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THEORETICAL ORIGINS OF PREDATORY VIOLENCE
PHENOMENON: A STUDY OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS
IN OHIO

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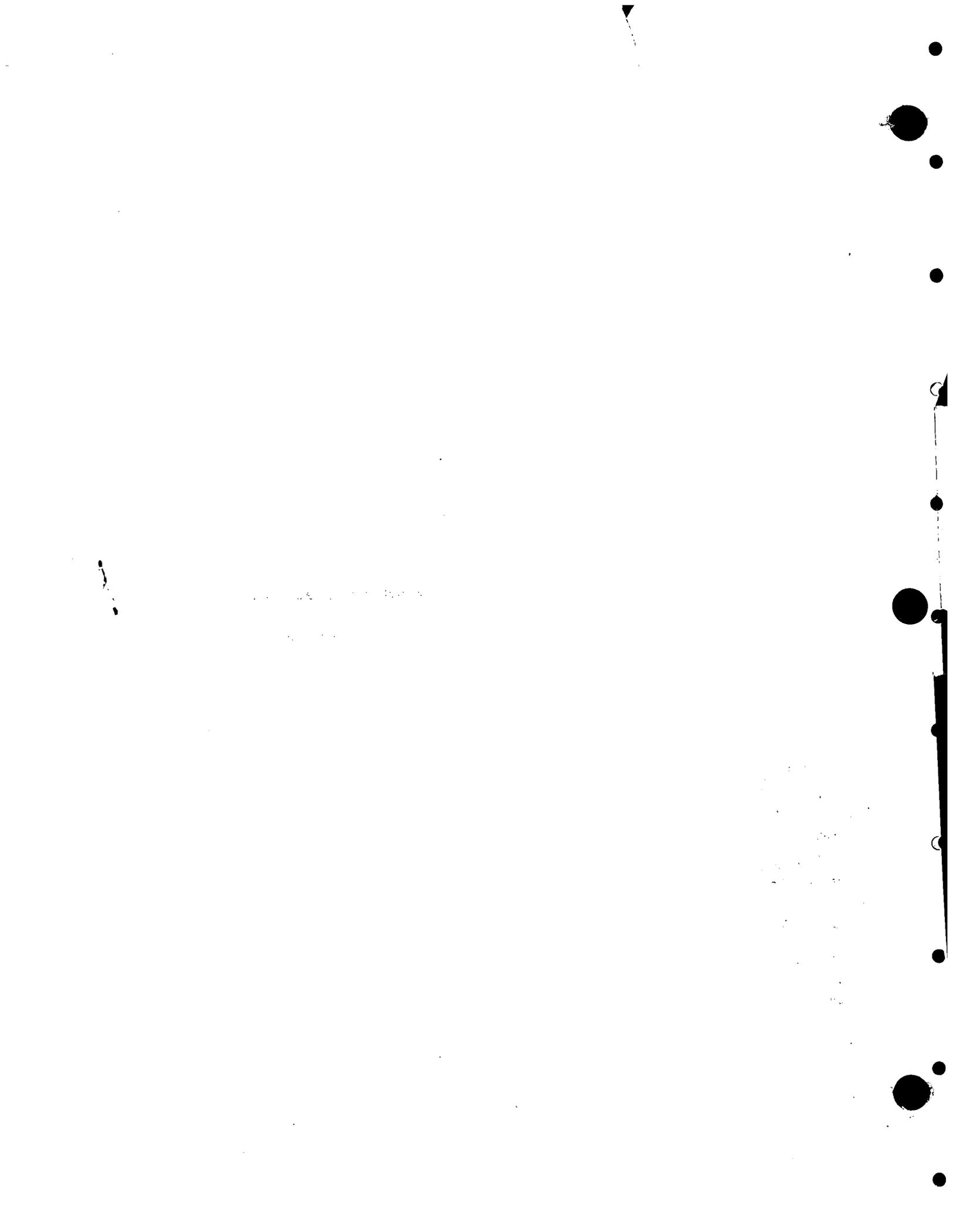


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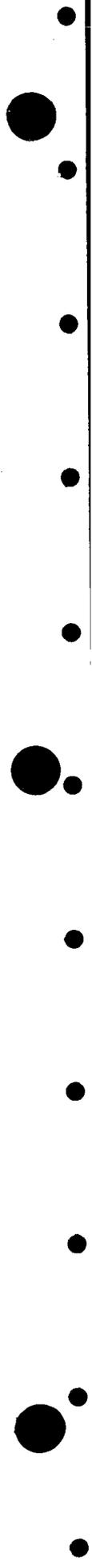
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF PREDATORY VIOLENT DELINQUENCY

As goes our understanding of the violent few, so goes the entire system of juvenile justice in the decades to come.

Paul DeMuro, July 27, 1982, Cleveland, Ohio¹

Since the 1950s criminologists have recognized that only a small proportion of violent offenders account for a large proportion of violent crime in the United States, and commit violent acts over a span of several years, or even a lifetime. This chapter defines the concept of predatory violence, traces its conceptual development in recent criminology, and explains the significance of such violence to the juvenile justice system.

Where individuals have rather comprehensive records maintained about their home life, school, court, and any psychological, psychiatric and institutional experiences, we may categorize them as predatory violent offenders, if their records contain reports of five or more acts of physical attack on others in situations where the attacks are not based on physical self-defense, nor derive from organic or psychotic causation as determined by physicians. Further, reports of battery are considered only if reported by adults acting in

¹From the keynote address at the symposium titled "Focus On Serious Juvenile Offenders." Dr. DeMuro works with the Violent Offender project conducted by the National Council On Crime and Delinquency, and recently co-edited the NCSS publication Violent Juvenile Offenders An Anthology (1984).



social control-related roles such as police or probation officers, school or correctional staff members. For purposes of this research only case records of delinquents containing measurable, dated reports which meet these criteria are operationalized as cases of predatory violence.

In everyday usage attack means "To set upon with violent force; . . . to begin to affect harmfully."² Predatory violence contains several elements, including the intentional repetition of several violent acts over time, the use of great force which could cause injury, and the idea of assault, or threat to the well-being, or safety of another. The concept thus implies that the predatory violent actor nonaccidentally uses violence on repeated occasions. This raises questions concerning the etiology of violence, selection of types of situations for using violence, selection of victims, and the learning of repertoires of violent behavior. Physical attacks must involve more force than merely touching the victim. Enough force must be used to possibly result in some physical injury to the victim, though the level of injury may be slight (for example, a bruise, a minor fall, or lengthy exposure to cold weather). For purposes of this research, incidents of violence are included if reports indicate any degree of injury to the victim, or reportedly placed the victims in physical jeopardy (for example, left on the highway, or being shot at). Philosopher Ronald Miller defines coercion or assault as "an act in which A intends to bring it about that B do

²See Webster's II New Riverside University Dictionary, 1984, edition, p. 136.



Y by introducing P (some action taken by A actually or threatened, intended to be undesirable to B) which is intended to change B's mind so that B will decide to do Y" (Shaffer, 1971:28). Assaultive behavior implies more than physical violence. It implies verbal communication and body language used to frighten or degrade an opponent. Thus conceptually, verbal violence is behavior which reduces a victim's sense of safety, or to reduce one's social standing as in the case of insulting a person in front of others. Both physical and verbal violence take away from the victim a sense of well-being, safety and/or sense of social standing. In this research, only acts of physical violence are used to define predatory violence cases, but incidents of verbal violence are reported and cross-tabulated with frequency of physical violence of a sample of institutionalized delinquents to determine if both forms of violence appear together.

Since the 1970s, predatory violent juvenile offenders, and those who situationally engage in such violent felonies as homicide, rape, aggravated assault or arson of an occupied dwelling, have garnered much attention in the United States, which is drastically changing the structure of juvenile justice toward a punishment, "just deserts" model. Alfred Regnery, administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention expresses some of this emerging philosophical orientation:

Children commit nearly one-third of serious crime in America. . . . the theories and policies we use to deal with such crime fail to hold offenders accountable and do not deter crime. . . . After adjudication, they are not punished, but are "treated." When juveniles get out - usually . . . when a social worker finds them



"cured" - their records do not become part of the active police records, but are sealed to all the world. . . . Chronic offenders pose the greatest threat to society and the greatest challenge to juvenile justice programs across the country. . . . The criminal's punishment is limited to listening to the psychobabble of social workers and therapists. Rehabilitation . . . has failed miserably. . . . Virtually no successful juvenile programs - those that reduce recidivism to an appreciable degree - rely on rehabilitation. . . . This does not mean that we should not continue to look for rehabilitation programs that actually work. . . . (1986:7-8)

Juvenile court law and public policy reflect the direction of Regnary's concerns and beliefs. Some movement toward determinate sentencing of delinquents, increased use of bind-overs of violent felony cases to adult criminal courts, and low financial expenditures on rehabilitation programs are apparent in many jurisdictions, including Ohio.

Given the highly influential impact of violent delinquents on the structure of the juvenile justice system, it behooves criminologists to contribute as much understanding as possible to the phenomenon of predatory violence. Three questions emerge as being particularly germane to this task. Among adjudicated delinquents, is there an empirical basis for treating the predatory violent few as a separate meaningful category of delinquents? In other words, is there any reason to believe that on variables seemingly related to violent delinquency, those who have committed five or more violent acts will significantly differ from less violent or nonviolent offenders? Secondly, what do we already know about predatory violence, from the literature? Finally, drawing upon available social science theory, how may we account for the phenomenon of predatory violence to better understand it? In assessing our current



state of understanding of predatory violence, a foundation is prepared for extending the range of our present theory and research understanding, leading at some point to formation of more informed management of public policy concerning our juvenile population

Conceptual Origins of Predatory Violence

Criminologists have long been aware of a category of violent offenders who commit perhaps only one act of serious violence during a lifetime. By excluding one time situational offenders from consideration, we may focus on better understanding the phenomenon of predatory violence. In 1951 Redl and Wineman published Children Who Hate, which focused on the concept of predatory violence among child clients in a program designed to change aggressive, hateful behavior. They perceived these children as outside the traditional purview of psychiatry and psychiatric therapy. A history of negative experiences in early life was thought to have produced the anger and adept skills in using violence instrumentally. The children were seen as rejecting emotional bonding or reciprocity in personal relationships. At some point in their lives the children's anger and hatred led to rejection by society and their own families. They appeared to enter into a dynamic relationship with others involving aggression followed by rejection, evasion of responsibility for the aggression by the children, and seeking out peers who supported their aggression. The children are described as developing elaborate scenarios of threats and baiting of selected victims which moved ordinary conflicts toward violent conclusions. The



children lived in a group therapy facility where staff attempted to accept and teach them conventional behavior, but the children reacted fearfully, and often exploited affection given by staff members. Redl and Wineman note the distorted perceptions and reasoning held by the children as they interacted with a social environment they viewed as hostile. Ultimately the program failed for lack of funding, not the lack of psychological and psychiatric treatment methods appropriate for changing such behavior among that population.

In 1969 Hans Toch approached the study of violence from a phenomenologist perspective, seeking to understand the meaning and motivations surrounding violence from the perspective of the aggressor. From interviews with police officers and felons, Toch constructed a ten category typology of violent meanings, and recognized that some offenders combine motives and meanings of their violent acts in eclectic fashion (1969:194). Toch created the concept of violence-prone persons, finding a few among both police officers and felons in his sample. Characterizing violence-prone persons as those who derive rewards from repeated involvement in violent encounters, frequently consolidating their own status and self-worth through acts of violence, Toch believed they commonly tended to view opponents as negative symbols, not as people. Eventual violence was often built on reciprocal misconceptions between actors. Three categories of motivation in the typology particularly relate to the concept of predatory violence. Self-indulging (1969: 136) involves an aggressor becoming violent when others do not meet



his/her personal needs, as if assuming that others exist only to meet one's needs. Egocentric thinking thus is cited as a contributing factor in some violent behavior. Exploitation involves an aggressor frequently manipulating associates to meet his needs, and then reacting violently when they resist the manipulation. It would appear that many violent incidents could be categorized in either of these types, differing only in the amount of time between a need arising, and steps taken by an aggressor before the onset of violence. Bullying involves the use of violence or coercion for the pleasure of viewing the noxious effects on a victim. In bullying, violence and coercion appear to serve as tools used to acquire a higher status position or control a situation (1969:136-150) by controlling a victim. Enjoyment of the suffering of the victim, as well as a sense of control over others may represent strong rewards to the bully.

In discussing his findings, Toch proposes characteristics common among violence-prone men he interviewed. Perception of others as being hostile was accompanied by communication problems. Many appeared to have poorly developed verbal and social skills, and may have used violence as a substitute for verbal negotiation expected among adults. For some black men, attitudes concerning white prejudice against blacks appeared to be another perceptual factor in decisions to use violence against white police officers (1969:49) based on misperception in some cases. Toch describes the violence-prone segment of his sample in similar language of Redl and Wineman's description of hateful children. Both note lack of empathy



people, perception that relationships are only power-centered, that people are perceived as objects, and that interaction results in only winning or losing. Such beliefs contribute to reasoning that might makes right; that violence is often justifiable in a hostile world.

- Toch notes the probability that each completed act of violence increases probability of future violence, and preference for violent roles, unless alternatives to violence are learned. Over time, violent habits develop and underscore a preference for violent behavior. Toch emphasizes the reward value of violence in satisfying a variety of needs. A central dynamic of violent men is that they "form no community or affinity for each other" (1969:220-221). This implies that rehabilitation of violent offenders is likely to be challenging, particularly given current overcrowding in large maximum security American prisons.

In 1972, Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin published a major longitudinal study of a cohort of boys born in Philadelphia in 1945. School records, police reports, court, correctional records, and Selective Service documents were used to follow the cohort to adulthood. Delinquent behavior was reported as cases receiving dispositions by the court. Females were excluded from the study. Empirical findings led the researchers to conceptualize a category of chronic offenders with five or more offenses. Only eighteen percent of the delinquents in the cohort were considered chronic offenders, yet they were responsible for 51 percent of all recorded delinquency among the cohort (1972:88). Chronic offenders were disproportionately non-white, from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, those with lower mean IQ



scores, with poor behavior and poor academic performances at school. By the later teens, property offense frequencies declined, but for violent FBI index offenses such as aggravated assault, rape and murder, frequencies increased. The mean seriousness of injury to victims rose with the frequency of offenses by individual subjects. Court dispositions resulting in institutionalization were correlated with future delinquency for a serious offense, suggesting that serious dispositions do not seemingly deter future delinquency (1972: 243). The Philadelphia cohort study does not differentiate a chronic violent category from the chronic delinquent category, but by affirming that a small proportion of delinquents accounted for a large proportion of the serious delinquencies, Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin focused attention on the need for further study of chronic offenders, and demonstrated the importance of measuring seriousness of offenses in some objective, reasonable manner to compare harm done by various offender categories.

The psychiatric profession is routinely called upon to recommend whether violent offenders ought to be released to the community. In 1972 Kozol, Boucher and Garofalo explored this issue in an article in *Crime and Delinquency* (1972:379-392). The practice of asking psychiatrists to judge the dangerousness potential of offenders relative to committing violent felonies, implies a model of man somehow strongly predisposed to act out violently. It is impossible for present psychiatry to make such determination without committing unacceptable frequencies of Type II errors. Though the dangerous offender is usually conceptualized as a psychopath, or



sociopath, not all psychopaths are criminal, anti-social or dangerous to others. People may be nonconforming, egocentric and lacking in attention to conventional responsibilities without acting violently (Monahan, 1981). In a study of male prisoners sentenced to a psychiatric facility for violent sexual crimes under sexual psychopath laws, it was found that when a court ordered release of inmates once, only 10 percent recidiated, though it was not identified how many were predatory violent offences (Monahan:37). Predatory violence does not equate with the classification systems of psychopathology as defined by psychiatry or psychology. Dangerousness seems to be related to multiple factors, related to learning histories and situational characteristics of events. Prediction and treatment of dangerous offenders remains problematic in criminology. Kozol, Boucher and Garofalo remind us of that the state of knowledge about violence is rudimentary, though prediction of dangerousness remains a goal of criminology. Identification of predatory violent offenders allows separate research of this deviant behavior pattern, and its possible relationship to dangerousness prediction.

The concept of aggression is explored in human and animal research in a book edited by John Knutson, in 1973. Several articles expand upon elements of predatory violence raised by Toch, Wolfgang, Figlip and Sellin. Kenneth Moyer argues that although all violence is learned, macro level social conditions such as increasing population size, decreasing personal space, increasing information overload and increasing social disorganization may foster violent behavior by magnifying the sense of deprivation and frustration among



some population segments. Population growth increases the number of young males, the most violence-prone individuals in society. Moyer describes a typology of meanings for aggressive acts, two of which apply to predatory violence. Instrumental aggression is used to gain some reward for the aggressor, and predatory violence is used to control other persons, a territory, or dominant given situation (1973:14). He reviews biological evidence that some aggression may be linked to biological states as well as to learning, and argues for further research in this area. Control of violence may also be approached from the standpoint of bio-technology, for example current technology could produce a radio receiver or computer-controlled device to be implanted on humans so subjects could reduce their hostile feelings by merely pushing a button (1973:23). Though current research on the biology of violence remains exploratory, Silverman and others continue to include such factors as brain chemistry and genetic differences to research human violence. Focus on predatory offenders in such research may eventually provide fruitful knowledge in our study of the phenomenon.

An article by Leonard Berkowitz explores words and other symbols as stimuli for aggression. The symbolic meanings of certain words and objects in various contexts may contribute to acts of aggression, and its reinforcement. He cites research where people, shown a model being rewarded for verbal aggression, later increase their own level of aggressiveness during a controlled experiment. The presence of a symbol associated with violence, such as a gun may increase potential for violent behavior in some situations. Research



by Staats and Staats demonstrates that people having negative associations with a particular name may verbalize anger to another person, unknown to them, but having the same name (1973:116).

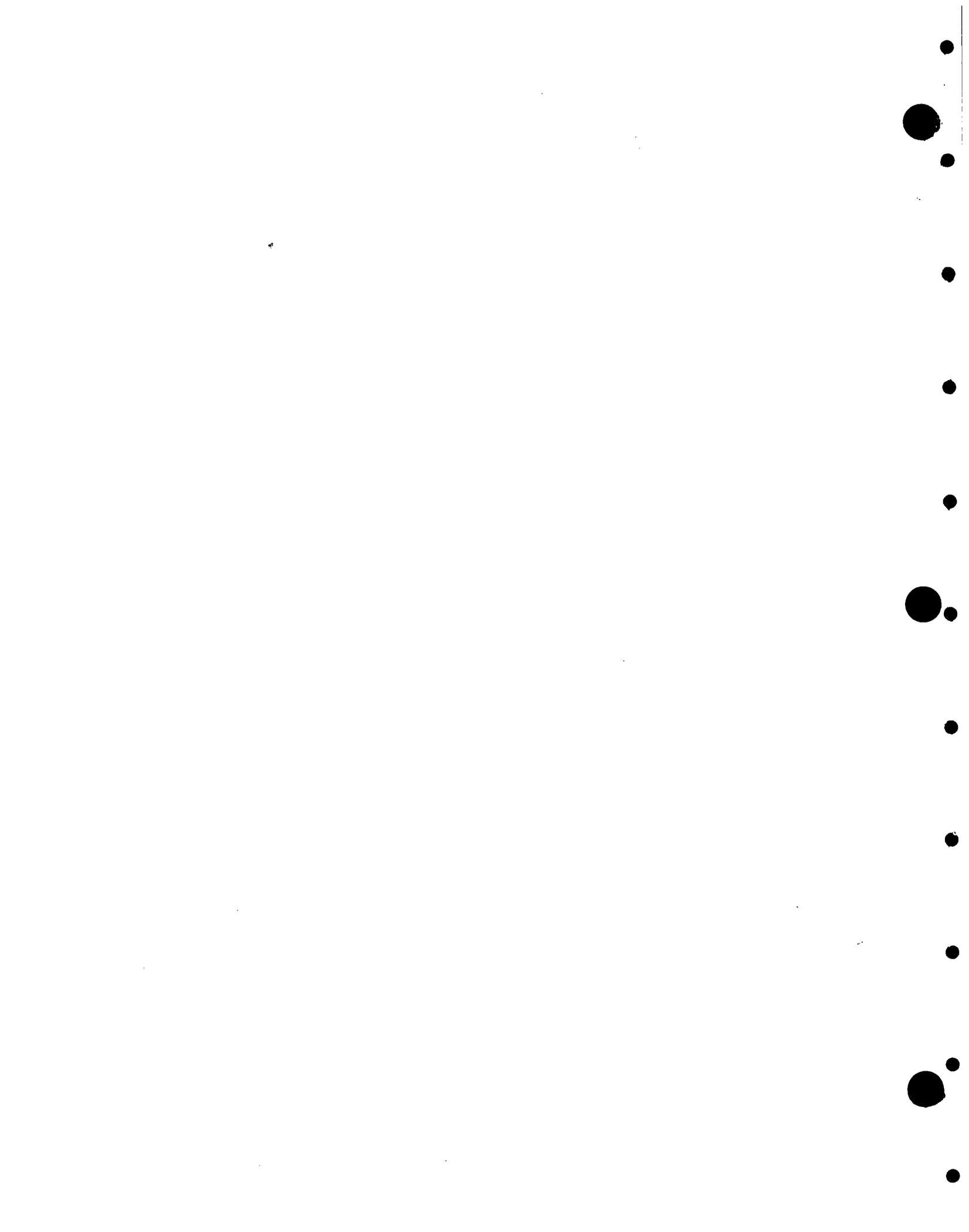
Berkowitz points out that many words and objects are associated with anger and aggression in the culture, and such symbols can physically create general arousal which predisposes people toward aggressive action if other social factors are also present. From this perspective the violent situation may contain numerous stimuli generally symbolic of aggression--such as the presence of a weapon, an audience of peers, or alcohol. With addition of verbal coercion, a conflict may be moved toward a violent outcome by the combination of aggressive stimuli present in the situation. If the predatory violent offender learns to successfully manipulate general arousal through a process of coercion, and various symbols of aggression, he/she become able to orchestrate violent incidents with some degree of control.

By 1978 other researchers were conceptualizing a category of repetitively violent criminals who engage in acts of serious violence. Isralowitz defined serious juvenile offenders as those committing more than one violent offense and/or five or more violations with potential for causing serious injury to victims. Here, as in the Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin study, legal definitions of what constitutes violence, or what constitutes felonies rather than misdemeanors becomes problematic if the researcher's intent is to understand behavior, rather than the law. In terms of describing violent behavior, legal categories are often meaningless. If one



attempts to kill someone by burning the victim's house, this phenomenologically constitutes murder, not the usual designation of arson as property crime. If an offender rapes a victim but during plea bargaining, the charge is reduced to a misdemeanor, circumstances of the act nevertheless constitute serious violence, regardless of the manner in which the act is processed by the court system. Often violent acts are dismissed at the prosecutor's office, or schools are allowed to sanction offenders instead of the court. Nevertheless, to measure behavior, rather than legal activity, researchers must go beyond legalistic approaches to violence. Using a combination of legal definitions and a definition of other dangerous law violations, Isralowitz studied a random sample of one hundred serious offenders and eighty non-serious cases of institutionalized delinquents in Massachusetts. He found the serious offender group averaged more frequent official delinquencies, more serious offenses (using felony legal definitions), more violent offenses, more serious recent committing offenses, and more serious dispositions (1978:2-4). Earlier correlations between serious juvenile offenders and lower socioeconomic status, problems in family life, and difficulties at school, are reaffirmed by Isralowitz. He concludes that unlike other categories of offenders, serious violent delinquents are not dissuaded from delinquency by contact with police and juvenile authorities. Indeed these contacts seemingly reinforce the behavior and contribute to defiance toward authority.

In 1978, another major cohort study was published, describing all juveniles in Columbus, Ohio born between 1956-1958 and known to



local police for committing one or more violent felony level offenses. Hamparian, Schuster, Dimitz and Conrad found that the violent few comprised only 2 percent of the total youth population of Columbus. They confirm earlier findings that most delinquents commit a variety of types of delinquency, and appear not to be deterred or rehabilitated by their institutional experiences. Using only offenses for which official dispositions were issued, the researchers identified a category of chronic recidivist delinquents with five or more offenses (any type) on their court records. The chronic violent offenders comprised only 9.5 percent of all delinquents, but committed a large proportion of all violent offenses. Hamparian et al. found that a significant number of violent delinquents had other family members also involved with the courts for violent felonies. Of the total cohort, only 3.8 percent were arrested three or more times for violent offenses (1978:54). Females were included in the cohort and proved to have shorter violent careers, few persisting beyond two violent offenses. Like the males, females who started committing violent acts at an early age persisted longer in their violent careers. Hamparian et al. concluded that youth who regularly commit delinquent acts constitute a different problem to society than occasional, or situational offenders. Traditional means of managing delinquents fail to deter predatory violent offenders.

Andrew Vachss and Yitzhak Bakal authored The Life Style Violent Juvenile in 1979, affirming earlier findings that perhaps only 6 percent of the juvenile population engages in violent offenses, yet accounts for as much as 67 percent of the total number of serious



offenses committed by persons below the age of 17 (1979:xii). For life-style violent juveniles, violence is repeatedly a means of self-expression. Such behavior involves distortions of social values and emphasis upon immediate gratification of personal needs. Lifestyle violent juveniles are described as being alienated from the social structure and many social institutions, depending upon peers for most positive reinforcement, rather than family or school. They receive repeated attention from police and the juvenile justice system, yet are not deterred from violence.

Vachss and Bakal point out the significance of the lifestyle violent delinquent for our juvenile justice system. "The violent juvenile . . . is today the object of a higher level of public fear, political demagoguery, and legislative effort than in any prior period" (1979:xi). Increasingly the juvenile justice system is being re-directed toward a punishment aim and away from a philosophy of aid, encouragement, and guidance, the traditional focus of our juvenile court system. The lifestyle violent delinquent needs concerted, specialized correctional treatment, necessarily in a closed treatment environment, but Vachss and Baker argue against mass institutionalization of delinquents who are not lifestyle violent. They urge separation of lifestyle violent offenders from others in the institutions, and concentration of specialized rehabilitative efforts with them. The current trend toward punishment lacks past success and easily reinforces a "might makes right" justification for violence on the part of incarcerated youth (1979:52). Public concern over repeat violent offenders is also being translated into the sanctioning



of service-delivery child-care agencies, by reducing their funds. Public fear has resulted in faltering trust in criminology or the criminal justice professions to produce answers to violent delinquency. "The American public is past the point where it can be placated by heavily-funded studies" (1979:161).

In 1981, Attorney General William French Smith declared control of violent crime the top priority of the U.S. Department of Justice. As part of that initiative, a conference was held focusing on the serious juvenile offender, particularly the small segment committing five or more serious offenses. The report of that conference³ confirms earlier findings about repeat violent juveniles bringing together available statistics on the frequency and distribution of violent crime among the total juvenile population. The report confirms that in 1979 juveniles below the age of eighteen accounted for 20 percent of all serious violent crime reported to police, according to index offense categories of the FBI Uniform Crime Reports.⁴ Victim studies suggest violent crimes by juveniles are generally less serious to victims than similar crimes by adults. Self-report data on yearly nationwide samples gathered by the Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency confirm that only a small proportion repeatedly engage in serious acts, and most are males. Violent repeat juvenile offenders

³U.S. Department of Justice. Dealing With Serious Repeat Juvenile Offenders. Report of a Conference July 30-31, 1981. (Washington, D.C.: In SLAW, Inc.).

⁴With over 90 percent of police agencies reporting to the FBI violent index crimes include murder and non-negligent homicides, aggravated assaults, robbery, rape, and arson of occupied dwellings. (U.S. Department of Justice, 1981:9-90).



are also often drawn from minorities, experience school problems, come from economically disadvantaged families, experience higher than average residential mobility, family instability or inadequate supervision, often take part in group offenses, and being delinquent careers early. They tend not to be abnormal physically or psychologically (U.S. Department of Justice, 1981:9-90). The report suggests a chain of causal factors in serious delinquency, beginning with factors within family life, moving toward problems at school and in peer relationships, but this causal chain is not explored in detail. Serious juvenile offenses often involve gang activities, particularly in large cities. Schools are heavily impacted by juvenile violence, victimizing thousands of American school children each month (1981:12). Juvenile rates of offending remain high despite reduction in the proportion of juveniles in the U.S. population (due to the passing of "baby boom" youth out of the age range of juveniles). The report cites studies where associations between the use of alcohol or drugs and violent offenses have been found. Comparing violent offender cases referred to adult court rather than juvenile court, the report concludes that cases sent to juvenile court are more likely to result in incarceration or supervision of the offender than cases sent to adult court (1981:34-37). The report recommends greater research attention to understanding repeat violent offenders and methods for their rehabilitation. Reintegration of serious offenders should become the major goal of the justice system, conference documents concluded.

Also in 1981, Peter Greenwood presented the argument for



selective incapacitation: assignment of longer prison terms to a small proportion of offenders on the basis of their predicted future criminality.⁵ Prior juvenile and adult convictions, employment history, age, and use of drugs would be used to select candidates for longer prison terms. By balancing shorter terms for other felons, Greenwood argues that selective incapacitation would reduce the felony crime rate by 11 percent without substantially increasing the size of the prison population (1981:33-39). He notes that evaluative research has not substantiated any notable effects of correctional treatment upon later recidivism. He notes however, that some prisoners who are willing to participate in rehabilitative programs cannot do so because programs are often not available. While Greenwood's article does not add to the concept of predatory violent offenders, it explores avenues of literature showing the very limited success of crime control efforts based on increased policing, career criminal prosecution, and rehabilitation, to reduce violent recidivism. Greenwood's article and more recent works on selective incapacitation draw considerable attention in criminology and are used to support so-called "get tough" policies concerning juvenile as well as adult offenders. The heavy attention to recidivism alone, has been emphasized at the expense of other policy areas such as rehabilitation and research on predatory violence. Statements concerning the failure of many rehabilitative programs fail to take into account the inadequate state of evaluation

⁵Originally Greenwood's paper was presented to the University of Pennsylvania Center for Studies in Criminology and Criminal Law, and later published by Rand (1981), P-6638.



of current programs, and factors such as inadequate funding, and inappropriate uses of psychiatric and psychological mental health treatment methods with offenders. There has been little attention to treatment strategies specifically focused upon the behavior of violent offenders.

The U.S. Department of Justice published a summary of the study of three birth cohorts from Racine, Wisconsin (U.S. Department of Justice, 1982). This document examines whether serious juvenile offenders (those who commit major felonies, not necessarily violent offenses) later become career criminals. The findings affirm that only a small proportion of each cohort (approximately 5 percent) committed 75 percent of the total felonies reported and most felonies are committed by males (1982:2-4). Many serious juvenile offenders with several police contacts desist from crime or are not apprehended as adults. It appears that for the majority, socialization into adult roles supports an end to criminal activity. Intervention by police and other social control agencies with juveniles did not appear to significantly decrease the seriousness of adult offenses. Juveniles with employment were associated with more delinquency and more serious offenses than non-employed peers. Poor conduct at school was not significantly associated with adult criminality, but those who left high school without graduating were significantly more likely to have convictions as adults (1982:8-13). The Racine study affirmed that inner city black youth are particularly vulnerable to delinquency and adult criminal careers, though the majority of felonies were committed by white adults. The researchers do not address violent offenses as a



separate issue, but suggested developing means to integrate youth into constructive social roles which utilize their talents, to reduce career criminality. They argue that juveniles more often change behavior for positive reasons (rewards) than from fear of sanctioning by the justice system.

The issue of criminal career links with delinquency was studied by Langan and Greenfield in a 1983 publication. Using a sample of middle aged state prison inmates, the researchers typed cases into seven career patterns. Habitual offenders, whose criminal careers began as juveniles, continued into young adulthood and beyond age forty, averaging careers spanning thirty years, with an average of five incarcerations, and nearly eleven years of confinement (Langan and Greenfield, 1983:3-5). Most habitual offenders had at least one violent felony conviction, but as previous work indicates, committed a variety of offense types. Habitual offenders as a group were not more violent than criminals in other career categories. Langan and Greenfield conclude that incarceration as a juvenile is associated with adult criminality at least between the ages of eighteen and thirty-nine. Of those with a record of incarceration as juveniles, 92 percent went on to criminal careers in this sample (1983:3). Just under half of the habitual offender group is currently incarcerated for violent crime, a smaller proportion than in other career categories. Langan and Greenfield note significant correlations between remaining unmarried, use of heroin, unemployment at the time of commitment, and incarceration of other family members, in relation to the habitual offender category (1983:6). Many violent offenders currently



imprisoned in the United States however, did not begin their criminal careers as juveniles.

The publication of Violent Juvenile Offenders, An Anthology in 1984 (Mathias, DeMunio and Allison, eds.) marked a major development in the study of predatory violent delinquents, because the book reviews crime statistics, theory as well as clinical experiences of practitioners in programs exclusively for chronically violent delinquents. The book emerged from the nationwide Violent Juvenile Offender program of research and demonstration projects sponsored by the U.S. Department of Justice. The program defines violent juveniles as those processed into the correctional system for violent felonies who also have past delinquencies of any type on their records, or with charges of attempted violence even where courts did not reach dispositions (Mathias et al., eds.:40-53). The project includes arson of an occupied structure, and kidnapping, within the definition of violent felonies. This definition represents a compromise between categorizing serious offenders as those who commit violent acts, and those who are repeat offenders for any non-status offense. Despite compromise over the definition of chronic violent offenders, the book attends to the dynamics of violent delinquency and aspects of correctional treatment with these clients. All activities of the project are linked with social learning and control theory principles, so that a developmental learning approach is designed into the various demonstration treatment programs discussed in the book.⁶

⁶In Chapter II social learning and social control approaches to predatory violence phenomenon are discussed.



Editors Mathias, DeMuro, and Allison argue that over-reaction to juvenile violence is dangerous, because repressive measures are not likely to reduce violent conduct, yet may cause us to lose some civilized aspects of our system of juvenile justice (1984:28). As young people decline as a proportion of the total population, the so called "crime wave" is expected to decline as well. There is theoretical support for viewing delinquents as generally immature and rigid in their cognition of the world (e.g., Baker and Surbin, 1956), lacking in attachments to conventional persons, and without commitment to conventional norms and social roles. Therefore, treatment programs for serious juvenile offenders should directly foster integration into meaningful social roles, commitment to conventional values and goals, personal attachments to a network of supportive conventional persons and ample opportunities to engage in rewarding conventional activities (1984:55-64).

In a number of articles, clinicians report experiences in management and rehabilitation programs for serious offender clients. Robert Coates (1984:195-199) discusses principles of community day treatment programming and supervision of serious offenders. The strategy demands much more from clients than most closed institutional programs. The delinquents are exposed to a number of activities and situations which allow them to learn appropriate behavior, while requiring them to make important decisions about their behavior.

A clear model for rehabilitation of violent delinquents is presented by Fagan, Rudman and Hartstone (1984:207-211), built on principles of social learning and control theories. The intervention



model identifies steps in reducing violent behavior by socialization experiences, and establishing social bonds with nondelinquent others. The model is reproduced in Figure 1. Treatment approaches compatible with this model are discussed as they apply to violent delinquents. Assumptions of the model are stated explicitly. It assumes violent behavior arises from multiple "causes," and may be reduced by replacing violent behavior through reintegration of an offender into meaningful conventional roles which become more rewarding than deviant roles and offers a process for linking learning and control theory principles with elements of treatment identifying clear lines of action needed to reduce violent behavior. The potential for measurement of the intervention model and proposed treatment interventions is important, because programs designed from this model may be evaluated quite thoroughly, as goals are clearly defined. The model offers an opportunity to evaluate specific treatment programs and measure effectiveness, or association with future outcomes.

The Problem of Violent Juvenile Crime

During the 1970s the United States experiences a rise in the number of young males in the population as a result of the "baby boom" following World War II. As young males are the most crime and delinquency-prone population segment, the accompanying rise in reported crime and delinquency in the 1970s is understandable. By the early 1980s the proportion of men in their later teens and early twenties declined. Most recently available FBI crime reports indicate some decline in the number of reported property crimes (Uniform Crime



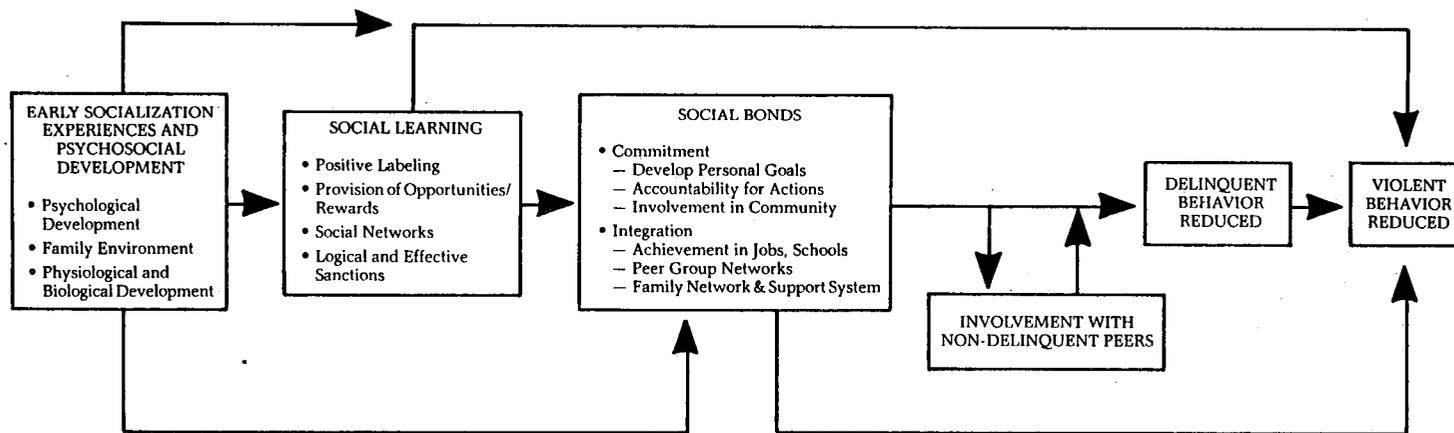


Figure 1. Intervention model for violent juvenile delinquency.



Reports, 1984:43-168), but overall increase in violent index crimes involving juveniles, with which the public is most concerned. A study conducted in 1979 among prison entrants in several states revealed an increasing proportion of state prisoners being incarcerated for violent felonies, 57 percent in 1979 compared to 52 percent in 1974.⁷ Though juveniles in the United States account for approximately 17 percent of all arrests for violent index offenses, the public has expressed fear and outrage at juvenile violence, which has recently been translated into changes in public policy, such as increased use of incarceration, determinate sentencing legislation and increased use of certifications to adult court (Black and Smith, 1981:176).

Act 440 in Ohio, enacted in 1981, exemplifies changing attitudes toward serious juvenile offenders. While prohibiting commitment of status offenders and misdemeanants to state correctional institutions, Act 440 adds to expected lengths of institutionalization for most felony delinquencies, and accords judges authority to decide revocations, modify terms of aftercare, and grant early releases from institutions (San Marco and Wolf, unpublished, 1983:2-3). The intent of such legislation is to punish and deter, a shifting away from traditional rehabilitative care of individual offenders (1983:5-7). Emphasis is placed on the nature of the offense, rather than upon particular needs of offenders.

Juveniles below the age of eighteen comprised approximately

⁷See U.S. Department of Justice publication, Prisons and Prisoners. (1982) Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, p. 2.



27 percent of the U.S. population in 1983 and accounted for nearly 17 percent of all reported violent crimes. Arrest trends for violent juvenile index crimes in 1983 are reported in Table 1 (Uniform Crime Reports, 1984:165-167). Juveniles are much less involved in violent crimes reported to police than are adults, and are much more likely to be arrested for offenses against property than against persons. Victimization studies indicate an overall trend for violent crimes by adults (Uniform Crime Reports, 1984: 179). Young Americans between twelve and twenty-four years of age are more likely to be victims of crime than are other age categories in the population, yet it is violent crime by the young which evokes greatest attention and fear on the part of many Americans (U.S. Department of Justice, Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1982, 1984:10-15).

The concern of Americans about juvenile violence derives from more than arrest trends and fear of victimization by young people. Despite earlier efforts to remove lesser offenders from correctional institutions, it appears that populations are rising in juvenile facilities, partly due to the number of delinquents institutionalized for violent offenses. A report published in December, 1983 by the U.S. Department of Justice indicates that 25 percent of the nation's institutionalized delinquents are there for violent felony offenses (U.S. Department of Justice, August 1984:5). Between 1977 and 1982 the number of U.S. delinquents in public juvenile correctional facilities rose 5 percent, to a total of 33,498 youngsters, excluding short-term commitments, at an average cost per youngster of \$21,926 per year. Of that number, 9,507 were institutionalized for violent

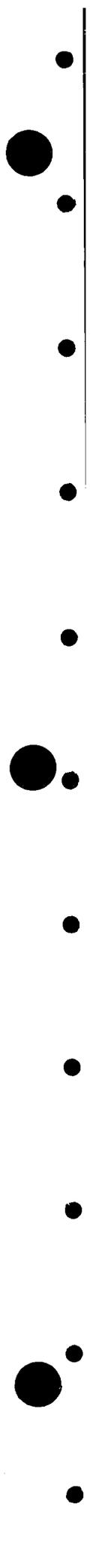


Table 1. 1983 Violent Index Crimes--Arrests of Youth Under Age 18 in the United States.

Offense Charged	Total all ages	Under Age				
		18	10-12	13-14	15-16	17-18
Total	10,287,309	1,725,746	142,304	375,612	701,308	978,852
Percent Distribution	100%	16.8%	1.4%	3.7%	6.8%	9.5%
Total index Violent Crime (see below)	443,686	16.8%	1.1%	3.4%	7.2%	10.2%
Total index Property Crime (Burglary, auto theft, larceny--theft, arson)	1,707,434	33.9%	4.0%	8.8%	13.0%	13.5%
Murder/nonnegligent Manslaughter	18,064	1,345	20	129	611	1,451
Forcible rape	30,183	4,388	274	994	1,888	2,583
Robbery	134,018	35,219	1,891	6,995	15,857	20,570
Aggravated Assault (Non-index) other assaults	261,421	33,730	2,570	6,875	13,903	20,579
	481,615	78,487	7,945	19,286	30,313	37,596

Note: Adapted from data provided in The Uniform Crime Reports (1984), pg. 179.



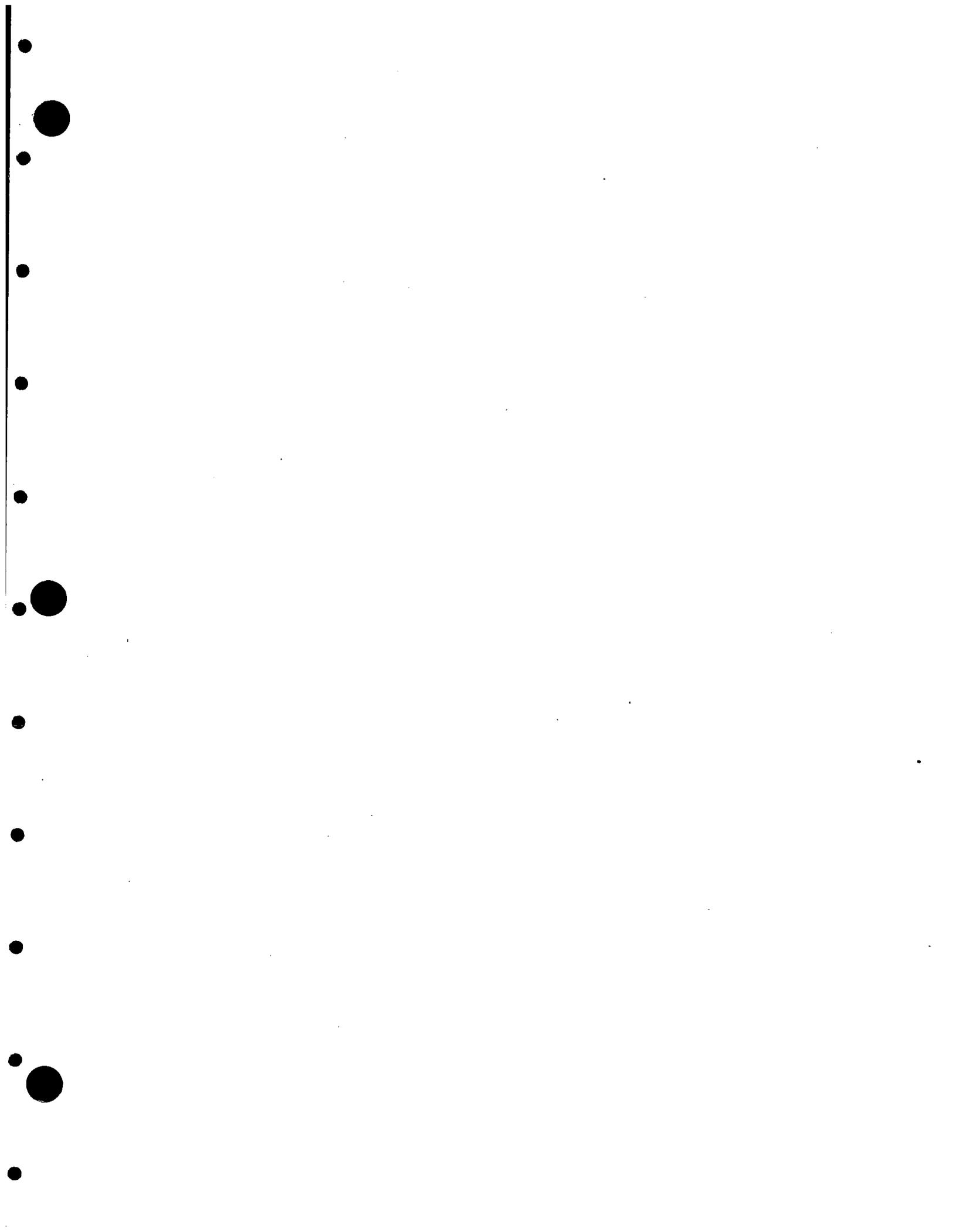
felony offenses (U.S. Department of Justice, Children in Custody (1983: 1-3). Public desire to control the rising costs of corrections at all levels is balanced by apparent rising desire to raise penalties for young violent offenders by assuring them a measure of punishment and deterrence.

Conclusion

Public policy with regard to felony level delinquency has become crisis oriented, responding to the perceived crisis with increasing use of incarceration, lengthier incarceration, greater emphasis on punishment, and reduced support for rehabilitation. Policy changes impact the entire juvenile justice system, all most of its clients, nonviolent as well as violent offenders.

Scientifically there is new interest in studying the habitually violent few, here defined as delinquents with five or more recorded incidents of battery against others in situations not involving a need for immediate self-defense, and not involving organic or psychotic origins of the battery. Delinquents so categorized are termed predatory violent offenders. Conceptually a number of social scientists have identified this category of violent offenders, but knowlege remains rudimentary. It is the purpose of this research to determine whether this category of delinquents is a meaningful category, with social characteristics distinct from other violent offenders. Then the research goal shall be to seek to explain some of the theoretically relevant variables which distinguish predatory violent from other delinquents, based upon a review of major theoretical approaches to violence.







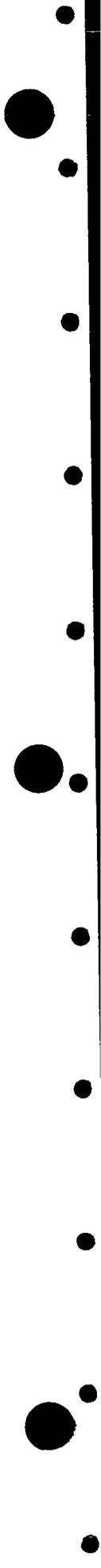
CHAPTER II

RELEVANT LITERATURE

In contemporary urban society, a child is confronted with various ways of behaving even within his own home, for no parent can act consistently in modern life; the parent himself is the recipient of many alternative roles and behavior patterns. Similarly, groups outside the home have standards of conduct which often are extremely different from those within the home. A great deal of behavior is in the nature of role-playing, and when roles are conflicting or ambiguous, the behavior is inconsistent. . . . Consequently, the individual is confronted with alternative goals or means, or he exists under conditions in which the norms of many members of society are unknown to other members. He finds that behavior which is "right" or "correct" in one group is "wrong" or "improper" from the point of view of other groups in which he has membership; or, in the condition of anomie, he literally does not know how to behave, for he does not know what is expected of him. . . . Under such conditions of differential group organization one would expect the crime rates to be relatively high.

Sutherland and Cressey, 1974:94-96

Scholars widely recognize a need for more powerful theory in the study of violent behavior (e.g., Bandura, 1973; Silverman, unpublished, 1983). Sutherland and Cressey identify a variety of factors investigated in the search for understanding the development of violent behavior in urbanized, industrialized societies. It appears that the state of our theory on violence will be served by creatively developing new conceptual units, adopting new strategies of measurement, and testing aspects of existing theory which appear promising. In this chapter, the current theoretical



positions of social science are examined for effective factors they offer to the study of predatory violence, and new conceptual units they imply. Specific hypotheses from the theories, which are testable within the scope of this study are also identified. In this way the chapter summarizes the current state of knowledge about predatory violence, highlighting theoretical principles about which some consensus exists.

Macro Level Approaches

Functionalism, ecological and cross-cultural approaches to predatory violence are examined here. They point to the importance of structural social arrangements, in relation to the dynamics of social interaction. Evidence indicates that individual behavior as well as group behavior are influenced by cultural arrangements and major experiences of sociopolitical systems. Violent behavior and beliefs about violence are part of the cultural experience of Western societies. Structural theories provide some insight into the way conventional social arrangements reinforces, tolerates or punish predatory violence. Structural approaches do not, however, explain the behavior of individual offenders.

Functionalism

Within the discussion of structural functionalism, where Parsons (1937) identifies the potential disruptiveness



of rapid social change to the homeostasis of society, the problems of conflict and warfare are mentioned as factors which tend to disrupt social arrangements. Significant violence or warfare may temporarily threaten the stability of a social system, acting dysfunctionally upon various social institutions such as family, organized religion, legal system, government, educational system, until such time as violent conditions subside, or the system adapts to the condition, re-establishing homeostasis. Thus individual incidents of violence are not relevant to the stability of the social system until the prevalence or seriousness become great enough to threaten the credibility of various social institutions and systemic arrangements between social groups. This would particularly threaten the power of social elites to control various institutions, including government. Through a process of accommodation, the social system could adapt to the presence of widespread violence, if the source cannot be removed, as in the case of prolonged warfare. If great violence is neither removed nor accommodated, it continues to threaten the homeostasis or status quo of the social system. Therefore, any consideration of widespread or serious violence in the society must be recognized for its bearing on existing political, economic and social interests.

It has been suggested that the extensiveness and growth of violent crime and delinquency have been exaggerated



in recent years. With improving data-collection techniques and extensive mass media coverage of highly violent incidents, public and governmental leaders may overreact to reports of violence in the social system without considering population and reporting artifacts of crime reporting. While the issue of overreaction to violent crime may be debatable, clearly there are complex linkages between violent crime and political control of society. Violence may destabilize a social system, change it, or be used to further political interests as in the case of violence used by the state against particular groups who seek to change the social structure in some way. In this regard, functionalist theory is compatible with conflict theory perspectives, examined later in the chapter.

Durkheim (1938) contributes another line of reasoning relevant to predatory violence. He proposes that since crime is universally found in societies, it must perform valuable functions for the social system. He considers crime an inevitable product of social life, and as such, it should be viewed as contributing in some way to the stability of the social system. Later, Parsons (1951) expands Durkheim's position, arguing that crime, or violence, plays both dysfunctional as well as functional roles in the social system. Building upon the idea that deviant behavior may be functional within society, Coser (1962) explains that when the system collectively calls



attention to a criminal or violent act and negatively sanctions the offender, the process arouses group solidarity and re-affirms norms against the behavior, clarifying or maintaining the boundaries of accepted behavior within the society. In a 1960 article, Coser discusses violence as a danger signal as well, a way of calling attention to severe maladjustment in the social system requiring social change, as in the case of blacks in the Union of South Africa, using riots and civil disobedience to call attention to conflict over Apartheid. This point may be extended to show that violence may serve to change public attitudes and norms about certain kinds of behavior. Recent attention to violence within American family life is raising debate over the definition of some violence as possibly legitimate within an expanded definition of self defense. Coser indicates that where channels of opportunity are severely restricted for some population segments, violence may be used as an alternative means for achieving social goals, or making political statements to change society (Coser in Sellin and Wolfgang, 1966:8-14). Here Coser's position is congruent with conflict and anomie perspectives.

Durkheim (1964) and Coser (1962) propose that punishment of offenders channels public discontent against individual offenders rather than toward the rules, or laws themselves. This suggests that without deviants to punish or process, citizens might challenge existing social



arrangements more vociferously. There is a rich literature exploring this point which is also used by conflict theorists to argue that relatively powerless segments of society are easily processed through the justice system in dual efforts to control dissatisfied elements of the population, and to focus public attention away from the exploitative, perhaps more socially harmful acts of ruling elites (Quinney, 1974). In similar vein, Kai Erikson (1966) discusses the utility of processing deviants in the Salem witch trials to increase social solidarity and maintain belief in the moral piety of the status quo. More recently, Szasz (1970) and Oplinger (1982) use historical examples to argue that powerful segments of society sometimes redefine deviance in such a way as to create new categories of deviants, begin a process of identifying them as a threat to the community, and then begin a process of stigmatization and punishment of the deviant group, to the advantage of powerful others within society. This argument may be useful in examining public and political reactions to some forms of violent behavior. For example, where police come into contact with strikers on a picket line, there may be potential for violence, and a possibility that police have superior power to later define any confrontation as a riot, or resistance to political authority of the police to maintain order. Therefore, even if police use violence first, it may be possible to define the strikers as being the cause of



violence, legally accountable, and subject to punishment. Concerning predatory violence, however, this political argument of functionalism or radical perspective becomes tenuous. Repeated use of physical violence has not been socially treated as a "witch hunt" in American criminal justice, and therefore does not contribute to our understanding of such phenomenon.

The functionalist perspective offers a limited means of analyzing dysfunctional aspects of violence. Instances of violence in public areas such as sports contests, urban areas and schools are often studied for their lifestyle altering potential and economic costs to citizens. Vast expenditures to maintain the justice system for instance reduce resources for other public aims such as education and economic development. Functionalism suggests that violence creates further conflict, breaks down trust among members of the social order, and may make social life unpredictable. This reduces cooperation between societal members and produces some unwillingness to obey other norms. The functionalist argument implies that there are limits to the level of violence which the social system may tolerate before the system itself must change or experience serious dysequilibrium, so in that sense violent crime may be considered a source of danger. Against the backdrop of many other sources of potential dysequilibrium, predatory violence alone is difficult to assess in its influence upon

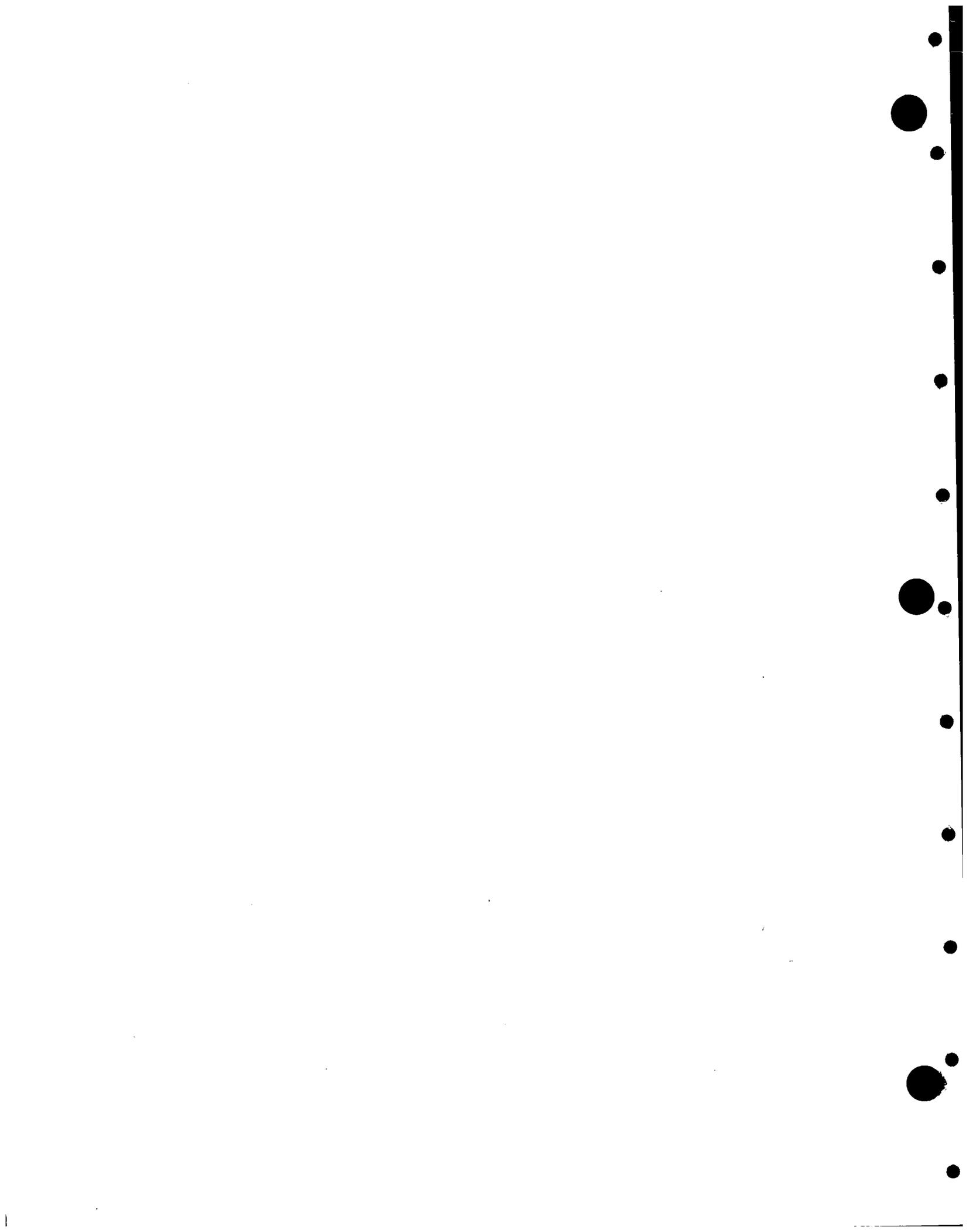
not in
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any single social system.

Evolutionary Arguments

Analyzing child abuse, Garbarino (in Wolfgang and Weiner, 1982:228) offers a evolutionary arguments concerning violence, viewing it as a product of temporary mismatch between particular individuals and their environments, where mutual adaptation has not yet occurred. Both individuals and the character of their environment are in a process of economic, demographic and cultural flux; time is needed for successful adaptation. Garbarino does not develop the theoretical implications of his argument, and in one way it corresponds with the position that rapid social change in society is a sufficient cause to produce increases in crime. The other implication of Garbarino's position is that over time and precluding further major social change, a reduction in violence might be expected, presumably as people adapt to and mold their environment. Predatory violence could be a temporary adaptation to changing social conditions which for most individuals may be a temporary behavioral pattern.

Another evolutionary approach is presented by Leavitt (1983), who proposes that as social structure becomes increasingly differentiated in terms of economic, status and ideological groups, violence will increase (1983:1). Technological development alters the social structure by differentiating the population into diverse



groups which develop different ideological systems. His position rests on the assumption that specialization of economic life and segmentation of the population into various categories relative to the economy, necessarily increases social stratification, which then produces conflicts among subgroups. Leavitt finds some cross-cultural support for his hypothesis that violent crime rates increase in societies experiencing technological development, but the data fails to rule out other possible explanations for the finding, and utilize only ordinal measures of variables in his design. Strong cross-cultural research of predatory violence in societies undergoing rapid technological change, in comparison with societies not undergoing such change would be necessary to determine the strength of Leavitt's argument relative to predatory phenomena.

Cross-Cultural Analyses

With more sophisticated methodology, Archer and Gartner (1984) use cross-cultural data from 110 nations and 44 cities to examine two questions concerning violence. Examining the prevalence of warfare in conjunction with reported homicide rates, the authors find that combatant nations in World War II and Vietnam experienced increased rates of homicide more often than noncombatant nations, with victorious nations more often experiencing greater



homicide rate increases than defeated nations, even when controlling for effects of the "baby boom" population in the United States during the 1970s (Archer and Gartner, 1984:63-89). Violence by military veterans does not account for these increased homicide rates in the United States. To explain their findings, Archer and Gartner take a position congruent with learning theory, proposing that warfare tends to legitimate (and reinforce) the use of violence by members of the society, and to model violence learning among individuals in the society. This argument awaits research and has never been applied to predatory violence phenomenon.

Cross-cultural analysis of a link between homicide rates and urbanization is found to be more complex than a single direct relationship. Archer and Gartner find that there is strong correlation between homicide rates and city sizes overall, with most large city rates exceeding national rates, but some pockets are found where rural areas produce higher rates of homicide than in many large cities. City growth alone is not correlated significantly with homicide rates (Archer and Gartner, 1984:101-115). No research has been undertaken yet to explore the relationship between urbanization and predatory violence, but the issue is explored for this sample in Chapter IV.

Discussion. Macro level approaches to predatory violence tend to rely on highly abstract concepts which are not easily measured empirically, as in the case of functional aspects of violence, or adjustments in homeostasis of a social system. The testing of hypothesis cross-culturally, using aggregate crime data has great potential to the extent that crime reporting improves worldwide. Cross-cultural macro analysis of crime particularly is suited to theoretical positions based on social change, economic development, crisis responses such as warfare or famine, and demographic explanations of violent crime. Predatory violence could be studied cross-culturally, but has not yet been so researched.

Functionalism has limited usefulness in explaining persistent, ongoing conflicts within societies. Differences between groups related to values, living conditions and status are largely ignored by functionalist theory. Coercion of minority groups, the use of state violence to maintain order, and the relationship of powerful special interest groups are not developed in functionalism. The idea that social systems adapt or accommodate to social groups appears not to be accomplished as a smooth, nonconflictual process. In the United States, problems of the status of black Americans and unemployed workers have remained over the past century, with little accommodation.

The argument that society needs deviants to process



may contribute some to our general understanding of violence. In a 1959 article, Dentler and Erikson propose that society forges a number of complex relationships with deviants (including violent offenders), nurturing them as well as processing them through the justice system, and in so doing, using deviants to affirm the status quo by drawing public attention away from the criticism of institutionalized social arrangements. Attention to predatory violent offenders helps maintain stereotyped imagery of gang delinquents, and particularly young black males characterized as particularly dangerous offenders in need of punishment and control. This line of functionalist theory is congruent with both conflict and labeling approaches to violence, but does not contribute significantly to our understanding of predatory violence except to focus on the issue of how violent offenders come to be labelled and processed through the justice system.

Anomie and Differential Opportunity Approaches

Durkheim (1964 translation) and others have indicated the presence of weakly communicated, even conflictual sets of norms present in many societies, as well as situations in which no clear norms are developed to guide behavior. This anomic situation becomes a source of instability or conflict in society. Merton (1938) utilizes the concept of anomie to explain why disadvantaged social groups



participate in various forms of crime, dependent upon their available opportunities to achieve culturally approved goals. Merton utilizes the concept of innovation, which may be applied to violent acts such as robbery or kidnapping, where the perpetrator instrumentally utilizes violence to obtain some culturally approved goal such as wealth or prestige. Other violence could be termed rebellion, where a perpetrator rejects culturally approved goals, as well as conventional means for accomplishing them, by politically substituting new goals and creative means, as in the case of terrorist violence. Individual acts of violence, motivated by strictly personalized goals understood only by the offender and his associates, may also be considered rebellion. The Manson cult, and recent so-called devil worship cults which practice violence, fit into Merton's description of rebellion. Unlike retreatists who simply withdraw from conventional goals and means of achievement, offenders who engage in rebellion actively interact with conventional society, using conflictual relationships as a basis for their own activity, which may include quite purposeful predatory violence.

What Merton calls conformity, applies to such violence as of warfare or use of police violence to protect society or maintain order, where goals and means are generally approved by society. Conceptually many nation states engage in predatory violence, so it is the



unapproved aspect of violence, not its repeated use which distinguishes the deviant character of predatory violence.

Lower class urban gang members were studied by Albert Cohen (1955) from the perspective of anomie theory. Identifying a number of frustrating obstacles faced by these boys in pursuit of conventional goals, Cohen concluded that gang membership provides innovative means of acquiring desirable status and success. Participation in the gang is a response to blocked opportunities in conventional society. The boys use gang membership to pursue both approved cultural goals and to exhibit other values of lower class culture in the United States, such as the value of excitement, risk-taking, autonomy and individual toughness. Middle class values which dominate the culture differ from these lower class values, causing lower class children to feel degraded in their contacts with the schools and other conventional social institutions (1955: 88-91). Youth must choose whether to attempt meeting middle class standards, or reject aspects of conventional society. Cohen, Miller, Cloward and Ohlin all argue that lower class delinquency has a normative aspect to it, but more research would be necessary to argue a position that lower class culture supports the development of predatory violence.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) discuss lower class delinquency as a negative reaction to degraded status and

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limited opportunities faced by young males in slum neighborhoods. They argue that an illegitimate opportunity structure exists in urban areas, characterized by three types of criminal subcultures, each with a relationship to violence. The retreatist subculture involves a life style based around the use of chemical substances, where violence is not a goal of the subculture, and arises only incidentally in the course of obtaining or using alcohol and drugs. Similarly, members of the criminal subculture are interested in attaining wealth from activities associated with theft, but consider violence as undesirable because of its disruptive, attention-getting consequences potentially disruptive to the attainment of wealth. Only in the conflict subculture is violence generally reinforced, and used on a repeated, instrumental basis to attain subcultural goals like maintenance of a territory, social status and power. Predatory violence is central to the conflict subculture, in the form of fights and gang warfare which may become uncontrolled in some areas, resulting in injury to people, destruction of property, and unpredictability in social life.

The differential opportunity perspective raises several issues indirectly related to predatory violence. Choosing to enter a subculture where violence is used, involves some conscious decision-making by participants. Is perception of limited conventional opportunities one of



perhaps several factors germane to that decision? Is the decision to participate in a subculture of violence sometimes based upon social skill ignorance, or lesser abilities, or seeking an easy adaptation, comparison with people who decide to conform? Some predatory violent delinquents could struggle to achieve conventional goals by conventional means, yet perhaps choose not to expend such effort. To what extent is predatory violence merely a quick, easy, instrumental means of acquiring rewards such as prestige and property? Some research suggests that delinquents are not as likely to possess characteristics of intelligence, persistence, reliability, emotional controls, and motivation often associated with success in North American society (Nettler, 1974:163; Jayasuriya, 1960). More research is needed in this area.

Discussion. Anomie and differential opportunity approaches offer limited understanding of predatory violence among lower class males, or gang members seeking illegitimate ways to obtain wealth, status or power. Status deprivation associated with limited opportunities for achievement among lower classes are not usually channeled into repeated violence against persons, except in the context of a conflict subculture dominated by violent gang fights.

Where predatory violent offenders are in rebellion with both approved societal goals and means of achievement,



violence may be understood as a way to achieve political or individually derived goals of a group or the offender alone.

Predatory violence by members of higher social classes is not understandable from the perspective of anomie and differential opportunity theory. These perspectives do not identify factors which influence most lower class citizens to refrain from violent crime, despite the presence of anomie and blocked opportunities. These perspectives do suggest that lower social class membership may be correlated with predatory violence; this relationship is investigated for the sample and discussed in Chapter V. Anomie and differential opportunity perspectives do not account for the discrepancies found between the way violent crime is distributed among age, gender and racial categories in the population. Blocked opportunities are experienced by lower class citizens of all age, gender and racial categories, yet examination of the sample reveals clear patterns of difference in relation to predatory violence behavior.

Biological Approaches

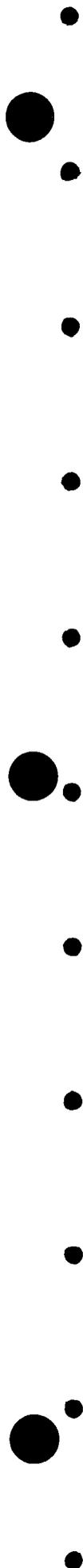
Biological factors are measures of human functioning which are nonsocial in origin, and not acquired through learning (Mednick et al., in Wolfgang and Werner, Eds., 1982:22). Interest in the possibility that criminals differ



from noncriminals in some measurable biological way rose after Darwin published The Descent of Man in 1871. The concept of modern man having evolved from lower forms of animal life raised the question of whether humans could be ranked on a scale with some being more animal-like than others. It was easily assumed that criminals would fall into the more animal-like side of the scale (Cavan, 1969:82). One of the major methodological problems which hindered early criminology was the failure to measure supposed causal factors on a representative sample of the general population as well as among the criminal population.

Many early studies of crime were conducted by physicians, so biological explanations for crime were in keeping with their training. Today biological research on crime continues, but the theory has shifted toward biosocial explanations involving interplay between biological and environmental factors to explain criminality. It is generally recognized that biological factors alone account for only a small fraction of violent crime, yet researchers recognize that any general theory of violence must take biological processes into account (Silverman, unpublished, 1983). Biosocial research may contribute significantly to our eventual knowledge about violence.

Several studies of criminality among twins have indicated a positive correlation between parental criminality and criminal records of children, even when twins were



raised apart by noncriminal adoptive parents (e.g., Elliott, 1952:315; Rosanoff, et al., 1941; Eysenck, 1977), but in regard to predatory violence specifically, no definitive research is available to support a genetic inference. In this design the relationship between predatory violence and reported violence of immediate family members is tested in Chapter V.

In a study of adopted males and their natural fathers, Hutchings and Mednick (Bartol, 1980) also found a significant positive correlation between criminality of father and criminality of child, but no separate measures were taken to separate violent criminality from misdemeanor property crimes.

Limited evidence indicates a positive correlation between parental criminality and general antisocial behavior among offspring, though difficulties are encountered in separating possible environmental explanations from biological evidence. Crowe (1974) found that among criminal mothers who gave their children for adoption, often those children later showed antisocial behavior. Predatory violence among mothers and children was not measured by Crowe, and the environmental influences of lengthy foster care before adoption of some children contaminates hereditary explanation for the findings.

Electrical stimulation of particular brain sites directly produces hostile, but not usually violent behavior (Bartol, 1980:11-202), and some brain lesions of



(Bartol, 1980:196-202), and some brain lesions produce feelings of hostility (Jeffery, 1979:24-25), but rarely violent behavior. Sexual hormones relative to high levels of testosterone in males, and low progesterone levels in women around menstruation, are found to produce irritability and feelings of aggressiveness (Bartol, 1980:196-199), but no relationship has been demonstrated between hormone levels and predatory violence.

Laboratory experiments indicate some success in chemically and electrically reducing hostile feelings among humans, but these measures only temporarily reduce such feelings, and would not prevent the planning and acting out of violence if the subject chose to do so (Jeffery, 1979: 39-43).

A number of studies have been conducted on male criminals with an extra Y chromosome; some report positive correlations between XYY males and higher than average levels of violent behavior, acne scarring, low skin conductance responses, tallness and mental retardation (Bartol, 1980:202-203), but findings have not always been in agreement, and no scientific evidence has been produced to indicate any causal association between the XYY trait and violent behavior in the general population, where XYY males are not uncommon.

Similarly, another line of research has sought, but failed to explain the sometimes predatory violence of



offenders defined as antisocial psychopaths or sociopaths. Primarily characterized by the American Psychiatric Association (1968) as those people who do not benefit from punishing experiences, who disregard social responsibility and demonstrate no concern for others, some sociopaths or psychopaths are predatory offenders. Research with brain wave, electroencephalograph and other techniques has failed to produce consistent findings to suggest a biological explanation for the behavior pattern (Wolfgang and Weiner, 1982:31-56); Bartol, 1980:52-80). In association with studies of sociopaths, research into autonomic nervous system functioning produced limited evidence that some criminals, including some predatory violent offenders are less responsive to both physical and emotional stimuli than are most subjects. The implication is that such people have biologically weaker autonomic nervous system activity, making conditioning (learning) slower and more uncertain (Hare in Wolfgang and Weiner, 1982:40; Eysenck, 1977:91). This line of research has not been used to examine predatory violent offenders specifically, though such research is possible, and could prove productive. In conducting research on sociopathy/psychopathy, one difficulty is to define the term precisely. At one time the psychopathy was applied imprecisely to a wide variety of offenders--all sex offenders, alcoholics, homosexuals, etc. (Sutherland and Cressy, 1960:125-126).



Biochemistry has produced some research of unusual brain chemistry in relation to irritability, hostility, fatigue and occasionally rage. Hypoglycemia, a condition of lower levels of glucose in the bloodstream has been linked to hostility, abnormal EEG patterns, and rage (Wolfgang and Weiner, 1982:63-64), but has never been researched in relation to predatory violence. Cerebral allergies have also been linked to symptoms of hostility, fatigue, anxiety and distortions in sensing sound, time and reality (Kelly in Jeffery, 1979:90-93), suggesting that someday biochemistry may contribute to our understanding of predatory violence.

Data on the extensive use of alcohol and drugs in the United States allows us to arrive at four conclusions: Within society extensive use of chemicals is widespread, and not confined to young people, lower classes, males, or offender categories within the population (e.g., Fishburne et al., 1980). Secondly, use of substances is not usually a sufficient cause of violence, and at high levels of usage, actually reduces the probability offenders will engage in violence (Goode, 1971). Chemical dependence is disproportionately found among adult prison inmates in the United States (Bureau of Justice Statistics, January, 1982: 1-2); Weissman, 1976:153-165; Collins, 1981:7-25). Finally, the majority of chemically dependent people in the U.S. are polyabusers, that is, they use both drugs and



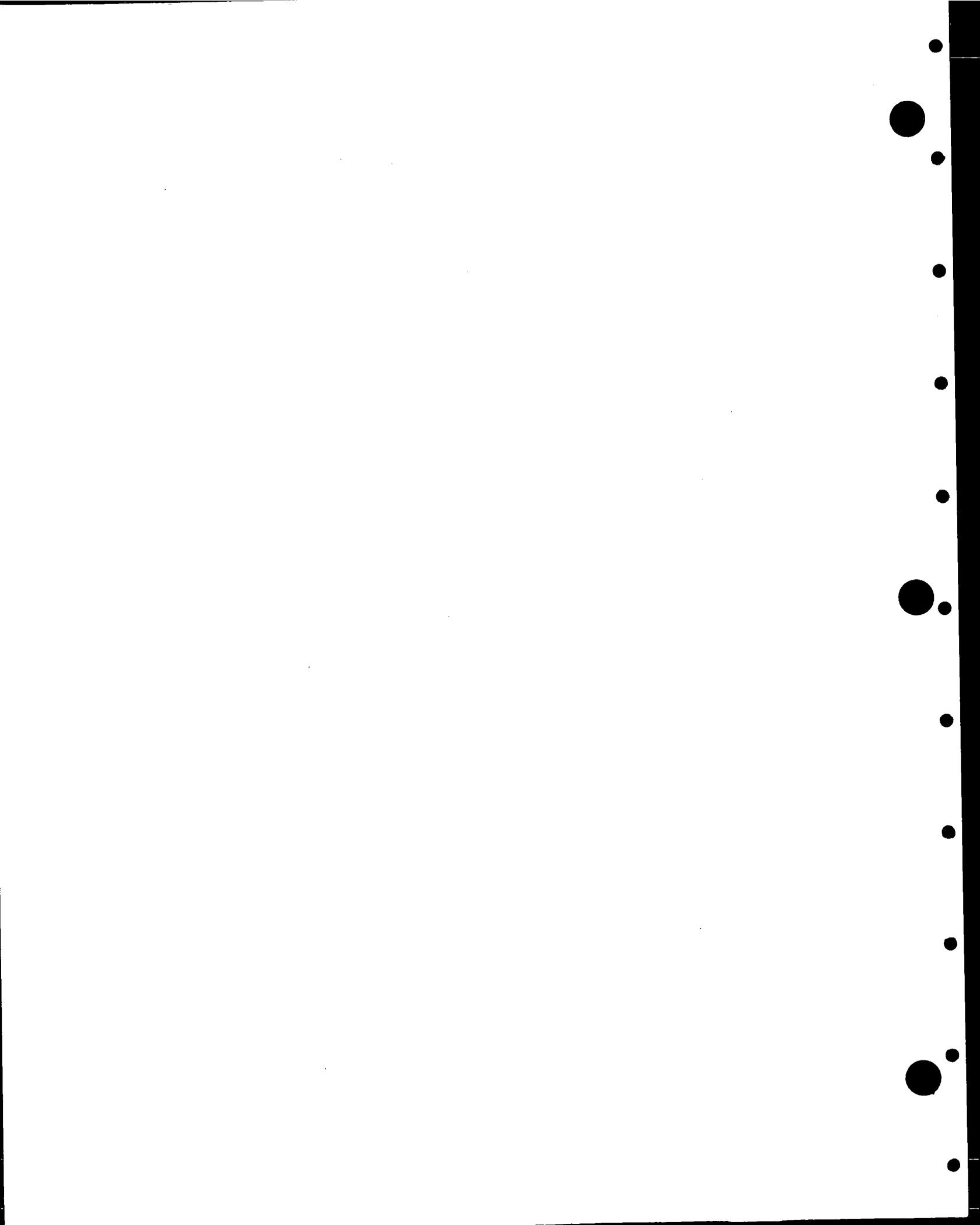
alcohol, and at times substitute one chemical for the other (Petersilia et al., 1977).

Current research into drugs and alcohol finds a curvilinear relationship between use of chemical substances and violent behavior. At the point of low ingestion there is little likelihood of engaging in violent behavior, but at levels where intoxication occurs, the probability of participation in crime and violence increases (Tinklenberg in Collins, 1981:25; Weisman et al., 1976; Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982). A number of other researchers confirm that violent crime or delinquency is disproportionately carried out by chemically dependent offenders (e.g., Wolfgang, 1958; Amir, 1967). Once chemicals are ingested at blood alcohol levels of 15 percent, or reach comparable levels through drug ingestion, persons become physically ill, pass out, or become incapable of violent behavior. Blumer (1973) finds evidence that some criminals prepare for crimes by becoming intoxicated at levels where they may function adequately in commission of the crime, yet feel uninhibited, powerful, and unafraid. Use of heroin prior to committing violent crimes is suggested in research by Gropper (1984) and Chaiken and Chaiken (1982). Drug users are frequently identified among offenders as a high-risk group for violent crime, particularly if heroin is used. Gropper argues that dependent users are not uncontrollably compelled to commit crimes, as drugs available generally in the U.S. are so cut



with fillers that true physical addiction is very unusual. Gropper finds evidence of both control and choice about the use of substances, and deferring usage for lengthy periods of time among heroin users (Gropper, 1984:8).

Violent incidents frequently involve intake of substances by offender and/or victim at the time when violence occurs, but care must be taken not to assume causality where violence and chemical use occur together. It is possible that chemical dependency merely increase the probability that a violent crime will be reported, or that an offender will be arrested. Non-chemically dependent offenders may be as violent as the U.S. prison population, but be less likely to be apprehended and incarcerated. Despite caution, chemical dependency may be one of several variables related to predatory violence. This relationship is tested in Chapter V. It appears that generally, substance abuse plays a minor, indirect role in contributing to predatory violence, but most chemically dependent persons are probably nonviolent. Among chemically dependent predatory violent offenders, it is uncertain whether their use of violence preceded chemical dependency or followed it. Among those chemically dependent persons who use chemicals for many years, the physical effects may become debilitating, even to the point of producing psychosis where violent behavior is produced from brain damage, even to the point of causing death. Chemical psychosis, however, is not



relevant to predatory violence, because by the time it occurs, an offender is generally too ill to deliberately engage in violent crime, and is likely to be managed as a person in need of medical treatment, not as an offender.

Psychopathy and Psychological Approaches

Freud (in Brill, 1938) offers two lines of reasoning concerning violent behavior: in the framework of personality theory, Freud proposes that the criminal may be inadequately socialized in ego and superego components of personality, so that urges arising from the id are acted out unchecked, or arise from the unconscious as expressions of repressed wishes. To account for predatory violence it would be necessary to empirically demonstrate that such offenders are markedly underdeveloped in ego and superego, compared with nonviolent members of the population. This has not been convincingly researched, partly because of the difficulty of operationalizing Freudian concepts such as ego and superego. The best known offering by Freud on the subject of violence, however, is the catharsis hypothesis, which proposes that feelings of anger and aggression build up cumulatively over time, and must be dissipated, or drained off before reaching explosive proportions. Catharsis, or discharging of aggressive energy is accomplished by participating in limited violence, such as participation in contact sports, or by vicariously watching



others involved in some form of aggressive behavior. Freud predicts from the hypothesis that people who utilize catharsis are better able than others to control their aggression, and avoid violent criminality. Under investigation, Freud's catharsis model is not upheld (Berkowitz, 1973; Geen, 1975, Goranson, 1969). The general finding is that aggressive activity and ideation actually stimulate increased aggression, rather than reducing aggression.

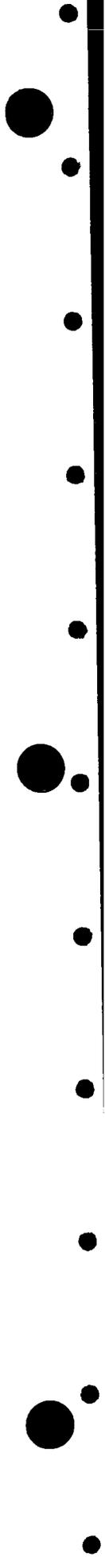
In similar vein Dollard et al. (1939) propose a frustration-aggression hypothesis, predicting that the blocking of one's path to goal achievement will lead to aggressive, even violent behavior under conditions of high frustration. Aggression was taken to be evidence of frustration. (Bartol; 1980:186-188), but Berkowitz (1973) and others challenged or modified Dollard's original hypothesis. Violent behavior does not necessarily accompany high levels of frustration, and violent offenders are not always motivated by high frustration (Wolfgang and Weiner, 1982:136). Research on the frustration-aggression hypothesis has turned more to a learning theory perspective centered on acquiring repertoires for managing frustration, and recognition that people act in a variety of ways in response to frustration.

Attempts to differentiate violent criminals from the general population on the basis of psychiatric diagnoses have failed. In one study, psychiatric diagnoses of 3,500



Illinois prison inmates were reviewed by Hakeem (1958). Many conflicting diagnoses were reported in the case files, evaluations were sometimes couched in moralistic terms, and most diagnoses were made without use of objective testing, often on the basis of a single interview. Hakeem concludes that psychiatric diagnoses in the Illinois study were not scientific, and no support is presented for the proposition that crime is directly related to mental illness (1958:701-702). Other scholars note the imprecision of psychiatric diagnoses, and the lack of data on the mental health of the general population (Harper, 1974; Elliott, 1952:336) for comparative purposes. Psychiatric diagnoses do not yet contribute scientifically to the study of predatory violence, partly because even in cases of psychoses, where contact with reality breaks down, offenders are usually hospitalized, and managed as patients if they commit a violent act which may not be viewed as having criminal intent. Therefore, predatory violence is not usually explainable as psychotic behavior.

There is considerable literature seeking to isolate personality traits associated with crime and delinquency, but no empirically supported theoretical work has emerged, relative to predatory violence. Harvard University researchers Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck produced a series of longitudinal studies of delinquents with nondelinquent controls. On psychological tests and medical records, the



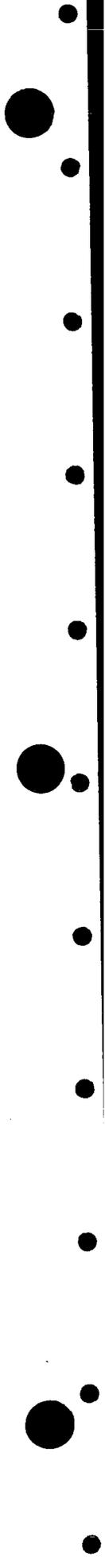
Glueck's (1930) concluded that most delinquent behavior is not directly attributable to emotional disturbance or organic impairment. They did find that 24 percent of the delinquents showed unusually aggressive tendencies, compared to only 6 percent of the nondelinquents.

In a perspective which combines biological factors with evidence from learning theory, Eysenck (1977) analyses criminality as deriving from personality traits associated with low cortical arousal, high emotionality, and high psychoticism, which create a propensity for acting out behavior if situational factors also provide strong stimulation. Violence may become habitual if a combination of stimuli which evoke violence is available and is not counter-conditioned (1977:31-56) against violence. He proposes three major dimensions of human personality: extroversion, emotionality, and psychoticism, each conceptualized as a continuum. "Criminality is obviously a continuous trait of the same kind as intelligence, or height or weight" (1977:78). From this assumption, Eysenck proposes that most people may be classified as either introverts or extroverts, and that real brain difference, measurable by EEG exist between the two groups, affecting both their personalities and chances of becoming criminals. Introverts have high cortical arousal which makes them sensitive to even slight stimuli, allows them to be conditioned easily and to develop inhibitions through such



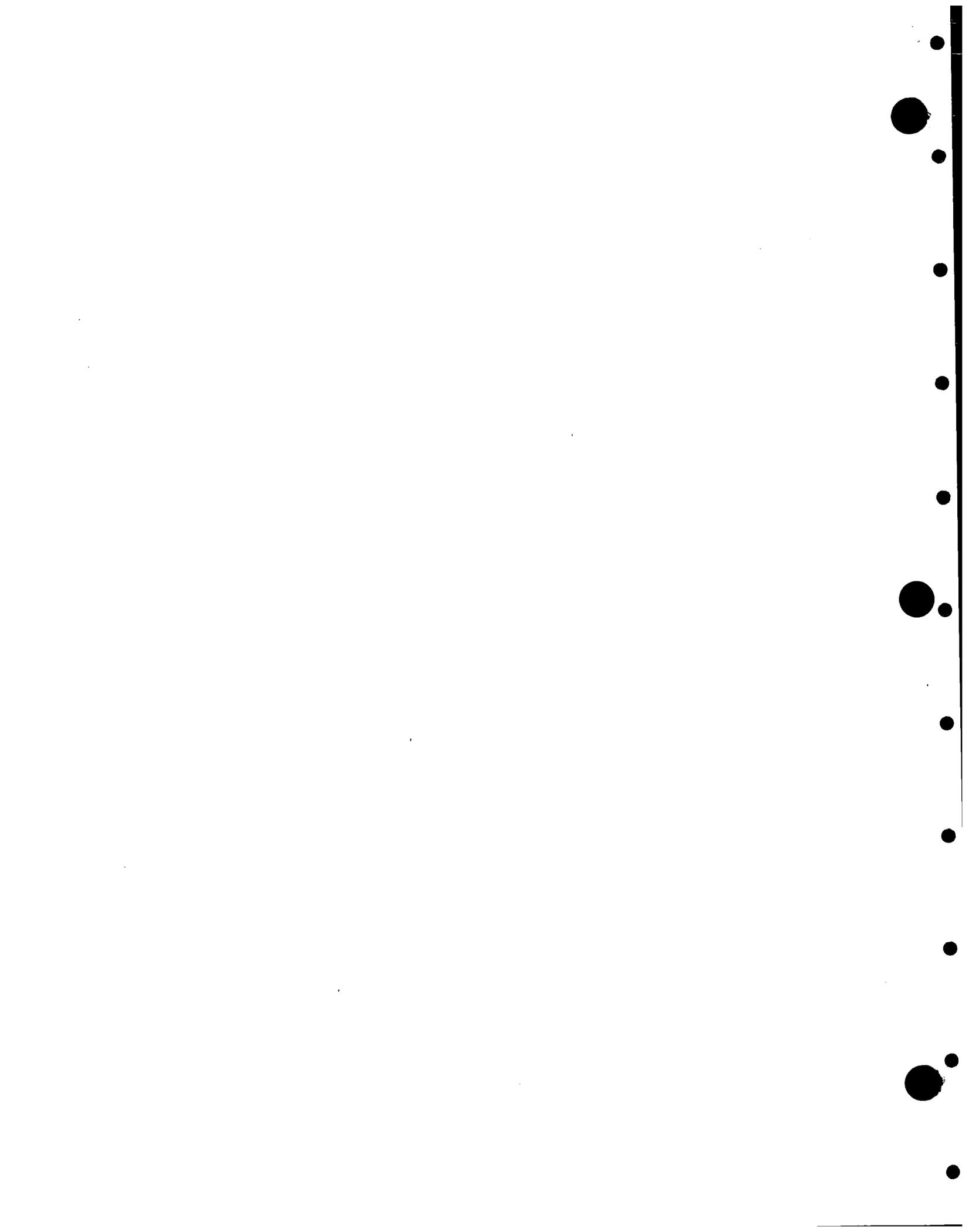
learning (Eysenck, 1977:87-98). Extroverts, in contrast, have lower cortical arousal which means that much more stimulation is necessary to effect awareness, and conditioning is more difficult. Low cortical arousal therefore means less inhibition and less control over one's behavior. He cites laboratory learning experiments with animals and humans showing differences in learning rates between introverts and extroverts (1977:91-109). Extroverts high on emotionality (neuroticism) and psychopathy scales tend to become "the psychopath and the criminal", (1977:119) because moral behavior is conditioned, and with these characteristics, neurotic, psychopathic extroverts are at a significant disadvantage. Eysenck cites studies by Hare, Long and Lykken to contend that psychopaths, like criminals, show poor conditionability (1977:130-131). He proposes that corrections must be redirected away from punishment, which will not change criminals with low cortical arousal, toward using such powerful stimuli as token economies to recondition offenders. Eysenck's model does not separate out predatory violence in considering crime, but raises the issue of differences in the conditionability of humans. His work offers an avenue for further research into predatory violence.

Another psychological study which does focus on violent offenders is Megargee's work (1966) on the over-controlled and undercontrolled behavior patterns among



1982:84). Angry aggression or violence is used expressively, to bring pain or injury to the victim. The motivation is reinforcement for the aggressor. The other major motivation for violence is instrumental, where verbal or physical violence are used to obtain some specific gain such as money. Megargee's work contributes the idea that conceptually, verbal attacks are another form of violence, used by some violent offenders. Conceptually, Megargee's overcontrolled extremely aggressive category is described much like Toch's need-promoting violence. Both categories suggest instrumental use of verbal harassment and violence without regard for others, using violence as a tool, used to gain egocentric ends. These predatory offenders are quite unlike the Freudian paradigm of the undercontrolled offender who is unable to control primitive desires. Frequency of reported verbal violence in relation to reported use of physical violence is tested in Chapter V for the sample.

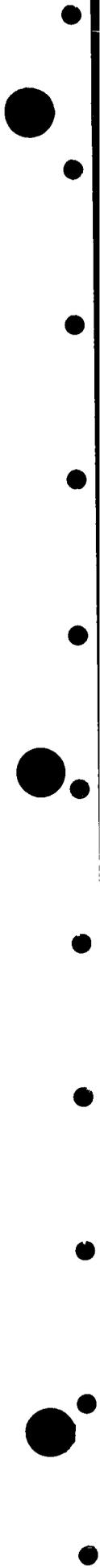
Psychological approaches to predatory violence generally share reliance upon test measurements of personality traits. Despite numerous attempts to predict violent offenders based on MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory) and other test sources, psychologists fail to predict who is violent, when test results are compared with case records (Lothstein and Jones, 1978:237-243). Psychological perspectives on violence also fail to explain



predatory violent behavior or its origins, just as attempts to use psychiatric diagnoses as predictors of violent behavior have failed (Harper, 1974). These conclusions raise the question whether there is any justification for psychologists and psychiatrists playing powerful roles in youth corrections, such as predicting future behavior relative to release of serious offenders, given the failure of their theories to adequately predict or explain dangerousness (Monahan, 1981).

Subculture of Violence

It has long been recognized that heterogeneous societies contain subgroups whose values, norms and institutions conflict in part with those of the dominant culture, an issue notably addressed by Sellin (1938) and others. Most subcultural approaches aim at explaining crime or delinquency without separate analysis of predatory violence, but one study does focus on violence exclusively. From the concept of culture conflict, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1969) seek to explain highly concentrated rates of homicide in some urban neighborhoods, using the argument that there a subculture of violence exists which legitimizes violence in certain situations, particularly among young males. They propose a cluster of values exist around a theme of aggression, with structural roles, and socialization processes which reinforce violence in prescribed

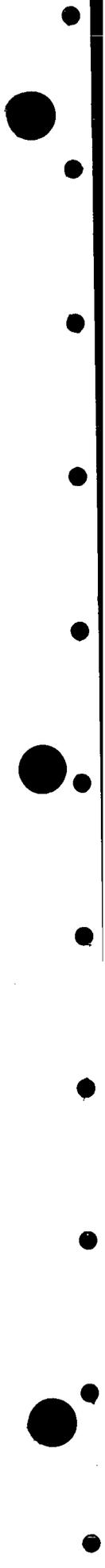


circumstances. They cite cross-national statistics on homicides, suggesting that young minority group men and women have the highest rates of violent crimes in specific geographic areas. Members with greatest commitment to sub-cultural roles and values are predicted to be most violent, because their subcultural membership socializes failure to use violence in certain circumstances. Meaningful symbols of violence such as weapons, drinking alcohol and verbal violence are shared by members, acting as stimuli for violence.

The subculture of violence is particularly found in urban areas populated by economically disadvantaged, low status populations worldwide, perhaps in relation to angry, frustrated, or neglectful parents responding to life conditions by socializing their children to become aggressive (1969:297). Subsequent research has not supported major differences in values among high crime area populations (e.g., Rossi et al., 1974; Erlanger, 1974), compared to values in low crime areas, and the question of how a subculture of violence arises is not explained by Wolfgang and Ferracuti (Fine and Kleinman, 1979). What does emerge is the argument for studying violence as learned behavior, which is sometimes normatively reinforced by some social groups, and maintained through socialization and mechanisms of informal social control such as peer pressure. Clearly many persons raised in high crime areas do not become



violent, and many who are violent come from areas with no subcultural support for violence. Erlanger (1974) found lower class residents did not support violence in a high crime Chicano area of East Los Angeles. In Chapter V the question whether predatory violent delinquents have significantly pro-criminal values is tested, in comparison with less violent peers. Wolfgang and Ferracuti suggest two avenues for investigating predatory violence. The gang as a subcultural environment which promotes violence under some circumstances, could be studied in relation to predatory violent members, to identify roles predatory violent members play within gangs, how less violent members respond to these members, and what part predatory violent members play longitudinally in gang life. Yablonsky's treatment of gang characteristics (1959) may be pertinent to understanding predatory violence within the gang context, as he noted some gangs have emotionally disturbed leaders. It would be possible to replicate his work and extend the examination of predatory violence to determine whether gang leaders are psychologically disturbed or perhaps predatory violent offenders who are not psychologically disturbed. It would also be possible to study predatory violent offender roles in neighborhoods having high rates of violent crime, to learn about relationships between these offenders and their less violent neighbors. Informal community reactions to violence, selection of victims, and sources of positive



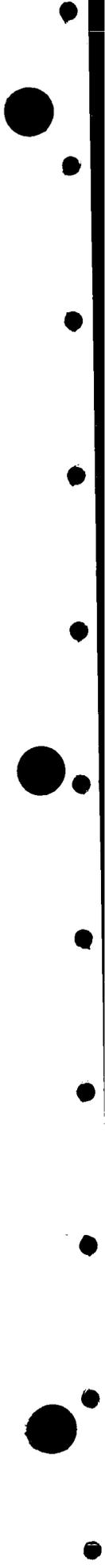
reinforcement for violence could be studied, from a symbolic interactionist or systems perspective, focusing on networks of relationships within given high crime/low crime areas. This could contribute to our understanding of what happens to predatory violent persons over time, in their own neighborhoods.

Differential Association

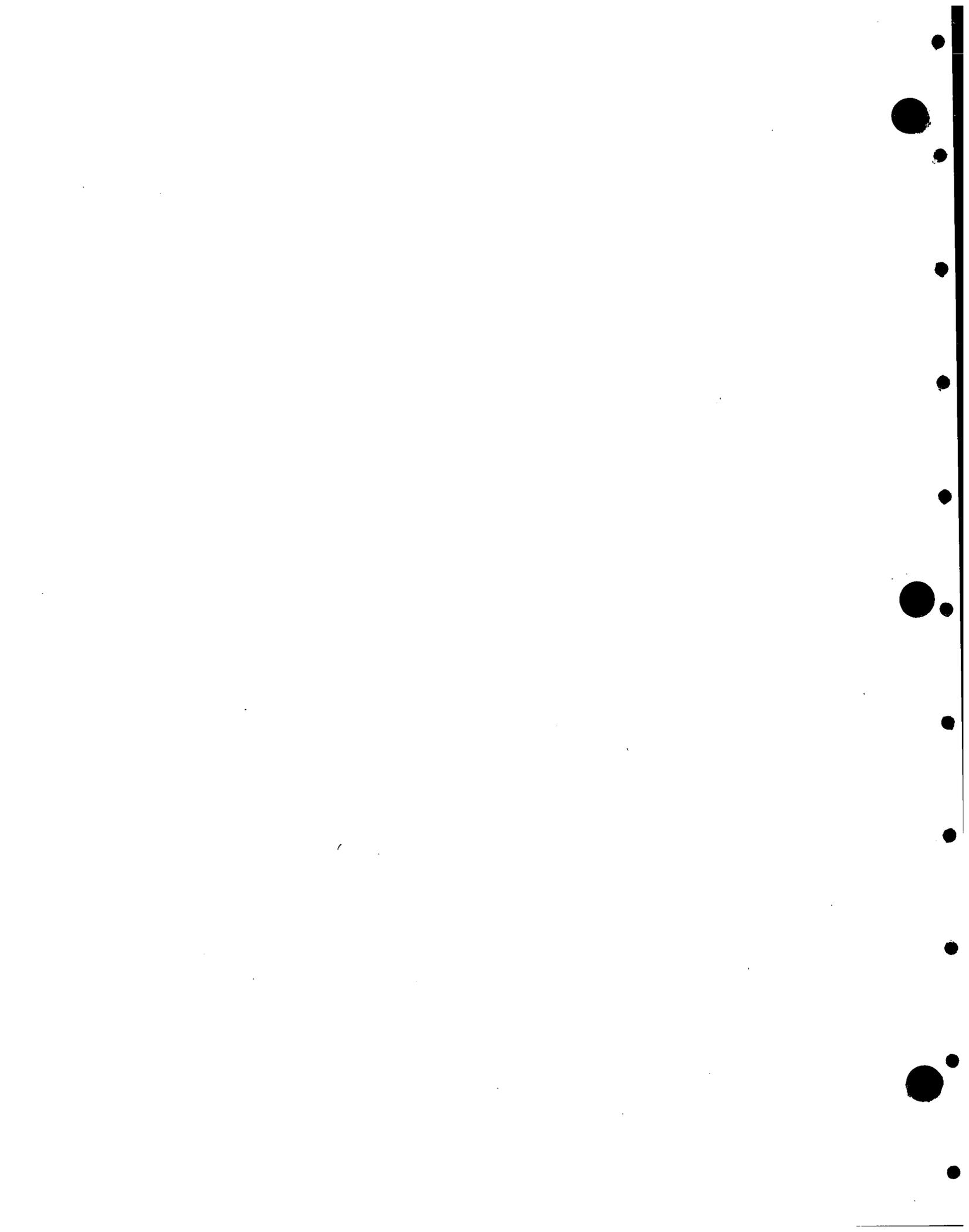
During the 1920s Sutherland presented differential association, an early learning theory of crime and delinquency which sparked debate and interest in criminology (1924). His theory is applied here to predatory violence. According to differential association, violence is learned from group experiences, by the same processes that other behavior is learned. Small intimate groups communicate the attitudes, and techniques favorable or unfavorable to violent behavior. Individuals who experience emotionally intense, frequent contacts with persons favoring violence, are likely themselves to learn and use violent behavior. Predatory violent offenders from high crime neighborhoods, conflict gangs, or families sharing violent histories, are partly explainable in this way, but limitations are also evident. Difficulties in operationalizing Sutherland's concepts, or measuring "excess definitions favorable to violations of law" (Sutherland, in Social Problems:218) have been noted by critics of the approach (e.g., Halbasch, 1979).



A number of scholars sought to improve the formulation. Glaser (1956) adds the idea that people who pursue criminal (or violent) behavior do so because of identifying themselves with a significant other who seemingly approves such behavior. Burgess and Akers' (1966) reformulation proposes that deviant behavior is primarily learned through interaction with groups who comprise the individual's major source of positive reinforcements, based on principles of operant conditioning. If violent behavior is more highly reinforced than other behavior, it will be repeated in situations carrying a perceived probability of reinforcement. Adams modifies differential association arguing that individuals who choose deviant behavior (violence) consider probabilities of punishment as well as anticipated rewards of their behavior. This refinement emphasizes offender cognition in calculating likely outcome of some violent acts. None of the formulations address the issue of persons constructing their own reinforcement networks by actively seeking out others who reinforce particular beliefs and behavior. Nor do scholars identify the process of people changing their orientations either away from criminality or towards criminality or violence despite past conditioning. Differential association/reinforcement theory is widely criticized in the literature, primarily because of methodological difficulties encountered in operationalizing concepts and applying weights to various human experiences.



Most pertinent to predatory violence, are criticisms that differential association does not adequately account for race, gender, and age differences in violent crime. Nor are issues of differential opportunity or personal susceptibility of various categories of the population addressed to explain vast differences in known rates of violent crime and delinquency. Despite these weaknesses, differential association/reinforcement focuses attention on learning approaches to violence, and the issue of choice on the part of at least some predatory violent offenders. Research into societal responses to violent behavior support the idea that at least in the United States, much violent behavior is tolerated, even reinforced within the culture. This issue is discussed briefly in Chapter V where self-reported violence and intrafamily violence measures are reported for a sample of New Jersey high school students with no felony-level delinquency. Bell (1983) researched reports of domestic violence in Ohio, reported to state, county and local law enforcement agencies during 1980. He found that of 55,892 complaints, 71 percent resulted in no official arrest (1983:6). Impersonal social interactions, particularly a part of urban life, and our cultural preference for privacy and nonintervention into others' lives, may combine to convey to predatory violent offenders, a message of tolerance or even approval for their violence. Differential association/reinforcement theory suggests these



issues may be important to understanding predatory violence.

Containment/Control Theory

Many variables associated with criminal conduct are themselves highly correlated, such as regularity of employment, family cohesiveness, and educational attainment (Glaser, 1978:181). Reckless and Hirschi are major proponents of containment/control theory which uses learning theory principles to explain why most people are not criminals or delinquents. Their approach applied to predatory violence and begins with the assumption that outside the bonds of society, individuals are likely to act out of egoistic wishes, but through socialization and ongoing social controls, people generally do not act out unapproved violence. People are controlled by external social factors, and internalized learning which protects most from violent criminality. Reckless (1962) describes external containments as social roles, activities and status opportunities, which reinforce nonviolent behavior generally. Internal containment is built upon learned habits of nonviolence, favorable self-image, knowledge of nonviolent social skills, and learned tolerance of frustration. Heterogeneous societies depend heavily upon internal containment, because primary group ties tend to be less powerful when social arrangements like urban living and small nuclear families become impractical for providing frequent external controls on members' behavior. Predatory

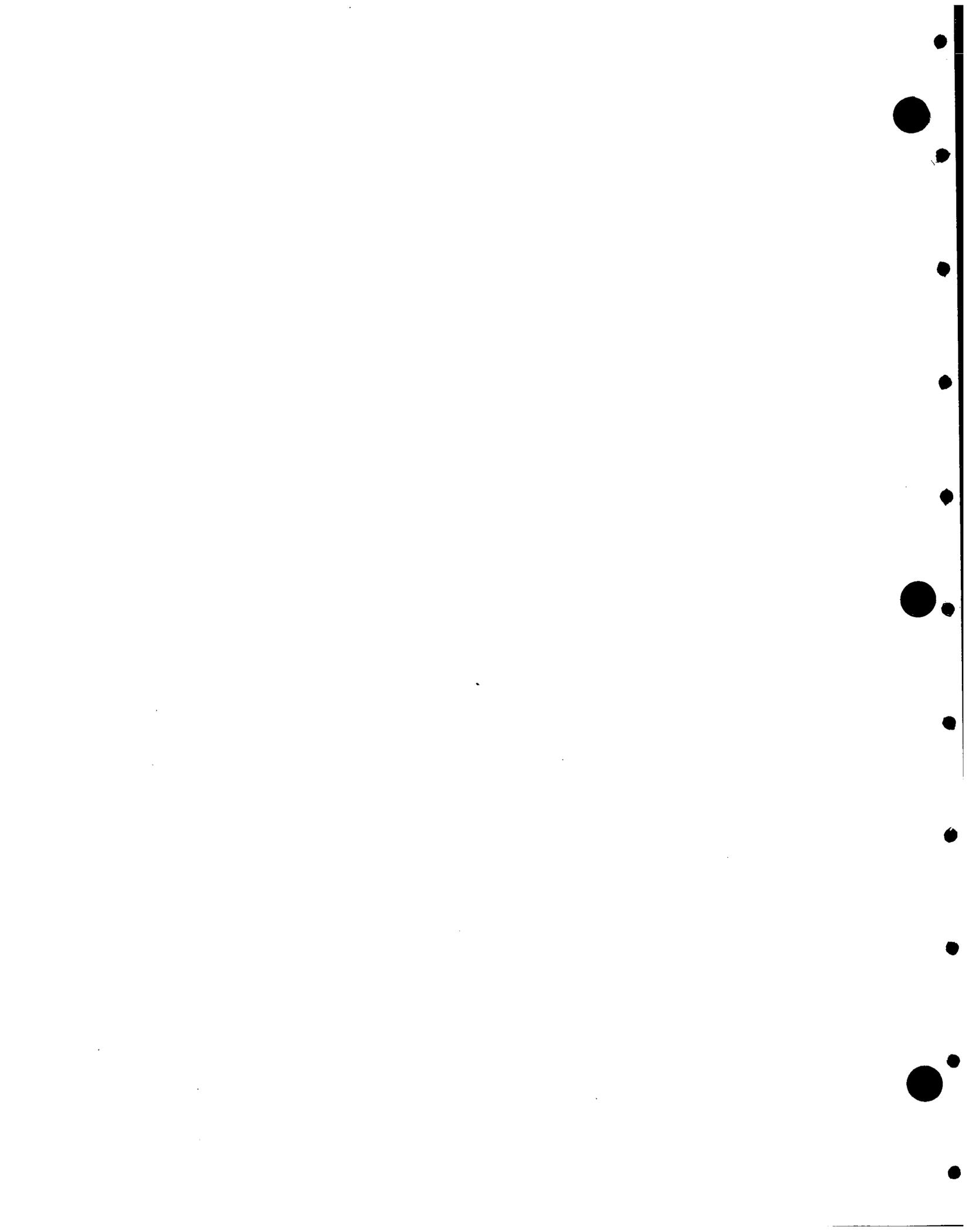


violent offenders are persons who experience both weak external controls and low internal containment in their lives, and tend to lack commitment to conventional activities or values. They are likely to hold themselves in low self-esteem, in comparison with noncriminal peers, and are likely to have obtained little reward from earlier participation in conventional social life. This assumes general social consensus about norms prescribing non-violent social relations, so the predatory offender is perceived as deviant in the eyes of society. The presence of predatory violent offenders is a signal to society that our "ordinary social controls have failed to hold" violators in control (Reckless, 1950:1). In most cases, legal norms are duplicated in expectations of family life, church, school and voluntary associations. Violent acts occur when personal tendencies and situational factors outweigh factors of containment, or resistance to violent conduct (1950:29).

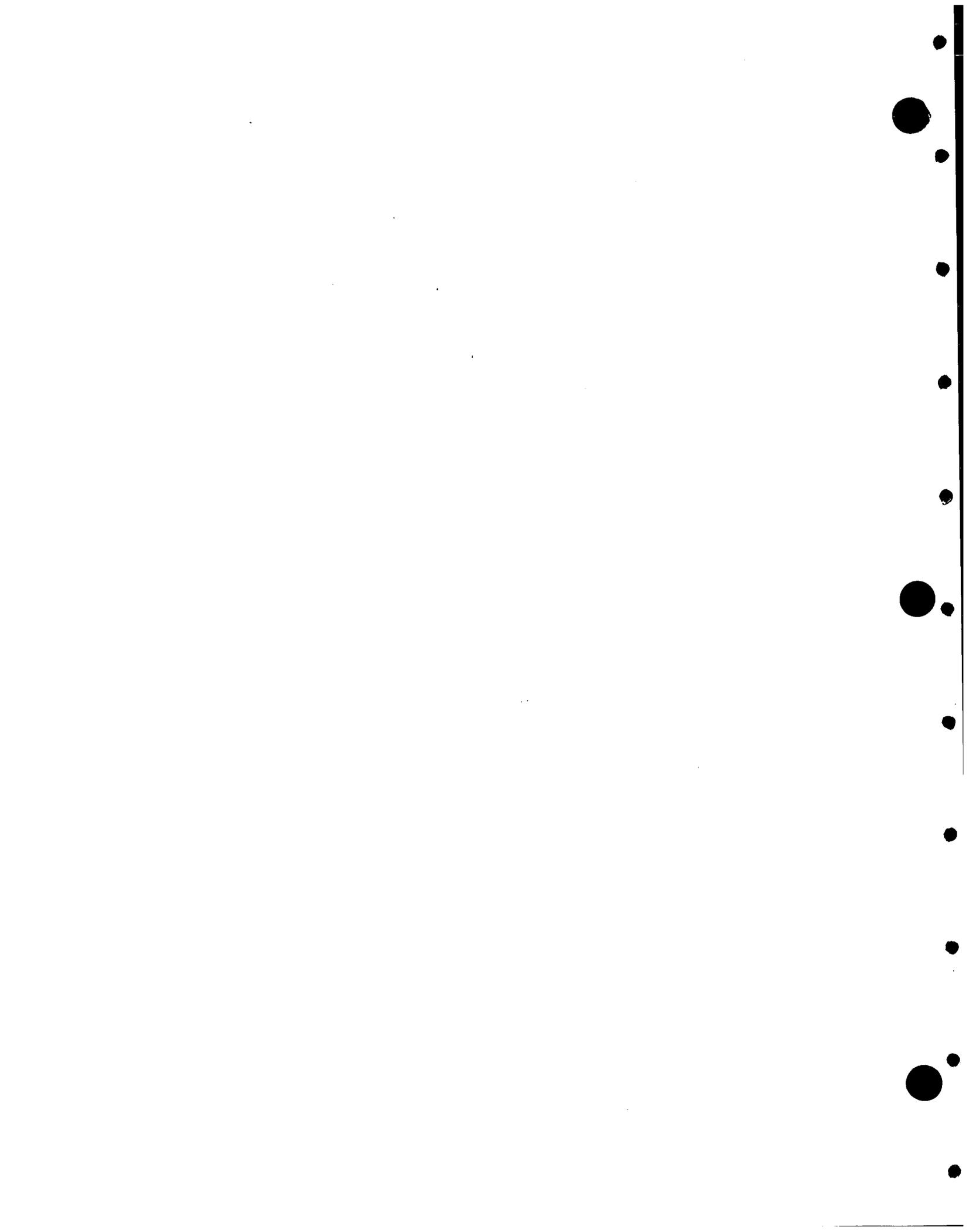
Hirschi (1969) proposes that to become delinquent, young people must be relatively free of intimate attachments, moral beliefs and conventional aspirations which would bind them to conventional society. Four elements bond people to society, according to Hirschi, insulating them from the lure of crime or violence. Emotional attachments with nonviolent individuals, bond people to behavior which promotes conventional relationships. Commitment to



relationships bound with rewarding roles and activities places people in a position of vested interest, which then influences subsequent behavioral decisions (1969:20-21), as in the case where nonviolent action is chosen because the consequence of violence might be loss of friends or career status. Violent behavior becomes very risky if people recognize their investment of time, energy and self in particular relationships, or activities. This implies societies may differ in the proportion of members who are committed to conventional activities and relationships. It implies that people with definite aspirations and commitments are less likely to become criminal, or violent, than persons with little personal aspiration. Reckless defines involvement as actual participation, or use of energy in conventional activities of all sorts. Idleness may provide some increased likelihood of participation in deviant acts, particularly a relevant point with regard to adolescents who are excluded from many productive social roles and young adults who are often unemployed in industrialized western nations. When socialization to adulthood is successful, most people come to believe in the appropriateness of norms against crime and violence, even among those who break legal norms (1969:23-24). It is possible that predatory violent offenders share a disbelief in norms against violence, as well as experiencing few attachments, commitments or involvements with conventional



social life. One of the strengths of containment/control theory is the direct implication for behavior changing strategies, in the sense that offenders' attitudes, beliefs, aspirations, and commitments are somewhat subject to modification through structured group experiences, if opportunities in the community are made available (Mathias, 1984:211-212) in such a way as to provide meaningful rewards for conventional behavior among offenders. Control theory implies that prevention of predatory violence may be achieved by modifying the law, family and school arrangements to maximize probability that young people of all social classes find conventional life more rewarding than violent delinquency. Theoretically, the more social bonds contain commitment and social integration into rewarding activities, the greater the likelihood violent behavior will be avoided. Predatory violent delinquents would be expected to have poor records of participation in conventional social roles; this is tested in Chapter V by measuring the number of times youth in the sample were removed from home, school, program, or job roles due to misbehavior. Do predatory violent delinquents have faulty socialization, or merely incomplete socialization, with behavior based more on ignorance of conventional social skills, rather than out of belief in criminal values? These questions raised by Weis and Hawkins (1981:10) are tested in Chapter V by examining relationships between predatory violence, social skill ignorance, and



belief in criminal values, measured on two standardized variables.

Social Learning/Social Behaviorism

.Social learning approaches share a perspective that most behavior is learned according to principles of human learning which may take the form of complex behavioral sequences based upon the experiential histories of individuals. Many principles of human learning have been demonstrated and replicated in human behavioral research. Hilgard (1964:402-404) defines learning as the process by which cognition and overt behavior is modified from experience. Processes of social learning (modeling) and conditioning take place ongoing throughout the conscious lifespan of individuals so that violent behavior is acquired and extinguished by the same processes as all other behavior.

Staats (1975) reviews the basic principles of social behaviorism, stressing that nearly any stimuli in the environment is conditionable, and may come to elicit particular cognitive or overt-behavioral responses among humans (1975:19-24). Applying principles of behaviorism to violence, Staats discusses the flexibility with which behavioral responses are strengthened and elaborated when paired with positive reinforcement. Violent behavior paired with reinforcing stimuli is likely to be repeated, to become elaborated into lengthier behavior sequences, and generalized



for use in more types of situations. When violence is not associated with positive reinforcements it generally extinguishes itself. Conditions of partial reinforcement promote repetition of behavior more rapidly than consistent reinforcement (1975:32). Social situations frequently contain numerous stimuli associated with a particular learned response, so that where stimuli associated with violence are present, the strength of violent responses becomes stronger, yet still dependent upon cognitive evaluation of the situation. Where stimuli call for different responses, only one response will be made, depending upon the actor's cognition of stimuli and opportunities for positive reinforcement.

Over time, responses become elaborated into lengthy, complex sequences of behavior which influence future opportunities for learning particular behavior (1975:52-56). Staats reviews behaviorist literature on the interaction between individuals and environment where situations differ in stimuli and reinforcement potential. He does not elaborate the element of personal choice in this context, but it is relevant to note the active role played by some violent offenders in seeking out or manipulating the environment to avoid themselves of chances to participate in certain kinds of behavior. It is likely that some individuals gain positive reinforcement for predatory violence which becomes elaborated and generalized until such behavior



and its cognitive units come to be sought out from various social settings. Victimization studies frequently show that victim and offender demographic profiles are often similar, with high offender groups also experiencing high rates of victimization in violent crime (U.S. Department of Justice: Aug. 1984). Staats discusses the important role of language (verbal stimuli) as stimulus in communicating violent meanings and providing rewards or punishments (any removal of positive reinforcement) to others. Sequences of violent behavior may become part of the general repertoire of personal behavior, consisting of a variety of cognitive patterns, verbal personal behavior, and physical behavior involving a complex variety of skills. Self-concept ideas and rationalizations for violent behavior are included in such learning. Behavioral repertoires of violence influence where the actor goes, with whom he/she associates, and what choices are made in response to particular situations. Anything which has been learned may serve as a unit for further learning (1975:73-76), combining skills and cognitions in new ways. Where offenders act out violence it is likely to elicit negative emotional responses in victims, which may direct reciprocal responses, escalating the chance of violence in the situation. Unlike most individuals, predatory violent offenders have a history of successful violence learning trials where violent stimuli are associated with approach behavior--not withdrawal behavior.



People differ markedly on what situational stimuli have become conditioned to avoidance and approach behaviors (1975:41-45). Though Staats does not specifically discuss predatory violence, he does use examples of violence to explain principles of social behaviorism.

The conditioning history of individuals draws upon particular physical attributes of individuals which serve as meaningful social stimuli which elicits responses already conditioned in others. Body physique or racial characteristics in this way elicit certain responses from others, opening certain avenues for possible reinforcement, closing other avenues for reward and conveying ideas about worth or self-worth back to the actors (1975:211-219). Learning histories are influenced by successes of significant others, who model the acquisition of certain behavior found rewarding for them. If deviant behavior is successfully modeled by a parent for example, that learning environment becomes a deficit learning environment for a child, because it reinforces inappropriate social behavior such as predatory violence, and helps maintain it. Staats discusses interaction between inappropriate behavior and the consequence of moving into inappropriate environmental conditions, as in the case where behavior leads to exclusion from appropriate learning environments. Deviant behavior may lead to institutionalization, often an inappropriate environment for learning acceptable behavior. Extending Staats' position to



other situations, predatory violent behavior may lead to exclusion from social groups or formal organizations where the offender could learn appropriate behavior. The more rejection the offender experiences, the greater may become his own "striving against" (1975:277) behaviors which are aversive to society. Forcing offenders out of social interaction situations within conventional environments places them in greater likelihood of interaction with deviant learning environments, increasing the probability of further deviance learning.

Staats reviews the use of learning principles to extinguish inappropriate violence, by lowering its reinforcement potential and replacing it with new opportunities to learn appropriate and rewarding behavior. As a new behavioral sequence is learned, an accelerated pace of learning will take place in learning other similar tasks. Non-violent behavior learned for one type of situation will generalize to other situations if adequate learning trials are undertaken, with use of intermittent rewards. Staats indicates the role of cultural and societal arrangements for reinforcement and conditioning, implying that if sufficient reinforcement is available for conventional behavior, fewer people are likely to use deviant behavioral repertoires (1975:498-527). Complex societies produce more likelihood some people will develop conditioning histories disjunctive with conventional behavior. Social institutions have



distinctive systems of reinforcement and conditioning of their members, so cultural conditioning arrangements of social institutions may differ widely, causing people to develop divergent learning histories. While Staats does not discuss violence in terms of these contingencies his point implies a relationship between societal contingencies for conditioning, and recognizable patterns of conditioning histories which emerge among various population segments. Whether social institutions or reinforcement arrangements provide conditioning for predatory violence has not been explored from the social behaviorist perspective, but is a relevant avenue for investigation.

According to Staats, principles of social behaviorism are rooted in human biological capacities as identified in research. The concept of stimulus is biologically mediated by receptor organs which receive stimuli messages, and effector organs which respond to stimuli. Connector brain mechanisms mediate messages between organs, resulting in glandular, muscular, nervous system responses, and cognitive imagery. These biological processes have been demonstrated to be subject to conditioning by the same principles of learning as other human behavior (1975:533-552). Staats' work provides a way of studying predatory violence as conditioned, complex social behavior which is acquired and maintained through partial reinforcement. Indirectly, conditioning is related to available contingencies for



reward of violent behavior within society. Modeling violence from significant others theoretically provides a strong conditioning experience for learning violence and maintaining such behavior. The relationship between violence by significant others in relation to violence by delinquents in the sample, is tested in Chapter V.

Just prior to publication of Staats Social Behaviorism in 1975, Bandura published a similar analysis of aggression in 1973, using learning theory principles, and a more sociological perspective on human violence. Bandura cites the important role of the audience, and powerful social control agents whose interpretations of behavior determine whether it is considered illegitimate violence or socially approved behavior. The interpretation of actors' intentions relates to meanings the audience attaches to the social context of an act. Meanings are attached to the role played by the perpetrator, and other antecedent knowledge about the situation or perpetrator (Bandura, 1973: 7-8). Violence in the context of a hockey game may result in serious injury, yet be defined as legitimate violence arising from sports competition; whereas less serious injury arising from a schoolyard fight may be reported as violent delinquency, depending upon the interpretation of audiences. Personal characteristics of the aggressor, or his/her known history may influence the interpretation of behavior. Stereotypes about age, race, gender, physical build, and



social class may influence the meanings assigned to behavior, predisposing some population segments to more negative interpretations than among other groups. Nobles (1981 in McAdoo: 77-85) discusses how social scientists, for example, have studied black family life from a biased social disorganization perspective, failing to therefore discover the actual meaning of some black family arrangements.

Bandura proposes as does Staats, that aggressive responses are learned in part by reinforcement, but Bandura argues that behavior results in two outcomes; one a response from the audience, and a second reaction of self-evaluation. Self-devaluation holds more impact for life decisions than rewards from others, Bandura argues (1973:48-49). Self-evaluations are important in two respects. They serve as a source of direction in choosing whom the actor associates with, and seek reinforcement from. Self-evaluations are flexible, and subject to rapid change, so self-devaluation may change into legitimization of an act of violence, particularly if significant others reinforce a perception of violence as legitimate. The predatory violent offender is one who experienced repeated opportunities to model violent behavior, to practice it, and has probably mentally rehearsed such behavior often, making extinction of violent behavior difficult, yet possible.

Learning violent behavior may be personally rewarding as a way of adapting to violent surroundings, for aggression



in some circumstances, may reduce the likelihood of being intimidated or victimized by others. Bandura does not explore this argument, but his point may be useful in studying lower class urban blacks and some ethnic sub-cultures where violent street crime is reported at high rates. Socialization of some minority young people to be aggressive may be defensive adaptation to difficult living conditions. Such an approach differs markedly from Wolfgang and Ferracuti's subcultural values thesis (1969).

The strength of violent responses to situations is influenced in part by the strength of emotional arousal produced by stimuli in the situation. A combination of visual cues, such as fighting combined with verbal cues, may produce a stronger, potentially more violent response than would be elicited in a less emotionally stimulating setting. Both Bandura and Staats note that as the number of instigating stimuli increase in a situation so does the probability that violence will occur, if actors have conditioning histories which include violence learning. The stature, social status, age, gender, and race of the victim also may serve as stimuli for the aggressor as he/she interprets the situation and responds to it. Meanings attributed to various stimuli and their strength are determined by prior conditioning of the actors, so conflictual interaction may either de-escalate or escalate toward violence.



Bandura discusses social ranking as relevant to violent behavior. Within a social group, higher status carries some power over the distribution of rewards to members. In particular circumstances, violent behavior carries the meaning of force legitimately or illegitimately used to maintain a position of high ranking (1973:187-200); in other circumstances leaders may choose to reinforce violent conduct to maintain or increase power of influence of the group, or to bolster the aggressor's sense of self-esteem. There are circumstances where violent acts are not performed to obtain rewards, but where aggression reduces the likelihood of painful encounters, as when violence is used to flee police apprehension. Social ranking, reinforcement, group boundary-maintenance and self-esteem are a few of the situational factors influencing human behavior. Bandura emphasizes the active involvement of actors' free will, combining with conditioned learning in determining whether violent behavior is enacted. Lefkowitz et al. (1974:44-70) cite laboratory research with children which indicates that very aggressive children tend to seek out situations with greater likelihood of violence than less aggressive children. This suggests that predatory violent offenders may selectively choose associates and situations where stimulus to violence are most prevalent.

Extinction of predatory violence involves withdrawal of reinforcement for violence, and its replacement with



rewarding nonviolent behavior. When reinforcement is withdrawn, actors may briefly act out increased violence, in striving for previous rewards. Part of the rehabilitative task involves teaching new social skills to offenders; behavior which Bandura calls "pacifying moves" (255) which reduce interpersonal conflicts, while maintaining self-esteem of the actors. Most often, actors choose their behavior, but where adequate social skills have not been learned, choices are made from a restricted set of alternatives. Learning new social skills provides both cognitive strategies as well as specific responses. Treatment agents need to devalue assaultiveness and demonstrate this in their own behavior. Despite theoretical principles for changing violent behavior, few violent offenders in prison receive treatment for such problems in the U.S. (Wolfgang and Weiner (1982:336). The issue of social skills of predatory violent offenders is discussed in Chapter V, using a validated instrument to measure skills in managing anger, among the delinquent sample.

In Wolfgang and Weiner's anthology on criminal violence (1982), Megargee examines factors related to the strength of violent responses, considering it to be an automatic process, he refers to as the "algebra of aggression" (1982:124). Internalized motivators of violence include the actor's idea of what will be rewarding behavior, and the strength of violent habits, based on previous



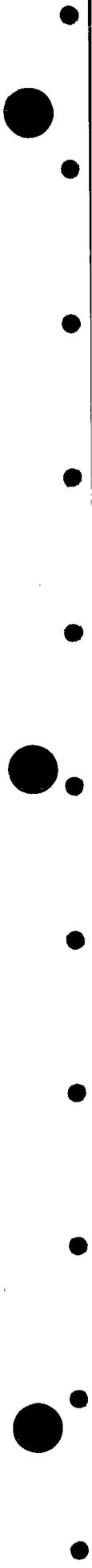
conditioning history. Against the strength of these motivators for violence, is the strength of inhibiting factors which may dissuade the actor from violence. Conscience and likelihood of punishment contribute to the strength of inhibitions (1982:126). Environmental factors which act as stimuli in the situation comprise a third factor influencing whether or not violence will result in a situation. Finally, the actor makes a choice based on his/her assessment of which response is likely to meet the greatest among current needs, at the least risk. Megargee terms this factor competition, or the weighing of immediate needs versus perceived costs of behavior. When the sum of motivating factors exceeds the sum of inhibitory factors, a violent act is possible, but still in competition with other possible responses. In emphasizing inhibitory processes, counterbalancing motivators for violence, Megargee's "algebra of aggression" parallels the control/containment position. Without relatively strong learned inhibitions, an actor who has learned violent behavior and cognitions remains susceptible to choosing violence in a variety of social situations. According to this perspective, predatory violent offenders are likely to have internalized fewer inhibitions than most citizens, and are likely to have learned violent cognitive interpretations and skills with success.

In 1977 Lefkowitz et al. used a longitudinal design



to study school children over a ten year period, using self-reports and peer rating scales. They conclude that peer ratings of aggressiveness by third graders significantly predicted self-reports of high use of aggression ten years later (1977:76-78). While the aggressiveness measure is not a measure of only physical violence, they conclude that aggressive behavior patterns appear to often be learned early in life, and maintained as a stable repertoire of behavior over time. Other studies identify positive correlations between parental use of harsh physical punishment and later aggression among children (Berelson and Steiner, 1964:72) Such practices would model aggression and perhaps serve to maintain aggressive or violent behaviors among adolescents. Inconsistent parenting or rejection of children by a parent have also been cited factors correlated with aggression among children, but whether these findings help explain predatory violence remains unknown, until further research is done.

The issue of motives for violence are explainable in behaviorist terms as being learned goals which arise from actors' experiences. In many cases violent acts may be chosen because they serve several learned motives, as in the case where the need to belittle or harm someone corresponds with an opportunity to also attain dominance or acquire some property. Berelson and Steiner (1964:256-257) catalog some learned motives characteristic of North American culture.



The behaviorist implication is that learned motivations increase the complexity of the algebra of aggression, making the task of predicting behavior exceedingly difficult, for a number of learned motives, combining in a single situation, act together additively as stimuli favoring or inhibiting violent acts. Conditioning histories of North Americans differ sufficiently to produce countless patterns of motivation for violence.

Closely related to social learning theories and social behaviorism are symbolic interactionist and labeling perspective. These have been applied to the study of deviance, and take into account previously unconsidered factors related to predatory violence. Becker, for example (1963), examines deviance as a process in which being publicly labeled for one's deviance tends to shift the symbolic status of the offender, potentially altering self-concept and social responses toward the offender, which changes the range of available social opportunities, including roles available to him/her. Being defined as violent, therefore becomes a significant event, capable of altering negatively the value attributed to an actor, shifting of individual status which may either help deter further violence, or push the offender toward choosing a deviant career. Therefore, young people who commit violent acts may receive negative labels of violent delinquent, and may subsequently be dismissed from school, or sent to an



institution, for example. If children so labeled react angrily, and learn to justify their use of violence, accepting the violent label, they will be very likely to so behave again. This process may lead to the actor developing commitments to a violent identity, life style, and pattern of selecting social roles. If the labeling process and secondary deviation are meaningfully related to predatory violence this implies delinquent then may seek out reinforcement from other delinquent or violent persons or groups. Becker envisions the final step in acquiring deviant career as movement into an organized group of deviants who share common interests in the same activity. Whether young predatory violent offenders tend to join with others in committing violent acts is explored in Chapter V. The question of whether societal "dramatization of evil" (Tannenbaum, 1938) plays any direct role in altering self-image and behavior choices is difficult to determine, as this relates to whether social opportunities become restricted in any significant manner, so the deviant has greatly restricted social choices. In Chapter V the frequency of societal attention to misbehavior is explored in reference to frequency and seriousness of violent acts among predatory violent youth. Lemert (1951) discusses the meaning of secondary deviation as the point at which the deviant has altered his own self-concept, his cognition of the world, and organized his life around social roles



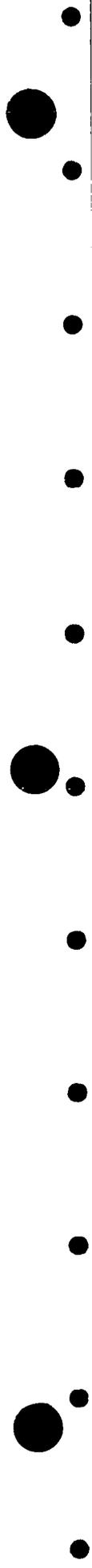
congruent with the deviant label assigned to him. Whether this relates to predatory violent offenders is yet unknown, but among those who have been institutionalized through the mental health and juvenile justice systems for violent behavior, the dynamic of labeling warrents investigation. In this study, many sample cases do not have long official histories of having been labeled as violent, though most were earlier labeled delinquent, which may be sufficient to set in motion the changed self-definition which Becker and Lemert identify.

The labeling perspective places the origins of predatory violence at the time when society begins officially sanctioning behavior as violent or delinquent, whereas other learning perspectives place its origins at the point of social reinforcement for such behavior. In Chapter V predatory violent youth are examined for both their histories of learning violence at home (reinforcement), and the frequency with which social institutions such as families, school, employers, programs and institutions expelled them from conventional social roles.

Returning to the idea that heterogenous societies produce conditions favorable to learning deviant motives, and conditioning favorable to violence, Matza (1965) proposes that social life affords young people the opportunity to learn about deviant as well as conventional motives, values, and behavior. Young people in North America



situationally drift between acts which are conventional and those which are deviant, depending upon their feelings and situational stimuli. In this way, youth who usually behave conventionally may act violently occasionally, where it appears the situation affords rewards for such behavior, and where violence may be rationalized to be correct, as where conventional norms are neutralized by alternative points of view. For Matza, current social conditions such as peer-dominated social activities, and the length of time spent away from parental supervision, place youth in situations where they are likely to occasionally drift into delinquent behavior, theoretically including some violence. To apply Matza's formulation of drift to predatory violence, one must suppose that norms against physical violence are readily neutralized in certain social situations, and that a small proportion of youth often find themselves in situations where physical violence seems to be rewarding and outside the controls of parents and other agents of social control. Where teenagers use violence repeatedly, their victims may tend also to be teenagers, for violence against adults would seem more risky and usually less rewarding for perpetrators. Violence may be more likely to occur in youth interactional settings such as schools, football games and rock concerts. In Chapter V self-reported felony level violence is examined for the delinquent sample, and a high school sample without labels of delinquency.



Discussion. Social learning, social behaviorist, and labeling perspectives provide some understanding of predatory violence which are not fully explored, but are consistent with basic principles of sociology. Molm (1981: 153) defines behavioral sociology as the use and extension of reinforcement theories to the study of social phenomena, and argues that this approach is not restricted to analysis of individual behavior. Since rewards are social, with clear relationship to culture and the life of social institutions, behavioral sociology provides a dynamic model for studying social behavior. In relation to predatory violence, these approaches allow us to logically account for processes by which individuals construct elaborate sequences of violent behavior, and maintain them over time, particularly in heterogenous cultures where conditioning experiences vary widely.

Conflict Theory

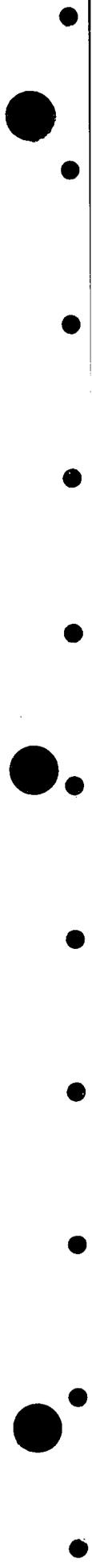
Conflict theory analyzes violence as structurally induced by conditions of social inequality in access to economic and socially desirable resources. Violence is utilized in many forms within society, but only when used by members of less powerful political segments is it defined as criminal violence and given penal sanctions. Legitimated forms of violence are commonly utilized to maintain the status quo, so that politically powerful interest groups,



those with large property holdings, maintain their power dominance in capitalistic North American society. Police, prison guards, and military are utilized to control less powerful segments of the population, and part of the system for maintaining current power relations consists of processing less powerful deviants through the criminal and juvenile justice systems. The criminal law is a tool for maintaining unequal relationships between social classes in society (Chambliss, 1973; Sellin and Wolfgang, Eds., 1966; Vold, 1958; Turk, 1969).

Conflict and Marxist approaches to deviance imply that unequal relationships between groups create pressures for deviance on powerless groups, originating from pressures of economic survival and lack of social opportunities, primarily in areas of social life attached to the economy. Cazenave, for example (1981) in McAdoo (Ed.), pp. 176-181), discusses how lower class American black men culturally find it impossible to attain their manhood as an earned identity, when structural arrangements make it nearly impossible for such men to earn a living for their families. Lower class black men are pressured into proving their masculinity in non-conforming ways, Cazenave argues.

The radical approach does not provide clear understanding of predatory violence however, for victims are often also from relatively powerless social strata, and much violence is not directly motivated by economic



conditions. Some black male robbers could be analyzed from this perspective, yet there is no logical manner to explain a direct link between pressures of relative political powerlessness and repeated violence among young people. Directly, most predatory violence does not appear to be politically motivated, and females, despite often extreme poverty, tend not to be violent. On the point of violence being used by the state to enforce status arrangements, setting an example of legitimated violence due to state power, the conflict perspective seems closely akin to learning theory and labeling positions. If violent symbolism is part of the culture, and used to control relatively powerless segments of the population, this provides a model legitimating the use of violence in society, a "might makes right" example which some citizens learn. Studies of values in North American culture, however, indicate most people do not subscribe to a might makes right value system. The powerful classes are not alone in subscribing to values of nonviolence. It is not credible to subscribe a direct causal relationship between violence among North American police, and military, as a "cause" of predatory violence, but the relationship between use of state violence to control crime or engage in warfare may influence overall rates of violent crime. It is questionable whether any sizable proportion of the North American population supports the use of predatory violence as defined



in this study, but the question requires further investigation. Erlanger (1974) found no major approval for interpersonal violence among various social classes or racial categories in the United States. On the point that North American culture is steeped historically in violence is not debatable (e.g., Sellin and Wolfgang, Eds., 1966:28-35), but it is not sound to argue a direct cause between legitimation of historical violence in American life and present predatory violence, for to do so overpredicts the prevalence of the phenomenon, and ignores the counter symbolism of peaceful cooperation among diverse groups in American life.

The conflict perspective shares with labeling, a focus upon the process of interpreting behavior officially as deviance, or illegitimate violence. These perspectives recognize that much violence is tolerated or even considered socially laudible behavior. Conflict theorists view law as a tool of the privileged classes, used to label and ultimately control the less powerful (Chambliss, 1974; Quinney, 1974), particularly when a capitalist economy has created surplus labor, so that many people remain perpetually unable to earn a living under existing relationships. Despite its appeal, there is little convincing connection apparent between predatory violence and capitalist economic conditions or the framing of criminal laws against violence, per se. Though more research is needed, it does not appear that most powerless groups subscribe to predatory physical



violence, nor does this appear to be only a lower class or underclass phenomenon. If lower classes legislated felony laws it is doubted that most laws would disappear. In Chapter V the relationship between social class and predatory violence is examined for the sample, and the nondelinquent student sample. What the conflict perspective suggests is that much upperworld behavior might also be considered violent, so that the present law is restrictive in sanctioning "street crimes" while not sanctioning behavior of privileged classes. To expand our definitions of criminal violence will not change the category of predatory violence used here in the sense of physical violence only. Nor goes the existence of upperworld crime legitimate predatory violence (Toby, 1979:524). The idea of the law having political uses for controlling dissident powerless elements in the population, does not explain predatory violence sufficiently to dismiss the phenomenon as a matter of political economy, as Taylor, Walton and Young propose (1973).

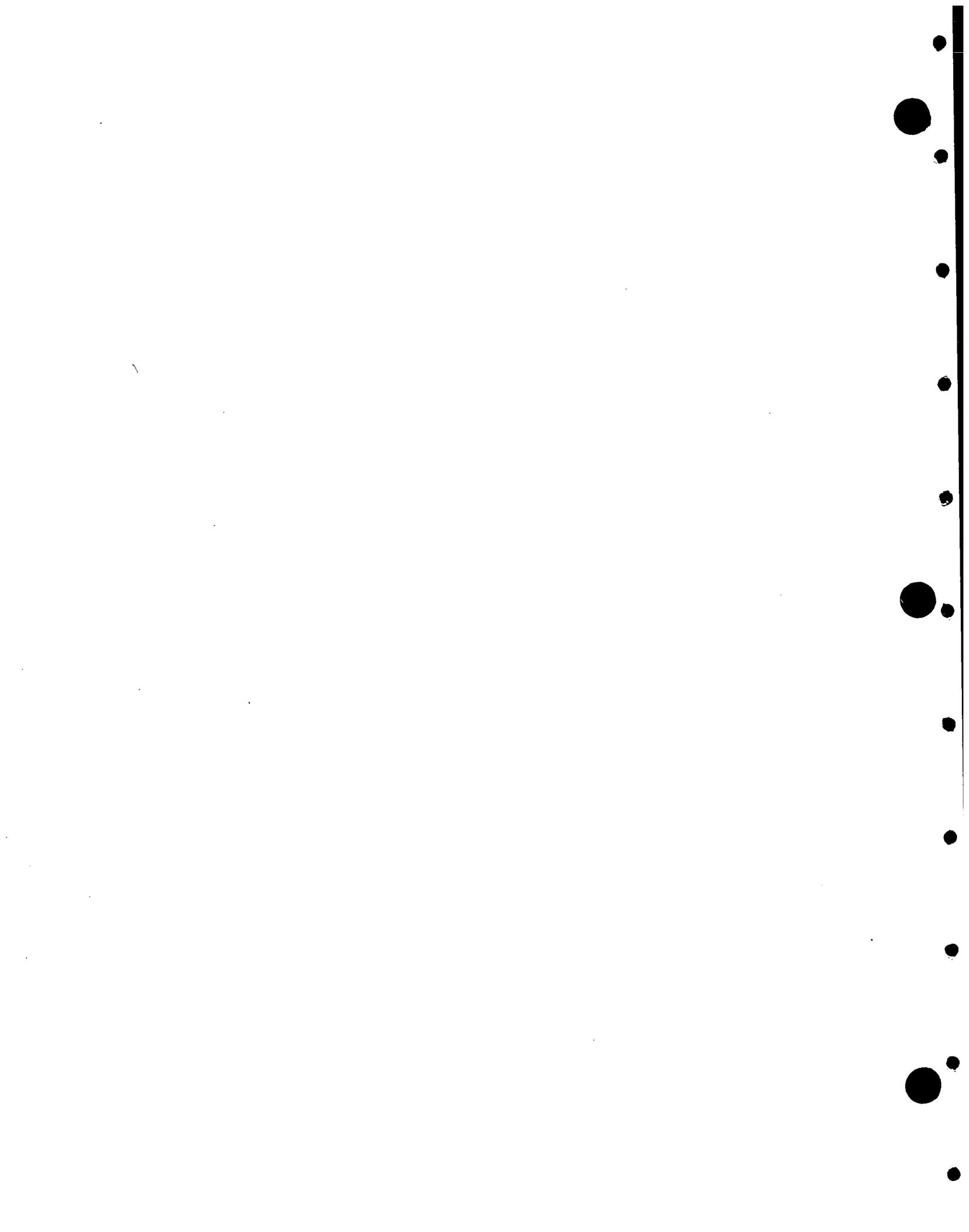


Free Will

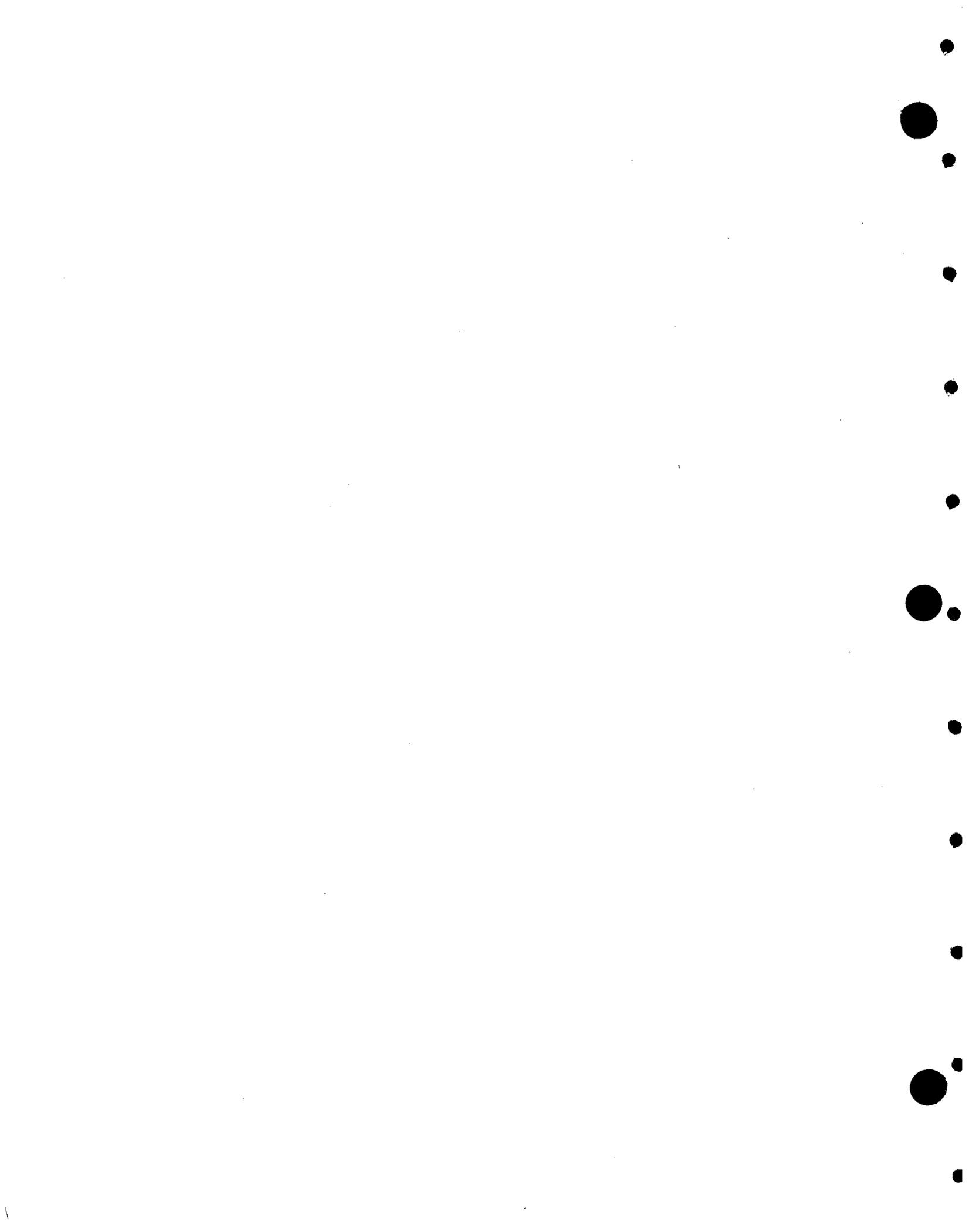
The classical school of criminology is most identified with the thinking of Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham, whose interests in crime and its deterrence were protests against the widespread use of the death penalty and torture in Europe. Influenced by utilitarian and social contract philosophies of the 1700's, Beccaria viewed all crime as acts against society, and called for prompt, certain punishment at a level of severity scaled according to harm done to society (Hagan, 1985: 13). His was an argument for deterrence of crime. To survive as a society, citizens are rightly constrained from harming society, and exercise free will in choosing their behavior. Fear of punishment is essential to constraining human choices of behavior, thus the law should prescribe punishments appropriate to the harm done society for all criminal acts, the accused judged only on the facts pertaining to guilt or innocence (Vold and Bernard, 1986: 19-25), and punishments given equally for the same crime.

Bentham called for penalties for crime just exceeding the rewards derived from criminal behavior, and like Beccaria, called for greater economy in using punishment (Hagan, 1985: 16).

The free will perspective on crime control continues to dominate public policy concerning crime control and individual responsibility for criminal acts, but with notable modifications from Beccaria and Bentham's proposals, such as use of the death penalty, considerations of offender age and mental capacity, lengthy court processing which removes clear associations between criminal acts and punishment, and plea bargaining, to name a few. In regard to predatory violence, the free will perspective has two applications. Predatory offenders gain some rewards from choosing to commit violence, and are not being adequately punished by society for their misdeeds. Calculating the probability of successfully committing violent crimes on a repeating basis, predatory offenders will continue



to harm society until punishment becomes sure, swift and appropriate for their crimes. Assertion that criminals freely choose to commit their crimes is the basis of criminal responsibility before the law, and appeals to the "common sense" belief in our culture that people often commit crimes instrumentally to derive some benefit. Thus, in this research, several variables are tested for the sample, which reflect behavior on the part of offenders in violent acts, which clearly are carried by choice, reflecting the free will of offenders. These variables are identified and discussed in later chapters.



CHAPTER III

The steadily increasing scholarly study of violent behavior does not appear to yield much gain in the analysis and understanding of violent behavior. How is this to be explained? The lagging state of our scholarly knowledge of violent behavior is a reflection of the difficulties in isolating and studying the effective factors that are involved in violent behavior.

Herbert Blumer Athens, 1980: IV)

To what extent are principles from current theories of violence upheld in empirical tests of the research sample? Among institutionalized delinquents in the sample, what characteristics are common to the total sample, and which differentiate the subsample of predatory violent offenders from low violence offenders? Which combination of variables derived from theory best account for predatory violence in the sample? This chapter presents the variables, procedures and methods utilized to derive and interpret the empirical findings in answer to these questions.

The Population

Conceptually, there is a large population of young people in the United States with violent behavioral problems, whose violence impacts schools, neighborhoods, and communities. The number of youth who might be categorized as violent or predatory violent is unknown, but we know that as in other forms of delinquency or crime, most acts of violence are not responded to by formal sanctions. It appears that social responses, when they do occur, are shared by a wide array of child-serving agencies in the United States. Mental health clinics



and hospitals, public welfare, schools, private social agencies and practitioners, private institutions, and civic organizations, all provide a net of services for behaviorally-troubled youth, in addition to the formal juvenile and adult criminal justice systems. From a research perspective, this population is important to extend our understanding of predatory violence, yet presently is nearly impossible to sample nationally with accuracy. Indeed, some predatory violent persons may never come under correctional supervision, while thousands of lesser offenders are sanctioned yearly. Therefore, the population utilized here involves the population of juveniles incarcerated for felonies in Ohio Department of Youth Services facilities during late 1983 to 1985.

Sampling and Estimation

From a list of all DYS facilities, a two-stage sampling procedure was used, first randomly selecting five facilities, using a random number table with a random start, then at each site, randomly selecting case files using the same procedure, to obtain respondents (Sudman, 1976:50-52).

Financial and time factors were considered to obtain the largest sample possible, given available resources. A large sample was required to assure inclusion of sufficient predatory violent cases, and to make analysis possible with a large number of variables. Six days of field work at each site was estimated, with time communication with administrators and line staff, gathering of respondents to solicit their participation, administering three survey instruments, and reading



case files to gather data. In practice, some sites required additional days, because many respondents were not easily accessible: some were in disciplinary isolation, while others were in transit to court hearings. Additional field time was taken to minimize the loss of selected cases.

A total sample of 405 cases was drawn, but with voluntary participation, 16 youth declined, or were lost by release, AWOL status from the institution, lengthy absence from the institution due to court hearings. Lost cases are distributed with two at Cuyahoga Hills Boys School; six at Buckeye Youth Center; three at Indian River School, two at Scioto Villedge, and three at Riverview School For Boys. The files of lost cases were examined to determine whether they represent a particular bias in the findings. Four predatory violent cases were lost, but considerations of age, race and social class, revealed no distinct bias among the lost cases. Loss of four predatory violent cases does not significantly effect the total sample, as approximately one-third of the remaining sample consisted of predatory violent cases, compared to only 25 percent of the lost cases.

Comparing the sample with data descriptive of the total DYS institutional population, revealed that all levels of security (low, medium and maximum) are included in the final sample; all geographic areas of Ohio are represented; the full range of ages of DYS youth are represented; both sexes, and representative types of committing offenses are included (Ohio Department of Youth Services, 1984). Latest available figures indicated that approximately 1,511 juveniles were housed in DYS facilities during 1984 (Ohio Department of Youth Services,



1985:1), so the representative sample accounts for nearly 26 percent of the total DYS population. In respect to sexual distribution, the sample overrepresents females, with 23 percent (88 cases) of the sample composed of females, while only 16 percent (125 cases) of the total DYS population was composed of females. This problem could have been managed by setting a field limit on the sample size drawn, but as this was not done during the field work, the cases are included. As females proved less violent than most males, this suppresses some data for the total sample, so caution is needed in interpretation. Separate regression is carried out for females to control for the effects of gender on those findings. Inclusion of 88 female cases has the advantage of allowing sturdy application of multiple regression analysis for the subsample of female cases, and meaningful crosstabulation of some variables by sex, with sufficient cases in all cells to meaningfully interpret the data.

Use of an institutionalized population for research on deviance involves an obvious disadvantage of producing findings which are not generalizable to the general population of all American youth with violent behavioral problems. With this in mind, the study is conceptually explanatory of institutionalized delinquents, rather than causal in orientation. The sample reflects the biases of all institutional samples: low SES, minority group overrepresentation and lower average IQ scores, yet has the strength of having a large number of predatory violent cases, and rather uniform reporting of relevant data on the behavior and social backgrounds of respondents, not as readily available with noninstitutionalized subjects. The



findings are interpreted only for this sample, though investigation indicated that delinquents institutionalized in Ohio are likely to be similar to those institutionalized in other midwestern states in terms of social class, urbanicity, race, and age.¹ The institutional status of respondents is expected to suppress relationships between some variables and may produce some spurious relationships. For these reasons, findings are not generalized beyond the sample, and replication of the study with other samples is warranted (Campbell and Stanley, 1963:5-17).

Research Design

A single cross sectional survey design is utilized (Spector, 1981: 32-34) to obtain data in one step by examining case records and administering three appropriate, validated survey instruments to respondents, using group administration procedures. Cost and time considerations make this design more effective than longitudinal, or true experimental designs. Critical to implementation of the design was access to ODYS respondents, and voluntary cooperation of selected respondents.

Researching deviant behavior in institutional settings necessitates gaining requisite cooperation of administrators who are

¹Several sources were examined to evaluate whether Ohio is typical demographically of the general population of midwestern states. Though Ohio appears to incarcerate a larger proportion of juveniles in state institutions than Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Indiana or Kentucky (McGarrel and Flanagan, Sourcebook, 1984, 1985: 102), Ohio is typical in terms of income distribution (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1981:Vol. 4), and in terms of racial, age and urbanicity (Bureau of Census, U.S.A. Statistics In Brief, 1983).



legally responsible for protection of institutional populations, and protection of the public. To gain cooperation of ODYS administrators at the state level, and at selected sites, paperwork was submitted in accord with ODYS policy. Approval was received to research cases with full access to records and respondents, with the understanding that confidentiality and voluntary participation of respondents be maintained. During the field work, a new governor entered office, and subsequent changes in ODYS administration necessitated submission of paperwork a second time, fortunately with continued approval for the research.

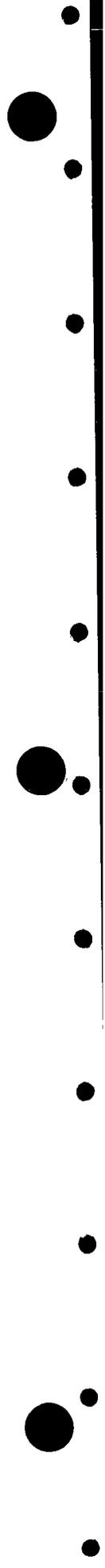
Access to respondents was facilitated by the researcher's familiarity with ODYS policy, procedures, and population characteristics. As a ten year employee of the agency, the researcher was familiar with the organization, and case record system. During preparation of the design, this familiarity allowed construction of variables which could be measured with some accuracy, with minimal missing data utilizing case record information as well as survey instruments. The system for gathering case materials on Ohio delinquents is quite uniform and extensive. As youth enter an institution, reports are placed in central files which include historical accounts of family characteristics, school records, previous institutional behavior, psychological test results, previous placements, court records, probation reports, medical records, interviews with parents and victims. Familiarity with the records made it possible for the researcher to obtain missing reports and carry out essential communication with staff, effectively. Therefore, the case file documents significant family characteristics,



behavioral history and record of societal responses to each delinquent. Where researchers are familiar with case record procedures, and their limitations, Hakim (1983:489-519) advocates use of records as a rich source of research data. In this instance, case records provided a range of information descriptive of each case, and provided measurement of some conceptual units in two ways, with objective case reports as well as self reports. Files were also used in cross-checking self-reports with objective reports of similar behavior, a procedure used to validate the self-report questionnaire designed by the researcher.

Familiarity with ODYS procedures was also useful in carrying out the field work. The researcher administered survey questionnaires to groups of respondents without the presence of other ODYS staff, symbolically affirming for participants that the research was separate from, and confidential, having no bearing upon their status within the institution. Participants received letters of appreciation for their cooperation, with these letters given to social workers for placement in each case record. Administration of the instruments was aided by the fact that some youth at each site knew the researcher, which reduced the need to test limits with the researcher. Where respondents were in disciplinary confinement, the researcher was allowed to administer the instruments individually in the locked cells.

A large sample is essential to the tasks of describing and analyzing a large number of variables across various categories of respondents: predatory violent offenders, females, blacks, and those from lower or middle class homes. Large sample size facilitated statistical manipulation of the data for various subcategories with



assurance that enough cases would be assigned to categories to make the findings meaningful. Large sample size also reduced the standard error in statistical procedures where regression equations are produced and descriptive measures are applied to the full sample, increasing the sturdiness of the findings (Warwick and Lininger, 1975:92-95).

The fact that a conceptual basis for predatory violence exists in the literature on violence, has been shown in Chapters I and II. From the literature, a set of descriptive and predictor variables measured at an interval level or as dummy variables are developed and applied analyzed for the sample. In Chapter IV empirical results are presented, and then interpreted in Chapter V. Only finding significant at the .05 level of probability or less are reported. In the following pages, key terms are theoretically defined and then described in operational terms.

Violence

Philosophically, the concept of violence includes the purposeful introduction of noxious, harmful stimuli to another person or persons. This could include use of verbal as well as physically overt, noxious stimuli. Philosopher Miller's award winning essay (in Shaffor, Ed., 1971) is instructive in this regard. For Miller, violence contains elements of overt, non-accidental behavior which harms the recipient in some marked way. It may be behavior which harms one's social standing, degrades, constrains, physically harms, or is likely to injure a recipient. This broad conceptual definition is the approach assumed in the research at hand. Major predictor variables utilized in the factor



analysis and multiple regression portions of data analysis are presented in Table 2.

Physical Violence

Non-accidental and physically non-defensive introduction of physical stimuli to another person, which takes the form of slapping, pushing, hitting, battery with a heavy object, fighting, sexual toughing without consent, rape, murder, arson of a specific person's property, or attempt to do any of the above-mentioned acts, is defined as physical violence for purposes of this study. The element of how great is the force used is not specifically considered here, rather it is assumed that victims or bystanders usually do not report to authorities trivial battery incidents. Terms contained within the above definition are themselves defined according to common dictionary meanings of those words.

Physical violence is operationalized as the frequency with which separate incidents of physical violence are reported in respondent case records, where incidents did not involve physical self-defense. This frequency was determined by reading all case files, carefully avoiding duplicate counts of the same incident, and adding the total sum of such incidents reported as the dependent variable, TPVI. Reports of violent incidents were placed in case files through police reports, victim interviews, family, school and employer interviews, and staff behavioral records in correctional institutions and community programs. Accounts only vaguely referred to were not counted. Incidents involving violence against more than one victim were counted as multiple incidents if more than one victim was actually attacked.

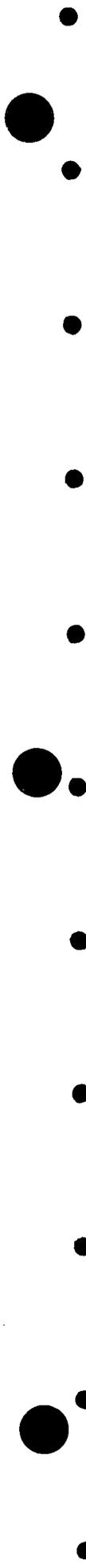


Table 2. Major Predictor Variables with Code Names, Descriptions, Operational Strategies and Theoretical Sources

Code Name	Description	Operational Source	Measurement Strategy	Reflective of Theoretical Approaches
TPVI	Total number of physically violent incidents	Case record reports	Each reported incident of non-defensive physical attack on another person is counted to produce a ratio level scale	--
WVIC	Total number of weaker victim selections	Case record reports	Each physical attack on a human victim described as smaller, age 11 or less, age 60 or more, or female (if offender is male), is counted to produce a ratio level scale	Free will
VB	Anger Management Skills	Inventory of Anger Communication	Respondent score on the IAC 50 higher scores reflect greater ignorance on managing anger effectively. Low scores reflect adequate skills in managing anger	Learning
VC	Role Failure Experiences	Case record reports	Each reported longterm removal from a role as determined by authority figures, based on the behavior of the respondent, counted to produce a ratio level scale	Labeling
VD	Asocial problem solving	Jesness Inventory	Respondent score on the asocial index of the Jesness inventory, measuring asocialization, or the tendency to transgress established behavioral norms	Learning Free will

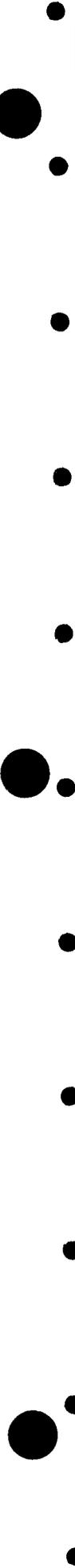


Table 2. (continued)

Code Name	Description	Operational Source	Measurement Strategy	Reflective of Theoretical Approaches
VF	Verbal violence use	Case record reports	Each reported incident of non-defensive threatening harrassment, or insult directed toward a specific person is counted to produce a	Free will Learning
SRFV	Self-reported family violence	Life Experiences Questionnaire	Respondent score on an eight item interval scale indicating self-reported violence between family members	Learning
HVIS	Highest violence seriousness	Case record report of most violent incident of physical violence	<p>Comparison of police reports and other case record descriptions of physical incidents of violence, counting only the scores of elements in the most serious incident. Seriousness is scores for these elements as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Permanent injury to victim----- 5 points Victim repeatedly stabbed, raped, shot or burned----- 4 points Victim aged 60 or over or below age 13----- 3 points Victim kidnapped during attack----- 3 points Offender armed----- 2 points Offender commits arson to property of victim during attack----- 2 points Offender uses force or deception to enter the crime scene----- 2 points 	Free will

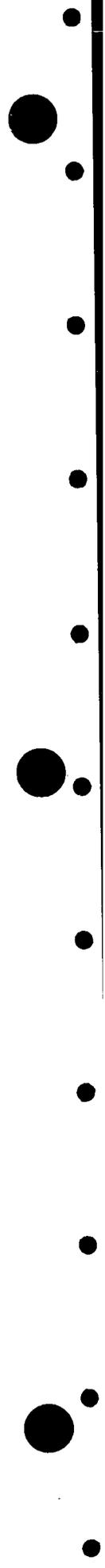


Table 2. (continued)

Code Name	Description	Operational Source	Measurement Strategy	Reflective of Theoretical Approaches
			More than one offender involved in attack-----1 point Offender high on drugs/alcohol during the attack-----1 point Victim forced to remove clothing-----1 point More than one victim in attack-----1 point Victim(s) is/are threatened during the attack-----1 point Victim's property is taken or destroyed during the attack-----1 point	
SNP	Deviant self/world view	Psychological Screening Inventory	Respondent score measuring self reported antisocial behavior on the non-conformity scale of the Psychological Screening Inventory, producing an interval scale	Learning
DWEAPY	Weapon users in violent incident(s)	Case record reports	Dummy variable indicating cases where a weapon (gun, knife, rifle, hand grenade) was displayed or used during an incident of physical violence	Free will
DCOPY	Co-offender(s) used in violent incident(s)	Case records reports	Dummy variable indicating cases where offender was accompanied by one or more companions during an incident of physical violence	Free will



Table 2. (continued)

Code Name	Description	Operational Source	Measurement Strategy	Reflective of Theoretical Approaches
DFMVY	Family member violence in the community	Case record reports	Dummy variable indicating cases where immediate family members once in the home have police records for violent crime or delinquency	Learning
DNCRY	High neighborhood crime rate	Case record reports	Dummy variable indicating cases where offenders come from reportedly high crime neighborhoods	Learning/ Structural or Conflicts
DFMCAY	Family member(s) chemical abuse	Case record reports	Dummy variable indicating cases where parents or siblings of offenders reportedly abuse drugs and/or alcohol	Conflict/ Societal Reaction or Labeling
DCHEMY	Respondent chemical abuse	Case record reports	Dummy variable indicating cases where respondents reportedly have abused drugs and/or alcohol	Free will
DMALEY	Male respondents	Case record reports	Nominal variable indicating male respondents	Structural/ Learning
DBLKY	Black respondents	Case record reports	Nominal variable indicating black respondents	Structural or Conflict/ Societal Reaction or Labeling



Table 2. (continued)

Code Name	Description	Operational Source	Measurement Strategy	Reflective of Theoretical Approaches
DLSESY	Lower class respondents	Case record reports	Categorized family SES using the system developed by Hollingshead and Redlich (1958), based on education and occupation of family head of household. Dummy variable indicating cases where family head of household has less than a high school education and is semiskilled or unskilled, with irregular employment.	Structural or Conflict



Predatory Violence Phenomenon

Cases containing reports of five or more incidents of physical violence as defined above, are defined as predatory violence cases. Respondents with no incidents of physical violence reported, or those with one or two such incidents are categorized as low/no violence cases on the dependent variable, while those cases reporting three or four incidents of physical violence are defined as the medium category on the dependent variable in its ordinal form.

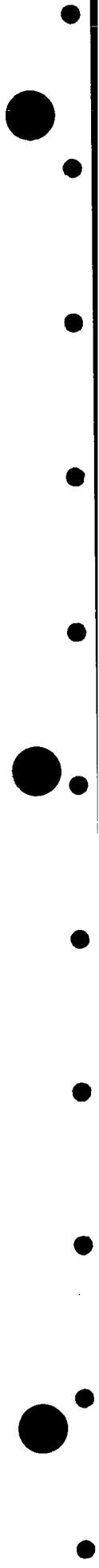
Past studies by Wolfgang, et al (1972), and Hamparian, et al (1978) utilized only court cases receiving dispositions, as the measure of physical violence use. Since court cases are often not prosecuted, or are plea negotiated, reduced, or otherwise withheld from disposition, this method of operationalizing frequency of physical violence appears biased toward severe underreporting. Vold (1958) and others have noted the critical difficulties of measuring deviance only using legally defined incidents. For instance, if students fought at school, but school authorities sanctioned offenders rather than the court, these incidents would not be counted using the Wolfgang/Hamparian measurement scheme. If offenders commit several violent offenses, but are prosecuted on only one of them, each would be counted as one offense only. For these reasons, here, all violent incidents reported in the case file specifically, are counted. A second measure was also taken of only officially disposed cases of violence to empirically test the differences between court reports of dispositions and all reported incidents of physical violence. This finding is reported in Chapter IV.



Highest Violence Seriousness Score

The definition of physical violence used here is general, including both minor acts of violence with no serious physical harm to the victim, as well as seriously harmful acts resulting in permanent injury or death, a msparate measure of seriousness was taken for the most violent incident reported for all respondents. Case file materials provided great detail on most violent offenses reported to police. This led to construction of a scale measuring the seriousness of elements in the single most violent incident (HVIS) reported. Conceptually this measures how dangerous an individual's conduct has become during his/her life history, concerning those violent incidents reported to authorities. The principal use for this measure is to compare frequency of violence use (TPVI) with seriousness (HVIS), to test for the sample whether predatory violent offenders tended to become involved in more serious (dangerous) acts of violence, or whether serious violence tended to be randomly distributed among offenders. This issue has been of interest to violence researchers for some time. The HVIS scale allows comparison of all offenders on how violent they have become during a known incident, ignoring overall histories of involvement with the courts and institutions.

To construct the HVIS interval level scale of violence seriousness, the works of Sellin and Wolfgang (1964), and more recently Wolfgang and Figlio (1984) provided assistance. Though the Sellin and Wolfgang index is aimed at determining a dangerousness score based on the offender's entire career of offending, and inclusion of non-violent offenses, the methodology developed to weigh legal elements of violent



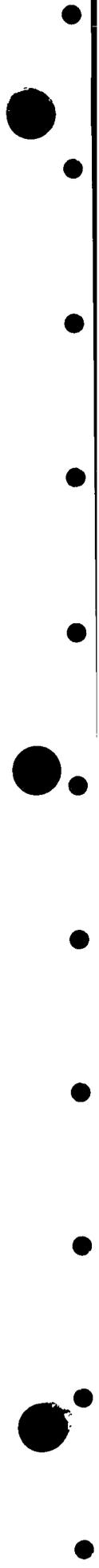
offenses was useful to the current problem. The weights applied to various elements of offenses are utilized in the HVIS scale, but other social circumstantial elements such as kidnapping, disparities between age of perpetrator and victim, use of co-offenders in the offense and sexual impositions not resulting in rape also weighted into the scale. In Table 3 the violent offense elements from the Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale are reproduced to indicate weights assigned to each element. Police investigative reports in the case files provided richer description of violent incidents than legal descriptions alone, so a number of additional elements representative of important dimensions of violent incidents were added, considering principles of appropriate unidimensional scaling techniques (ex. Gorden, 1977:25-38). Only elements which correspond to social elements of victim powerlessness, injury, embarrassment and fear are included to represent the dimensions of victimization. To add elements to the Sellin-Wolfgang scale, two sets of cards were prepared, each card describing a crime incident involving different elements in circumstances of each crime event. No reference was included concerning gender or relationships between perpetrators and victims. A group of 38 delinquents (not respondents in the sample), were asked to rank each set of cards into seriousness categories, and then assign point values to each category. Each worked out the rankings individually in a quiet office, and agreed not to discuss their choices with other participants. The average rankings, mean point values assigned, and proportional discrepancies between points assigned were then tabulated to obtain weights for the additional crime elements. The elements and their assigned weights are



Table 3. Violence Related Elements and Weights² Adapted from the Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale, as Applied to the HVIS Scale

Sellin-Wolfgang Elements	Weights
1. Victim received minor injuries	1
2. Victim injury required medical treatment followed by discharge	4
3. Victim injury required hospitalization	7
4. Victim injury resulted in death	26
5. Victim forced into sexual intercourse	10
6. Forcible rape victim was intimidated with a weapon	2
7. Victim of other violent crime was intimidated with a weapon	4
8. Victim was physically or verbally intimidated, but not injured physically.	2

²The Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness scale was developed by asking a sample of college students and police officers to rank the seriousness of events containing combinations of elements included in the scale. Review of the scale and reference to its applications are discussed by Smith and Alexander (1980) in Volume I, Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers. A National Assessment of Serious Juvenile Crime and The Juvenile Justice System: The Need for a Rational Response (7-9;67).



reported in Table 4. These scores are added to weights on the Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale to produce the total HVIS score for all respondents, based on their most violent single incident. The concept of highest violence seriousness conceptually refers to relative social harm done to the victim(s). Here the score is operationalized by reading the case file, adding together the weights of serious incidents reported, and coding only the total score for the most serious offense described. Police investigative reports and aftercare reports on victim injuries were used to determine the HVIS score for each case. Vague statements where events are not clearly noted were ignored. If findings indicate predatory violent offenders scored significantly higher than less violent offenders on HVIS, this would support a social behaviorist interpretation that practice of violence may increase as habit-strength increases. If predatory respondents are no more likely than others to commit very serious violent acts this would support a more situational interpretation, suggesting that social stimuli conducive to violence such as the presence of weapons, use of drugs and alcohol; group contagion and impersonization processes may be more important factors than prior learning experiences of the actors themselves. In Chapter IV the HVIS scale is tested against both TPVI and ordinal version of the dependent variable.

Anger Management Skills

The concept of social skill development in relation to deviant behavior and its correction is a common theme in social science literature. Conceptually, social skill levels refer to acquisition of

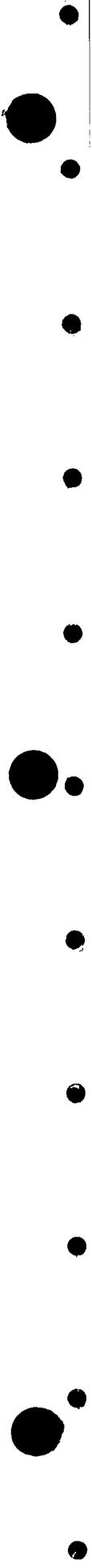


Table 4. Additional Violent Offense Elements Included in HVIS Scale, with Weights Assigned by Delinquents

Additional Violence	Weights (based on mean scores)
A. Victim receives <u>permanent</u> injury--such as loss of sight, loss of a limb, or reduced use of an arm, etc.	5
B. Victim is <u>repeatedly</u> stabbed, raped, burned, shot, or sodomized in the crime.	4
C. Victim is sixty years old or more.	3
D. Victim is under the age of 13.	3
E. Victim is kidnapped or left somewhere away from the original scene of the crime.	3
F. Offender is armed with a pistol, rifle, knife or some other weapon.	2
G. The offender sets fire to some property of the victim during the crime.	2
H. The offender deceives the victim or sneaks into a house or store uninvited, in order to commit the crime.	2
I. More than one offender is involved in the crime.	1
J. The offender is high on drugs or alcohol during the crime.	1
K. Victim is forced to take off their clothing.	1
L. During the crime, property belonging to a victim is destroyed or stolen.	1



appropriate behavior for resolving interpersonal problems in socially approved ways. Short and Strodbeck (1965) found poor social skill development among a sample of street gang members, but Hirschi's review of literature concluded there is little evidence that poor social skills alone help to explain delinquent behavior (Hirschi, 1969: 132). These opposing positions are tested with the sample, because if predatory violence is significantly related to social skill ignorance, this would have theoretical significance, suggesting that treatment intervention to train youth in social skills might help reduce or prevent predatory violent behavior. Social skill level (VB) is conceptualized as a single continuum upon which individuals differentially are placed relative to their ability to manage feelings of anger and act within dictates of approved norms. The concept of social skills includes diverse behavior largely unrelated to violence, so measurement of social skills here is limited to the management of anger, which relates appropriately to violent behavior. Anger management skill is operationalized as respondent scores on the Inventory of Anger Communication (IAC), a validated instrument of communication styles developed by Dr. Millard Bienvenu (1971 and 1976), who validated it with samples of clinical patients and college students, analyzing and discarding items failing to distinguish between high scorers and low scorers. Pretesting with delinquents was done prior to this study, and it was determined that the language and meanings of items are appropriate for use with teenagers, and may be utilized most effectively by reading items aloud to participants. Low scores on the IAC are interpretable as reflecting socially immature patterns of behavior in



managing anger, while high scores indicate sufficient skill in managing anger appropriately in most situations. Operationally, scores were reversed to facilitate interpretation, so that codes of 6, 7, and 8 represent extremely low anger management skills, while codes 1, 2, and 3 represent adequate to high skill levels on the IAC for convenience of statistical analysis. Dr. Bienvenu graciously consented to use of the IAC in this study without financial remuneration, in return for a copy of the findings.

Role Failure Experiences

The labeling and symbolic interactionist perspectives attend to the issues of how status degradation self-esteem and social responses to deviance interact to produce and perpetuate deviant careers (e.g., Goffman, 1967, 1963; Erikson, 1966; Dentler and Erikson, 1959). Public degradation ceremonies such as public knowledge of guilty verdicts are interpreted by Goffman and others as situations which reduce social status and change others' responses toward offenders, reducing opportunities for playing approved roles. From that perspective, status degradation events might include court placement of delinquents in foster homes or institutions due to offenses, expulsion of children from school, or loss of jobs for disciplinary reasons. If the labeling perspective is relevant to predatory violence, it would be expected that delinquents who experienced numerous role failures based on social responses to their deviance might also be more likely to play the deviant role of predatory violent offenders. Theoretically, those who experienced greater negative sanctioning by society, in the form of



removal from conventional roles, have less stake in playing conventional roles, and are therefore perhaps more receptive to taking on deviant roles and self-identities. For purposes of the study, role failures are defined as the long-term removal of an individual for any conventional social role, by persons in positions of authority within social institutions. Information concerning role removals from home, school, programs and jobs become public knowledge. Role failures symbolically may result in reduced social status, assignment to different roles, changes in opportunities available to the person, and possible assumption of deviant self-definition. For society, role failures represent a formal response to behavior considered maladaptive, and a signal to the perceived offender, that limits of tolerance have been exceeded (boundary-maintenance).

Role failure (VC) are operationalized as the frequency with which each respondent was reported to have been removed officially from any job, home, school, foster placement, treatment program, community organization or correctional institution by officials, for longer than five days, due to behavioral problems of the respondent. The case record of each respondent is the source of this data, using a coding sheet, and cross-checking dates to assure that no incident was counted twice. If respondents were removed from roles for reasons other than negative behavior, such instances were not counted. Measurement of the VC variable indicates wide variation in the frequency with which members of the sample experienced role failures.



Asocial Problem Solving

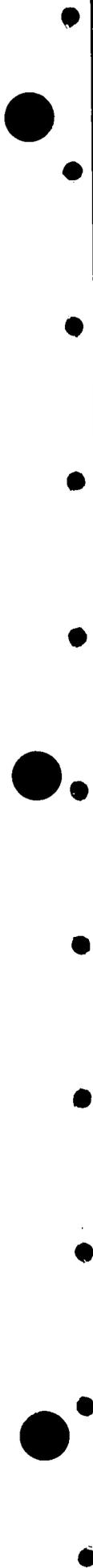
Carl Jesness developed the asocial index in studying California delinquents, and found scores on the asocial index most predictive of delinquent behavior (1972:16). Described as a general tendency to act in ways which violate social norms of the larger society, respondents are asked to agree or disagree with a list of items describing behaviors in a variety of settings. Using discriminate analysis, Jesness derived weights for items in the index. High scores reflect asocialization, or the tendency to ignore or perhaps remain unaware of social norms in one's behavioral responses. This variable is operationalized (VD) by determining the asocial index score for each respondent from the Jesness Inventory (Jesness, 1966), and treating them as an interval level scale. If predatory delinquents in the sample tend to score higher generally than other delinquents, both factors of learning history and possibly free will may be involved. If less violent respondents are as likely as predatory respondents to prefer asocial problem solving, then situational factors may be more salient in accounting for behavior, as Matza proposes (1964). If most youth learn norms and values of both conventional and criminal behavior styles, then situational cues and opportunities may be more influential than learning histories in determining behavioral choices. In Chapter IV the relationship between asocial problem solving and the dependent variable is examined for the sample.

Verbal Violence

Verbal violence is defined as written or oral communication which represents noxious stimuli directed nonaccidentally toward other



persons. Verbal violence may take the form of threatening, insulting, baiting or harrassing another. Conceptually, verbal violence assails or takes away from the social status, worthiness or self-esteem of its victim. Here the concept is operationalized as the frequency of reported incidents of verbal violence specified in case files of respondents. Again with a coding sheet, each file was read and cross-checked to assure incidents on a given date were not counted twice. Each incident was counted once, regardless of the number of victims, and incidents were not included if they were not clearly described as originating with the respondent. Only reports by adult authority figures or witnesses who reported incidents were included. Social behaviorist Staats (1975) stresses the connection between overt behavioral repertoires and attitudinal/cognitive behavior. If the learning process is the same, one would expect predatory violent youth to engage in more frequent verbal violence (VF). If verbal violence has a cathartic effect, however, releasing frustration of delinquents, it then could be considered as a less dangerous substitution for physical violence. In Chapter IV the relationship between verbal violence (VF) and physical use of violence (TPVI) is explored. In the case files, parents, police, crime victims, school authorities, and staff members in correctional programs, reported incidents in the case files. Respondents differed widely on the frequency of reported verbal violence, which took the form of threats, sexual harrassment, insults, and racial slurs. The time taken by authorities to write or report incidents of verbal violence suggest that only more serious incidents are generally reported. Often verbal violence preceeded physical



violence by the aggressor, or provoked the victim of verbal violence to become a physical aggressor.

Self Reported Family Violence

The idea that child abuse victimization or violence modeling by family members increases the probability of children reared in such homes becoming violent, has been suggested in the literature. The prevalence of violent crime in America has been linked to the prevalence of intrafamily violence being widely tolerated in the context of marital and child-raising customs (Steinmetz and Straus, Eds., 1974; Borland, Ed., 1976; Elmer, 1979; Farrington, 1975; Gelles, 1972 and 1978; Gil, 1970; Goode, 1971; Kadushin and Martin, 1981; Klaus and Rand, 1984; Kratcoski and Kratcoski, 1983; Owens and Straus, 1975; Newberger and Cook, 1983). Learning theories propose that exposure to violent models who appear to be rewarded by their conduct, invites children to learn violence and rationalize its use. If these assertions are correct, predatory violent youth may be more likely than their peers, to have been raised in violent homes. Even where delinquents were not victimized personally by family member violence, the exposure to such violence may have taught youngsters violent techniques and their justifications. Sutherland's theory of differential association (Sutherland and Cressey, 1960) attends to this principle, emphasizing that much learning takes place within intimate groups, particularly when those with whom one interacts are intensely significant to the actor. Adams, Burgess and Akers (Halbasch, 1979) also affirm the importance of small intimate family groups in socializing members,

shaping their conduct with reinforcement.

The method of operationalizing intrafamily violence is difficult due to the privacy surrounding family life in American culture. Therefore, no true measure of physical violence between family members is known. For purposes of research it is relevant to measure whether a large proportion of predatory violent delinquents have been exposed to intrafamily violence, and whether less violent offenders were significantly less likely to be exposed to violence within family life. In Chapter IV the relationships between respondent use of physical violence (TPVI) and self-reported family violence (SRFV) are examined. Self reported family violence was operationalized as the score on a scale constructed as a self-report of physical violence between various combinations of family members. A high score on the scale represents exposure to numerous incidents of violence within the home between several sets of family members. Low scores represent physical violence between few (or no) family members. The scale ignores the frequency of how often acts take place between members. A complete description of scale items (SRFV) is given in Table 5.

To determine a measure of the validity of the SRFV scale, fifty cases were randomly selected, and objective case file reports of known child abuse or spouse abuse in the home were compared with scores on the self report scale (SRFV). In 94 percent of the cases, there was correspondence between results, with three or more points scored on the SRFV scale in cases where family violence was objectively reported in the case file, and no more than two points were scored on SRFV in most cases reporting no reported violence within the home. Two problems

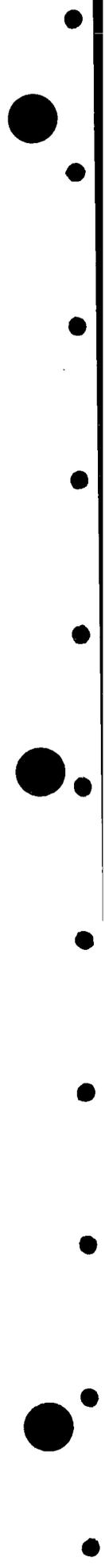
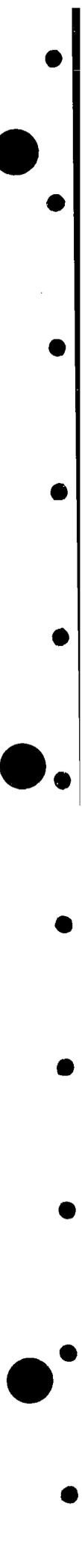


Table 5. Self-Reported Family Violence Scale Items from the Life Experiences Questionnaire

Scale Items
One of my parents/stepparents beat up the other one.
I was never beaten up by someone in my family.
One of my parents/stepparents hit the other one.
Sometimes my brothers or sisters fight with fists.
One of my parents/stepparents hit one of my brothers, sisters or myself more than once, pretty hard.
Someone in my family was forced to do something shameful by another person in the family.
None of the kids in my family ever hit one of my parents/stepparents.
I never saw anyone on my family fight with an outsider.



exist with any measure of intrafamily violence, however. Official reports are likely to underreport prevalence of violence, and some respondents are likely also to underreport such behavior in the home. It is unlikely that much overreporting took place in the sample, but some underreporting is likely. Overall, the 94 percent correspondence between the two measures gives confidence that the measure has adequate validity for this research.

Deviant Self/World View

Miller (1958) described lower class American culture as generating different values and priorities for lower class male gang members. Concepts like trouble, excitement, risk-taking, individual toughness, independence, and group cohesiveness were discussed as focal concerns of lower class males, a fact placing them often in conflict with middle class norms of the dominant culture. Using Merton's terminology (1938), some people are more likely to make behavioral choices the dominant culture would consider innovative or rebellious, and therefore deviant. In this research it is relevant to test whether predatory violent delinquents are significantly likely to score high on a scale of social nonconformity, and whether less violent delinquents do not significantly score high on social nonconformity. High scores indicate high agreement with beliefs of incarcerated adults. If predatory violent youth do significantly score high on the scale, it suggests they view the world as corrupt, and themselves as deviant. The concept of deviant self/world view refers to a tendency to support beliefs related to trouble, excitement, risk-taking,



defiance of authority and physical toughness. The concept is operationalized by administering the social nonconformity scale from the Psychological Screening Inventory, developed by Lanyon (1972), and validated by comparing responses of various samples with those of imprisoned felons. High scores reflect beliefs found to differentiate adult felons from samples of students and other noncriminal subjects (1972:21). Lower scores reflect greater agreement with normative views of the world and self.

Weaker Victim Selection

Initially, data from the case records was coded to gather information on the relationship between delinquents and victims of violent offenses. Preliminary data analysis revealed that very few offenders chose victims physically weaker than themselves. Weaker victim selection was so rare that it was decided to code it as a separate predictor variable, reflective of the free will theoretical perspective, to investigate whether it helps explain predatory violence within the sample.

The literature on victimization consistently indicates in the United States, that young males between the ages of 16-24, disproportionately from low income, and minority groups, suffer the greatest rates of crime victimization (U.S. Department of Justice, 1983:18-21). This makes sense if one considers that young males frequent areas, such as streets, bars and other public places where street crimes are commonly carried out. Preliminary findings with the sample, and aggregate victimization statistics suggest that selection



of victims is probably not random, and more than ecological availability of groups may be involved in the distribution of victimization. In a purely instrumental way, the easiest victims would be young children, the handicapped, the elderly, and some women. Violent victimizations against peers, adults, police and other authority figures would involve greater risk to offenders of resistance by victims. Nevertheless, if violence is used to gain social esteem or status, then stronger victims may serve the purpose better than less physically able victims, because challenging a stronger victim could be used to demonstrate toughness, courage, and defiance of authority figures.

Weaker victim selection (WVIC) is operationalized as an interval scale reporting the frequency of physically violent acts against persons described as age eleven or younger, reportedly weaker physically handicapped persons, peers, adults over the age of sixty, or females (not included for female respondents). In this study it is assumed that most respondents would consider weaker victims physically less able to defend themselves. In Chapter IV the WVIC scores for respondents are tested with the violence use scale (TPVI), to determine whether predatory violent offenders are significantly more likely to select weaker victims than are less violent youth. If this finding is significant, further research is warranted with other samples, to study whether selection of weaker victims begins early in violent careers, or whether it arises later, as habit strength and learned elaboration of violence develop. It is possible that selection of weaker victims is a low-risk means to obtain money quickly.



Data Analysis

There are four goals of the analysis. The first is to describe characteristics of the sample, concerning demographic data, social background and delinquent histories of respondents. This information provides a conceptual view of the total sample which distinguishes it from samples used in previous delinquency studies. The second task of analysis is to examine interrelationships among a set of variables derived from the theoretical literature on violence, and to test hypotheses drawn from the discussion in Chapter II, controlling for effects of sex, race, socioeconomic status, and age. Then factor analyses will be used to determine whether all four theoretical approaches contribute our understanding of predatory violence. Finally, with multiple regression, the best linear regression equation for explaining variance in the dependent variable will be determined. Collinearity and residuals are examined for violations of regression model assumptions.

In descriptive analysis, frequencies, means, standard deviations, standard errors, percentages, ranges and variances are reported for variables specified in Table 6. This provides descriptive representation of youth in ODYS facilities.

The second phase of analysis utilizes measures of association between discrete and continuous variables, including where appropriate, Kendall's tau, chi-square, phi, lambda, tau, gamma and Pearson's product-moment correlation squared. Significance is tested at the .05 level or less. Partial correlations are reported among variables derived from the literature to show the effects of age, sex, race and



Table 6. Descriptive Variables Reported for Delinquent Sample

Variables	Description of Variables
Site	Institutional origin of each respondent case.
Sex	Reported gender of each respondent
Age	Categorical indicator of respondent age in years at last birthday: ages 12-13, 14-15, 16-17, or 18-19.
Race	Reported nominal classification of respondent as black, Caucasian, or American Indian.
PHYSAB	Nominal classification of respondent as either having a medical diagnosis for any serious disease or physical abnormality (yes), or not such medical diagnosis reported in the record. Diagnoses found included heart disease, high blood pressure, sickle cell anemia, diabetes, burns, asthma, hyperactivity, arthritis, epilepsy, unspecified seizures, hearing loss, enuresis and deformed bones which did not mend properly after fracture.
PSYCHAB	Nominal classification indicating whether or not the respondent was ever diagnosed by a psychologist or psychiatrist as needing specific mental health treatment, based on reports in the record. Diagnoses included character disorders, conduct disorders, anti-social personality disorder, depression, conduct disorders, sociopathy, neurosis, identity disorder, and psychosis.
HOMEAR	Nominal classification of last respondent home address located in ODYS regions throughout Ohio: Akron-Youngstown; Athens; Cincinnati; Cleveland; Columbus; Dayton; Toledo; Out of Ohio.
URRU	Size of respondent's last home community, according to Census Bureau classification as large SMA (urban); small SMA (urban-suburban) or rural.
SES	Socioeconomic status of respondent family classified according to the Hollingshead and Redlich typology developed in 1958. Case file information of breadwinner's occupation, and education were used to classify respondent families. The following categories are used.

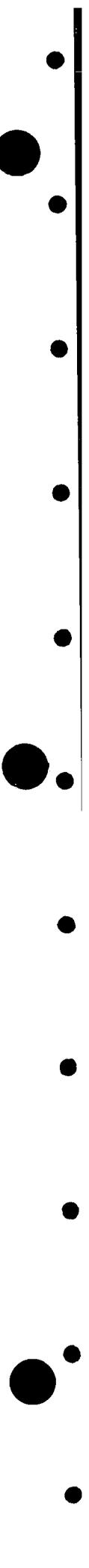


Table 6. (continued)

Variables	Description of Variables
IQ	Most recent full scale test score reported for respondent on standardized intelligence test, using these rankings: (1) Above average to superior (118 and above) (2) Low average to high average (88-117) (3) Borderline (76-87) (4) Developmentally handicapped (70-75) (5) Trainably mentally retarded or below (69 and below)
LD	Nominal designation of respondent as either having or not having a specific learning disability diagnosed and reported in the case record. Established educational guidelines are used to diagnose specific learning disabilities such as dyslexia.
LSYIN	Ordinal scale ranking the highest progression of respondent involvement in the juvenile justice system, as reported in the case record, with the following levels designated: (1) Court involvement limited to unofficial case handling, or counseling of respondent. (2) Probation or court supervision, or evaluation of respondent. (3) Intensive probation; court mandated special school or day treatment programming for respondent. (4) Temporary hospitalization or residential program, mandated by court for respondent less than 90 days total duration. (5) Institutionalization or fostercare mandated by the court and extending 90 days or longer. (6) Multiple occurrences of institutionalization mandated by the court and extending 90 days or longer. (7) Both court mandated institutionalization for longer than 90 days, followed by mandated foster-care of the respondent.
SRCA	Interval level scale indicating level of self-reported use of drugs and alcohol by respondent, on the Life Experiences Questionnaire. The greater the score, the more extensive the involvement with chemical use.



Table 6. (continued)

Variables	Description of Variables
SRVU	Interval level scale indicating level of self-reported involvement in a variety of acts descriptive of violent felony crimes by the respondent, from the Life Experiences Questionnaire. The greater the score, the more types of violent acts the respondent has self-reported.
SRFV	Internal level scale indicating level of self-reported involvement of various family members with violent acts within the family of each respondent, on the Life Experiences Questionnaire. The greater the score, the more family members who have been involved in intrafamily violence as victims and aggressors.
SRFCA	Interval level scale indicating the level of self-reported involvement of family members other than the respondent with use of drugs or alcohol when perceived as problematic by the respondent, as reported on the Life Experiences Questionnaire. The greater the score, the more family members are perceived as being excessive users of drugs or alcohol by the respondent.
HOMI	Nominal categorization of respondent as either having or not having a history of participation in murder or attempted non-negligent homicide, as reported in the case record.
RAPE	Nominal categorization of respondent as either having or not having a history of rape or attempted rape reported in the case record.
NCCPV	Interval scale indicating the number of misdemeanor or felony counts charged by police or other complainants against respondent for non-defensive acts of physical violence against other persons, as reported in the case record.
TPVI	Interval scale indicating the number of non-defensive acts of physical violence against others reported in the case record for each respondent, without regard to the seriousness of such acts.

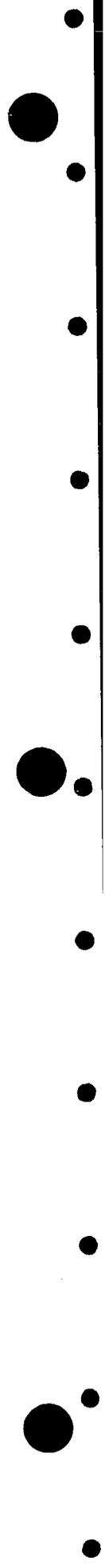


Table 6. (continued)

Variables	Description of Variables
Y	Ordinal scale reporting the number of non-defensive acts of physical violence reported for each respondent in the case record, with 0-2 incidents categorized as low; 3-4 incidents as a moderate category, and 5 or more incidents categorized as a predatory category of violence.
COP	Ordinal scale categorization of respondents indicating whether their aggressive acts of physical violence toward others have involved accomplices on one or more occasions, as might be the case in gang or peer group activities.

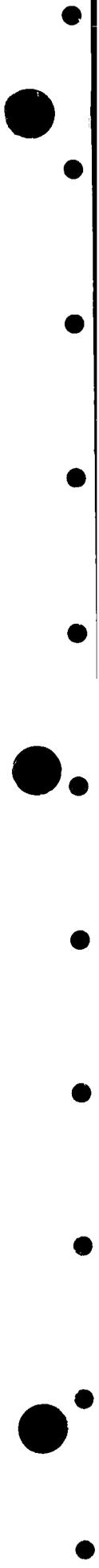


socioeconomic status upon relationships with the criterion variable TPVI (number of physically violent acts). Large sample size, and minimal missing data allow testing of a number of hypotheses concerning relationships among variables. Issues of collinearity and suppression are examined and discussed with the analysis in Chapter V.

Principal continuous and dummy variables utilized in general multiple regression analysis were described previously in Table 2. Results of the factor and multiple regression analysis are reported in Chapters IV and V.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

The theoretical literature interpreted in regard to predatory violence, is expected to define four underlying factors in the research data. The four factors represent four interrelated theoretical approaches germane to the etiology of predatory violence, and it is expected that principal-component analysis will provide a set of variables from all four factors, which will be the best linear combination accounting for much of the variance in the data. Several variables are used to reflect various aspects of each of these four theoretical approaches: the classical, or free will approach to crime; social interactionist or labeling approaches; structural and conflict theories, and learning and behaviorist approaches. It is expected that these theoretical positions overlap in accounting for processes involved in development of predatory violent behavior, so factors are expected to be correlated; therefore oblique rotation is used with principal factoring with iteration, to extract the terminal solution.

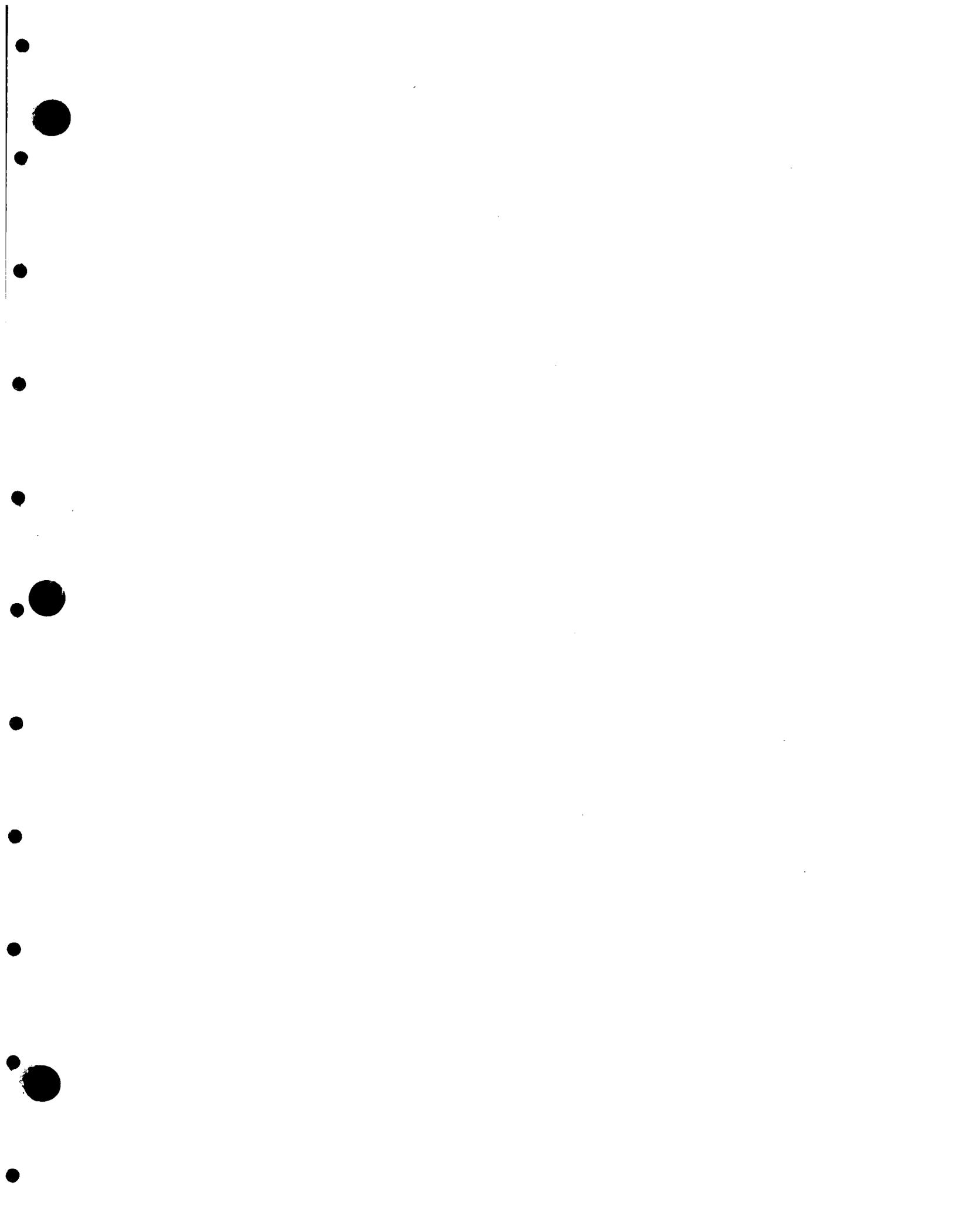


The most powerful variables contributing to each significant factor will be determinable from the analysis.

Multiple Regression Analysis

The most powerful variables representative of the significant factors are regressed on the dependent variable, frequency of violent incidents to determine which independent variables, taken together, account for the greatest variance in the dependent variable, while minimizing residual variance. Independent variables include both interval and dummy types, entered into the regression using a stepwise procedure which ends when the next variable cannot account for at least .05 percent of the variance in the dependent variable. Missing data is minimal, but is treated by listwise deletion so all analyses includes identical cases for the regression equation. Results are reported in Chapter IV and discussed in Chapter V.







CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

. . . large numbers of youth were not involved in serious crime. Rather, a comparatively small number were making careers of crime--more than half of all arrests today are attributable to only six to eight percent of the youth population.

Serious Juvenile Crime A Redirected Federal Effort, Report of the National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. March 1984:3.

The findings indicate several characteristics which significantly differentiate predatory violent youth from other institutionalized delinquents in the sample. In this chapter, characteristics of the total sample, several sub-groups within the sample, and predatory violent cases are examined empirically. Several predictor variables drawn from theory are subjected to ^{factor and} multiple regression analysis to determine the extent to which they account for variance in the frequency of ^{violence use} ~~violent victimizations~~, and to determine which ^{theoretical approaches underlie the data,}

It is clear that several variables ~~are~~ based on theory positions ^{of} ~~from~~ free will, social learning, ^{conflict} and ~~the~~ labeling perspectives, together account for approximately half the variance in the dependent variable.

There are marked differences in the power of some independent variables to account for variance among sub-groups, so separate multiple regressions are presented for males, females, blacks and Caucasians, to clarify the



significance of gender and role in relation to violence use.

Description of the Sample

The general characteristics of cases in the sample are described in this section, to provide a profile of institutionalized delinquents in Ohio. Generally the sample reflects an institutional population dominated by fourteen and seventeen year old males of working class urban backgrounds, disproportionately black, who most often have average intelligence, no specific learning disabilities, psychological or physical disabilities but with juvenile justice system involvements reflecting mixed patterns of offense types, including status and property offenses, as well as violence.

Institutional Sites

Table 1 presents the five randomly selected sites from which cases were randomly drawn. The number of cases drawn from each site as compared with the total number of youth on the rolls of each institution on December 31, 1983, the most recent figures available (Department of Youth Services, State of Ohio, 1984:6). The sample of 389 cases, reflects 26 percent of the total DYS institutional population. As both institutional sites and cases from these sites are randomly drawn, the sample is representative of the total DYS institutional population.



Table 1. Institutional Sites from which sample cases are drawn, and Institutional Populations on December 31, 1983, by frequency and percentage of cases selected.

Institution	Cases Selected	Population on 12/31/83	Percent of Total Cases in Sample
Buckeye Youth Center	27	264	10
Indian River School	131	177	74
Scioto Village	88	126	70
Riverview School	31	153	20
Cuyahoga Hills	<u>112</u>	<u>227</u>	49
n=389 cases		949 = total population	
		(Total DYS population - 1,511)	



Geographic Regions

All cases are assigned to a designated geographic region on the basis of last designated permanent home address of each youth assigned to DYS institutions. Table 2 presents the distribution of cases across these regions, indicating that all regions are represented in the sample. The number of cases from each region is compared with the total number of institutional cases managed in every region between January 1 through December 31, 1983 (Department of Youth Services, State of Ohio, 1984:6-9), for comparison of the sample with total cases managed in 1983.

Gender

As previously mentioned, females are overrepresented in the sample compared to their proportion in DYS institutions. While comprising 13 percent of the total institutional population on December 31, 1983 (Department of Youth Services, State of Ohio, 1984:6), females comprise 23 percent of the study sample. There are 301 males (77 percent) and 88 females in the total sample. Separate regressions are run for males and females to control the effects of oversampling female cases.

Race and Ethnicity

Caucasians are the largest racial group in the sample, with 206 cases (53 percent), while blacks account for 182 cases (47 percent), and one Native American is



Table 2. Regional distribution of DYS and Sample Cases

Region	Institutional Cases - 1983	Percent of Total	Sample Cases	Percent of Sample
Akron-Ybungstown	469	11	73	19
Athens	314	8	13	3
Cincinnati	672	16	45	12
Cleveland	736	18	110	28
Columbus	616	15	50	13
Dayton	854	20	35	9
Toledo	519	12	59	15
Outside Ohio (included in regions)			4	1
	4180	100	n=389	100



included. Hispanic youth number eleven, or nearly 3 percent of the sample. Figures for the sample are similar to distributions within the total DYS institutional population.

Age

Table 3 presents the age distribution of the sample, with sixteen and seventeen year olds comprising the largest category. The sample distribution is compared with the percentage distribution of ages within the total DYS population (Department of Youth Services, State of Ohio, 1984:31-37). Eighteen and nineteen year olds are over-represented, while sixteen and seventeen year olds are under-represented proportionately.

Social Class

Using the occupation of the primary family breadwinner as the indicator, the sample reflects three social class backgrounds, with working class families predominating. In Table 4 the distribution is presented, based on categories for each social class described in Chapter II.

Over a third of the cases are from lower class families, as expected from the literature on delinquency (Gordon, 1967; Glueck and Glueck, 1950).



Table 3. Age distribution of Sample, Compared with Percentage Distribution of DYS Population during 1983.

Age Category	Sample Cases	Percent of Sample	Percent of Total 1983 Population
12 - 13 years	15	4	3
14 - 15 years	84	22	20
16 - 17 years	219	56	72
18 - 19 years	70	18	5
Missing	<u>1</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	n=389	100	100

Table 4. Social Class Distribution of Sample Cases.

Social Class Category	Sample Cases	Percent
Middle	13	3
Working	224	58
Lower	143	37
Missing	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>
	n=389	100



Urbanicity

To determine whether institutionalized youth lived primarily in urbanized central SMA cities, the last previous home address of respondents is classified as central SMA city residence, suburb within an SMA, or rural area. The majority of respondents are from large central SMA cities (56 percent), contributing 218 cases, while 103 (26 percent) are suburban youth, and 68 (17 percent) rural youth are included in the sample.

Neighborhood Crime Rate

Again using the last permanent home address, probation officers provide a report of whether the home neighborhood is considered by police statistics to be a high crime area. Respondents who reside in high crime neighborhoods include 80 cases (23 percent), while the majority (272), live in medium or low crime rate areas (70%). There are 37 missing cases (9 percent) for which no neighborhood crime datum is available.

Intelligence

Most recent full scale intelligence test scores are reported for the sample in Table 5, using the categories described previously.

The majority of cases report average intelligence, with 67.5 percent reported as superior to low average, .



Table 5. Distribution of Full Scale Intelligence Scores for Sample Cases

Intelligence Category	Sample Cases	Percent
Superior or above average (FS 118 and above)	8	2
Average or low average (FS 87 - 117)	255	65.5
Borderline (FS 76 - 86)	72	18.5
Developmentally handicapped (FS 61 - 75)	50	14
Trainably mentally retarded (FS 60 or below)	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
	n=389	100



while 32.5 percent of the respondents scored below average.¹

Specific Learning Disabilities

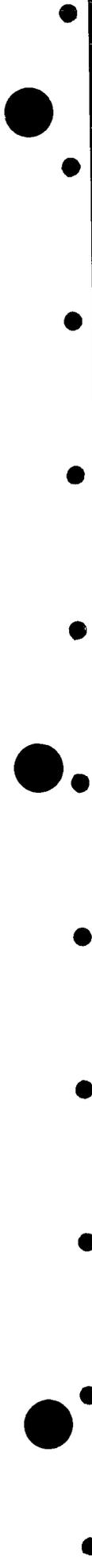
Though no causal relationship has been established between specific learning disabilities and delinquency, interest in this topic is strong.² Some DYS institutions do diagnostic testing of youth with suspected learning problems. There are 59 sample cases (15 percent) reported as having specific learning disabilities, while 330 cases (85 percent) do not report the problem. It is probable that institutionalized delinquents are more likely to be tested than are public school students in Ohio, therefore leading to greater frequencies of diagnosed learning disabilities than in many public school settings.

Level of Justice System Involvement

The sample is examined with regard to extent that the juvenile justice system has intervened in the lives of respondents. Scaled on a continuum of intervention levels, 251 (65 percent) respondents are experiencing their first

¹A considerable literature on delinquency considers the often noted finding that institutionalized delinquents as a group tend to have lower average intelligence scores than nondelinquents, even when social class is controlled. See Vold and Bernard: *Theoretical Criminology*. Third edition (1986); Hirschi and Hindelang (1977); Curt Bartol (1980).

²Research on a possible link between delinquency and learning disabilities is reviewed by Charles A. Murray, *The Link Between Learning Disabilities and Juvenile Delinquency*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. (1976).



institutionalization in a state facility, while 114 (29 percent) are recidivists, and 24 cases (6 percent) report both multiple incarcerations, plus court mandated aftercare outside their own homes. These progressive levels of involvement are recognized as meaningful distinctions by institutionalized delinquents, as gradations of coerciveness of punishment, even though the state intent in removing youth from their parental homes is not punishment. Among institutionalized youth there also appears to be a negative labelling effect for youth who are recidivists or experience coercive aftercare placements outside parental homes. Youth experiencing repeat incarcerations or fostercare placements³ after incarceration often express embarrassment and feelings of low status among peers. They are sometimes teased or pitied by peers.

Weapon Associated Violence

Availability of weapons in the United States is a topic of some interest in criminology, as it particularly relates to violence and crime. With an estimated 30 - 50 million illegal handguns circulating in the nation (Walker, 1985:152), research is yet inconclusive whether mandated

³The suggestion that delinquents attribute significant meanings to recidivism and out of home placements is proposed by the writer on the basis of ten years' experience working in the juvenile justice system. The suggestion has not been empirically tested to date.



penalties, or gun control regulations effectively reduce violent crime rates (Pierce and Bowers, 1981:120-137; Loftin, Heumann and McDowall, 1983;287-319). The sample is examined with regard to whether any reported acts of physical violence occurred while respondents had guns, knives, razors, or any object such as clubs, chairs or pipes carried as weapons, in their possession during any violent acts, regardless of whether the weapons were used. The majority of delinquents (207) reportedly ~~have~~ never used ~~any~~ weapon in violent offenses (53 percent). ~~On one occasion,~~ ^{There were} 122 respondents (31 percent) ^{who} reportedly used a weapon, while 60, (15 percent) used weapons in more than one violent incident.

Violence with Co-offenders

~~Much of~~ ^T the literature on delinquency emphasizes the group or gang nature of much delinquency (Albert Cohen, 1955; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Suttles, 1968), suggesting that perhaps most delinquency arises within peer group or gang contexts. The sample is examined with regard to the distribution of group acts of physical violence only. Most respondents (234) never reportedly engaged in violence with one or more co-offenders; this accounts for 60 percent of the sample. Cases for which only one reported violent incident involved co-offenders, number 105, or 27 percent of the sample, and 50 cases (13 percent) reported as using co-offenders in two or more acts of physical violence.



Physical Abnormalities

Earliest studies of crime began the search for biological or physical explanations of individual criminal behavior (Mrfnick and Christiansen, eds.: 1977; Ellis, 1900; Lombroso, 1912). The sample is examined for reported significant health problems or visible abnormalities for both past and current health or genetic conditions. Medical reports on the following conditions were found among respondents, though many conditions noted are not ongoing at present. It has been hypothesized that biological abnormalities could negatively influence the social development and status position of youth. Brain-associated problems include epilepsy, abnormal brain waves, hyperactivity, cerebral dysfunction, severe concussion, and black-outs. Other conditions noted include slight hearing loss, herpes, asthma, kidney ailments, sickle cell trait, heart murmur or irregular heart heat, arthritis, cataract, speech defects and leg or arch problems. Only 46 cases (12 percent) in the sample are reported as having one or more of these physical problems, while 343 cases (88 percent) have no unusual biological abnormalities reported.

Mental Health Problems

It is customary in Ohio to test yough charged with violent offenses, or those suspected by parents or justice personnel for possibly significant mental health problems,



at the court level or after institutionalization. Where testing has been conducted and psychologists or psychiatrists recommend any form of ongoing treatment, either in the youth's current incarceration, or in the past, such cases are enumerated in the sample. Fully 320 cases (82 percent) do not involve any mental health need; 68 cases (18 percent) do indicate one or more mental health needs, and one case has missing data. Multiple diagnoses are reported for many of the cases reporting mental health problems. Most frequent diagnoses include character disorders, conduct disorders, socialized aggressive with conduct disorders, depression, and sociopathy. Only three cases are diagnosed with neurosis; three with emotional instability, and one case with psychosis. The public continues to associate mental illness with violent criminals, though current research consistently finds no greater likelihood of crime by severely disturbed individuals than among the general population (Brodsky, 1977; Steadman and Coccozza, 1974; Monahan and Steadman, in Tonry and Morris, eds., 1983).

History of Homicide Involvement

The sample is examined to determine the number of cases involving incidents of attempted homicides and completed homicides or manslaughter. There are 26 youth (7 percent) in the sample who have taken a life or attempted to do so.

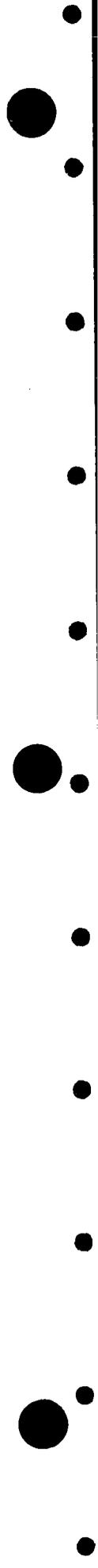


Table 6. Reported Rape or Attempted Rape (by force) Cases
in the Sample

Reported Frequency of Rape-Related Incidents	Sample Cases	Percent
None	333	86
One incident	41	11
Two incidents	8	2
Three or more incidents	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>
	n=389	101 (due to rounding error)



History of Rape Involvement

The number of youth in the sample who have reportedly forcefully raped or attempted to rape one or more persons numbers 56 (14 percent) but unlike those involved in homicide-related behavior, many involved with rape were involved in more than one rape incident. Table 6 presents the prevalence of rape-related behavior within the sample.

Frequency of Physically Violent Victimizations

The dependent variable, frequency of physically violent incidents, is measured as an interval ratio level variable, and as a categorical variable, according to the context of analysis. As defined in earlier chapters, this measure is a report of the frequency of victimizations, where the respondent used physical force against another person not accidentally, and without necessity for physically defending him/herself.

Reports include incidents not brought to court attention, as well as those resulting in official findings of delinquency. Sample cases range from 0 to 21 victimizations with physical violence, with a mean of 5.06 incidents and a median of 3.99 incidents. Table 7 presents the complete distribution of violence frequency for the sample. Note that in a single incident of violence, from one to three victims are involved, but only 17 cases (4 percent) involve more than one victim.

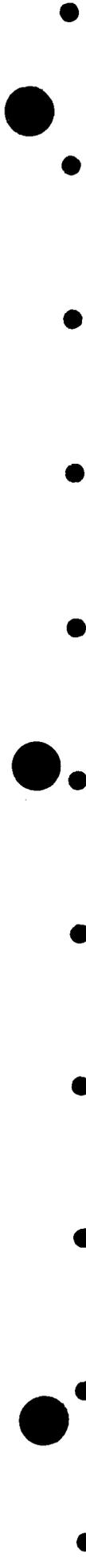


Table 7. Distribution of Physically Violent Victimizations Against Persons
(The dependent variable)

	Frequency of Victimizations																					Totals	
	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		21
No. of Cases	43	39	50	38	50	25	22	30	17	20	15	6	9	5	2	2	3	5	4	0	3	1	389
Percent	11	10	13	10	13	6	6	8	4	5	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	100

mean = 5.06
 median = 3.99
 kurtosis = 1.407
 skewness = 1.22

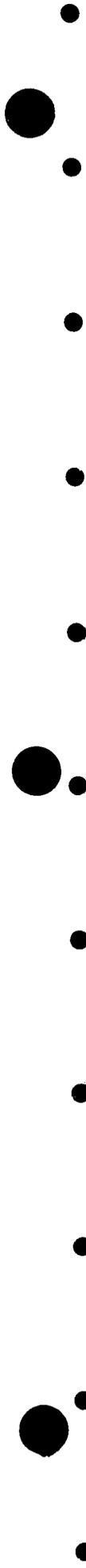


As a categorical variable, the same data are used to distinguish between non violence or low violence cases, from moderate and predatory violence cases. These categories are presented in Table 8, indicating a very large proportion of predatory violent cases (43 percent) in the sample. It is unlikely that this proportion of predatory violent cases would be found within the DYS institutional population as a whole. Some institutions are more likely to house predatory violent offenders than others, and three of the five randomly selected sites from which this sample is drawn, contain some predatory violent offenders. Some sites not selected for this sample are likely to contain few predatory violent youth, particularly as it is customary to transfer troublesome delinquents out of minimum security institutions. Notably all categories contain a large enough frequency to conduct meaningful analysis on subgroups within the sample.

Social Skill Ignorance

A number of learning theory approaches to violence are discussed in Chapter II, and social development theory⁴ as a

⁴Borrowing on the tradition of Mead, Jesness, and Marguerite Warren, the most notable recent development of social development theory is by Joseph Weis and J.D. Hawkins, Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers, Preventing Delinquency. (1981), Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Justice, and Joseph Weis and John Sederstrom, Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers, The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What To Do. (1981), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.



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Table 8. Categories of Physically Violent Victimization
by Respondents

Category of Victimization Frequency	Sample Cases	Percent
None/Low violence use (0 - 2 victims)	133	34
Moderate violence use (3 - 4 victims)	87	22
Predatory violence use (5 or more victims)	<u>169</u>	<u>44</u>
	n=389	100

(mean and median = moderate category)



tangent of learning theory suggests that inadequate socialization, as well as alienation from conventional social roles contributes to delinquent behavior. Using scores on the Inventory of Anger Communication instrument previously described, and reversing the direction of scores, as an interval level indicator of social skill ignorance, respondents are scaled into categories. The distribution is presented in Table 9. Norms for labeling the levels of social skill ignorance are derived by comparing respondent scores with a sample of nondelinquent high school students and norms established by Bienvenu who designed the test instrument for use with college students and other adults (1976). Note that 19 percent of the sample falls within the high ignorance categories, while the majority of cases (57 percent) fall within the moderate range. Clearly a large proportion of the sample is not markedly ignorant of social skills measured on the instrument.

Selection of Weaker Victims

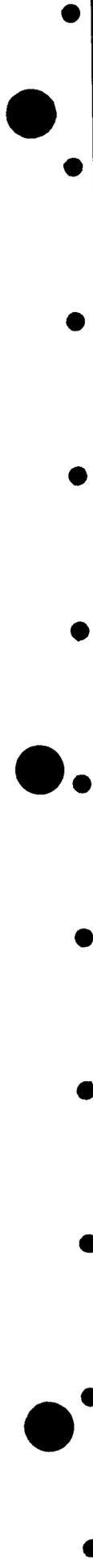
Where victims are described in the records, a pattern emerges where most victims are at least physical equals, or social equals superior to offenders. Typically, respondents (all teenagers) generally victimized their peers or physically able adults. In 127 cases (33 percent) respondents reportedly never selected victims who were younger than themselves by three or more years, were handicapped, were



Table 9. Distribution of Social Skill Ignorance Among Sample Cases

Social Skill Ignorance				
Ranks and Categories	Score Interval	Sample Cases	Percent	
1 Highly knowledgeable	(80 or more)	3	1	
2	(70 - 79)	12	3	
3	(60 - 69)	74	19	
4 Moderate ignorance	(50 - 59)	122	31	
5	(40 - 49)	102	26	
6 High ignorance	(30 - 39)	59	15	
7	(29 or less)	17	4	

median and mean = category 4
 S.D. = 1.213
 Standard error = 0.06



adults age 60 or over, or peers described in the record as being frail, small, or handicapped. Among the other 262 cases (67 percent) where victimization of weaker victims did occur, 179 (46 percent of the sample) have only one or two such victimizations. Table 10 presents the full distribution of these occurrences.

Considering overall frequency of all reported victimizations by respondents, where adequate victim descriptions are given, certain patterns are indicated for the sample. A total of 1,133 victimizations are described in the case records, and of that total, the most frequent victimization categories include peers of the offender (288 victimizations; 26 percent), followed by victimizations of women (217; 19 percent), victimizations of adult men in authority positions, such as teachers and correctional staff members (190; 17 percent), other adult males (177; 16 percent), and immediate family member victimizations (120; 11 percent). Least likely to be physically victimized are older adults age 60 and over (33; 3 percent), young children ages 0 to 11 (39; 3 percent), and weaker, fragile or handicapped peers (69; 6 percent). As the victimization literature indicates, patterns indicate definite choices, rather than randomization, in the selection of violent crime victims (Siegal and Senna, 1985; Laub, 1983).

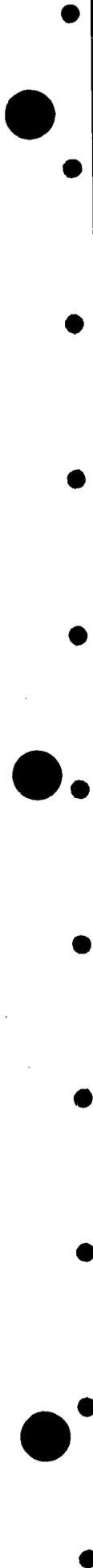
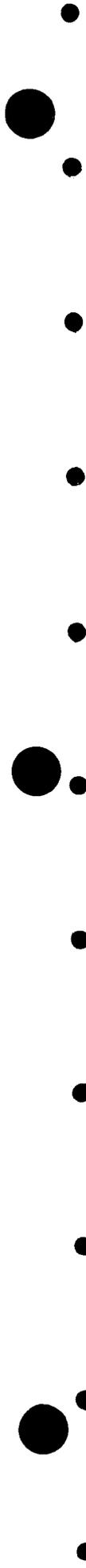


Table 10. Reported Selection of Weaker Victims by Sample

Number of Children, Weaker Peers, Handicapped, and Older Adults Victimized	Sample Cases	Percent
None	127	33
1 victim	90	23
2 victims	89	23
3 victims	33	8
4 victims	37	9
5 victims	6	2
6 victims	6	2
7 victims	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>
	n=389	100



Verbal Violence Reported

As discussed earlier, this variable measures the frequency with which adults in authority positions, such as parents, probation staff and school officials report use of verbal harassment or insults by respondents, directed toward others. Interviews, police reports and institutional conduct reports of verbal violence are found in the case records. The distribution of such events is reported in Table 11, with incidents counted, rather than number of victims in a situation. A total of 2,502 incidents of verbal violence are reported for the sample. Note that 20 percent of the sample (79 cases) account for the extreme frequency range, with a total of 1,106 incidents of verbal violence, or 44 percent of the total incidents reported. This raises a question as to what the behavior means to youth, and what processes are involved in perpetuating the behavior on a highly repetitive basis for some delinquents. Another 44 percent of the sample either does not use verbal violence, or seldom uses this behavior.

Greatest Violence Seriousness Score

As discussed earlier, this variable is intended to measure the relative harm and intrusiveness of respondents' most serious incident of physical violence for the victim(s). It allows comparison of respondents on their greatest extent of violence use in relation to consequences for their



Table 11. Reported Incidents of Verbal Violence Among Sample Cases

Frequency of Incidents of Verbal Violence	Sample Cases	Percent
No incidents	68	17
1 - 3 incidents	104	27
4 - 6 incidents	87	23
7 - 9 incidents	51	13
10 - 12 incidents	37	9
13 - 15 incidents	13	3
16 - 18 incidents	7	2
19 - 21 incidents	8	2
22 or more incidents	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>
	n=389	100

range = 0 - 82 incidents
 mean = 6.4 incidents; median
 = 4 incidents
 S.D. = 9.10



victims. In Table 12, seriousness scores are categorized for the entire sample. Overall, at least 25 percent of the respondents engaged in higher scored incidents, with homicides encompassing the most extreme scores. This sample contains a much larger proportion of violent delinquents than earlier research samples such as those of Wolfgang et al. (1972), and Hamparian et al. (1978). The seriousness scores are significantly correlated with overall use of physical violence ($r = .29$), indicating a tendency for seriousness to increase as acts of violence are repeated. Predatory violent youth are also more likely to seriously injure victims than are less violent youth in the sample.

Role Failure Experiences

The failure of delinquents to successfully carry out expectations of conventional cultural roles, is abundantly apparent when youth are officially removed from their communities by incarceration, or expelled from programs, organizations, schools, employment or their homes on a long-time basis. Theoretical import of this factor in the lives of delinquents has never been fully investigated, so here the sample is described with regard to the frequency of these experiences, and the institutional sources of expulsion. Findings indicate the trend for adult authority figures to use expulsion as a method of social sanctioning. For delinquents, these experiences may involve loss of social

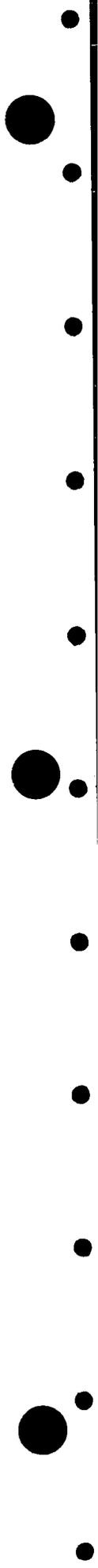


Table 12. Violence Seriousness Scores for Sample Based on Most Serious Reported Incident

Seriousness Scores	Sample Cases	Percent
0 (No physical violence	43	11
Scores 1 - 3	138	35
Scores 4 - 6	113	29
Scores 7 - 9	39	10
Scores 10 - 12	26	7
Scores 13 - 15	12	3

Range of scores = 0 - 38
Mean = score of 5.41
Median = score of 3.86
Kurtosis = 9.45
Skewness = 2.68



status, changes in opportunity structure, changes in their networks of social relationships, and removal of informal social controls, as in the case where youth are expelled from school, but remain free of constraints of parents, and others for much of the day. Note that natural removals from conventional roles such as death of a parent or change of address are not included in the definition of role failure used here. In Table 13 the number of role failure experiences is presented for the sample. This indicates an extreme group comprised of 16 percent of the sample which experienced five or more reported role removals. This suggests a great deal of conflict between society and these youth, resulting in numerous shifting of roles for them.

Institutional sources of these role failures are presented in Table 14. Table 14 indicates role failures are common among delinquents. In later discussion it will be demonstrated that predatory violent delinquents particularly experience frequent role failures. Though not reported in Table 14, many in the sample experience multiple role failures within one or more social institution, perhaps magnifying the effects of failures upon self-image and social expectations.

Deviant Self/World View

The social nonconformity score for respondents on the Psychological Screening Inventory, previously discussed, is



Table 13. Frequency of Reported Role Failure Experiences for the Sample

Frequency of Role Failures	Sample Cases	Percent
1	58	15
2	110	28
3	97	25
4	53	14
5	32	8
6	16	4
7	13	3
8	3	1
11	1	-
Missing Data	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>
	n=389	100

Table 14. Reported Sources of Role Failure Experiences Among Sample Cases

Source of Role Failure	Sample Cases	Frequency Rank	Percent of Sample
Parental homes or foster home	103	4	26.5
Schools	219	2	56.
Community organizations and programs	134	3	34.
Communities (court orders and institutionalizations)	389	1	100.
Employment positions	26	5	7.



reported for the sample in Table 15, indicating the distribution of cases. The lowest category indicates respondents who generally perceive themselves and their social environment as nondeviant, despite the fact of their current status as incarcerated delinquents. The second category comprises respondents viewing themselves and the social environment as being somewhat deviant, in the sense of being troublesome, or corrupt, hostile and unfair. The third category indicates those respondents whose self/world views may be described as the belief that "I'm no good, and neither is the world." Scores in this range agree with norms found among adult prison inmates, according to research by Richard Lanyon who developed the Psychological Screening Inventory. This group therefore, consists of respondents most likely to view themselves as delinquents or criminals, perhaps most likely to accept delinquent roles, and most likely to perceive others as also delinquent, criminal, and corrupt.

Note that 84 percent of the cases describe themselves and the world partly in criminal terms. It appears that most members of the sample hold some pessimism about themselves, and may hold few expectations for success in conventional social roles. The theoretical basis for interpreting these findings in relation to predatory violence is discussed in Chapter V.

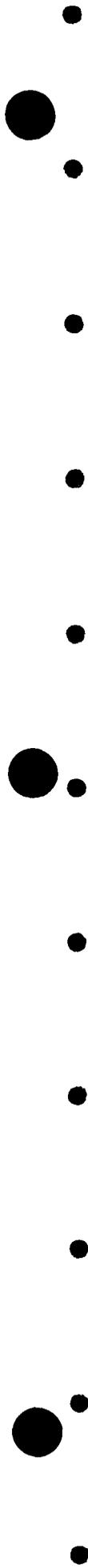
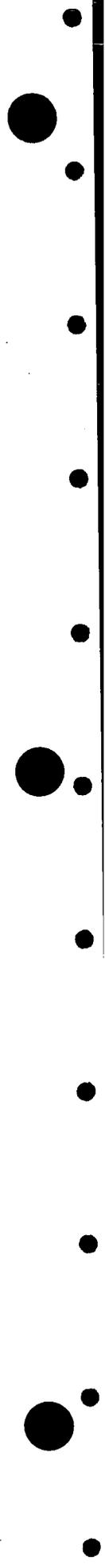


Table 15. Deviant Self/World View of Sample Cases, Based on the Social Nonconformity Scale of the Psychological Screening Inventory

Score Category	Sample Cases	Percent
Low (tending to regard self and world in conventional terms)	63	16
Moderate (some tendency to regard self and world as deviant)	219	56
High (tending to view self and the world as delinquent or criminal)	<u>107</u>	<u>28</u>
	n=389	100



Asocial Problem Solving

To what extent do backgrounds of respondents suggest failure in conventional socialization? As described earlier, the asocial index from the Fesness Inventory is designed to identify delinquents who are particularly prone to solving problems in ways that disregard norms and laws. Higher scores suggest the propensity to solve many problems in anti-social ways, while low scores reflect primary dependence on normative solutions to problems. In Table 16 the distribution of sample cases for asocial problem solving is presented in categorical form, for ease of interpretation. This distribution indicates that 6 percent of the sample is inclined to use asocial problem solving behavior at times, with nearly a quarter of the respondents using such methods often. Data on family background and early life socialization of youth is difficult to obtain in empirically adequate form, so we are unable to assess whether youth acquire the tendency to use asocial problem solving methods through socialization into asocial or antisocial behavior, whether lack of socialization (ignorance) into conventional behavior, or some combination of these factors helps explain the tendency of many respondents to use asocial problem solving behaviors frequently.



Table 16. Distribution of Sample on Asocial Problem Solving

Tendency to Solve Problems in Asocial Manner	Score Range	Sample Cases	Percent
Low (generally normative orientation)	6 - 11	152	39
Moderate (some tendency to use of antisocial solutions to problems)	12 - 23	143	37
High (generally oriented toward asocial solutions to problems)	24 - 38	<u>94</u>	<u>24</u>
		n=389	100



Frequency of Court Cases for Violent Offenses

To measure the frequency of reported physically violent victimizations, unofficial reports as well as official court cases of physical violence are measured here. It is therefore useful to identify how many actual court charges for violence reached juvenile court by members of the sample.

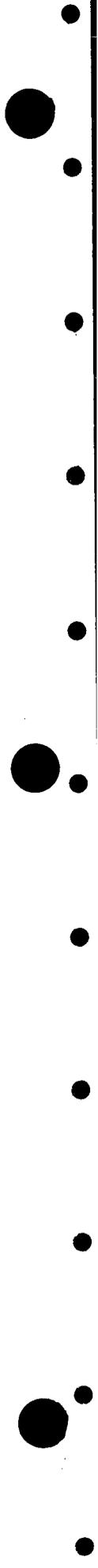
Remembering that the sample is institutionalized, it is notable that 96 respondents (25 percent) have never been in court for a physically violent felony or misdemeanor. The distribution for all cases is presented in Table 17. Though brought to court, many violent charges do not result in findings of delinquency. Some charges are dismissed, held open, or not prosecuted. Some court appearances involved multiple charges for violent offenses. In Table 17 these appear as multiple cases. From the Table it is evident that only a small proportion of the sample appears in court with extreme frequency on violent charges, therefore, in terms of policy, this group is potentially identifiable for particular treatment intervention. It is also clear that society incurs significant court costs attributable to violent delinquency. From a policy standpoint it is worthwhile to research alternatives such as prevention, or early detection and treatment of repetitively violent delinquents; the cost of treatment programming could eventually be partly offset by reduced traffic of violent cases into Ohio juvenile courts.



Table 17. Violent Felony and Misdemeanor Charges Reaching Juvenile Court Charged to Delinquents in the Sample

Frequency of Violent Cases Disposed of in Juvenile Court	Sample Cases	Percent
None	96	25
1	115	30
2	91	23
3	48	12
4	23	6
5	9	2
6	1	-
7	1	-
8	3	1
9	1	-
10	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>
	n=389	99 due to rounding error

Mean = 1.6 cases
Range = 0-10 cases



Comparison of Groups Within the Sample on Selected Variables

This section presents additional data descriptive of the total sample, but focusing on differences in distributions for selected variables on the basis of gender, racial, age, intelligence and social class groups. The purpose of extensive description of the sample is to assist the reader in interpreting the findings, and to assist researchers who will study violent delinquents in the future. Comparison of this sample with other research samples guides interpretation, and serves to describe characteristics of the youth population incarcerated in Ohio, which may serve as a basis for policy decision-making.

Gender Distinctions

Sex is a powerful predictive variable in criminology (Hindelang, 1979; Jensen and Eve, 1976; Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1981), a fact confirmed in this research. For felony violent crime arrests, males account for approximately an 8 to 1 ratio in the United States, compared to females (Siegel and Senna, 1985:58). Therefore, it is useful to examine gender differences on several variables. In Chapter V these findings are interpreted in relation to theory.

On social skill ignorance, males generally score higher than females, but differences fail to reach significance at the $p < .05$ level (chi-square = .319 with 3 df, and $\alpha = 7.81$ at $p < .05$ level).



Nor do males and females significantly differ with regard to frequency of reported role failure experiences. Female delinquents in the sample are as likely as males to experience role failures stemming from their behavior (chi-square = .389 with 3 df, and $\chi^2 = 7.81$ at $p < .05$ level).

There are significant differences between males and females with regard to asocial problem solving. Male subjects are significantly more likely to resort to asocial methods of problem solving than the females. The data is presented in Table 18. Such differences were not found with regard to the social skill ignorance, nor for the deviant self/world view variables, so this finding may be interpreted as being related to gender role socialization. This point is discussed in Chapter V in reference to theory of gender differences.

Finally, gender is significantly associated with the dependent variable (frequency of physically violent victimizations). These differences are presented in categorical form in Table 19 for ease of interpretation. As later analysis reveals, gender differences are critical in understanding and predicting predatory violence. Multiple regressions are run separately for males and females to reveal differences in predictive variables most explanatory of violence victimization under the least squares model of prediction.



Table 18. Gender Differences in Asocial Problem Solving

Asocial Problem Solving Score Intervals (based on intervals suggested by Jessness norms)

	Score Interval				Row Total Percent
	-6 to +5 (Low)	3 to 17	18 to 29	30 to 40 (Highest)	
Males	19	114	147	21	301 (77)
Females	<u>42</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>88 (23)</u>
	61	160	147	21	389
	(16%)	(41%)	(38%)	(5%)	(100%)

Chi-square = 10.24, with 3 df, and
 $\alpha = 7.81$ at $p < .05$.



Table 19. Gender Differences in Frequency of Physically
Violent Victimizations-~~Incidents~~

	Female	Male	Row Total
Low	57 row (43%)	76 (57%)	133 (34%)
Moderate	17 row (20%)	70 (80%)	87 (22%)
Predatory	<u>14</u> row (.08%)	<u>155</u> (92%)	<u>169</u> (43%)
	88	301	389
	(23%)	(77%)	(100%)

Chi-square = 6.60, with 2 df, and
 $\alpha = 5.99$ at $p < .05$.



Racial Distinctions

Black delinquents in the sample are not significantly more likely than whites to experience more role failures, and they are no more likely to participate in more violent ~~victim-~~^{incidents}izations than whites. Role failure experiences for these groups are presented in Table 20.

On the dependent variable, presented in categorical form in Table 21, blacks are more involved in violent victimizations than white respondents and differences are significant beyond the .005 level of probability.

On the asocial problem solving variable, racial groups are not significantly different (Chi-square = .954, with 7 df, failing to meet the .05 level of probability of $\alpha = 14.07$).

Age Distinctions

In regard to social skill ignorance, age differences are not significant (Chi-square = 2.35, with 18 df, failing to meet the $\alpha = 28.87$ critical level for significance at .05 ($r = .066$, $p = .097$ with $\alpha = 4.835$; $Se = .741$; $O = .011$, with $n = 389$ cases).

Age is not significantly associated with the dependent variable (frequency of physically violent victimizations, despite the lengthier opportunity older delinquents have to be involved with violence ($r = .066$; $p = .097$, with $\alpha = 4.83$; $Se = .741$, and $b = .011$). Age is significantly related to the seriousness score for respondents' most serious incident of violence. Likelihood increases with age that victims will be



6

Table 20. Frequency of Role Failure Experiences Among Blacks and Caucasians in the Sample

	Frequency of Role Failure Experiences Reported									Row Total
	1 (Row %)	2 (%)	3	4	5	6	7	8	11	
Blacks	20 (11%)	47 (26)	52 (29)	25 (14)	18 (10)	7 (4)	9 (5)	3 (2)	--	181 (47)
Caucasians	<u>40</u> (13%)	<u>63</u> (31)	<u>45</u> (22)	<u>27</u> (13)	<u>14</u> (7)	<u>9</u> (4)	<u>4</u> (2)	<u>-</u> (-)	<u>1</u> (-)	<u>203</u> (53)
	60	110	97	52	32	16	13	3	1	384
	(16%)	(29%)	(25%)	(13%)	(8%)	(4%)	(3%)	(1%)	(-)	100%

(5 missing cases)

Chi-square = 1.20, with 8 df; failing to meet the .05 level of probability of $\alpha = 15.51$.

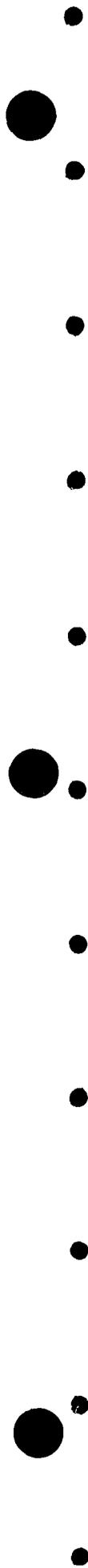


Table 21. Racial Differences in Physically Violent *Incidents*
~~Victimizations in the Sample~~ *By Respondents*

	Categories of Violent Victimization Frequency			
	Low (0-2 victimizations)	Moderate (3.- 4)	Predatory (5 or more)	Row Total
Blacks (Row %)	47 (26%)	35 (19%)	102 (56%)	182 (47%)
Whites (Row %)	<u>86</u> (42%)	<u>62</u> (25%)	<u>66</u> (32%)	<u>206</u> (53%)
	133	87	168	388
	(34%)	(22%)	(44%)	(100%)
			(1 case = other race)	

Chi-square = 12.66, with 2 df; $p < .005$ level of probability of $\alpha = 5.99$. Black are disproportionately found among predatory violent cases in the sample.



more seriously harmed ($r = .154$; $p = .001$, with $a = 4.78$; $Se = .734$, $b = .019$, and $n = .374$). As respondents gain physical strength progressively during adolescence, this factor may in part, explain the finding. In the next section, relationships between frequency of physically violent victimizations and a number of independent variables are examined.

Physically Violent Victimization Patterns

The literature discussed in Chapter II suggests particular relationships between many of the variables measured for the sample, so these findings are presented to determine whether hypothesized relationships do occur significantly in the sample, or whether ^h hypothesized relationships are not found in the data.

Social Skill Ignorance

Are youth with poor social skills also more likely than others to commit frequent physically violent victimizations? Learning theory perspectives suggest this may be true. The null hypothesis is refuted by the data; ⁱⁿ for the sample it is true that youth with poor social skills do more frequently commit repeated violent victimizations; predatory violent respondents often are markedly ignorant of basic social skills ($r = .162$; $p < = .001$, with $a = 2.49$; $Se = 4.30$, and $b = .581$; $n = 389$).

Intelligence

The sample contains cases reflective of the full range of intelligence categories, but as previous literature reflects, institutionalized samples typically contain unusually high



proportions of clients with below normal intelligence (Hirschi and Hindelang, 1977; Simons, 1978). Fully 32.5 percent of this sample is below average in general intelligence, raising the question as to whether predatory violent youth are disproportionately drawn from lower measured intelligence categories.

Biological perspectives on crime suggest a positive relationship between below average intelligence and criminality. Considering only violent victimization, the sample data does not uphold this prediction. Low intelligence is not significantly concentrated among predatory violent cases ($r = .069$; $p = .087$, with $a = 2.389$; $Se = .779$, and $b = .012$, with $n = 389$).

Social Class

Is social class standing significantly correlated with the frequency of violent victimizations by respondents?

Social disorganization and some biological literature imply that violent criminality may be concentrated in lower social classes. Data from the sample does not support such a position. Despite high proportions of both lower social class and predatory violent youth, the relationship is not significant (Kendall's tau $b = .046$; $p = .134$ with $n = 380$). Predatory violent cases are not concentrated among lower class or working class youth alone.

Urbanicity

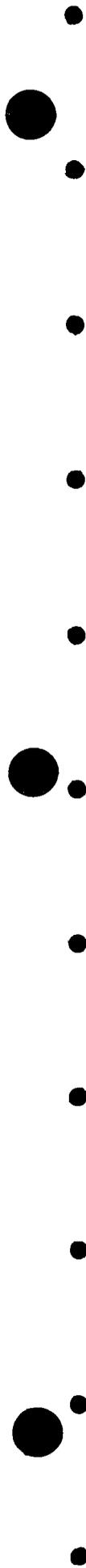
Social disorganization and ecological approaches to crime, previously discussed in Chapter II, suggest crime and violence



are associated with areas having high concentrations of population accompanied by poverty, physical deterioration, and high population mobility. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1981) further suggest that subcultural norms develop, advocating violence among males in some of these urban areas. This hypothesis is supported by data for the sample (Kendall's tau b = $-.113$; $p = .003$, with $n = 389$), to the extent that cases from central SMA cities significantly tend to be associated with higher frequencies of violence victimization. Predatory violent youth in the sample are disproportionately drawn from central cities.

Neighborhood Crime Rate

Ecological, subcultural and learning theory perspectives suggest that neighborhood areas having a history of violent crime are likely to foster learning techniques, rationalizations and norms favorable to ~~further~~ violent crime, as children are exposed to the violent social environment. Such children are thought to be more prone to use violence themselves, and to pass on the tradition by so socializing their children. Within this sample, the hypothesis is supported (Kendall's tau b = $.085$; $p = .03$ with $n = 352$ cases). Youth from high crime areas are more likely to commit higher frequencies of violent victimization. Predatory youth are more likely to be drawn from high crime areas, though not necessarily from areas with high rates of violence.



Level of Justice System Involvement.

Does the juvenile justice system intervene increasingly as youth become involved in more frequent violent victimizations, or are court processes no more responsive to violent youth than to property offenders? Data for the sample indicate that courts do intervene increasingly in the lives of youth as their involvement with violent ~~victimizations~~^{incidents} increases (Kendall's tau b = .195, p = .001 with n = 389). Predatory violent youth in the sample ~~have~~ disproportionately experienced multiple institutionalizations and foster care or group home placements.

Physical Abnormalities

Biological, learning and labeling approaches to crime share compatability with the view that violent individuals suffer disproportionately from poor physical health, or physical handicaps which stigmatize them socially, reducing their opportunities for playing valued roles. The hypothesis is not supported by data for the sample. Respondents with longterm physical problems are not more likely than others, to engage in more frequent violent victimizations (Kendall's tau ~~b~~ = .052; p = .139 with n = 389).

Mental Health Problems

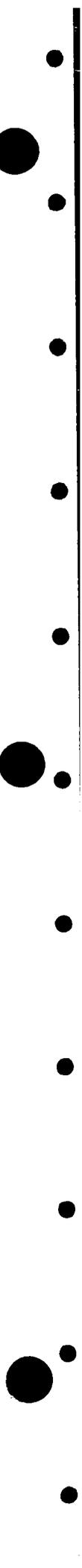
There is a lengthy literature arguing that violent offenders are abnormal psychologically, yet more recent studies refute the idea that mental health problems are causally related to most violent criminal behavior (Monahan and Steadman, 1983;



Bartol, 1980, and Guze, 1976). Datum for the sample offers some support for the hypothesis that youth with mental health problems diagnosed are likely to have more involvement with violent ^{offenses} ~~victimizations~~ (Kendall's tau b = .202; p = .001, with n = 389), but there is a problem of bias in the measure used for this sample. Generally, circumstance under which youth are tested psychologically or psychiatrically involves the fact being known that a violent act has been committed by the youth, and testing follows this knowledge. If testing by psychologists and psychiatrists did not involve prior knowledge that youth committed a violent acts, it is ^{possible} ~~probable~~ that test interpretations might differ ^{on the side of less pathological diagnoses} (see Chapter II discussion of this topic), ^{and} ~~or~~ that fewer of respondents would be tested for mental health problems. Many respondents in the sample received no psychological testing, but all offenders with violent ~~current~~ offenses were tested psychologically. Therefore, it is not possible to accept the finding with any confidence. It remains unclear whether predatory violent youth are more likely than others in the sample to have significant mental health problems. Without uniform testing conditions the actual prevalence of mental health problems among delinquents remains unclear.

Specific Learning Disabilities

In Chapter II the position is discussed that delinquents who generally experience school problems, are disproportionately likely to have perceptual difficulties characteristic of specific



learning disabilities. Current research does not generally support that position. Data from this sample is tested with regard to levels of violent ^{ce use} ~~victimization~~, but again, the null hypothesis is upheld (Chi-square = .128 with 2 df and a = 5.99 at $p = .05$, and $n = 389$), that predatory violent delinquents are not significantly more likely than others to have learning disabilities. Predatory violent delinquents are somewhat more likely to be diagnosed as having specific learning disabilities, but not at a significant level. The findings are presented in Table 22. Unlike the situation with psychological testing, delinquents are likely to be tested more uniformly in regard to learning disabilities, without regard to the offenses leading to incarceration. Violent offenders are not likely to receive more concentrated educational testing than others, so greater reliance may be placed on this finding for the sample.

History of Homicide Involvement

One of the difficulties encountered in the study of violence is failure to distinguish between offenders who commit one serious act of violence, from those whose behavior reveals a pattern of predatory violence. Some offenders commit serious crimes such as murder, manslaughter, or rape, yet have no life pattern of violence. Other offenders who may be incarcerated for a property offense such as burglary, yet have lengthy patterns of violence in relationships. Since 26 respondents have attempted or completed acts of homicide, the relationship



Table 22. Violent Victimization Frequency and Specific Learning Disabilities Among Sample Cases

	Diagnosed Learning Disabilities		
	No	Yes	Row Total
Low	116	17	133 (34%)
Moderate	74	13	87 (22%)
Predatory	<u>140</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>169 (43%)</u>
	330	59	389
	(85%)	(15%)	(100%)



was tested whether predatory violent youth are significantly more likely than others to have histories of homicide involvement. While they are somewhat more often involved with homicides, differences are not significant, so the null hypothesis is upheld (Chi-square = .067 with 2 df, and a = 5.99 at $p = .05$ level; $n = 389$ cases). Replication with a larger sample is necessary before any clear conclusion may be drawn, however, as this sample contains so few homicide cases. Findings are presented in Table 23.

History of Rape Involvement

Are predatory violent respondents more likely than others to be involved in reports of attempted or completed rapes? Findings closely parallel that for homicide involvement, as predatory violent respondents are involved more often than others in rape incidents, but not at a significant level (Chi-square = 1.59 with 2 df; $a = 5.99$ at $p = .05$, with $n = 389$ cases). There are 56 respondents in the sample with histories of reported rape or attempted rape, but predatory violent youth are not significantly more likely to have such histories. The findings are presented in Table 24.

Violence with Co-offenders

Are predatory violent respondents more likely than others to be involved in group violence? There is a significant relationship between group violence and frequency of violent victimization in the sample (Kendall's tau $b = .326$; $p = .001$,

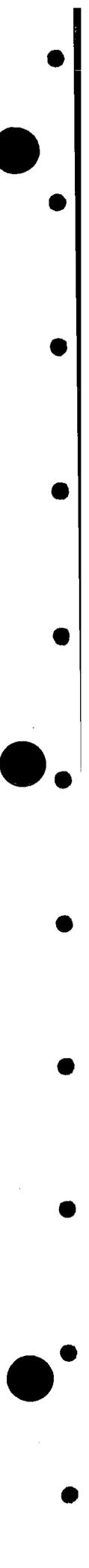


Table 23. Distribution of Violent Victimizations by History of Homicide or Attempted Homicide Involvement

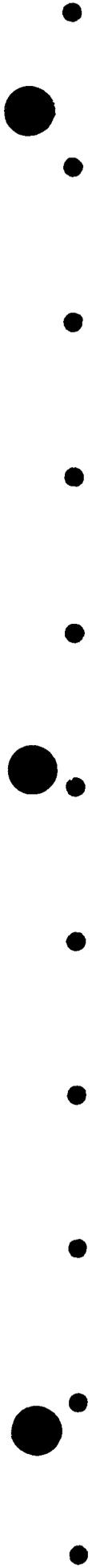
	Homicide/Attempt Involvement		Row Total
	No	Yes	
Low	127	6	133 (34%)
Moderate	79	8	87 (22%)
Predatory	<u>157</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>169</u> (43%)
	363	26	389
	(93%)	(7%)	(100%)

52



Table 24. Distribution of Violent Victimizations by History of Rape/Attempted Rape Involvement

	Rape/Attempted Rape Involvement		Row Total
	No	Yes	
Low	126	7	133 (34%)
Moderate	73	14	87 (22%)
Predatory	<u>134</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>169</u> (43%)
	333	56	389
	(86%)	(14%)	(100%)



with $n = 389$). Predatory violent youth more often do engage in violent acts with others.

Weapon Associated Violence

Are predatory violent youth more likely to possess or use an object as a weapon during violent acts? Datum for the sample supports this contention (Kendall's tau $b = .413$; $p = .001$, with $n = 389$ cases). Despite the findings, the exact dynamics between the presence of co-offenders and weapons in violent acts are unclear, and certainly complex.

Weaker Victim Selection

Are predatory violent offenders more likely than others to select victims who are markedly younger or physically weaker than themselves? Findings for the sample suggest this is so ($r = .61$; $p = .000$, with $n = 389$ cases; $Se = 3.459$; $a = 2.366$ and $b = 1.78$). As frequency of violence victimization increases, so does the likelihood of selecting some weaker victims. In Chapter V the finding is discussed in relation to free will and social learning theory positions.

Role Failure Experiences

Are predatory violent delinquents more likely than others to experience frequent failures in conventional social roles? The finding for the sample is affirmative on this point. As the number of violent victimizations increases, so does frequency of role failure experiences ($r = .461$, $p = .000$, $Se = 3.764$;



a = 1.391; b = 1.190, with n = 385 cases). Labeling and social learning theory perspectives are discussed in Chapter V in relation to this finding.

Asocial Problem Solving

Data for the sample also indicate a significant likelihood for more predatory violent youth to utilize asocial means for solving problems of living ($r = .304$; $p = .000$, with $Se = 4.157$; $a = 1.596$ and $b = .835$ with $n = 389$ cases). It is difficult theoretically to determine whether asocial problem solving occurs prior to the pattern of violence, or whether use of violence preceeds and perhaps reinforces use of asocial means of solving interpersonal problems.

Verbal Violence Reported

From a social learning theory perspective, verbal insults, threats, and harrassment of another may be part of a learned sequence of behavior in which conflict becomes escalated, and physical violence rationalized by an aggressor, leading to physical violence. Records of respondents contained accounts by parents, teachers, court and correctional staff members, concerning verbal violence. A strong correlation is found between physical violence use and frequency of verbal violence reported ($r = .509$; $p = .000$; with $Se = 3.755$; $a = 3.494$ and $b = .244$, with $n = 389$ cases). Predatory violent respondents are more likely to use frequent verbal violence against others.



Deviant Self/World View

Data for the sample indicate that court intervention is stronger for predatory violent youth than for others, but do predatory youth also tend to view themselves and the world as deviant, more than do less violent peers? This does appear to be so. A deviant perception of oneself and the world is strongly correlated with frequency of violent victimization within the sample ($r = .295$; $p = .000$, with $n = 389$). This may reflect a combination of learning from early socialization, or labeling and learning effects, or free will choices which accompany playing deviant roles, and perhaps gaining rewards from them.

Greatest Violence Seriousness Scores

Technically, frequency of violent victimizations means little in itself concerning the dangerousness of an individual, so the most serious act of reported violence was correlated with the dependent variable to determine whether delinquents who more frequently victimize others, also endanger victims' well-being to greater extent than less violent delinquents. It appears that they do ($r = .231$; $p = .001$ with $n = 389$). Possible explanations for this relationship are discussed in Chapter V.



1

Table 25. Distribution of ~~Criterion~~ ^{Independent} Variables

Variable Name	Mean	Se	SD	Value		n of cases
				Min.	Max.	
(VC) Role Failure Experiences	3.02	.084	1.639	0-11		385
(SNP) Deviant Self/World View	3.95	.067	1.313	1-6		389
(HVIS) Highest Violence Seriousness	5.41	.292	5.754	0-38		389
(VD) Asocial Problem Solving	4.15	.080	1.587	1-8		389
(VB) Anger Management Skills	4.422	.061	1.213	1-7		389
(VE) Conventional Reward Experiences	7.49		6.518			389
(VF) Verbal Violence Use	6.43	.462	9.105	0-82		389
(WWIC) Weak Victim Selection	1.51	.076	1.490	0-7		389
(DWEAPY) Weapon Users	.47	.025	dummy variable			389
(DMALEY) Male Respondents	.77	.419	dummy variable			389



Table 26. Significant Correlations Between Final Predictor Variables and Frequency of Violence Use (Dependent Variable--TPVI)

<u>Variable Name</u>	Controlling for--					<u>Partial Correlation Sex, Race, and SES</u>
	<u>Zero-Order Correlation</u>	<u>R²</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>SES</u>	
Weaker Victim Selection	.61	.37	.59	.58	.61	.53
Verbal Violence Use	.51	.26	.48	.50	.51	.47
Weapon Users	.40	.16				
Role Failure Experiences	.46	.21	.47	.45	.46	.46
Male Respondents	.32	.10	--			
Conventional Reward Experiences	--	--	--			
Anger Management Skills (higher scores=ignorance)	.16	.02	.20	.16	.16	.21
Level of System Involvement	.27	.07	.26	.25	.25	.25
Highest Violence Seriousness	.23	.05	.17	.23	.23	.17

*All correlations based on 371 or more cases, using pairwise deletion of missing data. Significance reported as $p \leq .05$ level.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for consistent and reliable data collection processes to support effective decision-making.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in data management and analysis. It discusses how modern software solutions can streamline data collection, storage, and reporting, thereby improving efficiency and accuracy.

4. The fourth part of the document addresses the challenges associated with data security and privacy. It stresses the importance of implementing robust security measures to protect sensitive information from unauthorized access and breaches.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of data quality and integrity. It notes that high-quality data is crucial for generating meaningful insights and making informed decisions, and therefore, rigorous data validation and cleaning processes are necessary.

6. The sixth part of the document explores the various applications of data analysis in different business contexts. It provides examples of how data insights can be used to optimize marketing campaigns, improve customer service, and identify new business opportunities.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the importance of data literacy and training. It emphasizes that all employees should have a basic understanding of data and be able to interpret and use data effectively to support their work.

8. The eighth part of the document concludes by summarizing the key points discussed and reiterating the overall importance of data in driving organizational success. It encourages a data-driven culture where decisions are based on facts and evidence.

9. The ninth part of the document provides a list of resources and references for further reading and research. It includes books, articles, and online courses that offer in-depth insights into data management and analysis.

10. The tenth part of the document is a call to action, urging the organization to embrace a data-driven approach and invest in the necessary infrastructure and talent to harness the full potential of data.

Table 27. Sex In Relationship to Violence Usage
In the Sample

(Y) Violence Usage	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	Sex of Respondents		ROW TOTAL
		Females	Males	
LOW	1	58	75	133
		43.6	56.4	34.2
		65.9	24.9	
		14.9	19.3	
MODERATE	2	15	72	87
		17.2	82.8	22.4
		17.0	23.9	
		3.9	18.5	
PREDATORY	3	15	154	169
		8.9	91.1	43.4
		17.0	51.2	
		3.9	39.6	
	COLUMN TOTAL	88 22.6	301 77.4	389 100.0

Kendall's tau B=.33639; p=.0000
Chi-square=53.14828 with 2df; p=.0000

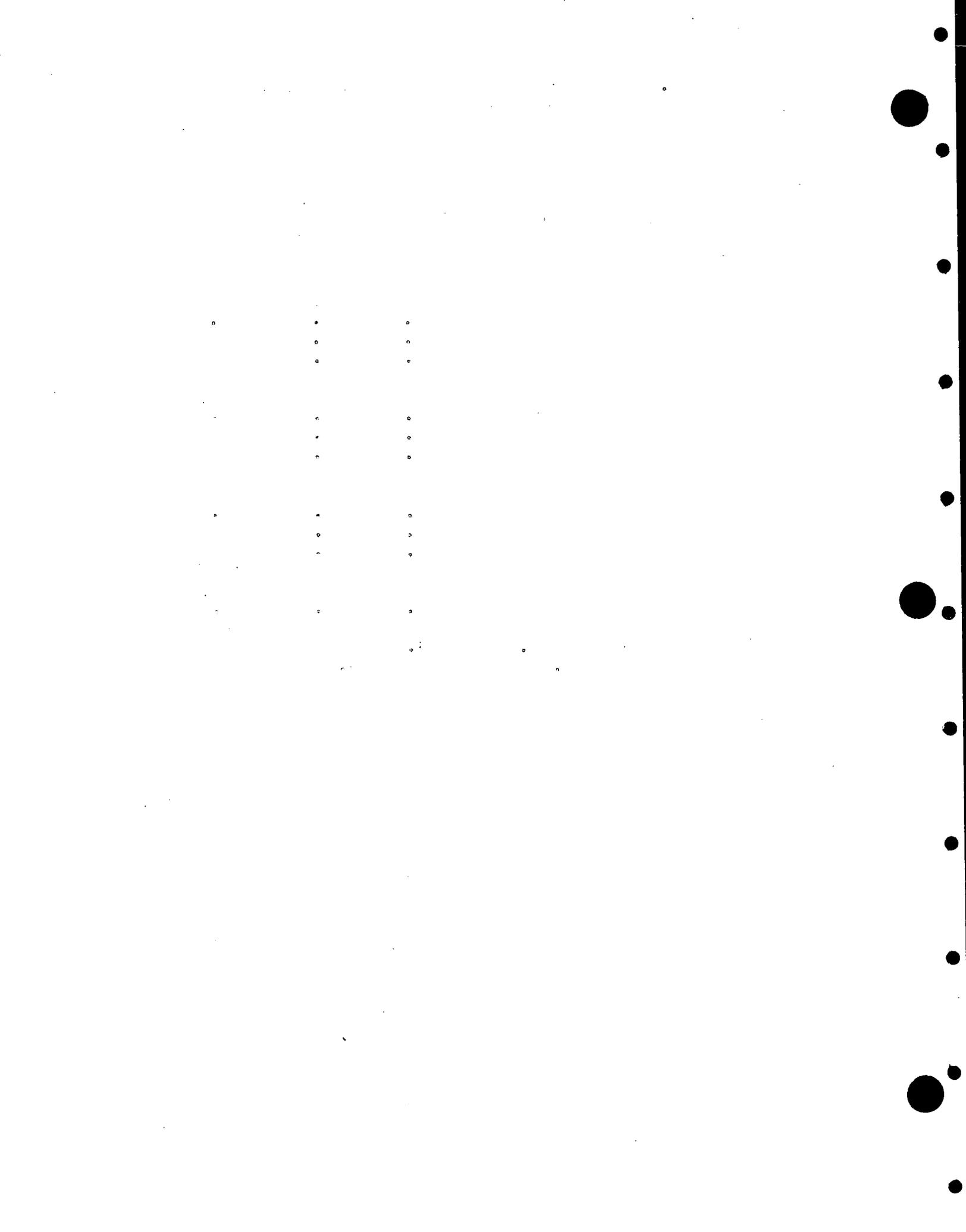


Table 28

Race In Relationship to Violence Usage
In the Sample

(Y) Violence Usage	COUNT		Race of Respondents		ROW
	ROW PCT	COL PCT	White	Black	TOTAL
LOW	1		87	46	133
			65.4	34.6	34.2
			42.0	25.3	
			22.4	11.8	
MODERATE	2		51	36	87
			58.6	41.4	22.4
			24.6	19.8	
			13.1	9.3	
PREDATORY	3		69	100	169
			40.8	59.2	43.4
			33.3	54.9	
			17.7	25.7	
	COLUMN		207	182	389
	TOTAL		53.2	46.8	100.0

Table 29. Distribution of SES Standing of Respondents
By Violence Usage

	COUNT				
	ROW PCT				
	COL PCT				
	TOT PCT				
(Y) Violence Usage		Middle	Working	Lower	Row Total
LOW	14	69	46	129	
	10.9	53.5	35.7	33.9	
	29.1	36.5	32.2		
	3.7	18.2	12.2		
MODERATE	12	46	26	84	
	14.3	54.8	31.0	22.1	
	25.0	24.3	18.2		
	3.1	12.1	6.8		
PREDATORY	22	74	71	167	
	13.2	44.3	42.5	43.9	
	45.9	39.1	49.7		
	5.8	19.5	18.7		
COLUMN TOTAL	48	189	143	n=380	
	12.6	49.7	37.6	100.0	

*9 missing cases

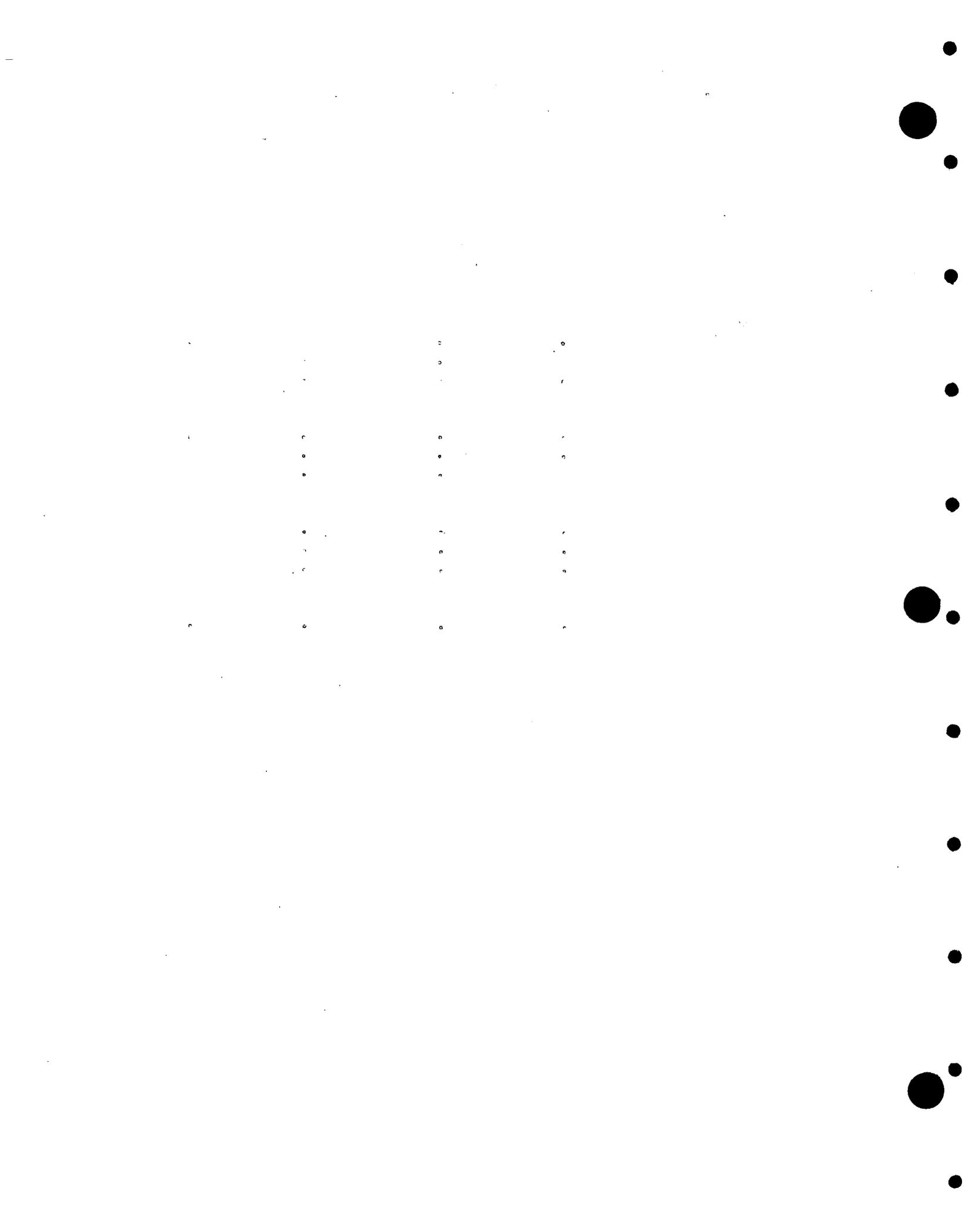


Table 30. Distribution of Reported Chemical Abuse Among Respondents By Violence Usage

(DCHEMY) Reported Chemical Abuse of Respondents

(Y) Violence Usage	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT			ROW TOTAL
		No	Yes	
LOW	1	57	76	133
		42.9	57.1	34.2
		36.1	32.9	
		14.7	19.5	
MODERATE	2	39	48	87
		44.8	55.2	22.4
		24.7	20.8	
		10.0	12.3	
PREDATORY	3	62	107	169
		36.7	63.3	43.4
		39.2	46.3	
		15.9	27.5	
	COLUMN TOTAL	158 40.6	231 59.4	389 100.0

Kendall's tau B=.05585; p=.1227--not significant
 Chi-square=1.99873 with 2 df; p=.3681--not significant

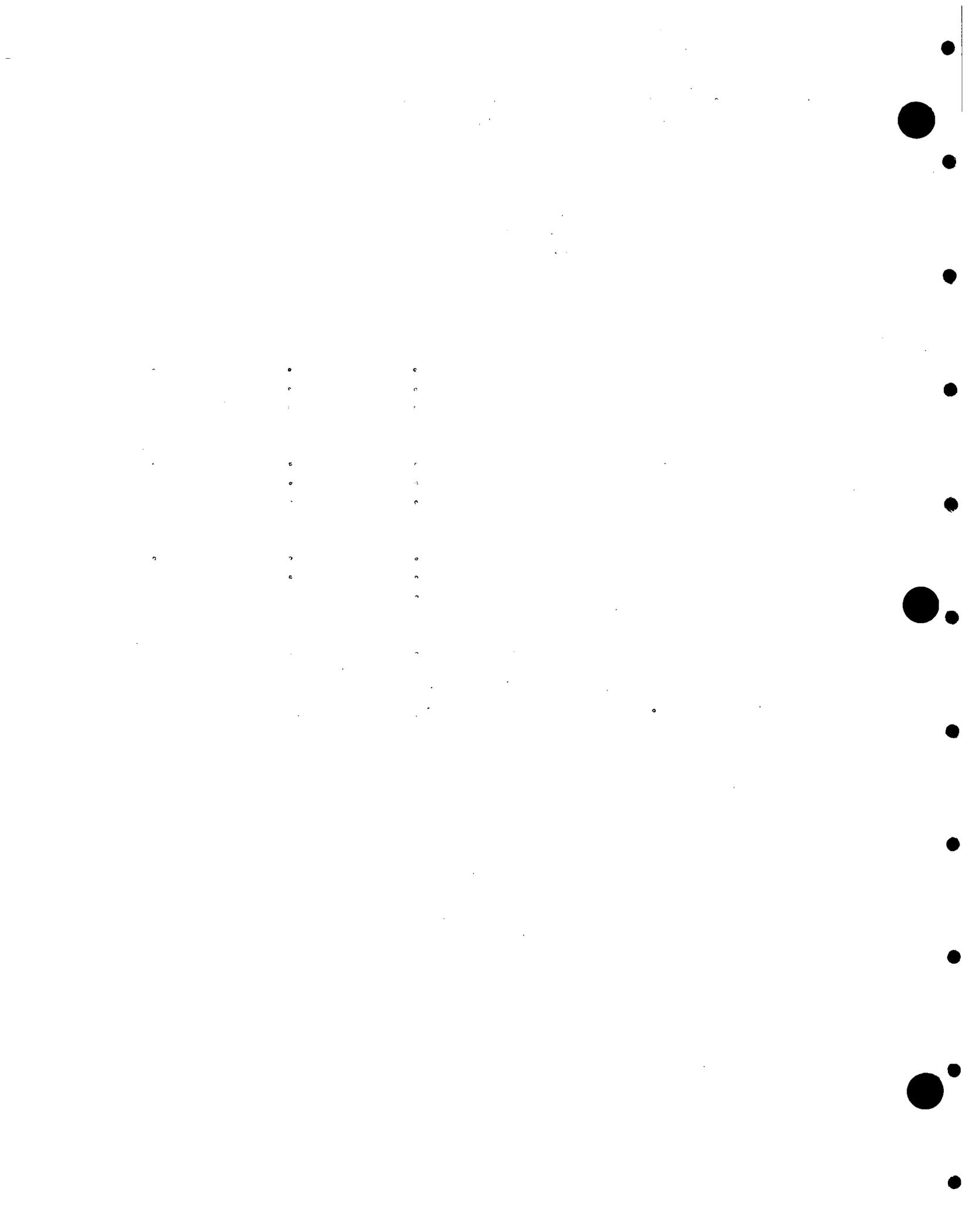


Table 31. Distribution of Reported Chemical Abuse Among Family Members of Respondents By Violence Usage of Respondents

(DFMCAY) Reported Chemical Abuse By Family Members

		COUNT		ROW TOTAL
		ROW PCT	COL PCT	
(Y) Respondent Violence Usage		NO	YES	
LOW	1	80	53	133
		60.2	39.8	34.2
		34.2	34.2	
		20.6	13.6	
MODERATE	2	55	32	87
		63.2	36.8	22.4
		23.5	20.6	
		14.1	8.2	
PREDATORY	3	99	70	169
		58.6	41.4	43.4
		42.3	45.2	
		25.4	18.0	
	COLUMN TOTAL	234	155	389
		60.2	39.8	100.0

Kendall's tau B=.01617; p=.3683--not significant
 Chi-square=.51556 with 2df; p=.7728--not significant

100-100000-100000

100-100000-100000

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Table 32. Distribution of Co-Offender Usage
Among Sample By Violence Usage

(DCOPY) Co-offender Users

(Y) Violence Usage	COUNT	COUNT		ROW TOTAL
		ROW PCT.	COL PCT	
	TOT PCT	NO	YES	
LOW	1	109	24	133
		82.0	18.0	34.2
		46.6	15.5	
MODERATE	2	49	38	87
		56.3	43.7	22.4
		20.9	24.5	
PREDATORY	3	76	93	169
		45.0	55.0	43.4
		32.5	60.0	
	19.5	23.9		
	COLUMN TOTAL	234	155	n=389
		60.2	39.8	100.0

Kendall's tau B=.30792; p=.0000
Chi-square=43.16056 with 2df; p=.0000

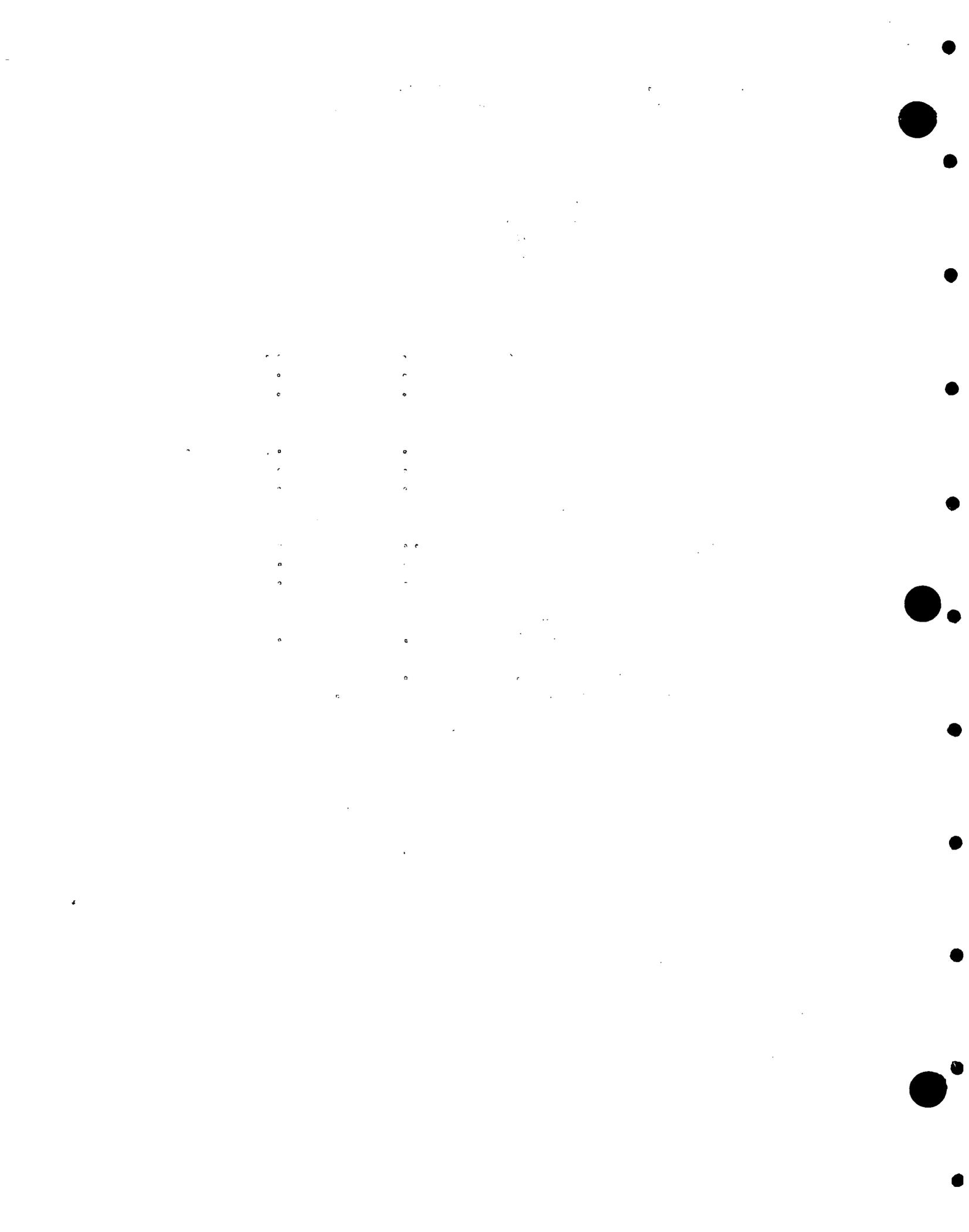


Table 33. Significant Zero-Order Correlations Between Selected Variables

VARIABLE NAMES	TPVI	WVIC	VF	DWEAPY	VC	DMALEY	VE	DBLKY	AGE	SES	IQ	HVIS	VD	VB	LSYIN	SEX	RACE
Frequency of Violence Use		0.61	0.51	0.40	0.46	0.32		0.22				0.23	0.30	0.16	0.16	0.13	-0.25
Weaker Victim Selection	0.61		0.28	0.31	0.36	0.20		0.25				0.30	0.18	0.19	0.27		
Verbal Violence Use	0.51	0.28		0.10	0.23	0.22	0.46	0.14				0.12	0.25		0.13	0.22	-0.15
Weapon Users	0.40	0.31	0.10		0.17	0.22		0.17				0.44	0.20				
Role Failure Experiences	0.46	0.27	0.23	0.17				0.13			0.10		0.17	0.14	0.55		-0.11
Male Respondents	0.32	0.20	0.22	0.22			-0.09	0.09				0.23	0.55	-0.10			
Conventional Reward Experiences			0.45			-0.09											-0.09
Black Respondents	0.26	0.25	0.14	0.18	0.13	0.09	0.06						0.09				
Age of Respondents												0.15	0.23				
SES of Respondents											0.15						
IQ of Respondents					0.10					0.15							-0.14
Highest Violence Seriousness	0.23	0.30	0.12	0.44		0.23		0.15					0.20			0.23	-0.04
Asocial Problem Solving	0.30	0.18	0.25	0.20	0.17	0.55		0.09	0.23			0.20			0.16		-0.10
Anger Management social Skills (note: higher scores=ignorance)	0.16	0.19			0.14										0.09	-0.09	
Level of System Involvement	0.27	0.27	0.13		0.55								0.16	0.09			
Sex	0.32		0.22				-0.10					0.23	0.55	-0.09			0.13
Race (note: Black=1; White=2)	-0.25		-0.15		-0.11						-0.14	-0.04	-0.09				

rounded to nearest hundreth

Table 34. Variables Showing Significant Differences
Between Predatory Violence and Violence Usage
By Respondents

Variables

VF	- Verbal Violence Usage
VBF	- Anger Management Skill (Ignorance)
VC	- Role Failure Experiences
LSYIN	- Level of System Involvement
VD	- Asocial Problem Solving
SNP	- Deviant Self/World View
HVIS	- Highest Violence Seriousness
DWEAPY	- Weapons Users
NCCPV	- Number of Court Cases For Violence
DCOPY	- Co-Offender Users
DLSESY	- Lower Social Class Standing
PSYCHAB	- Diagnosed Psychological Abnormality
DFMVY	- Reported Family Member Violence in the Community
URRU	- Urbanicity
DNCRY	- High Crime Neighborhood
DBLKY	- Black Respondents
DMALEY	- Male Respondents
LSYIN	- Level of Court Intervention



Table 35. Rotated Oblique Factor Structure of
 Sample Data¹ For Five Factors
 (with Kaiser Normalization)

	<u>Abbreviated Variable Names</u>	<u>Correlations with Factor</u>
Factor 1	Role Failures	.12814
	Asocial Problem Solving	.11839
	Verbal Violence	.14090
	Weaker Victim Selection	.29194
	Weapon Used	.21352
	Co-Offender Used	.32608
	Family Member Violence Used	.24970
	High Neighborhood Crime Rate	.22751
	Male Respondents	.13715
Black Respondents	.98346	
Factor 2	Level of System Involvement	.68497
	Deviant Self/World View	.29067
	Role Failures	.79534
	Asocial Problem Solving	.19355
	Verbal Violence	.23912
	Weaker Victim Selection	.37344
	Weapon Used	.10694
	Co-Offender Used	.10990
	Family Member Violence Used	.10018
	Respondent Chemical Abuse	.12333
	Black Respondents	.10695
	Lower SES	.12969
Factor 3	Self-reported Intrafamily Violence Use	.23832
	Anger Management Skill Ignorance	.10343
	Family Member Chemical Abuse	.11527
	White Respondents	.14602

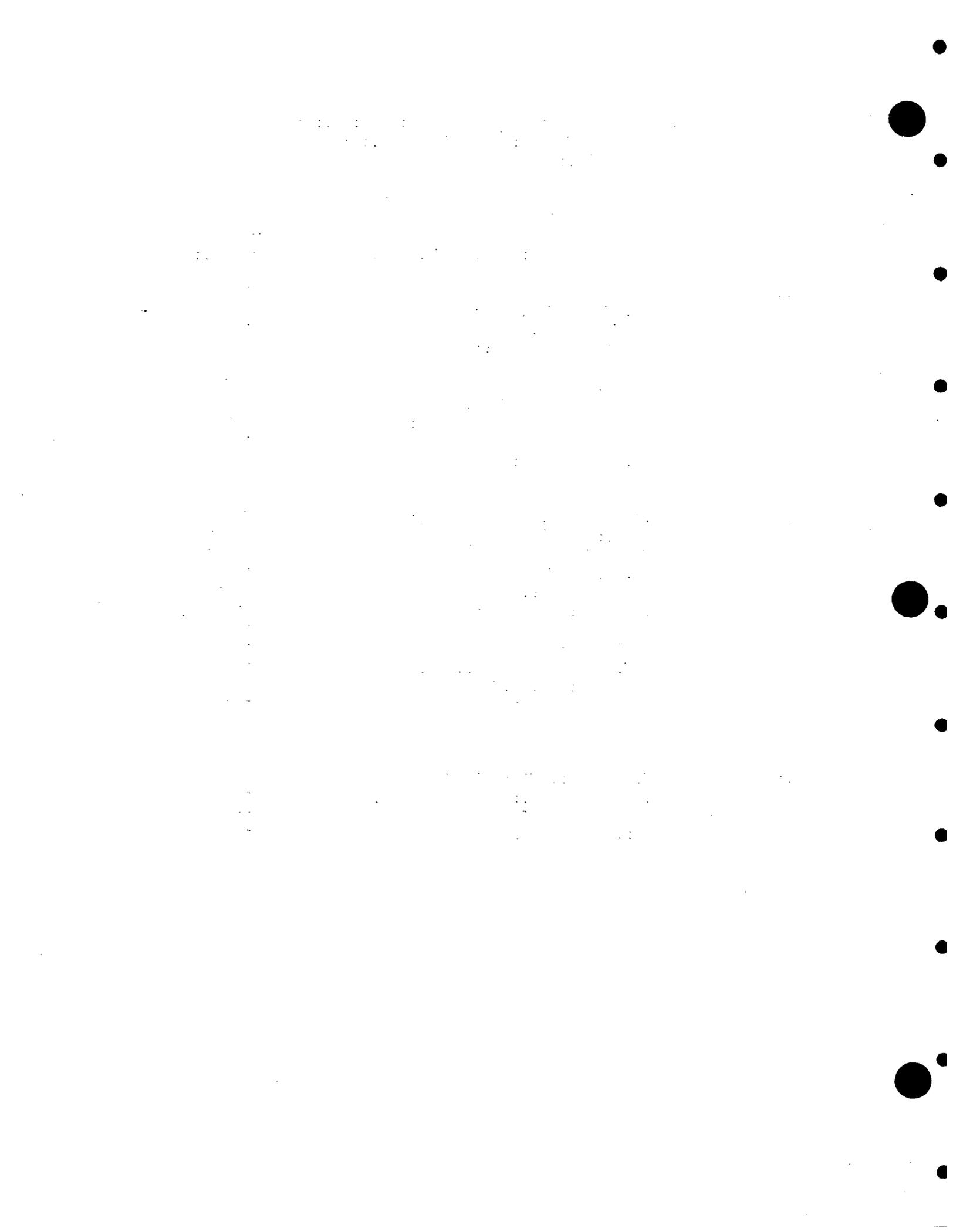


Table 36 continued. Rotated Oblique Factor Structure of
 Sample Data¹ For Five Factors
 (with Kaiser Normalization)

	<u>Abbreviated Variable Names</u>	<u>Correlations with Factor</u>
Factor 4	Conventional Reward Experiences	.11391
	Weapon Used	.130277
	Family Member Violence Used	.22912
	High Member Crime Rate	.30119
	Family Member Chemical Abuse	.17624
	Lower SES	.57159
Factor 5	Deviant Self/World View	.10868
	Role Failures	.10923
	Asocial Problem Solving	.16845
	Conventional Reward Experiences	.67987
	Verbal Violence	.74933
	Weaker Victim Selection	.12873
	High Neighborhood Crime Rate	.13658
Black Respondents	.12738	

¹ Only correlations of .10 or greater are reported to simplify presentation to include only the most powerful explanatory variables for each factor.



Table 37. Communality of Data In Factor Analysis
(Based on 15 Iterations)

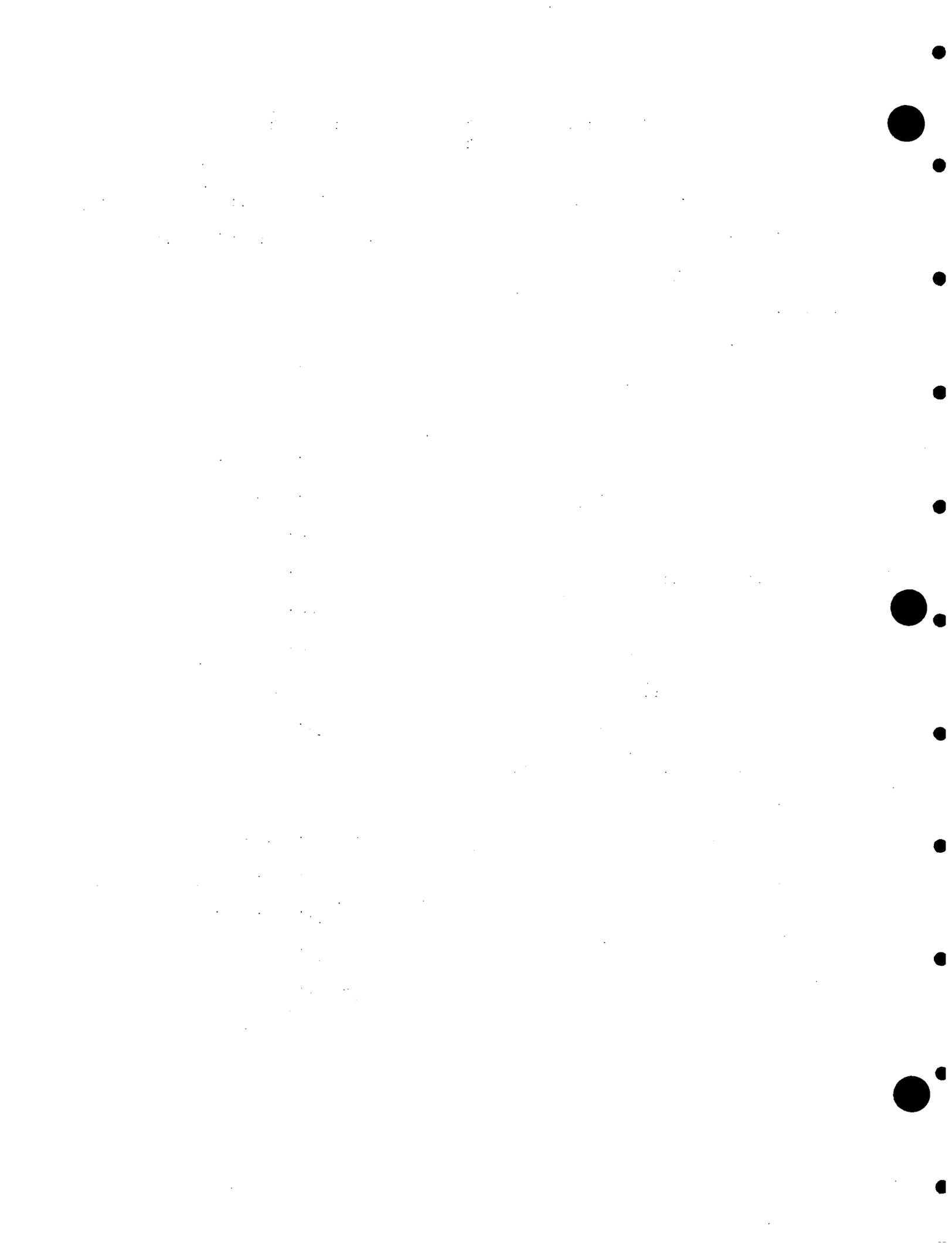
<u>Factor</u>	<u>Principal Theoretical Approaches</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>	<u>% of Variance</u>	<u>Cumulative Percent</u>
1	Conflict/Free Will/Learning	3.04210	29.1	29.1
2	Labeling/Learning/Free Will	1.73108	16.5	45.6
3	Learning/Conflict	1.45654	13.9	59.5
4	Conflict/Learning	1.01993	9.7	69.2
5	Learning/Free Will/Labeling	.90901	8.7	77.9
*6	-----	.80473	7.7	85.6
*7	-----	.67193	6.4	92.0
8	Learning/Conflict	.47453	4.5	96.5
9	Learning/Conflict/Free Will	.36138	3.5	100.0

*Factor 6&7 contain variance accounted for primarily by a dummy variable for missing data on Neighborhood Crime Rate, and therefore is considered meaningless in theoretical analysis.



Table 38. Theoretical Perspectives Represented By the Major Independent Variables

<u>Variable Names</u>	<u>Primary and Secondary Theoretical Perspectives Represented</u>
Level of System Involvement	Labeling (Societal Reactions)
Self Reported Family Violence	Learning
Greatest Violence Use Score	Free Will/Learning
Deviant Self/World View	Learning
Anger Management Skill Ignorance	Learning
Role Failure Experiences	Labeling
Asocial Problem Solving	Learning/Free Will
Conventional Reward Experiences	Learning/Labeling
Verbal Violence Use	Free Will/Learning
Weaker Victim Selection	Free Will/Learning
Weapon Use	Free Will/Learning
Co-Offender Use	Free Will/Learning
Family Member Violence Reported In Community	Learning
High Neighborhood Crime Rate	Conflict/Learning
Family Member Chemical Abuse Reported	Learning
Respondent Chemical Abuse Reported	Learning/Free Will
Male Respondents	Labeling/Learning
Black Respondents	Conflict/Labeling/Learning
White Respondents	Conflict/Labeling/Learning
Lower SES	Conflict/Learning
Middle SES	Conflict/Learning



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 Table 28. Variables Excluded From Regression
 (Failed to contribute meaningfully to R)

<u>Variable Names</u>	<u>Description</u>
(DCOPY) Co-Offender Users	Reported use of one or more co-offenders during at least one violent act (dummy variable)
(DNCRY) High Neighborhood Crime Rate	Reported high rate of crime/delinquency in respondent's home neighborhood (dummy variable)
(DFMVY) Family Member Violence in Community	Reported violent crime by a member of respondent's family (dummy variable)
(LSYIN) Level of System Involvement	Progressive level of sanctions by juvenile court in each case
(HVIS) Highest Violence Seriousness	Score of dangerousness to victims in most violent incident
(SNP) Deviant Self/World View	Scale indicating the tendency to view oneself as deviant and others as corrupt
(SRFV) Self-Reported Intrafamily Violence	Self-report scale measuring combinations of aggressor-victims among family in violent conflict
(VB) Anger Management Social Skills	Scale of relative ignorance concerning the management of one's anger
(VD) Asocial Problem Solving	Scale measuring tendency to resolve problems using asocial, unapproved behavior
(DFMCAY) Drug/Alcohol Abuse by Other Family Members	Reported abuse of drugs/alcohol by members of the respondent's family (dummy variable)
(DCHEMY) Drug/Alcohol Abuse by Respondent	Reported abuse of drugs/alcohol by respondent (dummy variable)
(DBLKY) Black Respondents	Black respondents (dummy variable)
(DLSESY) Lower SES Respondents	Lower social class respondents (dummy variable)



Chapter V

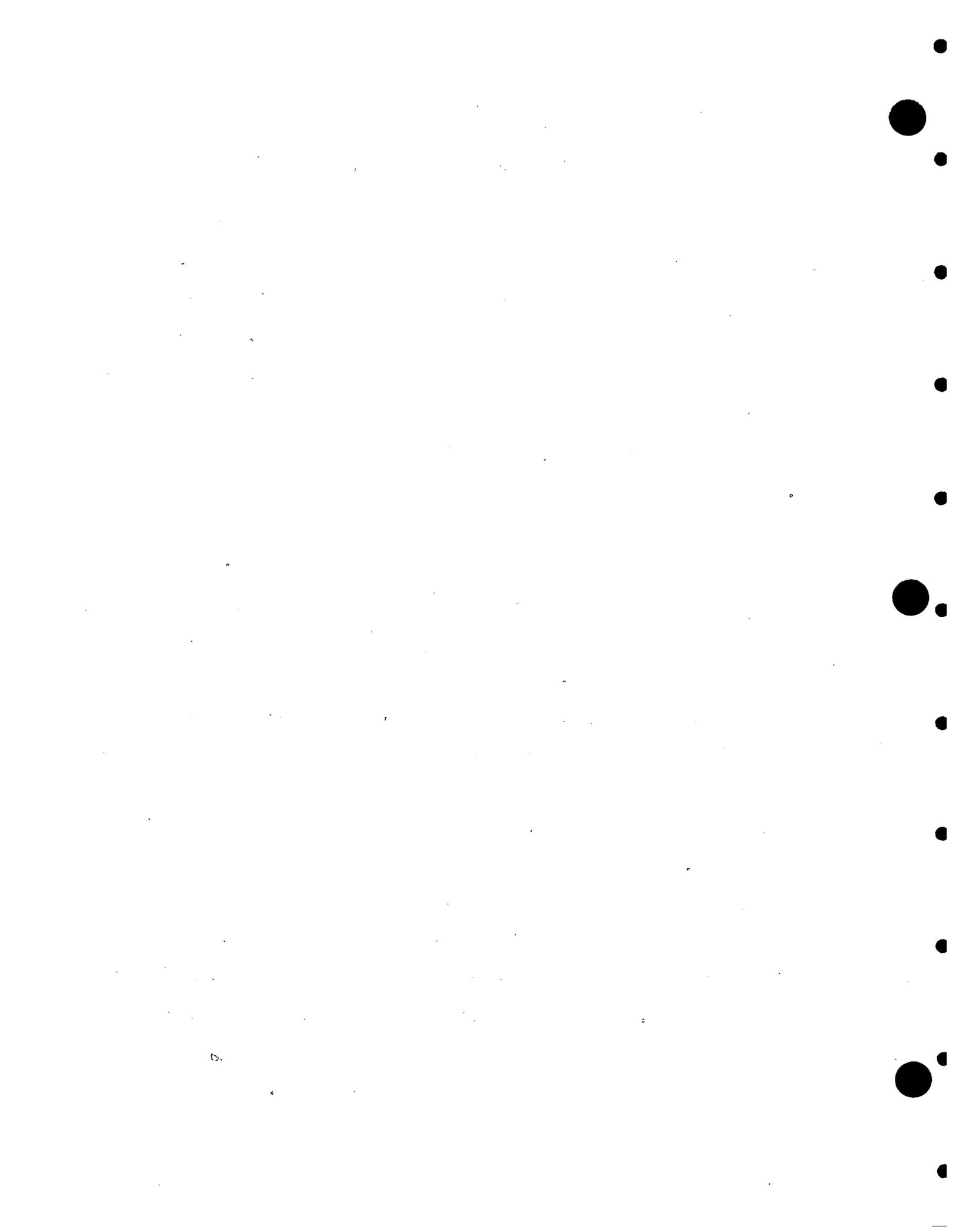
DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

There is an empirical basis for considering predatory violent offenders as a separate, meaningful category of delinquents. In this chapter, findings are discussed which differentiate predatory offenders from their less violent peers in the sample. Discussion is then given to a number of relationships expected to show differences between predatory offenders and less violent peers, which did not prove to be significant, despite their grounding in the literature.

The expectation that four general theoretical positions would emerge in factor analysis of the data is then discussed. Given available variables to represent the four theoretical perspectives, some perspectives demonstrate much greater explanatory power than others in the sample data. The most powerful variables are then subjected to multiple regression analysis, with the best linear equations discussed for all cases, and for female cases separately. The meaning of findings are discussed along with implication of these findings for future research, correctional treatment and juvenile justice policy.

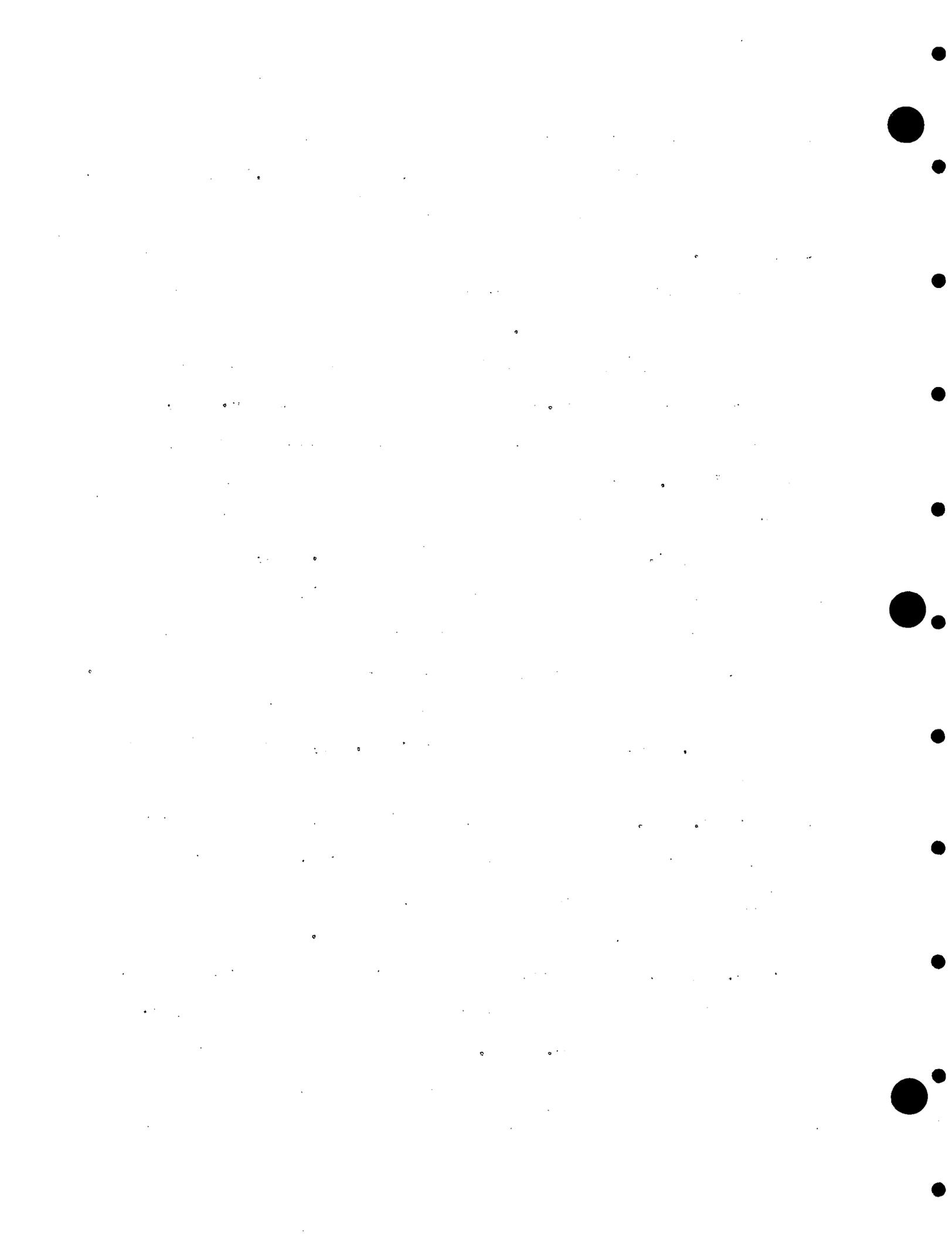
Predatory Violence as Separate Behavioral Phenomenon

A number of indicators elucidate differences between respondents with little or no history of violence from those with histories of predatory violence. These are discussed in the following section, as are a number of factors which failed to yield significant differences between low and predatory violent respondents. A number of



variables derived from the learning theory approach to violence do not prove predictive of violence use, as expected. All interpretations given here are based on data for the sample, as reported in Chapter IV. Interpretations apply only to this sample, as no parameters are available to extend interpretations to the total population of all delinquents.

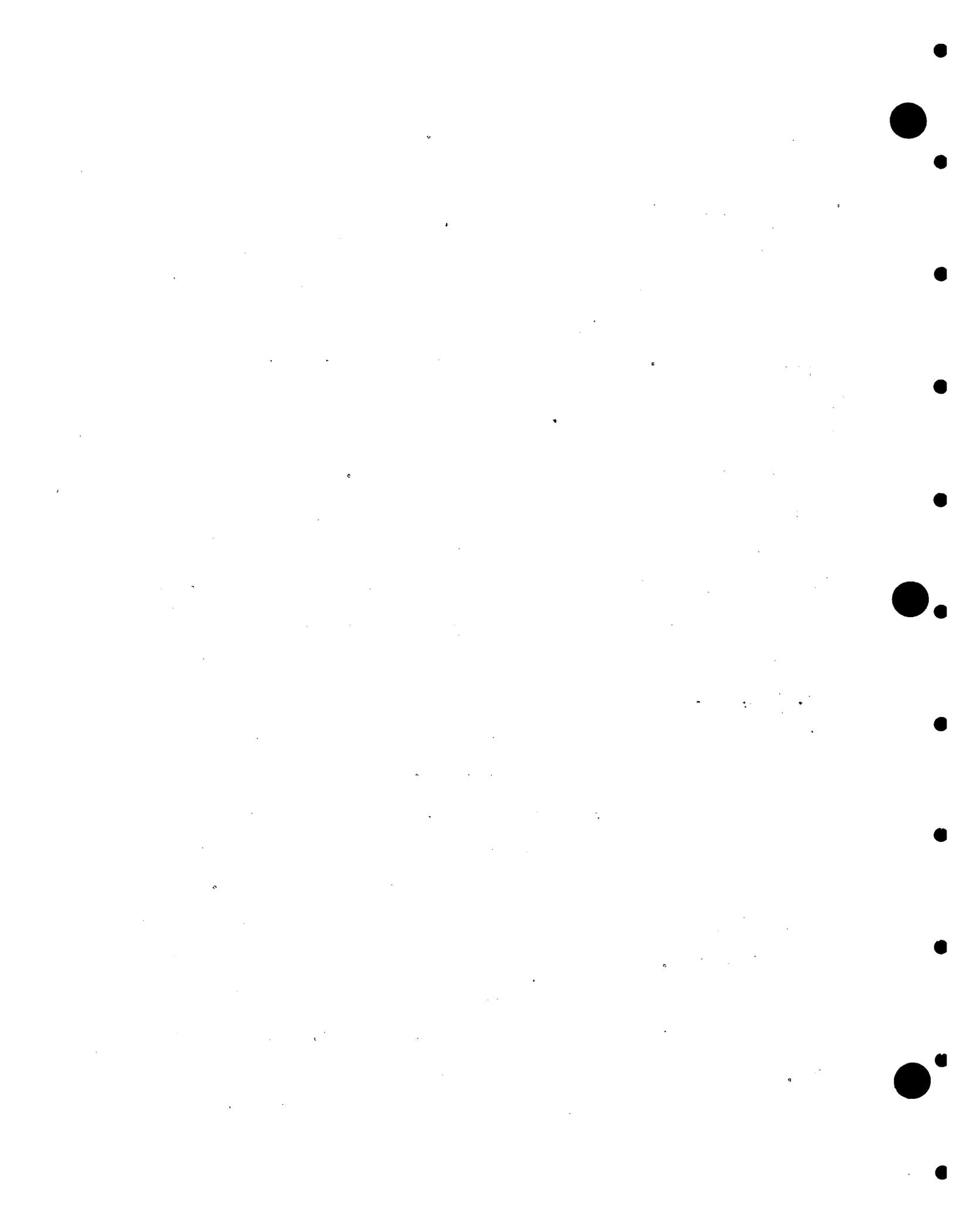
Predatory violence is associated significantly with frequent use of verbal violence ($r=.5093$ between TPVI and VF; $p=.000$), as Megargee's reasoning suggests, even when controlling for sex, age and SES ($pr=$). Predatory violent respondents generally are significantly more ignorant of anger management skills than less violent peers ($r=.15457$ between TPVI and VB; $p=.001$), raising questions as to whether violent youth have sufficient socialization to choose appropriate alternatives to violence in conflictual situations, an issue raised by Toch (19), Weis and Hawking (19). Females in the sample prove to be somewhat more ignorant than males generally ($r=-.0959$, between VB and SEX; $p=.02$), though predatory violence is significantly more frequent among males than females ($r=.31966$; $p=.000$). Data indicates greater prevalence of formal sanctions by society against predatory offenders, in their removal from social roles at home, school, jobs, institutional placements and various programs, due to their behavior ($r=.15457$ between TPVI and VB; $p=.00112$), and experience significantly greater intervention by the juvenile justice system than less violent offenders ($r=.26639$, between TPVI and LSYIN; $p=.0000$). This suggests that at least institutionalized predatory violent offenders go beyond limits of societal tolerance of violence and do undergo serious sanctions and labeling consequences, including multiple institutionalizations and



~~and~~ placement away from their parents. Given the ongoing use of violence within institutions by many members of the sample, Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin's argument (19) that institutionalization does not generally deter chronic violent delinquents is supported.

Predatory violent respondents scored generally higher on the tendency to choose asocial ways to solve problems, than did less violent peers ($r=.3042$ between TPVI and VD; $p=.000$), a finding supportive of the Wolfgang and Ferracuti (19) argument that violent people often lack commitment to conventional norms and roles, preferring unapproved ways to solve problems. Questions remain unanswered as to whether predatory offenders always realize the unapproved nature of their behavior, and whether they always have adequate social skills to choose more appropriate behavior. In regard to viewing self and others as deviant, predatory offenders also score significantly higher than their peers (Kendall's $\tau=.2601$, $p=.001$ between Y and SNP), considering the dependent variable as a three category variable with low/no violence cases; moderate, and predatory violence cases.

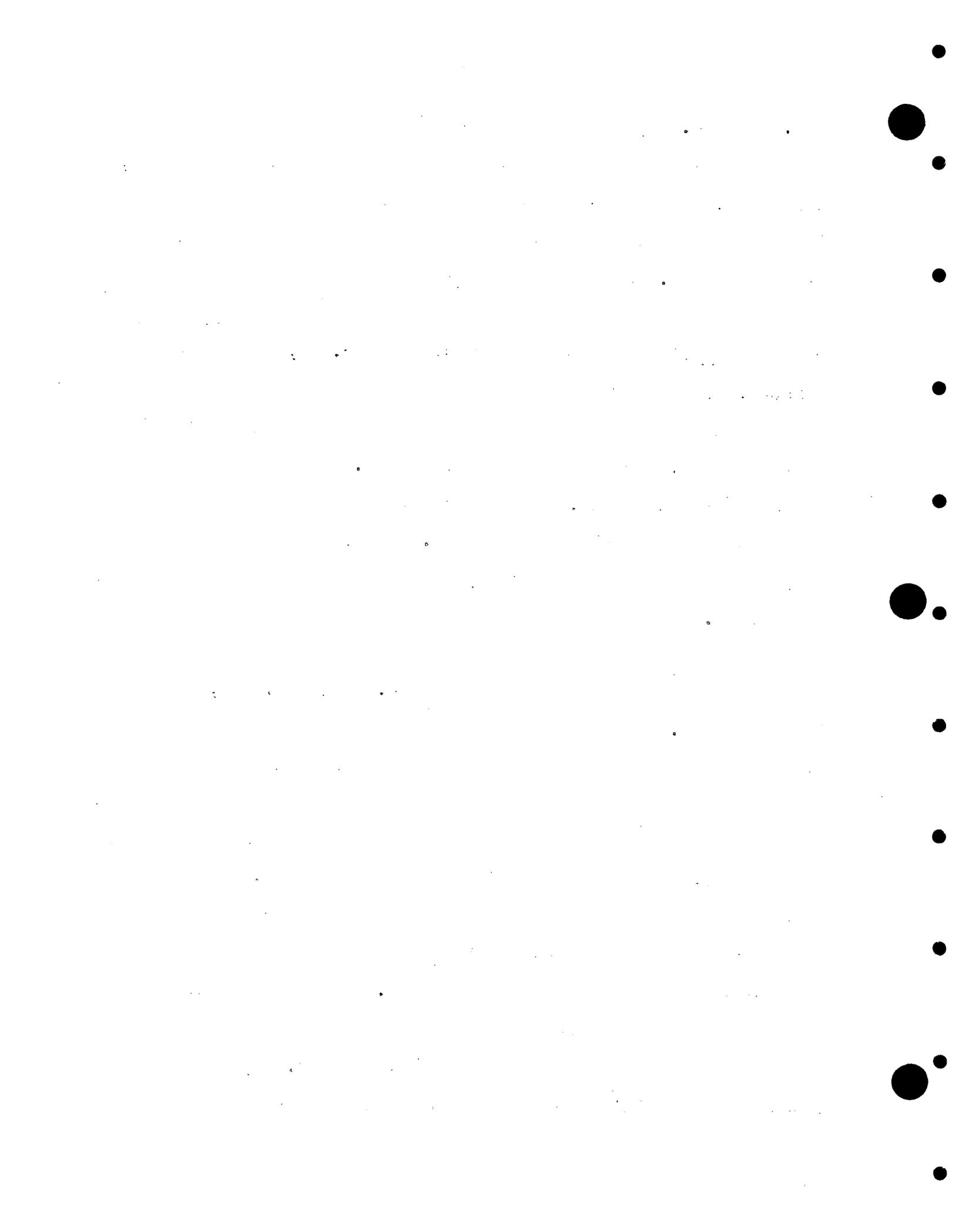
Isralowitz (19), Staats (1975), and Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin (19) have all suggested that use of violent behavior leads to increasing use of and seriousness of violent behavior. The highest violence seriousness scale allows us to test this assertion in a limited way. Predatory offenders did generally commit violent acts more dangerous or harmful to their victims than did less violent and nonviolent offenders ($\tau=.3778$; $p=.001$, between Y and HVIS). Weapons use in violent acts was also significantly more characteristic of predatory offenders than among other delinquents



($\tau=.3983$; $p=.001$, between Y and WEAP), suggesting some support for Berkowitz's position (19) that visual cues such as weapons, an audience, alcohol or other symbols associated with violence may situationally arouse aggressive people, moving interaction toward violent outcomes. Self-reported chemical abuse (extensive usage of drugs and alcohol) is significantly correlated with self-reported use of felony violence (Spearman $r_s=.2512$; $p=.001$, between SRVU and SRCA), but closer examination of chemical abuse in the sample indicates high usage of chemicals by both low/nonviolent cases and predatory cases, a curvilinear relationship.

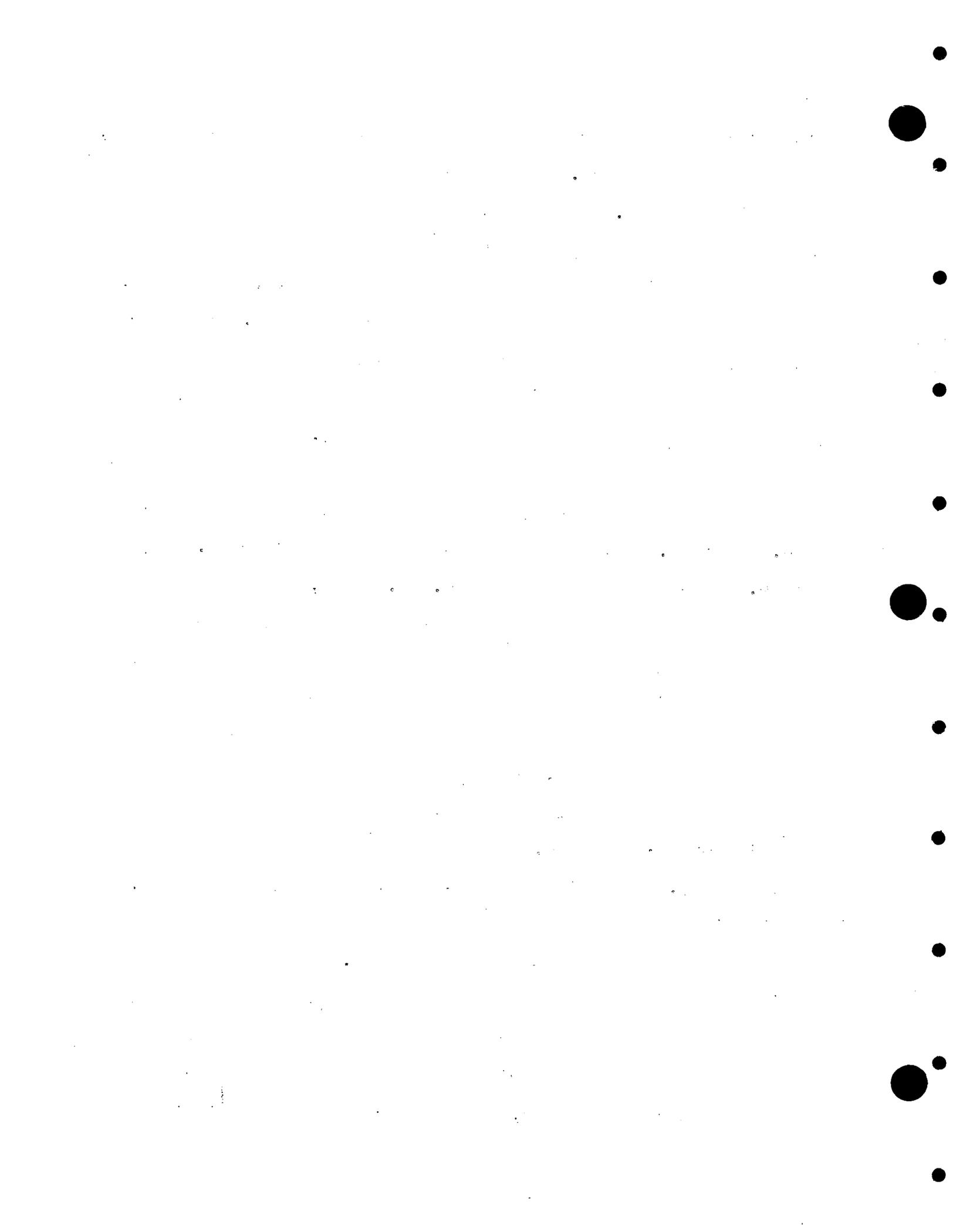
Of the total sample, 306 respondents had committed at least one aggressive physically violent act. The sample was responsible for 2,861 acts of violence, but 1,396 of these acts were not processed by any court. Nevertheless, the number of court cases involving violence does correlate significantly with the overall frequency of violence use by members of the sample ($r=.65364$; $p=.0000$, between TPVI and NCCPV). Predatory offenders are responsible for a disproportionate % or of the total of 2,861 violent acts, indicating that predatory violent delinquents are frequently before the juvenile court for violent acts of delinquency as Isralowitz argues (19), as well as for nonviolent delinquency.

Cohen (19) has argued the group or gang nature of much delinquency among lower class delinquents as a means for them to gain success and status among their peers. For the sample, predatory offenders are significantly more likely to have had co-offenders for one or more of their violent acts ($\tau_B=.3047$; $p=.000$, between Y and DCOFY) though this does not suggest only lower class youth



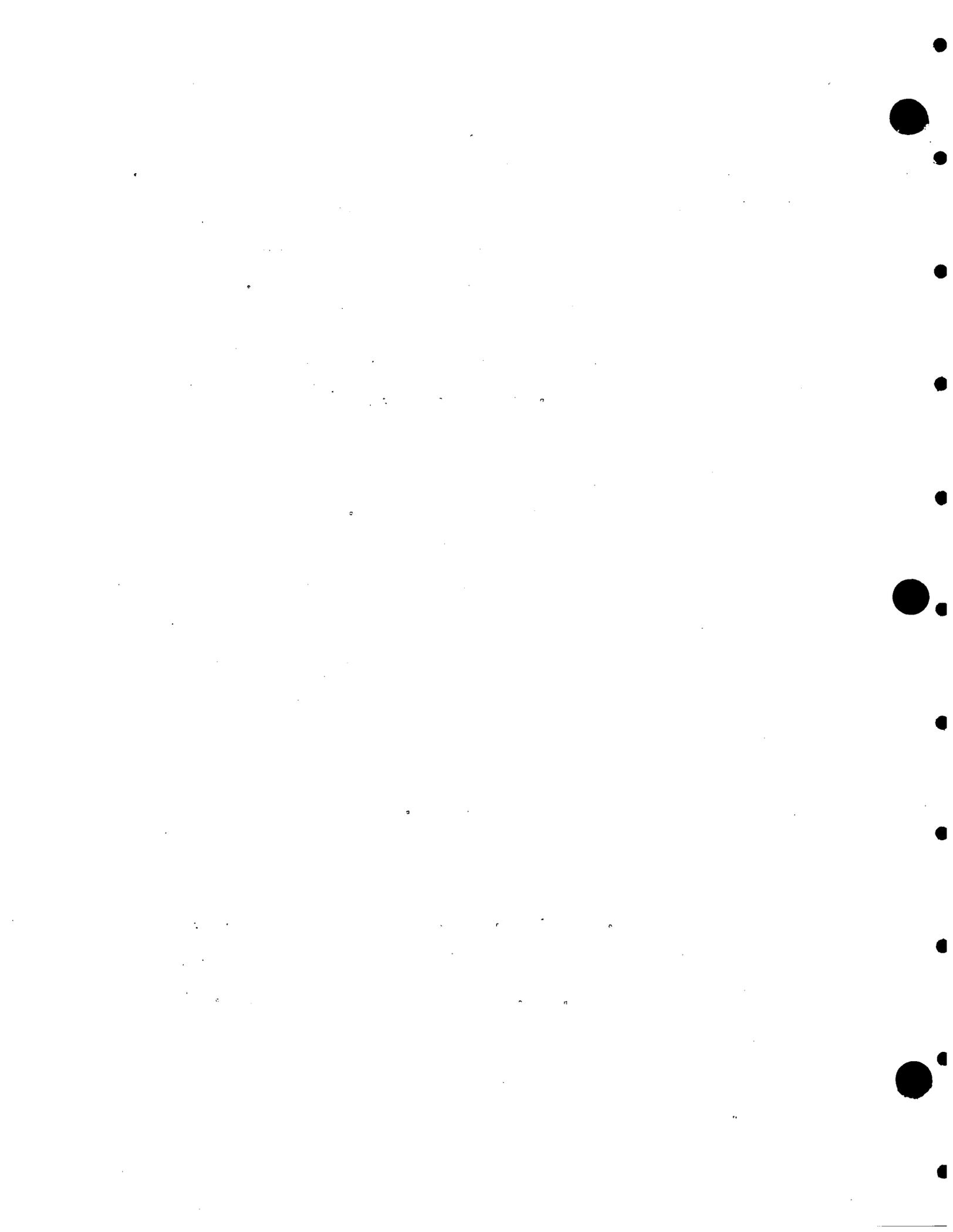
utilize co-offenders, or that predatory youth utilize co-offenders in most acts of violence. The distribution of co-offender users is given in Table . The institutional sample contains 12% middle class, 49% working class, and 37% lower class youth, with 2% unknown, a distribution not representative of the general U.S. population, but containing a high proportion of lower class youth. A number of researchers argue the preponderance of lower class representation in delinquency, among them Worlfgang, Figlio and Sellin (196), Isralowitz (19), and Cloward and Ohlin (19), but in this sample, violence alone is only somewhat associated with lower class social standing, but only to a limited level of significance (Kendall's tau B=.09553; p=.0235, between Y and DLSESY; chi-square=5.19627 with 2 df; p=.0744--not significant at p=.05). Thus, sample data provides limited support for Cloward and Ohlin's differential opportunity theory related to the possible anomie experienced by poor youth, some of whom may respond to limited opportunities for success by joining violent gangs, retreating into a drug/alcohol subculture or acting out violence to earn money. Considering the relationship between overall SES status with violence use, the result is not significant (Kendall's tau B=.03416; p=.2304), though the chi-square is significant (17.02871 with 8 df; p=.0298), as shown in Table , so it may be likely that SES standing is not a reliable predictor of predatory violence in the general population.

Biological theorists have long postulated the prevalence of physical stigmata among criminal populations, so using the concept of medical diagnoses by physicians for any longterm, physical disease or physical deformity, no significant relationship is found



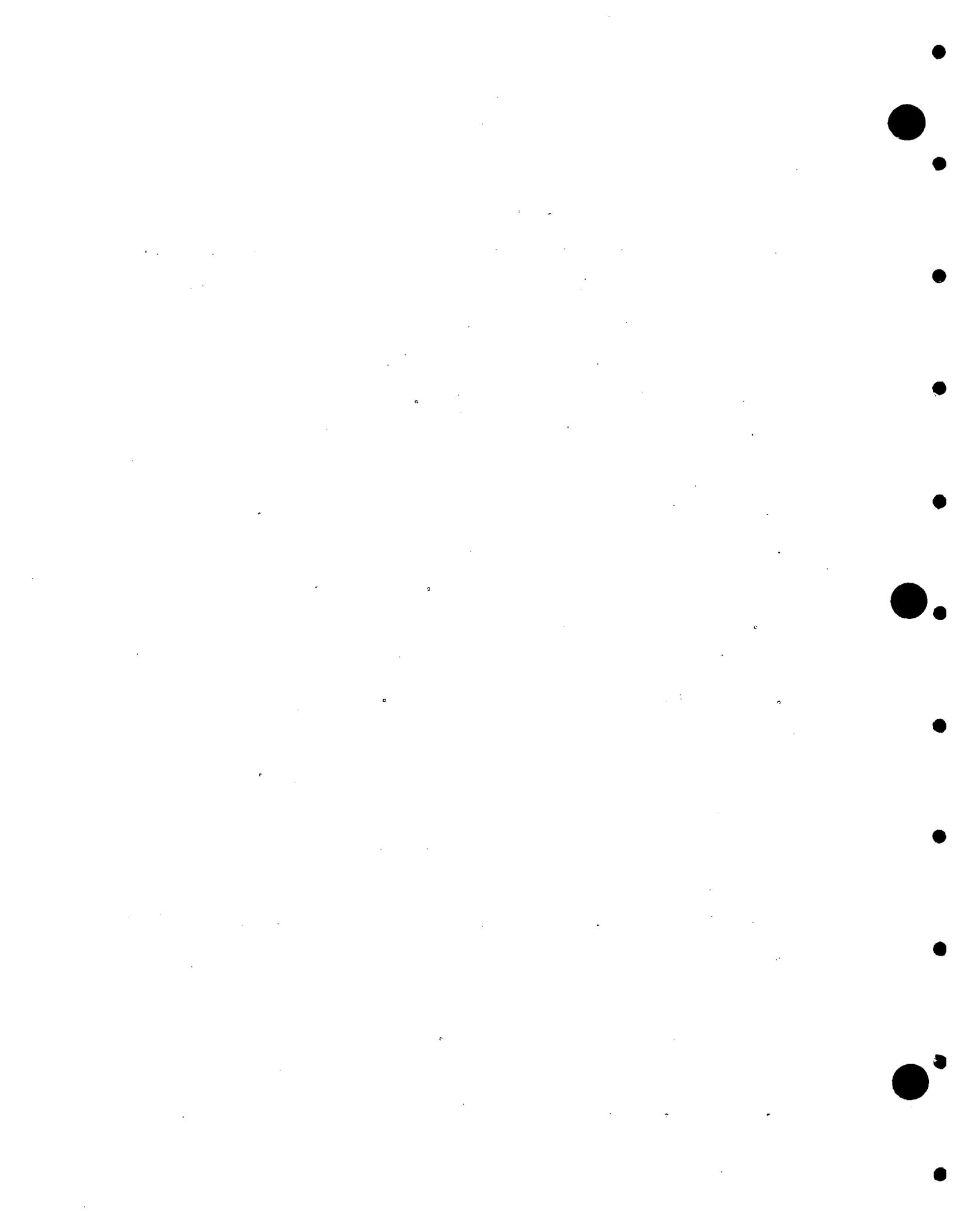
in the sample with violence usage. Thus for this sample, predatory violent youth are no less healthy than their less violent peers. Psychiatric theories about a relationship between psychological problems associated with criminality receive some support in the sample data, but the finding may be entirely spurious. Predatory offenders are more likely to have psychological diagnoses in their files for character disorders, psychopathy, neuroses or even psychoses (Kendall's tau B=.2018; p=.001), but it must be mentioned that violent youth offenders are usually diagnosed after their offenses are known, and the evaluative procedure is often hastily done with uses in the court procedure itself. Delinquents before Ohio courts for violent felony offenses are nearly always diagnosed by psychiatrists and psychologists, yet those delinquents not processed for violent offenses are rarely tested in this manner, and as no baseline testing is done on the general population, it is impossible to know whether the finding here is due to real differences between violent and nonviolent delinquents, or whether the court process and knowledge of violent crimes influences the judgement of psychiatrists and psychologists.

Predatory delinquents are more likely than others in the sample to have other family members with police records for violence in the community (tau B=.18639; p=.0001, between Y and DFMVY), a position which has been suggested by Hutchings and Mednick (19), and found by Hamparian et. al. in The Violent Few (197). Thus family modeling of violent behavior may be a factor contributing to the development of predatory violent behavior among some youth in the sample. Literature on delinquency often refers to alcohol and



drug abuse as factors which contribute to family disorganization, inadequate socialization of children and their possible introduction into delinquent lifestyles. Chemical abuse and criminality has been researched by Wolfgang (19), Amir (19), Tinklenberg (19), Weismanetal (19), Chaiken and Chaiken (19), and others, who find a curvilinear relationship between use of drugs and criminal or delinquent behavior, with highest criminality during periods of low usage, and during continuous usage. They also find evidence for the exercise of considerable choice, or free will on the part of chemical users, in directing and timing their usage of drugs and alcohol, in conjunction with their criminal behavior. In the sample, chemical abuse by respondents is not significantly correlated with violence usage (Kendall's tau B=.05585; p=.1227), as shown in Table . Nor does reported chemical abuse by other family members correlate significantly with respondent violence usage (Kendall's tau B=.01617; p=.3683), shown in Table .

The literature frequently suggests a relationship between urbanicity or high crime neighborhoods, and violent crime. Archer and Gartner (1985) found mixed evidence of this relationship in cross-cultural data, indicating pockets of violence and high crime rates in some rural areas, but generally higher rates of violent crime in highly urbanized areas. Moyer (19) takes a social disorganization perspective on disproportionate violence in urban areas, arguing that crowded, impersonal social conditions in urban areas, promote violent behavior by some population segments. In the sample it was found that urbanicity is significantly correlated with predatory violence (tau B=.1181; p=.005), and high neighborhood crime rates are also

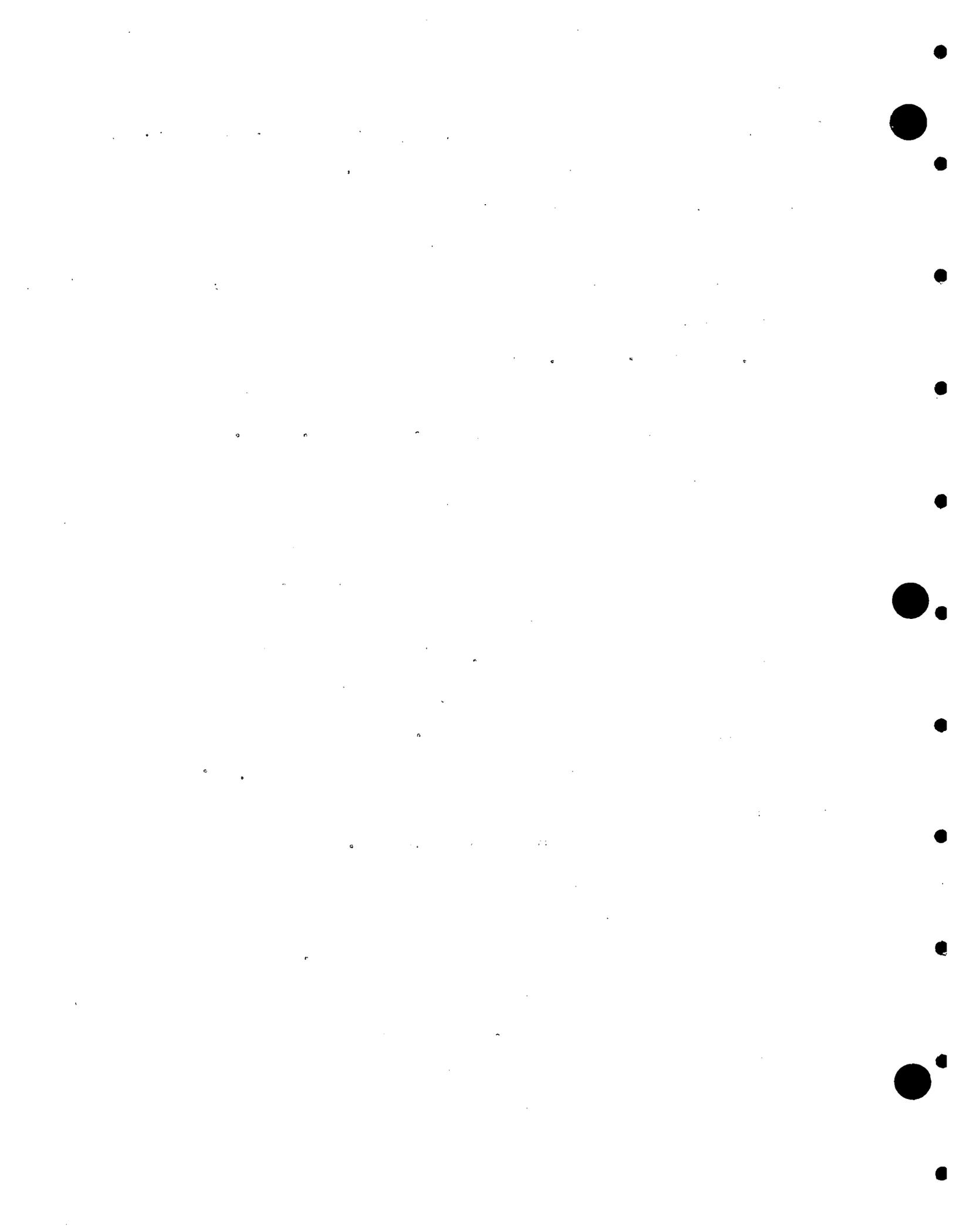


associated with predatory violence (Kendall's tau B=.08838; p=.03), but at a level considered barely significant.

Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin found a predominance of youth with lower than average IQs among chronic offenders in the original Philadelphia cohort study (19), but in the sample data, no significant relationship is found between IQ scores and violence usage ($r=.05161$; $p=.15499$). Learning disabilities are not found to have been diagnosed among predatory offenders significantly more often than among others either ($\tau B=.05894$; $p=.1101$).

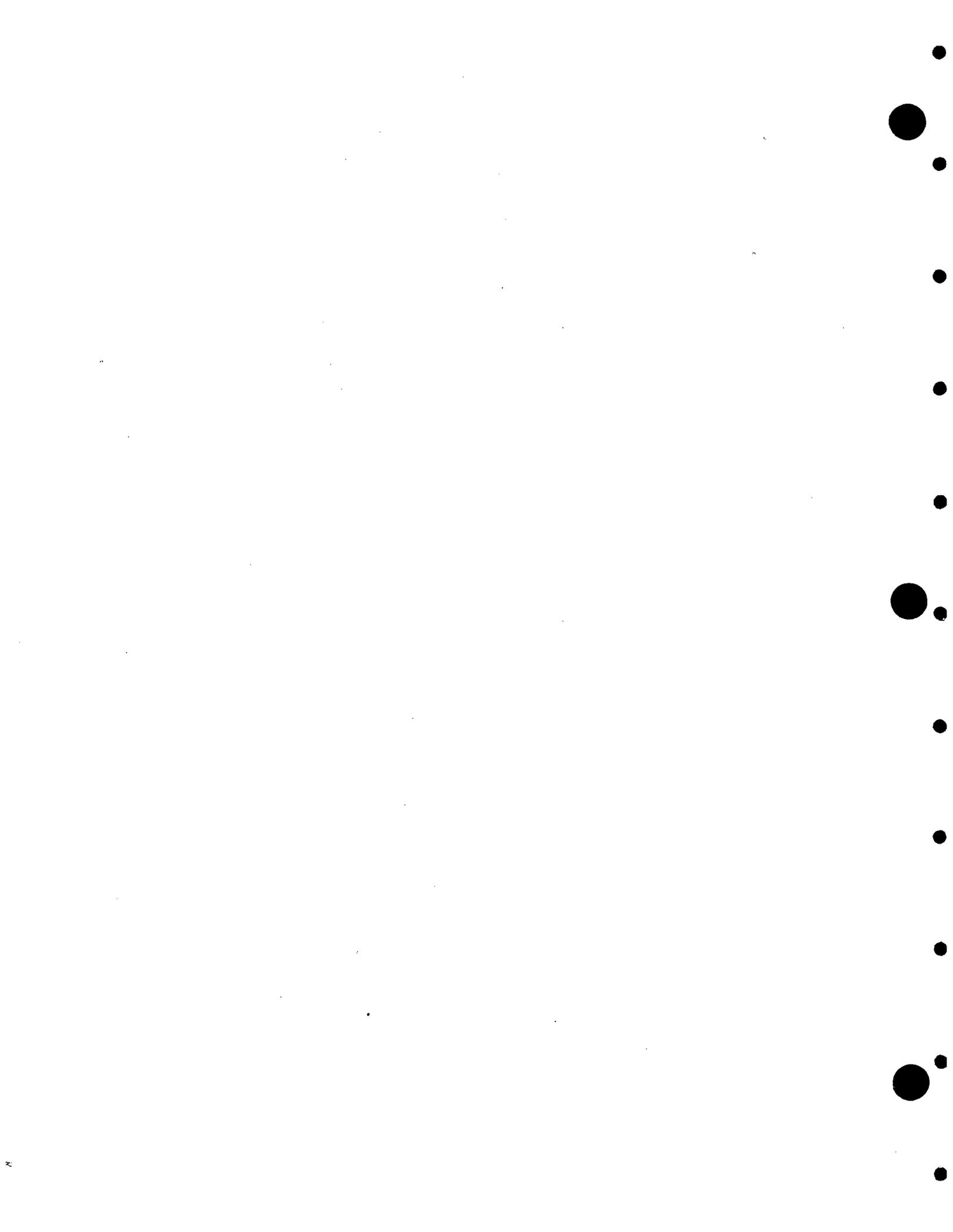
Race and gender findings in research have proven quite stable across different studies, and this research parallels the general findings that male and black respondents on the average are disproportionately represented in delinquent populations. Among chronic delinquents, for example, Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin found a preponderance of males and blacks. In this sample, 43% of the cases are classified as predatory violence, with males comprising 154 of the 169 predatory violence cases (91%). The relationship between violence use and maleness is reported in Table (tau B=.33639; $p=.0000$), and the relationship between blacks and violence use is reported in Table (tau B=.20833; $p=.0000$).

Finally, returning to the question of whether repeated exposure to punishment by the courts are experienced by predatory violent offenders, among sample cases, the answer is yes. Predatory offenders on the average have been sanctioned more extensively by the courts than less violent peers ($\tau B=.19506$; $p=.0000$ between Y and LSYIN), indicating greater familiarity by predatory youth with the courts, institutions, and foster home or halfway home placements following



release. During the time of the study such exposure meant largely punishing experiences, with schooling and little or no exposure to systematic correctional treatment for behavioral problems such as violence.

The theoretical implications of all these findings are discussed in the following sections, where the factor structure of variables and the relative predictive strength of variables are investigated.

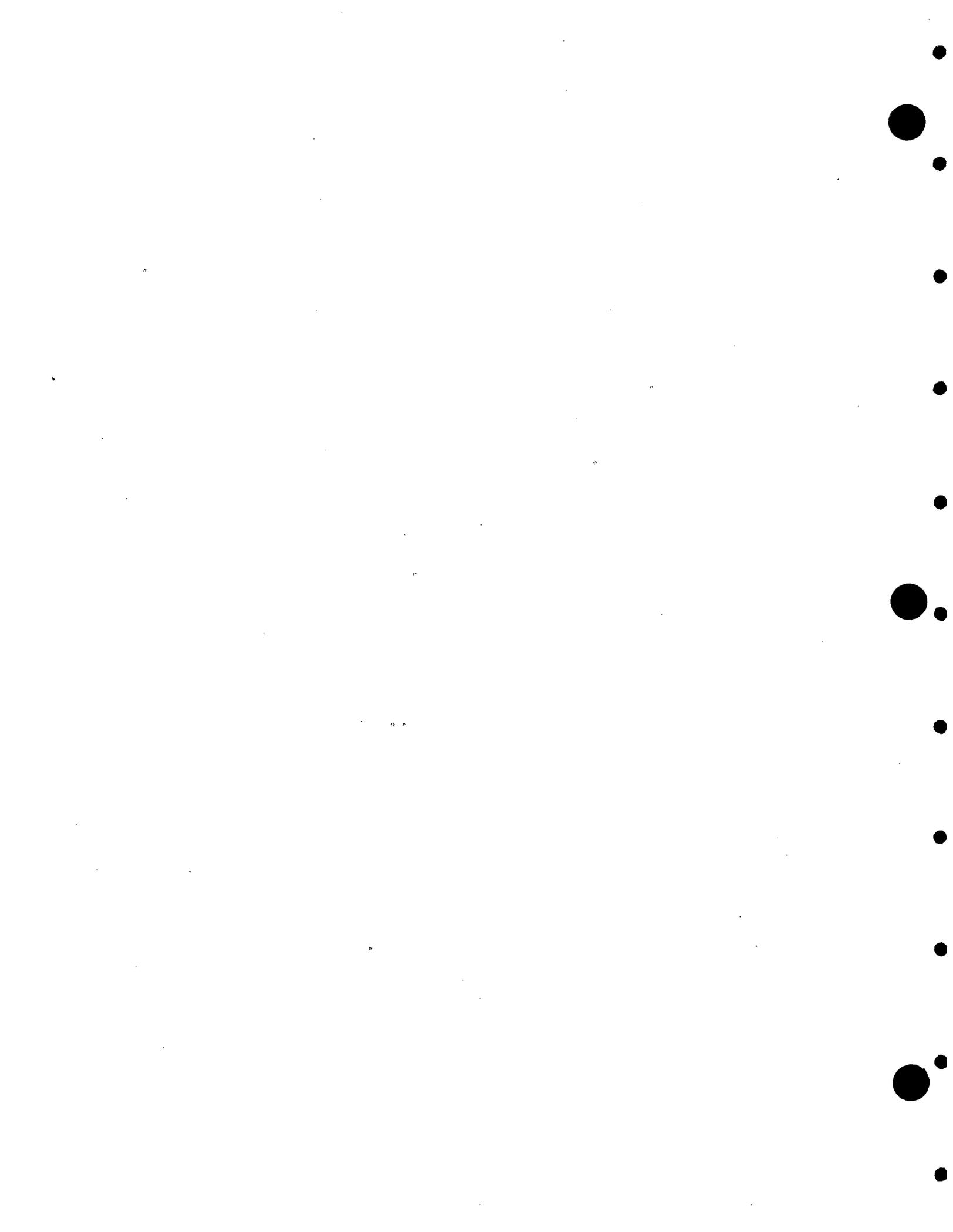


Theoretical Approaches to Predatory Violence

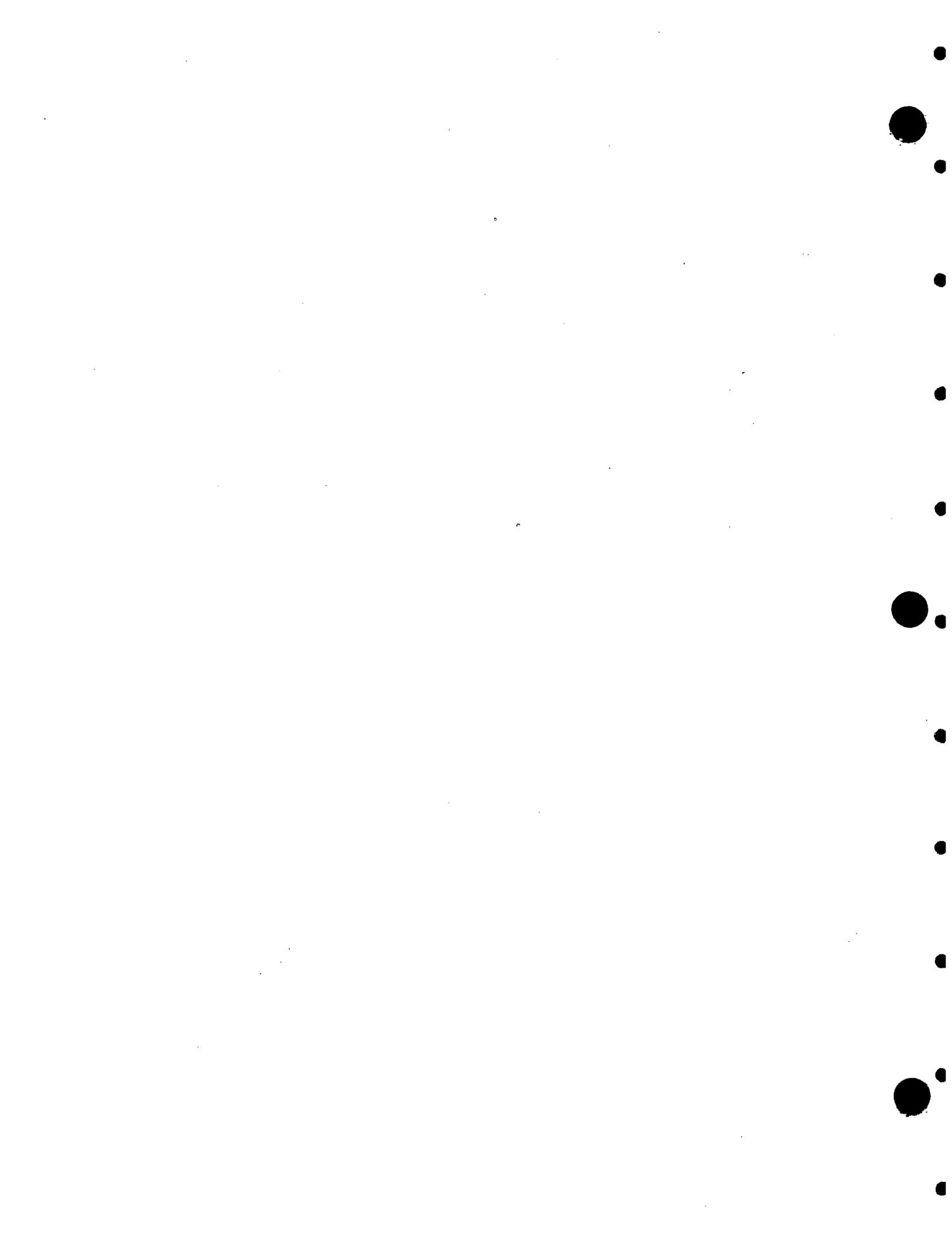
Factor analysis of the data, using twenty-one independent variables to represent the four theoretical approaches to violence, resulted in seven factors related to the structure of the data. All four theoretical approaches prove valuable in accounting for the variance in violence use by respondents, but no factors reflect a single approach. It appears that a multiple causation model is appropriate in accounting for the development of predatory violence in the sample. Of note is the usefulness of several free will variables in accounting for violence by the sample, particular variables measuring verbal violence use, selection of weaker victims and use of weapons in acts of violence.

Many of the variables reflect conceptual overlap between various theoretical approaches, to the extent that most variables in the study must be conceptualized as representing more than one theoretical approach, as presented in Table . Racial designations in North American society are expected to reflect the conflict perspective in relation to generally lessened opportunities for blacks, as well as longterm effects of both negative social labeling and possible differences in socialization of racial groups. Therefore, respondent race is perceived as reflecting conflict, labeling and learning theory approaches to violence.

A number of variables demonstrate overlap and theoretical congruence between free will and learning theory perspectives, usually suggesting that situationally actors make choices based on



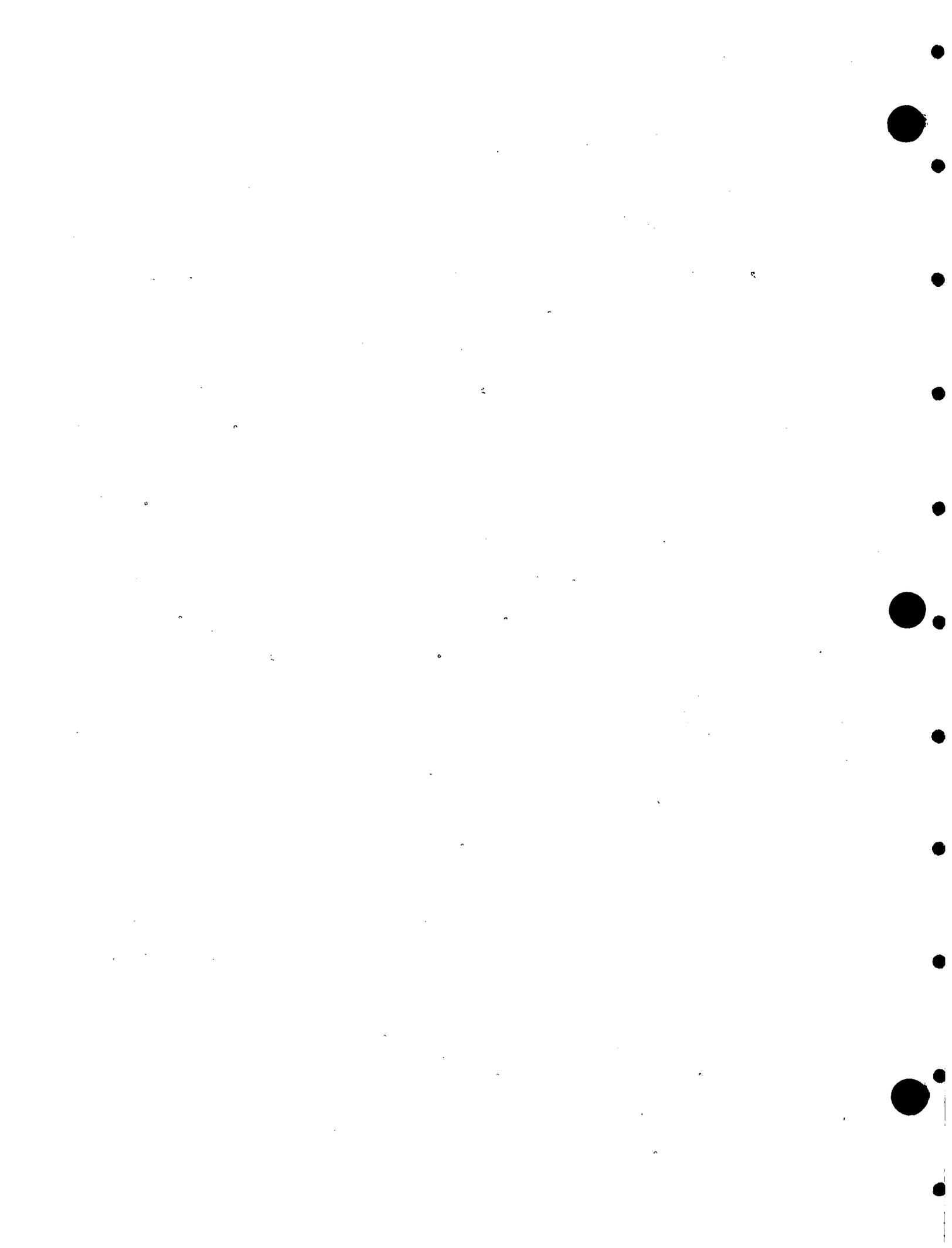
a degree of free will, but based on consequences of their violent acts, perhaps reinforcement contingencies favor longterm learning favorable to continued violence. One problem of prevention of predatory violent behavior then, is how to negatively sanction initial acts of violence quickly, and to an extent, meaningfully enough to the actor to extinguish the behavior from developing as a pattern, It appears that informal social control is needed to accomplish the task, as formal court processes, given civil rights privileges are not able to fulfill the requirements of specific or general deterrence, according to principles of social behaviorism as discussed by Staats (1975).



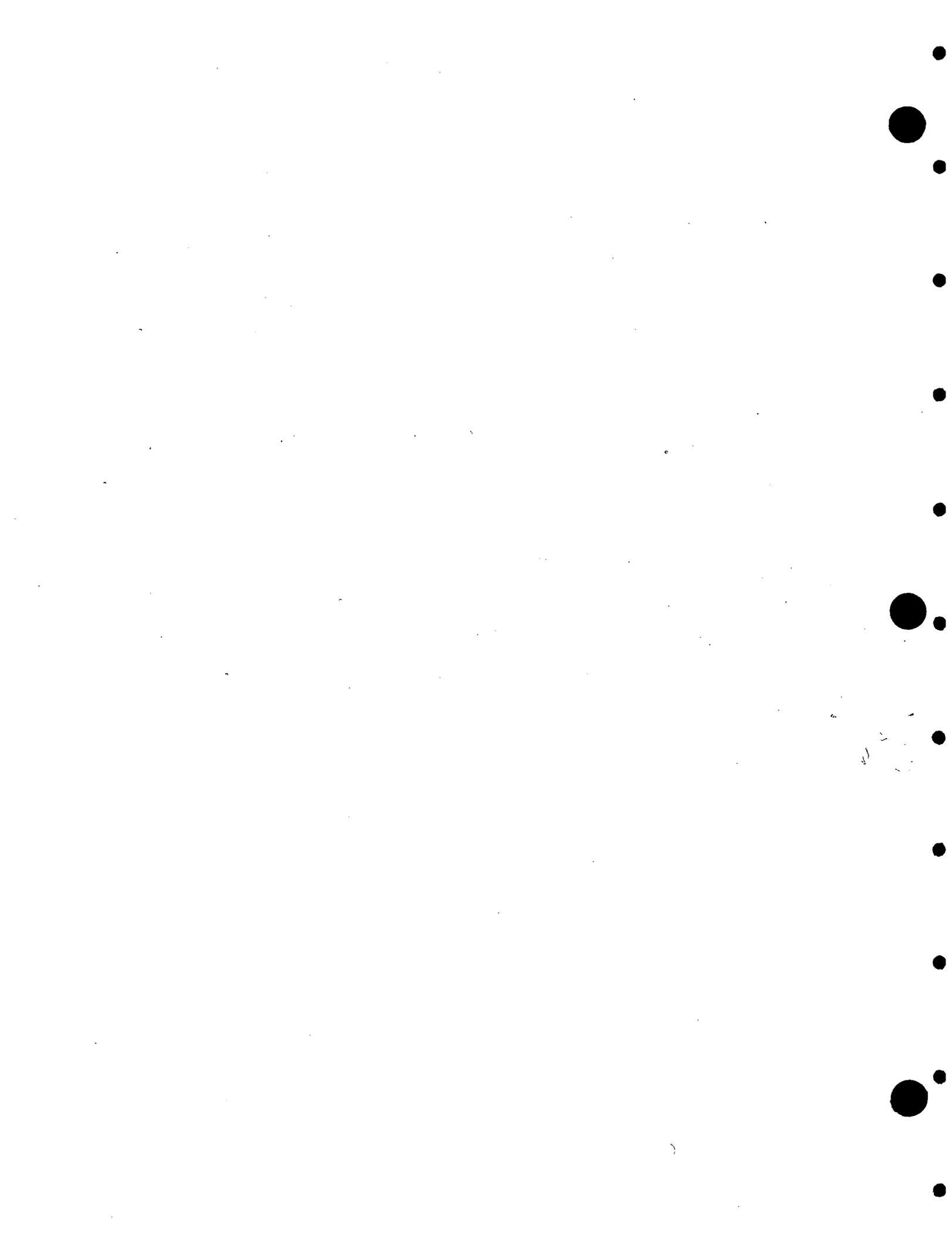
Explaining the Origins of Predatory Violence

To determine which combination of independent variables together best explain the variance in frequency of violence use, the dependent variable, two multiple regression equations are determined, using the linear least-squares model. Since sex proved to be a powerful predictor variable, one linear multiple regression equation was determined for female cases only, to express those variables which best account for predatory violence only among females in the sample. The second multiple regression expresses the best linear unbiased estimate of the equation for all sample cases, male and female. In both regressions, a stepwise regression method is used with pairwise deletion of missing data. Probability of F to enter is set at .05, with F removal probability of .1, and a tolerance limit of .01 for each variable entering the equations. The findings, given in Tables 28 and 29, reveal that overall, the model for all cases, accounts for 60% of the variance in the dependent variable, with predictor variables including selection of weaker victims, use of verbal violence, and use of a weapon or any object used as a weapon, being able to account for most of the explained variance. These variables all represent the free will theoretical position, that offenders generally freely choose behaviors of selecting physically weaker victims, verbally attacking others, and choosing to involve weapons in violent acts.

Three other variables also contribute significantly in accounting for variance in frequency of violence use. Frequency of role failures accounts for .039% change in R^2 , while maleness adds another .011% to explained variance. Finally, the conventional reward experiences score added only .009% to explained variance.



Determination of a separate regression model for female cases, as shown in Table 29, indicates that anger management social skill ignorance is the best single predictor of predatory violence among females in the sample, accounting for 11% of the overall variance. Role failures, the level of court system involvement, and weaker victim selection also prove powerful in accounting for variance. Also contributing significantly to the explanation of predatory violence, are verbal violence use and seriousness of the most violent incident. Together, these six variables account for 67% of the variance in frequency violence use among female respondents. Scores on anger management skills differ significantly between the sexes, with female respondents scoring more in the direction of poorer social skill development than do males. This accounts for the greater explanatory power of the anger management skills variable in explaining violence among females, but not for males. It is also noted that among females, the level of involvement in the juvenile justice system is also significantly predictive of predatory violence, but not as powerful an explanatory variable among males (see Table).



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