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Juvenile Delinquency II

– the impact of judicial intervention –

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1 INTRODUCTION

This is the second part of a study on juvenile delinquency and its causes. In this report we will examine the effects of judicial intervention and changes in social integration on later behavior.

The first part of the study looked essentially at backgrounds of delinquent behavior and judicial intervention and was an explicit test of social control theory. The data collection -based on interviews with 2000 boys and girls of 12-17 year old- was collected in 1981 and the final report (in Dutch) was published in 1983. An English version has been published in 1984⁰¹.

1.1 What has been examined so far?

The research was undertaken to answer the question whether the policy of minimal intervention conducted both by the police and the prosecutor had any effects on the behavior of youngsters that had come into contact with the police.

This policy was based on a mixture of experience and labeling hypotheses, which can be summarized as follows:

- most juveniles coming into contact with the police, appear there only once: they don't come back;
- judicial intervention has negative effects: it leads to stigmatization of the juvenile by his environment and causes a negative -delinquent- self-image;
- judicial intervention may lead to more instead of less delinquent behavior.

On the basis of these assumptions a policy of minimal intervention has been developed. In our large cities the police drop the charges in about 75% of all cases of juveniles coming to their attention, in general after re-

⁰¹ J. Junger-Tas, M. Junger: Juvenile Delinquency - Backgrounds of delinquent behavior, Research and Documentation Centre, Ministry of Justice, 1984.

primanding the youngster. In all these cases no official report is made, but just a note for the police files.

When the police think that the case cannot be simply dismissed, an official record is sent to the prosecutor. The prosecutor can also -and indeed does so repeatedly- reprimand the juvenile and then drop the charges. The essential question is of course whether this is a good policy, that is whether the effect is that youngsters then don't have repeated contacts with the juvenile justice system. It is not easy to give an answer to such a fundamental question. We felt some preliminary questions had to be answered first:

- what are the characteristics of juveniles having police contacts: do they differ from youngsters who don't have such contacts?
- what background factors are related to delinquency and to police and/or prosecutor contacts.
- in what ways do youngsters that have repeated contacts with the police differ from those who do not?

However, there are other complications. If juveniles do, or do not, have repeated contacts with the police is that because of previous judicial intervention or is it because of changes their life situation, such as in their family life, school or job. Moreover, if judicial intervention has any effect, what kind of effect: was the experience traumatic, did the environment have negative reactions resulting in a negative self image of the youngster? And last but not least, is a negative self image related to repeated delinquency and repeated judicial contacts?

Summarizing, the research had six major objectives:

1. to get a picture of nature and extent of delinquent behavior in a 'normal' population of youngsters in a large and in a medium-sized Dutch city (The Hague and Venlo);
2. to get some insight in causes of delinquent behavior (testing social control theory);
3. to get better knowledge about the relation between delinquency and judicial contacts;
4. to gain insight in background factors related to judicial intervention;
5. to find out whether police and/or prosecutor intervention are related to repeated delinquency and repeated judicial contacts;
6. to find out whether changes in the life situation of juveniles are related to repeated delinquency or repeated judicial contacts.

The objectives 1 to 4 have been examined in the first part of the study. We collected data on self-report de-

linquency on the basis of 7 common juvenile offences, and data on police and prosecutor contacts, either non-recorded or officially recorded contacts. We also collected a great number of background factors pertaining to the family, the school, leisure, peers and some values and norms, in order to examine the relation of these variables with delinquency.

In fact we wanted to test social control theory as it has essentially been developed by Hirschi⁰². The theory states -putting it very succinctly- that adequate social integration in, for the juvenile, crucial social subsystems such as the family, school, job and peer group, insulates from delinquency. Absence of integration in these systems has as a major consequence that youngsters withdraw from society, no longer recognize the legitimacy of its norms and values, no longer want to conform to society's norms and thus -the inhibitions being removed- more easily commit delinquent acts.

Social integration can be measured on the basis of four criteria which have been developed by Hirschi⁰³:

- attachment to significant others
- commitment to conventional subsystems
- involvement in conventional system's activities
- beliefs with respect to specific conventional norms

All these aspects have been examined at length in the first part of the study. It was found that the fact of occasionally committing an offense was common among large groups of youngsters. Most of them, however, limit their delinquency to 1 or 2 offences.

About one third of all offenders show a more serious delinquency pattern: they commit property offences as well as aggressive offences, start earlier and continue this behavior. This seems to be a group at risk of presenting greater problems in the future.

Judicial intervention is related to extent of delinquency: the more delinquent acts, the greater the probability of judicial contacts, although the relation is far from perfect. Social control theory has been largely confirmed by the study with, however, some modifications with respect to the role of the peer group.

⁰² Hirschi, Tr. Causes of delinquency, University of California Press, Berkely, 1972.

⁰³ For operationalizations see J. Junger-Tas, M. Junger: op.cit.

1.2 Problems examined in the follow-up study

Objectives 5 and 6 could only be realized by introducing a follow-up period. We felt a period of about 2 years was a minimum needed to assess changes in the life-situation and changes in behavior.

The study's objectives led to a number of specific questions:

1. Which juveniles did stop committing offences during the follow-up period and which ones continued offending?
2. Which juveniles had repeated judicial contacts and which ones did not?
3. Did judicial intervention lead to stigmatization by the youngster's environment?
4. Are earlier judicial intervention and later intervention related?
5. Is earlier intervention related to whether or not new offences are committed?
6. Are changes in social integration related to the committing of new offences?
7. Are changes in social integration related to new judicial contacts?

We used the same interview schedule for the follow-up study as two years ago, collecting data on self-report delinquency, contacts with the police and the prosecutor and backgroundfactors. In order to test some labeling hypotheses we added a number of questions designed to measure labeling effects. We wanted to know whether some youngsters were particularly traumatized by contacts with the police or the prosecutor and whether they thought these contacts would have all sorts of negative consequences for them. Our hypothesis was that labeling feelings would not be very strong among our population and that negative side effects would not be very strong either.

However, the most important part of this study is the measurement of effects of judicial contacts on the level of delinquency and on renewed contacts with police and prosecutor. On the basis of the results in the first part of the research we have formulated some hypotheses with respect to outcomes of the follow-up part.

First we have established -for every respondent- a total integration score, based on the following data, collected in 1981:

- the family indexes
- the school indexes
- the leisure time indexes
- spending leisure time at home or outside
- nature of the peergroup

- running away
- frequency of truancy.

On the basis of these scores the respondents could be categorized in three groups:

- high social integration
- medium social integration
- low social integration.

The follow-up data -from 1983- enabled us to compute new total integration scores, which we then compared with the first scores. Combining earlier delinquency, earlier judicial contacts and changes in integration, one can propose a number of hypotheses concerning the level of delinquency that may be expected at the end of the follow-up period.

Delinquency is then considered as a dependent variable, whereas social integration and judicial intervention are considered as independent variables. That is because we assumed that two types of events might play an important role in the lives of our respondents: changes in the level of integration and judicial intervention. Both can have an impact on the level of delinquency: they may lead to more, less or the same amount of delinquent behavior.

Our first hypothesis was that factors related to social integration would be more important in determining changes in delinquency than contacts with the juvenile justice system. This does not mean that judicial intervention would have no effects whatsoever. Our second hypothesis was that effects of judicial intervention on delinquency would be found only for those juveniles that were relatively well integrated and whose delinquency level was not too high. We expected that youngsters with low integration scores and high delinquency level live under such negative social conditions that judicial intervention would hardly have any effect on their behavior.

Let us specify these hypotheses.

Taking first the respondents who were well integrated when first interviewed, we expected that delinquency would increase only if their situation would deteriorate. If the situation developed favourably or remained stable it was expected that the delinquency level would remain low or would decrease. Contacts with the police or prosecutor would result in even further decrease. With respect to the second group of respondents, those of medium social integration, we had the same expectations.

But concerning the third group, those who had low integration scores when first interviewed, we expected different outcomes. If life conditions ameliorated con-

siderably we expected a decrease in delinquent behavior, whether or not there had been judicial contacts. If the situation changed somewhat in a favourable direction, we expected some effect of judicial intervention in terms of a decrease of delinquent activities. In the absence of judicial contacts the level of delinquency was expected to remain stable. If social integration remained low, we expected an increase of delinquent activities, irrespective of judicial intervention. In fact we assumed that such intervention hardly would have any effect on the behavior of these youngsters and thus could not inhibit delinquency. We supposed that only when the life situation of a youngster clearly showed a positive change -for example he finishes school, gets a steady girlfriend or finds a job- then the stakes at conformity would increase up to a point where official intervention might have some effect.

In the following pages we will indicate how we have tested these hypotheses. Let me just summarize the main subjects treated in this report:

- a new registration of delinquency, judicial contacts and social integration after a follow-up period of about two years;
- findings on possible labeling and its consequences in terms of behavior and renewed judicial contacts;
- a test of a number of hypotheses on effects of changes in social integration and of judicial intervention on the behavior of juveniles.

2 RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 The sample

For financial and practical reasons it has not been possible to interview all of the 2000 juveniles that were interviewed in our first study again.

We had to take a sample from the total group, arranging for the following subgroups to be represented:

- juveniles who did not report any offence;
- juveniles who reported offences but no police contacts;
- juveniles who reported offences and unofficial police contacts;
- juveniles with recorded police contacts;
- juveniles with prosecutor contacts.

As we were especially interested in effects of recorded judicial contacts, group 4 and 5 formed our point of departure: all juveniles with official police or prosecutor contacts were approached for a second interview. From the first three groups we drew a stratified sample, matching with group 4 and 5 on sex and age.

On a total of 691 juveniles sampled, 148 could not be reached (moved, wrong adress, on sea, military service) resulting in a net sample of 543 juveniles. All of them had originally agreed to a second interview. But 162 (30%) of them refused, whereas 48 were not at home after an appointment was made. Finally we got a respons of 61%. However, the respons was not distributed equally in all groups. The lowest respons was found among those who had had contacts with the police or prosecutor (45%). What might be the reasons for such a low respons among these groups? In the first place there could be a social class effect: a high proportion of juveniles with judicial contacts are lower class and lower class persons move more frequently than middle class persons. Another reason might be that youngsters having had judicial contacts are not as inclined to allow a second interview as the other

juveniles. Whether or not they had committed delinquent acts seemed to be of less importance. To compensate somewhat for the loss of information we collected data from police and prosecution files for all those who had had earlier recorded contacts, whether they could be interviewed or not. In this way we were able to relate this information to the predictions based on earlier interviews and earlier judicial contacts.

In fact our data include:

- interviews and judicial information of 235 controls;
- interviews and judicial information of 96 youngsters with earlier recorded contacts;
- judicial information on 196 non-interviewed youngsters with earlier recorded contacts.

Due to the fact that the control groups were matched with the police group according to age and sex, the sample showed an overrepresentation of 16 and 17 years old and an underrepresentation of 14 and 15 years old, as well as an underrepresentation of girls.

The age differential is due to the fact that the police usually do not make an official report of a committed offence before the age of 14, 15 years, so these youngsters were 16 and 17 years old after the follow-up period. The sex differential has two grounds: in the first place girls do not commit as many offences as boys do (in fact 25% of girls reported having committed one of 7 selected offences against 54% of boys); in the second place their offences are less serious, so they don't frequently end up in the police or prosecutor group. The sample thus counted only 14% girls.

As far as the other variables are concerned (education, SES) the samples did not differ. To make sure that our results would not be biased by the fact that we had not been able to interview a great number of youngsters with earlier judicial contacts, we conducted some analyses to find out whether the two groups differed with respect to socio-demographic variables, integration indexes, delinquency level and nature of contact. The only differences we found was that somewhat more girls than boys and somewhat more boys with police contacts than boys with prosecutor contacts refused an interview. But the respons group and non-respons group did not differ on any of the other variables analyzed.

2.2 The interviews

As mentioned before we used essentially the same interview schedule as we did in 1981.

Delinquency was measured on the basis of 7 offences: shop-lifting, theft at school, bicycle theft, joy-riding, vandalism, violence against persons, football (soccer)-hooliganism.

Problem behavior was operationalized by drug-use, running away from home and truancy⁰¹.

Judicial contacts have been measured by direct questioning on contacts with the police and by data collection in the police and prosecutor files.

Social integration has been operationalized on the basis of the mentioned integration criteria. Most of the items were then used to construct all embracing indexes measuring integration in the family, school, leisure occupations, and peer group⁰². We looked at the bond with parents, family functioning, school performance, school functioning, leisure occupations, nature of the peer group and some values and norms with respect to delinquency.

We have added some questions on eventual labeling effects from contacts with the police or the prosecutor. Some of the questions referred to the evaluation of contacts and to attitudes of parents, teachers and friends. Others referred to possible changes in the behavior of those persons towards the youngster, or changes in his own behavior.

2.3 Reliability and validity

We had other problems besides the one to get sufficient juveniles from the first study to be interviewed.

Comparison of the answers in the first and second study showed specific inconsistencies. In the first place answers referring to delinquency and judicial contacts were not always consistent; second, some registration data in the police files were lacking so that we got incomplete data.

Comparing the results of 1981 with those of 1983, we found that 12% of juveniles gave inconsistent answers; 5% had reported an offense in 1981 but did not in 1983, whereas 7% had reported judicial contacts in 1981 but did not so in 1983. The problem is well-known in longitudinal studies and is based on two memory effects: the first one refers to simply forgetting past events; the second one -the telescoping effect- refers to the fact that one has not forgotten the event but does not know anymore

⁰¹ These acts are not offences in Dutch juvenile penal law.

⁰² For the HOMALS-technique used in index construction, see annex I of Junger-Tas, J., M. Junger: op.cit.

when it did exactly happen. Some authors state that forgetting the event takes place when the reference period is rather long, whereas the telescoping effect arises when the reference period is short. If the date of interview is too far away from the reference period, both effects appear⁰³. In a self-report study among boys aged 11 to 14 years old, Shapland found that a number of boys did not report delinquent acts which they had reported two years earlier. Considering the total number of times every offense had been reported, the inconsistency was about 10%, a result not far from our own. She found that inconsistent answers were more frequent in the case of the more serious offences than in the case of minor offences⁰⁴.

The second problem concerned registration by the police. We could not find information on a small number of boys who had been registered earlier by the police. There were several reasons for this, such as the fact that the boy had moved to another city, or the destruction of the file when the boy reached the age of 18 years.

Confronted with these problems we have taken the decision to consider the answers given in the first study as basic: thus youngsters admitting earlier to have had police contacts remain in that same category; the same applies for youngsters who reported earlier to have committed a delinquent act.

Table 1 presents the results of this operation and includes the total research group. Comparing the interviewed group with the non-interviewed juveniles, we found that the proportion of inconsistent results were higher in the first group -19,5%-. This means that most of the inconsistencies resulted from incorrect answers of respondents and only a small number from lacking registration data in police files.

⁰³ Kalton, G., M. Schumann: The effect of the question on survey response: a review; *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1982, series A, 10, 145, p. 42-73.

⁰⁴ Shapland, J.: Self-reported delinquency in boys aged 11 to 14, *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1978.

Table 1: Judicial intervention in 1981 and 1983 -interview sample- (N=331)

	1983		1981		
	no offences	no P-cont.	self-reported P-contact	recorded P-contact	prosecutor contact
	N=90	N=82	N=63	N=40	N=56
- no offences	56,5				
- no police contacts	29	77			
- self reported p-contact	6,5	11	81		
- recorded p-contact	3,5	5	9,5	73	
- prosecutor contact	4,5	7	9,5	27	100
	100	100	100	100	100

Looking at the 38 juveniles who reported offences in 1981, but none in 1983, 26 of them had reported only one offense and 12 two offences: in this respect the discrepancy in results does not seem to be enormous. However, this is not the case as far as judicial contacts are concerned: less than one third of those with recorded police contacts, but somewhat more than one third of those with prosecutor contacts did not mention these contacts the second time they were interviewed. These results suggest that shame and fear of negative consequences is not so much related to delinquency, but is related essentially to the fact of judicial intervention by the police or the prosecutor.

Concluding this section we cannot make absolute statements on the nature of the inconsistencies. It seems probable that they are consequences of simple memory effects -as well as consciously omitting certain official contacts with the authorities -as in the case of recorded police and prosecutor contacts-. On these grounds the procedure as illustrated in table 1 appears acceptable, though not ideal.

3 DELINQUENT AND JUDICIAL CONTACTS

In this chapter we will describe the changes in delinquent behavior and in contacts with the police or the prosecutor that can be established after a two years period. Some of the juveniles will have stopped committing offences while others will have continued, some youngsters have not had any further contacts with the juvenile justice system while others have. Are there any significant differences between these groups?

3.1 Delinquent behavior in 1981 and 1983

The best measure of delinquency -from a viewpoint of validity- is the one that measures delinquent acts committed during the year preceding the interview.

Comparing frequency of delinquent behavior in 1981 and 1983 we get the following table.

Table 2: Frequency of delinquent behavior in 1981 and 1983 -in %-

later frequency	earlier frequency			
	0	1	2 or 3	4 or
	N=195	N= 36	N= 55	N= 45
0	72	53	47	20
1	10	28,5	14,5	15,5
2 or 3	9,5	22	22	33,5
4 or +	8,5	16,5	16,5	31

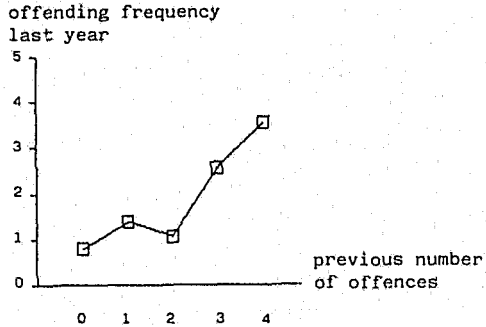
$$X^2 = 49,33, p < 0.0001$$

There appears to be a clear relationship between earlier delinquency and later delinquency. 72% of those who had not reported any offences in 1981, did not report such acts two years later, while another 10% reported only 1 offense. But of those who had a frequency score of 4

or more in 1981, two thirds reported scores of 2 or more later on.

In other words those who did not commit many offences earlier, still don't do so and those who reported having committed quite a number of delinquent acts still do so after a two years period. This is well illustrated by figure 1 where total number of earlier offences are related to frequency of delinquent behavior after two years.

Figure 1: Total number of earlier offences and later frequency of offending



Now if we distinguish those who have reported earlier no or only one offense, from those who have reported 2 or more offences, then the following results can be noted two years later.

- persistent low offending frequency (181): 55%
- persistent high offending frequency (50): 15%
- offending frequency has increased (50) : 15%
- offending frequency has decreased (50) : 15%

Stated otherwise: for 70% of the sample the level of offending remained the same, while 30% changed their offending behavior.

3.2 Who committed new offences?

3.2.1 Social-economic status

In our first study we found only a very weak relation

between delinquency and SES, as measured by father's profession. Moreover, comparing those who stopped offending, with those who continued doing so, there was no difference in SES.

3.2.2 Employment of father

Another factor is employment. In the first study we found a strong relation between father's unemployment and delinquency of the child. In this study we found an even stronger relation: when the father is employed 64,5% of respondents declare having 'ever' committed an offense, but this is 85% of those whose father is unemployed. The fact that unemployment -contrary to SES- has such a strong relation with delinquency could mean that unemployment lowers the father's status within the family to the extent that it weakens his position as an authority. If this is the case then it would be reflected in family integration. Analysis shows that there is a significant relation between employment status of the father and family functioning -quarrels, family climate, activities- ($F=5.02, p<0.007$), but not with family bond (communication and control).

Taking the total of social integration scores, it appears that children whose father is not working, have on the whole lower integration scores (annex, table 1). Compared to children with working fathers, these children do function less well in the family, in school and work, in leisure time and with their peers, and they commit more delinquent acts as well. However, looking at repeated delinquency, the findings indicate that employment status of the father is not related with stopping or continuing delinquent behavior during the follow-up period.

3.2.3 Education level

Education level does make a difference: those who continued committing offences came more often from vocational training schools, whereas those who stopped, more often went to high-school or higher vocational training schools.

3.2.4 Age

A difficult variable is age. Researchers generally

find a strong relation of delinquency with age. Hirschi and Gottfredson have shown that this relation is a constant one. Looking at England and Wales in 1842 and in 1965, the relation appears practically unchanged. The authors show that this relation is independent of time, place, sex, ethnic background and other social conditions.⁰¹ As mentioned before we have matched our comparison groups with the police group on age, so that we could control for the age factor and thus make the relation between delinquency and age disappear. However, considering again those who have stopped offending and those who have continued doing so, we did find an age difference. The "new" offenders are on the average younger (6 months) than those who have stopped. But not only are they younger, two years ago they had committed twice as many offences as the group who stopped offending (3 versus 1,3 offences; $p < 0.001$). Moreover, they had a significant lower social integration score ($p < 0.0002$) and they still have two years later ($p < 0.001$).

It seems we can distinguish two groups. The first is relatively well integrated, has committed a limited number of offences, started offending at a later age and stopped earlier. The second group is less well integrated, started offending at an earlier age, has committed relatively more offences and still goes on offending.

3.2.5 Juvenile's employment

In our first study the number of juveniles having left school was too small to conduct any useful analysis. Two years later this is different: 22,5% of our sample has left school; 13,5% has a job and 9% is unemployed.

The question whether unemployment is directly related to delinquency is an important one. We have examined this question under two angles. First we wanted to know whether in the sample as a whole, unemployment is related to delinquent behavior. Second we wanted to answer the question whether unemployment has an impact on continuing or stopping delinquent behavior. Considering the first question there is a striking difference in delinquency between juveniles who still go to school and those who have left school ($F=2.78$, $p < 0.004$). This remains true when analysis is restricted to the 17 and 18 years old: the average number of reported offences among

⁰¹ Hirschi, Tr., M. Gottfredson: Age and the explanation of crime, American Journal of Sociology, vol. 89, nr. 3, 1983.

school-attenders is 1,20, while the average number of school-leavers is 1,74 ($F=6.24, p<0.01$). However, examining school-leavers as a group we found no difference in delinquent behavior between employed and unemployed youth, as table 3 shows.

Table 3: Employment status and delinquency (N=72)

	total number of reported offences -averages-	offending frequency last year -averages-
employed	1,55	1,43
unemployed		
- had job before -	2,06	1,50
unemployed		
- had no job before -	2,00	1,57
	$F=.74, p<0,48$	$F=.037, p<0,96$

Considering only those who have reported offences two years ago, and distinguishing again between those who continued offending and those who stopped, there appears to be no relation between employment status and persistence of delinquent behavior ($p<0,60$). Having a job apparently does not mean one stops offending, just as being unemployed does not automatically lead to more delinquent behavior.

There is something strange in this result. One would expect unemployment to lead to social disintegration and weaken the bond with society, which would then -on the basis of our hypotheses- lead to more delinquency.

But our research results are not unique. A Belgian study among young persons of 17 years and older could not establish any relation between unemployment and delinquency,⁰² whereas a recent study on the macro-level in different European countries trying to relate a number of social-economic indicators to crime rates, did not discover any relation either.⁰³ What can one say in the light of these results? In the first place it should be remembered that the large increase in juvenile delinquency came about in the sixties and seventies when there was no mass unemployment. In the beginning of the eight-

⁰² Vettenburg, N., L. Walgrave, J.B. Kerckvoorde: Jeugdwerkloosheid, delinquentie en maatschappelijke kwetsbaarheid, Antwerpen, Kluwer, 1984

⁰³ Economic Crisis and Crime, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1985, PC-R-CR(85),1.

ies, when youth unemployment rises, we see rather a flattening of the curve. In the second place, the finding that persistent delinquents are frequently unemployed does not say anything about causality. It is more than probable that a number of factors related to delinquency, are also related to long-standing or frequent unemployment. Unemployment could thus be seen as part of a delinquent life style. In the third place, considering the actual economic situation, one should take length of unemployment into account. In view of mass unemployment one would expect that many school-leavers will be unemployed for some time. In that case unemployment is not seen as particularly deviant and thus will not be considered as status lowering or as a personal shortcoming. This could be one explanation for the lack of relation between unemployment and delinquency, but the explanation presupposes that the unemployment is only a matter of -some- time. If unemployment becomes permanent, it could have negative effects on social behavior. Such long term effects have been tested in a follow-up study during 8 years among 2000 American adolescents.⁰⁴ The study shows certain interaction effects between unemployment and delinquency: those who were unemployed 5 years after leaving high-school were already more delinquent than average, 8 years ago. On the other hand differences in delinquent behavior between employed and unemployed youths increased with time and after 8 years they were considerable. But even in this study the direct effect of unemployment was not very strong. It seems safe to say -on the basis of our actual knowledge- that employment is a protective factor with respect to delinquency, whereas long term unemployment is a predisposing factor.

Summary

Summarizing our findings with respect to continuing or stopping delinquent behavior we may say the following.

- Both groups do not differ with respect to social class, father's employment, going to school or employment status.
- Juveniles who continued offending differ from those who stopped, in the following ways:
 - they are younger
 - their education level is lower

⁰⁴ Bachman, J.G., P.M. O'Malley, J. Johnston: Adolescence to Adulthood -change and stability in the lives of young man; Youth in Transition, Vol. VI, Inst. for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1978.

- They had -2 years ago- and still have lower integration scores
- they already showed a higher offending frequency two years ago
- they started committing offences at an earlier age

3.3 Contacts with the juvenile justice system after two years

Although we have not been able to interview again all juveniles that had contacts with the police or the prosecutor two years ago, we collected information on renewed judicial contacts during the follow-up period for the whole group. This means of course that we have got information on officially recorded contacts, while self-reported contacts are known only for the sub-group of interviewed juveniles.

3.3.1 Contacts with the police

- 60% of the total group had no such contacts in the past and did not get any during the follow-up period;
- 12% had 1 contact and got no more;
- 3% had 2 or more contacts and got no more.

In other words 75% of the total group did not come in to contact with the police, where 15% did have such contacts two years ago.

- 14,5% had again police contacts; for 25% of this sub-group this was the first time.

From the sub-group with earlier police contacts, 56% got no new contacts during the follow-up period while 44% renewed their contacts with the police.

3.3.2 Contacts with the prosecutor

- 63,5% had no prosecutor contacts and did not get such contacts during the follow-up period;
- 12,5% had one earlier contact and that was all;
- 2,5% had two earlier contacts and did not get more.

Out of the total group 78% did not get any prosecutor contacts, where 15% had such contacts two years ago. Of

those who have appeared before the prosecutor two years ago, 60% did not come back, but 40% had to appear again.

3.3.3 Contacts with the juvenile judge

- 89% had and has not had any contacts with the juvenile judge;
- 2% appeared only once before the juvenile judge -two years ago-;
- 9% did have to go to court; for half of them this was the first time.

From the small group who had to appear in court two years ago (6,5% or 36 juveniles), one third did not come back but two thirds did. This means that in the case of court appearances the proportions noted for contacts with the police or the prosecutor, are practically reversed.

3.3.4 Total number of recorded contacts

Taking all types of contact together we can say that 72% of the sample did not get any contacts during the follow-up period, where 18,5% had, two years ago, one such contact and 13,5% had two or more. This means that 28% had such contacts, of which one quarter for the first time. Summarizing the informations we may say that from the original sub-group with recorded contacts about 40% got new contacts with the juvenile justice system and 60% did not. In order to illustrate the change for different groups we have constructed variables that measure the increase in judicial contacts between 1981 and 1983 (so called dif-measures).

Table 4: Earlier judicial intervention and increase of number of contacts in follow-up period

	1983		1981		
increase number of contacts	no offences	offences no P-contact	self reported P-contact	recorded P-contact	prosecutor contact
	N=90	N=82	N=63	N=144	N=148
P-contacts	4 %	6 %	14,5%	26,5%	14 %
Prosecutor contacts	4,5%	7,5%	8 %	24,5%	42 %
Juvenile judge	1 %	1 %	-	9 %	21 %
Total increases contacts	8 %	12%	19 %	37,5%	44,5%

All differences are significant at the level $p < 0.001$

There is a clear difference between those who already had recorded contacts two years ago and those who had not. The former have got considerably more repeated contacts with the juvenile justice system, than the latter. There appears to be a kind of scale. About one fifth of juveniles who earlier had reported police contacts, now has got additional contacts, while this is the case for somewhat less than half of the juveniles who had to appear before the prosecutor.

3.3.5. Actual delinquency and increase in number of contacts

It seems rather obvious to relate change in delinquent behavior during the follow-up period with a possible increase in number of judicial contacts. However, if we do this, we find essentially a difference between those who did not report one of the offences in our interview schedule and those who did. It did not matter whether they had reported 1, 2 or 3 offences: about one third of them had additional contacts whereas this was only 14% for those who did not report one of the offences. This result seems to suggest that repeated judicial intervention is not as closely related to frequency of delinquent behavior as we might expect.

3.3.6 Who got additional judicial contacts?

First we looked at the total sample and we found, just as in the first study, a very strong relation between SES -measured by fathers' profession- and judicial intervention. More than half of children of blue collar workers, against one third of children whose fathers have other professions, have got police contacts; nearly twice as many children from the lowest status groups than from the higher status groups, end up before the prosecutor. If one considers employment status of the juveniles themselves, differences are even greater.

Table 5: Employment status and increase of judicial contacts

employment status	increase P-contact	increase prosecutor contact	increase total number of contacts
goes to school (N=256)	.2	.1	.4
has a job (N=44)	.1	.4	.4
unemployed (had job N=17)	.2	.6	1.3
unemployed (had no job N=13)	.5	1.3	1.5
	F=.8, p<.49	F=17.7, p<0.0001	F=7.5, p<0.0001

Unemployed youths clearly run a higher risk of having repeated official contacts with the juvenile justice system than employed or school-going juveniles. This means that, with respect to the latter group the police is more inclined to dispose of the case unofficially without making an official report.

Recalling in mind the fact that there was no relation of delinquency with employment status, the conclusion must be that unemployment is a selection criterion, influencing the decision of the police to take formal action. On the other hand, restricting ourselves to those juveniles who have had official contacts two years ago, there is no relation of the factors mentioned above with additional contacts. Thus the police did not operate a second selection based on social class factors within this group. This result suggests that the decision of the police to

make an official report is essentially determined by the fact that there were earlier contacts, and not so much by social class factors. Another factor that does not discriminate between those who got additional contacts and those who did not, is age: both groups have the same age. There are, however, some differences between the two groups. Thus, the group with additional contacts had, two years ago, committed more delinquent acts than the others. They also had lower integration scores at that time. Moreover, at that time, they had more contacts with the police and the prosecutor. The striking fact remains that these differences refer to the situation as it was two years ago. Two years later both groups do not differ anymore in level of social integration, in number of committed offences, or in any of the socio-demographic variables. This means that the additional contacts cannot be explained by the actual level of delinquency. They have to be explained by what happened before and, more precisely by the earlier number of judicial contacts: the best predictors of contacts with the juvenile justice system are earlier such contacts. Frequency of earlier judicial contacts is the most important characteristic of those who come again into contact with the police and the prosecutor.

This chapter has reviewed two of the questions mentioned in the introduction:

- what changes can be noticed in delinquency and in contacts with the juvenile justice system within a follow-up period of about two years;
- what are the characteristics of those juveniles who continued offending and of those who had additional judicial contacts.

Summarizing the findings, there appears to be a strong interrelationship between earlier and later delinquency. Those who have reported having committed many offences the first time, did so the second time, while those who apparently committed only a few offences have not changed their behavior either. Distinguishing between those who stopped offending during the follow-up period and those who continued, it can be said that the latter group is younger than the former, has a lower education level, had a lower integration level two years ago which has remained low and already committed more offences two years ago. It seems we have here a group at risk, who started offending earlier and offends with greater frequency. With respect to new contacts with the juvenile justice system, the differences that could be found between the group with additional contacts and the group without such contacts, referred all to the situation of two years ago: at that time the former group had a lower integration

level, had committed more offences and already had more judicial contacts. After the follow-up period both groups differ only in number of additional contacts and in none of the other variables. It seems probable that there is a rather high threshold before the police decides to make an official report of a police juvenile contact. But when this barrier has been taken, and once an official report is made, then this is followed almost automatically by a second report. This produces a pattern in which earlier recorded contacts become adequate predictors of such contacts later.

4 CHANGES IN SOCIAL INTEGRATION

As mentioned before, in 1981 as well as in 1983, a great number of items measuring integration in the family, school, work, leisure occupations and peergroup were used to construct indexes. Thus 2 family indexes, 2 school indexes and 3 leisure indexes were constructed. Apart from this a certain number of variables could not be used to construct indexes but were important indications for integration (values and norms, running away, truancy, nature of the peergroup, spending leisure at home or outside). All indexes as well as these variables have been analysed with respect to their relation with delinquency. Together they give a measure of the more general social integration in our society.

On the basis of these measures - taken together - two integration scores have been computed - one for 1981 and one for 1983. In this way we can compare the early situation with the later one. But apart from the global social integration, we also have looked at changes in the different social subsystems.

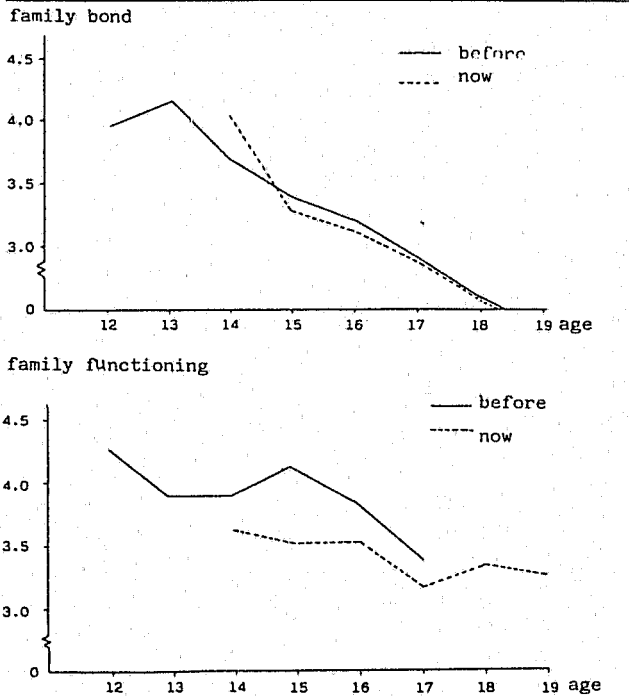
4.1 Family integration

There were two family indexes. The first one, bond with parent combined direct control of parents (who are their child's friends; at what time do they come home; do they obey their parents) and communication between parents and children (talking about problems; discipline; reactions on good behavior). The second index - family functioning - was a combination of activities of parents with children (holidays, sports, visiting, going out) and family climate (general "ambiance" quarreling, conflicts).

Research results concerning family integration indicate that the average family integration had decreased (annex, table 2). In this respect we recall that family integration is strongly related with age. In our first study we have seen that the older age groups had lower family integration scores than the younger age categories. The older a juvenile gets, the less effective

parental control is, and the more communication and activities together decrease. This is of course a normal process of gradual detaching oneself from the home environment and parental supervision. The process is illustrated by figure 2 that shows a particular decrease of the index "bond with parents" including direct control and communication. It seems as if once 13 to 14 years old, parents lose a lot of their influence. Family functioning shows a slower decrease and a stabilization at 18 - 19 years old.

Figure 2: Family-integration and age



The same pattern has been found with respect to going out at night. Five times as many youngsters, now aged 14 or 15 years go out every night than two years ago, and this is true for two times as many 16 and 17 years old.

4.2 Schoolintegration

There are two school indexes. The first is bond with school (liking school; relation with teachers) and commitment (importance good rates, judgement teachers, staying in school). The second index measures school-functioning (performance, homework, repeating classes) and social behavior (punishment, sent away, suspended, relation with other pupils). Here again we find a decrease in school integration in the two years older sample (see annex, table 3).

It should be stressed, however, that the decrease in family integration is considerably stronger than the decrease in schoolintegration.

Figure 3: School-integration and age

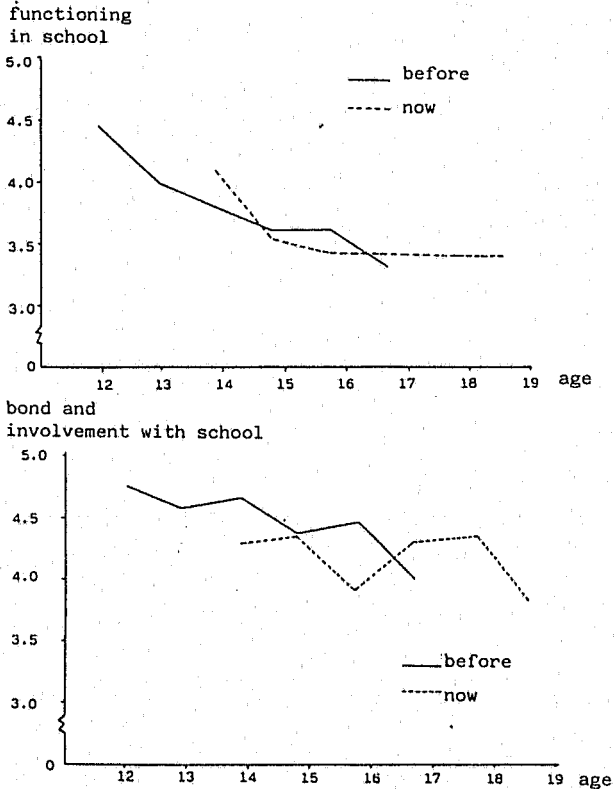


Figure 3 makes clear that the school integration curves are flatter than those of family integration. It is clear also that the decrease in integration scores is notably strong between 13, 14 and 16 years old. The oldest age groups seem to show a more stable pattern, which is especially the case for school functioning, including both school performance or social behavior. Changes also in the habit of truanting: 30% of the 16 and 17 years old in 1981, reported some or frequent truancy; two years later 51% of this same group reports such behavior.

Table 6: Truancy and age (N=331)

1981		1983	
Age	some/frequent truancy	Age	some/frequent truancy
12 - 13	3%	14 - 15	22%
14 - 15	12%	16 - 17	33%
16 - 17	30%	18 - 19	51%

4.3 Leisure and peergroup

Let us repeat the three leisure indexes. The first one -functioning- includes visiting bars and disco's, alcohol-use of friends and of juvenile himself; the second one -commitment- refers to the perception of possibilities to spend leisure time outside the home and feelings of boredom; the third one -bravado- is based on a certain self perception (I am good at sports, I am good at speaking back, I am popular with girls and with boys).

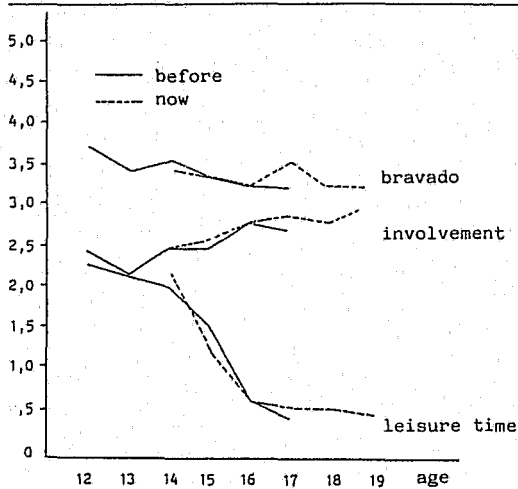
As figure 4 shows, the results are in a somewhat different direction this time. The average score on the index functioning is lower than two years ago, which means that these youngsters more frequently go to bars and disco's and that there is more consumption of alcohol (around them and by themselves). This change again shows a growing detachment from the family with increasing age. The same conclusion can be made with respect to the second index that gets higher scores in stead of lower scores.

This means that respondents perceive more possibilities for spending leisure outside the home and are not bored so frequently compared to two years ago.

In other words the group as a whole is less influenced by the family and is more oriented towards the outside world and to contacts with peers.

As figure 4. shows the only index that did hardly change is the bravoure index. High scores on that index were related to delinquency. Stability of this index means in any case that in this respect the situation has not become worse.

Figure 4: Leisure time indexes and age



We have also checked whether the nature of the peer-group has changed: do they have more, or less friends with judicial contacts than two years ago? In this respect there are not many changes: two years ago as well as now, somewhat more than half of the youngsters reported that none of their friends ever had been picked up by the police.

Summing up: although leisure time functioning got lower scores, the scores on the other indexes remained largely unchanged, whereas attitudes towards leisure occupations outside the home have become more favourable.

In this study as well as in the first one the different indexes and other variables were correlated. Correlations between the same indexes over time are also strong. The highest correlations are those of family-functioning (.45), school functioning (.52), bravado (.43), truancy (.37), running away (.37) and having de-

linquent friends (.37). Three conclusions can be drawn from the data, The first one is rather obvious: growing up and maturing is a continuous and gradual process leading to a strong relation between the situation as it was two years ago and the actual situation. The second conclusion is no more surprising: the earlier family, school and leisure time integration scores the stronger predictive value they have with respect to the later level of integration and delinquency.

Finally we may say that the total social integration gradually has decreased in the two year follow-up period. This is especially true for family integration and less so for integration in other sub-systems.

4.4 Values and norms

In the first as well as in the second study we have posed some questions with respect to conceptions about delinquency and the reaction of the police.

The first question referred to attitudes towards delinquent behavior: does the juvenile think it is not serious or does he disapprove? The second question was addressed more specifically to his behavior: if he was sure nobody would find out, would he commit more offences? The last question was about police reactions. What did the juvenile think the police should do: nothing, give a warning or pick the delinquent up and bring him to the police station? The principal conclusion on the basis of the answers to these questions was that most juveniles have rather conformist views with respect to delinquency as well as towards the police. In fact whether they had committed offences or not did not make much difference. Although there was a small group of persistent offenders who deviated somewhat from these norms, most of them had conventional views. Looking at the answers in the second study there are some interesting shifts toward more conformity. Of those who two years ago thought that offending was "no serious" matter, only one fifth kept thinking this, while half now disapproves. Of those who had said that it depended on the act, now 60% disapproves (annex, table 4). Thus more respondents than two years ago disapprove of committing offences.

If one was sure not to be detected, would one commit more offences? Here again we note greater support for the conventional norm than before. Of those who had said "sometimes" the first time, now 66% said they would not do so; and of those who had said "Yes, they would" half now said they would not and only one fifth said "sometimes".

With respect to police reaction, more juveniles now than before chose for the hard line: the police should take the delinquent to the police station.

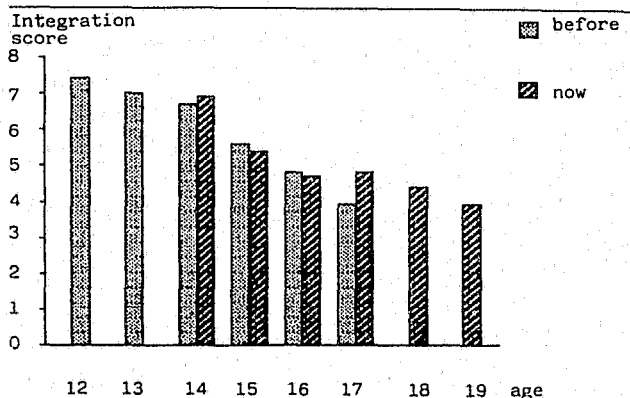
All in all the group as a whole has become more supportive of conventional norms with respect to delinquency during the follow-up period.

4.5 Socio-demographic variables and social integration

In our first study we found that socio-demographic variables were not related to social integration, with the exception of father's employment status and sex. Girls were better integrated in family, school and leisure occupations than boys; and family integration as well as school-integration were significantly better when the father was employed. These results were confirmed in the second study. Moreover, employment status of the juvenile also appears to be related to social integration. Those who still go to school and those who are employed have significantly higher social integration scores than those who are unemployed ($F=13.50$, $p<0.001$).

As far as age is concerned figure 5 shows that integration scores slowly but systematically decrease with increasing age.

Figure 5: Age and social integration



In the follow-up sample the average integration score at age 14 is 6,9 and at age 19 is 3,9. Figure 5 clearly shows that the situation before and after the follow-up

period is practically identical. Integration scores of 14 and 15 years old, then and now hardly differ ($F=1.0$, $p < 0.78$) and this is also the case for the 16 and 17 years old, then and now ($F=1.04$, $p < 0.81$). There further is a strong correlation between average integration scores of both samples ($r=.56$). In other words within homogeneous age groups social integration is the same, independent of time. These results suggest that age is strongly related with social integration as well as with delinquency (see chapter 3). This relation seems independent of time and perhaps also -as Hirschi states- of other factors such as place and ethnicity.

Summarizing this chapter it was found that there have been considerable changes in social integration during the two year follow-up period. Family integration and school integration have decreased; leisure time behavior has changed; more juveniles than before spend most of their leisure time outside. However, although the youngsters are more detached from their family and from school they have got more positive attitudes towards spending one's leisure time and they are more supportive of society's norms with respect to delinquency. On the other hand analysis shows that earlier family and school integration are strongly related to later integration and the same is true for spending one's leisure time and having delinquent friends. This means of course that the research results indicate a certain continuity as well as clear changes related to the development of young persons. The conclusion that these changes reflect normal processes of growing up can also be drawn from the fact that delinquency of the total group has not increased during the follow-up period -as might be expected- but has about remained at the same level.

5 EFFECTS OF JUDICIAL INTERVENTION

Chapter 3 and 4 were essentially descriptive, noting the changes that have taken place in delinquency, in contacts with the police or the prosecutor and in social integration.

Chapter 5 and 6 cover the analytic part of the study. In this respect we recall that in our view two sets of variables influence juveniles that have offended two years ago: changes in social integration and judicial intervention. We hypothesized that the effects of changes in social integration -that is changes in the juvenile's life situation- would be greater than the impact of judicial intervention. We also assumed that judicial intervention would only have some effects if the juvenile had average to high integration scores and that such intervention would hardly have any effect on juveniles with low integration scores.

In this chapter we will look at effects of judicial intervention on later delinquency, on repeated contacts with the police or the prosecutor and on later social integration -by way of labeling processes-.

5.1 Earlier judicial intervention and later social integration

The labeling theory supposes that judicial contacts will have rather serious consequences for juveniles: they are stigmatized by family and friends; they then consider themselves as deviant and consequently they will tend to commit more offences.

These hypotheses have become to a large extent the philosophy of the juvenile court. It is therefore important to test it under different angles. In the first place it can be said, on the basis of labeling theory that judicial contacts will lead to a decrease in social integration because of the fact that the bond with significant others weakens, commitment to conventional sub-system becomes less and values and norms show a shift towards less support of conventional norms.

Apart from this general approach we have asked juveniles a number of questions in order to measure possible labeling effects in a more direct way. We then will examine whether subjective perceptions and feelings are related to level of integration. Considering earlier judicial contacts and later integration there appears to be a relation ($F=12.77$, $p<0.001$) in the sense that those who have not been in contact with the police two years ago now have a much higher integration score (5,0) than those who earlier had appeared before the prosecutor (2,7). But in the analysis we did not take into account the level of delinquency: it is not impossible that stigmatization varies with level of delinquency. Keeping earlier frequency of offending constant there appears to be some labeling effect when delinquency level was low. But when frequency of offending was high, later integration was hardly lower in the case of officially recorded contacts than when there were no such contacts.

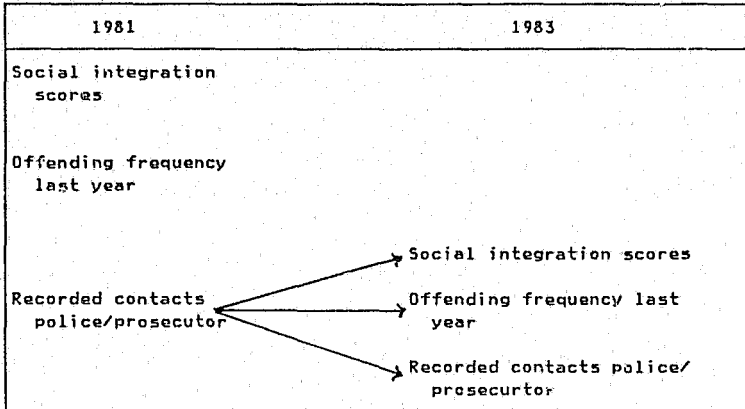
Label 7: Earlier judicial intervention and later integration, keeping earlier delinquency level constant

earlier judicial contacts	later social integration	
	low frequency of offending	high frequency of offending
no recorded contacts	4.1	3.5
recorded contacts	2.2	2.5
	$F=10.6$, $p<0.002$	$F=1.7$, $p<0.19$

Juveniles with a high delinquency level have on the average lower integration scores. We did suppose that the life situation of these youngsters would be so unfavourable that judicial intervention would not operate any change in their life. Other data point in the same direction. For instance we found that the better integrated juveniles more often felt ashamed by their contacts with the police. In other words labeling would have stronger effects on well integrated youth than on those who already are in a rather bad situation and the labeling effects seem clearer when delinquency level is low.

In order to test this and other relations we used path-analysis. The analysis refers to six sets of variables: social integration expressed in both studies in the already described total integration scores; delinquency, each time expressed in offending frequency during the last year before the interview; and the

officially recorded contacts with the police or the prosecutor which we summarize with judicial contacts.



The arrows indicate the relations that are tested in this chapter.

The complete analysis will be exposed in the final chapter. Here we look first at the partial correlations, controlling for possible intervening factors. For instance the simple correlation between earlier judicial contacts and later integration is relatively high, $r = -.43$, $p < 0.001$. However, controlling for both earlier integration and earlier delinquency, the partial correlation is only $r = -.10$. This means that the explained variance is so small that the labeling effect is non-existent (annex, table 5, figure 7). But looking at the subjective side of the matter, how do the juveniles themselves perceive their contacts with the juvenile justice system. To get some insight in possible feelings of stigmatization we posed a number of questions, four of which were so strongly related that we could construct an index. These questions mainly refer to the consequences of their delinquency.

- do you think the police watches you more closely now?
- do your parents pick on you more often than before?
- does the trouble with the police harm you when looking for a job?
- do some of your friends shun you since you had that trouble with the police?

One result is that a high number of recorded contacts go together with a high score on the labeling index (annex, table 6). Moreover, judgement about the way they

were treated by the police or the prosecutor is related to labeling feelings: when this judgement is negative, labeling feelings are strong. These results indicate that many judicial contacts are related to a negative perception of these contacts and high scores on the labeling index. Moreover, there is also a relation between the labeling index and level of integration.

Table 8: Labeling index and social integration

labeling-index	Average integration score
	N=99
no labeling-scores	8.6
high labeling scores	1.9
$F=3.79, p<0.003$	2.9

Let us repeat that this relation holds only for the labeling index. A great number of other labeling variables -such as being ashamed by contact with the police, knowledge of parents, teachers and friends about the contact, reactions and measures taken at home, at school or from friends- had no relation at all with social integration.

What can one conclude on the basis of these data? In the first place it should be recognized that juveniles, when they have been in contact with the police, indeed get the feeling that they are stigmatized by their environment. The more contacts, the worse their social integration, the stronger these feelings. However, we should not overestimate these perceptions because we found that a great number of labeling variables, all concerned with negative reactions of family, school and friends did not differentiate within the group of juveniles with judicial contacts. What can then be said about the basic labeling idea, that stigmatization leads to a negative, delinquent self-image and consequently to more delinquency? This question will be examined in the next paragraph.

5.2 Judicial intervention and later delinquency

Do the contacts with the juvenile justice system two years ago have any effect on the later delinquency level? One may assume that the police and prosecutor do expect

that their intervention has some effect and that it will lead youngsters to commit no more offences. However, labeling theory claims that judicial intervention has negative effects and would lead to more rather than less delinquent behavior. Simple tabular analysis shows indeed that the earlier number of recorded contacts is related with increasing delinquency two years later, which gives support to the labeling hypothesis. But in order to test the different hypotheses several controls need to be introduced. The first one is for earlier delinquency: can we still predict later delinquency from earlier contacts if we take into account the earlier delinquency? And as far as the earlier contacts are concerned we make a distinction between police contacts and prosecutor contacts.

Label 9: Earlier judicial contacts and later delinquency by earlier delinquency level.

earlier judicial contacts	later offending frequency	
	earlier low delinquency level	earlier high delinquency level
no police contacts	1,2	3,0
recorded police-contacts	1,8	2,9
	F=1,4, p<0.24	F=0.001, p<0.97
no prosecutor contacts	1,3	3,0
prosecutor contacts	1,0	2,9
	F=0,3, p<0.57	F=0.001, p<0.97

The table clearly shows that when earlier delinquency level is kept constant, the relation between earlier judicial contacts and later delinquency completely disappears. It looks as if the two sets of variables are totally unrelated. Whether there have been officially recorded contacts or no such contacts seems to make no difference as far as later delinquency is concerned.

Another important factor that has been controlled for is social integration, because we know that social integration is strongly related to delinquency. It thus could be possible that social integration functions as a kind of intervening variable between earlier judicial contacts and later delinquency level. To examine this possibility we controlled for integration level.

Table 10: Earlier judicial contacts and later delinquency by social integration level

earlier judicial contacts	low integration level	high integration level
no police contacts	2,0	0,47
recorded police contacts	2,5	0,33
	F=0,82, p<0.36	F=0,12, p<0.72
no prosecutor contacts	2,2	0,45
prosecutor contacts	1,8	0,55
	F=0,55, p<0.46	F=0,05, p<0.82

And again there is nothing left of the relation between earlier judicial contacts and later delinquency. It does not make any difference whether there have been such contacts or not. What appears from table 9 is that integration level makes a lot more difference with respect to later delinquency, but this aspect will be taken up later. Finally we used path-analysis to compute correlations between earlier contacts and later delinquency. The simple correlation is $r=.16$, $p<0.002$, and thus significant. But controlling for earlier delinquency, the partial correlation is $r=-.013$, $p<0.41$. In other words there is no relation (annex, table 5, figure 8). The conclusion must be that official contacts with the police or the prosecutor have no effect on reoffending. This means that our hypothesis as well as the labeling hypothesis are not confirmed by our research data. Even when integration level is high there is no effect of judicial contacts on later delinquency and this is contrary to our expectations. The labeling hypothesis claiming that judicial contacts lead to more delinquency finds no confirmation either.

5.3 Earlier and later judicial intervention

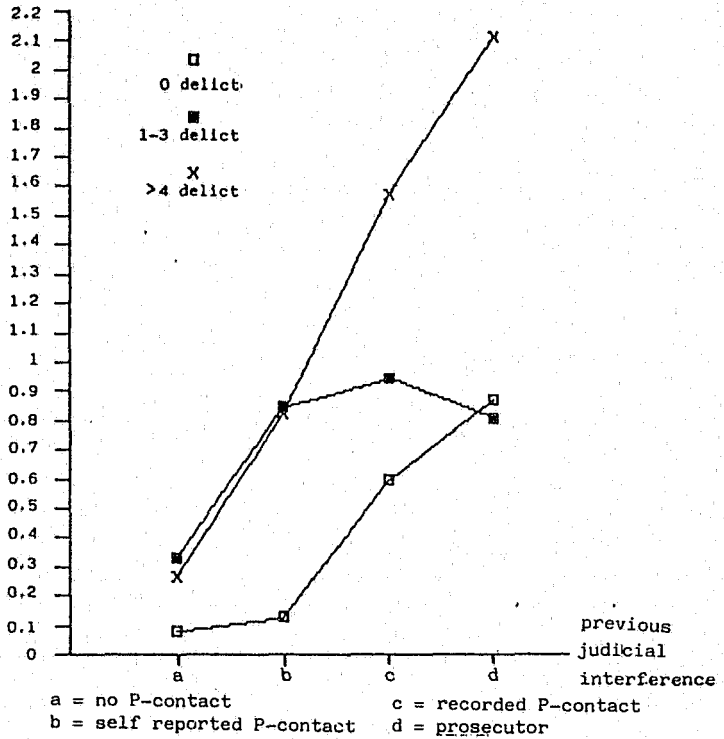
Once a juvenile is registered in the police files, what are the chances then that he will be reregistered? The next table relates earlier judicial contacts to such contacts two years later.

Tabel 11: Earlier and later judicial contacts -in %-

New contacts	Earlier contacts			χ^2	P
	had no contact	had 1 contact	had 2 or more contacts		
	N=246	N=179	N=102		
P-contacts	8	18	25	17,80	<0.001
prosecutor cont.	9	22,5	49	69,10	<0.0001
juvenile judge	3	5,5	28	62,60	<0.0001
Total number contacts	15%	35%	48%	45,12	<0.0001

For those who had two or more earlier contacts, the chance of getting a new contact with the police is 1 in 4; but the chance of getting into contact with the prosecutor is 1 in 2, twice as high as for those who only had one earlier contact. Considering all contacts we may say that of those who only had 1 contact, more than one third got new contacts, whereas for those who had 2 or more contacts nearly half got additional contacts. It thus appears that once recorded by the police the chances are high one gets a new record. But of course things are not that straightforward. In the first place one should take into account the differences in reported delinquency. This is well illustrated by the next figure which shows the increase in total number of contacts since 1981, keeping level of delinquency constant.

Figure 6: Increase in total number of judicial contacts since 1981 by actual delinquency level



It is clear that juveniles with a high delinquency level show the highest increase in number of contacts. The other two groups show a more reduced relation between delinquency level and number of contacts. In the following analysis we controlled for delinquency level and number of earlier contacts. When delinquency level is low, it does not make any difference whether there have been earlier contacts or not. The rule "once contact, renewed contact" apparently does not apply to this group. However, when delinquency level is high there is a considerable difference in number of later contacts between those who already had such contacts earlier and those who had not (annex, table 7). Particularly the large difference in prosecutor contacts suggests that

the police tends to send more easily an official report to the prosecutor in cases where there have been earlier contacts. The predictive value of earlier contacts is thus fairly strong in the case of relatively delinquent youngsters; when delinquency is only incidental earlier contacts are not good predictors of later contacts. In other words: juveniles who are frequent offenders run a high risk of getting official contacts with the juvenile justice system if they already had such contacts; when there have been no such contacts the risk of getting them is just as high as for those who only committed a few offences.

5.4 Summary

The following questions have been examined in this chapter.

1. Does judicial intervention have labeling effects and thus produce a decrease in social integration?
2. Is there a relation between judicial intervention and later delinquency?
3. Is there a relation between earlier contacts with the juvenile justice system and such contacts after a two years period?

Answering the first question we found a small labeling effect at the level of the individual juvenile. The more police contacts, the more the juvenile experiences some stigmatization by his environment. The question is, however, to what extent labeling feelings lead to changes in behavior by the environment or the juvenile himself. We did not find such changes: judicial intervention did not have any demonstrable effect on later social integration or on later delinquency level, which is what one would expect in terms of the theory. This brings us to the second question to which we can only give a negative answer.

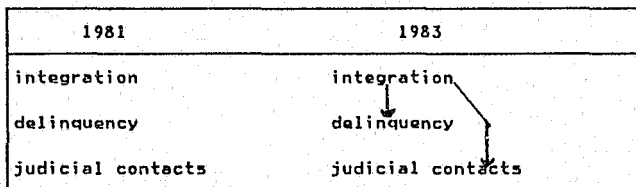
Controlling for earlier delinquency, there appeared to be no relation between earlier judicial contacts and later delinquency: frequency of delinquent behavior is independent of the occurrence of contacts with the police or the prosecutor two years ago. Apparently delinquency is related to other factors.

The third question has a positive answer. Although, when offending frequency is low, there is only a weak relation between earlier and later judicial intervention, the relation is very strong for frequent offenders. In this case the best predictor for a new recorded contact is an earlier recorded contact. Path-analysis shows a partial correlation of earlier contacts with later contacts of $r = .35$.

6 SOCIAL INTEGRATION, DELINQUENCY AND JUDICIAL INTERVENTION

In this chapter we want to examine whether changes in social integration are related to changes in delinquency and changes in judicial intervention. However, we first want to check the relations between actual social integration on the one hand and delinquency or judicial intervention on the other. As ours is a repeat study with a sub-group from the original sample it is important to control whether earlier established relations still hold.

The arrows in the model show the relations that we want to analyze first.



6.1 Actual social integration and actual delinquency

As far as family and schoolintegration are concerned we found the same relations as in the first study. Particularly schoolfunctioning is strongly related to delinquency. When schoolfunctioning is good there is hardly any delinquency: the average number of delinquent acts is 0.19. When schoolfunctioning becomes worse, the average number of delinquent acts increases up to 2.65.

In other words although family and schoolintegration have generally decreased during the follow-up period

(see chapter 4), the relations between that integration and delinquency remained as strong as two years ago.

With respect to the other integration fields the same reasoning holds. Some positive changes concerning the leisure indexes and the support for conventional norms have been demonstrated. But independently of these changes occurring in the follow-up period, the relation between all these variables and delinquency, practically remained unchanged.

Using the global integration scores we are able to illustrate the relations between integration and delinquency in 1981 and 1983.

This is shown by the following figure where both are represented (the curves are based on annex table 8).

Figure 7: Total integration scores and offending frequency last year -1981 and 1983-

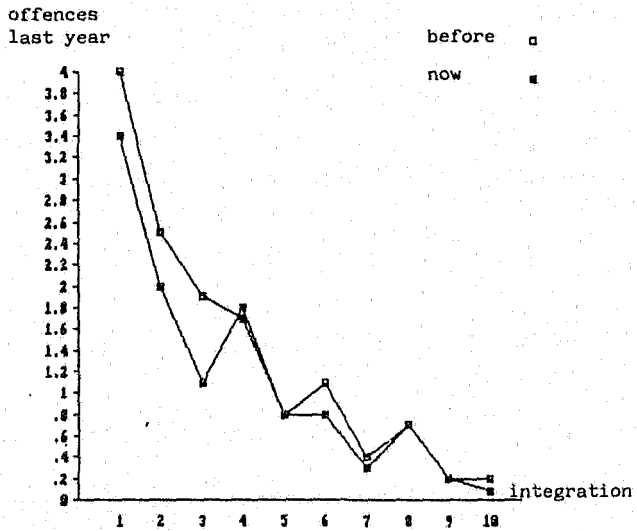


Figure 7 shows that in 1981 as well as in 1983 the relation between integration and delinquency is very strong. The correlation coefficient for 1981 is $r = -.49$ and for 1983 $r = -.41$. Moreover we see that the curves are practically identical, indicating that the same processes are operating now as two years before. We also found a strong relation between social integration level and judicial contacts, which again is a confirmation of our earlier results. But if we consider only those juveniles who have had earlier contacts with the juvenile

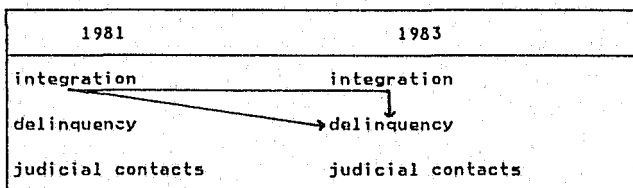
justice system we find no difference in social integration between those with and those without any further contacts. Both groups show the same integration level ($F=1.66$, $p<0.42$) and the same delinquency level ($F=2.60$, $p<0.60$). The group with repeated contacts differed from the group without such contacts by the fact that they had a lower integration level two years ago and also had had more contacts two years ago.

But there appears to be no relation between actual level of social integration and renewed contacts with the juvenile justice system. The reason probably is that renewed contacts do not depend so much on social integration level or offending frequency as well as on the fact that there have been recorded contacts before.

For the group as a whole, however, the relation between social integration and judicial intervention continues to exist. Path-analysis shows a correlation of $r=-.27$ ($p<0.001$), and when delinquency level is controlled the partial correlation is $r=-.16$ ($p<0.003$) a result which is still significant. However, the variance explained is minimal 3% and when we control for earlier judicial intervention (see 6.3) the relation disappears.

6.2 Changes in social integration and delinquency

A first question one may ask is whether earlier social integration would have some predictive value with respect to later delinquency. This would imply that social integration is a fairly stable variable: remaining constant it would influence earlier as well as later delinquency. Second, we want to trace the effects of changes in integration. If there is any change how would that effect actual delinquent behavior?



As appears from the outline we can express these analyses by two arrows: the first one points from earlier integration to renewed delinquency, the other points from earlier integration to later integration and then to de-

linquency. Considering our first problem, regression analysis shows that the relation between earlier integration and earlier delinquency ($R=.63$) is much stronger than the one between earlier integration and later delinquency ($R=.44$). This would suggest that the two states are related; but as social integration is not a given state once and for all but is changing over time, the relation between earlier integration and earlier delinquency is stronger than the relation between that integration level and later delinquency.

Path-analysis shows this more clearly. The correlation of earlier integration with later delinquency is $r=-.22$, $p<0.001$. However, controlling for later integration that correlation disappears completely ($r=.01$, $p<0.39$). This means in fact that, when one controls for the actual integration level, earlier social integration is not related to the delinquent behavior of juveniles two years later.

These results suggest that as situations change, consequently behavior also changes. Two years in the life of a juvenile mean a considerable period: the situation in his family, with respect to school or job, leisure occupations and friends may be modified to some or to more extent.

In chapter 1 we stated some hypotheses, assuming that delinquency would decrease with improving level of integration and would increase in case of lower integration level, remaining constant if no change occurred. This has been tested by splitting the group of earlier offenders into three sub-groups: those who had a low integration level (scores 1, 2, 3), those of medium integration level (scores 4, 5, 6) and those who were well integrated (scores 7, 8, 9, 10). We then first compared average offending frequency in 1981 and 1983.

Table 12: Earlier integration and delinquency level in 1981 and 1983

	low integration level	medium integration level	high integration level
Offending frequency	N=84	N=99	N=145
1981	2.9	1.4	0.3
1983	2.0	1.5	0.9

Grossly we note a clear difference in frequency of delinquent behavior between the three integration levels,

a difference that remained fairly stable over the two years. This would suggest that overall the situation did not change for all, or perhaps for most of the juveniles. However, this analysis is too simple. We now attack the second question looking first at changes in social integration and then relating the changes to delinquency level. This is expressed by the second arrow in the model, the one that leads from earlier to later integration and then to delinquency.

Table 13: Changes in integration level and in offending frequency

earlier integration	earlier offending frequency	later integration	later offending frequency
low (1,2,3)	2.9	low (N=64)	2.3
		medium (N=16)	1.2
		high (N= 4)	1.0
medium (4,5,6)	1.4	low (N=49)	2.3
		medium (N=31)	0.9
		high (N=19)	0.3
high (7,8,9,10)	0.3	low (N=28)	2.5
		medium (N=35)	1.1
		high (N=82)	0.3

Combining the two tables one gets the following. Of those who - in 1981 - had a low integration level, about 25% improved their situation. This has resulted in a considerable decrease of their offending frequency as is shown in column 4. The second group of medium integration level split up in three sub-groups: for half of them the integration level lowered, leading to more delinquency (average offending frequency increased from 1.4 to 2.3). The other groups, whose integration level remained stable (one third) or increased (20%), show a sizeable reduction in delinquency.

The third group also needs some comments. Of a total of 63 juveniles - 43,5% - the integration level had lowered. Somewhat less than half of them, now having a clearly low integration level show a considerable rise in average offending frequency (0.3 to 2.5). Only the sub-group that maintained its high integration level continued to have the very low average offending frequency of 0.3.

The table also shows that -independent of earlier integration- those who now have low, medium or high integration scores (column 3) also have similar delinquent behavior (column 4). In fact what determines actual delinquent behavior is the actual integration level, and not the situation as it was two years ago.

Two more remarks on the changes in delinquent behavior. We have seen that the global integration of the sample as a whole has decreased during the two years follow-up period: although the group of medium integration level has remained more or less stable, the group of high level has been reduced from half to one third and the group of low level has increased from about 26% to 43%. But the offending frequency of the total sample has remained constant or was even slightly reduced. We would suggest that we are dealing here with an effect of ageing, social integration - as it has been measured in this study - declining with age. This means that lower integration levels are not entirely translated in more delinquency. If this were the case delinquency levels would now be higher than two years ago. Part of the global decline in integration thus should be attributed to the process of becoming adult and does not lead to more delinquency. The second remark concerns the relation between earlier and later delinquency. One would expect an impact of earlier delinquent behavior on such later behavior and indeed path-analysis gives us a correlation of $r=.22$ ($p<0.001$) between the two variables (annex, table 5, figure 6). However, controlling for levels of integration, the relation disappears.

Apart from actual social integration and earlier delinquency, it might be possible that earlier judicial contacts also have an impact on later delinquency level. The following table looks at the actual offending frequency while keeping earlier delinquency, earlier judicial contacts and actual integration level constant.

Label 14: Actual offending frequency by earlier delinquency, earlier judicial contacts and actual integration

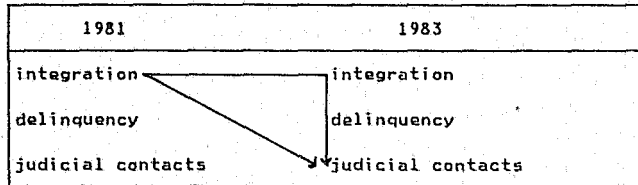
earlier low offending frequency				earlier high offending frequency			
no recorded contact		recorded contact		no recorded contact		recorded contact	
0.5		0.6		2.6		2.7	
actual offending frequency							
1.2		1.2		1.9		2.2	
low social integr.	high social integr.	low social integr.	high social integr.	low social integr.	high social integr.	low social integr.	high social integr.
1.9	0.5	1.6	0.3	2.2	1.3	2.5	0.6

The table reviews all our earlier findings. In the first place we see that low delinquency levels remain relatively low while high delinquency levels remain high. But low frequency did increase whereas high frequency decreased so that the discrepancy between both groups has diminished. In the second place the table shows again the absence of any impact of judicial intervention on delinquency. Whether a juvenile has had officially recorded contacts or not, it does not make any difference for the frequency of his offending. Thirdly, it is clear that the greatest impact on delinquent behavior comes from the actual integration level. The considerable differences in delinquency all go in the same direction. Finally actual integration has its effects on delinquency, independently of earlier delinquency level. Differences in offending between juveniles with low integration scores are small, whether they had committed a few or a lot of offences two years ago. The same is true for those with high integration scores: independently of earlier offending, actual offending frequency is low.

6.3 Changes in social integration and judicial contacts

We have seen earlier that actual social integration is significantly related to actual delinquency ($r = -.16$, $p < 0.003$). This relation might be explained by the fact that the police use certain selection criteria for their

decision making, that are part of our integration indexes, such as family background factors or truancy. But we also wanted to know whether earlier integration had an impact on later judicial intervention. After examining this question we analyzed whether integration changes perhaps did influence the number of contacts with police and prosecutor. The relations can be visualized by the following arrows.



The first relation examined is the one between earlier integration and later intervention. The simple correlation in path-analysis is $r = -.20$, $p < 0.001$. But controlling for integration and delinquency in 1983, the relation disappears completely (annex, table 5, figure 2). In fact we had not expected such a relation to exist, while there was no relation between earlier integration and later delinquency either. This result again confirms the conclusion that social integration level at a specific time has little predictive value with respect to later behavior because it is a dynamic state, not a static one.

As far as the relation of later integration with later judicial contacts is concerned, path-analysis gives a simple correlation of $r = -.27$, $p < 0.001$; but controlling for actual delinquency and earlier judicial contacts the partial correlation is $r = -.12$, $p < 0.01$, a statistically significant relation without however much real meaning.

Finally we have examined the impact of integration changes on judicial intervention, distinguishing between low integration (scores 1-6) and high integration (scores 7-10).

Table 15: Changes in social integration and increase in number of judicial contacts

Number of judicial contacts (N=328)			
changes in integration	increase P-contact	increase prosecutor contact	increase total number of contacts
integration remained low	.32	.36	.72
decrease high to low	.30	.06	.41
increase low to high	.09	.09	.13
integration remained high	.06	.04	.10
	F=2.0, p<0.11	F=5.6, p<0.001	F=5.3, p<0.001

Table 15 shows a large difference in contacts between those with high integration scores and those with low scores. This is particularly true in the case of police contacts. Juveniles whose scores were and remained low do show the highest increase in number of contacts. A next question is whether it would make a difference if earlier contacts were informal or officially recorded.

Table 16: Changes in social integration and increase in number of judicial contacts by nature of earlier contacts

Changes in integration	increase total number of contacts	
	no recorded contacts	officially recorded contacts
remained low	.49	1.10
decrease high to low	.16	.64
increase low to high	.08	.40
remained high	.11	.80
	F=1.6, p<0.19	F=0.5, p<0.68

And again earlier established differences disappear. The largest differences do not occur between those with high and those with low integration scores - although there are some differences, they are not significant - but between those who had only informal contacts and those who had recorded contacts.

The conclusion therefore must be that changes in integration level have nothing to do with coming again into contact with the juvenile justice system.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter we analyzed the question whether social integration has any impact on delinquency and judicial contacts, one of our leading research questions. First we demonstrated, just as in our first study, that social integration is strongly related to delinquency. However, integration is not related to judicial contacts if one controls for earlier contacts. Earlier judicial contacts appear to be much stronger predictors of later contacts than actual integration.

Secondly we related changes in social integration to delinquency and judicial contacts. These changes have strong effects on delinquent behavior in the sense that higher integration scores are related to a decrease in

delinquency and lower integration scores to an increase in delinquent behavior. With respect to judicial contacts it may be said that changes in integration are not related to number of later judicial contacts.

7.1 Delinquency, judicial contacts and social integration

The first part of the study examined changes in delinquency, in judicial contacts and in social integration that occurred during the follow-up period.

Delinquency

- earlier delinquency is related to later delinquency;
- four groups can be distinguished:
 - juveniles with persisting low offending frequency: 55%;
 - juveniles with persisting high offending frequency: 15%;
 - juveniles with increasing offending frequency: 15%;
 - juveniles with decreasing offending frequency: 15%.

Judicial contacts

- of those who have had contacts with the police or prosecutor, 60% did not and 40% did again come into contact with the juvenile justice system;
- there is a relation between the nature of earlier contacts and later contacts: only 20% of those who just had informal contacts did get recorded contacts two years later: this is 37,5% of those who only had police contacts and 44,5% of those who had prosecutor contacts;

- renewed contacts with the juvenile justice system are unrelated to actual level of delinquent behavior.

Social integration

- although there is a relation between earlier and later integration, integration of the sample as a whole has decreased;
- this is particularly so for family integration and less so for school integration;
- the changes seem to be related to the normal process of growing up;
- they are not accompanied by an increase in delinquency.

Who did offend again?

- Of those who have committed offences, half stopped offending and half continued offending - during a two years period;
- juveniles who continued offending differ from those who stopped in a number of ways:
 - they are younger;
 - their education level is lower;
 - they have lower integration scores - now and two years ago;
 - they started committing offences at an earlier age;
 - their offending frequency was already higher two years ago.
- juveniles who continued or stopped offending did not differ in S.E.S., employment status of the father and of the juvenile himself.

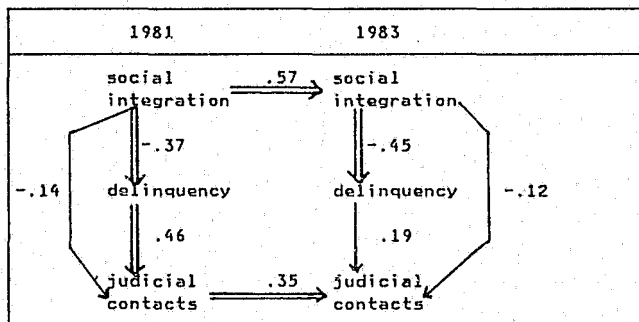
Who had judicial contacts again?

- Juveniles who again had judicial contacts during the follow-up period differ from those who did not in the following respects:
 - they had lower integration scores two years ago;
 - they committed more offences two years ago;
 - they had more judicial contacts two years ago.

- Both groups do not differ in actual delinquency level, actual integration and S.E.S.

7.2 Effects of judicial intervention and of changes in integration

This part of the study can be expressed in a model - LISREL -, designed in collaboration with the department of Research Methods of Leiden University.⁰¹



$\chi^2=5.38; df=5; p=.37$

The objective of the model is to classify the processes operating during the follow-up period. In this respect we recall that social integration is expressed by total integration scores, delinquency is measured by offending frequency during the year before the interview, and judicial contacts are those contacts that are officially recorded.

7.2.1 Effects of judicial intervention

- high scores on the labeling-index, measuring the

⁰¹ Meijerink F., P.G.M. van der Heijden, A. Mooyaart: Using LISREL to choose between contradicting criminological theories, University of Leiden, department of Research methods; Paper presented at the Third International Symposium on Data Analysis, Brussels, 1985.

stigmatizing consequences of judicial contacts, are related to a large number of such contacts and to low integration scores. However, labeling effects could only be found on the basis of the labeling index. We did not find any effect of variables measuring the reactions of family, school and peers;

- no labeling effects of judicial intervention on later social integration have been found.

The hypothesis was that judicial contacts would have negative effects on integration that is on relations and functioning in the family, school- and peer group. This hypothesis has not been confirmed. The correlation between earlier judicial contacts and later integration is so low as to be without significance.

Judicial intervention and later delinquency

- recorded contacts with the police or prosecutor have no effects on the level of later delinquency.

In this case the hypothesis was that judicial intervention would have specific effects, although we expected that eventual effects would be stronger if the juvenile was well integrated. However, this proved not to be the case. Juveniles with low integration scores did commit more offences than juveniles with high scores, but this happened irrespective of their having had contacts with the juveniles justice system. The labeling hypothesis stating that judicial contacts would lead to more delinquency was not confirmed either. In fact no relation could be established between recorded contacts and later delinquency.

Judicial intervention and later judicial contacts

- earlier judicial contacts are the strongest predictors of later judicial contacts.

This is particularly the case for juveniles with high offending frequency: if they had a preceding recorded contact then the risk of getting another one was high; if they did not have earlier recorded contacts then the risk of getting one was low.

The LISREL model gives a correlation of .35 which is relatively high so we must conclude that we have here an important relation. Earlier we expressed the view that there probably is a high threshold for the first official recording of delinquent behavior. Once that threshold is passed, new recordings seem to follow more or less automatically.

7.2.2 Effects of changes in social integration

Actual social integration and delinquency

- actual integration level is strongly related to actual delinquency level;
- earlier delinquency has no autonomous effect on later delinquency.

The model shows a relatively high correlation between actual integration and actual delinquency ($r = -.45$).

Changes in social integration and delinquency

- changes in integration are strongly related to changes in offending frequency;
- when integration increases, offending frequency decreases;
- when integration decreases, offending frequency rises.

These results cannot be inferred directly from the model. In fact this would necessitate an arrow leading from earlier integration to later delinquency but passing through later integration. The high correlation between earlier and later integration ($r = .57$) indicates that in the lives of most of the juveniles much has remained the same during the follow-up period, so there is much continuity. But this is not true for all juveniles. Some have done better: in the family, in the school, or they found a job. Others did not fare so well: more conflicts with their parents, they dropped out of school or occupied their leisure time in a more negative way. These changes do have a great impact on delinquent behavior meaning less delinquency when the situation improves and more delinquency when things become worse.

The conclusion must be that changes in a juveniles life situation constitute the best predictor for changes in delinquent behavior.

Changes in social integration and judicial contacts

- social integration is related to judicial contacts;
- changes in social integration are not related to later judicial contacts if one controls for earlier contacts;
- irrespective of integration changes those who had earlier recorded contacts now have more such contacts than those who had not.

Two arrows run from social integration to judicial contacts meaning that -in 1981 as well as in 1983- the police, in their decision making, take into account factors that are part of our integration indexes, such as family- and school factors. However, in both cases explained variance is small. It seems likely that the police take into account these factors (plus a number of class related factors as we have demonstrated in our first study) when they are considering to make an official report for the first time. We deduce this from the finding that changes in social integration are not related to additional judicial contacts. Juveniles with earlier contacts get more additional contacts than juveniles without earlier contacts whether their situation has improved or not.

This means a confirmation of the threshold hypothesis. When it is the first time the police make an official report, they are prepared to consider a number of background factors which they think are important in determining delinquent behavior. When a juvenile comes again in contact with the police, there will be automatic registration and background factors are no longer considered.

7.3 Some conclusions

Two fundamental problems have been examined in both studies. The first one is: what are the causes of delinquent behavior; the second is: will judicial intervention stop further offending.

With respect to the first problem we have tried to explain delinquency on the basis of social control theory. We now may conclude that the follow-up study gives even more support to the theory than our first study. Not only did we find again that social integration is related to delinquency but we were able to establish that changes in integration level had a direct impact on offending frequency. These relations appeared to be particularly strong. On the basis of the results from the two studies we feel confident to state that social control theory forms an essential contribution to explaining delinquent behavior.

The second problem is considerably more complex. Expectations on possible effects of judicial intervention on behavior were not too high. It seemed to us that generally unrepeated and isolated events such as a judicial contact, never can have as much determining influence on behavior as a juvenile's more permanent and more pervasive life situation. Even when the perception of such contacts is penetrating and disturbing, it is a passing event that does not necessarily leave profound traces.

In other words we expected social integration to have stronger effects on behavior than judicial contacts. However, we did expect a kind of shock effect of such contacts on juveniles who were reasonably well integrated and not very delinquent. Finally we did not expect to find clear and unambiguous labeling effects of judicial contacts, in term of decreasing integration, increasing delinquency and more judicial contacts.

Our first hypothesis has been confirmed: indeed changes in social integration went together with changes in delinquent behavior. Judicial contacts, on the contrary, had no effect on later delinquency: whether there had been or had not been recorded contacts it did not make any difference in later behavior. Moreover, even differentiation by integration level produced no differences in offending frequency between those with earlier judicial contacts and those without such contacts. To some this will be a disappointing and perhaps shocking conclusion. Whether juveniles perceive their contact with the juvenile justice system as painful and threatening -and there are indications that many of them feel this way- this seems to have no consequences as far as their later behavior is concerned. Our expectation that there would be a deterrent effect in the case of well integrated juveniles was not confirmed. This hypothesis has to be rejected.

As far as the labeling hypotheses are concerned, the results are not that clear cut. A labeling index measuring some negative consequences of judicial intervention was related to number of experienced judicial contacts and integration level. This means that juveniles indicate that such contacts are followed by certain negative consequences. However, this was not the case for other labeling variables measuring reactions from parents, teachers and peers. In any case labeling effects are weak: judicial intervention did not lead to lower social integration scores or to more delinquent behavior.

The third hypothesis predicting a strong relation between earlier and later judicial contacts has been confirmed. Particularly among the relatively more delinquent youngsters the rule "once contact, more contacts" appeared to be valid. Irrespective of offending frequency, those who had earlier recorded contacts always had a higher risk to get new contacts than those whose offences had not been recorded before.

Table 1: Employment status father and total integration scores

	1981	1983
	mean score	mean score
father employed	6.21	5.16
father unemployed	3.80	3.94
father incapacitated	4.73	3.13
	F=4.13, p<0.002	F=7.72, p<0.0005

Table 2: Family integration in 1981 and 1983

	mean score family bond	mean score family functioning
1981	3.60	3.98
1983	2.98	3.42
	T=4.4, p<0.001	T=6.1, p<0.001

Table 3: Schoolintegration in 1981 and 1983

	mean score bond with school	mean score functioning
1981	4.58	3.86
1983	4.25	3.54
	T=4.06, p<0.001	T=4.47, p<0.001

Table 4: Evaluation of delinquent behavior -1981 and 1983-

1981			
1983	is not serious	depends on the act	disapproves
	N=31	N=103	N=194
is not serious	19,5	14,5	7
depends on the act	29	26	18
disapproves	51,5	59,5	75
	100	100	100

$\chi^2 = 12.46, p < 0.01$

Table 5: Details Path-analysis

1		
1981	1983	
(1) S-I	S-I (4)	Earlier integration and later delinquency
(2) D	D (5)	$r_{15} = -.22, p < 0.001$
(3) J-C	J-C (6)	control for later integration: $r_{15.4} = .01, p < 0.39$
2		
1981	1983	
(1) S-I	S-I (4)	Earlier integration and judicial contacts
(2) D	D (5)	$r_{16} = -.20, p < 0.001$
(3) J-C	J-C (6)	control for earlier delinquency and earlier judicial contacts: $r_{16.23} = -.003, p < 0.47$
3		
1981	1983	
(1) S-I	S-I (4)	Later integration and later judicial contacts
(2) D	D (5)	$r_{46} = -.27, p < 0.001$
(3) J-C	J-C (6)	control for later delinquency: $r_{46.5} = -.16, p < 0.003$
4		
1981	1983	
(1) S-I	S-I (4)	Earlier integration and earlier judicial contacts
(2) D	D (5)	$r_{13} = -.53, p < 0.001$
(3) J-C	J-C (6)	control for earlier delinquency: $r_{13.2} = -.21, p < 0.001$
5		
1981	1983	
(1) S-I	S-I (4)	Earlier delinquency and later judicial contacts
(2) D	D (5)	$r_{26} = .27, p < 0.001$
(3) J-C	J-C (6)	control for earlier judicial contacts: $r_{26.3} = .15, p < 0.003$

6			
1981	1983		
(1) S-I	S-I (4)	Earlier delinquency and later delinquency	
(2) D	D (5)	$r_{25}=.22, p<0.001$	
(3) J-C	J-C (6)		
7			
1981	1983		
(1) S-I	S-I (4)	Earlier judicial contacts and later integration	
(2) D	D (5)	$r_{34}=-.43, p<0.001$	
(3) J-C	J-C (6)	control for earlier integration and delinquency: $r_{36.12}=-.10, p<0.03$	
8			
1981	1983		
(1) S-I	S-I (4)	Earlier judicial contacts and later delinquency	
(2) D	D (5)	$r_{35}=.16, p<0.002$	
(3) J-C	J-C (6)	control for earlier delinquency: $r_{35.2}=-.013, p<0.41$	

Table 6: Average number of contacts and labeling index

	average number of contacts	Stand. direction	H
no labeling	1.3	1.2	66
	2.9	2.4	18
strong labeling	5.3	4.1	15
$F=23.25, p<0.0001$			

Table 7: Increase in number of judicial contacts by actual delinquency and earlier contacts

Increase total number of contacts since 1981			
low delinquency level		high delinquency level	
no recorded cont.	recorded cont.	no recorded cont.	recorded cont.
0.68	0.91	0.49	1.39
F=0.29, p<0.59		F=5.38, p<0.02	
Increase in number of contacts last year before interview			
0.31	0.35	0.18	0.53
F=0.028, p<0.86		F=3.75, p<0.05	

Table 8: Total integrationscores and offending frequency last year

		1981	1983
integration scores		mean offending frequency	mean offending frequency
1	-low	4.0	3.4
2		2.5	2.0
3		1.9	1.1
4		1.7	1.8
5		.8	.8
6		1.1	.8
7		.4	.3
8		.7	.7
9		.2	.2
10	-high	.2	.07
		F=13.6, p<0.0001 r=-.49	F=9.2, p<0.0001 r=-.41