Chapter 2

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
Early Insecure Attachment: A Precursor to Behavioural Problems

Parents are important socialization agents who encourage prosocial behaviours and discourage antisocial behaviours (Maccoby, 1992). Quite simply, early secure attachment provides a stronger foundation for subsequent psychosocial achievements if the sensitive, supportive parental care initially contributing to attachment security is maintained over time (Lamb, Thompson, Gardner, and Charnov, 1985). In this view, therefore, the significance of early attachment for later development is contingent on the continuing sensitivity of parental care, especially in a child’s early years. According to Bowlby, the lack of opportunity for regular and sustained contact between an infant and parent will prevent the development of the infant’s attachment to the parent (Parke and Clarke-Stewart, 2002). However, if the earlier sensitive care that initially inspired a secure attachment is not maintained, there would be less reason to anticipate that early attachment security would have enduring effects on a child. As Bowlby (1952) maintained, results of the complete lack of maternal care are almost always damaging to the child and have severe long-term consequences. There has been a large amount of research bearing, in some way, on the relationship between parental attachment and criminal behaviour (Spender and Scott, 1996).

Early childhood antecedents of elementary school aggression and passive-withdrawal were evaluated in a large longitudinal study (N = 191) conducted by Renken et al. (1989). With teacher ratings as outcome measures, a variety of predictor variables were selected from a comprehensive data base. Predictors were selected to represent several major factors: (a) a developmental history of insecure attachment and poor adjustment; (b) inadequate or hostile parental care; and (c) stressful or chaotic life circumstances. Support was found for the prediction of these behaviour
Review of Literature

problems from early childhood measures (up to one third of the variance), with results varying with sex and outcome measure. Results were stronger for boys than girls, and stronger for aggression than for passive-withdrawal. Boys' outcome was strongly related to attachment classification at 18 months. The connection between avoidant attachment and antisocial or disruptive behaviour has most frequently been reported. It is suggested that these findings support Bowlby's view that early acquired "working models" of self and other affect later interpersonal functioning.

A study tested the hypothesis that preschool-aged children with significant externalizing behaviour problems are more likely to have insecure attachment relationships than nonproblem peers, as measured by separation/reunion behaviour at the time of clinic referral. Fifty children (ages 3-6) and their mothers participated: 25 referred to a child psychiatry clinic for one of the DSM-III-R Disruptive Behaviour Disorders, and 25 matched comparison children without behaviour problems. Using two new attachment coding systems for children of this age, Speltz, Greenbeig, and Deklyen (1990) found that 84% of the children in the clinic group were classified as insecure, whereas only 28% of the comparison group were so classified (p < .001). Clinic children were also found more frequently to protest their mother's departure and to search for her more often during the separation. The implications of these results for the validity of separation/reunion behaviour as an index of attachment at this age are discussed, as well as the methodological and conceptual problems that complicate their study of the link between attachment and behaviour disorder.

The study conducted by Lyons-Ruth, Alpern, and Repacholi (1993) among 62 low-income families examined the relation between maternal and infant measures assessed at 18 months infant age and child behaviour problems at age 5 as rated by preschool teachers. The infancy assessments
included measures of mother-infant interaction, maternal psychosocial problems, infant cognitive development, and infant attachment security, including the disorganized/disoriented classification. The strongest single predictor of deviant levels of hostile behaviour toward peers in the classroom was earlier disorganized/disoriented attachment status, with 71% of hostile preschoolers classified as disorganized in their attachment relationships in infancy. Maternal psychosocial problems independently predicted hostile aggression in preschool and combined additively with infant attachment security in prediction. Results are discussed in relation to the asymmetry of forward and backward prediction that characterized the findings and in relation to the potential significance of disorganized attachment behaviour as a precursor to later maladaptation and disorganized attachments (sometimes in combination with insecure-avoidant attachments) are associated with elevated aggression in childhood.

Using the 1972 National Survey of Youth, Rankin and Kern (1994) analyzed attachment to mother and father along several dimensions (i.e., intimacy of communication, affectional identification, supervision, and family activities). They tested two hypotheses: (1) as long as a child is strongly attached to one parent, strong ties to the other parent play an insignificant role in reducing delinquency further and (2) single-parent homes are not associated with delinquency as long as the child is strongly attached to the custodial parent. Generally, they found that children who were strongly attached to both parents had a lower probability of self-reported delinquency than children who were strongly attached to only one parent. Further, children living in single-parent homes who were strongly attached to the custodial parent generally had a greater probability of committing delinquent acts than children living in intact homes who were strongly attached to both parents.

Ward, Hudson, and Marshall (1996) investigated the nature of
attachment relationships in 55 child molesters, 30 rapists, 32 violent non-sex offenders, and 30 nonviolent, non-sex offenders using relationship scale. Results indicate that the majority of sex offenders were insecurely attached. However, this was true for all 4 groups of incarcerated prisoners and therefore likely to be a general vulnerability factor rather than specific to sex offenders.

There was also evidence that child molesters were more likely to have a preoccupied or fearful attachment style than were rapists and were seen to be less dismissive. Rapists were indiscriminable in some respects from violent non-sex offenders; both tended to be dismissive, and nonviolent non-sex offenders were comparatively the most securely attached. Preliminary evidence is provided that sex offenders display a wide range of problematic attachment styles that are associated with offender type.

Allen, Hauser, and Borman-Spurrell (1996) compared 66 upper-middle class adolescents who were psychiatrically hospitalized at age 14 for problems other than thought or organic disorders, to 76 socio-demographically similar high school students. When re-interviewed at age 25, virtually all of the previously hospitalized adolescents displayed insecure attachment organizations, in contrast to a more typical mixture of security and insecurity in the former high school sample. Lack of resolution of previous trauma with attachment figures accounted for much of this insecurity. Insecurity in adult attachment organization at age 25 was also linked to self-reported criminal behaviour and use of hard drugs in young adulthood. These findings are discussed as reflecting a substantial and enduring connection between attachment organization and severe adolescent psychopathology and a possible role of attachment organization in mediating some of the long-term sequelae of such psychopathology.

The relation between attachment representations and personality disorders was examined by van IJzendoorn et al. (1997) in a sample of 40
Dutch men held in a forensic psychiatric hospital for the commission of serious crimes. Results arrived are; secure attachment representations were virtually absent in the sample; separation from attachment figures in childhood was related to current insecure attachment as well as to personality disorders of forensic psychiatric patients; and secure attachment representations appear to be virtually absent among mentally disturbed criminal offenders.

Fonagy, Target, Steele, Steele, Leigh, Levinson, and Kennedy (1997) established the role of family in crime in their work. They examined four areas in detail. First, one of the crucial components of the acquisition of morality, the understanding of the other's point of view, crucially depends on a background of secure attachment. Second, the complex relationship between early disruptive behaviour and attachment on the one hand and its longitudinal sequelae, delinquent behaviour, on the other. Third, the developmental challenge of creating a coherent internal working model of relationships may be compromised by suboptimal parenting and the difficulty thus created for the child may result in disruptive behaviour marshal evidence suggestive of an attachment disorder in delinquent groups. Fourth, the transition of attachment in adolescence highlights its abnormalities and causes a developmental surge in criminality. The result draws on work from a related psychiatric group, borderline personality disorder, which manifests a combination of disordered attachments, sexual or physical maltreatment, and a reduced capacity to envision the mental states of others. They draw the threads together and propose an attachment model of delinquent behaviour which assumes that adverse psychosocial environments can undermine the creation of coherent working models of attachment relations and the development of the capacity to understand others psychological states.

In a study Nelson and Rubin (1997) examined the relationship between

Review of Literature
Review of Literature

parental attachment and delinquent behaviour among adolescents between the ages of 13 and 18. 133 subjects completed self-report questionnaire packets, which included a demographic survey, an attachment inventory (assessing parental attachment and attachment to the father and mother separately), and a delinquency questionnaire. The relationship between sex, delinquency level, and attachment score was statistically tested using a multivariate analysis of variance. Results indicated a significant relationship between delinquency level and parental attachment, attachment to father, and attachment to mother, suggesting that the more attached adolescents are to their parents, the less delinquent they are. The effects of sex on attachment were not significant, nor were the effects of sex by delinquency on attachment. Mean attachment scores to the mother were not significantly higher than mean attachment scores to the father and females reported far less criminal activity, but more delinquent activity, than did males.

A review of relevant studies done by Fonagy, Target, Steele, and Steele (1997) demonstrates that secure attachment facilitates the development of mental capacities that both reduce the motivation for criminal behaviour and inhibit the individual's potential to commit acts of aggression. If attachment is linked to criminality, a substantial overlap between long-term predictors of criminal behaviour and determinants of infant security might be predicted. The aim of this literature review is to explore the extent of this overlap. The discussion addresses three areas that relate to attachment: disruptive behaviour, delinquent or criminal behaviour, and parenting in attachment and disruptive behaviours. Based on the literature review, the authors proposed a model of violence and criminal behaviour. It proposes that crimes, at least in adolescence, are often committed by individuals with inadequate mentalizing capacities as part of their pathological attempt at adaptation to a social environment in which mentalization is essential. The model assumes that these individuals did not have access to meaningful attachment relationships.

42
that would have provided them with the "intersubjective basis for developing a meta-cognitive capacity capable of organizing and coordinating their internal working models of relationships."

van IJzendoorn (1997) through his review drawn attention to the possible relation between children’s attachment relationships, their moral development, and their aggressive, antisocial, and criminal behaviour. He described evidence that the early beginnings of morality, such as the capacity to have empathic feelings for the distress of another human being or the inclination to comply with parental directions, are closely linked and intertwined with the developing relationship to a primary attachment figure. He also discussed the role of insecure attachment in the development of moral reasoning and authoritarianism. Finally, he suggested that attachment disorders and disrupted attachment relationships may be at the root of aggressive, antisocial and delinquent behaviour in childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood.

Smallbone and Dadds (1998) conducted a study on forty-eight incarcerated sex offenders who were compared with 16 property offenders and 16 non offenders on self-report measures of childhood maternal and paternal attachment and adult attachment. The combined sex-offender groups reported significantly less secure maternal, paternal, and adult attachment than did the non offenders and significantly less secure maternal attachment than did the property offenders. Intra familial child molesters were found to have had particularly problematic relationships with their mothers, reporting a combination of anxious and avoidant qualities in their maternal attachment experiences. By contrast, stranger rapists were found to have had particularly problematic relationships with their fathers and were significantly more likely to have regarded their fathers as having been characteristically unsympathetic, uncaring, abusive, and violent toward them. These results suggest that
insecure childhood attachments may be related to offending behaviour generally and that certain combinations of childhood attachment experiences may relate more specifically to different kinds of sexual offending.

The meta-analyses carried out by van Ijzendoorn, Schuengel, and Bakermans-Kranenburg (1999) has established the reliability and discriminant validity of disorganized infant attachment. According to them the disorganized attachment shows modest short-and long-term stability, in particular in middle class environments, and it is not just a concomitant of constitutional, temperamental, or physical child problems. The predictive validity of disorganized attachment is established in terms of problematic stress management, the elevated risk of externalizing problem behaviour, and even the tendency of disorganized infants to show dissociative behaviour later in life. In normal, middle class families, about 15% of the infants develop disorganized attachment behaviour. In other social contexts and in clinical groups this percentage may become twice or even three times higher (e.g., in the case of maltreatment).

Smallbone and Dadds (2000) examined the relationships between childhood attachment and coercive sexual behaviour. One hundred sixty-two male undergraduate students completed self-report measures of childhood maternal attachment, childhood paternal attachment, adult attachment, antisociality, aggression, and coercive sexual behaviour. As predicted, insecure childhood attachment, especially insecure paternal attachment, was associated with antisociality, aggression, and coercive sexual behaviour. Moreover, childhood attachment independently predicted coercive sexual behaviour after antisociality and aggression were statistically controlled. The hypothesis that paternal avoidant attachment would predict coercive sexual behaviour independently of its relationship with aggression and antisociality was also supported. Post-hoc analysis indicated that maternal anxious
attachment was associated with antisociality and that paternal avoidant attachment was associated with both antisociality and coercive sexual behaviour. These results are consistent with criminological and psychological research linking adverse early family experiences with offending and lend support to an attachment-theoretical framework for understanding offending behaviour in general and sexual offending behaviour in particular.

A paper by Hood (2000) presents a theoretical review of research findings concerning predisposing influences for the development of antisocial behaviour in youth and recommendations for intervention and prevention. He states that in the area of family systems, antisocial influences include family discord and disruption, poor early attachment, parental pathology, and weak family relationships (poor communication, low cohesion). Among the strongest predisposing family variables were paternal involvement with the criminal justice system, harsh and aggressive parenting practices, and paternal alcohol abuse. Parent-child bonding (or attachment) was found to be affected by maternal depression, parents' isolation, maturity levels, understanding of child development/care, and socio-economic status. Difficult temperament in children may be both an outcome of, and a contributor towards, family stress. Violence in the family exerted profound impact on children, leading to indirect and direct aggression. Single-parent families were found to be at greater overall risk, as were families with high levels of adversity.

Chapple’s (2003) study examined the connection between violent parents, parental bonds, and intimate violent offending. Students in grades 9-11 completed a self-report survey. Dating violence offending is significantly associated with witnessed inter-parental violence, high dating frequency, and low parental monitoring. Attitudes towards violence are associated with witnessed interparental violence, lower parental attachment, and the interaction of witnessed interparental violence and parental attachment. The
research findings suggest that young people who had observed violence between parents held lower levels of parental attachment and were more likely to offend violently against an intimate partner. Further, lower levels of parental monitoring were also related to adolescent partner violence.

The study by Herrenkohl et al. (2003) used data from the Seattle Social Development Project to examine factors in adolescence that affect the probability of violent behaviour at age 18 among youths who received high teacher ratings of aggression at age 10. The study found a lower probability of violence among youths at age 18 was associated with attendance at religious services, good family management by parents, and bonding to school at age 15. Young people who exhibited less violent behaviour were more likely to hold stronger attachments to their parents. A higher probability of later violence was associated with living in a disorganized neighborhood and having the opportunity for and involvement with antisocial peers at age 15. The likelihood of violence at age 18 among aggressive youths was reduced when they were exposed to multiple protective factors at age 15, even for those simultaneously exposed to risk factors. Implications of these findings for the development of preventive interventions during adolescence are discussed.

Three main research questions were addressed by Chapple and Hope (2003): (1) how varied are the criminal careers of gang and dating violence offenders; (2) drawing on the general theory of crime, are gang and dating violence related to similar theoretical variables; and (3) what is the relationship between self-control, general criminal opportunity, crime-specific opportunity, and gang and dating violence? Data were collected from 1,139 youths in grades 9 through 11 in a medium-sized suburban/rural city. Participants completed 200-question self-report surveys measuring dating violence, gang violence, parental attachment, self-control, criminal
opportunity, dating frequency, gang membership, and control variables. Results of bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analyses indicated that both gang and dating violence offenders were involved in a variety of crimes. Significant overlap was observed in the independent theoretical variables associated with both types of violence. The findings also revealed that, as expected, low self-control and exposure to both general and crime-specific criminal opportunities were significantly associated with gang and dating violence. An interesting finding showed that dating violence was significantly associated with current gang membership. They further found that parental attachment lowered the likelihood of intimate violence in their sample. The findings of these studies support Hirschi’s conception of the role that parental attachments can play in insulating young people from criminal activity.

Sousa et al. (2011) examined the unique and combined effects of child abuse and children’s exposure to domestic violence on later attachment to parents and antisocial behaviour during adolescence. Analyses also investigated whether the interaction of exposure and low attachment predicted youth outcomes. Findings suggest that, although youth dually exposed to abuse and domestic violence were less attached to parents in adolescence than those who were not exposed, for those who were abused only and those who were exposed only to domestic violence, the relationship between exposure types and youth outcomes did not differ by level of attachment to parents. However, stronger bonds of attachment to parents in adolescence did appear to predict a lower risk of antisocial behaviour independent of exposure status. Preventing child abuse and children’s exposure to domestic violence could lessen the risk of antisocial behaviour during adolescence, as could strengthening parent-child attachments in adolescence. However, strengthening attachments between parents and children after exposure may
not be sufficient to counter the negative impact of earlier violence trauma in children.

To investigate the link between attachment to parents and delinquency, and the potential moderating effects of age and sex, 74 published and unpublished manuscripts (N = 55,537 participants) were subjected to a multilevel meta-analysis by Hoeve et al. (2012). A mean small to moderate effect size was found (r = 0.18). Poor attachment to parents was significantly linked to delinquency in boys and girls. Stronger effect sizes were found for attachment to mothers than attachment to fathers. In addition, stronger effect sizes were found if the child and the parent had the same sex compared to cross-sex pairs of children and parents. Age of the participants moderated the link between attachment and delinquency: larger effect sizes were found in younger than in older participants. It can be concluded that attachment is associated with juvenile delinquency.

In their study, Schroeder, Higgins, and Mowen (2014) assessed the relationship between trajectories of maternal attachment and offending during adolescence and young adulthood. Following a cohort of 859 youth from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth data aged 10 or 11 over a period of 6 years, they found four distinctive trajectories of maternal attachment and two distinctive trajectories of offending. The results suggest that changes that occur in maternal closeness are linked to changes in offending across adolescence. However, when young adult offending is assessed when the youth are 18 or 19 years of age, they found that adolescent maternal attachment trajectories are not significant predictors of offending.

Parental Rejection: A Significant Predictor of later Delinquent Behaviour

In highly rejection sensitive people’s daily lives the threat or actual experience of rejection causes extreme stress. When highly rejection sensitive
people are rejected, they typically react with hostility and aggression against
the agents of the perceived rejection. Not everyone shows the same intensity
or behavioral manifestation of the reaction, but a feeling of hostility persists.
Individuals high in rejection sensitive selectively attend to cues of rejection
and are more likely to experience those cues as more physiologically
threatening (Romero-Canyas et al., 2010a). They have also been found to
perceive more rejection from others, and therefore may respond to ambiguous
signals from others as signs of negativity (Downey and Feldman, 1996). Even
though extensive literature review was done by the investigator to gather
studies that related rejection sensitivity to criminality he could not. Hence,
der such a circumstance the investigator have put here studies that link or
show a connection between rejection and criminality.

Jill Leslie Rosenbaum, professor of criminology at California State
University, writes: "Research consistently has shown that those youth whose
bond to their parents is weak are more likely to be delinquent. Youth who are
more attached to their parents have greater direct and indirect controls placed
on their behavior." As a child's emotional attachment to his parents ensures a
well- adjusted adult, so parental rejection of the child has powerful opposite
effects. Ronald Simons, professor of sociology at Iowa State University,
summarizes the research findings: "Rejected children tend to distrust and
attribute malevolent motives to others. Such rejecting parents not only fail to
model and reinforce prosocial behaviour, they actually provide training in
aggressive noncompliant behavior." Rejection by the family, which is the
child's first and fundamental "community," sets the stage for another social
tragedy. Rejected children tend gradually to drop out of normal community
life. Professor Simons continues: "Parental rejection increases the probability
of a youth's involvement in a deviant peer group, reliance upon an avoidant
coping style, and use of substances." Many other studies in the professional
literature replicate these findings (Fagan, 1995).

Review of Literature
A meta-analysis was performed by Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) of 36 concurrent and longitudinal studies, conducted between 1950 and 1985, to examine the relation of family factors to juvenile conduct problems and delinquency. Analyses of longitudinal data show that socialization variables, such as lack of parental supervision, parental rejection, and parent-child involvement, are among the most powerful predictors of juvenile behavior problems and delinquency. Medium strength predictors include background variables such as parents' marital relations and parental criminality. Weaker predictors are lack of parental discipline, parental health, and parental absence. The effects of these factors seem to be about the same for both boys and girls. Analysis of concurrent studies comparing delinquents with nondelinquents and aggressive and nonaggressive children, largely parallel these findings. Deficiencies in parenting skills are associated with the seriousness of delinquency. Treatment studies show that systematic changes in parenting behaviors can lessen the frequency of a child's and siblings' conduct problems, and can, to a lesser extent reduce delinquent involvement.

Predicting delinquency is valuable for understanding the course of crime, factors that influence its course, and the identification of markers that signal deviant processes. In addition, prediction data are relevant for judicial and clinical decision making. The article of Stouthamer-Loeber and Loeber (1988) summarizes research findings on the prediction of delinquency. In the realm of early childhood behaviors, there is consensus that aggression (especially in conjunction with hyperactivity), drug use, truancy, lying, stealing, general problem behaviors, and poor educational achievement all predict later delinquency, albeit to varying degrees, with composite prediction scales yielding the highest degree of accuracy. In addition, studies show a reasonable consensus that the following family factors also predict delinquency: poor supervision, lack of involvement by parents, poor discipline, rejection by a parent, parental criminality and aggressiveness,
marital problems, parental absence, and poor parental health. Variables reflecting socialization processes predicted later delinquency as well as children's early behavior. Although studied less frequently, youngsters' association with deviant peers is also predictive of delinquency.

A panel design with approximately 300 adolescents was employed to investigate the relationship between parental rejection and delinquency by Simons, Robertson, and Downs (1989). Parental rejection continued to show moderate associations with delinquency after relevant controls were introduced. The results were the same across sexes. LISREL was employed to estimate the parameters of the reciprocal relationship between parental rejection and delinquency. Analysis indicated that the predominant causal flow is from parental rejection to delinquency.

Farrington and Hawkins (1991) compared predictors of participation in offending, of early (aged 10-13 years) against later (aged 14-20 years) initiation of offending, and of persistence against desistance of offending in adulthood (aged 21-32 years). Periodic interviews were conducted with 411 males, beginning in 1961. Early involvement in antisocial behavior was the strongest predictor of convictions. The strongest predictors of early conviction were low parental involvement, parental rejection, troublesomeness, authoritarian parents, poor psychomotor skills, and noncriminal parents. Interactions with antisocial others were not positively related to early conviction. Low parental involvement, low commitment to school, and low verbal IQ (all measured before adolescence) were predictive of persistence in offending in subjects aged 21–32 years. Subjects who initiated delinquent behaviors early appeared less influenced by antisocial others than those who did so in mid-adolescence.

The study done by Dishion et al. (1991) focuses on the prediction of early adolescent involvement with antisocial peers from boys' experiences in
Review of Literature

school, family, and behavior at age 10 years. 206 boys and their families were assessed at school, interviewed, observed in the home, and then followed up at age 12 years. Poor parental discipline and monitoring practices, peer rejection, and academic failure at age 10 years were prognostic of involvement with antisocial peers at age 12 years. Considerable continuity was also found between the boys' antisocial behavior and contact with antisocial peers at age 10 years. After controlling for such continuity, only academic failure and peer rejection remained as significant predictors. These data indicate a need to study the ecological context of deviant peer networks in middle childhood.

In their study Barnes and Farrell (1992) used a representative general population sample of 699 adolescents and their families to examine the effects of parenting practices, particularly support and control, on the development of adolescent drinking, delinquency, and other problem behaviors. Black families were oversampled (n=211) to permit meaningful analyses. The findings confirm that parental support and monitoring are important predictors of adolescent outcomes even after taking into account critical demographic/family factors, including socioeconomic indicators, age, gender, and race of the adolescent, family structure, and family history of alcohol abuse. In addition, peer orientation remains a significant predictor of drinking behavior and deviance and interacts with aspects of parenting.

A meta-analysis of 47 studies was used to shed light on inconsistencies in the concurrent association between parental care giving and child externalizing behavior by Rothbaum and Weisz (1994). Parent-child associations were strongest when the measure of care giving relied on observations or interviews, as opposed to questionnaires, and when the measure tapped combinations of parent behaviors (patterns), as opposed to single behaviors. Stronger parent-child associations were also found for older
than for younger children and for mothers than for fathers. Externalizing was more strongly linked to parental care giving for boys than for girls, especially among preadolescents and their mothers.

The study of 388 adolescents conducted by Ge et al. (1996) found a significant covariation between the elevated depressive symptoms and conduct problems. Observer ratings of family interaction indicate that (a) parents of 10th graders with and without later adjustment problems differed in their parenting behaviors when the adolescents were in 7th, 8th, and 9th grades; (b) parents of 10th graders with elevated conduct problems were more hostile than parents of 10th graders with elevated depressive symptoms when the adolescents were in 7th, 8th, and 9th grades; (c) parents of 10th graders with both elevated depressive symptoms and conduct problems were the most hostile and the least warm when these adolescents were in 7th, 8th, and 9th grades. Observed parenting behaviors predicted the occurrence and co-occurrence of these adjustment problems among 10th graders after controlling for 7th grade (Time 1) depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior.

The study by Shaw et al. (1998) examined pathways leading to early externalizing problems from age one to 3½. A sample of 130 low-income participants was followed longitudinally from 12 to 42 months using observational measures of developmentally salient parenting and child disruptive behavior to predict early externalizing problems. Results are best accommodated by concepts such as transformation and transaction from developmental psychology. For boys, both child and parent variables predicted later externalizing. For girls and boys, the interaction between child noncompliance and maternal rejection was significant.

Using a 3-year longitudinal data set, Juang and Silbereisen (1999) examined the effects of consistently versus inconsistently supportive parenting on several aspects of adolescent adjustment. Supportive parenting
Review of Literature

was a multidimensional construct which included parental sensitivity, predictability and involvement. The sample consisted of 283 German early adolescents (mean age=11.4 years, S.D=1.2 at time 1) from former East (n=97) and West (n=186) Germany. As hypothesized, adolescents who reported their parents to be consistently supportive (e.g. supportive for at least two points in time) had lower levels of depression and delinquency, higher levels of self-efficacy and did better in school over the three year period than adolescents who reported their parents to be inconsistently supportive (e.g. supportive at only one time point or less).

The study was designed by Rafail and Haque (1999) to examine relationships between perceived parental acceptance-rejection and juvenile delinquency scores of criminal and non-criminal adolescents. Abbreviated Maternal and Paternal Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ) and Juvenile Delinquency Inventory (JD) were administered on Sindhi and Urdu-speaking criminals and non-criminals. The results found total juvenile delinquency scores to be positively associated with the total perceived parental acceptance-rejection scores. The mean differences indicated that the criminal adolescents perceived both their fathers and mothers to be significantly more aggressive more neglecting more rejecting as compared to the non-criminal adolescents.

The purpose of the study of Barnow et al. (2002) was to test a hypothetical model of alcohol problems in German adolescents. Members of 133 families, including 180 (50.6% male) offspring who were appropriate for the current analyses, received personal semi-structured diagnostic interviews and several self-rating questionnaires. Analyses compared offspring with alcohol problems (n = 40) and with no alcohol problems (n = 140), and used structural equation modeling to test a hypothetical model. Family history of alcoholism, parenting styles, behavioral and emotional problems, peer-group
characteristics, feelings of self-esteem, behavioral problems and psychiatric comorbidity of the parents were examined. The comparisons revealed that the alcohol problems group had significantly more behavioral problems (aggression/delinquency), more perceived parental rejection and less emotional warmth, a higher amount of alcohol consumption, were more likely to associate with substance-using peers and more often received a diagnosis of conduct disorder or antisocial personality disorder.

The occurrence and co-occurrence of depressive symptoms and conduct problems were examined by Kim et al. (2003) in the context of parenting behaviors in a community-based sample of 897 African American children and their primary caregivers using a multi-informant, longitudinal design. Parenting behaviors and clinical symptoms were assessed in 2 waves, when the children averaged 10.5 and 12.3 years of age. Parenting behaviors differed significantly according to a child's symptomatology; (a) that is, when a child exhibited no depressive or conduct problems, (b) depressive problems only, (c) conduct problems only, or (d) co-occurring depressive and conduct problems. When parenting behaviors were examined according to changes in children's symptom levels, children whose symptoms increased over time reported increases in hostility and harsh-inconsistent parenting and decreases in warmth and nurturant-involved parenting.

Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, Henrich, Brookmeyer, and Shahar (2005) investigated weapon violence involving violence exposure and commission, as well as the protective roles of parent and school connectedness over time. Adolescents sample (N=7033) were followed for one year over two waves of measurement. Consistent with hypotheses, violence exposure and violence commission uniquely predicted each other over time. Also, adolescents who were more connected with their parents were less likely to commit weapon violence over time, and
adolescents who were more connected to school were less likely to be exposed to weapon violence over time. However, neither domain of connectedness buffered adolescents from the effects of violence exposure on committing violence. Further, parent and school connectedness seemed to have more power as preventive rather than as mitigating factors in relation to weapon violence.

In their study Ingoldsby et al. (2006) examined relations among neighborhood disadvantage, parent-child conflict, deviant peer involvement in the neighborhood, and early-starting antisocial trajectories. Antisocial group patterns were identified in 218 low-income boys followed from ages 5 to 11, and neighborhood and family variables were evaluated as predictors in early and middle childhood. Parent-child conflict and neighborhood disadvantage were significantly associated with trajectory patterns, with youth in the 2 higher antisocial behavior groups characterized by more neighborhood problems and parent-child conflict than other groups. The results suggest that in early childhood, neighborhood disadvantage and family conflict place children at risk for early-starting trajectories, and that involvement with deviant peers in the neighborhood takes on an increasingly important role in patterns of antisocial behavior over middle childhood.

**Peer Rejection: A mean to turn into an Antisocial Gang member**

When children are rejected at home by their significant others increasingly rely on peers for a sense of belonging. But when they are rejected by their peers also, it affects them a lot. Children who are rejected by their peers are more likely to display aggressive behaviour and disrupt group activities through bickering, bullying or other anti-social behaviour (Siegel, 2007). Children who are seen to be not that popular, lack of control, lack interpersonal skill, aggressive and so on are usually avoided by their peers. Hoping to belong and to be accepted in at least one peer group, no matter its
damaged reputation, they feel compelled to engage in more anti-social activity in an effort to gain standing and approval (Siegel, 2007).

In a review, Parker and Asher (1987) examined the oft-made claim that peer-relationship difficulties in childhood predict serious adjustment problems in later life. Three indexes of problematic peer relationships (acceptance, aggressiveness, and shyness/withdrawal) are evaluated as predictors of three later outcomes (dropping out of school, criminality, and psychopathology). Analysis of the literature indicates general support for the hypothesis that children with poor peer adjustment are at risk for later life difficulties. Support is clearest for the outcomes of dropping out and criminality. It is also clearest for low acceptance and aggressiveness as predictors, whereas a link between shyness/withdrawal and later maladjustment has not yet been adequately tested.

Cairns et al. (1988) studied social networks and aggressive behavior in school in two cohorts of boys and girls in the 4th and 7th grades (N=695). Measures of social networks yielded convergent findings. Highly aggressive subjects (both boys and girls) did not differ from matched control subjects in terms of social cluster membership or in being isolated or rejected within the social network. Peer cluster analysis and reciprocal "best friend" selections indicated that aggressive subjects tended to affiliate with aggressive peers. Even though highly aggressive children and adolescents were less popular than control subjects in the social network at large, they were equally often identified as being nuclear members of social clusters.

For their study Bierman, Smoot, and Aumiller (1993) selected 95 boys at 3 developmental levels (ages 6-8, 8-10, 10-12) on the basis of sociometric and aggression ratings to represent 4 groups: (1) aggressive and rejected, (2) aggressive (not rejected), (3) rejected (not aggressive), or (4) neither aggressive nor rejected. Behavioral observations, teacher ratings, peer ratings,
and open-ended peer interviews were collected to characterize the behaviors of these boys in three social domains (conduct problems, sociability/withdrawal, and adaptability/responsivity to peer expectations). Distinct problem profiles emerged. Aggressive-rejected boys exhibited more diverse and severe conduct problems that did aggressive boys, along with greater deficiencies in the domain of adaptability. Nonaggressive rejected children were considered by teachers and peers to be shy and passive, deficient in prosocial behaviors, atypical, and socially insensitive. Grade-level decrease in physical aggression and increase in peer-reported atypical/insensitive behaviors corresponded to developmental differences in group characteristics.

Miller-Johnson et al. (1999) conducted a longitudinal study that examined peer rejection and aggression in childhood as predictors of the severity and type of delinquency during adolescence. Sociometric surveys were completed at third grade for a predominantly low-socioeconomic status, urban sample of African American boys and girls, and youth reports of delinquency were gathered at Grades 6, 8, and 10. Patterns of association between childhood peer rejection and aggression and delinquency severity varied by gender. For boys, the additive effect of childhood peer rejection and aggression was a strong predictor of more serious delinquency, whereas for girls only aggression predicted more serious delinquency. For boys, the combination of peer rejection and aggression was associated with felony assaults, and aggression was associated with a wide diversity of offenses during adolescence, whereas for girls only peer rejection predicted involvement in minor assault. Results are discussed in terms of the early starter pathway of antisocial behavior as it relates to peer rejection and aggression for boys, differing predictive patterns for girls.
A longitudinal, prospective design was used by Laird et al. (2001) to examine the roles of peer rejection in middle childhood and antisocial peer involvement in early adolescence in the development of adolescent externalizing behavior problems. Both early starter and late starter pathways were considered. Classroom sociometric interviews from ages 6 through 9 years, adolescent reports of peers' behavior at age 13 years, and parent, teacher, and adolescent self-reports of externalizing behavior problems from age 5 through 14 years were available for 400 adolescents. Results indicate that experiencing peer rejection in elementary school and greater involvement with antisocial peers in early adolescence were correlated but that these peer relationship experiences may represent two different pathways to adolescent externalizing behavior problems. Peer rejection experiences, but not involvement with antisocial peers, predict later externalizing behavior problems when controlling for stability in externalizing behavior. Externalizing problems were most common when rejection was experienced repeatedly. Early externalizing problems did not appear to moderate the relation between peer rejection and later problem behavior.

Peer rejection and aggression in the early school years were examined by Miller-Johnson et al. (2002) for their relevance to early starting conduct problems. The sample of 657 boys and girls from 4 geographical locations was followed from 1st through 4th grades. Peer rejection in 1st grade added incrementally to the prediction of early starting conduct problems in 3rd and 4th grades, over and above the effects of aggression. Peer rejection and aggression in 1st grade were also associated with the impulsive and emotionally reactive behaviors found in older samples. The results support the hypothesis that the experience of peer rejection in the early school years adds to the risk for early starting conduct problems.
The present study was designed by Fergusson, Swain-Campbell, and Horwood (2002) to assess the influence of deviant peer affiliations on crime and substance use in adolescence/young adulthood. Data were used from a 21-year longitudinal study of health, development, and adjustment of a birth cohort of 1,265 New Zealand children. Annual assessments of deviant peer affiliations were obtained for the period from age 14-21 years, together with measures of psychosocial outcomes including, violent crime, property crime, alcohol abuse, cannabis abuse, and nicotine dependence. Affiliating with deviant peers was found to be significantly associated with each of these outcomes ($p < .0001$). For violent/property crime, cannabis and alcohol abuse there was significant evidence of age-related variation in the strength of association with deviant peer affiliations, with deviant peer affiliations having greater influence on younger participants (14-15 years) than older participants (20-21 years).

**Childhood Aggression: Paves way to Criminality**

Aggression, in its broadest sense, is behaviour, or a disposition towards behaviour, that is forceful, hostile or attacking. It is often not until the school entry age that aggressive behaviour patterns become apparent. Studies show that aggressive behaviour begins early in life and, in most children, reaches a peak at about four years of age, declining after that. This still means that the majority of aggressive preschoolers do not become aggressive adolescents. Mounting evidence suggests that a substantial proportion of aggressive, defiant, overactive toddlers and pre-schoolers continue to have problems at later age. Where problem aggressive behaviours are present in preschool children, children maintain these behaviours into adolescence and a substantial number of these will engage in antisocial behaviour. Studies show that childhood aggression is a best predictor of adult criminality.
On the basis of previous knowledge and theoretical considerations, a causal model was formulated and tested by Olweus (1980) through path analysis on two representative samples of Swedish boys (n=76) 13 year-olds and (n=51) 16 year-olds. Subjects' habitual aggression levels were assessed through peer ratings. Data on early rearing conditions and temperamental characteristics were obtained in retrospective interviews with all of the mothers and the majority of the fathers. Main results were similar in the two sample that the four factors in the model—mother's negativism, mother's permissiveness for aggression, mother's and father's use of power-assertive methods, and boy's temperament—all contributed to the development of an aggressive reaction pattern, with the former two factors having the greatest causal impact.

In a study spanning 22 year, Huesmann et al. (1984) collected data on the aggressiveness of over 600 subjects, their parents, and their children. Subjects who were the more aggressive eight year olds at the beginning of the study were discovered to be the more aggressive 30 year olds at the end of the study. The stability of aggressive behaviour was shown to be very similar to the stability of intellectual competence, especially for males. Early aggressiveness was predictive of later serious antisocial behaviour, including criminal behaviour, spouse abuse, traffic violations, and self-reported physical aggression. Furthermore, the stability of aggression across generations within a family when measured at comparable ages was even higher than the within individual stability across ages.

In a study a sample of 2,453 grade school children were followed into young adulthood through record sources by Roff and Wirt (1984). Teacher interviews provided information about low-peer-status children that was assessed in relation to subsequent delinquency for both sexes and young adult criminality for males. A multivariate design evaluated the joint effects of
social class, a measure of family disturbance, and childhood problem behavior factors as antecedents of delinquency. Childhood aggression emerged as the most prominent antecedent factor for males but not for females. Social class and family disturbance were associated with aggression but did not have significant direct effects on delinquency. Aggression was related to severity of delinquency. Dispositional status, reflecting severity, was the best indicator of which delinquent males would have adult criminal records.

Eron (1987) in an article describes theoretical developments that have guided the interpretation of findings in a large-scale longitudinal study of the development of aggression over 22 years. The original variables were selected on the basis of their relevance to Hull-Spence theory, and the data were collected in conformity with the positivistic criteria that theory dictated. However, these data, as they accumulate, have also been found to be relevant to operant formulations as well as to social learning theory and, most recently, cognitive behaviorism. Indeed, as theories of learning have become broader they have been progressively better able to account for the data. Eron reported that children who were rated as aggressive by their peers at age 8 were three times more likely to engage in criminal conduct by age 19 than those who were not rated as aggressive by their peers.

The study of Stattin and Magnusson (1989) reports on the relation between aggressive behavior at early school age and later delinquent activities of 1,027 subjects (517 boys and 510 girls) prospectively followed from late childhood to adulthood. Aggressiveness was measured by teacher ratings at ages 10 and 13 years. There was a strong connection between both the aggressiveness ratings at ages 10 and 13 and adult delinquency for boys, with the majority of delinquents and recidivists being recruited from the early-aggressive boys. High ratings of aggressiveness were characteristic of boys who later committed violent crimes and damage to public property and
generally of subjects with a diversified offense pattern. Aggressiveness was not predictive of later crime for girls until they reached the age of 13. For both sexes the relation between aggressiveness and crime was to a large extent independent of intelligence and family education.

The comparative effectiveness of preadolescent aggressive behavior, peer rejection, and school functioning were evaluated in the study of Kupersmidt and Coie (1990) in the prediction of adolescent delinquency and school maladjustment. Fifth-grade children (n = 112, 69% white, 53% male, M = 11 years old) were followed forward for 7 years until the end of high school. Rejected children were more likely to have a nonspecific negative outcome and more types of negative outcomes than average, popular, or neglected children, particularly among the white students. However, in regression models containing sex, race, aggression, frequent school absences, low grades, and rejection, the only significant predictor of juvenile delinquency or of a nonspecific negative outcome was aggression toward peers. Both aggression and frequent school absences were significant predictors of early school withdrawal. Analyses for the white children in the sample revealed that both rejection and aggression best predicted to the nonspecific negative outcome, whereas aggression alone best predicted to school dropout and to having one or more police contacts.

Farrington (1991) has examined whether aggression is a specific trend or part of a more general syndrome of antisocial behaviour. The author states that if the latter is true, then childhood aggression should predict both antisocial behaviour and violence in adulthood. If aggression is a specific trait, then it should predict violence in adulthood but not other antisocial behaviour. In a 25 year follow-up of 400 urban working class males, Farrington found that aggression in childhood predicted both antisocial behaviour and violence in adulthood, and concluded that the causes of
aggression and violence must be essentially the same as the causes of persistent and extreme antisocial, delinquent and criminal behaviour.

Pulkkinen and Pitkanen (1993) conducted a study as part of the Longitudinal Study on Social Development. The subjects (originally 173 females, 196 males) were studied at age 8, 14, 20, and 26. Stability of aggression from the age of 8 to 14 was as high for girls as for boys when peer nominations was employed but lower for girls in teacher rating. For males, both peer nominations and teacher ratings on aggression at age 8 and 14 predicted criminality, arrests for alcohol abuse, and problem drinking as well as self-reports on aggression at age 26. The outcomes were most negative if aggression was patterned with other adjustment problems. For females, teacher ratings on aggression were biased by school adjustment, and they predicted arrests for alcohol abuse and problem drinking; peer nominations predicted self-reports on aggression. Developmental trajectories for physically aggressive girls differed from those for verbally and facially aggressive girls, the former being less oriented to education. Sex differences did not exist in the amount of aggression when measured with peer nominations, but boys were more aggressive when measured with teacher ratings.

Viemero (1996) conducted a follow-up study on the aggressive and delinquent behavior of an original sample of 220 pupils of two age groups. The subjects were 7 and 9 years old in 1978 when they were interviewed for the first time. Later the investigator focused on predictors of the subjects’ aggressive and criminal behavior in adolescence and in young adulthood. Four different groups of variables were chosen as possible predictive factors: 1) parental aggression, punitivity, and attitudes of rejection toward the child, 2) previous acts of aggression by the subjects, 3) the viewing of violence on television during childhood, and 4) aggressive, indifferent, and delinquent behavior in adolescence. Physical aggression in adolescence and the number
of arrests and traffic violations in young adulthood were used as dependent variables. The analyses established that for the male subjects, the best predictor of physical aggression in adolescence was previous aggression, whereas for the female subjects the best predictor of physical aggression in adolescence was previous viewing of violence on television. The number of arrests in young adulthood was best predicted for the male subjects on the basis of previous aggression and viewing of violence on television. The best predictors of the number of arrests in young adulthood for the female subjects were, apart from previous aggression and viewing of violence on television, also aggressive and delinquent behavior in adolescence as well as parental aggression, punitivity, and attitudes of rejection. The results emphasize the importance of the atmosphere of socialization in childhood and previous aggressive behavior as significant predictors of physical aggression in adolescence and criminal behavior in young adulthood.

Different manifestations of aggression from childhood to early adulthood are reviewed by Loeber and Hay (1997) to establish how early manifestations are related to later manifestations. Similarities and differences in manifestations of aggression between the two genders are noted. Developmental sequences and pathways from minor aggression to violence are highlighted. Long-term escalation is contrasted with short-term escalation at older ages. Although studies have emphasized high stability of aggression over time, data show that a substantial proportion of aggressive youth desist over time. Temperamental, emotional, and cognitive aspects of aggression are reviewed, either as precursors or co-occurring conditions to aggression. Selected processes in the realms of the family, peers, and neighborhoods are highlighted that are known to be associated with juvenile aggression.

Evidence of the continuity of early problem behaviors in young girls and boys was examined developmentally by Keenan et al. (1998). Data were gathered on 104 mother-child dyads from low-income families when children
were between 1 and 5 years of age. Difficult temperament, aggression, and noncompliance from 12 to 24 months, and externalizing and internalizing problems at 36 and 60 months, were assessed. The results provide evidence for the continuity of early behavioral and emotional problems and support for the early differentiation between internalizing and externalizing problems.

A semi-parametric mixture model was used by Nagin and Tremblay (1999) with a sample of 1,037 boys assessed repeatedly from 6 to 15 years of age to approximate a continuous distribution of developmental trajectories for three externalizing behaviors. Regression models were then used to determine which trajectories best predicted physically violent and nonviolent juvenile delinquency up to 17 years of age. Four developmental trajectories were identified for the physical aggression, opposition, and hyperactivity externalizing behavior dimensions: a chronic problem trajectory, a high level near-desister trajectory, a moderate level desister trajectory, and a no problem trajectory. Boys who followed a given trajectory for one type of externalizing problem behavior did not necessarily follow the same trajectory for the two other types of behavior problem. The different developmental trajectories of problem behavior also led to different types of juvenile delinquency. A chronic oppositional trajectory, with the physical aggression and hyperactivity trajectories being held constant, led to covert delinquency (theft) only, while a chronic physical aggression trajectory, with the oppositional and hyperactivity trajectories being held constant, led to overt delinquency (physical violence) and to the most serious delinquent acts.

Investigating the antecedents of delinquency, researchers from the Australian Institute of Criminology, Bor et al. (2001) summarized results from the Mater University Study of Pregnancy, a longitudinal study of over 5000 mothers and their children. The result showed that aggression at five was a stronger predictor of delinquency than gender (being male), poverty, family
structure and maternal education. It increased a child’s risk of delinquency by a factor of 4.48. One in six aggressive, compared with one in 33 non-aggressive, children were delinquent by the time they were 14.

Stevenson and Goodman (2001) conducted study to determine whether pre-school behaviour problems increase the risk of later criminal convictions and add to risk associated with family and social circumstances. The records of adult convictions were traced for a general population sample (n=828) initially assessed at age 3 years. The risk of having any adult conviction was related to soiling, daytime enuresis, activity level and management difficulties, and that of having an adult violent offence to recent-onset daytime enuresis, management difficulties and temper tantrums. The only other predictors of later convictions were the child's gender and social competence at age 3 years. The presence of specific behaviour problems in the pre-school period places the child at increased risk of being convicted of an adult offence. Family and social circumstances at age 3 years did not predict later convictions.

Huesmann, Eron, and Dubow (2002) conducted study to assess childhood predictors of adult criminality. The degree to which family background variables, parental beliefs and behaviour and child intelligence predict child aggression and adult criminality were assessed. Data were used from the Colombia County Longitudinal Study, a longitudinal study of 856 children in third grade in New York, in 1959-60. Adult measures of criminal behaviour, child measures taken at age eight, child peer-nominated aggression, child's peer-nominated popularity, child's IQ and parental measures at eight years were used. Aggressive children were less intelligent, less popular, rejected more by their parents, had parents who believed in punishment, were less identified with their parents' self-image and were less likely to express guilt. As adults, more aggressive children with parents who
were less well educated, and experienced more marital disharmony and who seldom attended church were most at risk for arrest. Level of aggression at age eight is the best predictor of criminal events over the next 22 years. A clear implication is that the risk for criminality is affected by much that happens to a boy before he is eight years old.

The study of Broidy et al. (2003) used data from 6 sites and 3 countries to examine the developmental course of physical aggression in childhood and to analyze its linkage to violent and nonviolent offending outcomes in adolescence. The results indicate that among boys there is continuity in problem behavior from childhood to adolescence and that such continuity is especially acute when early problem behavior takes the form of physical aggression. Chronic physical aggression during the elementary school years specifically increases the risk for continued physical violence as well as other nonviolent forms of delinquency during adolescence. However, the conclusion is reserved primarily for boys, because the results indicate no clear linkage between childhood physical aggression and adolescent offending among female samples despite notable similarities across male and female samples in the developmental course of physical aggression in childhood.

Bor, McGee, and Fagan (2004) utilized data from the Mater University Study of Pregnancy, an longitudinal investigation of women’s and children’s health and development involving over 8000 participants to identify early risk factors for adolescent antisocial behaviour. Five types of risk factors (child characteristics, perinatal factors, maternal/familial characteristics, maternal pre- and post-natal substance use and parenting practices) were included in analyses and were based on maternal reports, child assessments and medical records. Adolescent antisocial behaviour was measured when children were 14 years old, using the delinquency subscale of the Child Behaviour Checklist. Based on a series of logistic regression models, significant risk
Review of Literature

factors for adolescent antisocial behaviour which include children’s prior problem behaviour (i.e. aggression and attention/restlessness problems at age 5 years) doubled or tripled the odds of antisocial behaviour. Perinatal factors, maternal substance use, and parenting practices were relatively poor predictors of antisocial behaviour.

Recent theory proposes that aggressive and nonaggressive antisocial behaviour (ASB) represent different pathways toward delinquency. It has also been suggested that Aggressive ASB is heritable, whereas nonaggressive ASB is more influenced by shared environment. The study of Tuvblad, Eley, and Lichtenstein (2005) included 1,226 twin pairs. They used the parental-reported Aggression and Delinquency scales from the CBCL measured at age 8-9. Delinquent behaviour was measured through self-report at age 16-17. The authors explored how genetic and environmental effects influence the relationships between aspects of ASB in childhood and adolescent delinquency using structural equations modelling. For girls they found that the relationship between Aggressive Behaviour and Self-Reported Delinquency was explained by genetic influences. The correlation between Delinquent Behaviour and Self-Reported Delinquency was due to continuity of genetic influences. For boys, there was no significant mediation between Aggressive Behaviour and Self-Reported Delinquency, but there were significant shared environmental effects on the relationship between Delinquent Behaviour and Self-Reported Delinquency. The results suggest that there are sex differences in the development of ASB. The hypothesis that the aggressive pathway is genetically mediated was supported in girls, whereas the hypothesis that the nonaggressive pathway is environmentally dependent was supported in boys.

The study of Penney and Moretti (2007) examined the concurrent relationship between psychopathy characteristics as measured by the Hare
Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL:YV) and aggressive and antisocial behavior in a sample of 142 high-risk adolescent girls and boys. The unique relationship between each of three PCL:YV factors (Arrogant and Deceitful Interpersonal Style, Deficient Affective Experience, and Impulsive and Irresponsible Behavioral Style) and outcomes was evaluated to determine which aspects of psychopathy are most crucially linked to aggressive and antisocial behavior in adolescents. Dependent measures were expanded to include both relational and physical forms of aggression to better capture meaningful outcomes for girls and boys. Regression analyses showed that the relationships between psychopathic features and outcomes were equivalent for boys and girls, and that deficits in affect were most consistently associated with aggression. These findings are concordant with the well established finding in developmental research showing that deficits in empathy and affect regulation are associated with aggression.

Utilizing the Concordia Longitudinal Risk Project, a study of individuals recruited as children in the 1970s from inner-city schools in Montreal, Temcheff (2008) examined different pathways whereby aggressive behavioral styles in childhood may place individuals at risk for continuing patterns of violence towards children and spouses. Childhood aggression directly predicted self-reported violence towards spouse for both sexes, with indirect routes through lowered educational attainment and marital separation. Aggression in childhood was also found to predict parents’ self-reports of using violence with their children. For mothers, educational attainment and current absence of the biological father from the child’s home also played important roles in predicting violent behavior towards offspring. These findings provide evidence of both continuity of aggressive behavior and indirect risk paths to family violence, via lower educational attainment and parental absence. In both men and women, childhood aggression may be an identifiable precursor of family violence and child abuse.
Using data from the Columbia County Longitudinal Study, a 40-year longitudinal study following an entire county's population of third-grade students from age 8 to 48, Huesmann, Dubow, and Boxer (2009) examined questions about the long-term consequences of aggressive and antisocial behavior in childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood. They found moderate levels of continuity of aggression from age 8 to 48 both for males and for females. They found that continuity of aggressiveness is owing to not only the high-aggressive participants staying high but also owing to the low-aggressive participants staying low. Compared with life-course-persistent low aggressives, they found that life-course-persistent high aggressives had consistently poorer outcomes across domains of life success, criminal behavior, and psychosocial functioning at age 48 (e.g., arrests, traffic violations, aggression toward spouse and divorces, depression, health, occupational and educational attainment). In contrast, adolescent-limited and child-limited aggressives did not differ from life-course-persistent low aggressives on the age 48 outcomes. Finally, the outcomes for late-onset (early adulthood) aggressives were also problematic in some domains though not as problematic as those for life-course-persistent aggressives.

The development of aggressiveness between 5 and 17 years and some parental influences on this development were analyzed by Wahl and Metzner (2012) using data from Germany. International studies have shown a peak of aggression of children (primarily boys) between 2 and 4 years and a second peak of antisocial or aggressive behavior of boys between 15 and 20 years, but small groups of children and adolescents were persistently aggressive. A representative longitudinal study (2,190 children and their parents) and an additional study (1,372 children and adolescents) were conducted in Germany. The hypotheses of this article are that in the data can be found (a) an U-shaped course of aggressiveness for boys and girls, but on different levels, (b) a minority of persistently aggressive children and youth, (c) influences of
parental temperaments, behavioral tendencies, parenting styles and the family status on the children’s aggressiveness. The results replicate roughly the “valley” of the U-shaped course of aggressiveness. Small groups of chronically aggressive children were found as well. Influences of parental temperaments and corresponding behavioral tendencies (internalizing and externalizing behavior), parenting styles (child-centered communication, use of violence) and the social status of the families on child aggressiveness confirmed the hypotheses.

Antisocial Peer Association: A Source of Peer Pressure

Peer relationships become the primary social context that influences social development (Rubin, Bukowski, and Parker, 1998). Change in the quality and amount of time spent with peers suggests that this period may be marked by heightened susceptibility to peer influence (Brown, et al., 1997, cited by Elisa, Trucco, Colder, and Wieczorek, 2011). When one begins to socialize, they will also begin to feel pressure from their friends. This phenomenon is called peer pressure. Peer pressure has its own role either positive or negative to play in a person’s life, especially during the adolescence. It is a strong form of conformity because it is motivated by the desire to belong to a group. Typically one would choose a peer group that they feel is similar to who they are or who they want to be. In some cases, they may be pressured into doing something they know is not right. Peer pressure is something that can usually not be avoided as an adolescent. When this happens, the adolescent will be heading down the wrong road. In groups where the member may get in the influential trap of negative peer pressure, the outcome may be crime.

Erickson and Jensen (1977) explored the premise that delinquency is a group phenomenon, and suggest that it should be revived in the study of delinquency. Questionnaires were administered to 1,700 small-town and
1,273 urban high school students in southern Arizona. Group violation rates among this sample and a smaller one in a prior Utah study were determined. The data are broken down by geography, gender of offender, and type of violation. The company of peers was shown to be an important factor in delinquency. Drug offenses tended to have the highest group violation rates, while status offenses other than drinking and smoking had the lowest. Group influence was stronger in female than male delinquency, and about equal in rural and urban settings.

An article of Zimring (1981) discusses some evidence on adolescent crime as group behavior that emerged from the pioneering studies of the Chicago School in the 1920s. Eight out of ten boys accused of delinquency were alleged to have committed their offenses in the company of one or more companions. Modern evidence is available on the predominance of groups as a distinctive aspect of adolescent criminality, including the serious offenses that are the focus of recent concern about youth crime policy. The role of male juvenile delinquency as group behavior is acknowledged as fundamental, and the extent to which different types of criminality exhibit similar characteristics is well-known.

Patterson and Dishion (1985) presented a model that explains the contribution of parents and peers to adolescent delinquent behavior. It is hypothesized that during adolescence a failure in parent monitoring and deficits in social skills increase the likelihood that a youngster associates with deviant peers. Poor parent monitoring deviant peers, and low levels of academic skills are hypothesized to contribute directly to an adolescent's engagement in delinquent behavior. The model was tested on a sample of 136 seventh and tenth grade male adolescents by using the structural modeling approach in the LISREL IV analysis program developed by Joreskog and Sorbom (1978). A chi square goodness-of-fit test for the revised model
showed adequate agreement between the hypothesized model and the observed covariance structure of the data.

In their study Morgan and Grube (1991) hypothesized that closeness of peer group relationships would be a critical factor in determining peer influence on substance use. The hypothesis was examined in a panel study of the effects of peer approval and behaviour on cigarette smoking, drinking and other drug use among Irish adolescents. In support of the closeness hypothesis, the influences relating to peers identified by respondents as 'friends' were better predictors of drug use than were the corresponding factors relating to same-aged peers, while the person identified as the 'best friend' seemed uniquely influential. Furthermore, there were important differences associated with maintenance of drug use as opposed to initiation, both as regards the type of friends and the mediating factors that were important. In particular, it emerged that several good friends were influential (by means of example and approval) in initiation, while the best friend had a critical role in the maintenance of drug use.

The predictive influence of deviant peers on boys' disruptive and delinquent behavior was examined by Keenan et al. (1995) in a community sample of fourth- and seventh-grade boys, who were followed-up over six data waves. Analyses were conducted separately for three different types of behavior problems: authority conflict, covert, and overt disruptive behavior. Consistent with the existing literature, concurrent relations between peers' and boys' disruptive behavior were expected to be significant. The potential moderating effects of hyperactivity and poor parenting practices were also examined to test the hypothesis that boys who are already at risk for behavior problems will be more susceptible to deviant peer influence. Results supported the significant concurrent and predictive relation between exposure to deviant peers and boys' engagement in disruptive and delinquent behavior.
Review of Literature

Osgood et al. (1996) extended the routine activity perspectives situational analysis of crime to individual offending and to a broad range of deviant behaviours. In this view, unstructured socializing with peers in the absence of authority figures presents opportunities for deviance: in the presence of peers, deviant acts will be easier and more rewarding; the absence of authority figures reduces the potential for social control responses to deviance; and the lack of structure leaves time available for deviant behaviour. To determine whether individuals who spend more time in unstructured socializing activities engage in deviant behaviours more frequently, we analyzed within individual changes in routine activities and deviance across five waves of data for a national sample of more than 1,700 18 to 26 year olds. Participation in these routine activities was strongly associated with criminal behaviour, heavy alcohol use, use of marijuana and other illicit drugs, and dangerous driving. Furthermore, routine activities accounted for a substantial portion of the association between these deviant behaviours and age, sex and socioeconomic status.

Bartusch et al. (1997) tested competing hypotheses derived from Gottfredson and Hirschi’s (1990) general theory and Moffitt’s (1993a) developmental theory of antisocial behavior. The developmental theory argues that different factors give rise to antisocial behavior at different points in the life course. In contrast, the general theory maintains that the factor underlying antisocial behavior (i.e., criminal propensity) is the same at all ages. To test these competing predictions, the investigators used longitudinal data spanning from age 5 to age 18 for the male subjects in the Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Study. Using reports from three sources (parents, teachers, and the boys themselves), they estimated second-order confirmatory factor models of antisocial behavior. These models provided consistent support for the developmental theory, showing that separate latent factors underlie childhood and adolescent antisocial behavior. Moreover, they found
that these childhood and adolescent factors related in ways predicted by Moffitt's developmental theory to four correlates of antisocial behavior: Childhood antisocial behavior was related more strongly than adolescent antisocial behavior to low verbal ability, by per activity, and negative/impulsive personality, whereas adolescent antisocial behavior was related more strongly than childhood antisocial behavior to peer delinquency.

The two underlying latent factors also showed the predicted differential relations to later criminal convictions: Childhood antisocial behavior was significantly more strongly associated with convictions for violence, while adolescent antisocial behavior was significantly more strongly associated with convictions for nonviolent offenses.

The interrelationship of family and peer experiences in predicting adolescent problem behaviors examined by Garnier and Stein (2001) in an 18-year longitudinal sample of adolescents (N=198) from conventional and nonconventional families. The most powerful predictors of teen drug use and delinquent behaviors were similar behaviors by peers. Peer behaviors, however, were in turn predicted by earlier family-related variables and the quality of peer relationships in childhood. This study provides supporting evidence that strong peer effects in adolescence reflect even earlier processes in childhood and highlight the importance of linkages from early childhood experiences in family and peer contexts to the development of problem behaviors in adolescence.

In the study of Gardner and Steinberg (2005) 306 individuals in 3 age groups—adolescents (13–16 years), youths (18–22 years), and adults (24 years and older)—completed 2 questionnaire measures assessing risk preference and risky decision making, and 1 behavioral task measuring risk taking. Participants in each age group were randomly assigned to complete the measures either alone or with 2 same-aged peers. Analyses indicated that (a)
risk taking and risky decision making decreased with age; (b) participants took more risks, focused more on the benefits than the costs of risky behavior, and made riskier decisions when in peer groups than alone; and (c) peer effects on risk taking and risky decision making were stronger among adolescents and youths than adults. These findings support the idea that adolescents are more inclined toward risky behavior and risky decision making than are adults and that peer influence plays an important role in explaining risky behavior during adolescence.

Allen, Porter, and McFarland (2006) examined adolescents’ susceptibility to peer influence as a marker of difficulties in the general process of autonomy development that was likely to be related to deficits across multiple domains of psychosocial functioning. A laboratory-based assessment of susceptibility to peer influence in interactions with a close friend was developed and examined in relation to corollary reports obtained from adolescents, their mothers, and close peers at ages 13 and 14. As hypothesized, observed susceptibility to peer influence with a close friend predicted future responses to negative peer pressure. Susceptibility to peer influence was also linked to higher concurrent levels of substance use, externalizing behavior, and sexual activity. Results are interpreted as reflecting the central role of establishing autonomy with peers in psychosocial development.

The linkages between self-regulation in childhood, risk proneness in early adolescence, and risky sexual behavior in mid-adolescence were examined in a cohort of children (N = 518) from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth by Crockett, Raffaelli, and Shen (2006). The possible mediating role of two early adolescent variables (substance use and negative peer pressure) was also examined. Self-regulation was assessed by maternal report at ages 8–9, and risk proneness, comprising aspects of sensation review of literature
seeking and decision making, was assessed by adolescent self-report at ages 12–13. Structural equation models predicting risky sexual behavior at ages 16–17 indicated that self-regulation operated partly through early adolescent substance use, whereas risk proneness operated through early adolescent substance use and negative peer pressure. These long-term longitudinal results support the importance of early self-regulation and risk proneness in setting the stage for adolescent sexual risk taking and implicate substance use and negative peer pressure as processes through which risk proneness and poor self-regulation lead to risky sexual behavior.

Using a sample of preadolescent youth, Ingram et al. (2007) examined the effect of family and peer relationships on delinquency. Specifically, path analysis is used to test the effects of family structure, parental supervision, and parental attachment on serious delinquent behavior to determine if a youth's family life has a unique effect on serious delinquent behavior, or if familial relationships are mediated by peer associations. Findings suggest that parental variables are indirectly related to subsequent, serious delinquency, whereas delinquent peer association exerts a strong, direct effect. The study offers insight into the roles that a youth's family life and peer associations play in explaining delinquent behavior.

Gang affiliation, aggression, and violent offending were examined in case files of 390 youth offenders aged between 16 and 18 years by Anga et al. (2010). Results indicated that youth offenders who were gang members and those who were not gang members but exposed to friends in gangs had a significantly higher likelihood of violent offending compared with a reference group of youth offenders who had neither gang affiliation nor friends in gangs. Additionally, youth offenders who had friends in gangs but were themselves not gang members had a lower likelihood of violent offending than youth offenders who were gang members. Finally, results showed that a
history of aggressive behavior was significantly associated with violent offending.

Chein et al. (2011) posited that the presence of peers may promote adolescent risk taking by sensitizing brain regions associated with the anticipation of potential rewards. Using fMRI, the authors measured brain activity in adolescents, young adults, and adults as they made decisions in a simulated driving task. Participants completed one task block while alone, and one block while their performance was observed by peers in an adjacent room. During peer observation blocks, adolescents selectively demonstrated greater activation in reward-related brain regions, including the ventral striatum and orbitofrontal cortex, and activity in these regions predicted subsequent risk taking. Brain areas associated with cognitive control were less strongly recruited by adolescents than adults, but activity in the cognitive control system did not vary with social context. Results suggest that the presence of peers increases adolescent risk taking by heightening sensitivity to the potential reward value of risky decisions.

**Impulsivity: A Decisive factor of Criminal Behaviour**

Impulsivity and criminal behaviour has been a popular focus of research for a number of years and it is now well-established that there is a link between impulsive tendencies and criminality for both juveniles and adults. Impulsivity refers to the tendency to act without thinking – failing to analyze the consequences of a particular behaviour before performing an act (Robinson, Porporino, and Beal, 1998). Impulsivity serves as a broader category for many of the indicators included under the cognitive and behavioural domains. It has been argued that impulsivity is an identifying characteristic of many crimes committed by offenders.
Zamble and Quinsey’s (1991, cited by Robinson, Porporino, and Beal, 1998) study of Canadian federal recidivists demonstrates how typically impulsive many offenders are in the commission of their crimes. Close to half of their recidivist sample indicated that the complete process from first conceptualizing a recidivistic crime to execution of the criminal behaviour took place within a period of approximately 1 hour. Only about one-quarter of the federal recidivists said they spent time planning or rehearsing their crimes for more than an hour before commission of the offence.

A multimethod, multisource assessment of impulsivity was conducted by White et al. (1994) in a sample of more than 400 boys (mean age 10.2 years at screening) who were members of a longitudinal study of the development of antisocial behaviour. Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis of the 11 different impulsivity measures revealed 2 impulsivity factors: Cognitive and Behavioural. Cognitive and behavioural impulsivity had similar correlations with socioeconomic status. Cognitive impulsivity was more strongly related to IQ than was behavioural impulsivity. Behavioural impulsivity was more strongly related to delinquency at ages 10 yrs and 12–23 yrs than was cognitive impulsivity. Consistent with theoretical prediction, results also indicate that behavioural impulsivity was especially related to serious delinquency that is stable over time.

Krueger et al. (1996) assessed the delay of gratification behaviour of 428 twelve- and thirteen-year-old boys, half of whom were known to manifest symptoms of behavioural disturbance. Consistent with the hypothesis that low self-control is a risk factor specific to externalizing (aggressive and delinquent) disorders, boys who showed signs of externalizing disorders tended to seek immediate gratification in a laboratory task more often than both nondisordered boys and boys who showed signs of internalizing (anxious and depressed) disorders. In addition, children who were able to delay
immediate gratification were described by their mothers as ego controlled, ego resilient, conscientious, open to experience, and agreeable. These results suggest that poor delay of gratification may be one of a select number of specific risk factors for externalizing disorder, and that good delay of gratification is linked to multiple adaptive tendencies in early adolescence.

Data from a large longitudinal study of boys who were between kindergarten and age 13 years were used by Tremblay et al. (1994) to (1) test whether Gray’s and Cloninger’s personality dimensions measured in kindergarten predicted the early onset of stable, highly delinquent behaviour.; (2) test whether 1, 2, or 3 dimensions were needed; and (3) test the predictive value of a categorical approach. The impulsivity dimension was the best predictor of the early onset of stable, highly delinquent behaviour. Anxiety and reward dependence made significant but weaker contributions. The categorical approach corroborated Cloninger’s suggestion that boys who are high in impulsivity, low in anxiety, and low in reward dependence would be more at risk for delinquent involvement. Boys who were high in impulsivity and low in anxiety but high in reward dependence were much less at risk for delinquency. Differences in antisocial behaviour among extreme kindergarten personality groups were stable from ages 11 to 13 years. The behavioural activating system appears to be the major dimension underlying the propensity toward early onset of antisocial behaviour, but both the behavioural inhibition system and the need for social rewards play important roles. The behavioural style (personality) that results from the interplay of these systems is clearly in place by the kindergarten year.

Four hypotheses were tested by Wright et al. (2001) with data from the Dunedin study in which gathered age-appropriate measures of low self-control, social ties, and crime in a longitudinal study that spanned from childhood to young adulthood. Attesting to enduring criminal propensity
Review of Literature

(hypothesis 1), the study members who displayed the lowest self-control went on to commit the most crime, even when controlling for the social ties that they formed. Attesting to unique social causation (hypothesis 2), the social ties formed by study members significantly deterred (or promoted in the case of delinquent peers) their criminal behaviour, even when controlling for their levels of self-control. Attesting to the process of cumulative social disadvantage (hypothesis 3), study members with low self-control experienced significantly less education, employment, family ties, and partnerships and more delinquent peers. Each of these changes in social ties, in turn, increased criminal behaviour. Finally, attesting to life-course interdependence (hypothesis 4), prosocial ties deterred crime, and antisocial ties promoted crime, most strongly among the low self-control study members. The evidence for life-course interdependence proved to be robust, holding up across different measures of self-control, social ties, and criminal behaviour.

From the elaborative literature review done by the investigator it was clearly seen that such studies needed to be done as it happened to be the need of the hour. There were not many studies that focused upon some of the variables as taken up in the present study that lead a person to the path of crime.

Significance of the Study

This study happens to have significance in today’s world as the crime rate seems to be towering high as per the International and National statistics survey even though, there have been plenty of measures undertaken by various Government policies to check its rise and existence. This state of crime rise is not because proper interventions for crime prevention are lacking but rather than giving more concentration to the eradication of the root causes that pave way to the crime commission, much importance is given to
punishment and rehabilitation after the crime occurrence. The usual scenario seen in the justice system of our nation is that if a person has committed a crime, he/she is immediately taken into custody. Later, as per the evidence and witness testimonials the said to be offender would be punished or prosecuted and the root causes that made them do the crime are often ignored.

Many crime prevention strategies are aimed at reducing opportunities to offend or to prevent crimes re-occurring in particular locations or situations. The impact of improved security or surveillance may be assessed over a relatively short timeframe. Thereby complete abolition of crime occurrence may not be possible. Interventions that are being planned and executed in order to eradicate crime from the world scenario itself but sadly none of the interventions focus upon the root causes that eventually lead to crime commission. Due to this fact intervention programmes, proper prevention and eradication of crime does not take place in a fully fledged manner. Hence, a broad array of programs and interventions that focuses on the eradication of the social and individual factors which have an onset from early period of development that source the development of antisocial/criminal behaviour should be developed and implemented. It is better to extirpate a situation that forces/initiates a person to do crime rather than punishing or rehabilitating him after he/she commits a crime.

An usually ignored aspect but, which actually needs great attention is the fact that many aspects of the criminal behaviour have the basis in the childhood and adolescence of an individual. However, there is a growing body of literature, which demonstrates a strong correlation between certain kinds of negative early childhood experiences and later offending by these children (Salmelainen, 1996; Weatherburn and Lind, 1997). The likelihood of an individual becoming involved in criminal activity is influenced by the existence of risk and protective factors. These factors can be associated with
the child, the family, school, the community or cultural environment and with life events.

Most importantly, scientifically persuasive evidence has emerged over recent years indicating that interventions early in life can have long-term impacts on crime and other social problems. A review of overseas research found considerable evidence that early intervention with families and the social development of children had positive effects in terms of reducing the likelihood of offending later in life (Trembley and Craig, 1995). This research suggested that family support and parenting programs targeted particularly in early childhood had immediate effects as well as having beneficial outcomes later in life. A perfect fully fledged programme that aim to prevent the development of criminal and antisocial behaviour in children and adolescents, or which aim to prevent a pattern of antisocial or criminal behaviour from becoming entrenched is yet to be developed. However, there is a broad range of alternative and scientifically proven effective ways of dealing with many of the less severe offences for which a custodial sentence would not be warranted. Moreover, there are strong arguments for intervening earlier, before offending behaviour becomes serious or entrenched, leading to extensive contact with the criminal justice system (Smith, 2010).

Studies done by researchers are now being more focused towards the various factors that intend to become a catalyst in making a criminal psyche. A lot of factors are contributing to it like heredity, environmental, social, cultural, biological, and familial and so on. All are contributing to it and when such psyches work together for a planned attempt (group attempt) it is much more complex than what one can imagine. Many recent researchers and organizations like Bureau of Police Research and Development and National Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science, India propose that a study that enquires the background factors are necessary to explore the development of a
This clearly indicates the relevance of a study to understand the root cause of an individual turning to an offender, from their own perspectives. Now the need of the hour happens to be to analyze each criminal case and find out how a criminal psyche develops and see what are the various features or factors that enforce an individual to develop criminal psyche. The present attempt is an exploratory study of criminal psyche constellation. There are various psychological factors that lead an individual to the path of criminality. But, in this present research the investigator makes his prima-focus on certain psychosocial factors which he feels has a strong force to lead a person to a life of criminality. The various factors are Attachment, Rejection Sensitivity, Aggression, Peer Pressure, and Impulsivity. The psychosocial factors under study in the present research program traces its way back to childhood and adolescents where the offenders back then were treated inhumanely and where they lost the value and reason of better life.

**Statement of the Problem**

The present study is entitled as “Exploration of Criminal Psyche Constellation”.

**Objectives of the Study**

In the view of so far discussed observations, the present study is planning to explore psychologically how the criminal psyche constellation - psychosocial background - is being formed and flourished, thereby leading to the development of a criminal. Hence the major objectives of the present investigation are:

1. To explore the behaviour of criminals, their personality and other supportive psychosocial factors for their specific behaviour development
and the flourishing of criminality, based on the existing theories and from their own perspectives.

2. A detailed in depth study of criminals’ cases to explore individual unique characteristics.

3. To identify the relation of certain psychosocial factors such as attachment, rejection sensitivity, aggression, peer pressure and impulsivity with the criminal behaviour, by considering related demographic factors.

4. To develop a model on antisocial/criminal behaviour development.