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Adolescent Aggression in Hong Kong

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ADOLESCENT AGGRESSION IN HONG KONG

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of non-aggressive boys from the Kwun Tong area. Special appreciation must be extended to the many parents and adolescents who volunteered their time in being interviewed and without whom the project could not have been accomplished. The interviewers and raters whose names appear in Appendix F are former students of the Chinese University and it was through their able efforts that the raw data were collected. Most of the interviewers spent many additional hours after their regular work during evenings and on Saturdays in order to complete the interviews on schedule. It was a great pleasure to work and learn with them and it is hoped that the results of this study will be shared with them. The completion of the final draft of this study was assisted, in considerable measure through the helpful review of the findings by Drs. Martha Baum, Esther Sales, and Gary Koeske, faculty of the Doctoral Program at the University of Pittsburgh School of Social Work, as well as Lau Chong-Chor, former student of The Chinese University, currently pursuing doctoral studies in the Sociology Department at the University of Pittsburgh.

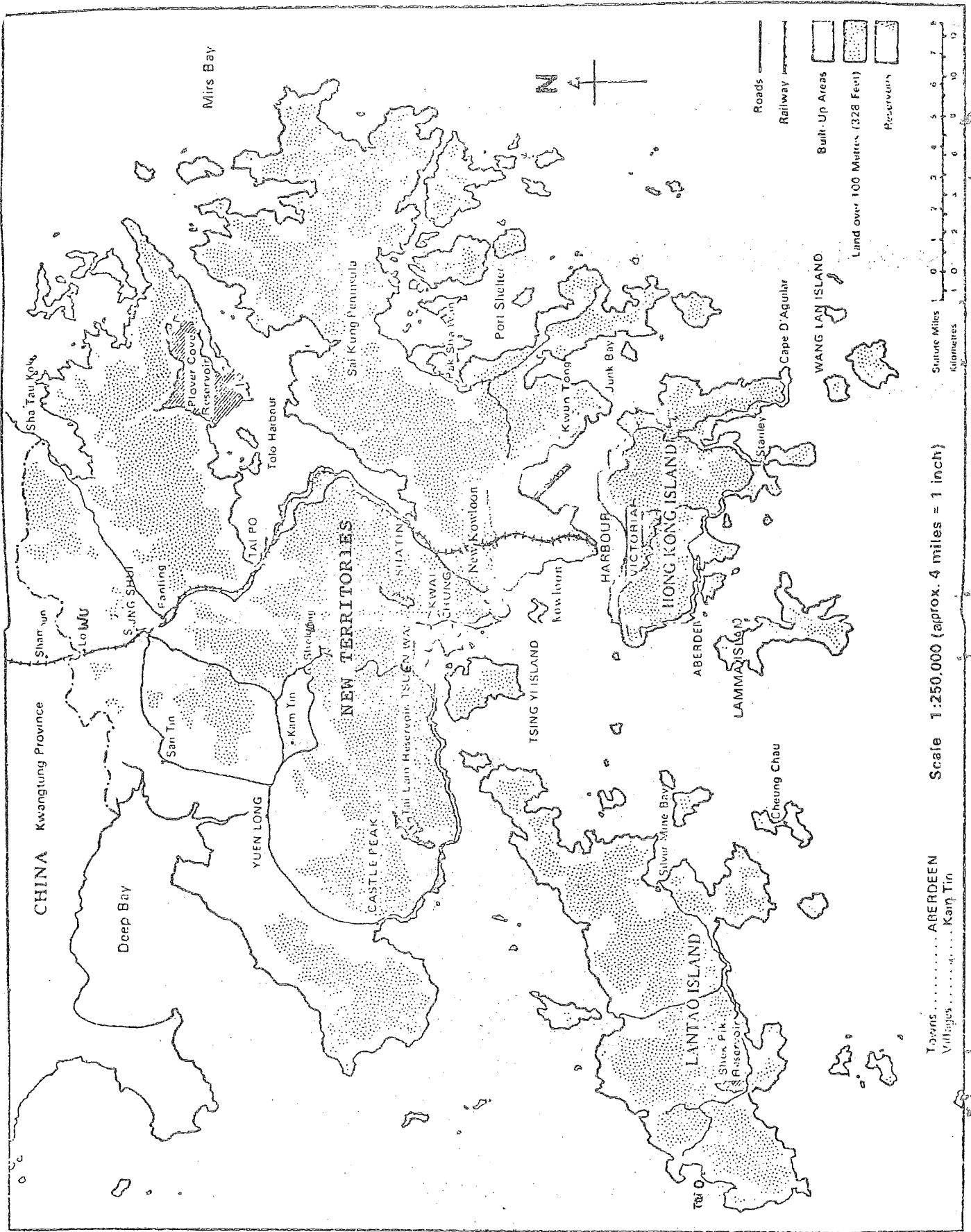
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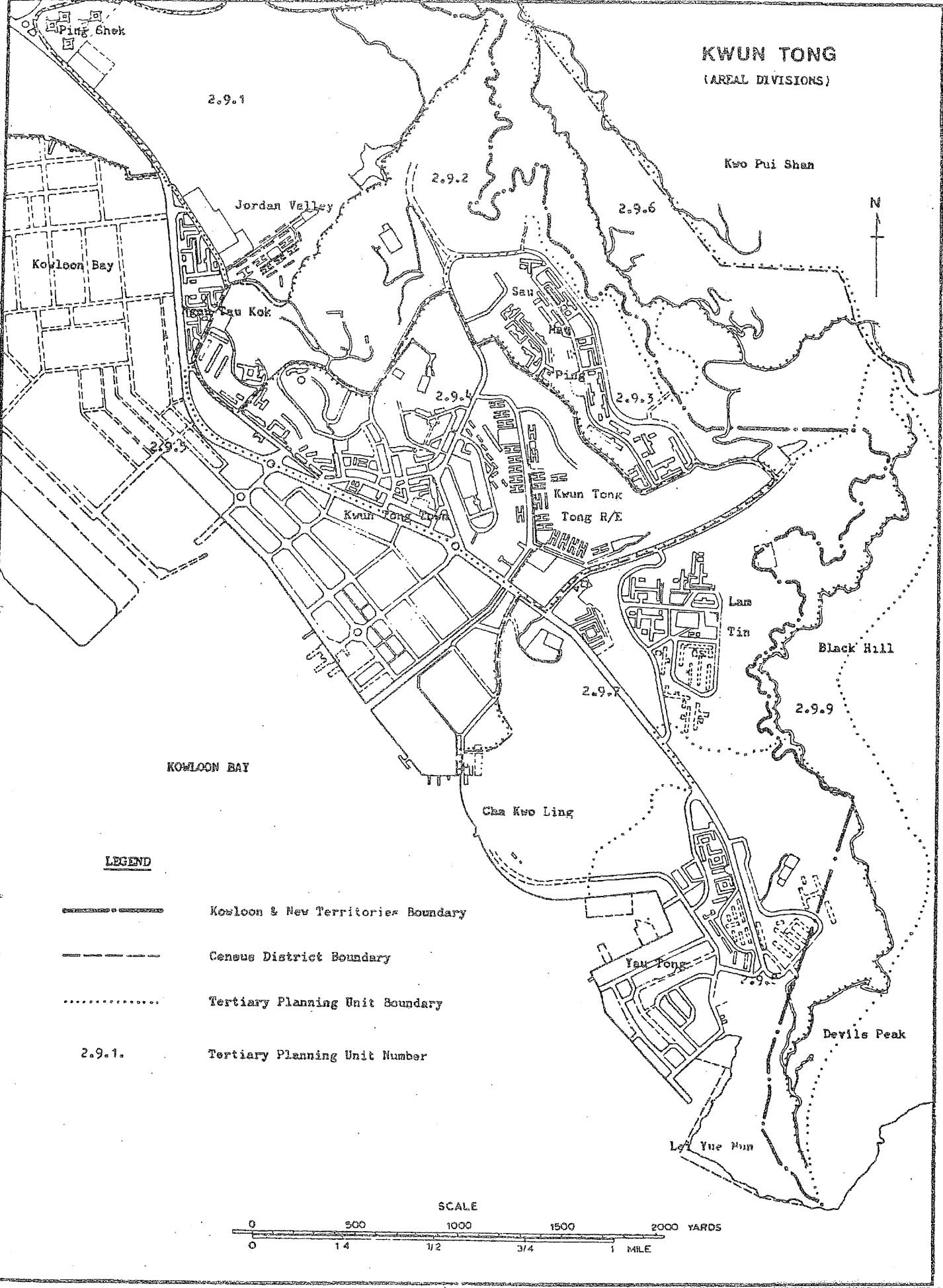
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Map of Hong Kong

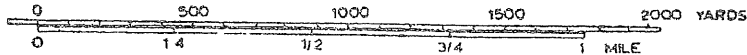
**KWUN TONG**  
(AREAL DIVISIONS)



**LEGEND**

- Kowloon & New Territories Boundary
- Census District Boundary
- ..... Tertiary Planning Unit Boundary
- 2.9.1. Tertiary Planning Unit Number

**SCALE**



## INTRODUCTION

Crime rates the world over have increased considerably in this last decade and crimes of a violent nature are of an increasing concern of both developed and developing countries. In a comparative way it has been pointed out that,

"Most developing countries in Latin America and Africa as well as a few in Asia, have extremely high rates of criminal homicide. On the whole Latin American countries have high rates and European countries low: 8 out of the 25 and 5 of the 8 highest are Latin American countries. Finland has a higher rate than any other European country, and Ceylon the highest for Asia."<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that "several studies found that offenders who engage in crimes of violence in developing countries are usually young males in their twenties."<sup>2</sup>

Hong Kong, a unique remnant of the colonial system and a stepping stone next to China indicates a rather general trend in this direction. (See Table I on page 2) However, with the exception of crimes related to drug traffic and use of drugs, the overall crime rate is comparatively low.

The author, having spent a number of years teaching in Hong Kong<sup>3</sup> has had an unusual opportunity to observe this trend first hand through newspaper reports and discussions with law enforcement agents. Although the crime rate is considered low, considerable concern was voiced by Hong Kong officials and the public regarding the increase in crimes of

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<sup>1</sup>Cinard and Abbot, Crime in Developing Countries, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup>The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Social Work Department.

Table 1

Statistics For Crimes Committed By Persons  
Under 16 And 16 To 21 Years Old\*

		<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Robbery with aggravation	Total**	148	196	292	319	699	1021	1233
	Under 16	46	76	98	99	182	152	246
	16-21	49	79	113	133	352	427	550
Assault occasioning actual bodily harm	Total	544	873	817	919	803	890	1027
	Under 16	66	92	74	73	64	57	63
	16-21	75	168	131	143	155	167	262
Larceny	Total	3524	3620	4560	4401	3875	4338	4014
	Under 16	694	986	1237	1029	871	655	737
	16-21	492	574	668	744	653	682	668
Forcible Rape	Total	0	1	3	7	2	6	8
	Under 16	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	16-21	0	0	1	0	0	4	5
Murder	Total	19	40	27	38	64	51	63
	Under 16	0	4	1	1	4	5	9
	16-21	2	18	7	10	18	25	27

\*From Hong Kong Police Department Statistics.

\*\*Total refers to total prosecutions irregardless of age. (i.e. includes those over 21 as well)



a violent nature. This growing concern as well as the author's previous social work experience<sup>4</sup> and familiarity with Hong Kong led to the development of this study. The study is an attempt to investigate some of the possible causes for violent crimes committed by adolescents in this Asian city and is part of a larger research effort conducted by The Chinese University Social Research Center aimed at analyzing sociological trends in the rapidly developing complex of Kwun Tong. (See map, page vii and viii)

However, before discussing the nature of the study itself, it is necessary to describe, in brief fashion, some of the unique features of Hong Kong in order that the rising crime rate can be viewed within the larger societal context that makes Hong Kong what it is.

#### The Population Growth of Hong Kong

Any increase in the crime rate must be viewed, to some measure, against a corresponding increase in population. In the case of Hong Kong, a strategic trade center of Asia, the greatest population increase occurred at the end of World War II. The population increased from 600,000 in 1945 to over 4 million in 1971. "In 1931 approximately 49 percent of the population lived on Hong Kong Island and only 3 percent resided in New Kowloon. Today over 36 percent reside in New Kowloon while only 28 percent are on Hong Kong Island."<sup>5</sup> The reason for this shift in population is due to the availability of land on the Kowloon side for development of industry and housing accommodations. At this time "more than 80 percent of the total population of the colony live in the metropolitan area (Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and New Kowloon)".<sup>6</sup> There is currently a large and growing

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<sup>4</sup>Social group worker in a detention facility for boys; psychiatric social worker.

<sup>5</sup>Hopkins, Keith; Hong Kong: The Industrial Colony, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, p. 31.

metropolitan area in the New Territories named Tsun Wan and it is anticipated that it will eventually have a population of 1 million people. Additional industrial and housing developments are planned for the New Territories.

The population densities in the urban parts of the Colony are among the highest in the world " reaching in 1961, extraordinary levels of 238,00 persons per square kilometer in the Sheung Wan district and 209,000 persons per square kilometer in the Wan Chi district, both on Hong Kong Island."<sup>7</sup> On an international scale, "in 1966 only West Berlin exceeded Hong Kong, except Monaco which is a special case."<sup>8</sup> Moreover, approximately 50% of the population are under age 20.

Population projections for the future are difficult to ascertain, but the "highest projection for 1976 is 4,926,000 and 1981, 5,706,000."<sup>9</sup> This is based on the fact that there will be "30% more women in the child bearing years 15-44 compared with 1966 and for the birth rate to remain at its present level of about 20 per 1000 population it would require a considerable decline in number of children born. However, there is some evidence that suggest that such a trend is taking place."<sup>10</sup>

#### Housing the Population

Naturally, the newcomer to Hong Kong or one unfamiliar with population densities of this nature has a difficult time imagining how and where all these people live in the space of 400 square miles...considerably less than Long Island (1,682 square miles). It also must be remembered that much of

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid, p. 32

<sup>8</sup>Ibid, p. 32

<sup>9</sup>Ibid, p. 50

<sup>10</sup>"Hong Kong: The Continuing Fertility Decline, 1967".

this land is on vertical terrain and it is only on the Kowloon side, particularly in the New Territories that one encounters spatial relationships more common to a westerner. It is for this reason that the largest and most numerous housing projects undertaken by the British Government in Hong Kong, have been in the fast developing industrial sites on Kowloon side.

It is a truly amazing fact that the government has, "in the last 15 years evicted over 750,000 squatters and has rehoused them and their descendants in multi-story resettlement estates and other low cost housing so that by 1969 two fifths of the metropolitan population lived in government housing. (The population of resettlement estates in 1969 was 1,030,022)."<sup>11</sup> It is here that one feels the tremendous impact of crowded living conditions. The noise level alone more than matches the nearby auto traffic. There is an average of 440,000 people in each estate, sheltered in twenty buildings of 6-7 stories high. These blocks are without elevators and on the ground floor of each building are shops. The standard room is only 10 feet by 12 feet or an allocation of 24 square feet per adult, this means that two parents, one child over ten years and four children under 10 years (children count as half adult)...seven persons in all live, sleep, study, play and talk in this one room.

Low Cost Housing is another type of housing developed by the government for families who earn at least \$70.00, but less than \$150.00 per month. This type of housing is somewhat more spacious, allowing 35 square feet per person and will be a major focus of future housing developments in Hong Kong.

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<sup>11</sup>Hopkins, Keith, Hong Kong: The Industrial Colony, p. 272.

Tenement housing is often no less crowded as it is not usual for several families to share bathroom and narrow stairways. There are still thousands of such apartments on Hong Kong Island and in the crowded areas of Kowloon.

The lack of space and corresponding crowdedness leave many a newcomer to the scene quite bewildered. Many often remark that they cannot understand how it is that there is not more violence. What the outsider often forgets is that these are the only circumstances the majority of the population have experienced. Furthermore, control over one's emotions while living in crowded conditions are a must if some sense of order is to be maintained. However, this does not mean that the Chinese in this city never exhibit or demonstrate anger. On the contrary, it is not uncommon for a considerable amount of verbal anger to be displayed by the people on crowded buses, shops and other places where people convene. However, where the situation demands a control of tempers and emotions, this can be readily summoned as the communist riots of 1967 demonstrated. The unusual restraint and discipline of the police, for example, during these riots enabled the colony to ward off chaos and confusion. The author has witnessed riots in other settings, Asia included, and it is the lack of control by the police that often promotes chaos. It must also be said that the people of Hong Kong displayed the same kind of control during the riots. Thus, control when demanded by those in authority is usually respected and complied with.

#### Educating the Population

In 1969 nearly 750,000 children were enrolled in primary schools and another 250,000 were in secondary schools, while there were over 37,000

active teachers."<sup>12</sup> The actual expenditure on education for this 1968-1969 period was over 61 million dollars and this does not include private expenditure or voluntary and missioner bodies. It is important to note that all students must pay for school fees, text book and school activities although government grants and subsidies reduce the expenditure for poor families.

As one can note in the preceding paragraph, the educational opportunities become drastically limited the higher one attempts to rise in the educational system. Children and adults alike feel the economic and emotional stresses of this system. To ensure success in this system many parents, particularly middle class parents, attempt to place their children in the best private primary schools. It is not uncommon for a child of three to begin the discipline needed for memorizing and writing Chinese characters as preparation for an "entrance exam" at age 5, to one of the primary schools. This exam usually takes the form of the headmistress or teacher asking the child some questions which include the identification of Chinese characters and writing of characters. The degree to which many of these children at age 5 can write legible and very neat Chinese characters is truly remarkable. The effort a child must expend to continue learning Chinese is considerable in view of the fact that he must also learn English at the same time as English is required. It is not unusual for a middle class child of age 6 through 12 to spend most of the evening preparing his lessons...which can mean staying up as late as ten or eleven at night.

Thus, one can imagine how the learning of the language implants an early sense of discipline in the child. This is all the more so as education achievement has always been a highly esteemed value in Chinese society.

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid, p. 43

However, as Mitchell has pointed out this is also related to social class values in Hong Kong.<sup>13</sup> Upper class families are much more likely to encourage their children to advance educationally and subsequently many youngsters of ages 12 to 18 begin their employment in factories or as apprentices in some skilled occupation. (Education is not required at these ages as it is in America).

Although economic hardship is a factor in adolescents going to work at an early age, the examination system in Hong Kong also encourages a sense of defeat and failure for many at an early age. At age 12, for example, all children must take the secondary entrance exam for entrance to a secondary school. Those who pass are fortunate in being able to enter the better, more prestigious schools. Those who do not pass have the option of attending other secondary schools, but these are not recognized as among the better schools. Thus, at age 12 or 13 a child's future is, to a considerable extent, fairly well set. Students attending the better secondary schools often are able to enter the University or attend higher education abroad. But many at the secondary level are not able to enter the University as the entrance exams and the available places for students are very limited. Many of those who do not enter the University are employed as office workers or enroll in vocational schools. However, at this time there is not much opportunity to enroll in a vocational school as such schools are not many in number. In 1969 for example, there were only 1900 full time students in the Hong Kong Technical College. Nevertheless, the government has recently moved toward development of more technical training opportunities and by 1974 they hoped to have a Polytechnic college with

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<sup>13</sup>Mitchell, Robert E., Pupil, Parent and School - A Hong Kong Study.

4,000 full time students and 20,000 part time students.

### Community Consciousness and Identity

There are some signs that a sense of community consciousness has been developing more recently in Hong Kong. Both the government and community leaders have been encouraging this development. However, for a youngster growing up in Hong Kong, a personal, social and political identity can be somewhat of a problem. Part of this is due to the nearness of China on the one hand, the colonial government as the sole decision making body on the other hand, and the fact that the bulk of the population are totally engaged in surviving amidst an extremely competitive environment.

Most of the youth in Hong Kong have never visited China and remain within the confines of a colonial system. However, even those of more educated status are prone not to "rock the political boat" for fear of the danger to Hong Kong's economic future. The precariousness of its future is crucially tied to the fact that its survival depends on its industrial exports to the countries of the world. But more amazing is that Hong Kong is without natural resources. Therefore, all of its success in survival is due to the hard working Chinese who must produce exportable items in the World's competitive market. This market becomes increasingly competitive everyday, with the encroachment of Japan, Taiwan and Korea. Labor can be had more cheaply in Taiwan and Korea. Even at this writing the knit goods industry has lost out more and more to Korea and Taiwan and some European businessmen are turning to their own countries for knit products.

In spite of the fact that Hong Kong has had considerable problems

with population expansion, housing the population and economic survival as a central concern, they have been able to promote a rather fantastic rate of economic growth since the end of World War II. Yet, this growth requires, as do all forms of growth, that something must be given up for growth to continue. To what extent these unique features of Hong Kong will affect what its youth have had to give up remains to be seen. It is hoped, however, that this study will provide the reader with a glimpse of a few of Hong Kong's youth who have not fared so well. Why they have not fared so well is the topic for the research study. I turn now to a discussion of the study itself.



## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Considerable progress has been made in studying delinquent behavior, and such studies have generally emerged from two major sources...parent-child relationship studies and studies concerned with theoretical issues dealing with the effects of certain child training procedures on the behavior of children. The former have a Freudian perspective and the latter a behavioral psychology emphasis. This research effort is based on a study, Adolescent Aggression, by Bandura and Walters (1959) in which both of these frameworks are utilized.

The Freudian position views hostile actions as a result of driving forces whose energy must be released in one manner or another. Behaviorists, however, stress that there must also be a stimulus in the form of a frustrating event that creates aggression. Thus, the socializing aspects must also be considered as well if the source of the stimulus is to be examined.

Dollard, et al (1939), Miller and Dollard (1941; and Whiting, 1941) centered their research on the notion of frustration as a response to interference with an ongoing goal directed activity. In this perspective "hostility is directed primarily toward the perceived locus of the frustration."<sup>20</sup> However, other writers point out that not all aggression is the result of frustration and that every frustration does not necessarily lead to increasing the instigation to aggression. Berkowitz (1962) points

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<sup>20</sup>Berkowitz, Leonard; *Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis*, p. 48.

out two other variables that must be recognized in conceptualizing frustration. Namely, that frustration produces an emotional state of anger, but "whether aggressive responses are performed, depends on the presence of suitable cues and stimuli associated with the anger instigator."<sup>21</sup> Thus, the strength of the anger and the interpretation given to the source of frustration are felt by Berkowitz to be necessary ingredients in discussing frustration - aggression theories.

Miller (1948) also formulated hypotheses concerning the target for aggressive responses. These formulations were based on Freud's notion of displaced aggression. In these formulations Miller predicted that,

"If the angered individual is prevented from attacking his frustrater solely because of the frustrater's absence, his strongest hostile tendencies will be directed against those available people who are "closest" or most similar to the instigator. However, if the angered person cannot attack the frustrater because he is afraid of punishment, he will be most likely to display overt hostility against some object of intermediate similarity to the instigator."<sup>22</sup>

Thus, "the stronger the aggressive tendency relative to the restraints against aggression, the more similar this object will be to the frustrator, while the substitute target will be less similar to the instigator the stronger the inhibitions relative to the aggressive tendencies."<sup>23</sup> Investigations that have validated this theory have often

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid, p. 49

<sup>22</sup>Ibid, p. 130.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid, p. 130.

been concerned with tapping the fantasy configurations of respondents. For example, Sears (1950, 1951) obtained results that verified this hypothesis when he examined the fantasy thinking of nursery school children when they engaged in doll play. He found that,

"the moderately punished children (punished at home) had a higher frequency of overt aggression than the less punished preschoolers, but that the highly punished youngsters were no more hostile than this low-punished group. However the fantasy behaviors of the highly punished group during doll play demonstrated a much higher degree of aggression."<sup>24</sup>

The Bandura and Walters study utilized the previous theoretical material extensively and at various points of their findings, as they centered around hypotheses of aggression, dependency, restrictions, demands, discipline, and internalization of controls. These hypotheses will be discussed more extensively in the findings of this study.

#### A Summary of Bandura and Walters Central Ideas

The central notions related to the above research and from which Bandura and Walters base their hypothetical assumptions are that "the socialization process requires the learning of habits or response associations which requires the presence of a drive or motivating factor combined with the occurrence of a reward or reinforcement."<sup>25</sup> Thus, any action sequence can be analyzed in terms of instrumental acts that lead toward the final drive-reducing goal response.

Central to the socialization process, of course, is the tremendous

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid, p. 122.

<sup>25</sup>Bandura and Walters, Adolescent Aggression, p. 23.

importance of parental training. Parents encourage and discourage certain habits and offer rewards and punishments in obtaining the desired results. The active and repeated punishment by a parent toward a socially disapproved act provokes anxiety in the child as he anticipates the punishment. If the anxiety is severe enough, he will inhibit his aggression. However, in situations where the threat of aggression is weaker, the aggressive action may reappear again. Habits then, can generalize to other situations such as school or employment situations wherein an aggressive child may manifest evidence of aggression through direct or indirect hostile acts:

The aggressive boys in this sample were selected so that they would be regarded as representing an extreme group of adolescents in respect to aggressive behavior of an antisocial kind. It is assumed that this aggression was learned over a period of years...initially through interaction with parents and later with authority figures. It is also assumed that conditions for the establishment of such aggressive behavior can be found in the parents' past and current handling of their children.

When boys' parents are extremely rejecting and extremely punitive, a child may remain almost completely unsocialized (Hewitt and Jenkins, 1946). Another well known problem that may result in resentment, hostility or confusion is the inconsistency between parents concerning the discipline of the children (Glueck and Glueck, 1950). The extent to which parents' values conform (parental models) to cultural models also has an important effect on the socialization process. The amount and kinds of disciplinary techniques and reward system are also important. Thus, the hypotheses that Bandura and Walters attempt to test are related to these

assumptions and are derived from a consideration of ways in which the socialization process might be disrupted and encourage aggressive tendencies.

#### The General Framework of Bandura and Walters Hypotheses

To summarize then, the numerous hypotheses developed by Bandura and Walters are based upon the preceding assumptions about the socialization process. However, their central hypotheses on which their study is anchored postulates that the primary source of aggression is developed from a disruption of a child's dependency needs by the parents. In addition to this central thesis, they develop several specific hypotheses concerning the behavior of aggressive boys as contrasted with the non-aggressive boys (independent variables) in terms of the extent to which these adolescents demonstrate dependency, aggression, sex, restrictions and demands and internalization of controls (dependent variables). These specific hypotheses, their operationalization and measurement, will be discussed briefly in separate chapters devoted to each of the dependent variables. Finally, it should be emphasized that the hypotheses and variables utilized by Bandura and Walters, were also used in this study in an identical fashion.

## THE PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

This study attempts to seek answers as to why adolescents of similar age, intelligence and social background should differ in their behavior to the extent that some of them commit crimes of a violent nature (murder, stabbing, and robbery with aggravation). In this respect the approach and methodology is similar to Gleucks (1950). However, Bandura and Walters study, upon which the methodology and design is based, extended the Gleucks approach by controlling for the influence of sociological factors (disadvantaged areas) and constitutional factors (retardation). From a western perspective, as I have mentioned earlier, the areas from which the boys in this study come would be considered disadvantaged. However, within the context of the Hong Kong situation one must be reminded that two-fifths of the population reside in government housing and in extremely crowded conditions. There is a relatively small middle and upper class and this is also true of China in a historical sense. Thus, the boys in this study are exposed to very similar sociological conditions and therefore one can ask, as did Bandura and Walters, why these boys, no more disadvantaged than others, show anti-social behavior of a very aggressive nature. The approach then, is to examine the socialization factors that may contribute to this anti-social behavior.

### Comparative Methodology

Insofar as possible, the methodology utilized by Bandura and Walters in their study were also applied in this research. There are differences, however, and these are discussed below.

First, the sample size in the Bandura and Walters study is somewhat larger than this study: 50 adolescent boys and each of their parents compared to 40 adolescent boys, 34 mothers and 26 fathers. In the Bandura and Walters study the aggressive boys sample was obtained from schools, guidance centers, probation department and juvenile detention facilities. In this study the aggressive boys sample was obtained exclusively from the Prisons Department in Hong Kong. These boys had committed crimes of a violent nature (murder, stabbing and robbery with aggravation). As such, nearly all of the aggressive boys were detained in one of the Prison Department's training centers. This represents a significant departure from the Bandura and Walters study wherein only a few boys were selected from the institutional environment. In this sense, Bandura and Walters selected a broader representation of aggressive boys (from mild to serious) and they were able to avoid the bias one might encounter in a totally institutionalized group. At the same time, it should be stressed that the non-aggressive samples in both studies were gained from high schools in the community.

The original intention of the author was to have included a broader representative sample, but due to time and manpower limitations this was not possible. Thus, all the aggressive boys were selected from three training centers. None of the boys interviewed at the training centers were told in advance of our coming. They were only told on the day that we arrived and were separated from one another after each one had been interviewed. It was also intended that boys from the aggressive group would come from the Kwun Tong area, but only a few of the boys in the training centers who had committed violent offenses were from that area.

Thus, offenders from other areas of Hong Kong were selected. However, since other sections of Hong Kong are not drastically different from the Kwun Tong area, this is not considered to be a serious problem in sample comparisons.

Another significant difference in the two studies is that the Bandura and Walters sample includes a greater number of professional and middle class families, whereas this study includes primarily lower middle class and lower class (i.e. artisans, factory workers, and laborers). This is the major reason for it not being possible to make rigorous cross-cultural comparisons.

The interviews with each boy and each parent was conducted simultaneously, but separately in the Bandura and Walters study, whereas in this study this was not always possible due to the fact that the aggressive boys were institutionalized. Nevertheless, interviews with parents of both aggressive and non-aggressive boys were done simultaneously in a large number of instances. All interviews were tape recorded as in the Bandura and Walters research.

The rating scales (Appendix C and D) used were identical to those in the Bandura and Walters study. Raters were trained in interpreting the scales and each interview was rated by two independent raters, as in the Bandura and Walters study. As such, this represented a replication of the hypotheses tested in the Bandura and Walters study.

The assessment of rater reliability was different from Bandura and Walters in that rater reliabilities in the Bandura and Walters study were analyzed in terms of correlations, whereas this study found it necessary to resort to ascertaining the mean percentage score of rater



agreement. This was a result of the finding that a majority of raters scored at the lower scale values (1, 2, 3) which meant that there was an insufficient range from which to obtain meaningful correlations.

Finally, it should be pointed out that Bandura and Walters were able to administer a projective instrument (Themantic Deviation Picture Test) to their adolescents. This made it possible for them to tap adolescent fantasy and situational reactions which was most helpful in supporting their findings from questionnaire responses. This was not possible in this study due to the lack of availability of such tests that would reflect the Hong Kong setting.

#### Description of Aggressive Boys Sample

A statistical breakdown of the aggressive sample indicates that: The largest number of aggressive boys committed wounding offenses (10), followed by assault (5), and murder (5). In no instance were any of these aggressive acts committed by a boy alone. In each instance the boy was accompanied by one or more boys of his own age group. Of the twenty offenders, nine had previous convictions and four of these were violent crimes. Six of the offenders admitted that they were members of one of the triad societies. A triad society is similar to organized crime groups in the States. They are a historical part of China and some of the rituals and oaths of loyalty are not unlike other criminal groups the world over. In Hong Kong they operate as protection rackets involved in prostitution, drugs and gambling.

Only two of the offenders had progressed to the secondary level of education while the remainder had usually completed primary school. Their employment records indicate that most of them had been employed, often at

several different jobs: eight were casual workers (waiters, laborers.. ..part time); four were apprenticeship workers; four had been factory workers; one was a laborer, and three were unemployed. The attitude of these boys toward work indicated that eight were interested in their work, five were not interested and seven of them did not give answers at the time of intake to detention.

While employed, seven of the boys contributed all of their income to the family; one boy gave half; three occasionally; four did not give anything, and for five this was unknown. Most of the offenders lived with their families (13), six stayed at home occasionally and one never returned home.

A review of the offenders' motives for their aggressive acts indicates the following:

Table 2

Motivation For Offense

<u>Motive</u>	<u>Planned Act</u>	<u>Unplanned Act</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Gang revenge	5	5	10
Robbery	2	6	8
Resisting arrest		1	1
Plan to use weapon	1		1
	8	12	20

It is interesting to note that 60% of the acts committed were unplanned and that 50% of the motives were of a gang revenge nature. This suggests that groups or gangs are well formed and constitute a major source for aggressive outlets.

Table 3

Matched Pairs Of Aggressive And Control Boys

Code Number	Aggressive Group				Control Group			
	Age	Father's Occupation*	I.Q. Range*	Children in Family	Age	Father's Occupation	I.Q. Range*	Children in Family
1	17	3	3	6	18	3	3	9
2	15	2	2	5	16	5	3	6
3	16	2	2	5	16	2	3	6
4	17	3	2	9	16	2	3	6
7	16	5	3	4	17	5	2	7
9	16	2	3	6	15	2	3	5
10	16	5	2	6	16	2	5	7
11	17	4	3	4	17	3	3	4
13	16	4	2	2	15	2	2	5
14	15	4	3	1	17	4	3	1
15	15	3	2	6	16	3	2	7
16	14	4	3	6	14	4	3	4
17	16	2	2	4	17	2	2	4
18	17	4	2	4	17	3	2	7
19	16	3	2	4	17	3	2	3
20	16	3	2	6	16	2	2	7

\*Occupation Classification:

1. Semi-professional
2. Skilled craftsman
3. Skilled laborer

\*I.Q. Range:

1. Superior
2. Above average
3. Average

4. Below average

The control boys were selected from two secondary schools in the Kwun Tong area. One school was a private church sponsored school and the other was a government school. The principals of both schools offered the author a list of boys who had been in no difficulty with the law. From these lists 20 of these boys were matched with the aggressive boys in respect to age, intelligence, father's occupational status and number of children in the family. (See Table 3)

It should be mentioned that matching for intelligence comparisons were difficult to make because most schools in Hong Kong do not conduct intelligence tests. However, the training centers do have a form of evaluation in which they can assess intelligence levels. The principals gave each student's average grade level and this was compared with the boys in the institution. Clearly, this is not as rigorous a comparison as it should be, but it was the only alternative available.

Family size was controlled as much as possible in matching procedures and the comparisons are indicated below:

Table 4

Family Size

	<u>One Child</u>	<u>Two-Three Children</u>	<u>Four-Five Children</u>	<u>Six-Seven Children</u>	<u>Eight- Nine</u>
Aggressive Group	1	1	7	10	1
Non-aggressive Group	1	1	7	9	2

Large families are the rule in these families with 35% of the families having from four to five children and 48% of the families have six to seven children. In most of these families more than one member of the family contributed to the total family income.

Sociological Characteristics of the Control Boys Environment -  
The Kwun Tong Area

Although the Kwun Tong area is not drastically different from other areas of Kowloon and Hong Kong, a brief description of the Kwun Tong area seems appropriate here since all of the non-aggressive boys in the sample, as well as a few of the aggressive boys who committed violent offenses are from this locale. Kwun Tong is one of Hong Kong's most recently developed urban areas and is situated on the east coast of the Kowloon peninsula (see map, page vi). Prior to 1953 the area was virtually a waste land. However, by 1953 the industrial boom had reached a stage whereby new land was needed for industrial purposes. Hillsides near Kwun Tong were levelled into terraces and the land filled into the bay. This development resulted in a rapid expansion of housing facilities, industrial plants, schools and various social and medical services within the area.

At present there are more than 450,000 persons living in Kwun Tong, and about 1,600 factories which employ about 100,000 workers. Seventy-seven point four percent of the total population in this area are living in government housing (low cost and resettlement estates).

In one of the studies concerning the Kwun Tong area,<sup>14</sup> respondents living there were asked the extent to which juvenile delinquency and violence were a problem. The results are indicated in Tables 5 and 6 on the next page.

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<sup>14</sup>Shively, Aliza M. "Kwun Tong Life Quality Study Data Book", February 1972 (unpublished) page 57.

Table 5

Extent To Which The Amount Of Violence Is A Problem In Kwun Tong Area

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
0. No problem at all	71	6.7	
1. Somewhat a problem	234	22.0	
2. A problem	252	23.7	M=2.18
3. A severe problem	285	26.8	
4. A most severe problem	132	12.4	S.D.=1.154
Don't know	18	1.7	
No answer	73	6.9	
Totals	1065	100.2	

Table 6

Extent To Which Juvenile Delinquency Is A Problem In Kwun Tong Area

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
0. No problem at all	48	4.5	
1. Somewhat a problem	159	14.9	
2. A problem	262	24.6	M=2.44
3. A severe problem	284	26.7	
4. A most severe problem	196	18.4	S.D.=1.138
Don't know	17	1.6	
No answer	99	9.3	
Totals	1065	100.0	

These tables indicate that the respondents who answered the questions felt that juvenile delinquency and violence were a severe problem at least one-fourth of the time and a problem one-fourth of the time. In short, approximately 50% of the respondents living in Kwun Tong believed these were significant problems. However, these

same respondents also felt that transportation and noise were more significant than juvenile delinquency and violence. Juvenile delinquency ranked fourth as the biggest problem of the area while violence was far down the list when viewed in an overall sense.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless juvenile delinquency can be considered to be a serious concern of the residents.

### The Interviews

Originally it was intended that we would interview three members of each family (the boy and his two parents) separately. However, because many of the parents were unable to be reached due to their work schedules we were unable to interview as many parents as we intended to. There were also a few refusals by parents.

Interviews with the aggressive boys' group were conducted within the institutional setting. As pointed out previously, none of the boys knew they were to be interviewed until we arrived at the training center. On being told, they were separated from the rest of the institutional population. After being interviewed they did not return to talk with other boys waiting to be interviewed.

Interviews with the non-aggressive boys were held in their respective schools during the evening. The principal of each school was instrumental in gaining the cooperation of both boys and parents.

The parents of the aggressive boys were informed of our interest to interview them by correspondence. Interviews with these parents

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid, p. 66.

were held during the evenings and in various community centers<sup>16</sup> near the parents' homes. The majority of the parents were most cooperative and helpful and in only a very few instances did they demonstrate resistance or refusal to be interviewed.

The parents of the non-aggressive boys were interviewed during the evenings in secondary school. Again, most parents were very willing to assist us although some of them appeared more apprehensive and suspicious than parents of aggressive boys. However, after it was explained to them that we wanted to learn about boys and their families who were getting along well in school and in the community, they were much less suspicious.

All respondents were interviewed by a person of their own sex. The majority of the interviewers were graduates of the Social Work department at the Chinese University although a few were students in the Social Work or Sociology program. Graduates who interviewed the boys and their parents had accumulated from one to five years social work experience and thus, were experienced interviewers. None of the interviewers were from the prison department so as to maintain objectivity in interviewing.

Interviews were recorded on small portable tape recorders in full view of the respondents. The interview schedules were translated from English into everyday Cantonese by a University professor. Both parent and adolescent interview schedules were of a semi-structured type in

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<sup>16</sup>Community centers are similar to what we would classify as a neighborhood settlement house in function. Nearly all resettlement estates had at least one community center in the area.



which respondents were encouraged to answer as completely as possible.

### The Rating Scales

The rating scales were those used by Bandura and Walters (1959). The parent interviews were rated on 61 five-point rating scales (Appendix C), "many of which were modeled on those used by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957). The adolescent scales also were defined by a five-point scale (Appendix D)."<sup>17</sup> Since two raters rated each interview and their ratings were combined for the final analysis of results, the measures that were used in this analysis fell on a ten-point scale, ranging from 2 to 10 for each measure.

"Since most scales were designed to measure particular aspects of behavior, ratings could ordinarily be made from fairly well-defined sections of the interviews. Other scales, however, referred to more general aspects of the child-training process, or to fairly generalized attitudes or feelings on the part of one or another member of the family."<sup>18</sup>

"The scale points were, as far as possible, defined by reference to fairly specific classes of behavior. This insured that they would be given a consistent interpretation by the raters and undoubtedly was an important factor in producing high inter-rater agreement."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Bandura and Walters, Adolescent Aggression, p. 16.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid, p. 18

### Rating Procedures In This Study

Experienced social workers as well as currently enrolled students from social work and sociology were trained and utilized as raters. Raters were divided into pairs and each pair was assigned to rate one or more of the sets of the interviews, i.e., mother interviews, father interviews, and adolescent interviews. In this way, through the use of independent interviewers and independent pairs of raters, any possibility of the content or ratings of the interview of one member of the family influencing the content or ratings of the interview of another member was eliminated.

Ratings were made directly from recordings. The rater was supplied with rating sheets bearing the numbers of the scales. Each rater listened to the interview alone and made ratings as he listened. He was permitted to hear the interview as many times as he wished and to adjust ratings already made in light of relevant information which came from a later portion of the interview. Such ratings have the advantage over transcripts in that they allow the listener to take into account the tone of voice and other indicators of emotion. (See rater scales in Appendix C and D; also scoring sheets, Appendix E)

## STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF DATA

### Reliabilities of Ratings

The reliabilities of the interviews were estimated in a descriptive way by determining the percentage of agreement among raters. Because it was thought that perhaps inclusion of rater agreement among the extreme group (due to rater bias) might have artificially raised reliabilities, a sample of agreement based on ratings of the control parents was obtained. However, both sets of boys were also evaluated for agreement between raters.

Among the mothers of non-aggressive boys the raters demonstrated a range of 37% agreement to 100% agreement with a mean score of 68.6% agreement. The range for the raters of the non-aggressive fathers group was also 37% to 100% agreement with a slightly higher mean score of agreement at 73%. Among the aggressive boys group the raters had a range of 42% to 100% agreement with a mean score at agreement of 69%. Interestingly, raters of non-aggressive boys group had a somewhat lower mean score of agreement at 56.7%. This might be due to the fact mentioned above, that the rater agreement among the extreme group might be somewhat biased.

As mentioned previously, this method of determining the extent of rater agreement is different from Bandura and Walters in that they utilized the person-product correlation method.

### Differences Between Groups

The significance of differences between the mean ratings of the groups of mothers, fathers, and adolescents was estimated by means of the t-technique. In most instances a specific hypothesis was being tested as in the Bandura and Walters study. When this was done a one-tailed test was used. However, some scales were not used for purposes of prediction and when this was done a two-tailed test was used. Unless otherwise stated in tables of results, a one-tailed test was used. I turn now, to a discussion of the findings.

### A Methodological Summary

Before embarking on a discussion of the hypotheses related to each of the dependent variables in the next section dealing with the findings, it is necessary to recapitulate how the methodology was developed and handled so that the reader can ascertain the logic of the operationalization and measurements.

The questionnaires include two interview schedules, one for the parents and one for the boys. Subsequently, each parent of each boy was interviewed so as to note consistencies and inconsistencies in relation to specific child rearing practices. Thus, the aggregate responses of both fathers and mothers were compared. The interview questions for fathers and mothers are identical. The interview questions for the boys are identical for both aggressive and non-aggressive boys, but the type of questions asked are different from the parent interview schedule. The differences occur due to the basic intentions of the two schedules. The parents schedule is aimed at eliciting responses that demonstrate how parents handled their boys, whereas, the

adolescent schedule was aimed at learning how boys responded to the handling of them in the presence of parents or significant others. However, both sets of questionnaires are designed so as to tape responses that allow for measurement of key variables.

The measurement of the variables is achieved through the method of rating each parent and each boy's responses to the interview schedule. Each rated item (See Appendix C and D) is based on a five point ordinal scale with the number 1 indicating, for example, the lowest level (no parental demands) to number 5, (frequent parental demands). The rater is assisted in this important task in two ways. First, each scale item is followed by a specific recognition of the question or questions in the interview schedule that pertain to that particular scale. Secondly, by use of a score sheet the rater marks down his judgement for that particular item. (See Appendix E) Generally, the interview schedule and the scaling of items proceed in a parallel fashion so as to facilitate the rating process. Each interview was rated twice by two separate and independent judges of the same sex.

These individual scores were then transferred to master sheets which documented the two separate ratings for each subject interviewed and for each scale item. There were 61 scale items in the parent schedule and 89 in the adolescent schedule.

From these master sheets comparisons could be made on six sets of responses: aggressive boys vs. non-aggressive boys; mothers of aggressive boys vs. mothers of non-aggressive boys; fathers of aggressive boys vs. fathers of non-aggressive boys. These sets of responses then, were compared for each scale item. For example, scale in the parents interview (Level of school achievement desired of boy by parent) was compared in

terms of how parents of aggressive boys responded vs. parents of non-aggressive boys. These comparisons were accomplished by obtaining the mean, S.D. of each scale item for each set of responses and the difference calculated by a t-test for two groups. The comparisons which are discussed in the next chapter, represent a clustering of scale items concerned with a particular behavior and particular hypotheses.

It should also be mentioned that at the conclusion of each section in the findings, comparisons between the Hong Kong study and Bandura and Walters study will be made. Although one can not make reliable comparisons between these two studies due to differences in the composition of the two samples, some interesting inferences can be pointed out to demonstrate similarities and differences in outcome of the studies. The most precise and visually helpful manner in which to make these comparisons would be by insertion of comparative tables in the two studies. However, this would have the unfortunate effect of increasing the length of this report and that is why the author has chosen to insert only one such comparative table (Table 10). This particular table highlights one of the major differences in the study outcomes and is important in that respect.

## DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The hypotheses presented in each of the following sections on aggression, sex, restrictions, and internalized controls are presented as they were in Bandura and Walters study. However, so as to present the findings in as concise a manner as possible, the discussion of the findings in each of the areas mentioned above will be treated in a more abbreviated fashion.

### Dependency

The underlying theme of Bandura and Walters assumptions is that the primary source of anti-social aggression originates from the disruption of a child's dependency needs through a lack of affectional nurturance on the part of one or more parents and this provides the basis for an instigation toward hostility and aggression.

Hypotheses: A number of studies have been undertaken to discern relationships between neglect, rejection and affectional deprivation. However, Bandura and Walters' specific predictions were developed from the theory and research of Sears and his associates. One set of hypotheses was concerned with aspects of the parents' behavior that might contribute to the development of the dependency motive. It was predicted that the parents of the aggressive boys would, in general, show less warmth and affection toward their sons and would be more rejecting than the control parents. It was predicted that parents of the aggressive boys would be less permissive of dependency behavior and that they would be more punitive when such behavior occurred. In addition, it was expected that aggressive boys would feel more rejected

by their parents than control boys and that they would display more anxiety in depending upon them.

Measure: A boy's emotional dependency was assessed in terms of the frequency of behavior that seemed to be aimed at securing a nurturant response from others. The categories used were seeking help, seeking praise and seeking the company of others. Dependency anxiety is difficult to measure but it was done on the basis of a boy's anxiety in being placed in a dependent role. Thus, indices such as resistance to seeking help, resistance to spending time in the company of others, and reluctance to trust or confide in them were considered signs of dependency anxiety.

In an effort to ascertain early child training practices and the crucial role of nurturant behavior in the development of dependency, scales were utilized to measure the parents' caretaking activities and affectional interaction level.

#### Results From Parent Interviews

Child Training Factors Related To Dependency: It is interesting to note (Table 14) that mothers of both aggressive and non-aggressive boys have rated themselves as less warm and affectionate than the fathers rate them. It may well be that the mothers may be playing down their role so as to be more humble, a Chinese characteristic that repeats itself often. Mothers of aggressive boys are significantly more warm toward their boys than the mothers of non-aggressive boys. Why this is so is not clear, but it may indicate that these mothers are more permissive than the mothers of non-aggressive boys. It should also be recognized that the level at which the mothers of aggressive



boys demonstrate warmth is of a very mild or moderate level (Mothers' Interviews). It is also conceivable that mothers of aggressive boys exhibit more warmth due to the fact that the fathers of these boys are more rejecting, thus, compensating for the lack of attention the father gives them.

Mothers of non-aggressive boys rate their husbands as significantly more affectionate than do the mothers of aggressive boys. And both mothers and fathers of non-aggressive boys are significantly less rejecting than are parents of aggressive boys. (A higher score indicates less rejection.) Mothers of non-aggressive boys indicate a significant difference from aggressive mothers in that they demonstrate more affection.

The most important finding here is the amount of rejection and affection on the part of aggressive parents. Both findings are consistent with hypotheses predictions at the beginning of this section. The level of rejection can be characterized as from ambivalent to strong. Another interesting and somewhat unexpected finding in the table points out that fathers of aggressive boys report a higher degree of caretaking during the boys infancy. This may have been due to the fact that both parents worked. However, this must also be viewed at the level of only occasional help and nothing regular. In this sense, this may not be a significant finding.

Table 7

Child Training Factors Relating To Dependency:  
Differences Between Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys\*

Scales (Fathers Interviews Data)	Aggressive Group		Control Group		t	p
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
** (35) Mothers' warmth to boy	6.23	1.73	7.46	1.71	-1.81	.05
(36) Fathers' warmth to boy	6.15	2.03	6.61	1.85	-0.60	N.S.
(59) Fathers' rejection to boy	7.83	1.43	9.46	0.87	-3.40	.005
(18) Fathers' caretaking in infancy	4.69	1.43	3.76	1.16	1.79	.05
(20) Fathers' affectionate interaction in childhood	5.23	1.30	6.00	1.77	-1.25	N.S.
(19) Mothers' affectionate interaction in childhood	7.38	1.89	7.84	2.51	-0.52	N.S.

(Mothers Interviews Data)	Aggressive Group		Control Group		t	p
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
(35) Mothers' warmth to boy	5.05	1.78	3.06	1.34	3.61	.0005
(36) Fathers' warmth to boy	5.70	1.44	6.87	1.85	-2.02	.025
(59) Mothers' rejection to boy	6.93	1.73	8.81	1.37	-3.39	.005
(18) Fathers' caretaking in infancy	3.35	1.45	3.06	1.06	0.65	N.S.
(20) Fathers' affectionate interaction in childhood	3.58	1.17	4.00	1.54	0.86	N.S.
(19) Mothers' affectionate interaction in childhood	4.88	0.92	6.56	2.39	-2.68	.01

\*Based on N=17, mothers group; N=13, fathers group. Also note that the mean scores should be divided by two to obtain the actual scale score (i.e. two raters scores were added together to calculate the t-scores).

\*\*The number in parentheses refers to the scale item in Parent Scale Sheets or Adolescent Scale Sheets in Appendix C and D. Thus, the reader can quickly determine the type of scale used by referring to the scale item.

Boys' Dependency on Parents: The data from the parent interviews (Table 15) indicate that aggressive boys show less emotional dependency on their fathers than do the controls. It is more rare for aggressive boys to spend time in their father's or mother's company and this is at a significant level. Non-aggressive boys seek help from their mothers significantly more than do aggressive boys. This means that the parent is supportive or directive when the boy asks for help but that the parent still expects the boy to work things out for himself, whereas the aggressive boys are expected by their parents to stand on their feet and receive help only in emergencies. Also significant is the extent to which non-aggressive boys spend more time with their mothers.

Table 8

Boys' Dependency on Parents: Differences Between  
Aggressive and Control Boys

Scales (Fathers' Interview Data)	<u>Agg Grp</u>		<u>Control Grp</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(31) Extent boy seeks help from father	4.69	1.43	5.38	2.10	-0.98	N.S.
(27) Time spent in fathers' company	4.30	1.54	5.84	1.72	-2.39	.025
(Mothers' Interviews Data)						
(31) Extent boy seeks help from mother	3.94	1.78	5.06	1.38	-2.00	.025
(27) Time spent in mothers' company	4.11	1.57	6.06	2.08	-3.03	.005

Boy's Anxiety About Dependency On Parents: As can be inferred in Table 16, the resistance to help on the part of the aggressive boys is significantly greater than it is for the non-aggressive boys, as far as the parents are concerned. Thus, it appears that the aggressive boys are more anxious about their dependency upon their parents than are the non-aggressive boys. This is consistent with the findings on rejection received from parents of aggressive boys. Thus, a boy who is rejected by his parents will not likely seek out their help or spend time with them.

Table 9

Boys' Anxiety About Dependency On Parents:  
Differences Between Aggressive And Control Boys

Scales (Fathers' Interviews Data)	Aggressive Group		Control Group		t	p
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
(34) Boys resistance to fathers' help	5.23	1.53	3.46	1.19	3.27	.005
(30) Boys resistance to fathers' company	5.84	1.81	2.61	1.19	5.35	.0005
<u>(Mothers' Interviews Data)</u>						
(34) Boys resistance to mothers' help	5.65	1.78	3.06	1.34	3.61	.0005
(30) Boys resistance to mothers' company	4.18	1.93	3.25	1.65	1.46	N.S.

### Results From Boys' Interviews

The results from the boys' interviews are not as revealing in terms of dependency behavioral differences and differences in the extent of rejection the boys from the two groups felt. However, there are significant differences with regard to the apparent anxiety exhibited in relation to dependency. Because of this, only the table reflecting these differences will be included here.

The only difference recorded in dependency behavior was the extent that non-aggressive boys sought help from their mothers. They sought help significantly more (.005) than did the aggressive boys. Thus, one can not generalize about the significance of dependency to teachers or peers. One could not generalize about the differences in seeking praise parents or others either. However, it is of interest to note that both groups of boys sought praise from their peers much more than from their parents or teachers. This would be consistent with the fact that peer groups are the major referent group at this age.

The findings concerning the extent to which boys felt rejection are not very conclusive. On the other hand, perhaps the boys would not want to admit such a fact in the presence of an interviewer for it would be an admission of the worst kind.

The findings concerning the differences in dependency anxiety are indicated in Table 17.

Table 10

Differences in Dependency Anxiety Between Aggressive and Control Boys: Data From Boys Interviews

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
Resistance to receive help from:						
(8) Teachers	4.30	1.12	3.40	1.39	2.24	.025
(17) Peers	4.35	1.30	3.40	1.31	2.28	.01
Resistance to parents company:						
(35) Mother	4.95	2.45	3.65	2.00	1.83	.05
(36) Father	5.40	3.39	4.00	2.65	1.45	N.S.
Resistance to accounting for activities to:						
(71) Mother	7.30	1.75	4.63	1.53	5.04	.0005
(70) Father	7.40	1.93	4.89	1.59	4.40	.0005

Discussion: The findings suggest that there is some basis for the development of dependency conflicts in the aggressive boys. This is particularly so in the degree of affection and rejection differences as reported by the parents. In both the parent and boys interviews there is evidence indicating that there may be some anxiety in response to dependency needs. However, it may well be that these particular indices do not really reflect anxiety. It is conceivable that an adolescent boy would be naturally less interested in the amount of time spent with parents, since the peer group appears to have become the main referent group. It is also important to recognize that most of the aggressive boys achieved some independence through working.

Generalization of dependency needs did not demonstrate significant differences to those outside the family. Finally, it should be stressed that in the oriental setting, dependency behavior by children is encouraged in relation to parents. Thus, where there has been a significant movement toward non-dependency among aggressive children one can imply that they have indeed jeopardized the relationship with their parents.

Comparisons between the Bandura and Walters study and this study relating to dependency behavior indicate similarities rather than differences. Of particular importance is the finding that rejection of aggressive boys by their parents is at a significant level in both studies. Dependency manifestations of the aggressive boys in both studies indicate that they show less dependency on their parents and at the same time seem to have more dependency anxiety.

### Aggression

Hypotheses: It was hypothesized that, on the basis of the principle of generalization, the aggressive group of boys would display more direct aggression than would their controls, whether this aggression was expressed toward parents, toward teachers, or toward peers, and that they would express more hostility during the interviews. It was also predicted that the aggressive group would show less anxiety concerning aggression.

Furthermore, if a child develops a consistently aggressive pattern of behavior, one may suspect that in some way his aggression has been encouraged and reinforced. In short, aggression is allowed to occur. Thus, it was predicted that parents of aggressive boys would be more permissive of aggression than would parents of the control boys.

Since there has been evidence from other studies that parents encourage aggression in their children in both direct and more subtle ways, it was predicted that the parents of the aggressive boys would encourage aggressive behavior more actively than would the control parents.

Measures: There were nine main scales (see Appendix D) for the assessment of aggressive behavior. Ratings of aggression toward parents were made both from the parent and from the adolescent interviews; aggression toward teachers and peers was assessed from the adolescent interviews only.

The scale measuring physical aggression took account only of direct physical attacks, such as fighting, striking with fists or weapons, or throwing objects calculated to produce bodily injury. Direct verbal aggression included any form of attack which involved a face-to-face interaction and an undisguised expression of attack or defiance. For



example, name calling or saying derogatory things, hurtful criticism or refusals to obey adults. Indirect aggression included less direct displays of verbal aggression, such as defamation, refusing favors and inciting others to aggression.

Estimates of the boys' aggression were also obtained through scales which measured the boys hostility. These estimates were based on the extent to which, during their interviews, the boys made disparaging remarks about their parents, teachers and peers, respectively.

Three aspects of the parents' handling of the boys' aggressive behavior were measured. Ratings were made of the parents permissiveness of aggression, punitiveness for aggression, and encouragement of the boys' aggression outside the home.

#### Results From Parent Interviews

Boys' Aggression Against The Parents: As might be expected, due to social controls within the Chinese family, there was no physical aggression reported toward fathers or mothers of either aggressive or control boys' groups. (Table 11) However, the fathers of the aggressive boys report a statistically significant difference from fathers of non-aggressive boys in that both verbal and indirect forms of aggression are reported more often. Mothers of aggressive boys report the same tendency, but not as significantly as to fathers, which seems to suggest more anger is directed toward the fathers of aggressive boys. However, it must be stressed that this is of a very mild nature.

Table 11

Boys' Aggression Against Parents: Differences  
Between Aggressive and Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(75) Physical aggression toward father	2.07	0.27	2.00	0.00	1.00	N.S.
(73) Verbal aggression toward father	4.15	1.72	2.23	0.59	3.79	.0005
(77) Indirect aggression toward father	4.46	1.89	2.96	1.03	2.95	.005
(74) Physical aggression toward mother	2.18	1.04	2.00	0.00	0.71	N.S.
(72) Verbal aggression toward mother	3.23	2.07	2.37	1.03	1.48	N.S.
(76) Indirect aggression toward mother	4.23	2.38	2.62	1.40	2.34	.025

Parental Handling of Aggression: The prediction that parents of aggressive boys would be more permissive of aggressive behavior was partially confirmed. The fathers of aggressive boys are significantly more permissive of aggression toward themselves than are fathers of non-aggressive boys. Mothers of aggressive boys tend to demonstrate somewhat more permissiveness in general than do fathers of the same boys. This is particularly so for siblings and peers and this is significantly different from the non-aggressive mothers. Again, it must be pointed out that such differences indicate very mild displays of aggression toward parents or others. In view of this qualification, we must say, that in general, parents of both groups do not seem to allow very much aggression demonstrated toward themselves or others. This would be very consistent

with the Chinese way of handling discipline and aggression and is similar to parents in the Bandura and Walters study.

Table 12

Parents Permission For Aggression: Differences Between  
Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(Data from fathers' interviews) Permissiveness for aggression toward:						
(13) Father	4.07	1.07	3.07	0.95	1.84	.05
(43) Other adults	3.08	1.24	3.61	0.86	-1.25	N.S.
(41) Siblings	2.91	0.99	2.46	0.77	1.27	N.S.
(39) Peers	2.83	0.71	2.46	0.96	1.08	N.S.
(Data from mothers' interviews) Permissiveness for aggression toward:						
(13) Mother	4.43	1.89	3.66	1.98	1.10	N.S.
(43) Other adults	5.68	1.35	5.18	0.91	1.22	N.S.
(41) Siblings	3.12	0.88	2.33	0.61	2.86	.005
(39) Peers	3.37	1.70	2.43	0.62	2.06	.025

Parental Punitiveness For Aggression: Fathers and mothers of aggressive boys are generally more punitive (scolding and reprimanding) than fathers and mothers of non-aggressive boys, but it is the fathers of aggressive boys that show significant differences, especially in regard to other adults and peers. This appears contradictory to the previous findings on permissiveness wherein parents of aggressive boys are more permissive about aggression toward those outside the family. This may be

because parents might feel they do not have as much control over events outside the home, thus scoring higher for permissiveness in this regard. However, parents of both aggressive and control boys show a similar amount of punitiveness toward the boys when aggression is directed against the parents.

Table 13

Parental Punitiveness For Aggression: Differences Between  
Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(Father Interviews Data)						
Punitiveness for aggression toward:						
(14) Father	5.84	1.77	5.30	2.09	0.70	N.S.
(44) Other adults	6.50	1.93	4.60	1.25	2.80	.005
(42) Siblings	6.50	1.00	5.76	1.36	1.51	N.S.
(40) Peers	6.50	1.24	5.38	1.44	2.05	.025
(Mother Interviews Data)						
Punitiveness for aggression toward:						
(14) Mother	5.50	1.31	4.75	1.23	1.65	N.S.
(44) Other adults	5.68	1.35	5.18	0.91	1.22	N.S.
(42) Siblings	6.06	0.92	5.66	0.61	1.38	N.S.
(40) Peers	5.93	1.18	5.31	1.91	1.48	N.S.

Parental Encouragement of Aggression: In both aggressive and control groups, parents offer very little evidence of encouraging aggressive behavior. This is quite consistent with standards of behavior encouraged within the general value system of the Chinese family. The Bandura and Walters study indicate about twice as much evidence of encouragement of

aggression on the part of parents in their sample as compared with the results in the table below. In addition, they show significant differences between parents of aggressive and non-aggressive boys in this regard. Such evidence suggests differences in cultural values about aggression.

Table 14

Parents Encouragement Of Aggression: Differences Between  
Parents Of Aggressive and Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
Hong Kong Study:						
(38) Father's encouragement of aggression	3.16	1.58	2.76	1.42	0.66	N.S.
(38) Mother's encouragement of aggression	3.73	1.83	3.81	1.97	-0.11	N.S.
-----						
Bandura and Walters Study:						
(38) Father's encouragement of aggression	6.64	1.85	5.06	1.81	2.80	.01
(38) Mother's encouragement of aggression	5.37	1.95	4.12	1.25	2.51	.01

Results From Boys Interviews

Boys Aggression Toward Teachers: The aggressive boys display more aggression toward teachers, but it is primarily confined to mild forms of verbal and indirect types of aggression. The only significant differences between the two groups is in the verbal aggression category. Overall, there are no significant differences between aggressive and non-aggressive boys. This would be consistent with the position of authority that

the teacher commands in the Hong Kong setting. Teachers are generally very strict and even an aggressive boy would be likely to control most forms of aggression.

Table 15

Boys Aggression Toward Teachers: Differences Between Aggressive and Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(2) Physical aggression	2.30	0.80	2.25	0.71	0.20	N.S.
(1) Verbal aggression	3.85	1.56	3.05	1.35	1.72	.10
(3) Indirect aggression	5.20	2.35	4.15	1.72	1.60	N.S.
(5) Guilt for aggression	4.65	1.69	4.63	2.33	0.00	N.S.

This scale was not used for prediction. N=20 Aggressive Group; N=20 Control Group.

Boys Aggression Toward Peers: The results indicate that the hypothesis concerning aggressive boys stood up better in relation to peers than it did for teachers. Aggression toward peers in both physical and verbal forms are statistically significant and suggest more aggressive norms among the aggressive group. Although not statistically significant, the score for direct types of aggression reflects a tendency for aggressive boys to engage in more direct forms of aggression (i.e. expresses aggression openly, freely, etc.). Indirect aggression is also used quite often by both aggressive and control groups. Non-aggressive boys demonstrate somewhat more guilt in respect to their aggression toward peers.

Table 16

## Boys' Aggression Toward Peers: Differences Between Aggressive and Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(11) Physical aggression	5.50	2.28	3.10	1.20	4.15	.001
(12) Verbal aggression	5.85	1.46	4.65	1.34	2.70	.01
(13) Indirect aggression	5.05	1.39	4.95	2.08	0.17	N.S.
(14) Directness of aggression	5.60	1.84	4.70	1.75	1.58	N.S.
(15) Guilt for aggression	4.21	1.84	5.26	2.28	-1.56	N.S.

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This scale was not used as a basis for prediction.

Boys' Aggression Toward Their Parents: Overall, aggression demonstrated by the two groups shows few statistically significant differences. The only exception pertains to verbal aggression toward the mother, which, interestingly is more prevalent among the control group. Why this is so, is not clear, but it may be that communication in general is better between mothers and boys of the control group, so that verbal aggression is not unusual. The aggressive group demonstrates more indirect verbal aggression toward the fathers and this is consistent with the findings reported by the parents. Thus, both the results from parents and boys interviews point to the fact that overt aggression was effectively inhibited.

Table 17

## Boys' Aggression Toward Parents: Differences Between Aggressive and Control Boys

Scales	Aggressive Group		Control Group		t	p
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
(75) Physical aggression toward father	2.35	0.74	2.26	0.73	0.36	N.S.
(74) Physical aggression toward mother	2.20	0.61	2.10	0.31	0.59	N.S.
(73) Verbal aggression toward father	4.30	2.20	4.42	1.67	-0.19	N.S.
(72) Verbal aggression toward mother	4.00	2.17	5.00	1.45	-1.67	.05
(77) Indirect aggression toward father	5.95	1.93	4.83	1.72	1.87	.05
(76) Indirect aggression toward mother	5.40	2.06	5.11	1.90	0.44	N.S.
(79) Directness of aggression toward father	4.30	1.75	4.61	1.64	-0.56	N.S.
(78) Directness of aggression toward mother	6.25	2.63	5.05	1.62	1.11	N.S.
(89) Hostility toward father	4.95	2.30	4.00	1.31	1.45	N.S.
(88) Hostility toward mother	3.85	1.63	4.05	1.39	-.02	N.S.
(81) Guilt toward father	5.55	4.88	6.72	4.18	-0.78	N.S.
*80) Guilt toward mother	4.20	1.43	4.66	2.14	-0.75	N.S.



Discussion: From both sets of interviews it is learned that parents in both groups succeed in inhibiting their sons' physical and direct aggressive behavior in the home. There was, however, some indication of aggressive boys demonstrating more verbal and indirect means of hostility toward their fathers. Nevertheless, they were also apparently fearful of expressing more hostility toward them which could imply that they would displace some of their aggression to people outside of the home. This was true to some extent with teachers and peers, although teachers received very mild and infrequent forms of aggression from the boys. The aggressive boys utilized more physical aggression toward peers whereas the control group resorted to indirect expressions of aggression toward peers. Furthermore, as might be expected, control boys felt more guilty about aggression toward their peers.

Finally, it is significant that the amount of aggression encouraged by parents in Hong Kong is extremely small as compared with the results in Bandura and Walters sample. This is very supportive of the observation that aggression is very well controlled by parents in Hong Kong and as such represents a major cultural difference in the extent to which aggression is controlled and expressed in Chinese and American cultures. Insofar as similarities occur in the two study outcomes, it is interesting to note that in both studies parental punitiveness among the aggressive and non-aggressive parent groups show little differences and the most prevalent forms of aggression against parents take the form of verbal or indirect expressions of anger.

## Sex

Since aggressive boys were expected to present a defective conscience development they were expected to express their sexual, as well as their aggressive, impulses with greater freedom and less consequent guilt than the control boys. Some studies have indicated a relationship between excessive masturbation and feelings of rejection and unmet dependency needs. However, it is this author's feeling that aggressive boys in this study had little inhibitions due to the particular norms established within their group, and this may well have intensified during institutionalization. The only hypothesis suggested by Bandura and Walters in regard to sex was that it was predicted that the aggressive boys would show less guilt and anxiety about their sex behavior than would the control boys.

## Results From Parents Interviews

Parents Handling Of Boys' Sex Behavior: From the data in Table 18, one can observe that significant differences occur primarily between mothers of aggressive and control boys. However, the non-aggressive boys fathers' demonstrate significantly more punitive behavior regarding sexual activity than do fathers of aggressive boys. Consistent with this finding is the fact that the mothers of control boys reveal less permissiveness and more punitive action against the boys' behavior. In regard to sexual anxiety, fathers of control boys are significantly more anxious than fathers of aggressive boys. However, mothers of aggressive boys are significantly more anxious than mothers of the control boys group. Considering the amount of resistance to restrictions and demands (next section), it is not surprising that mothers of these aggressive boys would have more apprehension toward their sons.

Table 18

Parents Handling Of Boys' Sex Behavior: Differences  
Between Parents Of Aggressive And  
Control Boys

Scales (Fathers' Interviews Data)	Aggressive Group		Control Group		t	p
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
(22) Permissiveness: masturbation	2.38	0.76	2.53	0.77	-0.50	N.S.
(23) Permissiveness: heterosexual behavior	3.23	2.16	2.38	0.76	1.32	N.S.
(24) Punitiveness	5.38	2.06	6.61	0.76	-2.01	.05
<u>(Mothers' Interviews Data)</u>						
(22) Permissiveness: masturbation	2.73	1.38	1.93	0.25	2.19	.05
(23) Permissiveness: heterosexual behavior	4.05	2.13	2.68	1.01	2.33	.05
(24) Punitiveness	5.06	1.73	6.46	2.47	-1.96	.05

Table 19

Sex Anxiety Of Parents In  
Aggressive And Control Boys

	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	t	p
(25) Fathers' sex anxiety	5.38	2.25	6.15	1.28	-1.06	N.S.
(25) Mothers' sex anxiety	7.50	1.31	5.93	1.52	3.10	.005

Note: Neither of the above scales were used for prediction and thus a two-tailed test was used.

### Results Of Boys' Interviews

Boys' Sex Behavior: As was expected, the aggressive boys were much more active in their sexual behavior. Interviews with these boys also pointed out their overall lack of anxiety in discussing sexual topics. In a number of instances, they spoke openly about their experiences. (Table 20) There also appeared to be little guilt associated with their activities. Most of the aggressive boys felt it normal to engage in heterosexual activity. There was guilt among both groups concerning masturbation although much less so among the aggressive group. Homosexual behavior is not mentioned at all although one wonders about this in view of the institutional situation in which the aggressive boys find themselves. Interestingly, some of the male interviewers who interviewed the non-aggressive boys doubted that many of them spoke the truth about their behavior in this regard. However, this would be perfectly natural in view of the fact that sex is not openly discussed among strangers and little or no information about sex is given the boys by their parents.

Interestingly, and contrary to the expected prediction, non-aggressive boys do not evidence a significantly greater degree of sexual anxiety than aggressive boys. Aggressive boys, as a result of more sexual experience and the influence of peer values, would not be expected to evidence sexual anxiety. Although one would expect a greater amount of sexual anxiety on the part of non-aggressive boys. The fact that there is not may be accounted for by these boys not having any sexual activity to be guilty about.

(Table 21)

Table 20

Boys' Sex Behavior: Differences Between  
Aggressive and Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(25) Masturbation behavior	5.40	1.69	2.60	1.27	5.89	.001
(24) Heterosexual behavior	3.95	2.66	2.55	1.23	2.13	.01
(26) Homosexual behavior	2.05	0.23	1.95	0.23	1.41	N.S.

Note: No prediction used in these scales, therefore a two-tailed test was used.

Table 21

## Boys' Sexual Anxiety Differences

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(28) Sex anxiety	5.00	2.24	5.35	1.95	-0.52	N.S.

Table 22

## Sexual Information From Parents

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(27) Amount of sex information	2.05	0.22	2.20	0.69	-0.97	N.S.

### Discussion

The major differences among the parents in the handling of sexual behavior occurs with the mothers of these boys. Mothers of aggressive boys show significantly more permissiveness in the case of heterosexual behavior and masturbation. It may be that these mothers feel they have no control over this behavior. But again, it must be pointed out that the level of permissiveness being discussed here is at a very mild level. Certainly, the fact that there exists among the control parents a clear tendency to be more punitive toward the boys' sexual behavior is an indication of stronger conscience formation in this regard. It is not common for the Chinese to discuss sex openly, and thus it is not surprising that the boys report no information from their parents. Like boys the world over, they must find out through their friends, magazines, pornography and their own experimentation.

The aggressive boys demonstrate clear differences in comparison to the control boys in that they are more active sexually, particularly as pertains to masturbation. Part of this may be due to the fact that these aggressive boys are institutionalized. On the other hand, it would seem likely that the norms of such boys would encourage this type of behavior. Thus, it may be that these boys exhibit a "machismo" type behavior found in other young males in other parts of the world.

Comparisons between the Bandura and Walters study and the Hong Kong study point out very similar sexual behavior among the aggressive boys. In both settings they express their sexual impulses to a significantly greater extent than did their non-aggressive counterparts. However, it is important to note that the control parents in the Hong Kong group appear to be more punitive than their American counterparts concerning

sexual behavior. This may reflect the generally more repressive expression of sex among parents in the orient as contrasted with American.

#### Restrictions, Demands, And Disciplinary Techniques

This section deals with restrictions and demands not related to motivations already discussed such as aggression, dependency, and sexual behavior. Restrictions involve placing limitations on adolescents or children in order to prevent them from engaging in disapproved activities. Parental demands, on the other hand, are concerned with the fostering of behavior that the parent considers to be socially desirable. Techniques of discipline are the methods of obtaining compliance with restrictions and demands.

Hypotheses: The Bandura and Walters study, insofar as restrictions are concerned, made exploratory rather than predictive hypotheses. However, they did provide predictions concerning obedience and disciplinary techniques. For example, they predicted that the parents of the aggressive boys would make fewer demands for obedience and would be less consistent in following through with these demands, than would the control parents.

The theory on disciplinary techniques relied on Whiting (1954). The disciplinary techniques were, in his scheme, divided into two broad categories: Love-orientated disciplinary techniques and non-love-orientated techniques. Love-orientated techniques are those forms of discipline that reward the child with love and punish by withholding this love. Non-love techniques involve physical methods, the use of tangible rewards, and deprivation of privileges. On the basis of this theory it was predicted that the parents of the aggressive boys would, in disciplining their sons, rely more on physical punishment, deprivation of privileges, and ridicule, than would the control parents.

Results From Parents Interviews

Parental Restrictions: The prediction that the aggressive boys would prove more resistant to the socialization demands made on them by their parents was confirmed as indicated in Table 23 below. In both fathers' and mothers' interviews, the same results are obtained at a significant level.

Table 23

Parents' Account Of Boys' Resistance To Restrictions And Demands: Differences Between Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys

Scales	Aggressive Group		Control Group		t	p
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
<u>(Fathers' Interviews Data)</u>						
(5) Boys resistance to fathers' restrictions	6.23	2.27	3.46	1.26	3.83	.0005
(10) Boys resistance to fathers' response	4.61	2.02	3.23	1.23	2.10	.025
<u>(Mothers' Interviews Data)</u>						
(5) Boys resistance to mothers' restrictions	5.64	1.93	3.43	1.26	3.85	.0005
(10) Boys resistance to mothers' response	5.11	1.99	3.68	1.30	2.41	.01

Obedience Demands: Both groups of fathers demanded and expected obedience, although the fathers of the control group tend to have somewhat higher expectations. Mothers of the aggressive boys made fewer demands and it may be that their sons might tend to ignore their demands more than the mothers of the control groups. These findings confirm that parents of the aggressive boys would be less demanding of obedience.



Table 24

Obedience Demands: Differences Between Parents Of  
Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
<u>(Fathers' Interview Data)</u>						
(11) Obedience demands	6.00	2.08	7.23	1.73	-1.63	N.S.
(12) Consistency of demands	6.61	2.78	6.76	2.71	-0.14	N.S.
<u>(Mothers' Interviews Data)</u>						
(11) Obedience demands	4.64	2.05	6.06	2.14	-1.93	.005
(12) Consistency of demands	5.00	2.15	6.56	1.93	-2.19	.025

Achievement Demands: There was a marked difference among the two groups. The difference probably reflects the parents' concern for success in school as with most Chinese families. However, the parents of the aggressive boys, by this time, had probably given up on their boys achieving any kind of educational success, since most of them had only finished primary school. Overall, the boys in the control group were performing well in school and were conforming to their parents' expectations in this regard.

Table 25

Achievement Demands: Differences Between  
Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
<u>(Fathers' Interviews Data)</u>						
(1) Achievement demands	3.84	1.21	5.84	2.70	-2.43	.02
<u>(Mothers' Interviews Data)</u>						
(1) Achievement demands	3.70	1.44	5.06	0.92	-3.17	.01

Note: These scales were not used for prediction and thus a two-tailed test was used.

Results From Boys' Interviews

Boys' Resistance To Demands And Restrictions: Although parents of aggressive boys appear to place significantly less demands or restrictions on the boys than the control group's parents, the aggressive boys demonstrated significant levels of resistance. One factor for this may be that the aggressive boys had become increasingly difficult to control and had approached a more independent status since many of them had worked prior to their convictions. Also, the influence of the aggressive boys' peers may have been an added force to resist parents in compliance with group norms. Finally, if the aggressive boys dependency and affectional ties are not strong, it may be more difficult to conform to parental demands (Table 26).

Table 26

Boys' Resistance To Demands And Restrictions: Differences  
Between Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(49) Resistance to fathers' responsibility demands	4.65	2.13	3.70	1.34	1.68	.05
(48) Resistance to mothers' responsibility demands	4.80	2.04	3.80	1.28	1.85	.05
(69) Resistance to fathers' restrictions	5.75	1.61	4.57	1.60	2.26	.025
(68) Resistance to mothers' restrictions	5.65	1.59	4.57	1.50	2.15	.025

#### Results From Parents Interviews

Methods Of Punishment: Methods of punishment refer to child training practices primarily although parents were also asked to discuss current methods as well. Thus, physical punishment as a method refers primarily to childhood years. The findings in Table 27 indicate that fathers' of aggressive boys demonstrate a significantly greater use of physical punishment, withdrawal of love, use of ridicule and nagging and scolding than do control fathers. Mothers of aggressive boys show greater use of physical punishment and deprivation of privileges. It appears then, that mothers and fathers of aggressive boys utilize methods of punishment to a greater degree than control parents and this may imply, as suggested earlier, that they use a more harsh and rejecting manner, which, in turn could result in the aggressive boys having difficulty in fulfilling their dependency needs. At the same time, it is interesting to note that mothers of both groups use withdrawal of love and scolding and nagging to about the same extent. This

would seem to fit the pattern in Hong Kong, as mothers utilize such methods quite commonly and extensively, as do their American counterparts.

Table 27

Use Of Methods Of Punishment: Differences Between  
Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys

Scales	Aggressive Group		Control Group		t	p
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
<u>(Fathers' Interview Data)</u>						
(50) Physical punishment	4.41	1.92	3.07	1.03	2.18	.05
(54) Withdrawal of love	4.50	1.83	2.76	1.53	1.15	.05
(51) Deprivation of priviledges	3.50	1.62	2.76	1.53	1.15	N.S.
(52) Use of ridicule	3.58	1.56	2.53	0.87	2.08	.05
(53) Nagging and scolding	4.08	1.44	3.00	1.41	1.89	.10
<u>(Mothers' Interview Data)</u>						
(50) Physical punishment	4.06	1.18	3.25	1.06	2.04	.05
(54) Withdrawal of love	3.37	1.40	2.37	0.71	1.10	N.S.
(51) Deprivation of priviledges	3.37	1.58	2.43	0.89	2.06	.05
(52) Use of ridicule	2.68	0.87	2.37	0.71	1.10	N.S.
(53) Nagging and scolding	4.00	1.93	3.50	1.26	0.86	N.S.

Note: This table was not used as a basis for prediction. (Used as a two-tailed test.)

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Use Of Reasoning: The use of reasoning as a method of dealing with a boy's behavior is far more prevalent among the control parents. The use of reasoning indicates that the boys are no longer perceived as children and can be dealt with in a manner that reflects this change. Such reasoning prevents hostile feelings from developing, maintains the relationship between the children and their parents, and allows for dependency needs to be met as fear and hostility are reduced or eliminated.

Table 28

Use Of Reasoning: Differences Between  
Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(55) Fathers' use of reasoning	5.33	1.87	7.53	1.56	-3.20	.005
(55) Mothers' use of reasoning	5.80	2.30	7.81	1.42	-2.94	.005

Parental Agreement: The prediction that parents of aggressive boys would demonstrate greater disagreement concerning child rearing practices was confirmed in respect to the fathers' perceptions but not to the mothers' perceptions. This seems to suggest that it is the fathers, who, for some reason, feel there is greater disagreement. It may be that the fathers' source of disagreement with the mothers' is that the fathers are basically more punishing toward the boys which the mothers resent. On the other hand, the fact that mothers of aggressive boys demonstrate no significant differences with control mothers may be misleading. It is conceivable, for instance, that two things may have occurred. First, the mother would not want the interviewer to know that she disagreed with her husband due to Chinese custom. Secondly, it may be that she would not disagree to any great extent with her husband due to traditional role relationships among the Chinese. Or it could be that the fathers of aggressive boys disagree with the mothers because the mothers do not meet the expectations of the fathers. This may be because they are more permissive with the boys. It is also possible that the fathers want to project blame for the boy's problems onto the mother.

Table 29

Parental Agreement: Differences Between Parents  
Of Aggressive And Control Boys

Scales	Aggressive Group		Control Group		t	p
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
<u>(Fathers' Interview Data)</u>						
(6) Agreement: Rules	7.38	2.06	8.69	1.10	-2.01	.025
(9) Agreement: Responsibilities	7.53	2.20	9.53	0.77	-3.32	.005
(57) Agreement: Discipline	6.83	2.32	8.46	1.26	-2.19	.025
<u>(Mothers' Interview Data)</u>						
(6) Agreement: Rules	7.47	2.06	7.62	1.89	-0.22	N.S.
(9) Agreement: Responsibilities	7.43	2.60	6.93	2.57	0.54	N.S.
(57) Agreement: Discipline	7.12	2.02	7.62	2.15	-0.67	N.S.

Boys' Resistance To Discipline: In Table 30 below, it can readily be observed that aggressive boys resist both fathers and mothers significantly more than the control boys. However, this resistance is of a very mild nature.

Table 30

Parents Account Of Boys' Resistance To Discipline: Difference  
Between Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys

Scales	Aggressive Group		Control Group		t	p
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
(56) Resistance to fathers' discipline	4.83	1.74	3.53	1.80	1.81	.05
(56) Resistance to mothers' discipline	4.68	1.77	3.56	1.20	2.09	.025

Methods Of Discipline: Results From Boys' Interviews

Boys' Accounts Of Their Parents' Disciplinary Practices: The differences reported in Table 31 indicate that the aggressive boys feel that their fathers utilized physical punishment somewhat significantly and scolding-nagging significantly more than the control boys. However, it is interesting to note that the control boys indicate that their mothers use ridicule more often than do the mothers of aggressive boys. Why this is so is not clear except that ridicule may be more effectively used in a situation wherein there is a stable parent-child relationship. In such a situation it may not endanger the relationship as the boy is certain of the mother's love in a number of other ways. It is of importance to note that the control boys report that reasoning is used by both their mothers and fathers to a significantly greater extent than the aggressive boys.

Table 31

Boys' Account Of Their Parents Disciplinary Practices:  
Differences Between Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
Father's use of:						
(50) Physical punishment	5.00	2.05	3.95	1.76	1.73	.10
(52) Deprivation of privileges	5.45	4.81	3.60	1.27	1.65	N.S.
(54) Ridicule	3.60	1.95	3.35	1.53	0.44	N.S.
(56) Scolding-nagging	6.35	4.56	3.40	1.66	2.71	.01
(58) Withdrawal of love	4.00	2.20	3.05	1.73	1.51	N.S.
(60) Reasoning	4.20	2.09	4.94	1.50	-1.27	N.S.
Mother's use of:						
(50) Physical punishment	4.60	1.63	3.95	1.35	1.36	N.S.
(52) Deprivation of privileges	3.70	2.84	3.55	1.57	0.20	N.S.
(54) Ridicule	3.65	1.92	5.45	4.22	-1.73	.10
(56) Scolding-nagging	6.05	3.66	4.45	1.53	1.80	.10
(58) Withdrawal of love	5.00	4.09	2.75	1.25	2.35	.05
(60) Reasoning	4.20	2.09	6.15	3.99	-1.93	.10

Note: This scale is not used as a basis of prediction. A two-tailed test.

Resistance To Parents' Discipline: Interestingly the boys of both groups report only mild forms of resistance to their parents' discipline and when they do there are no significant differences between the two groups.

Table 32

## Boys' Resistance To Parents Discipline

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(62) Resistance to fathers' discipline	4.80	2.83	4.47	1.46	0.44	N.S.
(62) Resistance to mothers' discipline	4.15	2.05	4.73	1.48	-1.08	N.S.

Discussion: The findings in this section indicate in a rather consistent fashion that aggressive boys were subjected to less socialization pressures as indicated by their resistance to restrictions and demands as well as obedience. This resistance, may, in part, be attributed to the hostility the aggressive boys feel for their parents. Furthermore, by the time they had reached adolescence the aggressive boys had taken as a primary referent group their peer associates. This is confirmed in both the parent and boys interviews. Often the parents report that "the associates with bad boys or teddy boys". Also most of the aggressive boys had already had some experience working and were more independent boys in this sense. These factors would contribute to a loosening of ties and influence of the parents toward the boys and would make it difficult for them to enforce the kind of control they would like. In addition, since the boys have



already gotten into difficulty there might be a tendency for the parents to exert more control over their boys or at least appear to do so in the interviews. But whatever the reason, it is clear that the aggressive boys demonstrate more resistance to their parents than do the control boys.

It is of interest to note that reasoning is more commonly used by parents of control boys (significant in parent interviews and somewhat significant in boys interviews.) This would seem to imply that relationships between the control boys and their parents are typically more warm, understanding and encouraging of dependency relationships. However, it is also clear that fathers of aggressive boys are reported in both parent and boys interviews as being more strict than control fathers. This confirms earlier findings about the element of rejection that aggressive boys' fathers exhibit.

At the same time it is important to point out that boys in both groups report only mild forms of resistance to their parents' methods of discipline. However, it may be that in the interview situation, these boys would not want to admit this to the interviewer. Or it may be likely that they feel their parents do control the situation and they must respect their control for the most part. This would be more typically Chinese in the sense that children are taught early to obey their parents and this is reinforced in many ways during the child rearing years.

These results also compare in a very similar manner with the Bandura and Walters study in that aggressive boys in both societies demonstrate more resistance than do the non-aggressive boys. The methods of punishment and the extent of utilizing them are also very similar in the two studies. The parents of aggressive boys utilizing more physical punishment scolding, and ridicule, whereas control parents demonstrate a significantly greater use of reasoning.

### Internalization Of Controls

According to psychoanalytic theory the development of internal controls is achieved largely through the process of identification as stressed by Sears (1957) originates in the dependency relationship, particularly with the mother at first and later with the father. One means that the growing child uses to gain approval is to imitate the behavior of the parents. In this sense the child learns to conform to the rules as established by his parents, and these rules are a reflection of cultural norms for approved behavior.

Hypothesis: Previous clinical studies point out that aggressive anti-social boys have, as an outstanding characteristic, a defective conscience development. On the basis of this assumption, it was predicted that the group of aggressive boys would present weak internal controls because they had not internalized their parents' standards. This suggests that control boys would be deterred from socially disapproved acts by guilt, whereas an aggressive boy would be deterred by fear of punishment.

In addition, identity formation is also influenced by the parents' level of affection for each other, the kinds of sexual roles that the parents encourage in their boys, and the corresponding degrees of affection and identification with their parents.

### Results From Parents Interviews

Parents' Affectional Relationships: In previous sections it has been reported that the relationships between the aggressive boys and their parents was strained, and there appeared to be less affection of the fathers toward the aggressive boys. In Table 33, the affectional ties

between the parents of aggressive boys also appears weak. There is less warmth and more hostility toward one another than among control parents. The level of disharmony recorded by aggressive parents would tend to decrease a positive identification of the boy with his parents.

Table 33

Parents Affectional Relationships: Difference Between  
Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(37) Wife's warmth for husband	5.05	2.65	6.75	2.17	-1.99	.05
(37) Husband's warmth for wife	4.92	1.65	7.61	1.89	-3.85	.0005
(61) Wife's hostility to husband	4.18	1.68	3.31	1.13	1.72	.105
(61) Husband's hostility to wife	3.41	1.16	2.69	1.39	1.45	N.S.

Masculinity Demands: There was no difference on the part of fathers of both groups of boys for masculinity demands. However, the mothers of control boys emphasized this aspect more than mothers of aggressive boys. Thus, it may be inferred that the mothers of the control boys made extra efforts to insure that their sons would become responsible adults.

Table 34

Masculinity Demands: Differences Between  
Parents Of Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(45) Mother's masculinity demands	3.93	1.61	5.12	2.27	-1.70	.05
(45) Father's masculinity demands	4.75	1.42	4.69	1.93	0.80	N.S.

Results From Boys' Interviews

Affection For Parents: Consistent with findings in previous sections, the relationship between the aggressive boys and their fathers appears strained for there is significantly less affection between them than between the control boys and their fathers. However, the amount of warmth among both groups of boys for their mothers is not different. This may be due to the fact that it is the mothers of these boys who show the most concern for them in both situations.

Table 35

Boys' Affection For Their Parents: Differences  
Between Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(82) Warmth toward mother	6.00	2.42	6.36	1.80	-0.53	N.S.
(82) Warmth toward father	4.65	2.15	5.89	1.88	-1.91	.05

Boys' Identification With Parents: Interestingly, there was no reported difference in the boys' identification with their parents. It was expected that there might have been a greater identification of the control boys with their fathers since other results indicate a strained relationship between the aggressive boys and their fathers. Perhaps, the lack of a clearer pattern of identification does not emerge as a result of stronger identities with the peer group at this stage of their development. At the same time, it must be recognized that the measures for identification may not be as useful as some of the other measures, as identification is a very complex concept to quantify.

Table 36

Boys' Identification With Parents: Differences  
Between Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
(86) Identity to mother	3.15	1.08	3.73	1.44	-1.43	N.S.
(86) Identity to father	4.45	2.11	4.68	1.24	-0.41	N.S.

Guilt Reactions: Again, no significant differences were reported among the two groups of boys as to the extent of guilt felt for transgression of acts (measured by frequency of indications of admissions of wrong doings against parents). On the one hand, one would not expect the control boys to register much guilt in the first place since they cannot be considered to be anti-social, and this may account for their low scores. Yet, even though there is no major difference indicated, the tendency for guilt is somewhat higher among the controls. Aggressive boys show little

guilt and certainly less than the controls even though not significantly different. It must also be mentioned that in this study it was not possible to make use of projective picture tests as did Bandura and Walters. It may be that the use of such projective tests might have demonstrated higher levels of guilt among the controls, as it did in the Bandura study.

Table 37

Feelings Of Guilt: Differences Between  
Aggressive And Control Boys

<u>Scales</u>	<u>Aggressive Group</u>		<u>Control Group</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>		
<u>Guilt over aggression toward:</u>						
(80) Mother	4.20	1.43	4.66	2.14	-0.79	N.S.
(80) Father	5.55	4.88	6.72	4.18	-0.78	N.S.
(5) Teachers	4.65	1.69	4.63	2.33	0.00	N.S.
(15) Peers	4.21	1.84	5.26	2.28	-1.56	N.S.
(29) Guilt over anti-social behavior	3.50	1.86	4.07	2.59	-0.69	N.S.
(28) Anxiety over sex behavior	5.00	2.24	5.35	1.95	-0.52	N.S.

Discussion: The findings in this section confirm what has been reported in previous sections to some extent, but in other respects the findings are inconclusive. For example, the parents of the aggressive boys demonstrate less affection and more hostility for each other than do the control parents. It may be a problem, therefore, for the aggressive boys to internalize parental values in an atmosphere of disharmony.

It is interesting to note that the mothers of the control boys are more conscious of masculinity demands. This is interpreted to mean that there is a conscious attempt on their part to insure that their sons are

responsible. From the author's experience and observation, it would seem that this is a fairly typical trait among Chinese mothers in Hong Kong. That is, they are extremely conscious of their role in maintaining conformity to expected behavior. Although the boys interviews do not show strong evidence for more guilt among control boys and there appear to be no differences in identification, there is a significant difference between aggressive and control boys in regard to their affection for their fathers, which is consistent with reported problems between father and son in the previous sections.

These results demonstrate very similar findings when compared to Bandura and Walters study. In both studies parents of aggressive boys demonstrate less affection and more hostility between themselves than do parents of the non-aggressive boys. Aggressive boys also show less affection for their fathers than do non-aggressive boys. Such findings support the notion that it might well be especially difficult for the aggressive boys to become identified with their fathers and to internalize their controls to the extent that the non-aggressive boys do.

## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

### Limitations Of Study

The major limitations in a study of this nature are two-fold. On the one hand, the sample size is too small for generalizations to be made, but equally serious is the fact that the sample of aggressive boys is taken solely from the most extreme group of aggressive boys (i.e. having been involved in a violent crime).

At the outset of the study it was intended that a broader spectrum of aggressiveness be included in the sample. However, since there were comparatively few violent offenders in relation to other types of offenders, the author wished to study as many boys of the more extreme type as possible. Furthermore, both the lack of time and manpower limitations thwarted the possibility of providing a more representative sample, and one that could more effectively utilize the cross-cultural comparison. At the same time, the value of obtaining a sample of more extreme offenders should not be overlooked as it provides an interesting and useful comparison, particularly with reference to the Hong Kong scene and in reference to future cross-cultural comparisons as well.

In addition to these major factors were problems encountered in implementation of the research activity. As indicated previously, interviews with aggressive boys were without prior warning, and they were separated from those who had not yet been interviewed. However, in the case of the non-aggressive boys and their parents, it was noted that there was more suspicion and resistance evidenced. Part of this was naturally due to the unfamiliarity of these people with research interviewers, and part of it can be attributed to the suspicion that is initially aroused from a



stranger, even though prior support and sanction of the school principals was obtained. Moreover, the fact that the interviewers were unable to interview the non-aggressive boys and their parents on the same day and in one effort, implied that some of these boys or their parents might have discussed the contents of the interviews with their schoolmates who were scheduled for interviews later. This may have contributed to a more inhibited response on the part of these boys and their parents.

Another methodological difficulty that must be considered is the potential bias of both interviewers and raters, since they were aware of who the respondents were. However, some of this bias may have been less serious since they were not aware of the theoretical or hypothetical assumptions and because of the systematic bias that occurred.

The matching of non-aggressive with aggressive boys was not maintained as objectively as in Bandura and Walters study because of the lack of intelligence tests. It is felt that the overall matching of occupational groups is fairly adequate, although precise information concerning income levels in both groups was not obtained.

The fact that the aggressive boys represented an institutionalized sample, may well have influenced their responses to questionnaire items. In a similar fashion, the fact that the boys were institutionalized might also have caused biased responses on the part of their parents. In both cases the responses (the boys and their parents) might have tended to reflect stereotyped responses.

It would have been interesting and helpful to obtain projective responses (Themantic Deviation Test) to specific situations through the use of picture cards. These type of responses are another means whereby the hypothesis concerning aggression can be further tested. Unfortunately,

the lack of time and availability of picture cards that reflect an oriental setting were barriers to this possibility.

In spite of these limitations, some initial comparisons and inferences can be drawn from this study. Further research in the Asian setting may, hopefully, benefit from the issues discussed here.

Comparative Inferences: Although one cannot make reliable comparisons between Bandura and Walters study and this study due to the differences in the composition of the aggressive boys sample, some inferences can be discussed in terms of what appear to be similar or dissimilar findings in both studies.

As pointed out previously the major difference between Bandura and Walters study and this study is the extent to which aggressiveness is encouraged by parents. Clearly, parents of aggressive boys in the American study demonstrated a much greater encouragement of aggression and the aggressive sons of these mothers revealed more aggression in all respects, than did the Hong Kong boys. This difference is an important reflection of cultural contrasts among the two populations under study.

Aside from this major difference, there are many similarities in the two studies which suggest that the methods of handling children and the corresponding behavior evidenced by the boys in the two cultures, are not at all different. Rejection by the aggressive boys parents, the greater sexual activity among the aggressive boys, the resistance to restrictions and demands among the aggressive boys, the lower degree of affection and greater hostility among parents of aggressive boys are all very similar in both studies.

The fact that there were considerably more similarities than differences in the findings of these two studies suggests that the social-psychological theoretical framework of Bandura and Walters supports the notions of frustration-aggression theorists, particularly in relation to frustrated dependency needs. On the other hand, the findings of this study must also be viewed with a recognition of the sampling limitations mentioned earlier which means that it is difficult to provide, at this juncture, a more rigorous cross-cultural comparison. Finally, other research approaches to the problem of violence among youth should be considered so as to give a more balanced theoretical perspective concerning the many complex issues involved.

Other Theoretical And Research Considerations: The influence of peers among these offenders cannot be underestimated in view of the fact that the motive for committing a violent offense was of a gang revenge nature in 50% of the offenses. One half of these acts were planned while the remainder were unplanned. Furthermore, slightly over one third of these adolescent offenders admitted being involved with triad societies, and it is not certain how many other boys were associated with a triad group, but denied it. These data illustrate that there are both organized as well as more loosely knit small groups or gangs that are a decisive influence in implementation of the violent act.

The interviews with the offenders also indicate that the majority of them cite boredom as a major precipitation factor in encouraging them to seek some form of excitement, which very often took the form of "getting even" with another individual or rival group (unplanned acts of violence occurred in 60% of the acts). Acts of violence then, appear to have excitement as a deeper underlying motive and for some of these adolescents, the chance to be a hero among peers is noted. This seemingly senseless

rather than premeditated violence is seen by Yablonsky<sup>20</sup> and others as a "quick, almost magical way of achieving power and prestige".

Since the peer influence appears considerable as indicated in our interviews with these adolescent offenders, respectful consideration must be given to theoretical, research, and treatment aspects of this issue.

The Gang And Sociological Theory: Albert Cohen, in his book Delinquent Boys, views peer influence within the gang as "a collective effort on the part of youth to resolve adjustment problems produced by dislocations in the larger society."<sup>21</sup> In this perspective, the gang offers boys a legitimate means (violence) of dealing with their status-frustration problems.

Bloch and Niederhoffer's<sup>22</sup> views are somewhat different in that they view the gang behavior as a universal and normal adolescent striving for adult status. Thus, all cultures demonstrate this phenomenon as an urge toward manhood. In this sense, the adolescent gang provides support, courage and struggles for power among rival groups.

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<sup>20</sup>Yablonsky, Lewis, The Violent Gang. The Macmillan Company, 1962.

<sup>21</sup>Cohen, Albert, Delinquent Boys: The Culture Of The Gang. Glencoe, Illinois, : The Free Press, 1955.

<sup>22</sup>Bloch, Herbert and Niederhoffer, Arthur, The Gang. New York, The Philosophical Press, 1958.

Walter Miller<sup>23</sup> emphasizes a lower-class adolescent theory of gangs which is similar to Cohen's view. He stresses that different lower class boys have varying achievement aspirations, and those youth who are confronted with the largest gap between aspirations and possibilities for achievement are most delinquency prone. The results of this particular study seem to confirm this assumption in that the control boys parents have higher aspirations for their boys, and these boys have progressed to middle school level whereas the aggressive boys were only, for the most part, able to finish primary school.

Yablonsky, in his study of New York gang behavior describes three types of gangs that appear in "gang neighborhoods": (1) the delinquent gang (2) violent gangs (3) social gangs.

"The "delinquent gang" is dominated by activities such as stealing or assault with material profit as the essential motive. The "violent gang" activity is dominated by sociopathic themes of prestige-seeking violence (for kicks) as the goal. The "social gang" is a group comprised of tough youths who band together."<sup>24</sup>

Yablonsky points out that some gangs are a mixture of the three types above, but that each provides a dominant motive or theme. He further asserts that the "violent gang" has some permanence for its members, but that it is much less cohesive than is ordinarily assumed. He indicates that membership is constantly in flux and that marginal delinquent or social types of individuals may move away or toward the more sociopathic members of the violent gang.

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<sup>23</sup>Walter Miller, in W. C. Kvaraceus and W. B. Miller, Delinquent Behavior, Washington, D.C.; National Education Association, 1959.

<sup>24</sup>Yablonsky, Lewis, The Violent Gang, p. 149.

Yablonsky makes an important observation when he breaks the gangs and their membership into different typologies that reflect different motives. Such a typology implies that not all gangs are violent, nor are all the members of the gangs of a violent nature. Such a description is important to acknowledge as one often encounters a more recent popularization of the notion that there is a subculture of violence among some groups in society. No doubt there is a tendency among some groups, such as described in this study, for violence and some theorists such as Wolfgang and Ferracutti are proponents of this notion.<sup>25</sup> Thus, it is important to make a distinction based on empirical evidence and, thus far, we do not have enough empirical evidence to suggest that some groups are prone to violence. In fact there is evidence to the contrary.<sup>26</sup> What is needed is a continuation of research into gang behavior and in particular more data gathered on the nature of violence as well as the frequency of violent acts committed.

Future Research: It is important to recognize that both family relationships as well as peer influences play an important role in the promotion of delinquent and violent behavior. However, a larger sample of both aggressive youth and non-aggressive youth is needed for further testing of hypotheses mentioned in this study.

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<sup>25</sup>Wolfgang M. and Ferracutti, F., The Subculture Of Violence. London: Travistock Paperbacks, 1967.

<sup>26</sup>Miller, Walter and et. al. (1961) in a study of violent gangs in Boston, found that the overwhelming majority of aggressive acts in the groups studied was of low intensity and limited to non-physical forms.

It is also important to consider research efforts directed at the gangs now in operation in Hong Kong. It is noted that the aggressive youth in this study had known their peers for as many as eight or more years in many instances. They had grown up together in the same neighborhood and initially seemed to fulfill the needs of a "social gang". However, it is clear that several became identified with the delinquent type gang (triad society) and in some instances with a violent type motive, but this more often seem associated with a revenge motive.

It would be important to investigate how these social groups gradually evolved into delinquent and violent types of activities. If violent acts in themselves are to be investigated than it would seem beneficial to do in depth interviews with youths who have committed repeated violent offenses with a view toward substantiating that such individuals may be prone to violent dispositions due to personality factors. It would be helpful to ascertain the extent to which the boys in this study continued crimes of a violent nature. It is the opinion of this author that the majority of them might not involve themselves in violence, but could very well resume delinquent activities upon returning to their groups in the community. Moreover, this return to the community might well offer additional opportunity to observe and research gang behavior among these youth.

Finally, of serious importance is the issue of how to deal with such problems of youth in Hong Kong especially in view of the fact that "the incidence of violent crimes in this city has more than tripled since 1969".<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>"Hong Kong, "Pearl Of The Orient," Hit by Recession, The Asian Student, December 21, 1974.

Treatment Considerations: Detention for youth offenders in Hong Kong is the primary mode of punishment, although some first offenders are placed on probation for less serious offenses. The detention facilities in which these boys were residing at the time of our interviews provide classroom, recreational and group activities. The primary treatment emphasis is casework. A rather unique feature of the casework approach in Hong Kong is the fact that a boy is assigned the same caseworker during his detention period as well as upon release for follow-up. In this way the caseworker has an opportunity to maintain continuity in the relationship, and he also becomes a key person in assisting the boy in his re-establishment of family ties. Such continuity is often lacking in other major cities of the world. However, the geographic compactness of the colony and its easy access to all forms of transport make this possible.

At the time the study was conducted there was very little group work within the training centers and in the community. It may be that more efforts have been made since then for in view of the significance of the gang influence it should be one of the major modes of treatment for youngsters of this kind.

This is not to say that no effort has been made in this direction. In 1966 there was an organized effort to introduce detached workers into various parts of Kowloon.<sup>28</sup> Recommendations from this experience suggested a strong need for expansion of such services and that continued experimentation with the method be promoted.

The experiences cited by Yablonsky and detached workers in New York are invaluable not only because they point out some success in such work, but because they are realistic in their appraisals of the dangers and pit-

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<sup>28</sup>Lee Thiam Swee, "An Experiment in Detached Work", Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, 1969. (Unpublished Report)



falls of the detached worker's assumptions, role and methodology. Any endeavor by proponents of this method should find Yablonsky's observations and suggestions helpful. Among the guidelines he cites for a more effective utilization of the detached worker approach are:

- a) 'It is necessary for the detached gang worker to be trained to diagnose accurately several types of gang structure. Different approaches are required for the social, delinquent, and violent gangs.
- b) The accurate diagnosis of the violent gang reveals different degrees of participation and involvement. Marginal members may be worked with through more conventional treatment approaches; core violent-gang participants and leaders require a different and more intense form of treatment.
- c) A violent gang can be further integrated by working through the leaders. The detached gang worker should avoid giving the leader credence since this may reinforce violent gang structure. Providing the sociopathic leader with "official" status and activity opportunities for his gang tends to defeat rather than achieve sound corrective goals.
- d) The detached gang worker, as an official representative of the more inclusive society, must avoid sanctioning or participating in deviance to gain what will turn out to be false acceptance and rapport. He should serve as an adequate law-abiding adult role model. In this way he may become a bridge or vehicle for bringing the larger society's constructive values and norms to the gang."<sup>29</sup>

In essence, Yablonsky's approach is to accurately diagnose the type of gang and the members of the gang followed by an effort to get marginal members back into constructive activities while dealing with the core leaders through arrests and placing them in an intensive group treatment aimed at modifying their attitudes so as to be resocialized into society again. In short, he seeks to gradually break up the gang so that it can no longer provide the milieu from which aggression can be sanctioned.

<sup>29</sup>Yablonsky, Lewis, *The Violent Gang*, p. 244-245.

The type of intensive group treatment suggested by Yablonsky is that which is accomplished at Synannon, a halfway house for drug addicts, in California.<sup>30</sup>

Yablonsky's experience as well as other brave souls who have become detached workers requires a considerable amount of courage and maturity. It appears that this ingredient is little discussed in the literature on detached workers. To neglect this element is to avoid coming to terms with the difficulties of the work and the type of individual who can best deal with such problems. Unquestionably, prior training is essential but in the final analysis training cannot be a substitute for clear thinking when dealing with complex delinquent behavior. No less important is that such detached workers should receive a salary commensurate with such abilities and substantial psychological support from their immediate supervisors.

This is not to say that the detached worker approach is the only approach in dealing with such gangs. More punitive measures can be introduced, but punitive measures do not change the structure of these groups. The neighborhood gang remain intact and welcome the offender upon his return from a detention facility. Much more experimentation and effort in detached work should be encouraged in the Hong Kong scene. But such effort must receive considerably more financial and community support than it now does.

<sup>30</sup>Yablonsky, Lewis, Synannon.

Conclusion: This study, insofar as it goes, demonstrates that faulty socialization patterns within the Hong Kong families, as in their American counterparts, can be a strong force in the loosening of family ties which, in turn, promote a lack of internalized parental and societal values. It may, then, be further hypothesized that youngsters from such families have a stronger predisposition toward taking on the values of their peers to the extent of performing delinquent or violent acts as the norms of the group or gang dictates. To further test this assumption a much larger sample study should be undertaken to include a broader spectrum of aggressive youth. In addition, much more attention should be given to both research and correctional approaches with groups and gangs of young men in the colony. It is the author's impression that some of this gang activity in Hong Kong could be channeled into more constructive goals, particularly since the origin of such groups appears to be founded on a social rather than delinquent or violent level to begin with. That is, the aggressive boys all indicate in interviews that their friendships with the boys they committed the crimes were originated several years ago in their neighborhoods. At that time it is assumed that most of the boys had not involved themselves with serious crimes, although we cannot be certain that they were not already involved in petty criminal activity. However, further experimentation with group work along these lines requires considerable maturity of the worker along with a great deal of supervisory support and adequate salary. Such efforts would require considerably more community support before expansion of such work could be accomplished.

In spite of the limitations of this study it must also be recognized that the presence of many significant findings give strength to the patterns found. Equally interesting is the fact that the comparisons between

Bandura and Walters and this study point to a considerable number of similar findings, particularly as they pertain to the aggressive boys and their parents. Moreover, the most significant finding insofar as comparative differences are concerned occurs in the considerably less aggression expressed by the Hong Kong boys (both aggressive and non-aggressive) when contrasted to their counterparts in America. This lower expression of aggression may well account for the lower crime rate in general among the Hong Kong population. This rather remarkable fact is considered by the author to be a result of greater social control by the Chinese family although the influence of neighborhood groups may also play a part in such social control.

The results of this study indicate that the family is the primary environmental factor contributing to the aggressive anti-social behavior of these boys. Thus, overly punitive parents, imitation of peers or leaders and insecure male identification are all factors that might predispose an adolescent toward violent behavior. There are obviously other factors not touched upon very much in this paper which also must be considered. Individual or group expectations that are not met can also result in violence and Hong Kong has been witness to such occurrences. More subtle influences in promoting violence are such things as a precipitating event, a low expectation of punishment, boredom, group contagion and strong obedience to authority.

It is hoped that this study has made a beginning effort in assessing the causes and circumstances under which a youth commits a violent offense in Hong Kong. When one considers the fantastic population growth of the colony in contrast to its relatively low rate of violence, this is truly remarkable. Certainly the Chinese people of Hong Kong have much to be

proud of in being able to keep the level of violence as low as it is. Nevertheless, the more recent trend toward a greater incidence of violence in the colony deserves more research and effort to combat the problems of these youth.

Although the task is very great and many would agree without solution, it should be remembered that not all gangs are violent, nor are their members; violent behavior can be learned; and perhaps frustrations limited and constructive alternatives found if...the community is willing to provide the necessary support for the hard work to be done.

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APPENDIX A

PARENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What school or schools has \_\_\_\_\_ attended in recent years?
  - a. How have you felt about \_\_\_\_\_'s progress in schoolwork during the past few years? (What have you said to him?)
  - b. Considering \_\_\_\_\_'s ability, are you satisfied with how he is doing in his schoolwork?
  - c. Have you expressed this feeling to him? (What have you said?)
  - d. How far would you like \_\_\_\_\_ to go with his schooling? (Any particular college?)
  - e. What kind of job would you like him to get?
  - f. Does \_\_\_\_\_ know what you expect of him?
2. How well does \_\_\_\_\_ get along with people his own age?
  - a. (IF NOT WELL) What have you done about this?
  - b. (IF WELL) Has he ever had difficulties in mixing?
3. How about sports? How important do you think it is for a boy to do well in these?
  - a. If \_\_\_\_\_ does well in sports, what do you say or do about it?
  - b. What if he does not do too well?
  - c. Has \_\_\_\_\_ does as well as you would like him to in sports?
  - d. How much have you encouraged him to take part in sports?
4. Now, we'd like to get some idea of the sort of things \_\_\_\_\_ is allowed to do and the sort of things he isn't allowed to do. What are some of the restrictions you have for him?
  - a. How about going out at night?
  - b. Does he have to check out or be in at a certain time?
  - c. Do you expect him to let you know what he has been doing?
  - d. Are there any things you forbid him from doing when he is with his friends? Places you forbid him going?
  - e. Are there any of his friends with whom you have discouraged him from associating?
  - f. Is \_\_\_\_\_ allowed free use of the family car?
  - g. How about smoking and drinking, how do you feel about these?
  - h. How about using bad language?
  - i. Can \_\_\_\_\_ use the radio and TV as freely as he likes?
  - j. Are there times when \_\_\_\_\_ has to do his homework?
  - k. Are there times when he has to refrain from being noisy about the house?
5. In general, do you and your (husband, wife) agree about what restrictions you place on \_\_\_\_\_?
  - a. (IF NOT) On what do you disagree?  
(IF YES) Are there any things of this sort about which you disagree?
  - b. Do you and your (husband, wife) follow through equally in getting him to do as you wish?



- c. Does \_\_\_\_\_ seem to accept the restrictions you place on him or does he resent them? Does he try to get around them in any way? Does he ever ignore them completely? How often?
  - d. Do you feel in general that \_\_\_\_\_ is frank and open with you about where he has been and the sort of things he does outside the home? Does he ever seem to resent your asking him about these things? Avoid telling you about them?
6. How does \_\_\_\_\_ get his spending money?
- a. Does he have a regular allowance? (Did he ever?)
  - b. On what basis is the allowance given to him? Does he have to earn it?
  - c. Does \_\_\_\_\_ earn extra money by taking on part-time jobs? Was this of his own choice or did you encourage him to earn?
  - d. About how much of his total spending money does he get this way? (Very little, most, etc.)
  - e. What does \_\_\_\_\_ do with the money he gets? How does he use it?
  - f. To what extent do you have a say in this?
  - g. Who pays for his clothes? Picks them out? Do you let him wear what he likes or are there some things you object to his wearing? What do you do about this? What does he do when you object?
  - h. Does \_\_\_\_\_ ever come to you for extra money? What do you usually do about this? Does his (father, mother) usually know about this?
7. To what extent do you think a boy of \_\_\_\_\_'s age should be made responsible for taking care of his room or his place in the home?
- a. What kinds of responsibilities does \_\_\_\_\_ have?
  - b. How long has he been expected to do these things?
  - c. How did you go about getting him to do these things?
  - d. How much do you keep after him to see that these things are done?
  - e. To what extent does \_\_\_\_\_ try to get out of doing these things? Does he ever seem to resent having to do them?
  - f. Do you and your (husband, wife) agree about the sorts of things \_\_\_\_\_ should be responsible for?
  - g. Do you and your (husband, wife) agree on the extent to which you expect \_\_\_\_\_ to carry out these responsibilities?
8. Some (mothers, fathers) expect their children to obey immediately when they tell them to do something; others don't think it is terribly important for a child to obey right away. What is your feeling about this?
9. If \_\_\_\_\_ doesn't do what you ask, do you ever drop the subject, or do you always see to it that he does it?
10. When \_\_\_\_\_ gets angry at you, what does he do?
- a. Does he ever shout or swear at you? Answer back? How often?
  - b. Has he ever struck you? Thrown things around the house? How often?
  - c. Stamped out of the house? Slammed doors? How often?
  - d. How much of this sort of thing have you allowed? What do you do?

11. Now, I'd like you to think back to when \_\_\_\_\_ was a baby. Who took care of him for the most part?
  - a. Did you have any one to help you on a regular basis?
  - b. How much did (you, your husband) do in taking care of \_\_\_\_\_ when he was a baby? Did (you, husband) ever change the baby's diapers? Feed him? Give him a bath? How often? (question applies to both husband and wife.)
  
12. Did you have time to spend with \_\_\_\_\_ when he was a small child besides the time that was necessary for feeding him, changing him, and regular care?
  - a. Tell me about what you did in this time? How much did you play with him and that sort of thing?
  - b. Did you find some time every day for this sort of thing, or was that impossible? What about week ends?
  - c. And what about your (husband, wife), how much time did (he, she) have for things like this?
  
13. When \_\_\_\_\_ was a small child, how did you feel about letting him run about indoors without his clothes on?
  - a. What did you do when you noticed him playing with himself?
  - b. Suppose you found him doing this now, how would you feel about it? What would you do?
  
14. How about sex play with other children, did this ever come up?
  - a. (IF YES) What happened and what did you do about it?  
(IF NO) Would you have allowed this or do you think you would have done something about it?
  - b. Suppose you found that \_\_\_\_\_ had now begun to go around with girls, how would you feel about it?
  - c. How about petting, how do you feel about that?
  - d. How do you feel about young fellows who go all the way with girls?
  - e. Does \_\_\_\_\_ know how you feel?
  - f. How has he become aware of this?
  - g. Are there any things which \_\_\_\_\_ might do in this way that would make you particularly upset?
  - h. Do you think \_\_\_\_\_ is worried at all about matters that have to do with sex?
  
15. What is the best way, do you think, for a young fellow to learn about sex?
  - a. From whom do you think it is best for a boy to get information and advice about sex matters?
  - b. To what extent has \_\_\_\_\_ come of his own accord and asked you things?
  - c. What sort of information have you given?
  
16. Some (mothers, fathers) feel that boys of \_\_\_\_\_'s age should go places with their families; others think it is better that they should go off with their friends. How do you feel about this?
  - a. Have you expressed your feelings about his to \_\_\_\_\_? (What have you said?)

- b. What does \_\_\_\_\_ usually do?
  - c. What family activities such as visiting or week-end trips do you expect \_\_\_\_\_ to take part in?
  - d. Has \_\_\_\_\_ ever objected to taking part in these? What have you done about this?
  - e. How much time does \_\_\_\_\_ spend at home with the family?
  - f. How much have you encouraged him to do this?
  - g. (IF ENCOURAGEMENT) How have you gone about doing this?  
(IF NO ENCOURAGEMENT) Would you tell me a little more about how you feel about this?
17. Do you feel that you spend as much time with \_\_\_\_\_ as other (mothers, fathers) do with their sons, or more?
- a. When you and he are alone, what sort of things do you do?
  - b. Do you often take him shopping or to shows or to anything like that? (How often?)
  - c. When you do this, does your (husband, wife) usually accompany you, or do you and \_\_\_\_\_ go alone?
  - d. What kind of hobbies does \_\_\_\_\_ have-the sort of things that can keep him interested when he's at home?
  - e. Do you have much time to help him in these or show him how to do things? What are you able to do in this way?
  - f. How about when he was in grade school, what kind of things did you do with him and how much time did you spend with him then? Was it any different?
  - g. In general, do you like having \_\_\_\_\_ around you, or do you think it is better for him to go off with his friends?
  - h. How do you suppose \_\_\_\_\_ feels about doing things with you, or being out in your company?
  - i. Have there been any times when you've felt that he wanted to be too much in your company? How about when he was younger? What did you do about this?
18. When \_\_\_\_\_ is in difficulties, does he ever come to you to talk things over?
- a. What kind of things has he come to you about? What do you do, say?
  - b. Suppose he is worried about something, or has gotten into a scrape, does he come to you then? What do you do, say?
  - c. Are there any (other) ways in which he asks you to help him out?
  - d. How about asking you for help on his schoolwork? What do you say, do?
  - e. How much have you encouraged him to come to you for help in things like these? Have you ever discouraged him from coming because you felt he should stand on his own feet a little more?
19. When \_\_\_\_\_ has a decision to make, say about buying something or deciding what he should do for an evening, to what extent does he talk this over with you? What might he say in a case like this?
- a. What (other) sort of things might he seek your opinion on? Does he discuss his friends with you, for example? What do you say?
  - b. How much have you and he discussed his future? What have you said to him about this?
  - c. How much notice do you expect him to take of your suggestions or opinions? Do you ever tell him he should work things out for himself and not rely too much on his parents?

- d. When you offer \_\_\_\_\_ advice or make a suggestion to him, what does he do? Does he usually follow it right away? Do you feel that he does the very opposite of what you suggest just because you suggested it?
20. I'm wondering if you could tell me more about the relationship between you and \_\_\_\_\_. Do you show your affection toward each other quite a bit, or are you fairly reserved?
- Are there some things about \_\_\_\_\_ that you really enjoy and make you like doing things with him?
  - How well do you think you and \_\_\_\_\_ know and understand one another? Do you think you usually know how he feels, and does he seem to understand how you feel?
  - In what way do you get on each other's nerves?
21. Can you tell me something about the relationship between \_\_\_\_\_ and his (father, mother)? How much affection would you say they show towards each other?
- How well do you think \_\_\_\_\_ and his (father, mother) understand each other?
  - In what ways do they get on each other's nerves?
22. Would you tell me also about the relationship between you and your (husband, wife)? Do you express affection towards each other freely or are you somewhat reserved?
- Do you spend much time together? What sort of things do you do together?
  - Do you enjoy one another's company?
  - How well would you say you and your (husband, wife) get along together?
  - In what ways do you get on one another's nerves?
23. Some people think it is very important for a boy to be able to stand up for himself, others think boys are only too ready to do this. How do you feel about this? (If asked what we mean by "stand up for himself," say, "assert himself when he feels he is right.")
- Have you ever had to encourage \_\_\_\_\_ to stand up for himself? What precisely have you done to encourage him?
  - Have you ever encouraged \_\_\_\_\_ to use his fists to defend himself? What precisely have you done to encourage him?
  - Has he ever come to you and complained that another fellow was giving him a rough time?
  - (IF YES) What have you advised him to do about it?  
(IF NO) Suppose he did, what would you say to him?
  - If \_\_\_\_\_ got into a fight with one of the neighbor's boys, how would you handle it? How far would you let it go?
  - What would you do if you found \_\_\_\_\_ teasing another fellow or calling him bad names? How far would you let it go?

24. (IF NOT AN ONLY CHILD) How well would you say \_\_\_\_\_ gets along with his brother(s) and/or sister(s)?
- How do you handle things if they quarrel?
  - Suppose \_\_\_\_\_ strikes his brother or sister, what do you do?
  - How do you deal with it if \_\_\_\_\_ is unpleasant to them in other ways? What do you say to him?
  - How do their squabbles usually start?
  - Who do you think is usually to blame?
25. Has \_\_\_\_\_ ever complained that a teacher or another adult was being unfair to him?
- (IF YES) What did you do? Say?  
(IF NO) Suppose this happened, what would you do? Say?
  - Have you ever encouraged \_\_\_\_\_ to stand up for himself against an adult?
  - What would you do if you discovered \_\_\_\_\_ was giving a teacher a hard time? What would you say?
26. Some youngsters play hooky from school; what about \_\_\_\_\_?
- (IF YES) How did you find out about this? What did you say  
(IF NO) Suppose \_\_\_\_\_ wanted to stay home from school, what would you do? Say?
27. Most (mothers, fathers) want their sons to grow up into very manly persons. What do you expect of your boy in this way?
- Are there things you would expect of him that you might not expect of a daughter?
  - Do you think boys should have different responsibilities in the home from girls?
  - How have you gone about teaching \_\_\_\_\_ things that are expected of him as a boy?
28. We have been talking about how you handle \_\_\_\_\_ in many different situations. Now we'd like to know something about how you go about correcting \_\_\_\_\_ and getting him, in general, to behave the way you want him to. Do you have any system of rewarding him for good behavior?
- Do you ever reward him with money or special privileges?
  - How else might you reward him?
  - Do you always reward him when he does something good or only on certain occasions?
29. Some (mothers, fathers) praise their children quite a bit when they are good; others think that you ought to take good behavior for granted and that there is no point in praising a child for it. How do you feel about that?
- What if he jumps up to do something you've asked him to do, what do you say?
  - What if \_\_\_\_\_ does something very nice, like giving you or his (father, mother) a pleasant surprise, what do you do then?
30. In training \_\_\_\_\_ have you ever said, "Your father does it this way"? Under what circumstances might you say this?
- Whom else have you held up as an example - older brother or sister? Grandparents? Other relatives? Friends?

- b. Is there anyone you mention as an example of what not to do? For instance, "You're acting just like so and so-you wouldn't like to be like him, would you?"
  - c. Boys can pick up bad habits pretty quickly from people whom they are around a lot, Have you ever noticed \_\_\_\_\_ doing this?
  - d. What have you said to him about it?
31. Suppose \_\_\_\_\_ has been behaving very badly and giving you or his (father, mother) a hard time, what kind of things do you say to him? Can you give me some examples?
- a. Are there any other things you might say?
  - b. What do you find most effective in this situation?
32. What other ways have you used to discipline \_\_\_\_\_ since he has been in high school?
- a. How often have you found it necessary to slap him or give him a licking? Once a year? How about when he was younger?
  - b. What about depriving him of privileges? How often would you say you have done this? Once a month? What about stopping his allowance or not letting him do things he wants to?
  - c. What about making him look ridiculous in front of other people? In front of the rest of the family? Do you find it helps to be sarcastic?
  - d. How often do you have to scold him or grumble at him? Do you find you have to keep on nagging at him until he does things?
  - e. Do you sometimes ignore him or refuse to speak to him until he does as you want? Tell him you don't want any more to do with him until he changes? Tell him he doesn't behave like a son of yours? Try to make him feel ashamed of himself by pointing out that he is ungrateful or doesn't appreciate what you've done for him? (How often? Once a month, week, \_\_\_\_\_?)
  - f. Are there any other ways in which you've gone about disciplining \_\_\_\_\_?
  - g. Which of these things are you most likely to do? Which do you find most effective?
33. For what is \_\_\_\_\_ most frequently rebuked or punished? How do you handle this?
34. When you punish or tell him off, how does he react? Do you think he resents being punished?
- a. Does he get over it quickly?
  - b. Some (mohters, fathers), after having to punish a boy, think it best to try to smooth things over, while others think it better to do nothing about it and let the boy get over it on his own. What do you feel about this?
35. In general, how well-would you say-do you and your (husband, wife) agree about the best way to handle \_\_\_\_\_?
- a. Can you give me an idea about the kinds of things you and your (husband, wife) might not agree about entirely?
  - b. Do the children know that you and your (husband, wife) disagree? How do they know this?

36. When \_\_\_\_\_ has to be disciplined, who usually does it, you or your (husband, wife), assuming both of you are there?
- Do you (or does your husband, wife) punish him at all? On what occasions?
  - How strict is your (husband, wife) with \_\_\_\_\_?
  - Does (he, she) ever do anything in disciplining \_\_\_\_\_ that you'd rather (he, she) didn't do? Did (he, she) ever in the past?
37. We are wondering who makes the main decisions about the children? In some families it's the father, and in others the mother. How does this work out in your family?
- How much do you consult your (husband, wife)? OR How much does (he, she) consult you?
38. When there's a family decision to be made, like deciding where to go for an outing, or what sort of clothing or household item such as a radio or TV to buy, how is this usually reached?
- Suppose there's a disagreement in the family about a matter like this, how is it usually resolved?
39. Do you think \_\_\_\_\_ has been especially difficult or easy to bring up compared with other children?
- (IF NOT AN ONLY CHILD) How does he compare with his brother(s) and/or sister(s)?
  - What especially makes him that way?
40. Whom would you say \_\_\_\_\_ is most like, personality-wise?
- What makes you say that?
  - In what ways, if any, do you think he resembles you?
  - What about your (husband, wife)?
41. Now, just a few more general questions about \_\_\_\_\_. Do you think \_\_\_\_\_ has had a fair chance in life?
- Would you tell me why you think that?
  - What sorts of things have been hard on him?
42. If you had your time over and had to bring up \_\_\_\_\_ again, would you do things any differently from the way you have done them?
- What sort of things might you change?
  - Why do you feel this way?
  - Are there any ways in which you would especially like to see him change?
  - Would you wish your (husband, wife) to change in any way?
43. If your fondest dreams could come true, what things would you wish for \_\_\_\_\_ when he grows up?
- Does \_\_\_\_\_ know you feel this way?

## APPENDIX B

### ADOLESCENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Have you lived with your parents all your life?
  - a. (IF NO) How did that come about?
  - b. How long were you away from your home (mother, father)?
  - c. Have you been separated from either of your parents at any time? (For how long? How about during the war?)
2. What grade schools have you attended?
  - a. And what high schools?
3. How do you feel about your (high) school? How are things coming along there?
  - a. What kind of grades do you get?
  - b. Have you ever felt you'd like to move to another school?
  - c. How about the teachers you've had? How do you feel about them?
  - d. Do you think high school teachers are interested in helping you? (Why do you feel this way?)
  - e. Are there any teachers you especially dislike, and find it difficult to get along with? (What have you disliked about them?)
  - f. Have there been teachers you've really enjoyed working with? (What did you like about them?)
4. How often have you felt that a teacher has given you an unfair grade?
  - a. Are there any (other) ways you've felt teachers have treated you unfairly?
  - b. When this sort of thing happens, what do you do? Say?
  - c. Suppose a teacher punishes you unjustly, what do you do about it? (What do you say?)
  - d. What if he gives you too much homework? Tells you to do something you think is unreasonable? (Do you express your feelings about this to him? What do you say?)
5. If you dislike a teacher, do you ever try to get back at him? (What do you do? How often?)
  - a. When did you last get mad at a teacher? (What did you do?) When was the time before that? (What did you do then?)
  - b. Have you ever struck or thrown something at a teacher? (How often?)
  - c. Slammed doors or desks and things like that? (How often?)
  - d. Sworn at them? Answered them back?
  - e. How often would you say you got mad at a teacher?
  - f. What have you found the best way of dealing with a teacher you don't like?
  - g. Have you ever transferred out of a class because you didn't like a teacher? (Complained to the vice-principal or a counselor?)
  - h. When you've done something to annoy a teacher, how do you feel about it afterwards? (Do you just forget about it, or do you sometimes try to make up for it in some way?)



6. Do you sometimes do things openly in school for which you know you'll get told off or punished?
  - a. What sort of things? (How often?)
  - b. Have you ever been told off for clowning in class? (What sort of things have you done? How often?)
  - c. How about asking silly questions on purpose? Making funny remarks?
  - d. Are there any other things of this sort that you've done?
  
7. How do you feel about going to a teacher or counselor to talk over problems? (How often would you say you did this?)
  - a. What sort of things might you ask about? (What about asking them for help with schoolwork?)
  - b. Do you think in general teachers can be helpful to you in these ways? What about counselors? (Why do you say this?)
  - c. Does it ever make you feel uncomfortable if you have to get help from a teacher or counselor? (What makes you feel this way?)
  - d. If a teacher or counselor offers you advice, or makes a suggestion, do you generally follow it, or do you prefer to work things out for yourself?
  - e. Do you ever feel like doing something quite different from what a teacher suggests, just because he suggested it? (Why might you feel this way?)
  
8. How important would you say it was for a teacher to praise a fellow for doing something good?
  - a. Do you find it makes much difference to you if you get a teacher who says nothing when you've done your best?
  - b. Do you think a fellow should have any (other) kind of reward for good work or good behavior? (What would you suggest?)
  - c. How important do you think it is to get good grades in school?
  - d. How about getting "good" or something like that on an assignment?
  - e. How do you feel if you get poor grades? (What about getting "poor" on an assignment?)
  - f. What kind of a fellow do you think a teacher likes best? (How much do you try to be this way?)
  
9. Now, I'd like your opinion of the fellows you've met at high school. How, in general, do you feel about them? (Do you enjoy their company?)
  - a. What kind of things makes you like a fellow?
  - b. What kind of things makes you dislike a fellow? (How do you deal with this kind of guy?)
  - c. How do you deal with the kind of guy who lies pushing his weight around? What do you do if he starts on you? (Suppose he keeps on at you?)
  - d. What about the sort of fellow who blows his top at you or says things about you you don't like? (How do you deal with him?)

- e. When did you last hit a guy? (How did that come about?  
How often do you find you do this?)
  - f. How often have you gotten into a fight since you've been  
at high school? (How about grade school?)
  - g. How about blowing your top at a guy? When was the last time  
you did that? (How often does this happen?)
  - h. Do other fellows ever get mad at you because of things  
you've said to them? (Examples?) How often?
  - i. Do you ever feel like doing something mean to another fellow?  
(What sort of thing makes you feel this way?) What do you  
do when you feel this way? (How often does this happen?)
  - j. When you've got mad at a guy and hit him, how do you feel  
afterwards? (What if you've said something unpleasant to  
him?) What do you usually do in a case like this?
10. Suppose some fellow plays a real dirty trick on you. How do  
you go about getting even with him? (Can you give me some ex-  
amples? )
- a. What have you found the best way of dealing with a guy who  
gets you into trouble? (Suppose he did this on purpose?)
11. Suppose you were in trouble and needed help. How many friends  
your own age have you to whom you could go in a case like that?
- a. How do you feel about asking favours of friends, like lending  
you money or fixing you up with a date? (What if it were  
a favor you couldn't return?)
  - b. What other sort of things might you ask them to do for you?  
(how often?)
  - c. How frequently would you say you do favors for them? (What  
sort of things do you do?)
  - d. How often would you say you went to your friends for sugges-  
tions on how to do things?
  - e. How about getting them to help you with your schoolwork?  
(how often do you do this?)
  - f. Do you ever talk to them about what courses you should take?  
About what you should say to your teachers or parents?
  - g. When a friend suggests something to you, do you generally  
do what he suggests, or do you prefer to work things out for  
yourself? (How much notice do you take of what your friends  
say?)
  - h. Do you ever feel like doing the opposite of what a friend  
of yours suggests, just because he suggested it? (How often?)
  - i. Does it ever make you feel uncomfortable if you have to get  
help from another fellow or can't make up your mind for  
yourself? (What makes you feel this way?)
12. How do you prefer to spend your time, alone or in the company  
of friends?
- a. What sort of things do you prefer to be alone to do?
  - b. Does being alone ever make you feel restless or unhappy?  
What do you do in a case like this? (How often do you  
feel this way?)
  - c. When you are with a group of friends, what kind of things  
do you like to do?

- d. How do you come to decisions about how you will spend the time and so on?
  - e. How muhh do you express your opinions about what the group should do? (Do you sometimes argue the point or do you usually just go along with the others?)
  - f. Suppose you disagree with the decision, do you usually go along with them, or do you go off by yourself and do what you want to do?
13. Do you care very much what other guys think of you? (What about your really close friends?)
- a. How do you go about trying to get them to like you?
  - b. Among the fellows you go around with, what sorts of things make a guy respected and looked up to? (How much do you try to do these things?)
  - c. If your friends don't like some ways you act, do you try to change, or do you think that's your business and not theirs?
  - d. Do you ever find that you can't be quite honest to your friends about things you've done or how you feel, because they might dislike you if you were? (About what sort of things?)
14. Some fellows like very much to have friends with whom they can talk things over and whom they can trust in. Others think it best to rely on no one but themselves. How do you feel about this? (Are there any sorts of things you prefer to keep to yourself?)
- a. How much do you think you can trust other guys? (Confide in them?)
  - b. Do you enjoy having very close friendships with other fellows your own age, or do you feel it's better to avoid these?
15. Have there ever been times when you felt you weren't wanted by your friends? (What made you feel that way?)
- a. Have you ever been thrown out of a group because the other people didn't want you? (Tell me about that.)
16. Do you find you have difficulty in keeping friends?
- a. Why do you think this is?
  - b. Do you think on the whole that other huys like you?
  - c. What makes you say that?
17. We haven't said much about girls yet. How do you feel about them?
- a. What about dates? How often would you say you dated a girl?
  - b. How about petting? How far have you gone with this?
  - c. What do you think of a fellow who goes all the way with girls?
  - d. What about girls who go all the way? How do you feel about them?

- e. Have you ever gone all the way with a girl? When was the last time you did this? (How did it come about?) How often would you say you'd gone all the way?
  - f. Suppose a friend of yours got a girl you knew into trouble, what would you think of him?
  - g. Suppose you go farther than usual (all the way) with a girl, how do you feel about this? (How do you feel afterwards?)
  - h. Do you talk with your friends much about the sort of things you've been telling me?
  - i. What do you usually tell them about these matters? Do you ever tell them you've had more (or less) sex experience than you've really had?
18. How do you feel about playing with yourself?
- a. When did you first learn about this? (How did you find out?)
  - b. When did you last do this? (How often would you say you say you did this?)
  - c. Have you always done this alone, or have there sometimes been other fellows around?
  - d. Has any adult spoken to you about this sort of thing? (What did they say?) Do you think this has influenced the way you feel about it? (Does this sort of thing ever get you worried?)
  - e. Do you ever talk about this to your friends? (What do you tell them? The same sort of thing as you've told me or something different?)
19. Have you sometimes felt you'd like to have had more sex experience than you've had so far? (What sort of things make you say this?)
- a. Have you ever had the chance of going all the way with a girl and deliberately held yourself back from doing so? (How often?)
  - b. Have you ever felt like playing with yourself and deliberately held yourself back from doing this?
20. From whom have you got most of your information about sex?
- a. How much have you got from your parents? (What have they told you?) From books? Friends? Older boys?
21. Let's talk about something else now, Do you like to take part in sports like swimming, football, and boxing and so on? (Why do you feel this way?)
- a. How do you suppose you compare physically with other guys your age?
  - b. If you could change your appearance in any way, would you want to do so? (How?) Are there any other ways?
  - c. Have you ever felt embarrassed because you've had to strip in front of other people? (What made you feel that way?)
22. Have there ever been times when you've felt you've got to do something foolish just for the fun of it, for example, smashing a window, or starting a fight, or breaking up a party? (How often? How do you feel afterwards?)

23. Let's suppose your mother was living in one place and your father in another, which would you choose to live with? (Suppose all other things were equal.)
- What makes you prefer to live with your \_\_\_\_\_?
24. How often would you say you went to your father to talk things over? (How about getting him to help you with your school-work?)
- What (other) sort of things have you talked over with him? (How about if you are worried about something or have gotten into a scrape? Do you go to him then?)
  - How good do you think he is at helping you out?
  - When your father makes a suggestion, do you usually accept it, or do you prefer to work things out for yourself? (How much notice do you take of what he says?)
  - How about your mother? How often do you go to her to talk things over? (Schoolwork?)
  - What (other) sort of things have you talked over with her? (How about if you are worried over something or have got into a scrape?)
  - If your mother makes a suggestion, do you generally accept it, or do you prefer to work things out for yourself?
  - If your mother suggests you do something, do you ever feel like doing something quite different, just because she suggested it?
  - What about if your father suggests something?
  - How often do you feel this way with your father? (And with your mother?)
25. To what extent do you discuss your friends with your mother? Do you like to get her opinion of your friends?
- What about your father? Do you discuss them much with him?
  - Suppose your mother objected to your going around with someone? What would you do in this case?
  - How about if your father objected?
26. Some fellows go around with their parents quite a lot, for example, on trips or to movies. Others don't like this much. How do you feel about this?
- How about going places with your father? (Do you go places regularly with him or only on special occasions?)
  - What sort of things do you and he do together? (How often?) What about when you and he are both at home? Are there any things you do together then? (How often?)
  - How do you feel about going places with your mother? (How often do you go places with your mother?)
  - What sort of things do you do together? (How often?) What about when you and she are both at home? Are there things you do together then? (How often?)
  - With whom do you usually go for trips or vacations? (Have you ever been away on a trip or vacation without your parents?)
  - Do you ever deliberately avoid going out with your mother, or being seen in her company? (How often do you do this?)
  - What about your father? (How often?)

27. What sort of things does your mother like seeing you do, the sort of things that make her really pleased with you? (How much do you try to do these things?)
- a. Are there any things you do just in order to please your mother, things you know she'll really appreciate? (How about doing favors for her, or giving her a pleasant surprise?) How often do you do something of this sort?
  - b. What does she do in a case like this? (Say?)
  - c. When you do something that she asks right away, what does she usually do? (Say?) (What if you don't do it?)
  - d. On the whole, would you say your mother praised you readily when you do something good or tried to please her, or does she seem to take things like that for granted?
  - e. Does she have any (other) ways of showing that she's pleased with you, like giving you money or special privileges, when you do something that pleases her? (How often does she do things like this?)
  - f. What sorts of things does your father like seeing you do, the sorts of things that make him really pleased with you? (How much do you try to do these things?)
  - g. Are there any things you do just in order to please your father, things you know he'll really appreciate? (How often do you do something of this sort?)
  - h. What does he do in a case like this? (Say?)
  - i. When you do something that he asks right away, what does he usually do? (Say?)
  - j. Would you say your father praised you readily when you do something good or try to please him, or does he seem to take things like that for granted?
  - k. Does he have any (other) ways of showing you he's pleased, like giving you money or special privileges? (How often does he do things like that?)
28. How do you get your spending money? (Do you get a regular allowance from your parents?)
- a. Do you earn any money by part-time jobs? (How much of your spending money do you get this way?)
  - b. Suppose you run short of cash, what do you do? (Suppose you need some extra money urgently?)
  - c. How do you feel about going to your mother for extra money? (To your father?)
  - d. How much freedom do you get to spend your money as you like? (Are there (any) things your parents object to your spending it on?)
  - e. How much do you consult your mother about how you should spend your money? (Do you usually do what she suggests?)
  - f. How much do you consult your father about this? (Do you usually do what he suggests?)
29. What happens when you need some new clothes? How is this handled in your home?
- a. Who pays for them? (Who picks them out?) Are there any things your mother won't let you wear? (Your father?)
  - b. Does your mother ever criticize your taste in clothes? (What do you do in this case? Say?)
  - c. What if your father criticizes? (What do you do? Say?)
  - d. What happens if you disagree with your mother about what you should wear?
  - e. What if you and your father disagree?

30. What kind of jobs does your mother make you responsible for around the home? (Does she expect you to look after your own room? The garden? Clean the car?) What about your father?
- How long have you been expected to do these jobs?
  - How much does your mother keep after you to see that you do them? (What if you fail to carry them out?) And your father?
  - How do you feel about having to do them? (Do you ever try to get out of doing them? How?)
31. When you do something your parents don't like, or haven't done something you should have done, who usually handles this, your mother or your father?
- If you do something your father doesn't like, something he thinks wrong, what sort of things does he do? (What if you don't obey him?)
  - Has he ever slapped you or given you a licking? (How often? How about when you were younger?)
  - Taken something away from you or stopped you doing something you wanted to do?
  - Made you look silly in front of other people? (Called you a baby or stupid or dumb and things like that?) (Tried to make you feel ridiculous?)
  - Does he grumble at you very much? Keep on nagging you about things until you do as he wants? (About what things? How much?)
  - Has he sometimes ignored you or refused to speak to you until you did as he wanted? Told you you were ungrateful or that you didn't appreciate him enough or told you all he's done for you? Told you he didn't want to have any more to do with you until you changed?
  - When he's displeased with you which of these things is he most likely to do?
  - If you do something your mother doesn't like, what sort of things does she do?
  - Has she ever slapped you or given you a licking? (How often? How about when you were younger?)
  - Taken something away from you or stopped you doing something you wanted to do?
  - Made you look silly in front of other people? (Called you babyish or dumb or anything like that? (Tried to make you feel ridiculous?)
  - Does she grumble at you very much? Keep on nagging at you until you do as she wants? (About what things? How much?)
  - Has she sometimes ignored you or refused to speak to you until you did as she wanted? Told you you were ungrateful or didn't appreciate her enough or told you all she's done for you? Told you she didn't want to have any more to do with you until you changed?
  - When she's displeased with you, which of these things is she most likely to do?
  - How do you feel about the way your mother has dealt with you in regard to punishment? (Do you think she's been pretty reasonable, or do you think she's given you a rough time?)
  - And your father? How do you feel about him?

32. What sort of things does your mother forbid you to do around the house?
- a. Does she ever insist that you be quiet? Does she let you listen freely to the radio and TV?
  - b. Does she have any rules about when you should do your homework?
  - c. What about smoking or drinking? Using bad language?
  - d. What sort of things does your mother object to your doing when you are out with your friends or on your own? (Are there any things she prefers you not to do?)
  - e. How about staying out late at night? Staying overnight at the homes of your friends?
  - f. Does she expect you to check out or be in at a certain time? Stay away from certain places or certain people?
  - g. What sort of things does your father forbid you doing around the house?
  - h. How much does he insist on quiet? Limit your use of the radio or TV?
  - i. Does he have any rules about when you should do your homework?
  - j. How does he feel about smoking or drinking? Using bad language?
  - k. What sort of things does your father object to your doing when you are out with your friends or by yourself? (Are there things he prefers you not to do?)
  - l. How does he feel about your staying out late or remaining away from home for a night?
  - m. Does he expect you to check out or be in at a certain time? Stay away from certain places or people?
  - n. Do you ever feel like doing something your mother forbids just in order to assert yourself? (How often do you feel this way? How often do you actually do this sort of thing?)
  - o. What about your father? How often do you feel this way with him? (How often do you actually do this?)
  - p. How do you feel about your mother's attitude about the things you should do and the things you shouldn't do? (Do you think she's pretty reasonable or do you think she gives you less freedom than other fellows get?)
  - q. And what about your father's attitude?
33. How honest do you feel you can be to your mother about where you have been and what things you have done?
- a. How honest do you feel you can be to your father?
  - b. Does it ever seem especially important not to tell your mother where you have been and what sort of things you've been doing, even though you know she won't disapprove? (How often do you feel this way?)
  - c. Do you sometimes feel this way with your father? (How often?)
  - d. After you've done something that your mother disapproves of without her knowing about it, do you ever feel sorry and go and tell her afterwards?
  - e. What if you fail to do something you were supposed to do, how does this make you feel? What do you say? What do you do?
  - f. What if you do something you know your father disapproves of? (Do you ever feel sorry and go and tell him afterwards?)
  - g. What if you fail to do something you were supposed to do? What do you do? What do you say?



34. I guess everybody gets angry with their parents sometimes. What sort of things make you angry with your father, for example?
- What do you usually do when you get mad at him?
  - Have you ever struck your father? Thrown things around the house? Sworn at him? Shouted at him? Talked back? Stomped out of the house? Slammed doors and things like that?
  - What sort of things make you angry with your mother?
  - What do you usually do when you get angry with her?
  - What other sort of things have you done when you've been angry with her? (Repeat probes used for father.)
  - How often would you say you get angry at your mother?
  - After this happens, do you sometimes feel very sorry and try to make it up, or do you usually just let things go? (How do you do this?)
  - How often do you get angry with your father?
  - Do you sometimes feel very sorry after getting angry with him and try to make it up? (How?)
35. (IF NOT AN ONLY CHILD) How do you get along with your brothers and sisters?
- Do you think your mother treats you all alike?
  - And your father?
  - (IF NOT) How do you feel about this?
36. Are there times when you really enjoy your mother? Are there things you especially like about her and that make you happy in her company?
- How do you go about showing her you feel this way?
  - How much do you feel she understands you? Does her best to help you? How much does she enjoy having you around? How much interest do you think she takes in you?
  - Are there things you really enjoy about your father? Things that make you happy in his company?
  - How do you go about showing him how you feel?
  - How much do you feel he understands you and tries to help you? (Enjoys having you around? How much interest do you think he takes in you?)
  - In general would you say you and your mother got along well together? (What makes you say this?)
  - And how well would you say you and your father got along together?
37. Of all the people you know, whom do you most want to be like when you get older? (Why do you choose \_\_\_\_?)
- How about your father? In what ways would you like to be like him? (How much do you think you are like him already?)
  - And in what ways would you like to be like your mother? (How much do you think you are already like her?)
  - Whom do you think you are more like in your ways, your mother or your father?
38. Suppose you could change anything in your life, what would you first like to change? (Why do you put this first?)
- Are there any other things you'd very much like to change?
  - Are there any (other) things about yourself you'd very much like to change?

- c. Are there things about yourself you're proud of, and wouldn't want to change?
  - d. Are there things about yourself that make you feel angry or ashamed?
39. Most parents have some plans for their sons, about what they'd like them to do and be and so on. What, in this sort of way, have your parents expected of you? (How well do they expect you to do in schoolwork? In sports? In other school activities?)
- a. Do you feel, in general, that you've come up to their expectations?
  - b. Are there any ways in which you feel you've let them down? (How do you think this came about?)
  - c. What have you done about this? (Have you tried to make up for it in any way? Tried to be different?)
  - d. How do you feel about it now?
40. O, K, Just one more question. Suppose you had three choices you could make for yourself for the future. What are the three things you'd most like to happen?

## APPENDIX C

### RATING SCALES: PARENT INTERVIEWS

Scale 1. Level of school achievement desired of boy by parent. (Q. 1)

1. Unimportant.
2. Expects boy to get high school diploma.
3. Expects boy to go to college.
4. Expects boy to go to college with selective entry requirements, or expects boy to get job involving graduate work (include school teaching here).
5. Expects boy to go to college with selective entry requirements, and to get job involving graduate work (include school teaching here, if prestige school).

$$r = .97 (M); .89 (F)^a$$

Scale 2. Pressure parent has placed on boy for school achievement. (Q. 1)

1. Parent has not put any pressure on boy for school achievement and would not do so, regardless of whether or not boy's work is up to expectations.
2. Parent has not put pressure on boy because boy has been doing work up to expectations. Indication that pressure of some form would be applied if boy's work fell below expectations.
3. Mild pressure has been applied for boy to live up to expectations.
4. Moderate pressure has been applied fairly regularly for boy to live up to expectations.
5. Strong or constant pressure has been applied for boy to live up to expectations. Perhaps a demand for boy to do present work better than necessary for ultimate expectations.

$$r = .93 (M); .73 (F)$$

Scale 3. Restrictions imposed on boy outside home (Q. 4a, b, c, d, e, f)

Take into account rules about staying out at night, restrictions on choice of friends and activities insofar as these are carried on outside the home. Also take into account restrictions placed on way boy spends money (Q. 6f); what boy wears, if there are actual restrictions placed on this as opposed to criticisms or suggestions (Q. 6g)

1. No restrictions. Boy comes and goes as he likes, can stay out overnight; boy's friends and choice of activities are his own concern.
2. Few restrictions. Boy expected to let parents know if he is going to be unusually late, his approximate whereabouts, etc. Otherwise no restrictions imposed.
3. Moderate restrictions. Limits on boy's staying out late, although some variability. Expect to know where boy has been and with whom. May restrict some of his choice of friends and activities.
4. Strict. Boy expected to check out, be in at certain times, with very little latitude. Some limitation on boy's free choice of friends and activities.
5. Strict rules, rigidly enforced. Has to be in at a certain time, except on very rare occasions; has to let parents know what he is going to do or has done. Parents forbid a number of activities and pressure boy in matter of choice of friends, etc.

$$r = .87 (M); .66 (F)$$

a. Reliability of ratings for mother and father interviews, respectively. (Only for Bandura and Walters Study)

Scale 4. Restrictions placed on boy inside home. (Q. 4g, h, i, j.)

Take into account use of radio, TV; smoking or drinking in home; noise; bad language; enforcement of homework hours, etc.

1. No restrictions. Parent would interfere only if someone else was being upset by boy's behavior.
2. Few restrictions. Some minor limitations set on boy's behavior.
3. Moderate. Parent sets limits to boy's activities in all or most areas, but some latitude allowed.
4. Strict rules in some areas. Limitations set in all or most others but with some latitude allowed.
5. Strict rules, strictly enforced. Boy has to be quiet around house (must not disturb rest of family), restrictions on use of radio and TV, puritanical attitude about drinking, swearing, etc.

$r = .88$  (M);  $.77$  (F)

Scale 5. Parent's account of boy's resistance to restrictions. (Q. 5)

1. Accepts restrictions completely. No resistance in any area.
2. On infrequent occasions tries to circumvent restrictions. Generally acceptant.
3. Tries sometimes to circumvent restrictions.
4. Often circumvents restrictions. Ignores them completely on occasion.
5. Extremely resistant. Completely unwilling to accept restrictions. Goes ahead and does what he likes.

$r = .97$  (M);  $.89$  (F)

Scale 6. Agreement between parents on enforcement of rules. (Q. 5.)

1. Parent feels he (she) gets no support from other parent in enforcement of rules, or feels that the other is much too demanding of obedience.
2. In general, feels spouse not backing him (her) up, or is too demanding. Occasionally will get support or feel that he (she) is supported.
3. Both follow through equally well in enforcing rules, although may sometimes feel that spouse is not giving sufficient support or is going too far.
4. For the most part, enforce rules equally; on rare occasions feels that spouse is not giving sufficient support or is going too far.
5. Both enforce rules equally. Never feels that support is lacking or that spouse is going too far.

$r = .93$  (M);  $.78$  (F)

Scale 7. Extant to which boy earns own spending money. (Q. 6)

1. Boy earns all own spending money; for the most part pays for own clothes. Does not ask for money except in case of emergency.
2. Earns most of his spending money, but on occasion money is given or loaned by parent.
3. Regular allowance given by parents, sufficient for general expenditures. Boy earns money for extra expenditures, though additional money may be given on special occasions.
4. Regular allowance given boy. Supplemented whenever boy needs more for specific expenditures. Boy earns very little.
5. Boy gets as much money as he wants and when he wants it. Does not earn.

Scale 8. Pressures toward responsibility. (Q. 7)

1. Low demands, low pressure. Little or nothing expected of boy in the way of performing jobs.
2. Some demands, low pressure; or low demands, some pressure. No regular jobs, but encourages helping. One or two small jobs, not time-consuming.
3. Moderate demands, moderate pressure.
4. Moderate demands, high pressure; or high demands, moderate pressure.
5. High demands, high pressure. Many jobs, some time-consuming, expected to be performed.

$r = .84 (M); .81 (F)$

Scale 9. Agreement on giving boy responsibilities. (Q. 7)

1. Complete disagreement as to how much responsibility should be given boy.
2. Agree that boy should have some responsibilities, but no agreement on what these should be or how responsible he should be held for these things.
3. In general, agree that boy should be given responsibilities in certain areas, but some disagreement on these areas or on degree of responsibility expected.
4. Agree on what responsibilities are to be given boy, may not show complete agreement in degree of responsibility expected.
5. In complete agreement about giving boy responsibilities, what these should be, and about degree of responsibility expected of him.

$r = .90 (M); .82 (F)$

Scale 10. Boy's resistance to accepting responsibilities in home. (Q. 7)

1. No resistance whatsoever.
2. Boy tries to evade these on infrequent occasions, but in general accepts.
3. Tries to evade demands. On rare occasions refuses to comply.
4. Considerable resistance. Frequently evades responsibilities, sometimes refuses to accept them.
5. Extremely resistant. Evades responsibilities whenever possible. Unwilling to accept them.

$r = .94(M); .74(F)$

Scale 11. Demands for obedience. (Q. 8)

1. Does not expect obedience. May say he (she) thinks one should not expect it of a boy of his age, etc.
2. Expects some obedience, but will speak several times. Parent cannot expect boy to obey immediately. Tolerant of noncompliance.
3. Will under some circumstances tolerate delay, on others not. Depends on situation. Will overlook noncompliance on occasion.
4. Generally expects obedience, but will sometimes tolerate delay. Compliance enforced for the most part.
5. Expects instant obedience, and will not tolerate noncompliance under any circumstances.

$r = .90 (M); .77 (F)$

Scale 12. Parent's consistency of demands - Does parent ever drop subject, or does he (she) always carry through? (Q. 9)

1. Very often drops subject.
2. Sometimes follows through but more often drops it.
3. Sometimes drops subject but will follow through more often than not.
4. Usually carries through, occasionally drops subject.
5. Practically always carries through, makes strong effort.

$$r = .97 (M); .88 (F)$$

Scale 13. Permissiveness for aggression against parents. (Q. 10)  
Include sassing, deliberate disobedience, shouting, etc.

1. Not at all permissive. Always attempts to stop boy immediately. Never ignores it. Should not be permitted under any circumstances.
2. Generally nonpermissive. Discourages rather firmly, but would expect some aggression inevitably to occur and is not as intolerant as 1.
3. Moderately permissive. Sometimes overlooks, sometimes restrains, depending on circumstances.
4. Generally permissive. Would usually overlook this unless violent (e.g., direct verbal abuse, or displaced physical aggression likely to involve damage, or direct physical attack) or very persistent.
5. Very permissive. Would not restrain boy unless boy was likely to hurt parent.

$$r = .88 (M); .84 (F)$$

Scale 14. Punitiveness for aggression against parents. (Q. 10)

1. Has never punished and would not punish even though aggression may be shown.
2. Has not punished because incidents have not occurred. Indication parent would punish if aggression were shown.
3. Mild punishment for aggression. Primarily scoldings and reprimands.
4. Moderate punishment. Perhaps deprivation of privileges, threats of more severe punishment.
5. Severe punishment, may include physical punishment. Parent may become emotional.

$$r = .84 (M); .82 (F)$$

Scale 15. Parent's account of boy's physical aggression toward parent. (Q. 10)

1. No incidents reported.
2. One or two incidents of this kind.
3. A few incidents.
4. Occurs often (three or four times every year).
5. Occurs very often.

$$r = .91 (M); 1.00 (F)$$

Scale 16. Parent's account of boy's verbal aggression toward parent. (Q. 10)

1. No instance.
2. Some instances, mild.
3. Occasionally objects or argues with mother (father).
4. Frequently objects, protests, argues. May express anger.
5. Frequent strong verbal protests. Loses control.

$r = .95$  (M);  $.88$  (F)

Scale 17. Parent's report of indirect aggression toward parent. (Q. 10)

Take account of any show of anger or resentment which does not involve direct face-to-face, physical or verbal aggression, e.g., walking out of house, slamming doors, saying derogatory things to other parent, passive resistance.

1. No instances.
2. One or two instances.
3. Some instances, but no indication that technique is frequently used.
4. Several instances.
5. Several instances. Parent explicitly says that boy does this sort of thing often.

$r = .93$  (M);  $.84$  (F)

Scale 18. Amount of time father spent in care-taking during boy's childhood, as compared with mother. (Q. 11)

1. None at all.
2. Helped occasionally with feeding or changing diapers, nothing regular.
3. Helped considerably, but did not do as much as mother - perhaps some regular responsibilities such as feeding or bathing at certain times.
4. Shared equally with mother.
5. Did more than mother.

$r = .92$  (M);  $.83$  (F)

Scale 19. Amount of time mother spent in affectionate interaction (playing, taking out, etc.) with boy in infancy and early childhood. (Q. 12)

1. None.
2. A little, occasionally. Not much time for this.
3. Some time almost every day, although only brief periods. No time specifically set aside for this.
4. Considerable time every day, more on weekends. May or may not set specific time aside for this.
5. A great deal of time. Some time set aside for this every day. Good deal of time on weekends.

$r = .91$  (M);  $.87$  (F)

Scale 20. Amount of time father spent in affectionate interaction with boy in infancy and early childhood. (Q. 12)

1. None.
2. A little, occasionally. Not much time for this.
3. Some time almost every day, although only brief periods. No time specifically set aside for this.
4. Considerable time every day, more on weekends. May or may not set specific time aside for this.
5. A great deal of time. Some time set aside for this every day. Good deal of time weekends.

Scale 21. Parent's permissiveness for sex; early years. (Q. 13, 14)

1. Nonpermissive. Stepped in and stopped any activity at once. Considered wrong, harmful.
2. Mildly permissive. May consider sex behavior wrong or harmful, but tries not to make an issue of such incidents.
3. Moderate. Would let things go, up to a point. As long as it does not become a habit, occur often. May interfere occasionally.
4. Generally permissive, but would interfere in some circumstances.
5. Entirely permissive. Natural, just curiosity, would not attempt to stop.

$$r = .94 (M); .78 (F)$$

Scale 22. Permissiveness for masturbation: present attitude. (Q. 13b)

1. Completely nonpermissive. Parent would tolerate no masturbation. Wrong, harmful.
2. Mildly permissive. May consider masturbation wrong or harmful, but tries not to make an issue of such incidents.
3. Moderate. Thinks some masturbation inevitable, but would discourage it.
4. Tolerant of masturbation ("part of growing up"), but would perhaps talk to the boy about this.
5. Entirely permissive. Would not talk to boy about it except perhaps to see he knows dangers and has information.

$$r = .96 (M); .93 (F)$$

Scale 23. Permissiveness for heterosexual activity: present attitude. (Q. 14)

1. Completely nonpermissive. Parent would tolerate no sex behavior of any kind. Wrong, harmful.
2. Mildly permissive. May consider sex behavior wrong or harmful, but tries not to make an issue of it.
3. Moderate. Might allow some necking provided this doesn't go too far.
4. Tolerant attitude. Expects some petting, but would not condone premarital sex relations.
5. Entirely permissive. Expects boy to experiment with girls. No interference, except possibly to make sure that boy knows dangers and has information.

$$r = .95 (M); .84(F)$$

Scale 24. Punitiveness for sexual behavior. (Q. 13, 14)

1. No punishment, though incidents have occurred. May distract or reason, but would not scold or make an issue of it.
2. Mild. Some scolding, not intense; some expression of disapproval. More likely to distract, etc.
3. Moderate. Some scolding, warning about consequences, but not with great intensity. No show of emotion.
4. Scolding, threats, etc., applied constantly.
5. Severe punishment. Boy beaten, threatened with extreme consequences, strong expressions of rejection. Parent becomes emotional.

$$r = .94 (M); .83 (F)$$



Scale 25. Parent's sex anxiety. (Q. 13, 14, 15)

1. None evident. Matter-of fact. Willing to answer boy's questions freely, without evasion. May find incidents mildly amusing.
2. Some anxiety shown by setting limits on boy's behavior. or admission that some things would cause worry, but generally non-emotional in handling of incidents that have occurred. Willing to give information freely.
3. Moderate anxiety. Indications of discomfort about masturbation, sex play, either through handling of situations or expression of parent's feelings about these, but parent does not become emotional or unduly disturbed. Some evasion in matter of giving information.
4. Parent emotional in handling of situations, avoids giving information.
5. As for (4) with the addition of evidence of shock or disgust or difficulty in talking about subject in interview situation.

$r = .94 (M); .72 (F)$

Scale 26. Parent's estimate of boy's sex anxiety. (Q. 14)

1. Not at all worried.
2. A little. "I think he may be puzzled over some things."
3. Some worry. "About the same as any other boy."
4. Mother (father) feels boy is quite anxious.
5. Very worried. Mother (father) gives definite evidence to support her (his) view.

$r = .96 (M); .98 (F)$

Scale 27. Parent's account of amount of time boy spends in his (her) company. (Q. 16, 17)

This scale assumes both boy and parent go for trips and vacations. If neither do, take account only of part of scale referring to remainder of situations.

1. Never spends time with parent other than inevitable interaction at meal times, etc. If at home, boy in own room or elsewhere in house, or following own pursuits. Boy and parent never go for trips or vacations together.
2. On occasional evening in company of parent, interacting; go places together very rarely, only on occasional visits to family or to buy something for which parent is paying, etc. Trips together very rare.
3. Some evenings at home, in interaction. Go out together sometimes, sharing activities other than those listed under (2). Some trips, vacations together.
4. Spend a good deal of time together. Regular trips in addition to activities included under (3)
5. Most of leisure time spent in parent's company. Many evenings spent in interaction; visits, trips, vacations, etc. frequent or regular.

$r = .88 (M); .79 (F)$

Scale 28. Parent's permissiveness for boy's spending time in his (her) company. (Q. 16, 17)

1. Not at all permissive. Prefers him to go off by himself, not stay at home or be with parents.
2. Boy can please himself about this. No encouragement to spend time with parents.
3. Boy expected and encouraged to spend some time with parents, but also to go out or away with friends.
4. Boy expected and encouraged to spend time at home and with parent. Tries to make home attractive to him, etc. No active discouragement of going with friends.
5. Actively encourages boy to spend time with parent. May reward him for doing so. Discourages him from going on trips, etc., without parent.

$$r = .79(M); .73 (F)$$

Scale 29. Parent's punitiveness for boy's wanting to spend time in his (her) company. (Q. 16, 17)

1. None evident.
2. Once or twice has scolded or ridiculed boy for this.
3. Evidence for some punishment of this kind of behavior in earlier or recent years.
4. Clear evidence that parent scolds, ridicules or uses sarcasm (or has done so) on occasions, e.g., "Haven't you got any friends of your own?"
5. Parent punishes or has punished on many occasions in any of the above ways. May have used more forceful methods when younger.

$$r = .84 (M); .00 (F)^b$$

<sup>b</sup> Due to lack of variability of the ratings of one rater.

Scale 30. Boy's resistance to spending time with parents. (Q. 16, 18, 19)

If parent say boy seems uncomfortable, even though not openly resistant, rate up one point.

1. No resistance reported.
2. Some indication of resistance; may not be directly expressed.
3. Resists sometimes.
4. Often resists.
5. Avoids going out with parent whenever possible.

$$r = .85 (M); .87 (F)$$

Scale 31. Extent to which boy goes to parent for help, i.e., gets advice suggestions, reassurances. (Q. 18, 19; also note 23c, 25)

If contacts with parent are purely on matters not of personal significance to boy, rate down one point.

1. Never goes to parents.
2. Only on rare occasions.
3. Sometimes, not frequently.
4. Often.
5. Consults parent and seeks help or advice over wide range of topics. Goes to him (her) for help and reassurance when in difficulties.

Scale 32. Parent's encouragement for seeking help. (Q. 18, 19; also 6h, 23c, 25)

1. Not at all permissive. Actively discourages boy from coming for help or advice of any kind, Boy should learn to stand on own feet, must solve own problems.
2. Slightly permissive. Will be supportive or directive only in emergencies. Boy generally should stand on own feet, make own decisions.
3. Parent expects boy to work out most things for himself. Little encouragement to come for help, although may be supportive or directive when boy does come for help.
4. Generally permissive. On rare occasions encourages boy to work out things for himself. Usually encourages coming to parent.
5. Entirely permissive. Always encourages boy to come for help and advice. Always supportive or directive.

$r = .70$  (M);  $.80$  (F)

Scale 33. Parent's punitiveness for seeking help. (Q. 18, 19, 6h 23c, 25)

1. Not at all punitive. Parent never impatient, never scolds, ridicules, or uses sarcasm. (Encouragement of boy to be self-reliant is not punitive if done in positive manner.)
2. Some evidence of mild scolding, ridicule, or similar type of reaction on rare occasions.
3. Parents sometimes respond positively, sometimes scold, etc.
4. Evidence of frequent punitive responses.
5. Parent frequently punitive; on occasions scolds severely, is very disparaging or sarcastic.

$r = .83$  (M);  $1.00$  (F)

Scale 34. Boy's resistance to accepting suggestions from parent, (Q. 18, 19)

If resistance is rational rather than emotional, i.e., boy evaluates advice before acting on it, rate down one point.

1. No resistance.
2. Very little resistance.
3. Some resistance. Sometimes resists and rejects parent's suggestions; usually follows them.
4. Considerable resistance. Often resists parent's suggestions, on occasions does the opposite of what is suggested.
5. Very resistant. Takes little notice of what parent says and definitely prefers to go own way. Will do opposite of what parent suggests quite often.

$r = .90$  (M);  $.74$  (F)

Scale 35. Warmth of mother toward boy. (Q. M20, F21, Modify rating in light of answers to previous and later questions.)

This scale is concerned with the extent to which the mother demonstrates her affection for her son. Take note particularly of the extent to which she shows pleasure in the boy's accomplishments to the boy, shows sympathy and understanding, is supporting and comforting, takes pleasure in his company, and lets him see that this is the case.

1. Very little warmth; mother matter-of-fact, not demonstrative. Gets little pleasure or enjoyment from interaction with boy.
2. Some evidence of warmth. Not as matter-of-fact as (1), but in general is undemonstrative and enjoys interaction only under limited circumstances.
3. Moderate degree of warmth. Enjoys boy's company for the most part, but is not very demonstrative.
4. Very warm, loving. Shows similar characteristics to mother rated (5), but is more restrained in expression of her feelings.
5. Extremely warm, loving. Shows pleasure in boy's accomplishments, sympathetic when boy in difficulties. Enjoys interacting with him. Spontaneously and frequently shows affection for him.

Note: In order to be considered demonstrative a parent need not indulge in overt displays of affection which would be obvious to onlookers. It is sufficient that her response be recognizable by the boy himself.

$$r = .92 (M); .72 (F)$$

Scale 36. Warmth of father toward boy. (Q. M21; F20, Modify rating in light of answers to previous questions.)  
(Same as for Scale 75)

$$r = .93 (M); .85 (F)$$

Scale 37. Warmth toward spouse. (Q. 22. Modify rating in light of rest of interview.)

1. Very little warmth, matter-of-fact. Gets little pleasure or enjoyment from company of spouse.
2. Some evidence of warmth, seldom demonstrative. Enjoys company of spouse on limited occasions only.
3. Moderate degree of warmth. Enjoys company of spouse, although some reservations. Sometimes demonstrative, sometimes not, or only mildly demonstrative.
4. Warm and loving; although not completely free in expressing feelings. Shows pleasure in accomplishments of spouse, enjoys his (her) company.
5. Very warm, loving. Enjoys time they can spend together. Feels they communicate their feelings freely, understand each other.

$$r = .90 (M); .80 (F)$$

Scale 38. Parental encouragement of aggression. (Q. 23, 24, 35)

This scale measures the extent to which the parent directly or indirectly encourages or condones combatant, defiant behavior in relation to peers or authority figures.

1. Parent never encourages or condones aggression.
2. Very little evidence of encouragement and condoning.
3. Moderate encouragement and condoning under some circumstances.
4. Considerable encouragement and condoning but with some reservations.
5. Strongly encourages and condones aggression under almost all circumstances.

$$r = .90 (M); .94 (F)$$

Scale 39. Permissiveness for aggression toward peers. (Q. 23)

1. Not at all permissive. Parent always discourages boy from fighting, provoking others into arguments, etc. Would restrain him whenever possible.
2. Generally nonpermissive. Would definitely discourage him from all but the mildest forms of aggression.
3. Will not generally interfere, unless someone is getting hurt or very upset; would restrain or discourage him if this is likely to occur.
4. Would interfere only in an emergency, e.g., if neighbors complained or serious consequences are likely to result.
5. Entirely permissive. Would never interfere or discourage boy. Thinks fighting natural for boys this age.

$r = .89$  (M);  $.89$  (F)

Scale 40. Punitiveness for aggression toward peers. (Q. 23)

1. Has never punished and would not punish even though aggression may be shown.
2. Has not punished because incidents have not occurred. Indication parent would punish if aggression were shown.
3. Mild punishment for aggression. Primarily scoldings and reprimands.
4. Moderate punishment. Perhaps deprivations of privileges, threats of more severe punishment.
5. Severe punishment, may include physical punishment. Parent may become emotional.

$r = .88$  (M);  $.74$  (F)

Scale 41. Permissiveness for aggression toward siblings. (Q.24)

1. Not at all permissive. Parent always discourages boy from fighting with siblings, provoking arguments, etc. Steps in right away.
2. Usually interferes. May ignore mild disputes, etc.
3. Interferes if someone is getting hurt or very upset.
4. Would restrain only in an emergency, i.e., if serious consequences are likely to result.
5. Never interferes. Fighting natural. Lets them fight it out among themselves.

$r = .92$  (M);  $.64$  (F)

Scale 42. Punitiveness for aggression toward siblings. (Q. 24)

1. Has never punished and would not punish even though aggression may be shown.
2. Has not punished because incidents have not occurred. Indication parent would punish if aggression were shown.
3. Mild punishment for aggression. Primarily scoldings and reprimands.
4. Moderate punishment. Perhaps deprivation of privileges, threats of more severe punishment.
5. Severe punishment, may include physical punishment. Parent may become emotional.

$r = .93$  (M);  $.78$  (F)

Scale 43. Permissiveness for aggression toward adults other than parents. (Q. 25, 26)

1. Not at all permissive. Boy should respect elders, will not listen to boy's complaints about them. Tolerates no defiance of authority.
2. Generally nonpermissive. Would definitely discourage him from any direct aggression, but will let boy have say and allow possibility that he may be in the right.
3. Somewhat permissive. Would not interfere, unless boy was clearly being disruptive, insolent, flagrantly defiant. Would not let things go too far.
4. Would interfere only as last resort. Only if boy was persistent or causing serious trouble.
5. Would never interfere. Not my business.

$r = .86$  (M);  $.73$  (F)

Scale 44. Punitiveness for aggression toward adults other than parents. (Q. 25, 26)

1. Has never punished and would not punish even though aggression may be shown.
2. Has not punished because incidents have not occurred. Indication parent would punish if aggression were shown.
3. Mild punishment for aggression. Primarily scoldings and reprimands.
4. Moderate punishment. Perhaps deprivation of privileges, threats of more severe punishment.
5. Severe punishment, may include physical punishment. Parent may become emotional

$r = .94$  (M);  $.86$  (F)

Scale 45. Demands for masculinity. (Q. 27)

1. Parent puts little value on specifically masculine activities, stresses characteristics esteemed equally in both sexes. Believes there should be little difference in household responsibilities for boys and girls.
2. In general, as for (1), except that parent spontaneously mentions some specifically masculine characteristics, or thinks there should be some differentiation in responsibilities. No specific training.
3. Parent interested in boy being masculine, but doesn't train in wide range of areas. Emphasizes characteristics esteemed in both sexes as well as purely masculine roles. Some differentiation in respect to household responsibilities.
4. Considerable demands for masculine characteristics, some specific training. Definite differentiation in respect to responsibilities, and also in some other kinds of activities.
5. Parent stresses and trains for wide differentiation in wide range of areas. Dress, activities, manners, etc., must all be appropriate to child's sex. References throughout interview to what is manly, boyish.

$r = .93$  (M);  $.84$  (F)

Scale 46. Use of rewards. (Q. 28)

1. None.
2. Rare, only for something exceptional.
3. Occasional rewards.
4. Frequent rewards.
5. Frequent and generous rewards. Regular for some kinds of behavior.

$r = .92$  (M);  $.85$  (F)

Scale 47. Use of praise. (Q. 29)

1. Practically never praises; just takes good behavior for granted.
2. Praises now and again; seldom.
3. Sometimes praises; sometimes not.
4. Usually praises, shows appreciation, admires.
5. Praises regularly, very appreciative, admiring.

$r = .93$  (M);  $.78$  (F)

Scale 48. Use of positive models. (Q. 30)

1. No use. May say these are undesirable. No reference to modeling in interview.
2. Does this rarely.
3. Some use, but does not do this often.
4. Uses fairly frequently.
5. Frequent use. Examples given which suggest emphasis on this technique.

$r = .97$  (M);  $.93$  (F)

Scale 49. Use of negative models. (Q. 30)

1. Tries to avoid this. Believes undesirable. No suggestions of use in interview.
2. Does not use, but no statement that this is specifically avoided or felt to be undesirable.
3. Uses on rare occasions.
4. Some use, not regular.
5. Uses fairly often, or regularly in some contexts.

$r = .95$  (M);  $.85$  (F)

Scale 50. Use of physical punishment. (Q. 32)

Take account of whole period, including earlier years. If physical punishment is still administered, rate up one point.

1. Never uses. Has never used in past.
2. Occasional cuffing in past. Nothing more.
3. Real spanking at infrequent intervals. Occasional cuffs or slaps.
4. History of frequent cuffing. Occasional real spanking.
5. History of frequent and severe physical punishment.

$r = .88$  (M);  $.84$  (F)

Scale 51. Use of deprivation. (Q. 32)

1. Never used.
2. Used rarely, only to control deviations connected with use of privileges.
3. Used sometimes but with moderation. Small privileges taken away, but not for long periods of time.
4. In general as for (3), but technique is used more frequently or applied in more severe manner.
5. Frequently controls defiant behavior by depriving boy of highly valued privileges for long periods of time.

$r = .81$  (M);  $.85$  (F)

Scale 52. Use of ridicule. (Q. 32)

1. Never uses.
2. Slight use. One or two instances given, not intense.
3. Moderate use. Several incidents reported; no indication that there is special emphasis or frequent use.
4. Much use. Several incidents reported, and evidence that the technique is emphasized, considered effective, or used quite frequently.
5. As for (4), but parent extremely derogatory.

$r = .89$  (M);  $.83$  (F)

Scale 53. Use of scolding, nagging, lecturing. (Q. 32)

1. Minimum use.
2. Some scolding, nagging, about one or two things.
3. Nags in limited areas, but in these areas is fairly persistent.
4. Nags about a number of things, but not as extensively as (5).
5. Constantly scolding and nagging about many things. "Have to be after him all the time."

$r = .91$  (M);  $.76$  (F)

Scale 54. Withdrawal of love. (Q. 32)

1. Never refuses to speak to boy, ignore him, or any other technique of this kind. No instances in interview.
2. Used rarely, or one or two instances of this kind of technique in interview.
3. Some use of the techniques, or several instances in interview.
4. Uses techniques fairly often. Include here, if parent says he makes some use, only if other examples occur in interview.
5. Frequent use of techniques. Include here some use of techniques, if these are said to be especially effective or several examples of use of these occur elsewhere in interview.

$r = .90$  (M);  $.93$  (F)

Scale 55. Use of reasoning as technique of discipline. (Q. 31, 32, 33)

This includes explaining why boy should not do things, listening to his arguments, and trying to give an answer on the merits of the case, describing consequences of action, etc.

1. Never uses reasoning, explicit evidence that it is not used. "It's no good to reason with him"



2. Minimal use. On rare occasions tries to explain to boy why he should do certain things or not do them.
3. While reasoning is not the regular pattern, parent will often listen to boy's reasons and explain.
4. Much use of reasoning. Used frequently, but not to the exclusion of other methods.
5. High, regular use. Parent always tries to reason before using any other technique of coercion or restraint.

$$r = .85 (M); .69 (F)$$

Scale 56. Parent's account of boy's attitude to discipline. (Q. 34)

1. Acceptant. Does not complain.
2. Generally noncomplaining. Doesn't seem to resent it very much.
3. Boy resentful at times.
4. Generally resentful.
5. Very resentful. Doesn't get over it easily.

$$r = .91 (M); .83 (F)$$

Scale 57. Agreement between parents on questions of discipline. (Q. 35)

Rate down one point if boy is aware of disagreement.

1. No agreement as to when and how boy should be punished.
2. Some disagreement as to techniques used, occasions when boy should be punished, and to severity of punishment boy deserves; or considerable disagreement in one or two of these areas. (If considerable in all three, rate down one.)
3. For the most part in agreement on techniques, but in specific instances feels that spouse is too lenient or severe; or punishes or omits punishment inappropriately.
4. Agree on techniques and ways of handling boy in matters of discipline. Feels that spouse may occasionally have been too strict or lenient, but not consistently so.
5. Complete agreement.

$$r = .94 (M); .89 (F)$$

Scale 58. Family authority, policy setting. (Q. 37)

This scale refers to the making and enforcing of specific decisions with regard to the children.

1. One parent sets over-all policy. Other leaves all this to spouse.
2. For the most part, one parent sets policy, but other parent occasionally has some say.
3. One parent sets policy for most part, but seeks agreement from other and takes note of views.
4. In general, both parents set policy jointly, but one parent has more influence in setting policies than other.
5. Both parents set policies jointly. Have equal say in matter, work things out together.

$$r = .95 (M); .85 (F)$$

Scale 59. Acceptance-rejection of boy. (Q. 39, 40, 42c, whole interview)

1. Complete rejection, expressed through excessive criticism of son's behavior and characteristics, even if these are widespread among adolescents; use of unfavorable comparisons; feeling of not wanting son, that he interferes with activities or with relationship to spouse, etc.
2. Strong rejection; in general shows similar attitude to parent rated (1), but modifies statements by mention of positive characteristics, etc.
3. Some rejection: parent ambivalent, e.g., may recognize positive characteristics in son while criticizing him in some respects.
4. Slight rejection: in general show attitude similar to parent rated (5), but with some minor reservations.
5. No rejection; complete acceptance of boy for what he is; respects child as an individual. May be aware of boy's limitations, but is prepared to accept these.

$r = .90$  (M);  $.80$  (F)

Scale 60. Hostility to boy.

Measure by ratio of favorable to unfavorable comments.  
(Entire interview)

1. Uniformly favorable.
2. Generally favorable with a few reservations.
3. Equal number of favorable and unfavorable comments.
4. Generally unfavorable comments but some favorable ones or some comments implying some degree of regard.
5. Uniformly unfavorable comments.

$r = .91$  (M);  $.77$  (F)

Scale 61. Hostility to spouse. (Entire interview) (Same as for Scale 60)

$r = .93$  (M);  $.77$  (F)

## APPENDIX D

### RATING SCALES: ADOLESCENT INTERVIEWS

Scale 1. Boy's report of direct verbal aggression against teacher.  
(Q. 4, 5)

This scale measures the extent to which boy expresses aggression directly to teacher by verbal means, e.g., swearing, arguing back, refusing directly to obey orders, protesting against treatment, etc.

1. No instances.
2. Some instances; infrequent, mild.
3. Occasionally objects or argues with teacher.
4. Frequently objects, protests, argues. May express anger.
5. Frequent strong verbal protests. Loses control.

$$r = .90^a$$

<sup>a</sup>Reliability of ratings.

Scale 2. Boy's report of direct physical aggression toward teacher.  
(Q. 4, 5)

Include only instances of boy's striking teacher, or throwing things at him, or other similar forms of physical attack.

1. No instances.
2. One or two incidents of this kind.
3. A few incidents.
4. Occurs often; three or four times every year.
5. Occurs very often.

$$r = .91$$

Scale 3. Boy's report of indirect or semidirect aggressive responses against teacher. (Q. 4, 5)

Include instances of defamation, complaining to principal or counselor, inciting of others without directly participating himself, deliberate avoidance responses, etc. Displaced aggression, e.g., slamming doors, may be considered semidirect.

1. No instances in interview.
2. One or two instances.
3. Some instances, but no indication that this is a frequently used technique.
4. Several instances in interview.
5. Several instances. Boy explicitly says he does this sort of thing frequently.

$$r = .72$$

Scale 4. Directness-indirectness of aggressive responses to teachers.  
(Q. 4, 5)

Ignore absolute frequency of responses.

1. Boy expresses aggression only in a very indirect manner, e.g., by deliberately avoiding contact with teacher, by saying things about teacher (to others).

2. Boy usually expresses aggression indirectly, but sometimes aggression is semidirect, e.g., not carrying out orders properly or otherwise passively resisting.
3. Boy sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, expresses aggression; or typically expresses aggression in a semidirect way.
4. Boy sometimes expresses aggression openly, freely, and immediately.
5. Boy typically expresses aggression openly, freely, and immediately. (Expressions need not be explosive or violent.)

$$r = .78$$

Scale 5. Indications of guilt feelings concerning aggression against teacher. (Q. 4, 5)

1. No indications.
2. Some indications, e.g., boy says he feels he acted childishly, but does not attempt to make up for this. Not defensive when reporting aggression.
3. Some indication of discomfort about aggression, defensiveness, or attempts to make up to teacher. (Rate 2 if a single indication only occurs, 4 if all three indications occur to some degree.)
4. See 3. Rate 4 also if boy indicates guilt strongly through one or other of above cues.
5. Clear indications of guilt. Boy feels uncomfortable, tries to make up to teacher. Is defensive; rationalizes when reporting aggression.

$$r = .82$$

Scale 6. Negative attention-getting behavior. (Q. 6)

1. Boy denies any behavior of this kind.
2. Boy admits to a few rare instances of this kind of behavior.
3. Some behavior of this kind admitted "now and again," but not a wide range of incidents of this kind.
4. Admits to three or four sorts of disruptive behavior "sometimes" or to fewer kinds fairly often.
5. Admits to several kinds of disruptive, attention-getting behavior, and says these occur frequently.

$$r = .91$$

Scale 7. Extent to which boy seeks advice, help from teachers. (Q.7)

1. Never seeks advice, help.
2. Seeks advice, help rarely-only when in difficulties concerning schoolwork.
3. Sometimes goes to teacher for advice on schoolwork. One or two other things mentioned.
4. Seeks help, advice over wide range of problems, often for schoolwork, but not infrequently for other things.
5. Seeks help, advice over wide range of problems frequently, in all areas.

$$r = .77$$

Scale 8. Resistance to seeking, accepting help or advice from teacher.  
(Q. 7)

1. No sign of resistance, though boy may evaluate advice before accepting it.
2. Slight indication of resistance. Boy definitely prefers to work out some things for himself. May show some discomfort about having to ask for help.
3. Moderate resistance; some discomfort. On rare occasions feels like doing opposite of what teacher suggests.
4. Considerable resistance. Definitely feels uncomfortable about seeking help. Sometimes feels like doing opposite of what teacher suggests.
5. Resists strongly. Does not like asking for help; strongly resists suggestions from teachers; sometimes does opposite.

$$r = .84$$

Scale 9. Extent to which boy looks for praise, recognition from teacher. (Q. 8)

1. Praise, rewards unimportant. Grades do not matter. No indication of effort to please teacher.
2. Not very important; may heap sometimes. Grades only important to get into college, etc. No special attempt to please teacher.
3. Praise, good grades, etc., helpful. No emphasis. No other tokens of recognition suggested. No special attempts to please teacher.
4. Some emphasis; suggests one or more types of reward involving recognition or explicitly says he tries to please teacher.
5. Considerable emphasis; praise, rewards definitely important. Makes effort to please teacher.

$$r = .76$$

Scale 10. Boy's attitude toward teacher. (Q. 1 through 6)

1. Boy uniformly favourable to, and accepting of, teachers. No nonconstructive criticism.
2. Boy expresses mainly favorable attitudes, but makes some unfavorable remarks about teachers in general or about particular groups of teachers.
3. Approximately equal number of favorable and unfavorable statements; thinks some teachers good, some teachers bad. May avoid statements about teachers in general and stress individual differences.
4. Expresses mainly unfavorable remarks, but allows that some teachers may be enjoyable or interested in helping. "Good" teachers the exception.
5. Extremely unfavorable opinions expressed. Has never liked working with any teacher; teachers not interested in helping, etc.

$$r = .81$$

Scale 11. Boy's report of physical aggression against peers (fist-fights, hitting, pushing, etc.). (Q. 9, 10)

Take account of Q. 11 through 16, also.

1. No instances of physical aggression reported.
2. Has been in one or two fights during high school years and reports no other instances of physical aggression, or has been in no fights and reports one or two other instances of physical aggression.
3. Has been in one or two fights in high school and reports one or two other instances of physical aggression, or reports several instances of physical aggression other than fighting.
4. Several instances of physical aggression reported, including fighting. Not as favored a response as in (5).
5. Reports several instances of fighting and other kinds of physically aggressive behavior. Explicitly says he initiates attacks on other boys, or would respond with physical attack when his opponent is only verbally aggressive. "Best way of dealing with people," etc.

$r = .90$

Scale 12. Boy's report of verbal aggression toward peers (calling names, blowing his top, teasing, etc.). (Q. 9, 10)

Take account of Q. 11 through 16, also.

1. No instances of verbal aggression reported.
2. One or two instances, but these mild in nature. In general avoids this.
3. Admits to verbal aggression when angry.
4. Several indications of verbal aggression given. Admits to provoking others on occasions, or retorts strongly when angered.
5. Several indications of verbal aggression. Boy on occasion provokes others.

$r = .79$

Scale 13. Boy's report of indirect aggression toward peers. Include instances of aggression, verbal or other, which are not directly expressed, e.g., defamation, withholding favors, inciting others to aggression against a third person.

Take account of avoidance. (Q. 9, 10)

1. No instances. All reported aggression is direct.
2. One or two instances given.
3. Some instances, but no indication that this is a frequently used technique.
4. Several instances in interview. Some emphasis.
5. Several instances. Boy explicitly says he uses such methods frequently.

$r = .79$

Scale 14. Directness-indirectness of aggressive responses to peers. (Q. 9, 10)

Ignore total amount of aggression; consider only relative amount.

1. Boy expresses aggression only in very indirect ways, e.g., refuses to have anything to do with persons he dislikes, ignores them, etc.
2. Boy usually very indirect in expression of aggression, but sometimes is more direct, e.g., snubs, withholds favors, etc.
3. Boy sometimes indirect, sometimes direct, in expressing aggression.
4. Usually expresses aggression directly, but indicates that more indirect methods are sometimes preferred or that response is delayed.
5. Boy typically expresses aggression openly, freely, and immediately. (Expression need not be violent nor explosive.)

$r = .84$

Scale 15. Guilt feelings concerning aggression against peers. (Q. 9)

1. No indication of guilt feelings.
2. Some indication, minor in character, e.g., boy says he feels he acted childishly or stupidly. (See also 3.)
3. Some indication of discomfort about aggression; defensiveness or attempts to atone for aggressive behavior. (Rate 2 if single indication only occurs, 4 if all three indication occur)
4. (See 3) Rate 4 also if boy indicates guilt strongly through one or other of above cues.
5. Clear indications of guilt. Boy feels uncomfortable, tries to atone, is defensive when reporting aggression, rationalizes.

$r = .64$

Scale 16. Extent to which boy seeks help from peers. (Q. 11)

1. Never seeks advice, help, or asks favors from friends.
2. Seeks advice, help, very little. Few requests for favors.
3. Asks friends for conventional types of favors and advice, e.g., fixing dates; rides, if he has no car; on what courses are like, etc.
4. Readily goes to friends for help, advice. O.K. to accept favors if they can be returned one way or another.
5. Seeks help, advice, over a wide range of problems. Often seeks favors of friends, even if not returnable.

$r = .96$

Scale 17. Resistance to seeking, accepting help or advice from friends. (Q. 11)

1. No signs of resistance, though boy may evaluate advice before accepting it.
2. Slight indication of resistance. Boy definitely prefers to work out some things on his own. May show some discomfort about having to ask for help.
3. Moderate resistance. Some discomfort. On rare occasions feels like doing opposite of what friends suggest.
4. Considerable resistance. Definitely feels uncomfortable about seeking help. Sometimes feels like doing opposite of what friends suggest.
5. Resists strongly. Does not like asking for help, strongly resists suggestions from friends, sometimes does opposite.

$r = .88$

Scale 18. Importance of group activity to boy. (Q. 12)

1. Very independent in choice of activities. Prefers doing things alone.
2. Has number of activities he likes doing on own, but also enjoys group activities.
3. Likes to do some things on his own, but prefers being with friends.
4. Decided preference for being with friends; does little on own.
5. Finds being alone a strain. Prefers being with people. Gives way to them in order to have their company.

$r = .83$

Scale 19. Extent to which boy seeks approval, recognition of peers. (Q. 13, 17j, 18d)

1. Boy does not worry what others think of him; does not try to conform to group standards.
2. Some indications of approval-seeking, but little general conformity to group standards.
3. Boy wants to be liked, makes some attempts to conform.
4. Boy generally conforms, seeks approval, but with some reservations.
5. Boy tries to win approval and recognition through conformity. Will distort to win or keep esteem of group.

$r = .81$

Scale 20. Resistance to confiding, trusting in peers. (Q. 14)

1. Likes to have friends' counsel. Thinks this is important, helpful. Thinks they can be trusted.
2. Similar to (1), but with some reservations, e.g., on occasions better to keep things to yourself. Most fellows trustworthy, not all.
3. Thinks there are some things that can be talked over with friends, others he would keep to himself. Wouldn't trust friends completely.
4. In general would not confide much in others. May be all right to talk over some things, not too much. Cautious about friendships.
5. Best to rely on yourself; not trust in, or get too close to, people.

$r = .82$

Scale 21. Boy's feelings of rejection by peers. (Q. 15, 16, but take into account responses to earlier questions.)

1. None expressed. All indications that boy feels he gets along well with other people and that they like him.
2. Slight feelings. Some doubts apparent, but boy feels he gets along well on the whole and is liked.
3. Moderate feelings. Has felt at times he hasn't been wanted or liked, but this is not his usual feeling.
4. Strong feelings. Has definitely felt not wanted on occasions and has doubted whether other people like him.
5. Extreme feelings. Boy generally feels unwanted.

$r = .85$



Scale 22. Boy's hostility to peers. (Q. 9 through 16)

1. Boy generally favorable to, and accepting of, peers. No unfavorable remarks.
2. Boy expresses mainly favorable attitudes, but makes some unfavorable remarks about individuals or certain groups.
3. Approximately equal number of favorable and unfavorable statements. May avoid statements about peers in general, and stress differences between individuals or groups.
4. Expresses mainly unfavorable remarks; positive attitudes also expressed toward some individuals or groups.
5. Extremely unfavorable opinions expressed. Practically no positive attitudes.

$r = .79$

Scale 23. Boy's warmth toward peers. (Q. 9 through 16)

Take into account spontaneous expressions of liking, enjoyment, sympathy, as well as answers to specific questions.

1. Matter-of-fact.
2. Some evidence of warmth. Not so matter-of-fact as (1), but boy expresses little positive feeling. Appears to enjoy interaction with peers to some extent.
3. Moderate degree of warmth. Enjoys others' company for the most part, but strong positive feelings absent.
4. Very warm. Enjoys companionship of peers; also expresses positive feelings about them.
5. Extremely warm. As for (4), with the addition of several spontaneous expressions of liking during the interview.

$r = .80$

Scale 24. Boy's report of heterosexual experience. (Q. 17)

1. None.
2. Some mild petting. Nothing more.
3. Occasional petting. No intercourse.
4. Frequent petting, intercourse on one or more occasions.
5. Considerable heterosexual experience, including intercourse.

$r = .95$

Scale 25. Boy's report on masturbation. (Q. 18)

1. None. Denies masturbation.
2. Admits to some masturbation, isolated incidents.
3. Admits to masturbation, regular but infrequent, e.g., once a month.
4. Admits to masturbation, once or twice a week.
5. Admits to regular and frequent masturbation, most days.

$r = .94$

Scale 26. Boy's report of homosexual experience. (Q. 18c)

1. None.
2. Isolated incidents, one or two only.
3. A few incidents.
4. Frequent, not regular. Several times over the past year.
5. Regular occurrences.

$r = .91$

Scale 27. Extent to which boy has had sex information from parents  
(Q. 20)

1. None from parents, all from other sources.
2. Very little from parents, mostly from other sources.
3. Some from parents, more from other sources. Parent has given some information directly, or supplied suitable source.
4. Major portion of information from parent or sources supplied by parent.
5. As for (4), except that parent has informed boy very fully, and made sure he understands.

$r = .92$

Scale 28. Guilt and anxiety concerning sex. (Q. 17 through 20)

1. No evidence of avoidance or worry.
2. Slight. Boy may refrain at times, but in general not disturbed.
3. Boy worries at times, occasionally refrains.
4. Clear evidence of worry, attempts to refrain.
5. As for (4). In addition, boy exhibits unrealistic fears, attempts to obtain reassurance from examiner, etc.

Note: Rate up for blocking and similar signs of embarrassment within interview situation.

$r = .85$

Scale 29. Guilt concerning disruptive antisocial behavior or impulse.  
(Q. 22)

1. No indication of anxiety or guilt.
2. Little indication.
3. Some indication that boy feels he should not do these things, some worry afterwards.
4. Clear indications of guilt, but not as strong as (5).
5. Boy feels very guilty; elaborates; self-excusatory, may try to rationalize.

Note: If no instances of disruptive behavior come to light, so that there is no occasion for guilt to be displayed, rate 0, not 1.

$r = .80$

Scale 30. Boy's preference for living with mother or father. (Q. 23)

1. Preference for mother.
2. No choice.
3. Preference for father.

$r = .93$

Scale 31. Extent to which boy talks things out with father, i.e., asks for help, information, advice, suggestion. (Q. 24, 25, 28)

Ignore boy's reactions to advice.

1. Never consults father.
2. Consults father only on rare occasions.
3. Sometimes consults father, not frequently.
4. Often consults father.
5. Consults father on wide range of topics frequently; goes to him for help and reassurance whenever he is in difficulties.

$r = .90$

Scale 32. Extent to which boy consults mother. (Q. 24, 25, 28)  
(Same as for Scale 21)

$r = .89$

Scale 33. Amount of time boy spends in company of father. (Q. 26)

1. Never spends time with father, other than inevitable interaction at mealtimes, etc. If at home, in own room or elsewhere in house, or following own pursuits. Never goes for trips or vacations with him.
2. Spends an occasional evening in company of father, interacting; goes with him very rarely, only on occasional visits to family or to buy something for which father is paying, etc. Trips together very rare.
3. Some evenings at home in interaction with father. Goes out in his company sometimes, sharing activities other than those listed under (2).
4. Spends a good deal of time with father. Regular trips in addition to activities included in (3).
5. Spends most of leisure time in father's company. Many evenings spent in interaction; visits trips, vacations, etc., frequent or regular.

$r = .87$

Scale 34. Amount of time boy spends in company of mother. (Q. 26)  
(Same as for Scale 33)

$r = .72$

Scale 35. Resistance to going out with, being seen with, mother.  
(Q. 26)

If boy feels uncomfortable without actual open resistance, rate up one point.

1. Not at all resistant.
2. Some indication of resistance; may not be directly expressed to mother.
3. Resists sometimes.
4. Often resists.
5. Avoids going out with mother whenever possible.

$r = .93$

Scale 36. Resistance to going out with, being seen with, father.  
(Q. 26)

$r = .95$

Scale 37. Extent to which boy tries to gain praise from, approval of, mother. (Q. 27)

Take into account extent to which boy says he tries to please her, do favors, obey her immediately. Ignore extent to which boy receives praise for these things.

1. Makes no, or practically no, attempt to do this.
2. Rare occasions only.
3. Sometimes does this.
4. Frequently does this.
5. Boy makes every effort to please mother.

$r = .85$

Scale 38. Extent to which boy tries to gain praise from, approval of, father. (Q. 27) (Same as for Scale 37)

$$r = .84$$

Scale 39. Extent to which mother praises boy. (Q. 27)

1. Practically never praises; just takes good behavior for granted.
2. Praises now and again; seldom.
3. Sometimes praises, sometimes not.
4. Praises usually, shows appreciation, admires.
5. Praises regularly, very appreciative, admiring.

$$r = .83$$

Scale 40. Extent to which father praises boy. (Q. 27) (Same as for Scale 39)

$$r = .90$$

Scale 41. Mother's use of rewards (e.g., money, privileges) when she is pleased. (Q. 27)

1. None.
2. Rare, only for something exceptional.
3. Occasional rewards.
4. Frequent rewards.
5. Frequent and generous rewards.

$$r = .82$$

Scale 42. Father's use of rewards (money, privileges) when he is pleased. (Q. 27) (Same as for Scale 41)

$$r = .91$$

Scale 43. Extent to which boy earns own spending money. (Q. 28, 29h)

1. Boy earns all own spending money, pays for own clothes for most part. Does not ask for money except in emergency.
2. Earns most of his spending money, but on occasion money is given or loaned by parents.
3. Regular allowance given by parents, sufficient for general expenditure. Boy earns money for any extra expenditures, though money may be given on special occasions.
4. Regular allowance given boy. Supplemented whenever boy needs more for specific expenditures. Boy earns very little.
5. Boy gets as much money as he wants and when he wants it. Does not earn.

$$r = .88$$

Scale 44. Extent to which boy resists advice, suggestions, from mother. (Q. 24, 25, 28, 29)

1. No resistance, though boy may evaluate advice before acting on it.
2. Very little resistance. Boy definitely likes to work out some things for himself, but for the most part feels no opposition to doing what mother suggests.

3. Some resistance. Sometimes resists and rejects mother's suggestions, usually follows them.
4. Considerable resistance. Often resists mother's suggestions; on occasions does opposite of what mother suggests.
5. Very resistant. Takes little notice of what mother says, and very definitely prefers to go own way. Will do opposite of what mother suggests quite often.

$$r = .83$$

Scale 45. Extent to which boy resists advice, suggestions, from father. (Q. 24, 25, 28, 29) (Same as for Scale 44)

$$r = .85$$

Scale 46. Boy's account of responsibilities placed on him by mother. (Q. 30)

1. Low demands, low pressure. Little or nothing expected of boy in the way of performing jobs.
2. Some demands, low pressure; or low demands, some pressure. No regular jobs, but encourages helping. One or two small jobs, not time-consuming.
3. Moderate demands, moderate pressure.
4. Moderate demands, high pressure; or high demands and moderate pressure.
5. High demands, high pressure. Many jobs, some time-consuming expected to be performed.

$$r = .64.$$

Scale 47. Boy's account of responsibilities placed on him by father. (Q. 30) (Same as for Scale 46)

$$r = .83$$

Scale 48. Boy's resistance to accepting responsibilities placed on him by mother. (Q. 30)

1. No resistance whatsoever.
2. Boy tries to evade these on infrequent occasions, but is generally acceptant.
3. Tries to evade demands. On rare occasions refuses to accept.
4. Considerable resistance. Frequently evades responsibilities. Sometimes refuses to accept them.
5. Extremely resistant. Evades responsibilities whenever possible. Unwilling to accept them.

$$r = .65$$

Scale 49. Boy's resistance to accepting responsibilities placed on him by father. (Q. 30) (Same as for Scale 48)

$$r = .79$$

Scale 50. Father's use of physical punishment. (Q. 31)

Take account of whole period, including earlier years. If physical punishment is still administered, rate up one point.

1. Never used physical punishment.
2. Occasional cuffing in past. <sup>Nothing more.</sup>
3. Real spanking at infrequent intervals. Occasional cuffs or slaps.
4. History of frequent cuffing. Occasional real spanking.
5. History of frequent and severe physical punishment.

$r = .82$

Scale 51. Mother's use of physical punishment. (Q. 31) (Same as for Scale 50)

$r = .88$

Scale 52. Father's use of deprivation of privileges. (Q. 31)

1. Never.
2. Used rarely; only to control deviations connected with use of privileges.
3. Used sometimes, but with moderation. Small privileges taken away, but not for long periods of time.
4. In general, as for (3), but technique is used more frequently or applied in a more severe manner.
5. Frequently controls deviant behavior by depriving boy of highly valued privileges for long periods of time.

$r = .82$

Scale 53. Mother's use of deprivation of privileges. (Q. 31)  
(Same as for Scale 52)

$r = .94$

Scale 54. Father's use of ridicule. (Q. 31)

1. Never uses this.
2. Slight use. One or two instances given, not intense.
3. Moderate use. Several incidents reported; no indication that there is special emphasis or frequency.
4. Much use. Several incidents reported, and evidence that the technique is emphasized, considered effective, or used quite frequently.
5. As for (4), but father extremely derogatory.

$r = .88$

Scale 55. Mother's use of ridicule. (Q. 31) (Same as for Scale 54)

$r = .89$

Scale 56. Father's scolding, nagging. (Q. 31)

Take note of earlier responses.

1. Minimum use.
2. Some scolding, nagging about one or two things.
3. Nags in limited areas, but in these areas is fairly persistent.
4. Nags about a number of things, but not so extensively as (5).
5. Constantly scolding and nagging about many things. "After me all the time."

$r = .80$

Scale 57. Mother's scolding, nagging. (Q. 31) (Same as for Scale 56)

R = .88

Scale 58. Withdrawal of love - father. (Q.31)

1. Never uses techniques of this kind. No instances in interview.
2. Used on rare occasions. One or two instances in interview.
3. Some use of techniques.
4. Used fairly often.
5. Frequent use of techniques. Evident that this is major way of controlling boy.

r = .86

Scale 59. Withdrawal of love - mother. (Q. 31) (Same as for Scale 58)

r = .91

Scale 60. Mother's use of reasoning as a disciplinary technique. (Q. 31 and rest of interview)

This includes explaining why boy should not do things, listening to his arguments and trying to give an answer on the merits of the case, describing consequences of actions.

1. Mother never uses. Boy gives no answer at any time that would suggest use of reasoning.
2. Minimal use. Very few examples given that would suggest use, or boy says mother hardly ever does this.
3. Some reasoning evident from boy's account, but indications that other techniques are often used immediately.
4. Parent generally reasons with boy, but not to exclusion of other techniques.
5. Uses regularly. Boy stresses degree to which mother reasons, or makes it clear that this is her preferred technique (at least tried before any other method is resorted to) and that use of any other method is resorted to) and that use of any other method is relatively infrequent.

Note: If the boy gives no instances of parents' reasoning with him, rate 1, not 0, since there is no direct question on this topic and ratings are to be based on extent to which boy refers to reasoning in various contexts.

r = .83

Scale 61. Father's use of reasoning as a disciplinary technique. (Q. 31 and rest of interview) (Same as Scale 60)

r = .61

Scale 62. Extent to which boy resents discipline of mother. (Q.31)

1. Acceptant. Does not complain.
2. Generally noncomplaining. Doesn't appear to resent it very much.
3. Boy resentful at times.
4. Boy generally resentful.
5. Very resentful. Doesn't get over it easily.

r = .94

Scale 63. Extent to which boy resents discipline of father. (Q. 31)  
(Same as for Scale 62)

$$r = .80$$

Scale 64. Boy's account of restrictions placed on him at home by  
mother. (Q. 32)

Take into account use of radio, TV, smoking and drinking  
inside home, bad language, setting times for homework, etc.  
The boy may say that he does not drink or smoke, etc. in such a  
way as to indicate that parental attitudes have been internalized.  
In this case, rate up accordingly.

1. No restrictions. Parent would only interfere if someone  
else was being upset by boy's behavior.
2. Few restrictions. Some minor limitations set on boy's  
behavior.
3. Moderate. Sets limits in most areas, but allows considerable  
latitude
4. Strict rules in some areas. Some limitations in others.
5. Strict rules, strictly enforced. Boy must not disturb rest  
of family, must not drink, smoke, swear, etc.

$$r = .70$$

Scale 65. Boy's account of restrictions placed on him at home by  
father. (Q. 31) (Same as for Scale 64)

$$r = .78$$

Scale 66. Boy's account of restrictions placed on him outside home  
by mother. (Q. 32)

1. No restrictions. Boy comes and goes as he likes, can stay  
out at night; boy's friends and choice of activities are his  
own concern.
2. Few restrictions. Boy expected to let parents know if he is  
going to be unusually late, his approximate whereabouts,  
etc. Otherwise no restrictions imposed.
3. Moderate. Limits boy's staying out late, but with some latitude.  
A few limits on boy's choice of friends and/or activities.
4. Strict. Boy expected to check out, be in at certain time,  
with very little latitude. Some limitations to boy's free  
choice of friends and activities.
5. Strict rules, rigidly enforced. Has to be in at a certain  
time except on exceptional occasions, has to let parents  
know what he is going to do or what he has done. Parents  
forbid a number of activities and pressure the boy in matter  
of choice of friends.

$$r = .71$$

Scale 67. Boy's account of restrictions placed on him outside the  
home by father. (Q. 31) (Same as for Scale 66)

$$r = .78$$



Scale 68. Boy's resistance to restrictions placed on him by mother.  
(Q. 32)

1. Accepts completely. No resistance in any area.
2. On infrequent occasions tries to circumvent restrictions. Generally accepted.
3. Tries sometimes to circumvent restrictions.
4. Often circumvents. Ignores them completely on occasions.
5. Extremely resistant. Completely unwilling to accept restrictions. Goes ahead and does what he likes.

$r = .83$

Scale 69. Boy's resistance to restrictions placed on him by father.  
(Q. 32) (Same as for Scale 68)

$r = .83$

Scale 70. Boy's resistance to accounting for activities to father.  
(Q. 33)

1. No resistance. Boy feels he can be perfectly honest.
2. Some mild resistance. Not very important.
3. Moderate resistance. Evades telling parents now and again, but in general doesn't mind.
4. Evasive with parents. Often feels like not telling parents things.
5. Extremely resistant. Boy objects strongly to father's wanting to know, and deliberately avoids communication.

$r = .78$

Scale 71. Boy's resistance to accounting for activities to mother.  
(Q. 33) (Same as for Scale 70)

$r = .83$

Scale 72. Boy's report of direct verbal aggression toward mother.  
(Q. 34)

1. No instances.
2. Some instances, mild.
3. Occasionally objects or argues with mother.
4. Frequently objects, protests, argues. May express anger.
5. Frequent strong verbal protests. Loses control.

$r = .86$

Scale 73. Boy's report of direct verbal aggression toward father.  
(Q. 34) (Same as for Scale 72)

$r = .90$

Scale 74. Boy's report of direct physical aggression toward mother.  
(Q. 34)

1. No instances.
2. One or two incidents of this kind.
3. A few incidents.
4. Occurs often (three or four times every year).
5. Occurs very often.

$r = .92$

Scale 75. Boy's report of direct physical aggression toward father.  
(Q. 34) (Same as for Scale 74)

$$r = .84$$

Scale 76. Boy's report of indirect aggression against mother.  
(Q. 34)

Take account of any show of anger or resentment which does not involve direct, face-to-face, physical or verbal aggression, e.g., walking out of house, slamming doors, saying derogatory things to other parent, passive resistance.

1. No instances.
2. One or two instances.
3. Some instances, but no indication that technique is frequently used.
4. Several instances.
5. Several instances. Boy explicitly says he does this sort of thing often.

$$r = .75$$

Scale 77. Boy's report of indirect aggression against father. (Q. 34) (Same as for Scale 76)

$$r = .78$$

Scale 78. Directness-indirectness of aggressive response toward mother. (Q. 34)

Ignore absolute frequency of response.

1. Boy expresses anger only in very indirect manner.
2. Boy usually expresses aggression indirectly, but sometimes aggression is semidirect, e.g., displaced, passively resistant.
3. Boy sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, expresses aggression; or typically expresses aggression in semidirect way.
4. Boy sometimes expresses aggression directly, sometimes semi-directly.
5. Boy typically expresses aggression openly, freely, and immediately.

$$r = .84$$

Scale 79. Directness-indirectness of aggressive response toward father. (Q. 34) (Same as for Scale 78)

$$r = .77$$

Scale 80. Indication of guilt-feelings concerning aggression toward mother, including disobedience. (Q. 33d, 34g)

1. No indications.
2. Some indications, e.g., boy says he feels he has acted badly, but makes no attempt to make up for behavior. Not defensive when reporting aggression.
3. Some indication of discomfort about aggression, defensiveness, or attempt to make up for it to mother. (Rate 2 if a single indication only occurs, 4 if all three indications occur to some degree.)

4. See 3. Rate 4 also if boy indicates guilt strongly through one or other of the above cues.
5. Clear indications of guilt. Boy feels uncomfortable, tries to make up to mother. Is defensive, rationalizes, when reporting aggression.

$$r = .77$$

Scale 81. Indications of guilt-feelings concerning aggression toward father, including disobedience. (Q. 33e, 34i) (Same as for Scale 80)

$$r = .81$$

Scale 82. Warmth of boy toward mother. (Q. 36, but take account of all relevant answers)

This scale is concerned with the extent to which the boy demonstrates his affection toward his mother. Take note especially of the extent to which he enjoys her company and her personal characteristics, indicates sympathy and understanding.

1. Very little warmth. Matter-of-fact, not demonstrative. Shows little sympathy or understanding.
2. Some evidence of warmth. Not as matter-of-fact as 1, but in general is undemonstrative and enjoys interaction only under limited circumstances.
3. Moderate degree of warmth. Enjoys mother for most part, shows some understanding and sympathy but not demonstrative.
4. Very warm toward mother. Tries to show her he feels this way. Enjoys her as a person.
5. Extremely warm. Spontaneously expresses appreciation of her during the interview in several places, in addition to characteristics listed under 4. Sympathetic and understanding.

$$r = .82$$

Scale 83. Warmth of boy toward father. (Q. 36, and all relevant answers) (Same as for Scale 82)

$$r = .89$$

Scale 84. Boy's feelings of rejection by mother. (Q. 23 through 40, especially Q. 35, 36)

1. No feelings of rejection expressed. Feels mother wants him, enjoys him, takes interest in him.
2. In general feels accepted, but some minor qualifications.
3. Some feelings of rejection, e.g., mother does not take enough interest in him, sometimes is glad to get rid of him.
4. Strong feelings of rejection, but with some qualifications.
5. Feels completely rejected. Not wanted at home, mother doesn't like him, takes no interest in him.

$$r = .82$$

Scale 85. Boy's feelings of rejection by father. (Q. 23 through 40, especially Q. 35, 36) (Same as for Scale 84)

$$r = .86$$

Scale 86. Extent to which boy identifies with mother. (Q. 23 through 40, especially Q. 37)

Take into account the extent to which the boy says he is like his mother, the degree to which he accepts her opinions and ideas and quotes them. Spontaneous remarks, e.g., "I guess I am like my mother in that," occurring elsewhere than in Q. 23, are especially important cues.

1. Boy gives no indications of identification.
2. Some identification. May be like mother in one or two things, but not for the most part. Never spontaneously states acceptance of her ideas.
3. Moderate identification. Thinks he is like mother in some ways. Some additional evidence of identification.
4. Strong identification. Thinks he is much like her; some additional evidence in interview.
5. Thinks he is very like his mother. Clear indications of identification in various parts of interview.

$$r = .86$$

Scale 87. Extent to which boy identifies with father. (Q. 23 through 40, especially Q. 37) (Same as Scale 86)

$$r = .75$$

Scale 88. Hostility to mother. (Q. 23 through 40)

1. Boy uniformly expresses positive statements about mother. No unfavorable ones.
2. Boy expresses mainly favorable attitudes, but makes some minor criticisms.
3. Boy makes approximately equal number of favorable and unfavorable comments.
4. Boy expresses mainly unfavorable comments. A few favorable ones.
5. Boy uniformly unfavorable in comments on parent.

$$r = .82$$

Scale 89. Hostility to father. (Q. 23 through 40) (Same as for Scale 88)

$$r = .83$$







APPENDIX F CHINESE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPATING IN STUDY

INTERVIEWERS

Au Chi Wah  
Chan Ching Kai  
Chan Ka Lok  
Chan Ping Kuen  
Chao Gee Ying  
Cheung Kar Yuen  
Cheung Wai Sum  
Cheung Sheung Chi  
Chong Kin Chim  
Chow Mei Nor  
Chu Irene  
Chu Kain Fatt  
Chung Chi Sheung  
Fong Hok Chor  
Fung Kwok Chiu  
Kwan Kam Sheung  
Kwonk Lai Ling  
Lai Phobe  
Lau Mei Lai  
Lee K. Y.  
Lee May May

Leung Chung Kin  
Leung Chuen Nam  
Leung Fu Hing  
Leung Lai Ching  
Lo Jean  
Lui Chan Lo  
Luk Ping Chuen  
Lun Lai Fun  
Man Lai Ping  
Ng Shui Har  
Pang Lan Ying  
Pang Oi Hang  
Sheung O Wai  
Tsang Kau Yau  
Wang Shirley  
Wong Dick Ming  
Wong Ka Po  
Wong Lai Kwuen  
Yeung David  
Yeung Yat Woon  
Yip Yin Chi

RATERS

Chan Bik Sai  
Chan Shiu Kwan  
Chan Sze Wai  
Chan Yin Ping  
Cheng Bo Wong  
Chung Ling Chun  
Lau Chan Sang  
Lee Shuet

Lui Heng Leung  
Man Jic Leung  
Pang Shing Fook  
Tam Wing Yee  
Tsang Yau Hang  
Wong Ko Yee  
Wong Shui Fong  
Yue Mui Ying

The majority of the interviewers were former students of the Chinese University at the time of the study. The raters were comprised of both sociology and social work students of the University. In addition, two former students were from other colleges in Hong Kong and their names are Ruth Ling and Dominique Tan.