

# An Exploratory Study on Parental Attachment and Juvenile Delinquency

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment for the

Degree of Bachelor of Sciences in Forensics Science

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## **CERTIFICATE**

This certify that the dissertation entitled

### "An Exploratory Study on Parental Attachment and Juvenile Delinquency."

Is a bonafide record of research work done by

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During the period from 26<sup>th</sup> December 2005 to 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2006, under my supervision

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#### Abstract

The present study was designed to investigate the relationship between parental attachment and delinguency among juveniles with parental history of incarceration and juveniles without parental history of incarceration. A sample of 172 juveniles were rendamly selected by prison officer from two different Youth Rehibilitation Center. The respondents consist of 141 male juveniles at Sekolah Henry Gurney, Teluk Emas, Melaka and 31 female juveniles from Sekolah Henry Gurney, Batu Gajah, Perak. A set of questionnaire was used to measure parental attachment quality and delinguency among juveniles. The parental attachment questionnaire comprised 27 items divided into three main subscales, i.e. trust, communication, and alienation. In addition, the questionnaire on selfreported delinguency comprised 29 items. The results were tested by the Pearson product moment correlation and t-test analysis using SPSS/PC + package for statistical analysis. The result indicated no significant correlation between parental attachment and delinquency among both male and female juveniles. The t-test analysis indicated no significant differences in delinguency as well as parental attachment between the juveniles with parental history of incarceration and without parental history of incarceration. The result also showed a significant difference between gender and delinguency.

### Contents

Certificate.				
Abstract.				
Acknowledgements.				
Contents.				
List of tables.				
CHAPTER 1 PREFACE.				
1.1	Introduction	1		
1.2	Literature reviews	7		
1.3	Theoretical model	16		
1.4	Objectives	18		
CHAPTER 2 METHOD.				
2.1	Introduction	19		
2.2	Sample	19		
2.3	Research technique	20		
2.4	Data analysis	22		
CHAPTER 3 RESULTS.				
3.1	Introduction	23		
3.2	Variable analysis	23		
3.3	Research hypothesis test	26		

3.4	Conclusion	35
CHAP	TER 4 DISCUSSION	
4.1	Introduction	37
4.2	Discussion	37
CHAP	TER 5 CONCLUSION	
5.1	Research conclusion	46
5.2	Research limitation	47
Refere	ences	48

Appendix I

## List of tables

Table 1	20
Table 2	23
Table 3	28
Table 4	29
Table 5	30
Table 6	30
Table 7	32
Table 8	34
Table 9	34

## CHAPTER 1 PREFACE

#### 1.1 Introduction

Juvenile delinquent behavior is one of the most important issues we face as a nation in this new millennium. Despite the social awareness, juvenile delinquency is on the rise. This gives much cause for concern. Juvenile crime is increasingly more sophisticated and its participants are becoming younger. Gun violence has spread out from urban centers into suburbs. Drug and alcohol use among youths has reached epidemic proportions (Wickliffe, 2005).

Juvenile delinquency is a serious problem among many youths and is being experienced by more young adults every year. There is not one set definition for juvenile delinquency. Usually, Blos (1979) defines juveniles delinquent are children who are between the ages of 8 to 18 years old and break the law. According to Wilson, Nathan, O'Leary and Clark (1996), a juvenile delinquent can be defined as someone under the age of eighteen who has committed a legal offense. Juvenile delinquency varies according to in what state the act took place in. Delinquent refers to a personality disturbance which manifests itself in open conflict with society. Delinquent behavior can be a sign of distress, or a particular adaptive style for which the externalization of conflict is symptomatic (Wilson et. al., 1996).

Delinquency, a legal term for criminal behavior carried out by a juvenile is often the result of escalating problematic behavior. Definitions of delinquency vary among different groups. To alleviate confusion, four perspectives according to Federal Bureau of Investigation (1998) on delinquency are described:

(i) A Parental View - Parents may define disruptive and delinquent behavior as disobedience fighting with siblings destroying or damaging property, stealing money from family members or threatening parents with violence. (ii) An Educational View - School staff members often regard delinquent behavior as that which interrupts or disturbs classroom learning which violates the school code of conduct and threatens the safety of faculty and students.

(iii) A Mental Health View - Mental health professionals consider delinquency to include a wide range of disruptive behaviors that may involve aggression toward others or animals, destruction of property, deceitfulness theft, and violations of curfew and school attendance.

(iv) A Legal System View - The majority of states and the federal government consider persons under the age of 18 to be juveniles. However, children under this age commit serious crimes (for example murder) they may be prosecuted as adults.

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (1998), crimes committed by juvenile delinquents include the following categories: Breaking Curfew, underage drinking, running away, vandalism, motor vehicle theft, larceny / theft, burglary, robbery, and arson. There are no definite predictors that indicate exactly children will engage in delinquent behavior and activities. However, some statistics indicate that males are arrested more frequently than females and children from lower socioeconomic levels perpetrate delinquent acts at a higher rate than children from other socioeconomic classes. Nonetheless, social conditions are linked to higher rates of delinquency. Many youngsters growing up in disadvantageous environments manage to avoid delinquent behavior while some youngsters growing up in advantageous environments engage in delinquent activities.

Study by Elder (1998) suggested that development is a process that continues throughout the life cycle into adulthood. Childhood is important, but other ages are also important in shaping later stages of development. The importance of examining developmental change in adults is gaining recognition, and it is now appreciated that parents continue to change and develop during their adult years. For example, age at the time of onset of parenthood can have important implications for how women and men manage their maternal and paternal roles. In the current context, how parents and their children adjust to the parent's history incarceration will vary greatly depending on the age of the parent as well as the developmental level of the child.

According to Elder (1998), change over time can be traced to three sets of causes. First, there are normative events and experiences that most children and adults undergo at roughly the same ages. Second, there are unexpected events that push development in a new direction. Incarceration, like job loss, divorce, or death of a family member, is one of these events. Third, historical time periods can influence development (Elder, 1998).

Historical periods provide the social conditions for individual and family transitions, and across these periods, incarceration, its consequences, and policies may vary. Elder (1998) suggested over the last several decades, there are a number of secular changes that could affect families' reactions to incarceration history. These include declines in fertility and family size, the increased participation of women in the workforce, the rise of divorce and the increase in the number of single-parent families. These societal trends and the historical era in which the incarceration takes place can profoundly shape the management of the child and their subsequent developmental outcomes.

Developmental analyses need not be restricted to the level of the individual, either parent or child, but refer to family levels as well. At the family level, changes in structure (e.g., through the loss of the incarcerated member or the addition of the child to a foster family or a grandparent-headed household) also occur over time, with implications for both children and caregivers. The mutual impact of different sets of relationships on each other varies as a function of the nature of all these developmental trajectories.

According to the Scholte (1992), there are three main influences on the development of delinquent behavior in youths such as family, peers, and school. Family factors which may affect the development of juvenile delinquency include intense and relentless family conflict. Such conflict could be characterized by domestic violence dysfunctional family cohesiveness, child abuse, and neglect parental inability to express appropriate affection toward a child lack of adequate, supervision of a child, and rigid non-democratic child rearing practices (Scholte, 1992).

According to Bowlby (1998), attachment is defined as, any form of behavior that results in a person attaining or maintaining proximity to some other clearly identified individual who is conceived as better able to cope with the world. Bowlby (1998) showed that children make an attachment to one particular person that endures through all situation, typically the mother.

Children who grow up to be well-functioning adults have experienced security and stability as they develop and have been effectively socialized to take on roles in society. Children who grow up in families where a parent has been incarcerated before or after may have experiences that do not promote development into a well-functioning adult (Bowlby, 1998).

The parental incarceration may give negative influences in both, direct and indirect effect to the child growth. A parent whose behavior leads to his/her incarceration may be observed acting in socially deviant ways and the child may use these behaviors as a model for how to behave. This can cause delinquent in youth (Gadsden and Rethemeyer, 2001).

Indirectly parental incarceration may impact a child's development through the disruptions placed on the child by the loss of a parent and by the instability that comes with having a parent in prison. Parental incarceration is not a single causal factor in a child's development but rather, part of an amalgamation of events and experiences that influence development. History of parental incarceration also effect their children development because of society view them as problematic children (Larzelere and Patterson, 1990).

The importance of family relationships and parenting practices in child development and the prevention of delinquency is a recurring finding in studies of delinquency (Tolan, Guerra, and Kendall, 1995) and the maintenance of family ties for incarcerated individuals has been found to be important for juveniles as well as adults (Borgman, 1985). The more nurturing aspects of parenting, or absence thereof, in example, parental involvement, attachment and rejection have also consistently shown a strong association with delinquency (Larzelere et. al., 1990). Moreover, Larzelere et. al. (1990) indicates that the effects of parental criminality on delinquency are indirect and mediated by parental attachment and parental discipline style.

There are many factors which are considered to put children and teenagers 'at risk' of becoming juvenile delinquents. These include poverty, economic deprivation, school failure and truancy, parental addictions, inconsistent parenting and the absence of reciprocal emotional relationships with available caring adults (Adalist-Estrin and Mustin, 1997). The article "Parents in Prison", Butterfield (1999), writes that "experts...say that having a parent behind bars puts a child at greatest risk of becoming a juvenile and adult criminal". This 'risk' manifests itself in many ways. The mere fact of being separated from a parent, especially a father, is a risk factor made doubly effective when the separation is due to incarceration. In a single parent family, the income level often does not meet the needs of the family, and this can easily occur when the main provider is arrested and sent off to jail or prison.

According to Rutter (1987), all risks often co-occur and are best understood not as single events, but as sets or combination of events. Children are most likely to be adversely affected when multiple risks co-occur. Moreover, the nature of the particular risk may be less critical than the number of risks that the child encounters. In the case of incarceration, it should be recognized that any attempt to attribute effects on children to parental incarceration alone may be doomed to failure, because many events before, during, and after the incarceration co-occur and contribute to child outcomes. For example, children who suffer the loss of a parent through imprisonment may also be at risk because of poverty, changes in residence, shift in caregivers, and stigmatization by peers and community. Children of incarcerated parents is a critical step in gaining a better understanding of the multiple factors that contribute to children's adjustment and merit consideration for designing interventions and crafting social policy (Rutter, 1987).

Youths which have a history of parent in jail or prison represents risks uniquely its own. Families characterized by deviant behavior and attitudes put children at risk of becoming delinquent (Gorman-Smith and Deborah, 1999). The children grow up in an environment where criminal behavior is tolerated, supported, or encouraged (Gorman-Smith, et al., 1999).

According to Butterfield (1999) view, when children routinely visit their friends and relatives in jail or prison, many children "make a hero out of him". These children also may become contemptuous toward law enforcement (Butterfield, 1999). Regularity in visiting a correctional institution to visit a father, mother, brother, uncle, and any one else may cause a child to see incarceration as a normal part of adult life. Instead of a place to be avoided, the child may become inured to the though of spending a portion of his or her life behind bars (DeVoy, 1999).

Some experts, such as Butterfield (1999) maintain that this is the greatest risk factor for criminal delinquency. Butterfield (1999) mentions the "special hazard" facing the children when visiting their parents in prison may cause prison to lose its stigma. Yet, the parent-child bond is one of the factors that aid in rehabilitation of the prisoner. From the Butterfield (1999) view, the conclusion was parental history of incarceration can cause delinquent youth because of crisis in their family structure (Butterfield, 1999).

#### 1.2 Literature Reviews.

Most studies of prisoners' families define families as married couples and study the wives of incarcerated husbands and their children or define families as single mothers who are assumed to be the sole care givers for their children. Studies by Bakker, Morris and Janus (1978); Carlson and Cervera (1991); Daniel and Barrett (1981); Fishman (1990); Schneller (1976); and Swan (1981) are examples of the former definition for prisoner's family and Baunach (1985); Bloom and Steinhart (1993); Hairston (1991), and Hungerford (1993) are examples of the latter definition of families in prison. Fathers and their children (Hairston, 1989, 1995; Lanier, 1991, 1993; Martin, 2001) and the caregivers of children of incarcerated mothers (Bloom and Steinhart, 1993; Poe, 1992) have also been studied.

Research literatures from Furstenberg, Morgan, and Allison (1987); Garfinkel, McLanahan, Meyer, and Seltzer (1998) have meaningful social relationships may or may not exist between children and their non-resident parent (Furstenberg, Morgan, and Allison, 1987; Garfinkel, McLanahan, Meyer, and Seltzer, 1998). The extent to which incarceration disrupts the contact patterns between these non-residential parents and their children, as well as the effects of incarceration on children who were living with their parent at the time of imprisonment, are both issues that merits examination.

Another important issue is to look after the children when parents are incarcerated. The answers are varied among the gender of the parent with incarceration. For children with incarcerated fathers, the mother of that child is the usual caregiver before the father is arrested. When parents go to prison, most children go, or continue, to live with relatives (Bloom et. al., 1993; Mumola, 2000). In addition to having limited financial resources, many grandparent caregivers of the children of incarcerated mothers are elderly, have health problems, and are not planning to take on new child care responsibilities (Bloom et. al., 1993; Petras, 1999). These disparities in parenting responsibilities mirror the larger picture in our society whereby mothers assume the largest share of parenting in intact families (Coltrane, 1996; Parke, 1996; 2002) and post-divorce families (Hetherington and Kelley, 2001).

The impact of incarceration on the mother-child versus father-child relationship, it is important to consider these gender-related patterns of incarceration. Although the short-term impact on children may be greater when mothers are imprisoned, the long-term impact of the lengthier period of separation of fathers may bode poorly for maintenance of father-child ties (Gadsden et. al., 2001).

According to Rutter and Sroufe (2001) have recognized that children's successful adaptation in the face of stressful life events like the history incarceration of a parent varies as a function of two things, firstly the form and frequency of the risks and secondly the protective or resilience factors that buffer the child from the adverse events. Individual children respond to risks in a variety of ways. Some suffer permanent developmental disruptions and delays. Others show sleeper effects can make them appear to cope well initially, but exhibit problems later in development. Still others exhibit resilience under the most difficult circumstances and may even be strengthened by it. Moreover, when they confront new risks later in life, these children seem better able to adapt to challenges than children who have experienced little or no risk, a kind of inoculation effect (Hetherington, 1991; Rutter and Rutter, 1993).

Three sets of protective factors have been identified that appear to buffer the child from risk and stress and promote coping and good adjustment in the face of adversity. The first set of factors consists of positive individual attributes. Children who have easy temperaments and high self-esteem and who are intelligent and independent are more adaptable in the face of stressful life experience (Rutter, 1987 and Werner, 1993). Girls and women have a slight edge on resiliency in comparison with boys or men. The second set of protective factors is found in a supportive family environment. The presence of a supportive parent can help to buffer the adverse effects of poverty, divorce or incarceration (Luthar et al., 2000). The final set of factors involves people outside the family, in the school system, peer groups, or churches, which support children's and parents' coping efforts.

Dannerbeck (1999) has carried out research on 300 juveniles included in the study, the entire are giving questionnaire and interview to get the results. 31 percent had a parental history of incarceration. Those juvenile with a parental history of incarceration were found to have had more troubled pasts and more current behavior problems. According to Dannerbeck (1999), juvenile with a history of parental incarceration may have several problems in term of that parental history such as substance abuse problems, experienced more ineffective parenting styles, were placed in out-of-home care, little positive social support, exhibited behavior problems, long criminal histories, multiple prior referrals, committed assaults, and expressed little motivation to change these behaviors.

Research carried out by Caspi, Lynam, Moffitt, and Silva (1993) indicated that gender differences are prevalent in the pathways to delinquency. Males not liked by peers are more likely to become involved in antisocial behavior and females who have been abused are more likely to become involved in criminal activity (Day, 1998). Although it would be expected that males would be more adversely affected by this stressful incarceration separation in light of evidence that males are more vulnerable to stressful changes than females are, in general (e.g., Hetherington et al., 1998), the evidence on this issue is unclear. Instead, the most likely scenario is that both males and females are adversely affected by parental incarceration, but their modes of expressing their reactions differ. According to Cowan (1994), Cummings, Davies, and Campbell (2000) boys are more likely to exhibit externalizing behavior problems, while girls are more likely to display internalizing problems.

Murray (1976) suggested that learning disorders inhibit one's ability to perform well in school and to accomplish general life course tasks. Learning disorders are generally believed to have an organic basis (Murray, 1976). However, environmental factors like stability and parental management can impact one's ability to cope with a learning disorder or even lead to the development of one (Shah and Roth, 1974). In addition, insecure attachments have been linked to learning disorders and children with incarcerated parents are 'at-risk' for weakened attachment.

Juveniles with learning disorders tend to be more problematic at school and those juvenile with problems in school are more likely to become involved in criminal activity either because of a general inability to learn from experience (Murray, 1976) or negative attitudes regarding school and authority (Fink, 1990). The link between learning disorders and criminal behavior, it may be that the parents also had learning disorders and thus, the same dysfunctional behaviors are reinforced in the second generation (Dannerbeck, 1999).

According to research done by Dannerbeck (1999), most of the youth reported no mental disorder and no significant differences exist between the groups despite the more serious history of trauma (abuse and out of home placement, parental incarceration). Phillips, Burns, Wagner, Kramer, and Robbins (2002) actually found a significantly lower rate of mental illness among a group with a history of parental incarceration and these were all youth who had been seen at a mental health center. Teplin, Abram, McClelland, Dulcan, and Mericle (2002) report that in a randomly selected sample of 1829 youth detained

in Cook County, Illinois, 60 percent of males and more than two thirds of the females met the diagnostic criteria for one or more psychiatric disturbances.

Parental incarceration often, means the finding alternative care for a child, especially when it is the mother who goes to prison because women are most often the caregivers (Coltrane, 1996; Parke, 1996, 2002). Placement could be motivated by the need for an alternative caregiver or guardian or for health or behavioral reasons. Regardless of the reason for the placement, relocation and placement with an alternative caregiver are major disruptions in the life of a child.

Parents are one of the strongest socializing forces in life. They teach children to control unacceptable behavior, to delay gratification, and to respect the rights of others (Coltrane, 1996; Parke, 1996, 2002). According to Wright and Wright (1994) families can teach children to be of aggressive, antisocial, and violent behavior. Thus, understanding the nature of relationships within the family, to include family adaptability, cohesion, and satisfaction, provides more information for understanding youth (Cashwell and Vacc, 1996). The cohesiveness of the family successfully predicted the frequency of delinquent acts for non-traditional families (Matherne and Thomas, 2001).

Family behaviors, particularly parental monitoring and disciplining, seem to influence association with deviant peers throughout the adolescent period (Cashwell et. al., 1994). According to Kim, Jungmeen, Hetherington, and David (1999) found that coercive parenting and lack of parental monitoring contributes not only directly to boys' antisocial behaviors, but also indirectly as seen in the contribution to their increased opportunity to associate with deviant peers, which is predictive of higher levels of delinquent acts.

The opportunity to maintain contact with the parent during the period of separation will modify the nature of the parent-child relationship, which, in turn, will affect children's adjustment. Different variables may play different roles at various points across time. For example, whereas child characteristics may play a similar role during separation and reunion, the quality of caregiving processes (e.g., the child's relationship with the alternative caregiver) may play a protective role during parental incarceration but present a risk to successful reunion with the incarcerated parent after the separation is over (Kim et. al., 1999).

The greatest difference between youths with parental history of incarceration and youths without a parental history of incarceration are that a greater proportion of those with such a history had experienced severely ineffective parenting. Parenting style is a function of the structure, support, and supervision parents offer their children. Inept parenting practices promote impulsive, antisocial behavior (Patterson, Reid, and Dishion, 1992; Simons, Wu, Conger, and Lorenz, 1994), the same types of behavior that can lead a parent or child into criminality. Youths with ineffective parents miss out on a valuable coping resource, raising their vulnerability to engage in risky behaviors.

Youths who cannot rely on their parents for help in overcoming traumatic life events and for guiding them into adulthood, may still have natural abilities or be surrounding by a social support system that can militate against negative experiences (Dannerbeck, 1999). The youth with a parental incarceration history were rated lower on interpersonal skills. These results suggest an indirect link between parental incarceration and juvenile delinquency. Through social role modeling and innate abilities one learns to behave appropriately in a social setting, to express feelings, resolve conflicts, and enlist the support of others. Study by Simons et. al. (1994) impaired social skills lead one to behave in dysfunctional ways. Impaired social skills are associated with deviant peer groups. Attitudes develop through socialization and life experiences.

Given the large proportion of youth with a parental incarceration history who also have poor socialization experiences (child maltreatment, parent with substance abuse problems, removal from home, ineffective parenting styles), the lack of motivation to change can be better understood (Dannerbeck, 1999). For conclusion, when some of family member go for incarceration will affect the whole family structure. This also included delinquency in youth when they use as excuse to commit crime. Discrimination also had in some youth who have family member incarceration also after arrest.

Pro-social with people ultimately reject those with poor social skills (Dodge and Coie, 1983). Those who are rejected then tend to associate with other rejected people surrounding who reinforce each other (Parker and Asher, 1987). Those poor social skills may be either learned from the parent or could be the result of parents not correcting antisocial behavior. Either scenario is likely in the context of parental incarceration.

Social support can be a critical resource in helping youth to adjust to a parent going off to prison. In addition, a strong relationship exists between positive social support, effective parenting skills and child adjustment. Social support generally buffers against adverse events. Without strong positive social support, youth can follow a pathway to delinquency. Those with a parental incarceration history are more at risk as evidenced by the high proportion with a lack of such support (Parker et. al., 1987).

In a study by Teplin et. al. (2002), about 50 percent of the youth had a substance abuse disorder. Phillips et al. (2002) reports a slightly higher proportion of youth with a parental incarceration history is not doing well academically. Juvenile with a history of parental incarceration were more likely to fail or have low academic performance. School-age children of incarcerated parents exhibit school-related problems and problems with peer relationships. Sack et al. (1987) reported that over 50% of the children of history incarcerated parents had school problems, such as poor grades or instances of aggression, albeit many of these problems were temporary.

Among the younger children 6 to 8 years old in the Sack et al. (1987) study, 16 percent exhibited transient school phobias and were unwilling to go to school for a 4 to 6 weeks period after their parent's incarceration. In another report, Stanton (1980) found even higher rates of school problems are 70% of 166 children of history incarcerated mothers showed poor academic performance and 5% exhibited classroom behavior problems. Another school-based problem is that children are sometimes teased or ostracized by other children as a result of their parent's incarceration (Jose-Kampfner, 1991). Reid and Eddy (1997) note, as children reach adolescence, suspension and dropout rates are higher for the children (Trice, 1997).

According to Cohen and Brooke (1998) reports a strong association between parental incarceration and increased incidence of problem behaviors in children. Children may be acting out as a normal response to the anger, fear, and other emotions they experience at the time a parent is incarcerated. If these emotional responses are not addressed, the initial emotional reactions can become long-term behavioral problems. Sometime they feel ashamed to see people surrounding, because of former parent prisoner.

In a study of psychiatric disorders in youth juvenile detention by Teplin et al. (2002) about 40 percent of the youth assessed had a disruptive behavior disorder. Even if a child-parent attachment bond has already developed, as in the case of infants who have been in their mother's or father's care for the first 9 to 12 months of life, the disruption associated with parental incarceration will likely adversely affect the quality of the child's attachment to their parent. Even less drastic changes such as job loss, divorce, or residential re-location have been found to adversely affect the quality of the infant or toddler child-parent attachment quality (Thompson, Lamb, and Estes, 1982; Vaughn et. al., 1979). Insecure attachments a consequence of adverse shifts in life circumstances in turn, have been linked to a variety of child outcomes, including poorer peer relationships and diminished cognitive abilities (Sroufe, 1988). According to the study by Baunach, (1985), the researcher estimates about 70% of young children with incarcerated mothers had emotional or psychological problems. Children exhibit internalizing problems, such as anxiety, withdrawal, hypervigilance, depression, shame and guilt (Bloom et. al., 1993; Dressler et. al., 1992). They exhibit somatic problems such as eating disorders and, perhaps most clearly, young children exhibit externalizing behaviors such as anger, aggression, and hostility toward caregivers and siblings (Fishman, 1983; Gaudin, 1984; Johnston, 1995; Jose-Kampfner, 1995; Sack et. al., 1976).

Early involvement in delinguent activity is related to continued involvement. Research findings by Moffit (1993) and Simons et. al. (1994) suggests that youth display one of two pathways to delinguency. The early onset pathway begins with behavioral problems in childhood that escalate into delinguency and criminal adult activity. The late onset pathway begins in mid-adolescence between 14 to 17 years old and usually fades out in early adulthood. It is hypothesized that the reason for the different pathways lies in family structure, parenting practices and socialization that develop the child's cognitive, social and behavioral patterns. Those youths with early onset are essentially taught antisocial behaviors and follow the path set by what they learn. Early onset of criminal activity, lack of parental monitoring, disruptions in life, and lack of social support are common characteristics of juvenile youth, characteristics that help in understanding criminal involvement. A pattern of delinguent behavior that begins early is more likely to continue. Late onset youth have a strong foundation from which they temporarily deviate but then get back on a positive developmental pathway because they have the necessary skills to function well (Moffit, 1993 and Simons et. al., 1994).

Finally, Loeber and Farrington (1998) in their study found that assaults are indicative of patterns of violent behavior. Juvenile violence is an area of particular concern because an aggressive child exhibits behavior patterns that are likely to continue in to adulthood without intervention offenders. In addition, the majority of violent crimes are committed by a minority of youthful offenders (Loeber et. al., 1998).

#### 1.3 Theoretical method

In a developmental perspective, several theories are relevant in understanding the consequences of parental incarceration. One important theory is Bowlby's (1973) attachment theory. This theory serves as a framework to aid in understanding the importance of the development of the parent-infant or parent-child relationship. According to Bowlby (1973), 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.

Attachment theory assumes that the development of an attachment between the primary caretaker and the child is the basic foundation of all future development (Bowlby, 1969, 1988; Horner, 1991). There is a structure of personality present within each individual that is modified based upon on-going socialization experiences, the feeding behavior and the dependency needs of the child are motivational interpersonal focuses (Bowlby, 1988).

Bowlby (1988) argues that attachment occurs in early childhood as the child perceives that some person in his or her environment behaves in a protective and in a nurturing manner. This is someone who is conceived of as being able to "better cope with the world" and, through the provision of safety and security to the child, begins the process of bonding (Bowlby, 1988). Thus, a child or infant develops a secure base when "he is nourished physically and emotionally, comforted if distressed, reassured if frightened...." (Bowlby 1988: p 11).

An attachment has developed; separation from the parent can generate a set of adverse emotional reactions from sadness to anger, which, in turn, will interfere with the optimal development of the child (Sroufe, 1988). At the same time, children can form multiple attachments, including attachments to fathers and other non-maternal caregivers, as well as to mothers. The fact that infants can develop strong attachments to their fathers (Parke, 2002), underscores the importance of assessing the reactions of children to separation from their incarcerated fathers as well as reactions to the loss of their incarcerated mothers.

Most research has not taken mother-infant attachment, early infant, or childhood attachment with caretakers into account to explain conformity or deviance. Farrington and Hawkins (1991) emphasize that childhood events prior to the age of eight are significant predictors of later adult criminality. Recent evidence (e.g., Raine, Brennan, and Mednick, 1997) also indicates that insecurely or poorly attached children are more likely to engage in later violent behavior. Horner (1991) suggests that the central underling factor involved in a secure attachment is the experience of empathy. A child develops self-control and empathy as the result of receiving empathic understanding from a parent or guardian. When potential offenders can perceive others as humans rather than as objects, they are less likely to inflict injury upon them.

Horner (1991) suggested that children who "lose" their relationship with an incarcerated parent can be helped by forming or maintaining a secure attachment relationship with another caregiver. For example, Howes and Hamilton (1993) found that children with an insecure attachment with mother but a secure attachment to a day-care provider tended to be more socially competent than insecurely attached children who had not formed a strong compensatory relationship outside the family. This work underscores the need to assess the quality of children's attachment relationships with alternative caregivers such as grandparents when the parent is unavailable due to incarceration. Finally,