

MINNESOTA

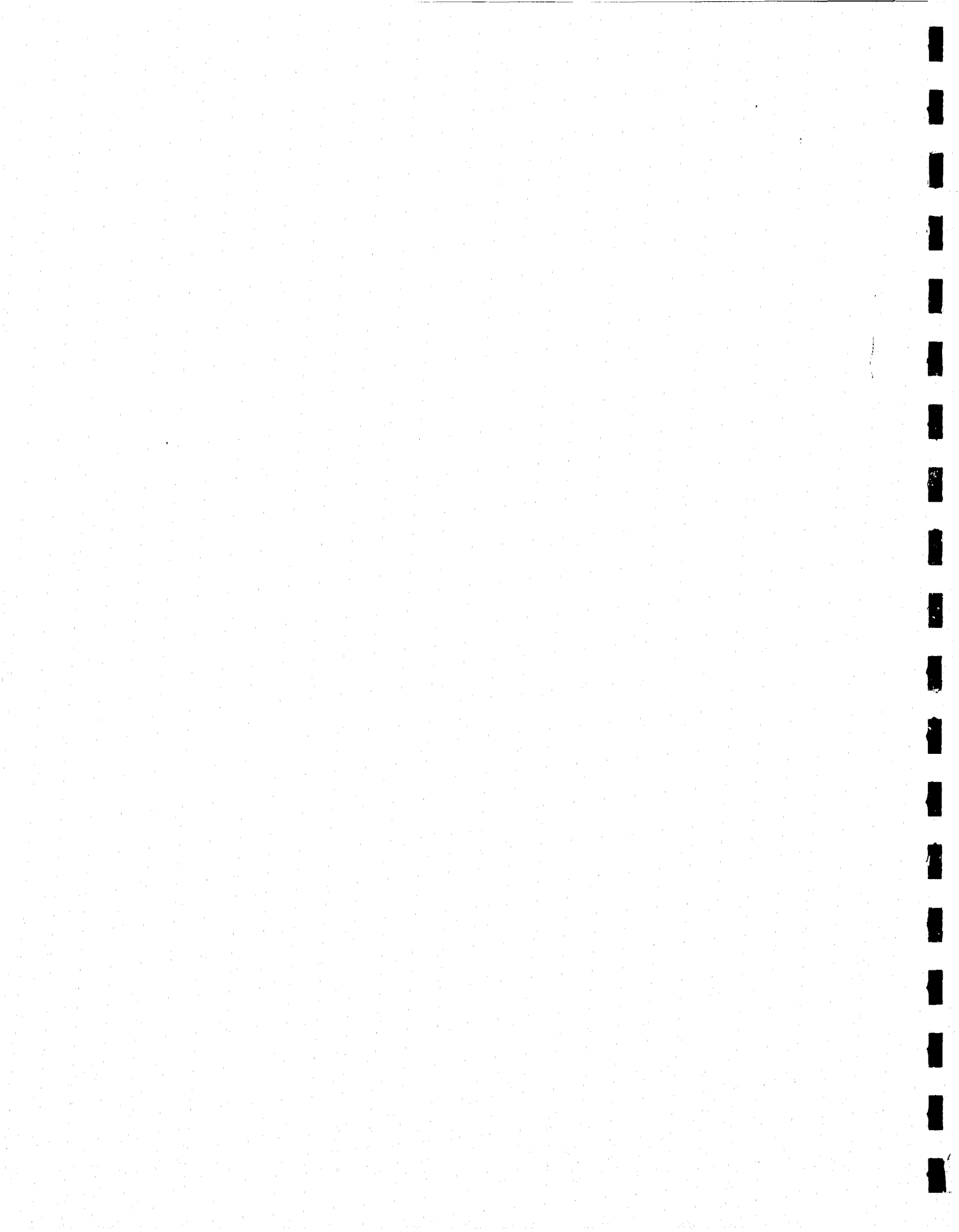
CRIME CONTROL PLANNING BOARD

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RESEARCH
REPORT



A Research Report

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SERIOUS JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
IN MINNESOTA



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report represents the second phase of our agency's research in the area of the violent or hard-core juvenile offender and provides additional information on the serious juvenile offender in Minnesota.

The primary questions addressed in this report are:

1. What type of offender is being identified by the various definitions of violent or hard-core juvenile offender?
2. Are the definitions predictive in nature? In other words, are those juveniles classified as violent or hard core under various definitions likely to commit additional serious crimes?
3. What factors (e.g., age, type of offense, disposition, etc.) in a juvenile's court record best predict his future offense behavior?

The major findings of this report are as follows:¹

1. Juveniles included under the various definitions of violent or hard core are typically repeat property offenders--not repeat violent offenders.
2. In general, the definitions proposed so far are not successful at predicting which juveniles shall go on to commit additional serious crimes.
3. The best single predictor of repeat serious delinquency is age. The recidivism rate among juvenile delinquents drops rapidly with increasing age. The juveniles most likely to commit repeated serious crimes are the thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds who have a prior felony in their record. However, if a juvenile has committed only a single violent crime, it is not a good predictor of his future delinquency. All prediction rules are subject to serious errors of misclassification of juveniles.

¹It should be noted that offense information on the individuals included in the sample was not collected beyond their eighteenth birthday. Therefore, the findings only apply to juvenile court activity.



4. We find no evidence that juveniles who begin with status offenses at a young age are the career criminals of the future. To the contrary, those who start out at an early age with serious crimes are the most likely to continue on in serious delinquent activity.
5. It is not possible to predict with a high degree of certainty which juveniles shall commit acts of violence. But, in any case, it is the rare juvenile in Minnesota who has a history of violent crimes.
6. Under current practices, what the courts do with a juvenile, i.e., the disposition accorded, does not appear to have any substantial effect on whether he will commit additional serious crimes. However, the more charges against a juvenile that are dismissed, the greater the tendency to recidivate.
7. The best strategy for combating repeat delinquency, we believe, would be for the courts, legislature, and other authorities to give increased attention to the younger delinquents, especially those thirteen and fourteen years old, who have committed a felony. This approach contrasts with the more common view that it is the older juveniles, particularly those with long histories of delinquency, that ought to receive the greater attention.

It should be noted that we are not advocating the institutionalization of these juveniles. We believe that juvenile court resources such as probation, in-home supervision, etc., could be used to accomplish this goal.

8. We further recommend that additional research be conducted on this sample (1,129 juveniles) or comparable samples to determine the extent of their criminal behavior as adults. This type of research would provide valuable information regarding the relationship between juvenile and adult criminal involvement and criminal behavior in general.

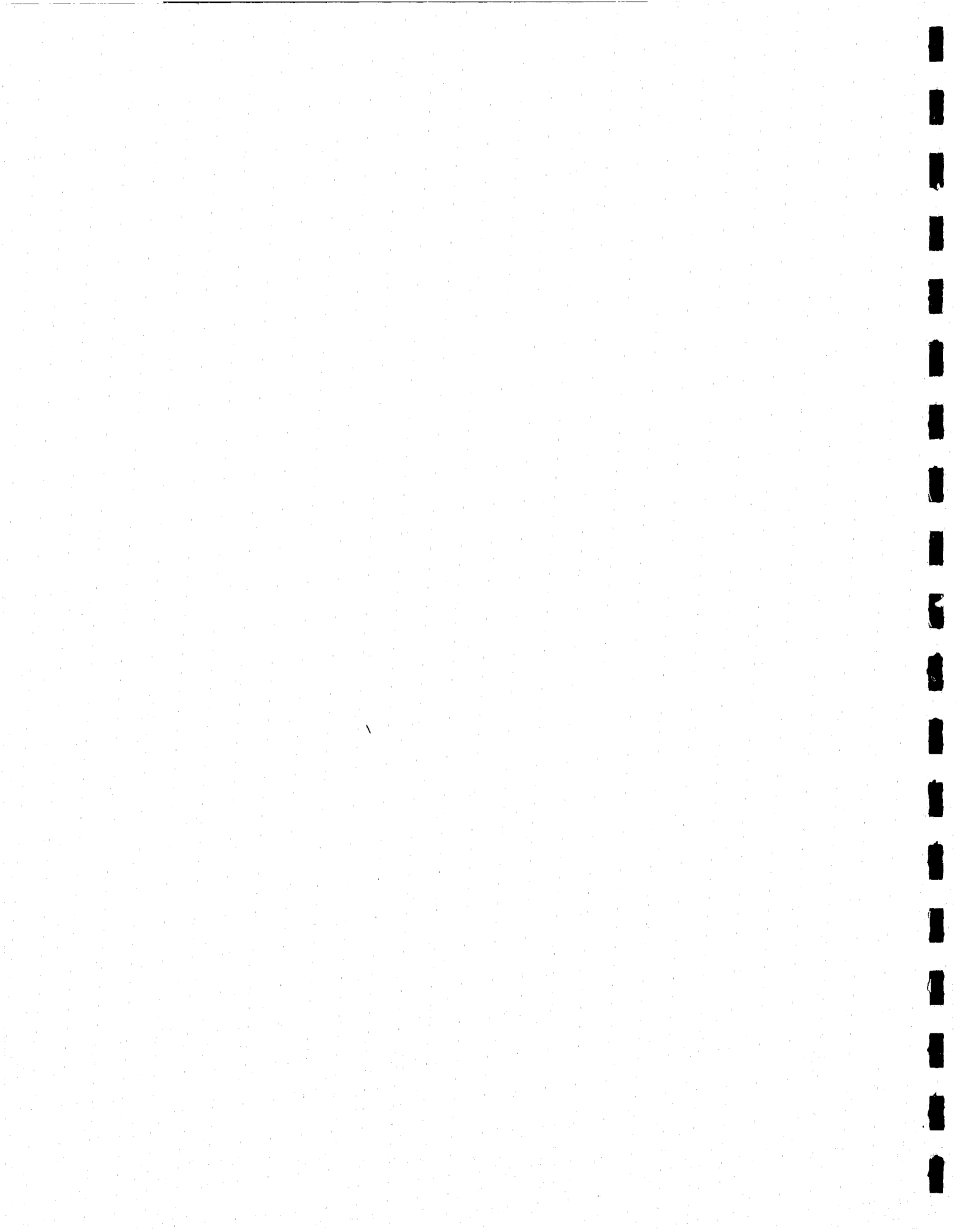


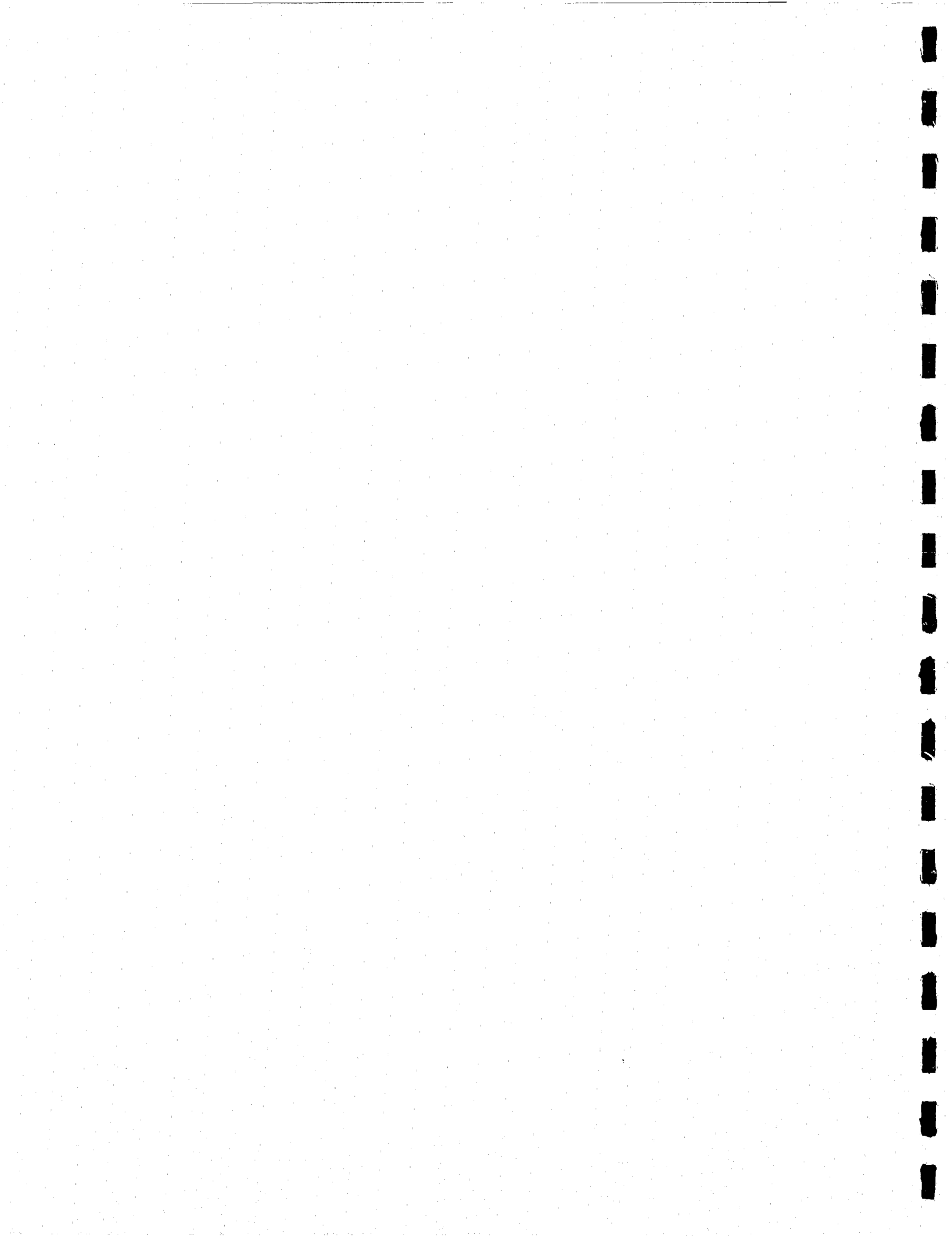
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INTRODUCTION

During the past few years, the Crime Control Planning Board has been engaged in a study of the juvenile offender within the Minnesota juvenile court. This research is being conducted primarily in response to the requirements of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974.¹

In addition to this, the Crime Control Planning Board is also concerned with providing elected officials and criminal justice practitioners accurate information about the Minnesota juvenile justice system. The Minnesota House Committee on Crime Prevention and Corrections, the Department of Corrections, and the Minnesota Supreme Court have been actively involved with issues concerning "violent" or "hard-core" juvenile offenders. In response to requests from members of the various committees and agencies involved, the Crime Control Planning Board has directed its research to the serious juvenile offender.

The first phase of this research project, *Alternative Definitions of "Violent" or "Hard-Core" Juvenile Offenders: Some Empirical and Legal Implications*,² had three major purposes:

1. To test various proposed definitions of violent or hard-core behavior, to determine if they in fact differentiate between groups of serious and nonserious offenders.³

¹Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, LEAA, U.S. Department of Justice, *Special Requirements for Participation in Funding under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974*, January 16, 1976, Chapter 3, paragraph 77, page 110.

²Minnesota Crime Control Planning Board, January, 1977, revised April, 1978.

³Complete listing of all the definitions and the estimated number of juveniles under each definition can be found in Appendix A.

2. To provide estimates of the potential target groups under each definition.
3. To investigate and discuss any relevant legal issues surrounding the classification of a group of juveniles as violent or hard-core offenders.

The major findings of the previous report are:

1. That each of the definitions proposed to date did differentiate between a group of serious and nonserious offenders,
2. That the potential target groups could range in size from 100 to over 4,000 juveniles depending on the definition used, and
3. That a statewide definition of violent or hard-core juvenile offenders based upon age, type of offense, number of offenses, or any combination of these three factors is permissible for equal protection purposes, and the classification may include or exclude these juveniles from the juvenile system.

This report represents the second phase of our research in the area of the violent or hard-core juvenile offender and provides additional information on the serious juvenile offender in Minnesota. The following research questions will be addressed:

1. *What type of offender is being identified by the various definitions? (Offense profiles will be examined to determine whether juveniles being classified by the definitions are primarily violent offenders or are mainly repeat property offenders.)*
2. *Are the definitions predictive in nature? In other words, are those juveniles classified as violent or hard core under various definitions likely to commit additional serious crimes?*
3. *Which factors (e.g., age, type of offense, disposition, etc.) in a juvenile's court record best predict his future offense behavior?*

The data base for this study was derived from a ten-county sample.¹

All juveniles referred to court (or intake with a subsequent referral to

¹For explanation of sampling procedure see Appendix B.

court)¹ during the months of January and June of 1975 were included in the sample. Information regarding all previous court referrals was also collected.² Slightly over 1,100 juveniles comprise the study population. Because the initial data collection phase followed these juveniles only through the end of 1975, additional information was collected on these juveniles for a follow-up period of 18 months. (If a juvenile was less than 16 1/2 at the end of 1975, we have 1 1/2 years of follow-up data on him; if he was over 16 1/2, we have data only up to his eighteenth birthday, when he came under the jurisdiction of adult criminal court.) The reason for this update was twofold: (1) to obtain complete court histories for the majority of juveniles included in the sample; and (2) to provide information on the follow-up behavior of those juveniles classified as violent or hard core.

To simplify the analysis, we have created two classification schemes. Juvenile offenses have been classified into several categories: status offenses, misdemeanors, property felonies, violent or person felonies, and other felonies (this category includes those felonies that cannot be classified as either property or person).³ In addition to this, a seriousness or severity scale for dispositions was developed. The second classification scheme, a disposition severity scale, ranks juvenile dispositions from least to most severe. It is a seven-category scale ranging

¹Those juveniles whose case was closed at intake (i.e., case was not referred to juvenile court) were excluded from this study. This reduced the sample size from 1,400 to 1,129 juveniles.

²For a listing of those variables included in the study, see Appendix C.

³A complete listing of all offenses included under each category is given in Appendix D.

from no system involvement to adult referral granted. All of the final dispositions encountered in the course of data collection were placed in one of the seven categories. Increasing levels of severity on the disposition scale correspond with increasing levels of supervision.¹ The levels are:

Level 0 = No System Involvement (offense was not sustained in court)

Level 1 = No Formal Court Intervention (offense was sustained in court but there was no formal intervention, i.e., juvenile was reprimanded and released)

Level 2 = Limited Intervention

Level 3 = Formal Supervision

Level 4 = Out-of-Home Placement with Supervision

Level 5 = State Commitment

Level 6 = Adult Referral

The major emphasis of our analysis is focused on those variables that could be used in implementing policy changes. Although race and sex may be influential factors, it is not reasonable to anticipate that legislation could be based on such factors.

DEFINITIONS OF VIOLENT OR HARD-CORE BEHAVIOR

The first question with which we are concerned is what type of offender is being identified by the various definitions. In order to simplify this discussion, we have selected five proposed definitions that represent the range of alternatives. (Explanations for all of the definitions are in Appendix A.)

¹For a complete listing of final dispositions in each level, see Appendix E.

By examining the records of juveniles, we can get a good picture of the type of delinquent included under each definition. We find that under every definition the juveniles are typically repeat property offenders--not repeat violent offenders. This is easily seen by the frequencies in Table 1.

Of the five definitions, only the Kelly definition has a majority of juveniles (76 percent) who have committed a major person offense. (The 76 percent figure is obtained by adding the percentages of juveniles with one or more major person offenses, i.e., $62 + 12 + 2 = 76$ percent.) But even under this definition, we still find a higher percentage of repeat property offenders than repeat violent offenders. Only one juvenile committed more than two person crimes whereas seventeen juveniles committed more than two major property offenses.

The prevalence of major property offenses (and offenders) over violent offenses (or offenders) typifies Minnesota's juvenile delinquents as a whole. In our sample of 1,129 juveniles, 94 percent had not committed a violent offense (see Table 1).

How successful are these definitions in predicting future felony behavior? In general, the definitions are not good predictors. The most successful of all the definitions, the Barry Feld definition, has only a 60 percent success rate of predicting which juveniles committed a felony in the eighteen-month follow-up period. In any case the small number of juveniles who come under the Feld definition makes this prediction rate tenuous.¹ Prediction rates for other definitions are also shown in Table 2.

¹We would accept a null hypothesis that the predicted recidivism rate is not over 50 percent at the .10 significance level.

TABLE 1
FELONY TYPOLOGY FOR SELECTED DEFINITIONS OF VIOLENT OR HARD-CORE JUVENILES

OFFENSE CATEGORY	AGE 14 OR OVER WITH AT LEAST ONE FELONY (n = 368)		AGE 16 OR OVER WITH AT LEAST ONE FELONY (n = 221)		MODIFIED HENNEPIN COUNTY (n = 65)		KELLY (n = 50)		BARRY FELD (n = 16)		TOTAL SAMPLE (n = 1,129)	
	Fre- quency	Per- cent	Fre- quency	Per- cent	Fre- quency	Per- cent	Fre- quency	Per- cent	Fre- quency	Per- cent	Fre- quency	Per- cent
<u>MAJOR PERSON</u>												
0	318	86	188	85	49	75	12	24	9	56	1,066	94
1	41	11	25	11	12	18	31	62	3	19	51	5
2	7	2	6	3	3	5	6	12	3	19	9	1
3 or more	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	6	3	0
<u>MAJOR PROPERTY</u>												
0	35	10	29	13	1	2	14	28	1	6	675	60
1	189	51	104	47	5	8	14	28	2	13	264	23
2	71	19	41	18	4	6	5	10	1	6	103	9
3	32	9	18	8	22	34	5	10	2	13	40	4
4 or more	41	11	29	13	33	51	12	24	10	62	47	4
<u>OTHER FELONIES</u>												
0	338	92	197	89	64	98	50	100	16	100	1,090	97
1	23	6	18	8	1	2	--	--	--	--	31	3
2	7	2	2	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	1
3 or more	--	--	4	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<u>ALL OFFENSES</u>												
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	171	15
1	95	26	54	25	0	0	6	12	0	0	360	32
2	86	23	48	22	3	5	13	26	1	6	219	19
3	53	14	30	13	5	8	5	10	0	0	116	10
4	35	10	21	10	3	5	3	6	1	6	71	6
5 or more	99	27	68	31	54	83	23	46	14	88	192	17



Note that with the exception of the Feld definition, more than half of the juveniles under all other definitions did not return to juvenile court with a felony offense in the follow-up period. In other words, the definitions are more likely to misclassify than to classify correctly if prediction of future felony delinquency is their intention.

TABLE 2 FELONY RECIDIVISM FOR SELECTED DEFINITIONS OF VIOLENT OR HARD-CORE JUVENILE OFFENDERS		
DEFINITION	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF JUVENILES FOR 1975	PERCENT OF JUVENILES LESS THAN 17 WITH SUSTAINED FELONY IN FOLLOW-UP PERIOD (1976 to mid-1977)
Age 14 or over with at least one felony	4,200 (n = 368) ^a	29%
Age 16 or over with at least one felony	2,500 (n = 220) ^a	22%
Modified Hennepin County	750 (n = 65) ^a	39%
Kelly Definition	575 (n = 50) ^a	45%
Barry Feld Definition	175 (n = 16) ^a	60% ^b

^a(n = number of juveniles in sample).
^bNot statistically reliable for the estimated population.

PREDICTING SERIOUS JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

We have seen that the legal definitions of violent or hard-core juvenile delinquency proposed so far are not very successful at predicting which juveniles shall go on to commit additional serious crimes and which shall not. But does this lack of success mean that the definitions are poor, or that it really is not possible to predict serious delinquent behavior? Rather than start with arbitrary definitions, we can instead use statistical methods to select objectively criteria for classifying

juvenile delinquents with the goal of having the best possible prediction of future criminal behavior.

To investigate the prediction of future crimes, we use discriminant analysis,¹ a statistical technique that tells us: (1) which factors in a juvenile's record best predict his future behavior; (2) how to construct a decision rule for predicting whether or not a juvenile will recidivate; and (3) how accurate our prediction rate will be. Discriminant analysis also distinguishes among groups of juveniles who have distinctly different behavior patterns. Here we are primarily concerned with learning whether status offenders, property offenders, and violent juveniles are fundamentally different populations or whether, instead, people are likely to progress from the less serious offenses to the more serious.

Initially, the variables that we consider in the analysis are the number of sustained offenses a juvenile has in each of several categories prior to 1976; these categories are status offenses, misdemeanors, property felonies, violent or person felonies, and total felonies of all kinds. We have also included the juvenile's age in 1975, the length of time from his first involvement with juvenile court to the end of 1975, and indexes which take into account the seriousness of his past crimes. Subsequently, we shall examine how court disposition, sex, and race affect the predictability of future crimes. All of these factors are evaluated for their power in predicting sustained offenses during the eighteen-month follow-up period from 1976 to mid-1977.

¹For a discussion of discriminant analysis, see Norman Nie et al., *SPSS Statistical Package for the Social Sciences*, 2nd edition, (New York: McGraw Hill Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 434-467.

Felony Prediction

We consider first whether or not a juvenile will go on to commit a felony in the follow-up period. Foremost, we observe that the large majority of juveniles of any age did not recidivate in the 1 1/2-year follow-up period. The highest return rate was for fourteen-year-olds. Of the 109 fourteen-year-olds in the sample with a sustained offense in 1975, 32 (29 percent) committed a later felony. For sixteen-year-olds, the rate of felony recidivism drops to 36 of 237 (15 percent). Although the number of juveniles coming into court increases sharply with each year of age, the number of juveniles returning with felony crimes stays at about the same low level for each age cohort. If we look at males only, we find a similar pattern but with higher rates of recidivism in every cohort. The highest recidivism rate among males--at 38 percent--is for fourteen-year-olds, although those younger than fourteen have almost the same high rate. The sample size for each age group and the numbers returning with felonies are presented in Table 3.

VARIABLE	AGE COHORT (n = 974)				
	Under 14	14	15	16	17
Number	60	109	159	237	409
Felony Returns	14	32	34	36	15
Percent Return	23%	29%	21%	15%	3.7%
Males Only	37%	38%	27%	19%	4.2%

Because age has a strong inverse relation to recidivism rate, age also affects the ability to predict which juveniles will go on to commit additional felonies. We find that prediction is most successful for those fourteen years old; prediction becomes increasingly less successful with

older (or younger) juveniles. This holds regardless of how long the juvenile has been involved in delinquent acts. However, even for fourteen-year-olds, prediction is subject to significant errors.

Discriminant analysis gives us the following decision rule (which is the best possible for fourteen-year-old delinquents as a whole, and indeed for any age cohort): If a fourteen-year-old has committed one or more felonies, the rule predicts that he will commit a subsequent felony. If he has not committed a felony, the rule predicts that he will not commit one in the follow-up period. Overall, this rule predicts correctly 74 percent of the time within our sample. The predictions given by this rule, for the sample are represented in Table 4.

PREDICTED	ACTUAL	
	No Felony	Felony
67 No Felony	58	9
42 Felony	19	23
109 TOTAL	77	32
^a Correctly predicted:	58 + 23 = 81	
Errors:	19 + 9 = 28	
Prediction accuracy:	$\frac{81}{109} = 74\%$	

If we had assumed that none of the fourteen-year-olds would recidivate, the overall rate of correct predictions would simply be $77 \div 109 = 71$ percent. But, of course, we would miss every juvenile who did, in fact, go on to commit a felony. With the decision rule that includes one prior felony, 23 future felons were predicted correctly, but 9 were not. Further, by using such a decision rule, 19 may be incorrectly labeled

future felons. (Note that the 19 is a conservative error estimate, however, because some might have committed a felony but not have been caught.)

Whether this is a "good" decision rule depends on how much weight one attaches to the various kinds of errors. In order to identify 23 future felony delinquents, is it worth the risk of possibly misclassifying 19? Here one must balance the dangers to the public against the rights of the individuals in regard to how they might be treated as a result of such a classification.

Restricting the discriminant analysis to the males in the sample, we get a similar result for fourteen-year-olds. But in this case, one or more prior *property* felonies predicts slightly better than one or more felonies. For this decision rule which includes only males, the overall prediction accuracy is 67 percent; the correct predictions and errors for the sample are distributed as shown in Table 5.

PREDICTED	ACTUAL	
	No Felony	Felony
37 No Felony	30	7
39 Felony	17	22
76 TOTAL	47	29
^a Correctly predicted:	30 + 22 = 52	
Errors:	17 + 7 = 24	
Prediction accuracy:	$\frac{52}{76} = 68\%$	

Discriminant analysis using similar decision rules was also applied to the other age cohorts. The results are shown in Table 6. Nevertheless,

rules for age cohorts other than fourteen or for any combination of cohorts are less successful than the ones described previously.

TABLE 6 FELONY PREDICTION RULES BY AGE COHORT				
A G E C O H O R T				
Under 14	14	15	16	17
At Least--	At Least--	At Least--		
1 person felony or 2 or more misdemeanors	1 felony Males Only: 1 property felony	2 property felonies	past crimes predict weakly	no prediction possible
<p>3 FELONIES^a (highest recidivism rate) (age 14 or younger)</p> <p>1 PERSON FELONY PLUS 2 OR MORE MIS- DEMEANORS OR 2 OR MORE PERSON FELONIES^b (age 15 or younger)</p> <p>^aNo prediction made for those with fewer than 3 felonies or more than 3 felonies.</p> <p>^bApplies only to those with at least 1 person felony; no prediction made for others.</p>				

We can also find statistically significant decision rules by focusing on smaller groups of delinquents with a history of felonies. For juveniles age fifteen or less who have committed at least one violent felony, we find that the following decision rule works fairly well: If the juvenile has committed two or more past misdemeanors in addition to the violent crime, or has committed a second violent crime, we predict that he will commit another felony (although not necessarily another violent crime). If the juvenile has committed a single violent crime but has fewer than two misdemeanors, we predict that he will not commit another felony in the follow-up period. In part, this reflects the previous finding that among fourteen-year-old males, a single property felony is a better predictor than a single felony in general. (Note that we do not try

to predict the behavior of those who have not committed at least one violent crime.)

Of the 21 juveniles in the sample who met the criteria of age fifteen or younger and at least one violent crime, ten did in fact recidivate with felonies. The prediction for this sample is given in Table 7.

TABLE 7		
DECISION RULE RESULTS FOR JUVENILES FIFTEEN OR YOUNGER WITH AT LEAST ONE VIOLENT CRIME ^a		
PREDICTED	ACTUAL	
	No Felony	Felony
12 No Felony	9	3
9 Felony	2	7
21 TOTAL	11	10
^a Correctly predicted:	9 + 7 = 16	
Errors:	2 + 3 = 5	
Prediction accuracy:	$\frac{16}{21} = 76\%$	

These results are statistically significant (at the .10 level), but we must caution that the results are more prone to statistical error than those cited above because of the smaller number of juveniles involved.

In relation to legislation that might apply to a violent or hard-core juvenile, we observe here that if a juvenile (fifteen or younger) has committed a violent crime, but has no other record, we would predict that he will *not* commit any subsequent felonies (for at least 1 1/2 years). Thus, a law that would use a single violent crime, by itself, as a criterion for classifying violent youths will not be very discriminating in its anticipation of future behavior.

We can identify another small group of juveniles who have a still

higher recidivism rate. These are juveniles age fourteen or younger who have committed (exactly) three felonies. Every one of the eight in our sample with this kind of record committed at least one additional felony in the follow-up period.¹ (This return rate drops slightly for those with more than three felonies unless two or more are violent crimes.) If we look at those over fourteen with three or more felonies, we find a much lower recidivism rate. Thus, again, we learn that fourteen is a crucial age in predicting serious future delinquency, and three felonies might be used as a decision rule for those fourteen or younger.

The percentage of juveniles coming into court who would meet the three criteria of the last two decision rules is very small--only two or three percent of the total with sustained offenses. The disadvantage of these very restrictive criteria is that they do not help us to predict the behavior of juveniles who do not meet the minimum court record prerequisite to their application.

Violent Crime Prediction

Although a history of violent crimes helps predict future felonies, the reverse is not true. Indeed, we have not found any decision rule that is good at predicting future acts of violence.

Discriminant analysis does offer some evidence, however, that violent juveniles have prior records that differ from those of juveniles who tend to commit mainly status offenses and misdemeanors or nonviolent felonies.

¹This data would cause us to reject the hypothesis that there is a 50 percent or less recidivism rate for this group of juveniles, at a statistical significance level of .05. That is, the recidivism rate for this group is almost certainly greater than 50 percent, which is higher than that of any other group previously identified in this report or considered by the various definitions.

Violent youths have prior case histories that are a mix of nonviolent felonies and status offenses. In fact, violent juveniles tend to have more status offenses in their background than those who go on to commit other felonies, and this gives us some basis for discriminating between the two categories. In any event, the total number of juveniles who went on to commit violent crimes in the follow-up period was quite small, amounting to only eighteen among those younger than seventeen. This is 16 percent of the total number who returned to court with felonies in the follow-up.

Status Offense Prediction

Whereas a history of felonies best predicts future felonies, a history of status offenses, possibly intermixed with misdemeanors, is a good predictor of future status offenses. We find no evidence that status offenders are likely to progress to increasingly serious crimes.¹ Felony offenders do often have status offenses in their history, but they are most likely accompanied by or preceded by felony offenses. In many cases these status offenses may have been charged when the proof of a more serious crime was difficult or when the juvenile would not admit to a more serious offense, the status offense being usually much easier to establish. Until recent legislation, it was possible to confine a juvenile to an institution on a status offense alone, thereby often alleviating the need for the court to prove a more serious felony charge against the juvenile.

That we do not find a progression from status offenses to felonies

¹A similar finding is made by Jeffrey Loesch, *Anoka County Juvenile Intake Report* (St. Paul, Minn.: Evaluation Unit, Crime Control Planning Board, 1978), pp. 9-10.

contradicts a widely held opinion that juveniles who start out committing status offenses at a young age are the felons of the future. As we have seen to the contrary, felony activity is most likely to recur among young delinquents who start out with serious crimes.

To study status offense prediction, we looked at those juveniles who had at least one status offense in the follow-up period, and also did not commit a felony in that period. It turns out that of the age cohorts, fifteen-year-olds are the most likely to return as status offenders (34 of 159 or 21 percent return as such), and a fifteen-year-old is more likely to return with another status offense if his first court appearance was for a status offense and if he was fifteen at that first time in court.

The Effect of Court Disposition

In the previous discussion we attempted to predict future delinquency on the basis of prior court record and other factors. We did not, however, look specifically at the actions which the courts took with the juvenile. To assess whether the previous results would be affected by court disposition, we have reanalyzed the data with this question in mind. Here we also include offenses which were not sustained in order to give a more complete picture of the juvenile's involvement with the court.

In the analysis we examined the effects of the juvenile's first disposition, his most recent disposition before the follow-up period, and the total number of his past dispositions in each of several categories. Dispositions were ranked in seven categories from dismissal through no intervention, unsupervised probation, supervised probation, out-of-home placement, confinement in a juvenile institution, to adult certification.

As it happened, the dispositions of no intervention, institutional confinement, and adult certification were very seldom used.

Generally, the analysis shows that court disposition has almost no bearing on whether a juvenile will commit a felony in the follow-up period. We observed only these *marginally significant* results: Recidivists tend to have had a less severe initial disposition, more often a dismissal, than those who did not recidivate. Recidivists also have a higher average rate of dismissals for their cases. This also applies to those juveniles younger than sixteen who had committed at least one person felony. For these juveniles the recidivists averaged over twice as many dismissals as the nonrecidivists (3.0 versus 1.3).

It is not clear why dismissals are more common among the recidivists, and we cannot determine if this explains why the juvenile committed additional felonies. It may be that a more severe initial disposition, or a more successful prosecution of cases against juveniles, would have a deterrent effect. But, on the other hand, it may be that some juvenile recidivists are particularly skillful at obtaining dismissals. Much depends on the willingness of the juvenile to admit his guilt. The only potential change in court procedure that this analysis of dispositions suggests as a means to reduce delinquency is that the courts try to lower the dismissal rate, especially among young juveniles who are in court for the first time.

The Effects of Social Background on Recidivism

In the foregoing analysis we have focused on the relationship of predictability in recidivism to various court-related factors in a juvenile's history. The purpose of this restriction was that we might consider factors which could properly be a basis for legislation or court action. Clearly, the law cannot use sex or race as criteria for treating or confining juvenile delinquents. Still, it is important to assess whether a juvenile's social background may have a dominant effect in predicting recidivism. An investigation into this possibility is a further check on the validity of the prediction rules discussed before. And a knowledge of what factors may influence delinquency is a worthy subject in its own right. To these ends, we have added to the previous discriminant analysis such variables as the juvenile's sex, race, parents' marital status, and his residential living arrangement.

Even with the inclusion of these background variables, we find that the prior results still hold. Specifically, court history and age remain the most important variables in predicting future felonies. Although males have a much higher felony recidivism rate than females, prior record is still the best criterion for prediction among juveniles of a given age; knowledge of the juvenile's sex is generally of no additional significance to prediction. As a rule, the same may be said of the other background variables. An exception, however, is an association of minority race with referral to court for violent felonies, and among minorities

this is stronger for blacks than for native Americans. Not only do minority juveniles have a higher rate of violent crimes in their court records, but their race is also a weakly significant predictor of future violent behavior.

The felony recidivism rate during the eighteen-month follow-up period for minority juveniles younger than sixteen in the sample was 42 percent (24 of 57). These rates are noticeably higher than the average recidivism rates for the age cohorts as presented earlier. Across all ages the average rate of violent crimes among blacks was 0.28 per juvenile; for native Americans, 0.19; and for the entire sample, 0.07.¹ Thus blacks, on the average, were referred to court for violent crimes at a rate over four times that for whites.

In regard to court disposition, the previous findings apply to minorities as well. Disposition has no great effect, but a higher severity level on the first or last dispositions are significantly associated with lower felony recidivism. In particular, a lower rate of dismissal is positively associated with lower felony recidivism.

ISSUES

The question of whether certain juveniles should be classified as violent or hard-core offenders is a complex one. The following issues

¹The sample included 43 native Americans and 99 blacks.

are related to the concept of special programming for the serious offender and should be considered before a policy decision is made in this area.

IS THERE A VIOLENT OR HARD-CORE JUVENILE OFFENDER PROBLEM IN THE STATE OF MINNESOTA?

The answer to this question depends totally on how violent or hard-core behavior is defined, and whether the number of juveniles meeting the criteria is considered large enough to be a problem. We have tested 14 different definitions of violent or hard-core behavior. As indicated before, depending upon the definition, the number of juveniles classified as serious offenders can range from 100 to 4,000.¹ General definitions of serious behavior, such as the commission of a single felony, yield large populations. The population of juveniles classified as violent or hard core drops significantly when more specific offense behavior (e.g., type or frequency of felonies) is used. Table 8 illustrates this point. (To simplify this analysis, the age of the offender was ignored and only two types of felonies--major person and major property--were used.)

As indicated by Table 8, when more criteria (e.g., frequency or type of offense) are used in defining serious behavior, the target population becomes smaller. For example, if we assume that the commission of a single felony should be regarded as serious behavior, we would be classifying almost 50 percent of the juveniles in juvenile court as violent or hard-core offenders. (This percentage is obtained by adding the percentages of those juveniles with one major person offense and those with

¹A complete listing of all the definitions and the estimated number of juveniles under each definition can be found in Appendix A.

one major property offense.) If we define serious behavior as the commission of two or more major person offenses, or three or more major property offenses, our population would then represent approximately 9 percent of the total number of juveniles in juvenile court.

TABLE 8
ESTIMATED POPULATIONS FOR SELECTED DEFINITIONS
OF VIOLENT OR HARD-CORE JUVENILE OFFENDERS

<u>DEFINITION</u>	<u>ESTIMATED NUMBER OF JUVENILES FOR 1975^a</u>	<u>ESTIMATED PERCENT OF TOTAL JUVENILE COURT POPULATION FOR 1975^b</u>
<u>MAJOR PERSON OFFENSES</u>		
One	717	6.0%
Two	137	1.0%
Three	34	0.3%
<u>MAJOR PROPERTY OFFENSES</u>		
One	5,169	40.0%
Two	2,163	17.0%
Three	991	8.0%
Four or more	535	4.0%

^aFor explanation of estimating procedure, see Appendix A.

^bPercentages were derived from the estimated total number of juveniles in juvenile court for 1975. Using our estimating procedure, we calculated that about 12,854 juveniles were processed through juvenile court in 1975.

This, of course, is a simplistic approach to the use of definitions, but it does illustrate how the numbers of juveniles being classified as violent or hard core can be easily changed by varying the criteria.

Although a definition alters the size of the population classified as serious offenders, this in and of itself does not make one definition better than another. The reason for this is that each of the definitions we have tested reflects the author's opinion of what constitutes serious behavior. Ultimately, one person's assumption that the problem should be defined as juveniles age fifteen and over who have committed a felony is

no less valid than someone who defines the problem as a juvenile age fourteen and over who has committed two major person offenses.

The major obstacle here is the lack of knowledge and theory about juvenile delinquency. That is, can we determine the causes of serious juvenile behavior? If we could determine the cause of this behavior or even predict it with some degree of accuracy, then both the definition and the solution to this problem would be easier. Unfortunately, to date there has been no theory developed that isolates the causes of juvenile delinquency in general, much less serious offense behavior. Therefore, if policy makers believe this to be a problem area, they must be willing to make certain assumptions about what constitutes serious behavior.

With each assumption or choice of definition, there are consequences to consider. The first is the probability that the definition selected will misclassify a large percentage of juveniles as violent or hard core if the prevention of future serious crimes is the object. As indicated by Table 2 (page 7), the definitions are not very successful in predicting those juveniles who will go on to commit future felonies. For example, the felony recidivism rate for the modified Hennepin County definition is 39 percent. That is, 61 percent of the juveniles included under this definition did not return to the juvenile court system within an eighteen-month follow-up period. In practical terms, this suggests that the majority of juveniles included under this definition would not require special programming to deter their future involvement in juvenile court.

A second possible consequence is that the definition may not include certain juveniles who appear to be serious offenders. Let us consider a

juvenile who has been referred to court for the first time on three counts of criminal sexual conduct. Under various proposed definitions, this juvenile would not be classified as a serious offender because he did not have a previous adjudication for felony conduct. In this instance, this juvenile could not be included in a program for the violent or hard-core juvenile offender.

If the decision is made to use a definition in identifying a group of serious offenders, we must be willing to accept a trade-off. Either the definition will be so general that it will misclassify a large percentage of juveniles as violent or hard core, or it will be so restrictive that it will miss certain juveniles that we would wish to be included.

HOW SHOULD THE SYSTEM DEAL WITH THOSE JUVENILES CLASSIFIED AS VIOLENT OR HARD CORE?

Heretofore, the following solutions have been proposed:

- ① Provide automatic transfer to adult court;
- ② Provide a mandatory treatment program within the juvenile justice system;
- ③ Provide a discretionary treatment program within the juvenile system (e.g., the program is provided by the Department of Corrections, but the judge maintains the discretion as to whether or not the juvenile will be committed to the Department);
- ④ Establish a lower age limit for the criminal prosecution of felonies (i.e., the district court would have jurisdiction over those persons age fourteen and over charged with a felony);
- ⑤ Establish within the juvenile court system determinate sentences for particular offenses; or
- ⑥ Leave as is.

The first step in deciding the appropriate solution is the determination of the roles of the juvenile and adult systems. This is necessary

because the solution may be impossible to accomplish unless it is implemented in the proper system. For example, let us assume that the solution is to send those juveniles who meet a selected definition to the adult system under the assumption that they will be "kept off the streets." In this case, at least two assumptions are being made: "taking these juveniles off the streets" is the proper solution to the problem, and that the adult system will do this. Whether or not the removal of these juveniles from society is the best solution to the problem cannot be tested until the change is made. However, we have information to evaluate the ability of the adult system to accomplish this objective.

According to a recent research report published by the Crime Control Planning Board, only 20 percent of the defendants convicted of all crimes are sent to prison.¹ If we examine this by crime type, 38 percent of those defendants convicted of crimes against persons are sentenced to prison while convictions of property offenders result in prison sentences in 19.6 percent of the cases.² These percentages increase slightly for those offenses with a maximum sentence of ten or more years. In this instance, 48.2 percent of those defendants convicted of crimes against persons and 27.2 percent of those defendants convicted of property offenses are sentenced to prison.³

Based upon the percentages above, we would expect less than half of those juveniles transferred to the adult system to be incarcerated in

¹Carol Thomssen and Peter Falkowski, *Sentencing in Minnesota District Courts* (St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Crime Control Planning Board, 1978), pp. 17-18.

²Ibid., p. 20.

³Ibid., pp. 21-22.

prison. These findings suggest adult certification of juveniles cannot guarantee that the serious juvenile offender will be confined. As shown by this example, it is imperative to determine the objectives of the proposed solution and whether or not these objectives in reality can be accomplished.

A second issue in deciding upon a solution to the problem is the determination of any legal complications that may exist.¹ For example, it may be that the proposed solution violates equal protection, due process, and statutory or constitutional right to treatment principles. Before a solution is accepted, it must be examined for both direct and indirect legal impediments.

Finally, the cost of the proposed solution should be examined. In most cases, the cost of the solution will be directly related to the number of juveniles who are classified as violent or hard-core offenders. Once the definition and the solution are decided upon, an assessment of the available resources should be made to determine if they are sufficient to accomplish the proposed objective.

In summary, the question of providing special programming for a group of juveniles classified as violent or hard core has no easy solution. The preceding section was not intended to provide answers, but only to present a brief outline of the issues involved in the area of program changes for the serious offender.

¹For further information see *Alternative Definitions of "Violent" or "Hard-Core" Juvenile Offenders: Some Empirical and Legal Implications* (St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Crime Control Planning Board, 1977), pp. 25-64.

RECOMMENDATIONS

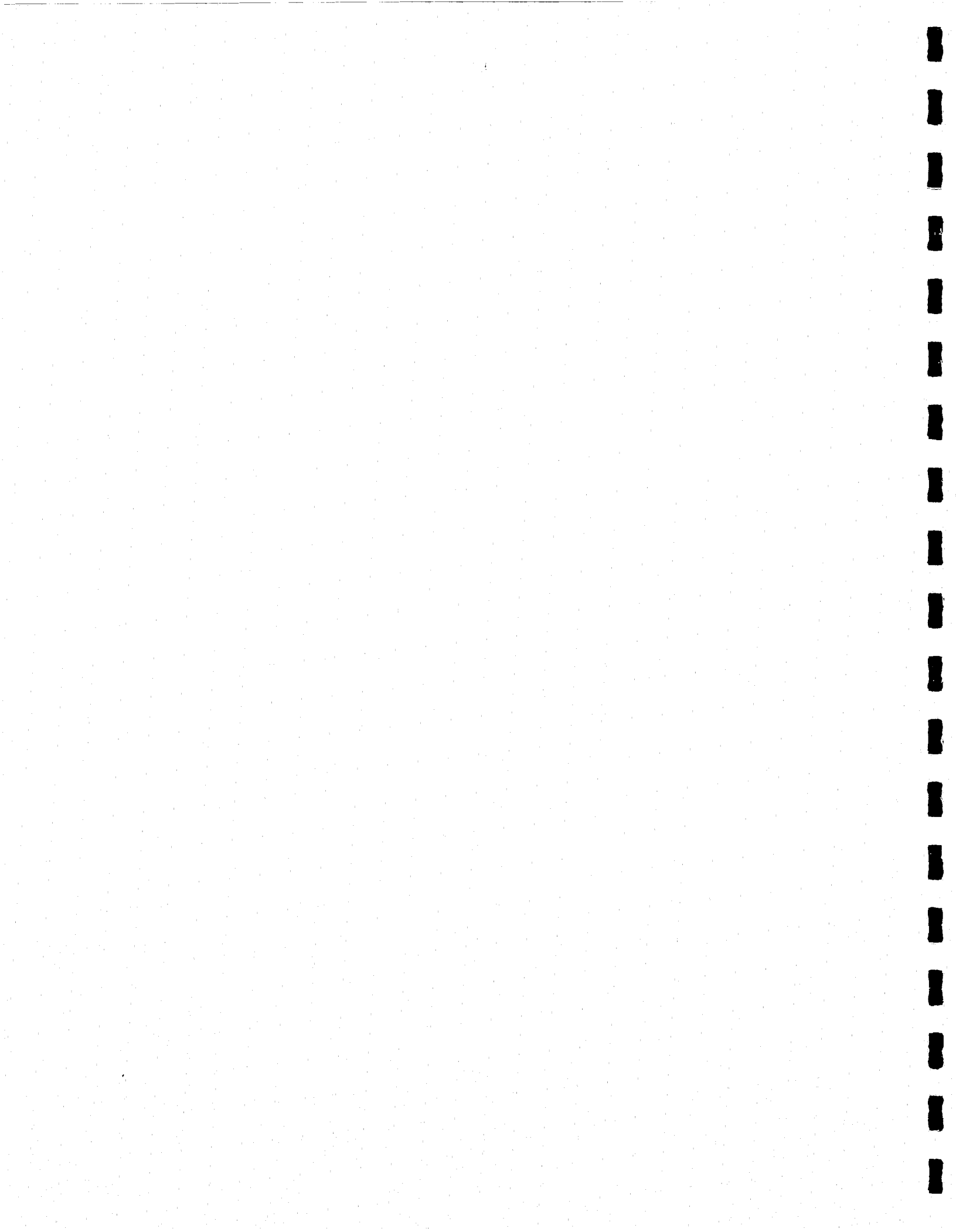
Our research has brought out many problems and complications in the use of legal definitions to classify dangerous juvenile delinquents. The most telling arguments against the use of such definitions are their arbitrariness and their inability to isolate those juveniles most likely to go on to commit additional serious crimes. Moreover, certain definitions may have legal flaws or draw so many juveniles under their purview that it makes their implementation a practical impossibility or implies a complete overhaul of the court system.

Rather than impose an arbitrary definition of violent or hard-core juveniles, we make an alternate recommendation: *ENCOURAGE THE COURT TO GIVE MORE ATTENTION TO THOSE JUVENILES WHO, ACCORDING TO OUR RESEARCH, ARE THE MOST LIKELY TO GO ON TO COMMIT SUBSEQUENT CRIMES.* The juvenile court as it is now constituted does, we believe, have sufficient discretion and authority to do this. That is, the juvenile court--perhaps with additional financial support from the legislature--might use its existing powers to deal more effectively with juvenile delinquents who are thirteen to fourteen years old and whose record indicates a high probability of serious future delinquency. This approach, we observe, stands in contrast to most recent recommendations and common practice which have tended to focus on older delinquents with long histories of delinquency. In fact, we have seen that these older juveniles are much less likely to recidivate than certain younger delinquents.

As to how violent crimes may be prevented, we offer no specific recommendations. We can only say that violent delinquency is too sporadic and unpredictable, given what we now know, for any definitive policy

regarding the violent juvenile if the objective is to prevent future crimes of this type. In any event, violent juvenile delinquency is uncommon in Minnesota and it is the rare juvenile who commits repeated violent offenses.

We further recommend that additional research be conducted on this sample (1,129 juveniles) or comparable samples to determine the extent of their criminal behavior as adults. This type of research would provide valuable information regarding the relationship between juvenile delinquency and adult criminal involvement, and criminal behavior in general.



APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS OF "VIOLENT" OR "HARD-CORE" JUVENILE OFFENDERS
(with estimated total number of juveniles for 1975)

1. Juveniles fourteen and over who have committed at least one offense that would be a felony if committed by an adult.
Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 4,189¹ (n = 368)²

2. Juveniles fifteen and over who have committed at least one offense that would be a felony if committed by an adult.
Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 3,529 (n = 310)

3. Juveniles sixteen and over who have committed at least one offense that would be a felony if committed by an adult.
Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 2,516 (n = 221)

¹This number represents the estimated total number of juveniles in Minnesota under each definition. The procedure for estimating the total number of violent or hard-core offenders statewide uses the number for each category found in the Crime Control Planning Board's juvenile court sample as a base. This number is one-sixth of the total number of offenders for the counties covered by the two-month sample.

The sample counties, themselves, cover 52.7 percent of the state's juvenile population between the ages of ten and seventeen. Therefore, a reasonable estimate for the statewide number is 11.385 times the number in the category actually found in the sample, assuming that the sample is representative of the entire year and the state's juvenile population. Let N_T be the estimated statewide number of juveniles and n the number in the sample. Then--

$$n = \frac{1}{6} \cdot 0.527 \cdot N_T$$

$$N_T = \frac{6n}{0.527}$$

$$N_T = 11.385n$$

²"n" is the actual number from the Crime Control Planning Board's sample who fit the particular category.

4. Juveniles with a history of three or more major property offenses, or two or more major person offenses.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 1,002 (n = 88)

5. Modified Hennepin County Definition. This definition includes those juveniles who: (a) have attained the age of fourteen; and (b) have a sustained petition involving one of the following offenses--murder in the first, second, or third degree, kidnapping, aggravated arson, or criminal sexual conduct of the first or third degree--or (c) have a sustained petition for manslaughter, aggravated assault or aggravated robbery, with a prior adjudication within the past twenty-four months for felony conduct; or (d) have had at least two separate adjudications involving at least three major property offenses.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 740 (n = 65)

6. Kelly, Tomlinson, Berg, Osthoff Bill (House File 388--70th Session, Minnesota State Legislature). This bill creates an experimental program for violent or hard-core juvenile offenders within the juvenile justice system. Eligible juveniles include those who: (a) were at least fourteen years of age, but less than eighteen years of age at time of offense; and (b) committed an offense which had he been criminally convicted, would have constituted any of these crimes--murder in the first, second, or third degree, kidnapping, criminal sexual conduct in the first, second or third degree, first degree manslaughter, aggravated assault, simple robbery, aggravated robbery, arson in the first or second degree, burglary--if the juvenile has within the previous twenty-four months been adjudicated at least twice for offenses arising out of separate courses of conduct which would have constituted felonies if he had been criminally tried; or theft wherein the victim was threatened or physically injured.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 569 (n = 50)

7. Hennepin County's Definition. This definition includes those juveniles who: (a) have attained the age of fourteen; and (b) have a sustained petition involving one of the following four offenses--murder in the first, second, or third degree, kidnapping, aggravated arson, or criminal sexual conduct of the first or third degree--or (c) have a sustained petition for manslaughter, aggravated assault or aggravated robbery, with a prior adjudication within the past twenty-four months for felony conduct; or (d) have a sustained petition for

burglary, and, through their prior record, demonstrate a need to be placed in a secure correctional facility.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 546 (n = 48)

8. Juveniles who have committed at least one felonious offense involving personal injury to another, *including* simple robbery.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 546 (n = 48)

9. Juveniles who have committed at least one felonious offense involving personal injury to another, *excluding* simple robbery.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 342 (n = 30)

10. U.S. Code Definition. Juveniles included in this definition are those sixteen and over who have committed an offense which if committed by an adult would be punishable by a maximum penalty of ten years imprisonment or more.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 342 (n = 30)

11. Chenoweth, McCutcheon, Borden, Bernhagen Bill (Senate File 693--70th Session, Minnesota State Legislature). This bill would mandate determinate sentences for certain offenses committed by certain juveniles. If the child is fifteen years of age or more and is found to have committed a felony offense which is a crime against the person, the court shall transfer legal custody by commitment to the Commissioner of Corrections and order the child confined for a determinate terms as follows: (a) for three years if the crime against the person was one of the following--murder in the first, second, or third degree--or (b) for two years if the crime against the person was one of the following--manslaughter in the first degree, aggravated assault, aggravated robbery, kidnapping, false imprisonment, criminal sexual conduct in the first, second, or third degree, arson in the first degree and burglary, as described under section 609.58 subdivision 2, clause (1)(b).¹

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 250 (n = 22)

¹The building entered is a dwelling and he possesses a dangerous weapon when entering or while in the building or he commits an assault upon a person present therein.

12. Barry Feld's Definition. This definition requires automatic certification for those juveniles meeting the following criteria: (a) has attained the age of fourteen years; and (b) having been previously adjudicated to be delinquent by reason of conduct which would be a felony if committed by an adult, within the preceding twenty-four months, is charged with murder in the first, second, or third degree; or (c) is charged with criminal sexual assault, simple robbery, aggravated robbery, aggravated assault, or aggravated arson, with a prior adjudication within the past twenty-four months for either a major person offense or two separate adjudications for felony conduct; or (d) is charged with burglary, with three prior adjudications within the past twenty-four months for felony conduct; or (e) is charged with a felony, with five prior adjudications within the past thirty-six months for felony conduct.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 182 (n = 16)

13. Novak, Tomlinson Bill (House File 1277--Senate File 1119--70th Session, Minnesota State Legislature). This bill removes from the jurisdiction of the juvenile court a person who: (a) has attained the age of sixteen years; and (b) is charged with murder in any degree, aggravated arson, or criminal sexual conduct in the first or second degree; or (c) having been previously adjudicated to be delinquent by reason of conduct which would be a felony if committed by an adult, within the preceding twenty-four months, is charged with manslaughter in the first or second degree, aggravated assault or aggravated robbery; or (d) having been previously adjudicated to be delinquent on three previous occasions within the preceding twenty-four months by reason of conduct which would be a felony if committed by an adult, is charged with burglary.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 148 (n = 13)

14. Department of Correction's Definition (Serious Juvenile Offender Treatment and Prevention Program). This definition includes those juveniles who: (a) are fifteen years of age and older; (b) have a current adjudication or parole or probation violation for murder in any degree, aggravated arson, criminal sexual conduct in the first or second degree, manslaughter in the first or second degree, kidnapping, terroristic threats, aggravated assault, or aggravated robbery with a previous adjudication or parole or probation violation within the twenty-four months preceding the date of the current offense which would be a felony if committed by an adult; or (c) have a current adjudication or parole or probation violation for burglary of a residence with three previous adjudications or parole or probation violations within the twenty-four months preceding

the date of the current offense for offenses all of which would be felonies if committed by an adult. There must be at least three separate adjudications or violation hearings, i.e., several offenses resulting in one adjudication or violation at one time will count as *one* adjudication or violation.

Estimated total number of juveniles for 1975
under this definition = 114 (n = 10)



APPENDIX B

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The data base for this study consists of a ten-county sample. Counties participating in the study include Blue Earth, Hennepin, Nobles, Olmsted, Otter Tail, Pennington, Ramsey, St. Louis, Stearns, and Washington.

The counties were selected according to the following criteria:

1. That each of the seven criminal justice planning regions would be represented in the study;¹
2. That both metropolitan and outstate areas would be represented; and
3. That the main population centers of each region were included.

This sampling method does have inherent bias in that only the larger population centers were selected. However, this method maximizes the likelihood of obtaining a data base large enough to accommodate meaningful analyses. Comparisons with aggregate data indicate that the procedure produced a sample which accurately reflects state-wide juvenile offense activity.

¹At the time the study was initiated, there were only seven criminal justice planning regions in the state.



APPENDIX C

LISTING OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND LEGAL/OFFENSE RELATED VARIABLES

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Birthdate/Age
Sex
Race/National origin
Marital status of the juvenile's mother and father
Living arrangement of juvenile at sampling offense
County of residence

LEGAL/OFFENSE RELATED VARIABLES

Level at which offense was introduced into the court system
Number and type of offenses on each referral
Date on which court process began on each referral
Source of referral
Court activity (e.g., whether the juvenile admitted to the allegations of the petition or the allegations were found true in court)
Final disposition
Single or multiple disposition (i.e., was more than one offense included in the final disposition)
Date of the final disposition



APPENDIX D

JUVENILE OFFENSE CATEGORIES¹

MAJOR PERSON FELONIES

Aggravated Assault
Murder (third degree)
Aggravated Rape (criminal
sexual conduct)
Robbery
Aggravated Robbery
Kidnapping
Other Major Person Offense

MAJOR PROPERTY FELONIES

Aggravated Arson
Arson
Burglary
Aggravated Criminal Damage
to Property
Motor Vehicle Theft
Receiving Stolen Property
over \$100
Theft over \$100
Fraud over \$100
Other Major Property Offense

OTHER FELONIES

Possession of Burglary Tools
Forgery
Distribution of Major Drugs
Possession of Major Drugs
Negligent Manslaughter
Terroristic Threats
False Imprisonment

MISDEMEANORS

Simple Assault
Contempt of Court
Criminal Damage to Property
Disturbing the Peace/Dis-
orderly Conduct
Driving after Suspension of
License
Driving while under the In-
fluence of Alcohol
Escape
False Fire Alarm

MISDEMEANORS (continued)

Falsely Reporting a Crime
Fraud under \$100
Game Law Violation
Harrassing Phone Calls
Immoral Conduct
Loitering/Lurking
Distribution of Marijuana (sale of
less than 1.5 ounces)
Possession of Marijuana (less than
1.5 ounces)
Obstructing Arrest
Other Chemical Abuse (unlawful pos-
session of prescription drugs)
Other Minor Person Offense
Other Minor Property Offense
Other Traffic Offense
Possession of Drug-Related Para-
phernalia (hypodermic needle)
Prostitution
Receiving Stolen Property under
\$100
Reckless Driving
Riding in Stolen Vehicle
Rioting
Shoplifting
Tampering with Motor Vehicle
Theft under \$100
Trespassing
Weapons (unlawful possession)

STATUS OFFENSES

Absenting
Curfew Violation
Glue Sniffing
Incorrigibility
Possession of Intoxicants
Consumption of Intoxicants
Other Status Offense
Tobacco (use)
Truancy

OTHER OFFENSES

Violation of Probation

¹Offenses included in the categories represent only those found in the Crime Control Planning Board sample of juvenile offenders.



APPENDIX E

SEVERITY SCALE FOR JUVENILE COURT DISPOSITIONS

LEVEL 0 = NO SYSTEM INVOLVEMENT

(Offense was not sustained in court)

Dismissed
No chargeable offense
Insufficient evidence
Petition not filed

LEVEL 1 = NO FORMAL INTERVENTION

Reprimand and release by court
Court not needed
Court ineffective

LEVEL 2 = LIMITED INTERVENTION

Attend school
Curfew
Driver's license cancelled
Driver's license suspended
Driver's license suspended/
driving with permission
Educational resource
Find job
No contact with certain people
Teen counseling
Tutoring
Alcohol/drug program
Case closed after interim dis-
position
Counseling by probation officer
(informal probation)
County welfare supervision
Family/juvenile counseling
agency
Mental-medical health center
Participate in program (e.g.,
gun safety)
Live in relative's home
Group counseling
Return to parental home

LEVEL 3 = FORMAL SUPERVISION

Military
Probation
Out-patient drug
Out-patient medical
Out-patient psychological
Restitution
Stayed county commitment
Stayed commitment to Depart-
ment of Corrections
Unpaid work
Foster home
Pay court emergency fund
Private doctor therapy

LEVEL 4 = OUT-OF-HOME PLACEMENT
WITH SUPERVISION

Group home
Residential treatment fa-
cility
County commitment
In-patient medical
In-patient drug
In-patient psychological
Short stop juvenile center

LEVEL 5 = STATE COMMITMENT

Commitment to Department of
Corrections

LEVEL 6 = ADULT REFERRAL

Adult referral granted



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¹For further reference information, note the "Bibliography" and "Legal Bibliography" of the Research Report *Alternative Definitions of "Violent" or "Hard-Core" Juvenile Offenders: Some Empirical and Legal Implications* (St. Paul, Minn.: Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control [now the Minnesota Crime Control Planning Board], 1977), pp. 75-81.



END