

# SHOCAP

Serious Habitual Offender Comprehensive Action Program

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**SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER  
COMPREHENSIVE ACTION PROGRAM  
SHOCAP  
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER  
COMPREHENSIVE ACTION PROGRAM (SHOCAP)

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Extensive literature has appeared regarding the chronic juvenile offender. There are many theories and schools of thought surrounding the characteristics of, treatment for, and the causes of and factors contributing to chronic juvenile delinquency. Studies have been conducted to examine the correlation between juvenile crime and adult criminality. Factors thought to play a major role in the development of delinquent behavior, such as alcohol and drugs, have been examined. Family characteristics, socioeconomic factors, opportunities, and experiences, as well as behavior, have been the focus of research which has tried to understand better the chronic juvenile offender.

SHOCAP is a system-wide approach to handling this type of offending juvenile. As a site interested in the development and implementation of a SHOCAP, it is important that you become familiar with current literature and studies so that you are better prepared to handle this population in your own jurisdiction. This annotated bibliography on chronic juvenile offenders has been prepared specifically for this purpose.

What you will find on the following pages are more than 60 abstracts of the most current and important research regarding chronic juvenile offenders. This bibliography provides a ready source of information regarding the behavior and handling of and factors associated with the chronic juvenile offender. It is a resource tool to assist you in the development of strategies and approaches for dealing with this population--strategies that will support the development of a comprehensive SHOCAP.

Use this bibliography as you would any other resource tool--as a start to better understanding chronic juvenile offenders and learning how to deal effectively with this population in your own community.

## CHRONIC JUVENILE OFFENDERS

The number of juveniles who fall into the chronic offender category is relatively small, confined to about six percent of the juvenile population. Although their number is small, these chronic offending juveniles constitute a significant problem for the criminal justice system. They are also the group most likely to become chronic adult offenders.

Several theories of delinquent and chronic behavior have emerged in an attempt to understand the behavior of these juveniles:

1. Strain theory is based on the assumption that lower class youths have middle class aspirations that they generally cannot meet because of their inadequate socialization. Blocked opportunities result in intense frustration, alienation, and delinquent behavior.
2. Control theorists believe that failures in family socialization lead to delinquent behavior. These juveniles lack the bonds between individual and society and, therefore, fail to achieve. Generally, control theorists argue that delinquents lack conventional values, are not involved in conventional activities, and fail to engage in conventional behaviors.
3. Social learning theory is based on the idea that delinquent behaviors are learned based on models presented by parents, peers, and the social environment.
4. Psychoanalytic theory suggests that the experiences during early childhood can lead to delinquent behavior. Childhood traumas decrease the child's ability to utilize psychic control mechanisms.

5. Biological theorists believe that certain physical factors, such as birth weight and malnutrition, may influence future delinquent behavior. Some biological theorists also believe that weakening of the social structure creates a cultural vacuum in which natural aggressive instincts are no longer controlled.

All of the theories listed above can help to explain the behavior of juvenile chronic offenders. Certain specific characteristics are associated with chronic delinquency. **CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR CANNOT BE PREDICTED, BUT CERTAIN FACTORS CAN BE IDENTIFIED THAT AFFECT THE PROBABILITY THAT A GROUP MIGHT ENGAGE IN DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR.** According to Greenwood and Zimring (One More Chance: The Pursuit of Promising Intervention Strategies for Chronic Juvenile Offenders), researchers have found five types of factors to correlate with chronic delinquency among urban males. These are:

Family Characteristics

- Low income.
- Father with criminal history.
- Psychotic mother.
- Many siblings.
- Criminal siblings.

### Opportunities and Experiences

- Schools.
- Peers.
- Role models.
- Media.
- Vocational opportunity.

### Familial Experiences

- Lack of love or affection.
- Lack of attention.
- Lack of consistent punishment and reward.

### Physical Characteristics

- Slow autonomic nervous system.
- Abnormal EEG.
- Minor birth abnormalities.
- Brain damage.

Certain behaviors in the 6-12 age group are also associated with delinquent activity. These "Pre-Delinquent Behavioral Flags" include:

- Antisocial behavior such as being daring or disobedient, stealing, or lying.
- Aggressive behavior.
- Truancy.
- Low academic achievement.
- Alcohol and drug use.

In children over 12, pre-delinquency behaviors include:

- Heavy drinking or smoking.
- Fighting.
- Promiscuous sex.
- Drug use.

Early involvement in criminal activity is also associated with future criminal acts. Generally speaking, the younger the juvenile is when becoming involved, the greater the likelihood of future criminal activity. A strong relationship exists between:

- Juvenile and adult arrests.
- The number of prior arrests and future arrests.



- The age of first arrest and future arrests.

Most chronic adult offenders will have a history of chronic juvenile offending. Most chronic juvenile offenders will compile an arrest history as adults.

Violent Juvenile Offenders: An Anthology

Mathias, Robert A., editor (San Francisco, CA: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1984).

This anthology contains 22 articles dealing with all aspects of juvenile delinquency. Part One, focusing on "The Extent and Causes of Violent Juvenile Crime," points out that serious juvenile crime peaked in the mid-1970s and that the current concern is with a perceived crisis that no longer exists. Other articles explore the definition of the violent juvenile offender and the theories and factors associated with juvenile delinquency. Part Two deals with "System Responses to Juvenile Crime" in terms of the issue of providing services. Part Three reviews treatment models with a focus toward community-based approaches. The final section focuses on practical issues such as program implementation, continuous case management, educational services, treatment, and community reintegration.

One More Chance: The Pursuit of Promising Intervention Strategies for Chronic Juvenile Offenders

Greenwood, Peter W.; and Zimring, Franklin E. (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1985).

This report contains the principal findings of a study designed to identify promising interventions for reducing the criminal behavior of chronic juvenile offenders. The authors question the assumption that juvenile chronic offenders should be incarcerated for increasingly long periods of time, as soon as they can be identified. The analysis of the extremely high recidivism rates for chronic offenders demonstrates that these offenders will continue to commit crimes even if they are incarcerated for increasingly longer periods of time in institutions. Chronic juvenile delinquency can be traced to poor family relationships, inadequate schools, and poor community institutions. The report concludes by offering a research model for identifying effective rehabilitation programs.

"Delinquency Careers: Innocents, Desisters, and Persisters"

Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research, Vol. 6, edited by Michael Tonry and Norval Morris (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 187-219.

This paper reviews the recidivism experience documented in two major cohort studies of youthful offenders in Philadelphia and London and analyzes data from cohort studies in Racine, Wisconsin, and Marion County, Oregon. The Philadelphia study found that 6 percent of the boys in the cohort experienced 52 percent of the arrests. Results from the other longitudinal delinquency studies parallel those of the Philadelphia study. The prospective identification of these chronic offenders could have significant impact on crime reduction efforts. The London study identified seven variables that are apparent by age 10 (e.g., IQ, family background, school behavior problems) that may permit prospective identification of a substantial number of chronic offenders. The prediction results closely match the results of predictions based on a theoretical model using aggregate recidivism data to partition a cohort into innocents, desisters, and persisters. The results suggest the possibility of early identification between more and less serious offenders and the rise in recidivism probability with increasing involvement in crime.

Early Identification of Future Career Criminals: Final Report

Carbonell, J. L.; and Megaree, E. I. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1984).

To determine whether career criminals can be discriminated from other offender groups, follow-up data were collected on a cohort of 1,345 youthful offenders consecutively admitted to a federal correctional institution between November, 1970 and November, 1972. On the basis of subsequent records, subjects were classified as terminators, occasional offenders, and persistent offenders. Pre-sentence investigation reports were examined to test twelve hypotheses drawn from literature dealing with the following factors: family and development, social deviance, socioeconomic status, educational and vocational adjustment, interpersonal relations, adjustment, and criminal behavior. Eight of the hypotheses were supported by analyses of variance between the three offender classifications. The three groups differed with respect to age at first arrest, length and seriousness of juvenile conviction record, achievement motivation, personality test scores, and the extent to which they had problems at work with other people and with authorities. In all cases, persistent offenders had the most deviant and least socially desirable scores, while eventual terminators had the most positive characteristics. The magnitude of these differences, however, was not sufficiently great to enable accurate prediction of subjects' later criminal behavior.

Maryland's Repeat Offender Program Experiment (ROPE): Research and Operations

Maryland Criminal Justice Coordinating Council Statistical Analysis Center,  
Towson, Maryland, 1984.

The Repeat Offender Program Experiment (ROPE) in Maryland will be tested over time, but it has already shown that system-wide planning is necessary for successfully identifying, prosecuting, convicting, incarcerating, and treating repeat offenders. Located in five Maryland subdivisions, the program aims to incapacitate repeat offenders through the improvement of all aspects of criminal and juvenile justice processing. The system-wide coordination of the program has required executive support, information sharing, reallocation of resources, and provision of sufficient planning time. In 1982, the subdivisions were awarded planning grants from the Maryland Criminal Justice Coordinating Council (MCJCC) to study the local repeat offender problem and to assist the Repeat Offender Steering Council in formulating appropriate and comprehensive experiments. As the ROPE concept has evolved, it has become clear that the coordination strategy used in the planning process must be continued in the program's operational phase.

"Predicting Recidivism: One Court's Experience"

Brundage, J. M., Juvenile and Family Court Journal 35 (Fall 1984): 15-21.

A classification system and correction plan were developed to permit the Calhoun County, Michigan, Juvenile Court to deal intensively with potential chronic offenders. Researchers from Michigan State University studied social history data and offense records on all cases referred to the court from 1975 through 1978--approximately 7,000 referrals for about 4,500 individuals. Six factors were confirmed as valid predictors of recidivism by the researchers: type of first offense, previous offense record, gender, quality of home conditions, school behavior, and delinquency by siblings or friends. The relationship to recidivism of each of these six factors was tabulated using multiple regression analysis and the results were examined to produce a predictive model. Overall, the model correctly predicted 65.1 percent of the study cases. Testing of the model's validity began in 1979, and for the next 12 months the actual recidivism of each youth referred to the court was tracked and measured against the predicted probability of recidivism. The recidivism predictor model demonstrated a high correlation between predicted and actual recidivism. Cost-benefit analysis dictated the allocation of additional resources to offenders with a high probability of recidivism and a decrease in programs for the low-risk group who were successfully predicted not to recidivate 86 percent of the time. The model's utility has been its ability to make a systematic early identification of potential chronic offenders and to bring them intensive services to deter subsequent delinquency.

"Violent Juvenile--A Philadelphia Profile"

Violent Crime in America, edited by Kenneth Feinberg (Washington, D.C.: National Policy Exchange, 1983), p. 17-24.

Longitudinal delinquency studies of males born in 1945 and 1958 who resided in Philadelphia from age 10 to age 18 reveal that members of both cohorts started their criminal careers as juveniles and that the 1958 cohort committed more crimes and more serious crimes than the 1945 group. Cohort I contained 9,945 male subjects who were tracked to determine their criminality. The Cohort II study replicated the first project's methodology but encompassed 28,338 cases, reflected a more even racial distribution, and included females. The cohorts showed a similar prevalence of delinquency. Nonwhites in both groups were more likely to be delinquent, recidivists, and chronically delinquent than whites. The 1958 cohort's overall offense rate was higher than that of the 1945 cohort and was much higher for a selected group of serious offenses. Nonwhites in Cohort II became twice as violent, and whites became four times as violent, as those in Cohort I. Cohort II index offenses contain proportionally fewer thefts, but approximately twice as many robberies and violent offenses. Chronic offenders (more than 5 offenses) born in 1958 committed 61 percent of all offenses and almost 70 percent of offenses in the recidivist subset, compared to 52 percent and 60 percent respectively for Cohort I. Although chronic offenders were a minority of the juvenile offenders, they were responsible for a majority of serious crimes.



"Predicting Self-Reported and Official Delinquency"

Farrington, D. P. Prediction In Criminology (1985), Institute of Criminology, Cambridge University, United Kingdom.

Data from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, a prospective longitudinal survey of 411 males, were used to investigate the prediction of juvenile convictions, adult convictions, juvenile self-reported delinquency, and adult self-reported delinquency. Five methods of selecting and combining variables were compared. The subjects, mostly white males of working class background, were divided into two groups using a table of random numbers. In addition to the juvenile official and self-reported delinquency predictors, 25 predictor variables were included in the analysis. It was difficult to identify a group with much more than a 50 percent chance of juvenile delinquency and difficult to identify more than 50 percent of the juvenile delinquents; predicting official convictions and adult offending proved to be easier. The author concluded that it seems more realistic and feasible to predict not delinquency in general but rather the most persistent or chronic offenders, who account for a significant proportion of all crime.

"Delinquent Career-Lines: A Conceptual Link Between Theory and Juvenile Offenses"

Smith, D. R.; Smith, W. R.; and Noma, E., Sociological Quarterly 25 (Spring 1984): 155-172.

Theories of delinquent behavior have failed to explain adequately the seeming lack of specialization or development in the delinquent careers of chronic offenders. The extent to which delinquents specialize in their criminal careers is unclear because of inadequacies in two related areas: the offense typologies or classifications used and the failure to consider in the analysis the entire sequence of crimes. It is argued that both of these areas can benefit from utilization of the "career-line" metaphor from the occupational literature. The arrest histories of a sample of 767 juveniles were analyzed. An analysis of 62 careers in the sample reveals that three forms of "developmental" careers are prevalent: (1) careers that move from burglary to serious crimes against persons; (2) careers that move from status offenses to auto theft; and (3) careers that move from all crimes to drug use.

"Thinking About Crime Again"

van den Haag, E., Prosecutor 18 (Winter 1984): 21-25.

Abolition of juvenile courts and lengthy sentences for young offenders, particularly second offenders, could deter juveniles from crime and thus reduce the crime rate, even if the sentences of older offenders would have to be shortened to make space in incapacitation facilities. James Q. Wilson views selective incapacitation of habitual offenders as the most effective means of reducing crime. This assumes, however, that habitual offenders are identified and incarcerated relatively early in their criminal careers and that their removal from the public domain is not followed by an equal or greater number of new offenders, and these assumptions do not appear to be warranted. Deterrence is likely to have a greater impact on crime reduction; severe sentences can have a deterrent effect on criminal behavior even though the percentage of arrests and convictions may not increase. A thoroughgoing use of deterrence policy should involve the abolition of the juvenile justice system. Children under 13 years old would be dealt with by parents or by social agencies acting in loco parentis if parental control is demonstrably lacking. Persons over 13 years old would be dealt with through adult laws and courts. Most first offenders would receive probation, but a second conviction would lead to serious punishment regardless of whether the offender is deemed likely to become a high-rate offender.

"Patterns of Violent Juvenile Recidivism"

Piper, E., Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1983.

The author studied patterns of violent offending in a cohort of 2,845 juveniles born in Philadelphia in 1958 who resided in the city during their adolescence, and found that juvenile violence was relatively rare but that a core group of serious and persistent offenders existed. Data sources include school and police records and census tracts. The study analyzed the characteristics of violent offenders with respect to sex, race, socioeconomic status (SES), and age. It also differentiated violent from nonviolent offenders on the basis of sociodemographic factors and criminal career variables, and examined offense specialization, career escalation, age at first offense, and recidivism in violent juvenile offenders. In summary, violent offenses were committed more often by nonwhite males with low SES. Whereas robbery was predominantly committed by nonwhite males, aggravated assault was more common among white males and simple assault among females. The study found that 65 percent of the robberies by nonwhite males resulted in no harm to the victim, but many aggravated assaults by white males resulted in serious injury. Only 8.6 percent of the subjects--mostly nonwhite, low SES, chronic offender males--ever committed a violent offense, but these offenses comprised 38.4 percent of the total delinquency. Violent offenders were younger at the time of their first offense and had a greater mean number of offenses and serious index offenses, but no offense specialization was identified and there was little evidence that the seriousness of offenses escalated.

Serious Juvenile Crime: A Redirected Federal Effort

U.S. Department of Justice National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington, D.C., 1984.

The National Advisory Committee suggests that the federal government redirect its efforts to focus on the serious, violent, chronic delinquent and move away from programs to deinstitutionalize status offenders, separate juveniles from adult offenders, and prevent juveniles at risk from becoming delinquents. Although a very small number of youths account for a very large proportion of serious juvenile crime, little federal money spent since 1974 has been directed at controlling the chronic, serious delinquent. The Juvenile Justice Act, based on a perception of delinquents as victims who are not responsible for their acts, diverts most federal funding to objectives such as community-based alternatives to institutionalization, diversion, and school programs. However, 10 years of experience and evaluation demonstrate that prevention and deinstitutionalization programs based on this concept have not produced a cure. Evidence also shows that custodial treatment does not seem to make worse criminals out of delinquents, that school dropouts are not more prone to delinquency than their counterparts who remain in school, and that early probation of offenders does not label them and lead to more crime but rather seems to retard delinquency. The report recommends that the federal government concentrate on chronic juvenile offenders, including those prosecuted in the adult system; provide research, training, and dissemination functions; and encourage innovation and diversity.

Further Analyses of a Longitudinal Study of Crime and Delinquency: Final Report to the National Institute of Justice

Farrington, D. P. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1983).

The project described in this document conducted additional analyses of data collected in the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, a longitudinal survey of 411 English males spanning 1961-1980. Unlike any existing American longitudinal survey of crime and delinquency, the Cambridge Study combined seven interviews with the subjects covering 16 years, a reasonably sized sample, and information from multiple sources including parents, peers, teachers, and records on the subjects. The sample was drawn from a working class area of London and was overwhelmingly white. The peak age for the incidence of most offenses was around 17, and there was some indication that later offenses, while less frequent, were more serious. There was a close relationship between juvenile and adult offending; youths convicted at the earliest ages tended to be the most persistent offenders and to have the longest criminal careers. At an early age, such youths tended to have been identified by teachers, parents, and peers as troublesome, daring, dishonest, and aggressive. Different factors were identified which indicated early versus later delinquency, but it proved difficult to identify a group with much more than a 50 percent chance of juvenile delinquency.

"Serious Juvenile Offender: Problems in Definition and Targeting"

McDermott, J., Evaluating Juvenile Justice, edited by James R. Kluegel (Sage Publications, Inc., 1983), p. 67-90.

The first steps in developing programs to treat or control serious juvenile offenders are to define the term "serious juvenile offender," both conceptually and operationally, and to develop procedures and processes for identifying the individuals who fit the operational definition. The definitional process cannot be considered apart from the issues associated with the selection of individuals who fit the definitions, because the category is socially created based on practical concerns, political philosophies, and public opinion. Most definitions make both the type of offense and some degree of repeat offending a characteristic of the serious juvenile offender. Zimring lists homicide, rape, aggravated assault, and robbery as serious offenses; reports for the American Justice Institute define serious offenses as involving violence or property loss and include the sale of illegal drugs in the definition. With the Sellin-Wolfgang scale, the cumulative seriousness of the record is the determining factor. State laws define serious juvenile offenders as youths eligible for adjudication in criminal courts and youths given harsher sentences within the juvenile justice system.

"Identifying Serious Offenders"

Boland, B., Dealing with the Dangerous Offenders: Selected Papers, Vol. 2, by Daniel McGilles, et al. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1983).

Because chronic offenders tend to have extensive juvenile records, procedures should be developed to make the juvenile records of adult offenders easily and routinely available to adult courts. Priority attention to chronic offenders is hampered because prosecutors fail to note these defendants' prior records and because their official "rap" sheets do not include sufficient information or are not available. While prior arrests may be included, court dispositions are often missing. The most serious problem, however, is the lack of routine availability of juvenile records for the processing of adult offenders. Research studies indicate that chronic offenders have a concentration of offenses in the juvenile years that makes them a high risk for being serious adult offenders. The first adult offense, which is often treated leniently by adult courts, may be but the latest in a series of offenses which began in juvenile years. The problem of providing an accurate criminal history that includes juvenile records is complicated by the informality and leniency with which the juvenile court handles cases. Often cases that would likely result in felony convictions for an adult may not have the same result in juvenile court. Complete criminal history information, including juvenile offenses, should be available to adult courts with a single retrieval from a computerized file.



Dealing with the Dangerous Offenders: Selected Papers, Vol. 2

McGillis, D.; Estrich, S.; Moore, M. H.; Spelman, W. (U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1983).

This volume includes papers focusing on various aspects of dealing with dangerous offenders. Two papers on selective incapacitation discuss the nature of research required to identify the offenders most likely to commit severe and numerous crimes; a Philadelphia study of birth cohorts is presented to compare the prevalence, incidence, and severity of delinquent behavior. One paper notes that corrections strategic planning should be based on the use of imprisonment for selected violent offenders and alternative programs for nonviolent offenders; the other considers tradeoffs between prediction accuracy and selective incapacitation efforts. Papers on bail and pretrial detention practices consider the promotion of accountability in making bail decisions, the development of judicial bail guidelines in Philadelphia, and the potential value of increased selectivity in pretrial detention decisions. Requirements for alternatives to jail and prison are examined, as is the mental health system as a complement to the criminal justice system. Also, ways in which prosecutors can improve their identification and conviction of chronic offenders and police investigative strategies for identifying dangerous repeat offenders are considered. Papers exploring the importance of having accessible and complete criminal histories as a means for identifying chronic offenders examine the need for adult courts to have access to juvenile records. Finally, one paper considers the crime control effectiveness of selective criminal justice policies.

Research and the Serious Juvenile Offender

(Reno, NV: National College of Juvenile Justice, National Seminar, January 1983).

The research projects discussed focus on some aspect of dealing with the serious juvenile offender, including the prevention of serious juvenile crime, the relationship of juvenile delinquency careers to adult criminality, community-based intervention strategies for serious offenders, handling violent and mentally ill juvenile offenders, and transferring juveniles to adult courts. Presentations discuss the theory of delinquency used to develop prevention programs at selected sites throughout the country and implementation of such programs; the relationship of juvenile delinquency to adult criminality; a basic research project focused on the difference between the coping skills of delinquent and nondelinquent youth, based on self-reported data, demographic data, and an attitudinal scale; and the use and effectiveness of small secure-care units at juvenile training schools. Also explored are the use of restitution programs with serious juvenile offenders, and a study of community-based programs that provide control through intensive supervision and tight program scheduling while providing serious juvenile offenders the opportunity to develop reintegration skills and experiences.

"Crime Rates and the Active Criminal"

Chaiken, J. M.; and Chaiken, M. R., Crime and Public Policy, edited by James Q. Wilson (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1983).

Since a small number of violent predators are responsible for a large volume of crime, the processes that initiate, interrupt, or terminate their careers are central to the future course of crime. Crime rates have remained fairly stable in the United States, although confusion over terminology and conflicts among different data sources have produced misleading impressions of crime rates. A geographic area's crime rates are correlated with four characteristics: urbanization, age structure of the population, racial composition of the population, and crime opportunities and control in the community. In addition, certain social and psychological factors appear to increase either the probability of individuals' committing specific types of offenses or the rate at which they commit offenses. Data reveal that the most serious offenders are those who commit three crimes: robbery, assault, and drug dealing. However, these violent predators typically also commit a large percentage of the burglaries, thefts, and other property crimes in a given community. Factors that can change the number of serious offenders on the streets, then, will influence the crime rates just as much, or even more than, factors that change the total number of offenders in an area. The incarceration of more juveniles who have committed lesser offenses may possibly be a counter-influence, since incarceration may prove to be criminogenic for less serious types of offenders.

Early Identification of the Chronic Offender

Haapanen, R. A.; and Jesness, C. F. (Sacramento, CA: California Department of the Youth Authority, 1982).

Follow-up arrest data on delinquent youths incarcerated in California Youth Authority (CYA) institutions during the 1960s suggest that some important indicators of later chronic criminal and violent behavior are manifest and observable at an early age and that even a moderately successful intervention strategy might provide substantial crime reduction benefits. Adult criminality records were obtained for almost 2,800 individuals who had been committed to youth centers during their adolescence, and the records indicated that most of the sample engaged in serious criminal activity as adults, with 86 percent being classified as chronic offenders. Compared to nonchronics, the chronic offenders more often came from families of lower socioeconomic status, had more siblings, were more retarded in school and more negative about school, were younger at first police contact, had longer police records, expressed more antisocial attitudes, and were more hostile and less conforming. Black youths were more often chronic offenders in relation to their numbers in the samples. Analysis of some data suggested a possible correlation between brain abnormalities and criminality, particularly violent behavior.

"Juvenile Law Enforcement: A Survey of Police Practice in Twenty States"

Shields, K.; and Panciera, L., Variations in Juvenile Law and Police Practice (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, 1982).

A survey of police agencies in 20 states examines the dispositions used by police with juveniles, factors determining their use in particular cases, and police differential treatment of first-time and repeat juvenile offenders. Although there were differences in the state juvenile codes bearing upon police handling of juveniles, police practices among the states tended toward uniformity. For example, the specified use of diversion in juvenile statutes varied among the states, but the police use of diversion did not correspond to these differences. The homogeneity of police practices across the states, however, is not matched by homogeneity within states, as the police agencies tend to function within their specific community and organizational constraints. The police generally do not see their dispositions of juveniles as punishment, with the net effect that the police may communicate this attitude to juvenile offenders and undermine the deterrent effect of their encounters with the juveniles. Another finding was that despite the absence of explicit legislative mandates for differential treatment of first-time and repeat offenders, the police tend to treat first-time offenders more leniently than repeat offenders.

"Serious Juvenile Crime"

Crime Control: State of the Art (Sacramento, CA: American Justice Institute National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center).

This summary of the major findings and recommendations from a study of serious juvenile crime focuses on offender and offense characteristics, substance abuse, legislation, jurisdiction, confidentiality of juvenile records, programs, and economic impact. Overall, arrest rates for 1964-1977 indicate that juveniles are continuing to be involved in property crimes but leveling off in their involvement in the violent crimes of murder and rape. The ratio of juveniles to other age groups involved in robbery and aggravated assault has steadily increased from 1964 to the present. The serious juvenile offender tends to be a black male, 15 to 17 years old. Statutory analysis identified six states as having punitive provisions for dealing with the serious juvenile offender. A review of statutes specifying jurisdiction of the juvenile court and the criminal court over youths under 18 showed considerable variation; regarding the confidentiality of juvenile records, the public and press are generally excluded from juvenile court hearings, the inspection of juvenile records, and knowledge of an alleged juvenile offender's identity. Exemplary programs for serious juvenile offenders tend to be centered in remedial education, vocational training and placement, and recreation. The total aggregate primary direct costs to victims of serious juvenile crime are estimated at \$10 billion for 1975.

"Selective Incapacitation"

Greenwood, P. W.; and Abrahamse, A. (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1982).

Self-reported data from prison and jail inmates demonstrate that selective incapacitation strategies may significantly reduce crime without increasing the total number of offenders incarcerated. The principal focus of this research was the estimation of the rate at which individual offenders commit crime and modeling the effects of sentencing policies on their time at risk. For incapacitation analysis, the sentencing policy can be described by three parameters: the probability of arrest and conviction; the probability of incarceration given conviction; and the expected sentence length. This study surveyed 2,100 male inmates in California, Michigan, and Texas in 1977 to determine information on prior criminal activity, drug use, employment, juvenile history, and contacts with the criminal justice system. Subjects were compared only on their robbery or burglary offense rates. The study estimated the impacts of a number of selected policies that extended terms for high-rate offenders and reduced terms for low-rate offenders. The data show a wide variation in individual offense rates and that the factors associated with higher rates of recidivism are also associated with higher rates of offending. Finally, the findings show that selective incapacitation strategies may produce significant reductions in crime without increasing the total number of offenders incarcerated.

Career Criminal--Workshop Papers

(Washington, D.C.: University Research Corporation, September, 1979).

This series of papers on career criminal programs examines issues such as program objectives, selection criteria, prediction studies, program evaluation, and the interactions between components of the criminal justice system. Studies of selection criteria for career criminal programs are reviewed in one paper to show that arrest records, existence of juvenile records, histories of property crimes, lack of steady work histories, age, and drug and alcohol abuse have a bearing upon recidivism. A review of a national evaluation of career criminal programs indicates that career criminal cases consume five to seven times as many attorney-hours as routine criminal cases; however, it was not possible to demonstrate that this increased the probability of conviction or that the convicted offender received a prison sentence. Another paper focuses on the problem of dealing with habitual adolescent offenders, followed by an essay that suggests ways to upgrade identification procedures through improved timely access to positive identification information and criminal history information. One study examines the extent of pretrial criminality while on bail and the options that might be used to prevent such crime. A survey of present and contemplated programs that target the career criminal for special criminal justice handling is presented in another paper, with attention devoted to setting these programs in an integrated structure. A supplementary workshop paper discusses problems with existing prediction studies and future research needs.



"Juvenile Delinquency Research: Truths, Myths, and Hopes"

Gable, R. J., Today's Delinquent 1 (1982): 39-56.

This research focuses on a number of studies dealing with the prediction of violent behavior, indicators of habitual criminality, and the response of the criminal and juvenile justice systems to juvenile violence. John Monahan advises that the most accurate clinical predictions of violence will be correct only one time in three. The actuarial method of predicting behavior is more accurate than the individual clinical approach, according to some studies reviewed. Monahan, however, emphasizes the value of clinical experience in developing accurate predictions. With reference to research on identifiers of habitual criminality, Farrington suggests that one potential identifier of the career criminal is the age at which he/she first appeared before the juvenile court, with those appearing at early ages being the most likely to become habitual criminals. In his examination of the criminal and juvenile justice systems' dealings with youthful offenders, Peter Greenwood asserts that the seriousness of youthful criminality may be overestimated, because youth are generally arrested for minor offenses, one crime committed by a group of juveniles may result in many arrests, and police are more likely to arrest youth than adults who are marginally involved in criminal behavior. A review of rehabilitation programs for juveniles shows that few are oriented toward violent juvenile offender, and evaluations of such programs are inadequate due to poor evaluation design.

Focusing Attention on Career Criminals--An Idea Whose Time Has Come

Petersilia, J. (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1978).

Major career criminal programs developed by police, prosecution, and parole policymakers are described, and characteristics of career criminals and implications for policy are summarized. Some police departments are using lists of suspected offenders as a means of targeting arrest efforts, and special surveillance may be used against persons deemed particularly dangerous. In the most proactive use of career criminal files, patrol officers make field stops of designated persons to develop information for use in later investigations. The prosecution focus on career criminals has involved establishing a special unit to determine whether defendants meet the criteria for being career criminals, and then making special efforts to win conviction and obtain the most severe sentences possible. Parole departments are also targeting career criminals so their supervision will be particularly close. A Rand study has found that the high-rate offenders are more likely to have begun crime prior to age 14, to be heavily involved with drugs and alcohol, to commit crimes for "high times" and "excitement," and to be less socially stable. The most powerful predictor of high-rate criminality, however, is the extent and seriousness of an offender's juvenile record. Policymakers should consider how young serious offenders might be deterred or incapacitated at the peak of their criminal careers, so as to avoid the relatively ineffectual deterrence and incapacitation of career criminals whose age may put them on the downside of their most active criminality.

Violent Offender in the Criminal Justice System--A Selected Bibliography

Wolfgang, M.; Weiner, N.; and Pointer, W.; editors (Pittsburgh, PA: Know, Inc., 1981).

This annotated bibliography, one in a series on the violent offender in the criminal justice system, lists relevant publications published between 1972 and 1980. Selected from the National Institute of Justice/NCJRS database were 447 citations, covering a wide range of relationships between violent juvenile and adult offenders and the various components of the juvenile and criminal justice systems. The documents address such issues as police, prosecutorial, judicial, and correctional organizations and decisionmaking relative to arrest, prosecution, and sentencing. Citations include works on the treatment of the violent offender, as well as evaluative research in these areas. Other subjects covered are the personal, demographic, offense, and sentence profiles of prison inmates and the causes of prison violence, such as racial tension and overcrowding. Documents also discuss legal reforms and their implementation relevant to criminal violence; the prediction of dangerous behavior; the legal processing of the dangerous mentally ill offender; and official responses to the victims of violent crime, including post-victimization medical and social services and the provision of victim compensation.

"How the Police Target Youth Offenders"

Chambers, M., New York Times Magazine (September 20, 1981).

This article describes law enforcement efforts to cope with young career criminals, with emphasis on the program currently in effect in New York City. In many jurisdictions, police departments are considering special programs to deal with a class of repeat felony offenders who are responsible for a disproportionately high number of street crimes. Authorities believe that it is the young adults or juveniles who become repeat offenders before the age of 18 who are playing a large role in the national crime problem. Accordingly, a federally coordinated attempt is being recommended to direct manpower and funds at younger violent repeat offenders. A Reagan task force issued a set of 64 proposals aimed at ensuring punishment for violent offenders by computerizing and making accessible the conviction records of underage repeat offenders. It suggests that information, fingerprints, and photographs of violent juveniles convicted of serious crimes be fed into the Federal Bureau of Investigation data bank for retrieval by prosecutors across the nation. Many of these proposals are similar to those already implemented by the NYPD. New York's Felony Augmentation Program, established in March 1980, is devoted to targeting the suspect, building the case against him, and helping with the prosecution efforts. In nine months of operation, more than half of the persons on the computerized list of repeat offenders were apprehended, and the percentages of indictments, convictions, and incarceration sentences given were higher than those across the city.

"Minnesota Cracks Down on Chronic Juvenile Offenders"

Kiersh, E., Corrections Magazine 7 (December, 1981): 21-23.

The merits of Minnesota's revised juvenile justice statutes, which mandate that chronic juvenile offenders can be certified as adults, are debated by authorities in the field. Similar laws in other states are also examined. The Minnesota law is part of a national attack on the idea that children should receive special treatment from the courts, and by focusing on property offenders, it goes well beyond the guidelines established by the American Bar Association which recommended that only those juveniles who committed serious violent offenses should be certified to adult court. Proponents of the statutes argue that the aim is to build a record against the juvenile that can be considered when the juvenile becomes an adult and offends again. In the last four years, seven states have redefined certification statutes to limit judicial discretion. While these new state laws mandate harsher sanctions for some juveniles, they also confer due process rights that children's rights advocates have sought for years. While the immediate effects of the code revisions are still unclear, the bill is weighted toward prosecutors who need to make a prima facie case for "presumptive" certification to prove that the juvenile's past record and/or current offense place the accused on the newly enacted "grid" used for certification cases. About 10,000 juveniles are certified as adults each year, and the number is growing.

"Juvenile Violence--A Threat to Our Community's Welfare"

Isralowitz, R. E., Journal of Applied Sciences 4 (Fall/Winter 1979-1980): 57-76.

This article examines a variety of facets of the violent/serious juvenile offender program. The study was prompted by the amount of public concern being generated over the problem of juvenile delinquency, particularly the issue of youths who commit acts of violence and/or who are repeat offenders of serious crimes. To contribute to a more thorough understanding of the issue of violent juvenile delinquency, this article discusses the definition, theoretical considerations, scope, legislative reaction, and policy implications. Regarding policy, the most critical consideration of the violent juvenile offender problem is its impact on the delinquency system as a whole. It appears that the issue of violent juvenile delinquency has the potential for instigating a restrictive, regressive, inflexible, and oppressive approach toward juvenile delinquency in total, and negating progressive measures such as a deinstitutionalized, community-based facilities approach to providing juvenile services.

Assessing the Relationship of Adult Criminal Careers to Juvenile Careers (A Study of Three Birth Cohorts)--Final Report

Shannon, L. W. (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa, 1982).

A longitudinal study of cohorts was conducted in Racine, Wisconsin. Comparison of the cohorts showed that overall rates of contact with the police did not increase as much as did rates of police contact for the more serious offenses such as assault, burglary, theft, and robbery, and that delinquency among females increased more than among males. However, changes in police administrative and recording procedures may have partly caused the increase in contacts. Although police contacts were widespread among juveniles, few developed adult criminal careers. More serious contacts were concentrated in the inner city and related areas. A small proportion of the population was continuously and seriously involved with the police, and the seriousness of the crimes gradually increased at each contact, although not systematically. The significant effect of juvenile crime seriousness on adult crime seriousness persisted even when the intervening effects of juvenile referrals and sanctions were held constant. Data indicated that to reduce delinquency rates and continuance from juvenile to adult criminality, steps must be taken to modify the operation of community institutions, including the school system, police forces, and the system under which sanctions are applied.

### "Identifying Chronic Criminals"

Monahan, J., Confinement in Maximum Custody, edited by D. Ward and K. Schoen (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1981).

Prior criminal behavior, age, sex, race, socioeconomic status, and drug or alcohol abuse are examined as primary factors influencing chronic criminality, and implications for the criminal justice system are drawn. Research studies indicate that the chronic "street" criminal is most likely to have committed five or more offenses and to be a young black male with a low income and a history of drug or alcohol abuse. On moral grounds, however, prior criminal history is the only factor that should be considered in the decision about whether to send a person to a "last-resort" prison. To be young, black, and male should not be factors that determine culpability or severity of punishment or incapacitation. The factors of low income and drug or alcohol abuse point to the importance of providing vocational training and drug rehabilitation programs as a means of reducing or eliminating these factors as behavioral influences. It is important that juvenile records be considered, however, since studies show that criminal behavior which begins in the juvenile years is likely to produce a chronic adult offender. For this reason, juvenile court records should not be sealed to courts when considering the prior criminal record of an adult offender.



"Factors Related to the Seriousness of Offenses of Juvenile Law Violators"

Lunsford, J. E., Doctoral Dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 1976.

This study examined 48 juvenile delinquents in one Oklahoma county to identify factors predictive of serious delinquency. Study subjects had all been referred to court and subsequently to youth services for investigation and treatment. Subjects were divided into four categories according to the seriousness of their offenses. Study instruments included an intelligence test, an oral reading test, and an existential position inventory. Demographic data were obtained via interviews with the subjects. The study hypothesis was that juveniles committing more serious offenses would be males characterized by low church attendance, poor grades, low IQ, low reading level, broken homes, and middle birth order. Results unexpectedly showed that family income was positively correlated with the commission of felonies. All other hypotheses were rejected. Juvenile offenders from high income families attended church more often, had higher IQ test scores, had higher reading levels, had higher grade averages, and committed more serious offenses. Findings suggested that public schools should assume more responsibility in the identification and treatment of the early symptoms of later trouble. Study results and a literature review both indicated that delinquency prediction based on examination of a few environmental factors is highly inaccurate.

"Career Criminal Program--Symposium, Alexandria"

Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 71 (Summer 1980): 83-123.

This compilation of papers from a symposium on career criminals held in Alexandria, Virginia, in September 1979 includes four general theoretical discussions of program obstacles and four evaluations of aspects of existing programs. Potential objectives of prosecution in career criminal programs and selection criteria for programs are discussed. The special problem of juveniles who repeatedly offend is considered, since career criminal programs usually target older offenders from the mid-20s. In spite of the fact that offenders are most active between the ages of 16 and 22, complications with predicting future criminality are delineated, such as questionable data sources, the need for information that would be an intrusion on the offenders' personal privacy, and the predictive but ethically undesirable items that clutter analysis. Following these discussions are papers focusing on specific programs and research. Evaluation papers describe the findings of the Mitre Corporation's national evaluation of the career criminal program and the successful 16-month performance of the California career apprehension program. Also included is a nationwide survey of prosecutors which measured success of career criminal programs by probing attitudes toward the program, perceptions of the ingredients of program success, and changes resulting from programs. Finally, a research report drawing on data from Los Angeles' adult felony cases is presented, which concentrates on the premise that career criminal units increase the time attorneys devote to handling habitual offenders.

"Incapacitation of the Chronic Thug"

Dine, S.; Conrad, J.; and Dinitz, S., Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 70 (Spring 1979): 125-135.

The discussion first addresses the current plea for longer sentences for adults convicted of two or more crimes, which suggests that a small number of individuals is responsible for a disproportionate number of crimes. Studies and analyses focusing on this issue are reviewed. One study conducted on 324 adult and 126 juvenile offenders found that as few as 3.7 offenses committed by the adults would have been prevented had the adults been given a minimum five-year sentence for their previous crimes, but the data were different for juveniles. The analysis showed that a three-year incarceration of juveniles for their previous crimes would have prevented 22.2 percent of the offenses later committed by those juveniles; a five-year incarceration would have prevented 26.2 percent of the offenses. (This difference reflects the fact that most juvenile crime is compressed into the later years of adolescence.) The discussion underscores the ineffectiveness of longer incapacitation for adult offenders and addresses the problems of long-term prison sentences for juveniles.

Career Offenders and Justice System Performance

Collins, J. J., Jr. (U.S. Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1978).

A model is proposed for measuring the performance of justice systems and is applied to evaluate two categories of offenders from a birth cohort--career offenders and noncareer recidivists. Strategies directed toward career offenders control crime by concentrating on offenders who have a demonstrated record of serious crime. This assumption is based on evidence that there is a small proportion of offenders responsible for a large proportion of serious offenses. Crime control efforts that attempt to be rational and efficient must be concerned with two major factors: the rate at which offenders commit offenses and the performance of the justice system. The justice system model is comprised of three terms, involving the probability of conviction, the probability of incarceration, and the amount of time served on an incarceration sentence. Justice system performance was evaluated for career offenders with five or more total arrests and for noncareer recidivists with two to four total arrests. Data showed that offenses committed by career offenders are more likely to result in conviction and incarceration for longer periods of time than those committed by noncareer recidivists. It is concluded that: performance of the justice system is low in terms of an incarceration risk for index offenses; the system is most efficient in the case of career offenders; and the juvenile justice system's efficiency is lower than the adult system's.

Criminal Careers of Habitual Felons

Petersilia, J.; Greenwood, P.; and Lavin, M. (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1978).

The development of the criminal careers of 49 repeat offenders at a medium-security California prison is examined, considering criminal patterns, socioeconomic factors, offender types, and effective treatment. Subjects were serving time for armed robbery and had served at least one prior prison term. Nearly 75 percent had served at least two prior terms. The average age was 39 and the average education was 8 years, but approximately 80 percent of the subjects had an intelligence level of "normal" or "bright-normal." Average age at first serious offense was 14, and first arrest was generally one year later. Thirty-two of the 49 had been incarcerated by the age of 18. Broken homes, lower economic status, and sibling criminal records were not characteristic of most of the sample. The study focused on primary issues such as the following: the extent and patterns of criminality; offenders' interactions with the criminal justice system; role of drugs and alcohol; treatment by the criminal justice system; use of violence; etc. Measures of crime seriousness are applied to the data to identify offender types among the subjects, and a distinction is made between intensive and intermittent offenders. Contacts with the criminal justice system and their effects on criminal career development are considered. The primary conclusion is that criminal career development is quite complex and diverse, and many traditional assumptions about the development of habitual offenders need to be reconsidered and restudied.

Hard-Core Juvenile Offender

Manella, R. L. (Reno, NV: National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, 1977).

The characteristics and needs of hard-core juvenile offenders are examined, and approaches to controlling and modifying the behavior of such delinquents are considered. Though relatively few in number, hard-core juvenile offenders pose a continuous threat to the institutions where they live and to the adjacent communities. The typical hard-core, hyperaggressive delinquent is burdened with special problems; has a long history of problem behavior; has acquired deeply rooted antisocial attitudes and values; has a personality that is agitated, hostile, and alienated; is a habitual law violator and runaway; and sometimes is superficially passive and suave. Issues of definition, policy and planning, legal considerations, research, architecture, and programming related to the care and control of hard-core delinquents are discussed. The need for studies of the neurological (as opposed to psychological) basis of hard-core delinquency, the role of drugs in diagnosing and treating hyperaggressive youths, and the effects of the media on juvenile violence is pointed out. The treatment needs of hard-core delinquents are discussed, and legal and correctional approaches to dealing with hard-core delinquents are described.

"The Effect of Dropping Out of High School on Subsequent Criminal Behavior"

Thornberry, T.; Moore, M.; and Christenson, R., Criminology 23 (February 1985): 3-18.

This article discusses various sociological theories of delinquency that offer divergent predictions concerning the effect of dropping out of high school on subsequent delinquent criminal behavior. For example, strain theory suggests that dropping out decreases such behavior, for lower class youth in particular, while social control theory suggests that dropping out should increase the chances of criminal activity. Moreover, empirical studies provide support for each of these views. Results of the studies most frequently indicate that dropping out of high school is positively associated with later crime, an outcome consistent with a control perspective.

"Risk Assessment vs. Real Prediction--The Prediction Problem and Public Trust"

Shannon, L., Journal of Quantitative Criminology 1 (June 1985): 159-189.

This study uses birth cohort data to show that although juvenile criminal careers can be used to place juveniles in risk categories for adult crime, they cannot be used to predict accurately the adult criminal careers of specific juveniles; data also indicate that serious juvenile offenders account for only a portion of the juveniles who ultimately commit serious offenses as adults. Data analyzed includes police and referral records and court dispositions. Some results were that later criminal activity could not be predicted based on the juvenile's age at first serious offense, but juvenile offenders with more extensive criminal records did, as a group, account for a disproportionate share of the delinquent and subsequent adult criminal behavior. However, the serious juvenile offender subsequently accounts for only a small portion of adults who commit serious offenses. These findings argue against any attempt by the criminal justice system to selectively incapacitate serious juvenile offenders so as to preclude their committing serious crimes in the future. The future behavior of individual juvenile offenders cannot be accurately predicted regardless of their early criminal records, and such predictions would address only a small portion of juveniles anyway.



"Predicting Adolescent Violence"

Fisher, R. B., Aggressive Adolescent, edited by Charles Keith (New York, NY: Free Press, 1984).

A discussion of the controversy over the validity and desirability of efforts to predict violence in individual adolescents accompanies a description of the clinical, statistical, and situational information that should be used in the prediction process. Although some view predictions of dangerous behavior to be inappropriate as it is currently impossible to make them accurately, predictions are often made which carry major implications for the adolescent and society. The use of statistical information is controversial, although it can enhance clinical decision-making processes; several types of factors have been found to be objective and rational in making these decisions. The most important of these factors are past violence, age, sex, race, socioeconomic status, and alcohol and drug abuse. Particularly important situational factors are family, peer, job, or school environment and availability of victims and weapons.

"Demographic, Individual, and Family Relationship Correlates of Serious and Repeated Crime Among Adolescents and Their Siblings"

Hanson, C.; Henggeler, S.; Haefele, W.; and Rodick, J., Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 52 (1984): 528-538.

Researchers of juvenile delinquency have related numerous demographic, individual, and family relationship variables to adolescent criminal activity. This study evaluated which of these variables most strongly predicted repeated and serious arrests among juvenile offenders and their siblings. Demographic, psychometric, self-report, and observational measures were collected on the cohorts. Multiple regression analyses were conducted, and socialized-aggressive disorder was found to be the most consistent and powerful predictor of serious and repeated arrests among the subjects. The second most powerful predictor was the adolescent's age at first arrest. Several family relationship measures were also significant predictors of adolescent and family arrest records. Combined, these measures accounted for a large percentage of the variance of each predicted variable.

"Clinical Assessment of Psychopathology in Violent and Nonviolent Juvenile Offenders"

Richardson, L.; Elion, V.; and Solway, K., paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Los Angeles, August 26, 1981.

The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the Rorschach test are frequently used in juvenile justice settings to assess current psychological functioning and to predict future behavior. The Exner Comprehensive System, which standardized the Rorschach test, made possible a comparison of Rorschach and the MMPI in an investigation of their relative efficacy in discriminating between violent and nonviolent juvenile offenders. Youths referred to a metropolitan juvenile probation department and charged with serious person or property offenses completed a test battery including these two tests. Few significant differences emerged between violent and nonviolent juvenile offenders, which indicated that both instruments were largely unsuccessful in discriminating between offender types. However, the two measures provided similar data on the nature and degree of psychopathy present in the sample, despite their vast divergence in psychometric approaches. The test data imply that the nature and degree of psychopathy present in violent and nonviolent juvenile offenders are similar.

"Discovery of Children at Risk for Juvenile Delinquency"

Steele, B., Early Childhood Intervention and Juvenile Delinquency, edited by Fernand Dutille et al, (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1982).

The identification of children at risk for delinquency is equivalent to the identification of children at high risk for abuse and neglect, because child maltreatment is a common early precursor of delinquency. The influence of early life experience on later behavior is exemplified by the finding that maltreating parents were almost always the victims of significant neglect, and sometimes abuse, in their own early years. A high proportion of delinquent youths were abused or neglected as young children, regardless of their socioeconomic status. Although it would be overly simplistic to assert that child abuse causes delinquency, maltreated infants demonstrate certain psychological patterns that become embedded in their personality development and make them at high risk for later delinquency, such as low self-esteem, lack of empathy for others, lack of identity, learning difficulties, etc. By predicting the potential for maltreatment, preventive intervention could be focused where it would be most productive. Preventive intervention has been shown to reduce significantly the amount of neglect and abuse in high-risk families and thus reduce the risk for later delinquency.

"Childhood Predictors of Adult Criminality"

Monahan, J., Early Childhood Intervention and Juvenile Delinquency, edited by Fernand Datile et al, (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1982).

The research showing an association between certain childhood characteristics and adult criminality does not justify early intervention programs which are coercive rather than voluntary. Studies of diverse populations have produced factors predictive of future criminality, including parental criminality, lack of parental supervision, conflict between parents, and the use of harsh and physical techniques of child rearing. The predictive factors relating to the children themselves include male gender, black race, lower IQ, aggressive or impulsive temperament, younger age at onset of delinquency, and interpersonal and academic difficulties. However, only half of those identified as being at high risk for future criminality will later prove to be criminal. Thus, both the costs and the benefits of early interventions must be considered. The positive effects of intervention programs are not known but in the past have tended to be minimal; the costs of such programs are considered to be labeling effects and the widening of the social control net, two factors whose magnitude is as yet unknown. Thus, public policy regarding early intervention should be approached with caution. The ability to predict seems adequate for voluntary programs, but not for coercive ones.

Early Childhood Intervention and Juvenile Delinquency

Dutile, F.; Foust, C.; and Webster D., editors (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1982).

This collection of papers, commentaries, and conference transcripts focuses on the sources of juvenile delinquency, the possibility of predicting it reliably, the advantages and disadvantages of providing early preventive interventions, and the lawfulness and appropriateness of such interventions. Childhood predictors of adult criminality are discussed, with emphasis on the lack of justification for early intervention programs which are coercive rather than voluntary. Biological influences on child development are explained, including the role of the family, school, and general social environment to offset neuropsychological or constitutional deficits. Recent social trends that have contributed to delinquency are described, focusing on the need to restructure the current social, economic, and legislative situation. A discussion of child maltreatment as a precursor to delinquency indicates that the identification of children at risk for delinquency is equivalent to the identification of children at high risk for abuse.

"Predictors of Assaultiveness in Latency Age Children"

Pfeffer, C.; Plutchik, R.; and Mizruchi, M., American Journal of Psychiatry 140 (January 1983): 31-35.

This study identifies psychosocial variables that predict the assaultive behavior of children aged 6-12 years. A total of 103 children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds who were undergoing psychiatric treatment (as either inpatients or outpatients) were evaluated, using standard clinic and inpatient assessment procedures including individual child and family interviews as well as neurological and IQ testing. In addition, a set of research scales was used to collect data on each child. A scale was constructed to represent a spectrum of assaultive behavior, and a child was rated assaultive if he or she demonstrated any type of assaultive ideas, threats, attempts, or homicides during the six months preceding the evaluations. No racial or ethnic differences were found in assaultive children, but boys were significantly more assaultive than girls, assaulted with objects more often, and set fires more often. Inpatients were significantly more assaultive than outpatients, while children with conduct disorders, specific development disorders, and mental retardation were more assaultive than those with neurotic disorders. Analysis showed that a child's past aggressive behavior, absence of anxiety and depression, and parental assaultive behavior were the best predictors of assaultive behavior.

"Early Identification and Classification of Juvenile Delinquents"

Hearing Before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, 22 October 1981  
(Washington, D.C.).

The hearings focused on the early identification and classification of juvenile delinquents in order to develop programs to remove juveniles from the crime cycle. The purpose of this early identification would be to determine a critical point in a youth's development at which some intervention, such as family counseling or corrective actions, might succeed in preventing future delinquency in that individual. A review of research attempting to predict delinquency found that childhood predictors of criminality include three clusters of factors: parent factors, such as parents' criminality or harsh physical discipline; child factors, such as temperament and age at onset of delinquency; and school factors, such as interpersonal and academic difficulties. However, the use of these factors would result in only 50 percent accuracy, at best, in predicting future criminality. The negative effects of intervention programs are unknown; positive effects are generally unknown and have tended in the past to be minimal. Some speakers advocated intervention early in childhood through day care or other resources, removal of abused children from the home, and the use of indigenous community groups and centers to involve whole families in positive activities.



"Delinquency and Drug Use Relationship Among Adolescents--A Critical Review"

Clayton, R., Drug Abuse and the American Adolescent, edited by D. Lettieri and J. Ludford (Rockville, MD: National Criminal Justice Reference Service, 1981).

The literature on the relationship between drug use and juvenile delinquency is critically examined using three widely accepted criteria of causality outlined by Hirschi and Selvin: association, temporal order, and testing of the relationship for spuriousness. The existing literature has consistently proven a statistical association between delinquency and drug use. Consensus also exists that the onset of delinquency usually precedes the involvement with such illicit drugs as marijuana, barbituates, and heroin. Alcohol use and first alcohol intoxication have been shown to precede delinquency. The two studies that have most rigorously applied the third criterion of causality also agree that the relationship between delinquency and drug use is spurious in that both appear to reflect a proneness toward deviance that is expressed through different behaviors at different ages. Analysis of data from a study of over 3,000 adolescents, however, provides strong evidence that the relationship between delinquency and drug use is not spurious. This study considered both minor delinquency (running away, truancy, etc.) and serious delinquency (vandalism, theft, and assault), and the findings of a potential causal relationship between delinquency and drug use suggest that it may be possible to devise early detection, drug education, and prevention programs that constitute primary prevention.

Michigan Risk Prediction: A Replication Study--Final Report

Murphy, T. (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Corrections, 1981).

Based on a random sample selected from all inmates in Michigan paroled in 1974, this study used the same statistical methods that were applied in a 1971 project to predict recidivism and reached the same conclusion that juvenile arrest and commitment are significant indicators of future criminal activity. The original study identified the following risk groups: high risk (reported felony and major misconduct while juvenile, or reported felony while juvenile, with first arrest before the age of 15); middle risk (reported felony and no major misconduct while juvenile, with first arrest after the age of 15, or no reported felony while juvenile with drug problems); and low risk (no reported felony while juvenile and no drug problems). Recidivism rates were 37.9 percent for the high risk group, 27 percent for the middle, and 15.1 percent for the low risk group. The replication study duplicated the subgroups from the first study, and comparisons showed the two samples to be similar with respect to most variables examined.

Clinical Prediction of Violent Behavior

Monahan, J. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, 1981).

This monograph is intended to assist practicing mental health professionals in understanding the issues involved in predicting violent behavior. Noting that the prediction of violent behavior has played an important role throughout legal history, the monograph defines violent behavior and describes three current major criticisms of violence prediction by mental health professionals: that violence cannot be predicted with any satisfactory level of accuracy; that any attempt to predict violence is a violation of the civil liberties of the subjects; and that the societal protection function is at variance with the traditional helping role of the mental health professions. The monograph examines the concepts of predictor and criterion variables, outcomes of positive and negative prediction, decision rules, and base rates, and presents a model of the clinical prediction process and outlines variables that psychiatrists and psychologists rely upon to predict violent behavior. In addition, a review of research on clinical prediction is presented that underscores both the importance of past violence as a predictor of future violence and the problem of accuracy in predicting violent behavior. Approaches to improving the accuracy of clinical predictions are depicted and a model format for predicting violence is proposed.

"Reading Failure--A Predictor of Delinquency"

Taglianetti, T., Crime Prevention Review 2 (April 1975): 24-30.

Based on research that shows that about 30 percent of the general population learn through auditory rather than visual processes, this article proposes a restructuring of educational methods to teach this student group reading and thereby prevent delinquency. Reading failure is becoming a significant predictor of juvenile delinquency, as evidenced in studies that demonstrate that many inmates of juvenile detention facilities read substantially below grade level. Reading experts have failed to develop adequate solutions to reading difficulties, partly because they have never questioned the assumption that every normal child should be able to read. Studies of individual learning modes show that 70-75 percent of the population learn to read primarily through the visual channel, but about 25-30 percent rely on auditory channels. Because the language is largely composed of configurational words that are not spelled as they sound, auditory learners can have serious problems in learning to read if they are taught by conventional methods. A study of 200 former residents of juvenile detention facilities found that 65-70 percent were auditory preferential readers, suggesting that reading failure is an important factor in delinquent behavior. Proposed changes in educational practices that would improve reading skills include developing a classmate edition that uses phonetic work equivalents for every standard text, tailoring academic standards to learning modal preferences, and having taped versions of all printed materials in all public schools.

Danger Signs of Delinquency--Where Is He Going?

(Sacramento, CA: California Department of the Youth Authority, 1966).

Six factors are used by the California Delinquency Commission and the Department of the Youth Authority to measure the relative amount of juvenile delinquency and to note trends on arrests for juvenile acts, referrals to probation departments, admission to juvenile halls, etc. The Commission concluded that in general, the most reliable indicators of delinquency show a steady rate without a significant rise: the great increase in the total number of juvenile delinquents can be explained in terms of population growth. Those indices reflecting a delinquency increase are either related to the direct activities, resources, and interests of the local police departments or are inflated by statistical procedures that do not separate repeat offenders from first offenders. This, in turn, means referral to probation departments for delinquent acts. It is possible to generalize by saying that each year in California, for every 100,000 children in the 10-17 age group, approximately 7,000 are arrested for a delinquent act (25 percent are repeat offenders); 2,964 children are referred to probation departments; 2,300 are detained in juvenile halls; 932 are made juvenile court wards; and 165 are committed to the youth authority for training and rehabilitation.

"Predicting Recidivism Among Youthful Offenders"

Tucker, I., Doctoral Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1977.

Data from 300 juvenile offender cases were analyzed to determine if different indexes of behavior existed for youthful offenders who became recidivists and those who satisfactorily adjusted to society. A discussion of recidivism is followed by a review of the literature in the areas of juvenile delinquency, prediction methods used in corrections, and studies dealing with recidivism among juveniles. Information was gathered for the study from subject files, test scores, recommendations based on testing and observations, and results from self-report inventories completed by the youths. The data analysis resulted in a correct prediction rate of 70 percent for successful adjustment; the weakness of the model was its failure to predict accurately cases of unsuccessful adjustment. No statistical significance was found in the relationships between successful and unsuccessful groups and ethnic background, number of siblings, welfare status, living situation, religious preference, use of drugs, or type of offense. However, more successful youths chose trade school or higher academic education, while the majority of the unsuccessful youths expressed only vague vocational interests. Future research should focus on characteristics of the failure cases to treat potential recidivists at an early age; the findings also indicated a need for vocational counseling for juvenile offenders.

"Delinquency Prediction and Its Uses--The Experience of a 21-Year Follow-Up Study"

Wadsworth, M., International Journal of Mental Health 7 (1979): 43-62.

Findings are reported from a study of the etiology of official delinquency in males in a 21-year follow-up study of a representative sample and the use these findings might have in preventing delinquency is considered. The cohort includes 5,362 subjects who have been studied every two years since birth. Information was collected on growth, illness, social circumstances, home environment, career and employment, marriage, offense data, etc. The most striking and significant associations with later delinquency were the experience of injuries by the males between the ages of 6 and 10, family disruption during the first 5 years of life, and overall loss or prolonged absence of a parent or parents. The apparently "protective" effect of situations in which parental attention would be optimal was supported, and school data corroborated the finding that relationships with parents and teachers were important. Most studies of delinquency have found strong associations between human relations data and delinquent behavior; none of them has found these associations to be amenable to useful predictions of outcomes.

"Arrests for Drunkenness and Recidivism in Juvenile Delinquents"

Virkkunen, M., British Journal of Addiction 72 (1972): 201-204.

The reliability of arrests for drunkenness as a predictor of future criminality is tested in a study of all delinquents convicted in Finnish juvenile courts in 1975. Of the 741 study subjects, aged 16-20, 242 had prior arrests for drunkenness. Analysis of the subjects' criminal records for 1970-1975 found that 53 percent had committed further offenses during these years. The recidivism rate for subjects who had been arrested for drunkenness in their youth was 65.3 percent, significantly higher than the 47.1 percent recidivism rate for other youths. Recidivists with arrests for drunkenness were significantly more likely to have committed violent crimes (21.5 percent) than were other recidivists (11.6 percent). Recidivists with arrests for drunkenness also had significantly higher rates of property crimes, but not of traffic offenses, than did other recidivists. The findings show that arrests for drunkenness do predict later criminality, especially violent criminality, in subjects who commit offenses as juveniles.



"Enuresis, Fire Setting, and Animal Cruelty in Male Adolescent Delinquents--A Triad Predictive of Violent Behavior"

Wax, D.; and Haddox, V., Journal of Psychiatry and Law 2 (Spring 1974): 45-71.

Using six case studies of aggressive-violent male adolescents, this paper examines and confirms the triad hypothesis that enuresis, fire setting, and animal cruelty are highly predictive of adult male violence. During a six-month period, clinical consultants to the California Youth Authority examined a total of 46 clients, 6 of whom demonstrated the triad of behavior. Each of these six subjects was seen individually in psychiatric evaluation and subsequent referral for psychological testing. Case information on these subjects is presented according to three areas of consideration: associated pathognomonic variables, sexually aberrant behavior, and implications of the triad. Manifestations of extreme violence and marked sexual deviation are documented for each of the subjects, most of whom were reared in disorganized and deprived families. Each subject evidenced serious psychological difficulty, enuresis through the onset of puberty, some kind of sexual perversion or sense of inadequacy as a male, cruelty to animals, and some fire-setting behavior. It is significant that all subjects signaled presence of the triad symptoms up to the time of the study or to the time of puberty. The study concluded that the developmentally arrested infantile character formation signaled by the triad suggests that treatment efforts be directed toward remarkable personality change rather than conflict resolution or relearning of socialization skills.

Predicting Adult Criminal Careers from Juvenile Careers

Shannon, L. (Max C. Fleischmann Foundation).

The nature of urban juvenile delinquent careers and their relationship to later adult careers are explored through analysis of data obtained from personal interviews and files of the juvenile bureau and the Racine, Wisconsin, police records division. The data were used in predicting who is most likely to engage in delinquent behavior, who will cease delinquent behavior, and who will exhibit adult criminal activity. Analysis of the data showed that neither the occupational level of the subjects' parents nor the regularity of employment correlated with delinquency and crime resulting in police contact, except for black males. Socioeconomic status, however, is related to delinquency, particularly with regard to the seriousness of the offense. Analysis should, therefore, be based on areas rather than on strata generated by income, occupation, or education. There was some relationship between delinquent and criminal careers and family type (i.e., unified or broken home). It was determined that although police contacts generally decline with age, they decline markedly after marriage, and thus the marital status of the subject, rather than that of his or her parents, should be included in the prediction device as an important variable.

"Effectiveness of Various Predictors of Criminal Careers"

Osborn, S.; and West, D., Journal of Adolescence 1 (June 1978): 101-117.

Data from a 15-year follow-up of a sample of normal boys are used to test the value of social and background factors as predictors of delinquency which extends into adult life. The data were drawn from the Cambridge study in delinquent development; the final sample consisted of 397 men from a working class urban area. Of these, 35 were persistent recidivists, while 26 were temporary recidivists who had two or more offenses recorded before their nineteenth birthdays but whose criminality did not extend into adulthood. Both groups are compared with tables presenting study data. Compared with temporary recidivists, the persistent recidivists had a greater number of convictions before the nineteenth birthday, had higher scores for "antisociality" factors on personality tests, and were more likely to have had poor family income and large-sized families. The most effective predictors of adult criminality, however, were the number of previous convictions (especially juvenile convictions) and family criminality. Assessments of "antisociality" based on interviews at age 18 proved to be as predictive of reconviotions as official conviction histories or self-reported delinquency scores. It is concluded that social habits are important indicators in the prognosis of a criminal career. Latecomers to crime, convicted for the first time after the nineteenth birthday, did not share the early background adversities of the others but showed troublesome school behavior from an early age.

"Longitudinal Study of Delinquency and Crime"

Shannon, L., Quantitative Studies in Criminology, edited by Charles Wellford (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1978).

Career progressions are examined to determine the potential for predicting if juvenile delinquency referral rates for some sex, race, ethnic, and residential groups increase over time. This report is an overview of a longitudinal study of the relationship of juvenile delinquency to adult crime. Factors that are considered for determining whether or not individuals will have police contacts anytime during their lifetime are area of residence, indicating socioeconomic status, and racial/ethnic population proportions. Although there is some indication of a relationship between juvenile delinquency and adult crime, attempts to predict adult criminal careers from juvenile histories have produced mixed results unable to support the theory. There is evidence to indicate that lengthy criminal careers are characterized by more serious types of offenses than are sporadic police encounters.

"Gauging of Delinquency Potential"

Hanley, C., Psychology of Crime and Criminal Justice, edited by Hans Toch (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979).

This article discusses reasons for measuring delinquency potential, problems in obtaining such measures, and representative studies of delinquency and recidivism prediction. An ideal measure of delinquency potential would be useful in locating predelinquents for preventive treatment, in improving decisions about alternatives for rehabilitating offenders, in determining who should receive parole, and in providing an immediate measure of the effectiveness of a rehabilitative or preventive program. Thus far, prediction research has been hampered by problems of reliability, validity, base rate determination, and selection ratio. Researchers have used experience tables, personality questionnaires, and other devices to predict recidivism. The success of various investigations supports the idea that delinquency potential exists and affects important behaviors. It is possible that the opportunistic nature of most recidivism studies may have hidden true impact. The case study, or clinical prediction, may be the best strategy for obtaining valid estimates of delinquency potential. It has yet to be shown whether or not delinquency potential is a real function of personality.

"Prospective Study of Predictors of Criminality, 5 Intelligence"

Kirkegaard-Sorenson, L.; and Mednick, S., Biosocial Bases of Criminal Behavior, edited by S. Mednick and K. Christiansen (New York, NY: Gardner Press, Inc., 1977).

A sample of 311 Danish children was tested with the Wechsler intelligence scale for children. Two hundred and seven of the children had schizophrenic mothers and were considered high risk, and 104 control children with no history of mental illness in their families were considered low risk. Ten years later, in a follow-up examination, the subjects were examined with four subtests from the Wechsler adult intelligence scale. It was determined that 7 low risk and 32 high risk males had experienced at least one court conviction. The results suggest that adolescents who later commit criminal acts have a lower tested intelligence than their more law abiding peers. There was no significant difference in the intelligence levels of the high risk and low risk criminal groups. It is hypothesized that low intelligence deprives a child of rewards for academic achievement that tend to reinforce conformity to the expectations of authority figures.

"Prospective Study of Predictors of Criminality, 4 School Behavior"

Kirkegaard-Sorenson, L.; and Mednick, S., Biosocial Bases of Criminal Behavior, edited by S. Mednick and K. Christiansen (New York, NY: Gardner Press, Inc., 1977).

A sample of 311 Danish children was tested with the Wechsler intelligence scale for children. Two hundred and seven of the children had schizophrenic mothers and were considered high risk, and 104 control children with no history of mental illness in their families were considered low risk. The subjects were appraised prior to any manifestation of criminality, and teacher reports were conducted on the subjects consisting of questions which covered a broad spectrum of school behavior relating to psychopathology. Thirteen years later, the subjects were surveyed to determine the existence of any registered criminality. The findings suggest that adolescents who later commit criminal acts are seen by their teachers as overtly aggressive, disturbing, disciplinary problems, or passive; they generally perform poorly in school and evidence little diligence. There are limitations and peculiarities of this study which preclude the results from being generalized to the overall population; for instance, the mothers of all subjects in the high risk group are severely schizophrenic, but the control sample consists of subjects whose parents and grandparents have never been hospitalized for mental illness and, in both groups, the fathers have unusually high levels of criminality. However, the school behavior of these individuals parallels the behavior of those who later evidence criminality in other similar studies.

"Prediction of Dangerousness in Juveniles--A Replication"

Schlesinger, S., Crime and Delinquency (January 1978), p. 40-48.

A study was undertaken to examine the validity of predictor variables of juvenile dangerousness identified by nine previous studies and by staff members of a family court and its psychiatric clinic. The records of 122 juveniles were studied for the presence of predictor variables, including unfavorable life/family experiences, poor personality prognosis, bedwetting, cruelty to animals, etc. Analyses were performed for 124 comparisons among predictor variables, clinic recommendations, and criterion behaviors (violence, larceny, runaway, and others). It was found that only 15.6 percent of the juveniles were referred for violent offenses and only 5.7 percent committed violent or dangerous offenses during a one-year follow-up period. No systematic relationships among predictor variables, clinic recommendations, and criterion behaviors were found, nor did the relationships between predictions of dangerousness and subsequent violent behavior reach significance. The results do not support the conclusions reached by previous research and do not support the court and clinic assumptions of a relationship between variables and dangerousness.



"Prediction of Youth Contacts with Law Enforcement Agencies"

Feldhusen, J.; Aversana, F.; and Thurston, J., Criminal Justice and Behavior 3 (September 1976): 235-253.

This article discusses the results of research undertaken to determine predictors of juvenile delinquency, to develop a practical system for identification of its causes, and to determine the extent to which youth contacts with police could be predicted. The subjects were children in grades three, six, and nine who had been nominated by teachers as displaying aggressive-disruptive or socially approved behavior. The criterion to be predicted was contact with law enforcement agencies during a period of eight years after the initial nomination. Extensive background, psychological, family history, criminal history, and school performance data were obtained on the subjects. Data analysis of these variables showed that predictive accuracies ranging from 69 to 79 percent were obtained. Among the variables shown to be predictive of delinquency were sex, behavior as aggressive-disruptive or socially approved when nominated, home location, chronological age, and IQ.