (3) work, (4) time-perspective, and (5) quality of life in his community.

9.2 Attitudes towards Law and Justice in Hong Kong

Do many of the young people believe that the law in Hong Kong is fair? It is rather amazing to find out from Table IX-1 that the majority of both offenders (71.7%) and non-offenders (80.6%) disagreed with the statement, "the law in Hong Kong is fair." As such a negative view is widely held among the youth, it would not be a surprise to see that an increasing number of youngsters do not conform to laws. Whether or not the law in Hong Kong is fair in itself, what the people perceive would have a significance influence on their behaviour.

Relatively speaking, somewhat more offenders (28.3%) than non-offenders (19.4%) agreed that the law in Hong Kong is fair. The possible interpretation of this may be that since the offenders were still bound by law, as being prisoners or probationers at the time of this study, they inclined to accept the fairness of the legal procedures in Hong Kong in order to minimize any additional penalties which might be inflicted upon them. On the part of the non-offenders, they may feel free to express their opinion as they were under no such restrictions. Furthermore, the offenders had actually experienced the assumed fairness of the law whereas the non-offenders had not.

Table IX - 1

"The law in Hong Kong is fair"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	128	28.3	88	19.4
Disagree	324	71.7	360	80.6
Total	452	100.0	454	100.0

$$x^2 = 9.96 \quad p < .01$$

However, on the opinion about policemen in Hong Kong, more non-offenders (19.7%) thought favourably about police than offenders (7.1%) as shown in Table IX-2. This difference is based on direct experience of offenders compared with less experience of non-offenders.

Table IX - 2

"Most of the policemen in Hong Kong are decent fellows"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	32	7.1	90	19.7
Disagree	419	92.9	366	80.3
Total	451	100.0	456	100.0

$$x^2 = 31.13 \quad p < .001$$

Those who have experience in working with offenders will not find this response a surprise because once the offenders had been put under probation or in approved schools or in any institutions of the prison's department, they were no longer in contact with the police. They usually denied their delinquent acts by complaining that the crime committed was just being framed up by the police. For the experience they had with the policemen, they had much hostility towards the police and also by holding this attitude justified their delinquent acts.

It should be noted that in spite of the significant difference on attitudes towards policemen between the offenders and non-offenders, the responses from both the offenders' and non-offenders' group were mostly not in favour of the policemen in Hong Kong. The image of the police force as the law enforcement body is rather low.

In short, attitudes of most of the offenders as well as non-offenders under study were unfavourable towards the legal systems in Hong Kong, including both the law and the police force. Offenders were relatively more negative about the police force, while non-offenders were more skeptical of the law in Hong Kong.

9.3 Attitudes towards some Moral Conduct

Attitudes of the offenders and non-offenders towards some moral conduct is reflected by the proportion of endorsement to several statements with regard to the manner in which one should work towards one's goal.

Table IX-3 shows how the youngsters considered the means they should employ to attain their goal. More offenders (31.9%) than the non-offenders (16.9%) felt that one should be reckless in order to get what he wanted.

Table IX - 3

"One should be reckless in order to achieve one's goal"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	149	31.9	81	16.9
Disagree	318	68.1	398	83.1
Total	467	100.0	479	100.0
		$\chi^2 = 28.90$	$P < .001$	

Similarly, Table IX-4 shows more offenders (40.3%) than non-offenders (19.7%) responded positively to the opinion "to make one's way in this world, one must be guileful"

Table IX - 4

"To make one's way in this world, one must be guileful"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	187	40.3	94	19.7
Disagree	277	59.7	382	80.3
Total	464	100.0	476	100.0
		$\chi^2 = 47.36$	$P < .001$	

From the data shown, it seems more likely that the offenders would not take a conventional line of action for what they would do to get ahead.

Table IX-5 also shows that more offenders (38.3%) than non-offenders (26.7%) agreed to the statement, "When one is taking a course of action, one needs not care whether others agree or not".

Table IX - 5

"When one is taking a course of action, one needs not care whether others agree or not"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	179	38.3	128	26.7
Disagree	288	61.7	352	73.3
Total	467	100.0	480	100.0
		$\chi^2 = 14.70$	$P < .001$	

This again shows the offenders would be less concerned with conventional opinion in regard to the course of action they are going to take, or in other words, they would be less committed to the conventional values than the non-offenders.

Along this line it is also found in Table IX-6 that more offenders (56.8%) than non-offenders (41.3%) thought that telling a lie once or ten times made no difference. This again reflects that the offenders' moral commitment to a promise would likely be weaker than the non-offenders'.

Table IX - 6

There is no difference in telling a lie once or ten times

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	269	56.8	195	41.3
Disagree	205	43.2	277	58.7
Total	474	100.0	472	100.0
		$\chi^2 = 22.55$	$P < .001$	

To conclude this section, the attitudes of the offenders towards some moral conduct reported reflect their inclination to take unconventional or illegitimate action as means of goal attainment. They would

also be less committed to conventional social norms. They believed in that, in order to achieve one's goal, one must be reckless and guileful. They did not care about other's approval or disapproval when they would like to take a course of action. They also did not feel guilty to tell lies.

9.4 Attitudes towards Work

Whether one believes in attaining desirable goals (gaining money and status) by legitimate means could again be reflected through his attitudes towards work. Table IX-7 shows that more offenders (74.1%) than non-offenders (63.5%) believed that "earning a great fortune does not require real knowledge." This reflected that the offenders were more likely than non-offenders to take chances to get ahead rather than to work diligently for his objectives. One wonders which group is more reality oriented.

Table IX - 7

"Earning a great fortune does not require real knowledge"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	335	74.1	282	63.5
Disagree	117	25.9	162	36.5
Total	452	100.0	444	100.0

$$x^2 = 11.741 \quad P < .001$$

Similarly, Table IX-8 shows that significantly more offenders (44.3%) than non-offenders (33.9%) thought that by working steadily on a job they would never get ahead.

Table IX - 8

To work steadily on a job one will never get ahead

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	198	44.3	149	33.9
Disagree	249	55.7	290	66.1
Total	447	100.0	439	100.0

$$X^2 = 9.966 \quad P < .01$$

Again, as to the opinion that "one needs to work hard in order to get ahead some day," less offenders (72.3%) than non-offenders (79.9%) responded positively to this view as shown in Table IX-9.

Table IX - 9

"One needs to work hard in order to get ahead someday"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	326	72.3	358	79.9
Disagree	125	27.7	90	20.1
Total	451	100.0	448	100.0

$$X^2 = 7.184 \quad P < .01$$

The above-reported data about attitudes towards work suggest that offenders are more likely to prefer getting ahead by taking chances rather than by working hard. They neither believed in the value of using real knowledge for getting their fortune nor thought of working steadily on a job to get ahead.

9.5 Time-Perspective

Most writings on delinquency suggest that delinquents would more likely adopt lower class value, and to be present-oriented rather than future-oriented. Tables IX-10 and IX-11 show that more offenders

than the non-offenders were present-oriented. Three-fifth of the offenders (62.1%), as compared with less than one-half of the non-offenders (45%) considered it too early to concern things that would happen two years later. Furthermore, about one-half of the offenders (51%) and one-fourth of the non-offenders (28.8%), did not look one year ahead.

Table IX - 10

"It is at present too early to concern things that will happen two years later"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	290	62.1	215	45.0
Disagree	177	37.9	263	55.0
Total	467	100.0	478	100.0

$$x^2 = 27.82 \quad P < .001$$

Table IX - 11

"It is at present too early to concern things that will happen one year later"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	236	51.0	138	28.8
Disagree	227	49.0	342	71.2
Total	463	100.0	480	100.0

$$x^2 = 48.63 \quad P < .001$$

The above data support the argument that offenders would be inclined to be more present-oriented. They would consider planning for their future one year ahead still too early for them. Most probably, to these young people, immediate gratification would be more important than deferred gratification.

9.6 Attitudes towards Life-Quality and Life in the Community

It is suggested by the data shown below that the offenders were more frustrated with their present style of living. They would like to relive their life and become another person. More offenders (63.4%) than non-offenders (51.1%) would like to rejuvenate their life. Hence, it appears that the offenders were less satisfied with their present style of living.

Table IX - 12

"If you could rejuvenate life, you would hope to become another person"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	287	63.4	227	51.1
Disagree	166	36.6	217	48.9
Total	453	100.0	444	100.0

$$x^2 = 13.71 \quad P < .001$$

It is shown in Table IX-13, the way the youngsters saw the quality of life in the community as a whole. More offenders (64.9%) than non-offenders (55.1%) agreed that most people in Hong Kong were unreliable. Similarly in Table IX-14 more offenders (77.6%) than non-offenders (70.3%) agreed to the statement, "most people in Hong Kong are selfish."

Table IX - 13

"Most people in Hong Kong are unreliable"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	302	64.9	253	55.1
Disagree	163	35.1	206	44.9
Total	465	100.0	459	100.0

$$x^2 = 9.30 \quad P < .01$$

Table IX - 14

"Most people in Hong Kong are selfish"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	361	77.6	326	70.3
Disagree	104	22.4	138	29.7
Total	465	100.0	464	100.0

$$x^2 = 6.56 \quad P < .02$$

Although this table shows just very slight difference, there is higher percentage of offenders who thought negatively about people in their community. Again, the question of reality orientation is moot.

The foregoing data suggest that the offenders seem to mistrust others more than the offenders. Somewhat similar attitudes of the offenders were expressed in Table IX-15.

Table IX - 15

"One who does not settle hatred is not a gentleman"

	<u>Offenders</u>		<u>Non-offenders</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agree	195	42.8	112	25.0
Disagree	261	57.2	336	75.0
Total	456	100.0	448	100.0

$$x^2 = 31.79 \quad P < .001$$

It is suggested from the data that more offenders (42.8%) than non-offenders (25.0%) thought it was a justified action to settle hatred. It would seem that, according to this observation, offenders would more likely take revenge on someone who has hurt them. This kind of action would easily lead to arguments and fights and is conducive to delinquent acts.

In short, offenders were more likely than non-offenders to have mistrust in people and to think quite negatively of their own society. They believed in that most people in Hong Kong were unreliable and selfish. They tended to fight against those who were in their way.

9.7 Summary

In Summary, the data on attitudes of the youths suggest that the more one commits to the conventional beliefs in the moral validity of rules such as the conventional laws, police force, and moral norms, the less likely he would become a delinquent. On the contrary, the less one commits to this set of conventional rules, the more likely he would be to become involved in delinquent acts. This is supported by the following observations:

- (1) Offenders paid less respect to policemen than the non-offenders.
- (2) When the offenders wished to get ahead or to attain his personal goal, they tended to go beyond the conventional limit as to use illegitimate means.
- (3) More offenders than non-offenders seemed to prefer taking chances, rather than working hard to get ahead
- (4) The offenders tended to take less heed of individual responsibility and to be more present-oriented.
- (5) The offenders seemed less happy with their present state of life.
- (6) The offenders had more hatred and mistrust toward other people and the community as a whole. They would not hesitate to take revenge on those who hurt them.

X SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Introduction

Crime today is a growing menace to the generally law abiding population of our city. The government, very much concerned with the rising crime rate in Hong Kong, set up a sub-committee on the social causes of crime in early 1973 to identify the contributory factors of crime and delinquency and to recommend ways of reducing them.

While surveying the relevant statistics and local research on crime and receiving opinions from the public, the sub-committee recognized the need for a systematic study of young offenders to examine the factors or conditions which contribute to the incidence of crime. The sub-committee, therefore, invited the Social Research Centre of the Chinese University to undertake this project to study the social causes of violent crime among young offenders.

10.2 Research Objectives

We started our investigation by assuming that causes of crime and delinquency are multi-factorial rather than the result of one single factor. Thus, the approach used by Glueck and Glueck (1950) to study juvenile delinquency have been adopted. That is to shoot out in many directions to explore as many probable contributory factors of crime as possible. In addition, a general hypothesis has been put forth as a guideline for this study. The four major elements of bond to conventional society developed by Travis Hirschi (1969) have been used to explore the possibility of crime commitment of an individual. The hypothesis stated is that;

the commitment of delinquent acts depends on the extent to which an individual is attached to conventional others (e.g., parents, school, and peers), committed to conventional lines of action (e.g., educational and occupational aspirations), involved in conventional social activities and holds a belief in the moral validity of rules.

10.3 Research Method

In view of the research objective, and after considering the elements of practicality, the comparison method is used to collect and analyse the data in this study. Two samples, the offenders and the non-offenders have been drawn in such a way that they would be as nearly alike as possible with regard to some major factors potentially affecting the results. We hope by comparing these two groups, we may find out why some youths become delinquents and others do not.

Data collection rely mainly on personal interviews by aid of two separate but comparable interview schedules to obtain information from the offenders and the non-offenders.

10.4 Major Findings

Our findings are grouped under the four areas stated in our theoretical frame of reference.

10.4.1 Attachment to others

From the data gathered on family background and to attachment to peer of the youngsters, it is found that the offenders were more likely than non-offenders to come from broken homes where one parent died, being deserted or divorced. The relationships between their parents were also reported to be less favourable. Significantly more parents of the offenders were reported not living together regularly.

The offenders, in general, had less favourable and consistent relationship with their family members than had the non-offenders. They communicated less freely with their parents and were less inclined to consult their parents when they were faced with various problems.

While mothers of both groups employed similar methods in supervising their children, more mothers of the offenders were working and they appeared to provide relatively less supervision for the offenders. When methods of supervision provided by fathers were compared, we find that fathers of offenders were more inclined to use physical punishment. Consequent to this method, offenders were more likely than non-offenders to have negative attitudes towards parental control.

In the financial aspect, although we have tried to match our samples in identical socio-economic background, we find that families of the offenders were still in a less favourable financial situation than families of the non-offenders. Less offenders reported that they regularly received pocket money from their parents while the main source of pocket money received by the non-offenders was from their parents. On the whole, more offenders than non-offenders reported dissatisfactory family life.

Less favourable peer group association was also reported by the offenders. In general, the offenders reported fewer intimate friends than the non-offenders reported. While more non-offenders respected their friends for their intelligence and hard-working, more offenders worshiped the adventurous and daring characteristics of their friends.

What is more alarming is that more than fifty percent of the offenders admitted that they had many friends associating with triad societies but it was just less than three percent of the non-offenders reported the same association.

It is also worthy to note that the channels by which the youngsters met their triad friends were through playing in the neighbourhood and playgrounds or through introduction by friends in schools, parties, soft drink shops etc.

The two dimensions of the youngsters' personal involvement with others discussed may give suggestions that the behavioural pattern of the young is subjected to the influence of their significant others. As some youngsters (offenders) are to come from less favourable home environment and have received tremendous influence from the triad societies, they will more likely be involved in delinquent acts.

10.4.2 Living and neighbourhood environment

It has often been assumed that poor living environment is the breeding ground for juvenile delinquency. In chapter IV, we find that non-offenders depicted a very unfavourable picture of their neighbourhood where their districts were squandered by triad members, 'teddy

boy' and drug addicts. Incidences of robberies, burglaries, thefts and gang fights were common activities reported in their neighbourhood.

On the other hand, the offenders were more satisfied with the space outside their houses and the provision of public recreational facilities. As we have mentioned before, a substantial number of the offenders reported to have met their triad friends in playgrounds in their neighbourhood, they might feel free and safer to roam in streets or engage in activities outside their home. (See Chapter IV, Tables 4 - 9).

On the whole, living environment might be treated as an important intervening variable in the linking up of family conditions, and educational control, with peer group association and free time activities.

10.4.3 Educational and occupational aspirations

It is assumed that societal values and norms will be transmitted to the younger generation through the educational system. It is also assumed that the more one is inspired to educational success, the more he will internalize the conventional values to acquire his goals through legitimate means. Thus schooling pattern and employment situation of the youngsters were explored. Data on schooling show that having parents who placed less value on education, the offenders themselves seemed less motivated to study and they had had less favourable relationships with schoolmates, performed rather poorly in class, had lower self-images and gained little satisfaction from school life. As a result of this, a much higher rate of school drop-out was found among offenders (90.3% at Form 2 level) than non-offenders (58.7% at the same class level).

There has been little indication of financial difficulties being the reason for their discontinuation of study. About 72.7% of the offenders attributed "unable to catch up", "having no motivation to study", or "being expelled from school" as reasons for dropping out of school.

Judging from the data gathered on the personal characteristics of the schoolmates the youngsters liked most, the offenders preferred those who were "brave and willing to venture out" and "proficient in 'Kung Fu'" while the non-offenders admired those who had "good conduct" and "good school achievement". This indicates that the offenders were more strongly motivated towards adventurous endeavours. On the whole, because they dropped out from school early, they received less influence from school than had the non-offenders.

Having dropped out from school, the offenders tended to pick up employment early in life. Being less equipped with knowledge and skill, the offenders were more likely than non-offenders to be occupationally unstable and insecure. Most of them did not stay long in their jobs. The reasons for changing jobs were mostly negative. Most reasons reported were due to the unsatisfactory working conditions.

In brief, obviously the offenders were less inspired to both educational and occupational success.

10.4.4 Involvement in conventional activities

The extent to which the youngsters under study were involved in conventional activities has been explored in terms of their involvement in free time activities. Where they went for free time activities, how frequent they participated in various items of free time activities and their exposure to mass media were looked into.

The data suggest that both offenders and non-offenders were not interested in activities offered to them by the youth centres. When the offenders indicated no interest in joining the youth centres, the non-offenders reported having "no time" or not being permitted by parents to join as their reason for not participating in centre activities.

The interest of offenders in 'Kung Fu' associations was quite obvious but motivation for joining such associations had not been explored.

A pattern of free time activities can be identified among the offenders, who were more likely than non-offenders to engage in gambling, fighting, smoking, dancing, visiting prostitutes and music halls, watching pornographic films and taking drugs.

Relevant to their interest in 'Kung Fu' and their preference in free time activities, the offenders were more often than non-offenders to read 'Kung Fu' magazines, comic books, and pornographic magazines. The majority of them also liked 'Kung Fu' films and admired 'Kung Fu' film stars.

Television viewing and listening to radio seemed to occupy relatively less of the offenders' time than that of the non-offenders. The offenders also tended to prefer 'entertainment' programmes over 'educational' or 'more serious' programmes.

10.4.5 Belief in the moral validity of rules

When beliefs and attitudes of the youngsters towards law and justice, moral conduct, work, time-perspective and quality of life in the community are explored, the data show that more offenders than non-offenders indicated their disliking of policemen. In regard to the means of attainment of personal goals, the offenders reported that they believed in going beyond the conventional limit to get what they want. They indicated their preference to taking chances over working hard to get ahead.

The data also show that the offenders were more present-oriented than the non-offenders and they seemed less happy with their present state of life. They also expressed more hatred and mistrust toward other people and the community as a whole. They said that they would be ready to take revenge on those who hurt them.

10.5 Conclusion

Our assumption that the causes of crime and delinquency are multi-factorial is confirmed in this study. From the data gathered, we observe that one factor alone does not contribute to delinquent acts. For example, more offenders than non-offenders were to come from broken homes, but we cannot establish the direct cause-effect relationship between crime and broken home. Other factors must intervene between a broken home and crime to increase the probability of occurrence of a delinquent act. Sometimes the same set of events may

affect one child and yet leaves another unscathed although both may come from almost identical socio-economic background. There appears to be an undetermined critical factor in the situation which immediately precedes the occurrence of the delinquent acts. Our data show that there were relatively low percentage of pre-planning when a crime was committed. Our data shows only 7.7% of offenders who admitted that they pre-planned a delinquent act most of the time, but 74.4% of them reported that they had never had any premeditation when a delinquent act was committed. (See Appendix D, Table 1).

Again, the four elements of social bond we use to examine the cause-effect relationship between some contributory factors and crime can only explain part of the phenomenon. It is assumed that one who has tighter bond with his family and his peers will be controlled more by his significant others. In such a case whether or not one commits a crime depends on how the family or peer groups to which the person belongs observe the societal values and norms. If the family or peer groups also defy the conventional values, the closer tie the individual has with his family or peer groups the more likely he will become a delinquent as in the case of triad involvement. But in the case of family bond, there are indications of weaker bond between the offenders and their families. Most of them were reported to come from families without parental integrity, with unfavourable parent-child relationships and with a relatively low degree of socio-economic status. Yet we have hardly any information regarding the parents attitudes towards the conventional rules of conduct. All we can assume is that most families would be law abiding, so the weaker the family control over the young, the more likely they are to become delinquent. However, as we have mentioned before family condition, at the most, could just be considered a long term factor to the cause of crime.

Triad involvement, on the other hand, could well be considered as the immediate factor contributing to delinquent acts. As indicated in our data, out of 479 offenders, 246 had connection with members of triad society and 181 were members of the triad society leaving only 52 offenders unscathed by triads. As it is also reported that gang

fights is one of the common activities among the triad societies and fighting is usually considered an unlawful act, involvement in triads can be safely considered a factor contributing to delinquent activities particularly when this involvement was reported before the offences were committed. (See Chapter VII and data book).

Our educational system, according to the data gathered, seems to have produced some negative effect on the youngsters. Most of the offenders reported that they dropped out of school because they found school life dull and uninteresting, or because they were unable to catch up and had no motivation to study. As most of the offenders and part of the non-offenders dropped out from school at primary six level, it is quite obvious that the dropping out of school of the youngsters may be closely connected with our school system as well as the examination system. The "direct" promotion system that we have discussed in Chapter V may discourage the youngsters' motivation in learning. The Secondary School Entrance Examination and the lack of places in secondary schools may affect the dropping out of school of the youngsters. Once the youngsters are out of school, they will be exposed to various influences by which they may have more opportunity to be involved in interesting and/or delinquent acts.

According to our data, more offenders than non-offenders were school drop-outs. Often they may be seeking more exciting experiences than school provides. Being poorly equipped with knowledge and skill, they were likely to take up early employment, receiving low economic reward and working under poor conditions. Being frustrated by the employment situation, they tended to drift from job to job or remained idle. Under such circumstance, they would be more likely to encounter the triad elements who they would view as daring and exciting and thus become delinquents. This observation is further supported by the data shown in Appendix D, Table 2 and 3. In these tables there shows that the earlier the offenders went out to work, the earlier they became in contact with the triad elements. And also the more jobs the youngsters held, the more chances he had connection with members of triad society

When this argument is supported, dropping out of school could also be regarded as one of the immediate factors associated with crime and thus the ineffective school system may well be a long term causative factor to crime and delinquency.

It has often been assumed that poor living environment is the breeding ground for juvenile delinquents. Living environment is treated as an important intervening variable in the linking up of family conditions, educational control, peer group association, and leisure activities. We find the offenders were more satisfied than the non-offenders towards the space outside the house and the provision of public recreational facilities because they were reported to make use of these facilities more than the non-offenders. Being more out-going and adventurous as indicated in Chapter V and VII, the offenders indicated their interest in playing ball in the playground in their neighbourhood and thus encountered their triad friends and later became involved in triads themselves. The over-crowdedness of some of the private housing premises would likely be a long term factor to the cause of crime. As the living space is so limited, the youngsters particularly working youth (i.e., the offenders) would more likely venture out to expose themselves to a variety of influence. Our data indicate that more offenders who took up early employment tended to live away from home and to some extent this supports our conclusion.

Contrary to the expectation of the public that the assumed relation of crime commitment with type of free time activities and preference in exposure to various aspects of mass media is not confirmed by this study. Here the focus has been on a number of variables assumed to be associated with crime and delinquency. An in depth longitudinal study of any one of these could provide fruitful research over the next five or ten years. Such a study on free time activities and mass media could well be given first consideration. Sponsorship from responsible commercial media could hopefully be solicited.

However, two different sets of patterns of free time activities engagement is found distinguishable between offenders and non-offenders. More offenders than non-offenders indicated their interest in adult types of free time activities such as gambling, fighting, smoking, dancing, drinking, visiting prostitutes and music halls, watching pornographic films and taking drugs.

When reading newspaper, the offenders preferred the excitement-imbued local news and the entertaining fictions and stories while the non-offenders read more on the 'serious' news. Also, the offenders were more often than non-offenders to read 'Kung Fu' magazines, comic books, and pornographic magazines. The majority of offenders also liked 'Kung Fu' film and admired 'Kung Fu' film stars. More non-offender than offenders, however, reported that they like to view movies on war, police and robbers, detective and adventure. The influence of these films on the youngsters could be equally destructive as the 'Kung Fu' movies.

Due to differential exposure to life experience or going through different socialization process, there are also indications that offenders and non-offenders under this study held different beliefs and attitudes towards law and justice, moral conduct, work, time-perspective, and quality of life in his community. On the whole, more offenders than non-offenders showed their disrespect to policemen and had more hatred and mistrust towards other people and the community as a whole. More offenders than non-offenders preferred to take chances to attain their personal goal rather than by working hard and they were more reality oriented and less happy with their present situation than the non-offenders.

However, the relation between social attitudes and delinquency has not been confirmed as we have not been able to examine the process of delinquency with this present research design. Further, as indicated in Appendix D, whether or not one who holds the 'unconventional social attitude' would commit a delinquent act depends on the situation or opportunity precedent to this act because most delinquent acts were committed without premeditation.

Thus even though the urge to use illegitimate means to attain personal goals is strong, there should be opportunity for one to sublimate this urge to legitimate courses of action. Alternatively it could dissolve into mere wishful thinking. The theory of delinquency expressed by Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin in chapter one supports this observation.

In brief, based on the information gathered from this study, we are of the opinion that causes of crime and delinquency are multi-factorial. We believe that, in a highly competitive society like ours, when there is no adequate provision for those without the ability or opportunity to cope with this way of life, crime and delinquency would be a likely outcome.

The findings of this study indicate that family condition, living environment and school system are the long term causative factors of delinquency while school drop-out and triad involvement are considered to be immediate factors contributory to crime and delinquency.

XI. RECOMMENDATIONS

Having identified a number of factors as possible contributors to crime, we would like to recommend the following preventive measures aiming at each factor we have discussed.

11.1 Family Services

11.1.1 As family condition may become one of the long term causative factors of delinquency, we suggest that apart from providing remedial services to needy families, the family service agencies should consider the provision of knowledge on family life education to parents so that they may better understand the needs of their children. Also by so doing, parents may acquire more knowledge and skill in supervising their children.

The means by which such knowledge is provided may go through different channels. The agencies concerned may work jointly with the Mutual Aid Committee of each residential block to launch the family life education programme or they may use their existing agency facilities to provide such programme.

It is also important that the younger generations who will become parents be informed on the essential and changing significance of the family in modern society. The "family in a changing world" could well be introduced as a compulsory subject in secondary school curricula.

11.1.2 To ensure that children under 12 would be well taken care of, it is recommended that more nurseries and play centres be established in industrial districts to provide temporary care for children of working mothers.

11.2 Living environment

As the over-crowdedness of some of the private housing premises are likely breeding grounds of delinquency, re-structuring of such housing conditions or re-location of residents living in crowded spaces is recommended as a measure to minimize the development of potential delinquents.

11.3 School System

As the ineffective school system is also identified as a long term contributory factor to delinquency, the following measures are recommended.

11.3.1 It is recommended that the 'direct' promotion scheme in primary school be abolished. In its place, a better evaluative system on pupils' performance be set up.

Every effort must be made to minimize school drop-outs. All students who achieve satisfactory grades should have the right to proceed with their education. Thus students would be meeting standards rather than simply competing with classmates.

11.3.2 A mechanism of closer checking of primary school drop-outs is also recommended. It is hoped that through this mechanism school drop-outs could be channelled into vocational and technical education so that the young may be better equipped to find jobs at fair wages and be in rightful place in society.

11.3.3 To prevent behavioural problems of children from further developing, school social work is recommended as an integral part in the school system to early identify the problem as well as taking early remedial action.

11.3.4 To balance work and play, the children and youth agencies are suggested to work jointly with the school authorities to provide extra curricular activities for school children to broaden their learning as well as to develop their potentials in all aspects.

11.4 Youth Work

Youth work has been emphasized as one important measure in the prevention of crime. However, noting that both offenders and non-offenders had not made much use of the existing youth services, we would like to recommend a thorough evaluation and re-orientation of the existing youth services. We would also like to recommend that an overall youth policy be formulated by the government so that governmental

departments and voluntary agencies concerned could be guided towards better co-ordination and co-operation in providing services for youth in Hong Kong. In connection with this recommendation, an advisory committee on youth services is suggested to be appointed by the government. This advisory committee is responsible for recommending the youth policy and assessing youth services programme offered by both the government and voluntary sectors.

11.4.1 Out-reach youth programme for both the pre-delinquent and the delinquent youths is recommended as an alternative service to youth centres. However, careful consideration and planning are suggested before the implementation of this new scheme on a large scale. In addition it seems essential that one or more of the voluntary agencies initiate a programme or programmes specifically designed to serve the needs and interests of the adventurous, non-conforming delinquent and pre-delinquent youth. Those parents who are concerned about bad influences on their children at youth and community centres (and we have clearly identified their existence) should find the needs of their children met in more traditional programmes. At least some if not all of our agencies should identify the deviant as well as the disadvantaged as their target population.

11.4.2 As playgrounds were reported to be frequently used by youths, more constructive use of this facilities should be considered by the youth work agencies for providing services to youths. Skilled leadership as differentiated from mere monitoring seems an essential first step.

11.5 Control of Triads

As it is found that triad involvement is one of the immediate contributory factors of crime, we suggest the law enforcement agency take more active action to control all these undesirable gangs.

11.6 Research

As the one shot exploration of contributory factors of crime and delinquency of this present study has revealed its limitations, an

in-depth longitudinal study of a limited number of variables is recommended. A study on free time activities and mass media could be given first consideration.

Appendix A 1

Social Causes of Violent Crimes Among Young Offenders
Interview Schedule for Offenders' Group

Introduction:

I am an undergraduate of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. We are conducting a social research on the youths in Hong Kong, the aim of which is to obtain some insight into the youths' life and their attitudes and opinions.

We hope that you would co-operate with us in responding to our questions. All the information you provide us will be kept strictly confidential.

I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Present age
2. Date of birth
3. Sex
4. Marital status
5. Place of birth
 - 5a. (If not born in Hong Kong) At what age did you come to Hong Kong?
6. Native place
7. Religious affiliation
8. Length of residence in Hong Kong

II. FAMILY SITUATION

1. Are your parents living?
 - 1a. (If father deceased) Do you have a step-father or foster-father?
 - 1b. (If mother deceased) Do you have a step-mother or foster-mother?
 - 1c. (If both parents deceased) How old were you then?

2. What is your parents' (or step/foster-parents') present marital relationship?
 - 2a. (If parents were divorced or separated) How old were you then?
3. Are your parents living together regularly at present?
4. What is your father's educational standing?
 - 4a. What is your mother's educational standing?
5. What is your father's religious affiliation?
 - 5a. What is your mother's religious affiliation?
6. What are your father's present occupation and position?
 - 6a. What are your mother's present occupation and position?
7. What is the approximate monthly income of your father?
 - 7a. What is the approximate monthly income of your mother?
8. How many economically active persons are there in your family?
9. What is the total monthly income of all the members living together in your family?
10. Do you have the following items in your home?

Radio	Television set	Air-conditioner
Rice Cooker	Gramophone	Automobile
Refrigerator	Tape recorder	"Servant"
Telephone	Washing machine	

N.B. The possession of individual items was not coded. The number of item possession and the score of commodities possession were coded directly.
11. Who is mainly responsible for the overall expenses of your family such as rent, food, electricity?
12. How many brothers and sisters do you have, including yourself? (including those living and not living with your family)
 - 12a. What is your ordinal position?
13. What is your impression of your sibling relationship since childhood?
14. Do you feel your parents have favouritism towards one or two of your siblings since your childhood?
 - 14a. (If parents play favouritism) Who is your parents' favourite?
 - 14b. (If you are not their favourite) Have you ever felt unhappy with your parents' favouritism?

15. Since childhood, who do you feel in your family likes you best?
15a. Since childhood, who do you feel in your family dislikes you most?
16. Whom would you like to consult most or ask help from when you encounter the following types of problems?
A) When you are uncertain whether or not you are sick
B) When you are uncertain whether or not you should further your study or change your trade
C) When you are short of money
D) When you encounter difficulties
17. Can you recall who in your family has been mainly responsible for supervising the children all along?
18. What has been your father's usual method of supervision since your childhood?
18a. What has been your mother's usual method of supervision since your childhood?
19. When you chat with your father, what is usually the main topic of conversation?
19a. When you chat with your mother, what is usually the main topic of conversation?
20. Generally speaking, do you consider your parents' relationship as harmonious (or satisfactory)?
20a. (If not harmonious) Which do you consider is the major cause of the inharmonious relationship of your parents?
21. Since childhood, have you ever been unwilling to stay at home because your parents quarrel, though you have the freetime?
22. Do you feel that your father has any good aspects worth learning?
22a. (If yes) What are these aspects?
22b. Do you feel that your mother has any good aspects worth learning?
22c. (If yes) What are these aspects?
23. In the past three years, what had been the major resource of your pocket-money?
24. Generally speaking, had you enough pocket money in the past three years?
24a. If you had not enough money, what had you done to get it?
25. On the whole, do you consider your family life satisfactory?

26. The following are a list of statements concerning parent-child relationship. Please express your opinion and state whether you agree or disagree with each of them.
- A) Children should inform their parents when they go out
 - B) Children should pay filial piety to their parents
 - C) Most of what parents teach is right
 - D) Parents very often do not understand their offsprings
 - E) Parents do not render enough freedom to their offsprings
 - F) Parents are often stubborn and lack of understanding
27. Coming to crimes, have any of your family members been convicted by the court for committing an offence?
- 27a. (If yes) Who are they? What kind of offence have they committed? How old were you then?
28. According to your knowledge, how many members of your family have ever joined the triad society?
- 28a. Who are they?

III. LIVING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD ENVIRONMENT

1. Before coming here, which district did you live in?
2. Before coming here, which type of housing did you occupy?
3. Before coming here, were you living with your family?
 - 3a. (If not) When did you move out and cease living with your family?
 - 3b. How old were you when you moved out?
 - 3c. Whom did you live with when you were not living with your family?
 - 3d. Which district did you reside in when you were living with your family?
 - 3e. And what type of housing was it?
 - 3f. What was the main reason for your moving out?
4. How many times had you moved house in the past year?
5. In the past year, how often did you stay overnight in temporary residential dwellings (e.g., apartment houses, hotels etc.)?
6. When you were living with your family, how many tenants were there altogether in your house (or in the same flat)?
7. When you were living with your family, how many persons were there altogether living in the same house (or same flat)? (including other tenants)

8. Which family members did you reside with when you were living with your family?
N.B. The responses to this question were not coded.
9. Were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the following aspects in your living environment when you were living with your family?
- A) Quietude
 - B) Space inside the house
 - C) Open space outside the house
 - D) Transportation
 - E) Ventilation
 - F) Neighborhood
 - G) Public recreational facilities
10. When you were living at home, did you know of any children or youth centres operated by government, religious or voluntary organizations in the vicinity?
10a. (If yes) Where did you first obtain such information?
11. Have you ever joined the activities of those centres since your childhood?
11a. (If yes) What kind of activities did you usually participate in?
11b. (If yes) Did you acquaint most of your intimate friends in the centres?
11c. (If no) What was your main reason for not joining the centres' activities?
12. Apart from these youth centres, have you ever joined other private organizations? (e.g., Chinese boxing schools, associations, clubs, etc.)
12a. (If yes) What type of organization was it?

IV. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND SCHOOLING

1. Before you came here, (or before you committed this offence), were you attending school or had you already been working?
1a. (If attending school) Which class were you attending?
1b. (If working already) What was the highest class you attained?
1c. (If working already) What was the main reason for your dropping out from school?
2. How many schools have you attended altogether?
3. Just take the school which you last attended, what was your academic position in your class?

4. Do you know what level of education your parents expect you to attain?
5. All along, what level of education have you expected yourself to attain?
6. The following are a list of statements concerning schooling. Please express your own opinion and state whether you agree or disagree with these points of view.
 - A) Most of what we learn in school are useless
 - B) For me, studying is a very difficult job
 - C) It is most important to have enough education if one wants to get ahead in Hong Kong
 - D) Actually, I am not the type that will do well academically
7. Can you recall the general attitudes of those teachers who have taught you? What were their attitudes?
8. Did you have one or more teachers whom you had special liking?
 - 8a. (If yes) How many such teachers approximately?
 - 8b. (If yes) What was the main reason for your special liking for them?
9. On the other hand, did you have one or more teachers whom you disliked most?
 - 9a. (If yes) How many such teachers approximately?
 - 9b. (If yes) What was the main reason for your dislike?
10. Ever since you entered school, have you received any prize?
 - 10a. (If yes) What prize did you receive?
11. Have you ever been punished in the school? What type of punishment was it?
12. How many of your schoolmates could be regarded as your intimate friends?
13. Ever since you entered school, have you discussed the following issues with your intimate schoolmates?
 - A) Schoolwork and school affairs
 - B) Your family life
 - C) Amusement and leisure activities
 - D) Issues concerning male and female
 - E) Sexual knowledge

14. Of course, your intimate friends may not be your schoolmates, but among your intimate friends, are there many schoolmates?
- 14a. Among those intimate friends who were also your schoolmates, do they possess the following personal characteristics?
- A) Good academic achievements
 - B) Good conduct
 - C) Willing to offer help and have rectitude
 - D) With leadership
 - E) Obedient to teachers.
 - F) Pay filial piety to parents
 - G) Brave and willing to venture
 - H) Proficient in "Kung Fu"
 - I) Talented in arts
- 14b. In what grade did you get to know most of them?
- 14c. Were most of them your neighbours?
15. Where did you meet your intimate schoolmates mostly?
16. According to your knowledge, are they still attending school?
17. According to your knowledge, have many of your intimate friends ever joined the triad society?
18. Ever since you entered school, have you ever participated in any of the following activities?
- A) Music, singing
 - B) Painting
 - C) Hiking, camping
 - D) Photography
 - E) Chess
 - F) Ball games, track and field events, swimming
 - G) Writing
 - H) Playing musical instruments
19. On the whole, how would you feel about your school life experience?

V. ATTACHMENT TO PEERS

1. Before coming here, (or before committing this offence), how many persons could be regarded as your intimate friends?
2. Where did you get to know your intimate friends mostly?
3. Where would you and your intimate friends go mostly for entertainment to spend leisure hours?
4. Do many of your intimate friends join the triad society?
5. Among your intimate friends, do many of them have also committed offences?

6. Had you already known your intimate friends when you committed the first offence? (If it is the first offence, then ask 'when you committed this offence')
 - 6a. (If not) At which offence did you come to know them?
 - 6b. (If not) Where did you get to know them?
7. Please state the occupation and level of education of three of your most intimate friends.
8. What do you feel are the characteristics of these intimate friends which deserve your respect most?
9. All along, do your parents like your association with your intimate friends?
 - 9a. (If parents dislike the association) Have your parents forbidden your association with them?
10. When you go out from here, will you associate with them again?
 - 10a. (If it depends) What are the conditions?
11. Do you think it would be difficult to make friend with other people?
 - 11a. (If difficult) What is the main reason for the difficulty?
12. Do you think friends are important to you?
13. On the other hand, among your acquaintance, is there anyone whom you want to flee from, or even never to meet again?
 - 13a. (If yes) Who are they?
 - 13b. (If yes) What is the main reason?

VI. CRIMINAL AND TRIAD SOCIETY RECORD

1. What offence have you committed which brought you here? And what is the period of sentence? (or what is the period of probation?)
2. Did you commit this offence by yourself, or were you working with a clique?
 - 2a. (If working with a clique) How many members are there in the clique?
 - 2b. (If working with a clique) Have they been arrested?
3. Have you ever committed any offence before this one?
 - 3a. (If yes) What offence have you committed? What was the sentence? How many accomplices did you have?
4. What do you feel that drove you to commit these crimes?

5. Before you set out for the crime, did you have any pre-meditation?
6. Do you feel that the sentence for this offence is fair?
 - 6a. (If unfair) Why is it unfair?
 - 6b. What type of sentence scared you most?
7. Have you joined the triad society through formal enrolment ceremony?
 - 7a. (If yes) How long have you joined the triad society?
 - 7b. Which district does your triad society belong to?
 - 7c. What is its name?
 - 7d. What has been the highest position held since you entered the society?
 - 7e. Where did you have first connection with members of the triad society?
 - 7f. Through which channel did you first join the triad society?
 - 7g. Personally speaking, what is your main reason for joining the triad society?
 - 7h. How many members are there in the triad society you belong to?
 - 7i. Do you wish to leave the triad society?
 - 7k. Do you think that they will let you leave?

(If respondent has been formally enrolled into the triad society, there is no need to ask question No. 8)

8. Perhaps you haven't formally enrolled into the triad society, but have you had any connection with members of the triad society?
 - 8a. (If yes) How long has the connection been?
 - 8b. Which district of the triads are you connected with?
 - 8c. What is the name of the triad society?
 - 8d. Where did you have the first contact with the members of triad society?
 - 8e. Why did the first connection take place?
 - 8f. What is the size of the triad society which you have connection with?
 - 8g. What is the most common activities of the triad society which you have connection with?
 - 8h. Will you formally join the triad society in the future?
 - 8i. (If not) Why not?

VII. LEISURE ACTIVITIES AND EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA

1. I will state a list of activities, please tell me whether you have taken part in these activities. If you have, how old were you when this began? How frequent and with whom did you participate in each activity?
 - A) Hanging around in soft drink shops or in cafe
 - B) Smoking
 - C) Taking drugs
 - D) Social dance
 - E) Drinking
 - F) Gambling
 - G) Listening to pop music
 - H) Hiking, camping, swimming, ballgames etc.
 - I) Gang fights, brawls
 - J) Watching pornographic films
 - K) Going to music hall, prostitutes
2. Are there any activities which you would like to do very much but have not the chance to try it?
3. What is the main reason for your inability to carry out these activities?
4. Have you any intimate opposite sex friends?
5. Have you had sexual relationship with her/him?
6. Do you often read the following books or magazines?
 - A) Tecnagers' magazine (e.g., Little Bargirl, Little Hooligans)
 - B) Magazines such as Mini, Playboys, the 80's etc.
 - C) 'Kung Fu' magazine or novel
 - D) Magazines on movies
7. How often do you read Chinese newspaper?
8. Which newspaper do you normally read?
9. Which column do you like most?
10. Which kind of films do you like most?
11. In your memory, which two films did you enjoy most?
12. Do you have any heroes which you especially like, admire or worship, such as celebrities, filmstars, soccer stars, or boxers?
 - 12a. (If yes) Please list the names of 2 persons which you like most, and state why you have the special liking.
13. Do you often watch T.V.?
 - 13a. (If you do) Which two programs do you enjoy most?
14. Do you often listen to the radio?
 - 14a. (If you do) Which two programs do you enjoy most?

VIII. WORK EXPERIENCE (Only ask those who have working experience)

1. How old were you when you began your first employment?
2. For how long have you been working before you came here (or before you committed this offense)?
3. Were you working in the period immediately before you committed this offense?
 - 3a. (If no) For how long have you been unemployed by the time you committed this offense?
4. Please state, in chronological order, the jobs you have done. For how long have you remained in the job. Please also state the salary and the reasons for changing jobs.
5. If you were given the opportunity to choose the occupation you like, which type of job would you choose?
6. The following is a list of opinions people may take toward work and occupation; do you agree or disagree with them?
 - A) There is no distinction in the social status for different jobs.
 - B) Earning a great fortune does not require real knowledge
 - C) Most employers aim to tap more profit, and they totally disregard the welfare of the employees
 - D) To work steadily on a job will never get ahead
 - E) It takes venture to get success
 - F) One only needs to work hard, and he will get ahead someday

IX. PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

1. Usually everyone has some opinion about oneself, for example, some people have an optimistic view of life, while some are pessimistic. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
 - A) You always worry about your own future
 - B) Spending before earning is not a recommendable behavior
 - C) If you could rejuvenate, you would hope to become another person
 - D) It is at present too early to concern things that will happen in two years later
 - E) It is at present too early to concern things that will happen one year later
 - F) Your life is full of varieties
2. Generally speaking, have you ever spent money which you have not yet earned?

3. Someone said that there is no future prospect for Hong Kong, do you agree or disagree with this?
- 3a. (If agree) Why is there no future prospect?
4. What is your feeling about Hong Kong?
5. The following are some statements concerning various viewpoints toward man and his affairs. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of them.
- A) Most rich people get rich by operating illegal business
 - B) One should be reckless in order to achieve one's goal
 - C) To make one's way in this world, one must be guileful
 - D) Most of the people in the society are unreliable
 - E) Most of the people in the society are selfish
 - F) Poor people in Hong Kong are diminishing year by year
 - G) When one is taking a course of action, one needs not care whether others agree or not
 - H) There is no difference in telling a lie once or ten times
 - I) The law in Hong Kong is fair
 - J) Probation homes are effective in reforming youths
 - K) Most of the policemen in Hong Kong are decent fellows
 - L) One will only learn to become worse, rather than better, in prison
 - M) One who does not settle hatred is not a gentleman
 - N) If someone has helped me, I will help him in return if there is such an opportunity
 - O) Training centres are effective in reforming youths
 - P) Detention centres are effective in reforming youths

Here is the end of the interview;
thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix A 2

Social Causes of Violent Crimes Among Young Offenders

Interview Schedule for Non-offenders' Group

Introduction:

I am an undergraduate of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. We are conducting a social research on the youths in Hong Kong, the aim of which is to obtain some insight into the youths' life and their attitudes and opinions.

We hope that you would co-operate with us in responding to our questions. All the information you provide us will be kept strictly confidential.

I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Present age
2. Date of birth
3. Sex
4. Marital status
5. Place of birth
 - 5a. (If not born in Hong Kong) At what age did you come to Hong Kong?
6. Native place
7. Religious affiliation
8. Length of residence in Hong Kong

II. FAMILY SITUATION

1. Are your parents living?
 - 1a. (If father deceased) Do you have a step-father or foster-father?
 - 1b. (If mother deceased) Do you have a step-mother or foster-mother?
 - 1c. (If both parents deceased) How old were you then?

2. What is your parents' (or step/foster-parents') present marital relationship?
 - 2a. (If parents were divorced or separated) How old were you then?
3. Are your parents living together regularly at present?
4. What is your father's educational standing?
 - 4a. What is your mother's educational standing?
5. What is your father's religious affiliation?
 - 5a. What is your mother's religious affiliation?
6. What are your father's present occupation and position?
 - 6a. What are your mother's present occupation and position?
7. What is the approximate monthly income of your father?
 - 7a. What is the approximate monthly income of your mother?
8. How many economically active persons are there in your family?
9. What is the total monthly income of all the members living together in your family?
10. Do you have the following items in your home?

Radio	Television set	Air-conditioner
Rice Cooker	Gramophone	Automobile
Refrigerator	Tape recorder	"Servant"
Telephone	Washing machine	

N.B. The possession of individual items was not coded. The number of item possession and the score of commodities possession were coded directly.
11. Who is mainly responsible for the overall expenses of your family such as rent, food, electricity?
12. How many brothers and sisters do you have, including yourself? (including those living and not living with your family)
 - 12a. What is your ordinal position?
13. What is your impression of your sibling relationship since childhood?
14. Do you feel your parents have favouritism towards one or two of your siblings since your childhood?
 - 14a. (If parents play favouritism) Who is your parents' favourite?
 - 14b. (If you are not their favourite) Have you ever felt unhappy with your parents' favouritism?

15. Since childhood, who do you feel in your family likes you best?
15a. Since childhood, who do you feel in your family dislikes you most?
16. Whom would you like to consult most or ask help from when you encounter the following types of problems?
A) When you are uncertain whether or not you are sick
B) When you are uncertain whether or not you should further your study or change your trade
C) When you are short of money
D) When you encounter difficulties
17. Can you recall who in your family has been mainly responsible for supervising the children all along?
18. What has been your father's usual method of supervision since your childhood?
18a. What has been your mother's usual method of supervision since your childhood?
19. When you chat with your father, what is usually the main topic of conversation?
19a. When you chat with your mother, what is usually the main topic of conversation?
20. Generally speaking, do you consider your parents' relationship as harmonious (or satisfactory)?
20a. (If not harmonious) Which do you consider is the major cause of the inharmonious relationship of your parents?
21. Since childhood, have you ever been unwilling to stay at home because your parents quarrel, though you have the freetime?
22. Do you feel that your father has any good aspects worth learning?
22a. (If yes) What are these aspects?
22b. Do you feel that your mother has any good aspects worth learning?
22c. (If yes) What are these aspects?
23. In the past three years, what had been the major resource of your pocket-money?
24. Generally speaking, had you enough pocket money in the past three years?
24a. If you had not enough money, what had you done to get it?
25. On the whole, do you consider your family life satisfactory?

26. The following are a list of statements concerning parent-child relationship. Please express your opinion and state whether you agree or disagree with each of them.
- A) Children should inform their parents when they go out
 - B) Children should pay filial piety to their parents
 - C) Most of what parents teach is right
 - D) Parents very often do not understand their offsprings
 - E) Parents do not render enough freedom to their offsprings
 - F) Parents are often stubborn and lack of understanding

III. LIVING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD ENVIRONMENT

1. Which district do you live in at present?
2. Which type of housing do you occupy at present?
3. Are you living with your family?
 - 3a. (If not) When did you move out and cease living with your family?
 - 3b. How old were you when you moved out?
 - 3c. Whcm did you live with when you were not living with your family?
 - 3d. Which district did you reside in when you were living with your family?
 - 3e. And what type of housing was it?
 - 3f. What was the main reason for your moving out?
4. How many times had you moved house in the past year?
5. In the past year, how often did you stay overnight in temporary residential dwellings (e.g., apartment houses, hotels etc.)?
6. When you were living with your family, how many tenants were there altogether in your house (or in the same flat)?
7. When you were living with your family, how many persons were there altogether living in the same house (or same flat)? (including other tenants)
8. Which family members did you reside with when you were living with your family?

N.B. The responses to this question were not coded.

9. Were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the following aspects in your living environment when you were living with your family?
- A) Quietude
 - B) Space inside the house
 - C) Open space outside the house
 - D) Transportation
 - E) Ventilation
 - F) Neighborhood
 - G) Public recreational facilities
10. When you were living at home, did you know of any children or youth centres operated by government, religious or voluntary organizations in the vicinity?
- 10a. (If yes) Where did you first obtain such information?
11. Have you ever joined the activities of those centres since your childhood?
- 11a. (If yes) What kind of activities did you usually participate in?
- 11b. (If yes) Did you acquaint most of your intimate friends in the centres?
- 11c. (If no) What was your main reason for not joining the centres' activities?
12. Apart from these youth centres, have you ever joined other private organizations? (e.g., Chinese boxing schools, associations, clubs, etc.)
- 12a. (If yes) What type of organization was it?
13. From your daily observation, do any of the following types of people exist in your residential district?
14. Are you afraid that they will give you trouble or even hurt you or your family?
15. According to your knowledge, have any of your neighbours been disturbed by these people?
16. Have you or your family member been disturbed by these people?
17. According to your knowledge, what type of crime occur most frequently in your neighbourhood?
18. In dealing with the above-mentioned types of people, do you think the police are effective?

IV. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND SCHOOLING

1. Are you studying at school or are you working at present?
 - 1a. (If attending school) Which class are you attending?
 - 1b. (If working already) What was the highest class you attained?
 - 1c. (If working already) What was the main reason for your dropping out from school?
2. How many schools have you attended altogether?
3. Just take the school which you last attended, what was your academic position in your class?
4. Do you know what level of education your parents expect you to attain?
5. All along, what level of education have you expected yourself to attain?
6. The following are a list of statements concerning schooling. Please express your own opinion and state whether you agree or disagree with these points of view.
 - A) Most of what we learn in school are useless
 - B) For me, studying is a very difficult job
 - C) It is most important to have enough education if one wants to get ahead in Hong Kong
 - D) Actually, I am not the type that will do well academically
7. Can you recall the general attitudes of those teachers who have taught you? What were their attitudes?
8. Did you have one or more teachers whom you had special liking?
 - 8a. (If yes) How many such teachers approximately?
 - 8b. (If yes) What was the main reason for your special liking for them?
9. On the other hand, did you have one or more teachers whom you disliked most?
 - 9a. (If yes) How many such teachers approximately?
 - 9b. (If yes) What was the main reason for your dislike?
10. Ever since you entered school, have you received any prize?
 - 10a. (If yes) What prize did you receive?

11. Have you ever been punished in the school? What type of punishment was it?
12. How many of your schoolmates could be regarded as your intimate friends?
13. Ever since you entered school, have you discussed the following issues with your intimate schoolmates?
 - A) Schoolwork and school affairs
 - B) Your family life
 - C) Amusement and leisure activities
 - D) Issues concerning male and female
 - E) Sexual knowledge
14. Of course, your intimate friends may not be your schoolmates, but among your intimate friends, are there many schoolmates?
 - 14a. Among those intimate friends who were also your schoolmates, do they possess the following personal characteristics?
 - A) Good academic achievements
 - B) Good conduct
 - C) Willing to offer help and have rectitude
 - D) With leadership
 - E) Obedient to teachers
 - F) Pay filial piety to parents
 - G) Brave and willing to venture
 - H) Proficient in "Kung Fu"
 - I) Talented in arts
 - 14b. In what grade did you get to know most of them?
 - 14c. Were most of them your neighbours?
15. Where did you meet your intimate schoolmates mostly?
16. According to your knowledge, are they still attending school?
17. Ever since you entered school, have you ever participated in any of the following activities?
 - A) Music, singing
 - B) Painting
 - C) Hiking, camping
 - D) Photography
 - E) Chess
 - F) Ball games, track and field events, swimming
 - G) Writing
 - H) Playing musical instruments
18. On the whole, how would you feel about your school life experience?

19. It is said that members of triad societies often infiltrate into schools for illegal purposes. From what you have observed in school, do you consider the situation serious or not?
- 19a. (If serious) Do you know their channels of infiltrating into schools?

V. ATTACHMENT TO PEERS

1. At present, how many persons could be regarded as your intimate friends including those you made in and outside school?
2. Where did you get to know your intimate friends mostly?
3. Where would you and your intimate friends go mostly for entertainment to spend leisure hours?
4. Please state the occupation and level of education of three of your most intimate friends.
5. What do you feel are the characteristics of these intimate friends which deserve your respect most?
6. All along, do your parents like your association with your intimate friends?
 - 6a. (If parents dislike the association) Have your parents forbidden your association with them?
7. Do you think friends are important to you?

VI. LEISURE ACTIVITIES AND EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA

1. I will state a list of activities, please tell me whether you have taken part in these activities. If you have, how old were you when this began? How frequent and with whom did you participate in each activity?
 - A) Hanging around in soft drink shops or in cafe
 - B) Smoking
 - C) Taking drugs
 - D) Social dance
 - E) Drinking
 - F) Gambling
 - G) Listening to pop music
 - H) Hiking, camping, swimming, ballgames etc.
 - I) Gang fights, brawls
 - J) Watching pornographic films
 - K) Going to music hall, prostitutes

2. Are there any activities which you would like to do very much but have not the chance to try it?
3. What is the main reason for your inability to carry out these activities?
4. Have you any intimate opposite sex friends?
 - 4a. (If yes) What is the degree of intimacy?
5. Give the names of two books or magazines which you like most.
6. Do you often read the following books or magazines?
 - A) Novels
 - B) Detective stories
 - C) Teenagers' magazine (e.g., Little Bargirl, Little Hooligans)
 - D) Magazines such as Mini, Playboys, the '80's etc.
 - E) 'Kung Fu' magazine or novel
 - F) Magazine on movies
7. How often do you read Chinese newspaper?
8. Which newspaper do you normally read?
9. Which column do you like most?
10. Which kind of films do you like most?
11. In your memory, which two films did you enjoy most?
12. Do you have any heroes which you especially like, admire or worship, such as celebrities, filmstars, soccer stars, or boxers?
 - 12a. (If yes) Please list the names of 2 persons which you like most, and state why you have the special liking.
13. Do you often watch T.V.?
 - 13a. (If you do) Which two programs do you enjoy most?
14. Do you often listen to the radio?
 - 14a. (If you do) Which two programs do you enjoy most?

VII. WORK EXPERIENCE (Only ask those who have working experience)

1. How old were you when you began your first employment?
2. For how long have you been working?

3. Please state, in chronological order, the jobs you have done. For how long have you remained in the job. Please also state the salary and the reasons for changing jobs.
4. If you were given the opportunity to choose the occupation you like, which type of job would you choose?
5. The following is a list of opinions people may take toward work and occupation; do you agree or disagree with them?
 - A) There is no distinction in the social status for different jobs
 - B) Earning a great fortune does not require real knowledge
 - C) Most employers aim to tap more profit, and they totally disregard the welfare of the employees
 - D) To work steadily on a job will never get ahead
 - E) It takes venture to get success
 - F) One only needs to work hard, and he will get ahead someday

VIII. PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

1. Usually everyone has some opinion about oneself, for example, some people have an optimistic view of life, while some are pessimistic. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
 - A) You always worry about your own future
 - B) Spending before earning is not a recommendable behavior
 - C) If you could rejuvenate, you would hope to become another person
 - D) It is at present too early to concern things that will happen in two years later
 - E) It is at present too early to concern things that will happen one year later
 - F) Your life is full of varieties
2. Generally speaking, have you ever spent money which you have not yet earned?
3. Someone said that there is no future prospect for Hong Kong, do you agree or disagree with this?
 - 3a. (If agree) Why is there no future prospect?
4. What is your feeling about Hong Kong?

5. The following are some statements concerning various viewpoints toward man and his affairs. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of them.
- A) Most rich people get rich by operating illegal business
 - B) One should be reckless in order to achieve one's goal
 - C) To make one's way in this world, one must be guileful
 - D) Most of the people in the society are unreliable
 - E) Most of the people in the society are selfish
 - F) Poor people in Hong Kong are diminishing year by year
 - G) When one is taking a course of action, one needs not care whether others agree or not
 - H) There is no difference in telling a lie once or ten times
 - I) The law in Hong Kong is fair
 - J) Probation homes are effective in reforming youths
 - K) Most of the policemen in Hong Kong are decent fellows
 - L) One will only learn to become worse, rather than better, in prison
 - M) One who does not settle hatred is not a gentleman
 - N) If someone has helped me, I will help him in return if there is such an opportunity
 - O) Training centres are effective in reforming youths
 - P) Detention centres are effective in reforming youths

IX. OPINIONS ON CRIME

1. Many people in Hong Kong say that the problem of juvenile delinquency is getting more and more serious. Do you think it is really serious?
2. Generally speaking, what do you think are the major causes that make young people commit crimes?
3. Do you think tougher sentences should be used on young offenders?
 - 3a. What type of sentence would you consider most severe?
4. If you had committed an offence, what kind of punishment would scare you most?
5. It is said that more and more people are joining the triad society. To your knowledge, do you have any friends who have joined the triad society?
 - 5a. How many are there approximately?
6. Have any of your intimate friends committed an offence and convicted by the court?
 - 6a. What was the offence?

7. As to your family members, have any of them joined the triad society?
 - 7a. (If yes) How many such members approximately?
8. Coming to crimes, have any of your family members been convicted by the court for committing an offence?
 - 8a. (If yes) Who are they? What kind of offence have they committed? How old were you then?
9. Have you joined the triad society through formal enrolment ceremony?
 - 9a. (If yes) How long have you joined the triad society?
 - 9b. Which district does your triad society belong to?
 - 9c. What is its name?
 - 9d. What has been the highest position held since you entered the society?
 - 9e. Where did you get first connection with members of the triad society?
 - 9f. Through which channel did you first join the triad society?
 - 9g. Personally speaking, what is your main reason for joining the triad society?
 - 9h. How many members are there in the triad society you belong to?
 - 9i. What is the most common activities carried out by the triad society you belong to?
 - 9j. Do you wish to leave the triad society?
 - 9k. Do you think that they will let you leave?
10. Perhaps you haven't been formally enrolled into the triad society, but have you had any connections with members of the triad society?
 - 10a. (If yes) How long has the connection been?
 - 10b. Which district of the triads do you have connection with?
 - 10c. What is the name of the society?
 - 10d. Where did you have the first contact with the members of triad society?
 - 10e. Why did the first connection take place?
 - 10f. What is the size of the triad society you have connection with?
 - 10g. What is the most common activities of the triad society which you have connection with?
 - 10h. Will you formally join the triad society in the future?
 - 10i. (If not) Why not?

11. Have you ever been convicted by the court because of having committed an offence?
 - 11a. (If yes) What was the offence?
 - 11b. (If yes) What was the sentence?

Here is the end of the interview;
thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix B

Social Causes of Violent Crime Among Young Offenders
Offenders' Group Interviewing Time Schedule

Date of Interview	<u>Prisoners/Inmates/Probationers to be Interviewed at Prisons Department:</u>
1.5.74	Tong Fuk Detention Centre
2.5.74	Sha Tsui Detention Centre
3.5.74	Chi Ma Wan Prison
6.5.74	Cape Collinson Training Centre
7.5.74	Tai Tam Gap Training Centre
8.5.74	Stanley Prison
17.5.74	Tai Lam Centre For Women
	 <u>Social Welfare Department:</u>
20.5.74	Western Probation Office North Kowloon Probation Office Ma Tau Wei Girls' Home Tsuen Wan Probation Office
21.5.74	Higher Court Probation Office Kwun Tong Probation Office Begonia Road Boys' Home South Kowloon Probation Office Fanling Probation Office
22.5.74	Causeway Bay Probation Office Juvenile Court Probation (Sub) Office Castle Peak Boys' Home
23.5.74	Causeway Bay Probation Office Juvenile Court Probation (Sub) Office San Po Kong Probation Office
24.5.74	Causeway Bay Probation Office O Pui Shan Boys' Home San Po Kong Probation Office
27.5.74	San Po Kong Probation Office

Appendix C

Violent Crime CategoriesI. Rape (Cap. 213 Section 21)

- (1) Any person who commits the crime of rape shall be guilty of felony; Penalty: imprisonment for life.
- (2) Any man who induces a married woman to permit him to have carnal connection with her by personating her husband shall be deemed guilty of rape.
- (3) If upon the trial of any indictment or the hearing of any information or charge, for rape or for any offence made felony in section 6 (Defilement of girl under 13) the jury or the magistrate, as the case may be, is satisfied that the defendant is guilty of an offence under section 5 (Defilement of girl between 13 and 16), 6, 9 (Procuring defilement of females) or 10 (Carnal knowledge of female idiot) or of an indecent assault, but is not satisfied that the defendant is guilty of the felony charged in such indictment, information or charge, or of an attempt to commit the same, then and in every such case the jury or the magistrate, as the case may be, may acquit the defendant of such felony and find him guilty of an offence as aforesaid, or of an indecent assault, and there upon such defendant shall be liable to be punished in the same manner as if he had been convicted upon as indictment, information or charge for such offence as aforesaid, or for an indecent assault.

II. Murder and Manslaughter (Cap. 212 Section 2-3, 7-8)

2. Any person who is convicted of murder shall suffer death as a felon.
3. On every conviction for murder the court shall pronounce sentence of death, and the same may be carried into execution, and all other proceedings upon such sentence and in respect thereof may be had and taken, in the same manner in all respects as sentence of death might have been pronounced and carried into execution, and all other proceedings thereupon and in respect thereof might have been had and taken, before the commencement of this Ordinance, on a conviction for any other felony for which the prisoner might have been sentenced to suffer death as a felon.
7. Any person who is convicted of manslaughter shall be liable to imprisonment for life and to pay such fine as the court may award.
8. No punishment or forfeiture shall be incurred by any person who kills another by misfortune, or in his own defence, or in any other manner without felony.

III. Attempted Murder (Cap. 212 Section 10-14)

10. Any person who-
 - a. administers to, or causes to be administered to, or to be taken by any person any poison or other destructive thing; or
 - b. by any means whatsoever, wounds or causes any grievous bodily harm to any person,
 with intent in any of such cases to commit murder, shall be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for life.
11. Any person who, by the explosion of gunpowder or any other explosive substance, destroys or damages any building with intent to commit

murder shall be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for life.

12. Any person who-
 - a. sets fire to any ship or vessel, or any part thereof, or any part of the tackle, apparel, or furniture thereof, or any goods or chattels being therein; or
 - b. casts away or destroys any ship or vessel, with intent in any of such cases to commit murder, shall be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for life.
13. Any person who-
 - a. attempts to administer to, or attempts to cause to be administered to or to be taken by, any person any poison or other destructive thing; or
 - b. shoots at any person; or
 - c. by drawing a trigger or in any other manner, attempts to discharge any kind of loaded arms at any person; or
 - d. attempts to drown, suffocate, or strangle any person, with intent in any of such cases to commit murder, shall, whether any bodily injury is effected or not, be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for life.
14. Any person who, by any means other than those specified in any of the preceding sections, attempts to commit murder shall be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for life.

IV. Serious Assault (Cap. 212, Section 17, 19-20, 22-23, 29, 36, 39)

17. Any person who-
 - a. unlawfully and maliciously, by any means whatsoever, wounds or causes any grievous bodily harm to any person; or
 - b. shoots at any person; or
 - c. by drawing a trigger or in any other manner, attempts to discharge any kind of loaded arms at any person, with intent in any of such cases to maim, disfigure, or disable any person, or to do some other grievous bodily harm to any person, or with intent to resist or prevent the lawful apprehension or detainer of any person, shall be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for life.
19. Any person who unlawfully and maliciously wounds or inflicts any grievous bodily harm upon any other person, either with or without any weapon or instrument, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to imprisonment for three years.
20. Any person who-
 - a. by any means whatsoever, attempts to choke, suffocate, or strangle any other person; or
 - b. by any means calculated to choke, suffocate, or strangle, attempts to render any other person insensible, unconscious, or incapable of resistance, with intent in any of such cases thereby to enable himself or any other to commit, or with intent in any of such cases thereby to assist any other person in committing, any indictable offence, shall be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for life.

22. Any person who unlawfully and maliciously administers to, or causes to be administered to or taken by, any other person any poison or other destructive or noxious thing, so as thereby to endanger the life of such person or so as thereby to inflict upon such person any grievous bodily harm, shall be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for ten years.
23. Any person who unlawfully and maliciously administers to, or cause to be administered to or taken by, any other person any poison or other destructive or noxious thing, with intent to injure, aggrieve, or annoy such person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to imprisonment for three years.
29. Any person who unlawfully and maliciously-
- a. causes any gunpowder or other explosive substance to explode; or
 - b. sends or delivers to, or causes to be taken or received by, any person any explosive substance or any other dangerous or noxious thing; or
 - c. puts or lays at any place, or casts or throws at or upon or otherwise applies to any person, any corrosive fluid or any destructive or explosive substance,
- with intent in any such cases to burn, maim, disfigure, or disable any person or to do some grievous bodily harm to any person, shall whether any bodily injury is effected or not, be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for life.
36. Any person who-
- a. assaults any person with intent to commit felony; or
 - b. assaults, resists, or wilfully obstructs any police officer in the due execution of his duty or any person acting in aid of such officer; or
 - c. assaults any person with intent to resist or prevent the lawful apprehension or detainer of himself or of any other person for any offence, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor triable summarily, and shall be liable to imprisonment for two years.
39. Any person who is convicted of an assault occasioning actual bodily harm shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be liable to imprisonment for three years.

V. Kidnapping (Cap. 212 Section 42-43)

Forcible Taking or Detention of Persons

42. Any person who, by force or fraud, takes away or detains against his or her will any man or boy, woman or female child, with intent to sell him or her, or to procure a ransom or benefit for his or her liberation, shall be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for fourteen years.
43. (1) Any person who-
- a. unlawfully, by any means, leads or takes away, or decoys or entices away, or detains any child under the age of fourteen years, with intent to deprive any parent, guardian, or other person having the lawful care or charge of such child of the possession of such child, or with intent to steal any article upon or about the person of such child, to whomsoever such article may belong; or
 - b. with any such intent receives or harbours any such child, knowing the same to have been led, taken, decoyed, enticed away, or detained as in this section before mentioned, shall be guilty of felony, and shall be liable to imprisonment for seven years:

Provided that no person who has bona fide claimed any right to the possession of such child, or is the mother or has bona fide claimed to be the father of an illegitimate child, shall be liable to prosecuted by virtue hereof on account of the getting possession of such child or taking such child out of the possession of any person having the lawful charge thereof.

- (2) For the purposes of this section, the adoptive parent of a child under the age of fourteen years, and the employer of a child under the age of fourteen years, shall be deemed to have had the lawful care or charge of such child:

Provided that -

- a. nothing in this subsection shall be construed as affecting any rights vested in or conferred on the Director of Social Welfare by or under the Protection of Women and Juveniles Ordinance; and
- b. nothing in this subsection shall be construed as conferring upon any adoptive parent or employer any right of retaining possession, custody or control of any child as against the child's parent or guardian, or as against the child.

VI Robbery with Firearms

VII Other Robberies (Cap. 210 Section 10)

10. (1) A person commits robbery if he steals, and immediately before or at the time of doing so, and in order to do so, he uses force on any person or puts or seeks to put any person in fear of being then and there subjected to force.
- (2) Any person who commits robbery, or an assault with intent to rob, shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction upon indictment to imprisonment for life.

VIII Criminal Damage to Property (Cap. 200 Sections 60-64)

60. Destroying or damaging property
 - (1) A person who without lawful excuse destroys or damages any property belonging to another intending to destroy or damage any such property or being reckless as to whether any such property would be destroyed or damaged shall be guilty of an offence.
 - (2) A person who without lawful excuse destroys or damages any property, whether belonging to himself or another-
 - a. intending to destroy or damage any property or being reckless as to whether any property would be destroyed or damaged; and
 - b. intending by the destruction or damage to endanger the life of another or being reckless as to whether the life of another would be thereby endangered, shall be guilty of an offence.
 - (3) An offence committed under this section by destroying or damaging property by fire shall be charged as arson.
61. Threats to destroy or damage property
 - (1) A person who without lawful excuse makes to another a threat, intending that other would fear it would be carried out,—
 - a. to destroy or damage any property belonging to that or a third person; or
 - b. to destroy or damage his own property in a way which he knows is likely to endanger the life of that other or a third person, shall be guilty of an offence.

62. Possessing anything with intent to destroy or damage property
- (1) A person who has anything in his custody or under his control intending without lawful excuse to use it or cause or permit another to use it -
 - a. to destroy or damage any property belonging to some other person; or
 - b. to destroy or damage his own or user's property in a way which he knows is likely to endanger the life of some other person, shall be guilty of an offence.
63. Punishment of offences
- (1) A person guilty of arson under section 60 or of an offence under section 60.2 (whether arson or not) shall be liable on conviction upon indictment to imprisonment for life.
 - (2) A person guilty of any other offence under this Part shall be liable on conviction upon indictment to imprisonment for ten years.
64. Without lawful excuse
- (1) This section applies to any offence under section 60.1 and any offence under section 61 or 62 other than one involving a threat by the person charged to destroy or damage property in a way which he knows is likely to endanger the life of another or involving an intent by the person charged to use or cause or permit the use of something in his custody or under his control so to destroy or damage property.
 - (2) A person charged with an offence to which this section applies shall, whether or not he would be treated for the purposes of this part as having a lawful excuse apart from this subsection be treated for those purposes as having a lawful excuse -
 - a. if at the time of the act or acts alleged to constitute the offence he believed that the person or persons whom he believed to be entitled to consent to the destruction of or damage to the property in question had so consented, or would have so consented to it if he or they had known of the destruction or damage and its circumstances; or
 - b. if he destroyed or damaged or threatened to destroy or damage the property in question or in the case of a charge of an offence under section 62, intended to use or cause or permit the use of something to destroy or damage it, in order to protect property belonging to himself or another or a right or interest in property which was or which he believed to be vested in himself or another, and at the time of the act or acts alleged to constitute the offence he believed -
 - 1) that the property, right or interest was in immediate need of protection; and
 - 2) that the means of protection adopted or proposed to be adopted were or would be reasonable having regard to all the circumstances.
 - (3) For the purposes of this section, it is immaterial whether a belief is justified or not if it is honestly held.
 - (4) For the purposes of subsection 2, a right or interest in property includes any right or privilege in or over land, whether created by grant, licence or otherwise.
 - (5) This section shall not be construed as casting doubt on any defence recognized by law as a defence to criminal charges.

Appendix D

Supplementary Tables

Some data gathered for this study have not been analysed because they are intended for other study purposes. The tables presented here are used to further support the evidences shown in the main report.

Table D - 1

Degree of pre-planning in committing crime

	<u>Offenders</u>	
	No.	%
With premeditation	37	7.7
With premeditation sometimes	50	10.4
Seldom any premeditation	32	6.7
Never any premeditation	356	74.4
No answer given	4	0.8
Total	479	100.0

Table D - 2

Age began first employment and age began the connection with triad societies

Offenders

Age began first employment Age began connection with triad				Total
	Before 13	14 - 15	After 16	
Before 13	44 (47.8%)	34 (36.6%)	3 (11.1%)	81 (38.2%)
14 - 15	31 (33.7%)	36 (38.7%)	7 (25.9%)	74 (34.9%)
After 16	17 (18.5%)	23 (24.7%)	17 (63.0%)	57 (26.9%)
Total	92 (100.0%)	93 (100.0%)	27 (100.0%)	212 (100.0%)

$\chi^2 = 24.18$

$P < .001$

Table D - 3

Number of jobs held in total and having connection with member of triad society

Offenders

Number of jobs in total Having connection with member of triad society	Number of jobs in total			Total
	One or no job	2 - 3	More than 4	
Yes	66 (71.7%)	92 (86.0%)	88 (88.9%)	246 (82.6%)
No	26 (28.3%)	15 (14.0%)	11 (11.1%)	52 (17.4%)
Total	92 (100.0%)	107 (100.0%)	99 (100.0%)	298 (100.0%)

$$x^2 = 11.100 \quad P < .01$$