75654

CLASSIFICATION OF YOUNG ADULT OFFENDERS

By

Ernst Wenk

March 1980
Responsible Action, Inc.
P. O. Box 924
Davis, California 95616

This research was funded in part under Order No. 7-0679-J-LEAA from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, United States Department of Justice, to Responsible Action, Inc. The original research on which this summary volume is based was funded in part by ACORN NI-095 as well as Grant No. 73-NI-0008G and Grant No. 74-NI-99-0011G from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, United States Department of Justice, to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many persons have contributed to this work. In addition to the thanks due to the many unnamed contributors, special appreciation is expressed to Allen Breed, Raymond Procunier, Walter Dunbar, Allen Cook, Jerry Enomoto, and Joseph Lorenzen, all administrators in the California Department of Corrections or the California Youth Authority at the time of the study. Dr. Vitali V. Rozynko, Research Specialist with the California Department of Mental Hygiene, Professor Theodore R. Sarbin, University of California, Santa Cruz, and Professor Harrison G. Gough, University of California, Berkeley, were instrumental in initiating this research. Dr. Lawrence Bennett, former Chief of Research, Department of Corrections, and Dr. Keith Griffiths, Chief of Research, California Youth Authority, and some of their staffs, made substantial contributions to the work presented here.

The author would like to thank Dr. Don M. Gottfredson, former Director of the Research Center, National Council on Crime and Delinquency and presently Dean of the School of Criminal Justice, Rutgers University, for his support of this work and the many significant contributions he made.

Of particular significance are the contributions of Thomas V. Halatyn, William Brown, and Guy Pasela, who assisted with analysis and interpretation of the data; of Diane Killou and Suzanne Mikesell, who helped with researching, writing and editing the report; and of Gwen Dodsley, whose excellent secretarial skills made the completion of this report possible.

Davis, California
March, 1980

Ernst Wenk

LIST OF FIGURES (continued)

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF FIGURES (continued)

PREFACE

The present study describing 4,146 young adult offenders committed in 1964 and 1965 to the California Youth Authority must be seen in the light of its potential long-term and broad usefulness as well as of its clear limitations in the analysis and treatment of issues and data. This study is the last in a series of studies in the first phase of research based on intake data collected in the course of diagnostic procedures at the Reception Guidance Center, Deuel Vocational Institution, near Tracy, California. Earlier work in this series included studies on intellectual and aptitude performance of delinquent groups of different ethnic origins (Rozynko and Wenk, 1965; Wenk et al., 1971); parole prediction (Gough et al., 1965; Wenk, 1979); and violence prediction, as well as studies exploring assaultive experience and assaultive behavior of these wards (Sarbin and Wenk, 1969; Wenk et al., Jan. 1968; Wenk et al., July 1968; Wenk and Emrich, April 1972; Wenk and Emrich, July 1972; Wenk et al., 1972; Wenk, 1975).

The present report supplements these studies by describing in detail the offender population from which their populations were drawn. It also stands as an important study on its own. A rich and carefully collected data base is organized in Data Maps, a unique way of describing the population from a variety of perspectives and linking to parole outcome most of the data presented. Most important, while representing the closure of the first phase of the research, this study could

yield knowledge on criminal careers based on a follow-up of ten years or more. Such an undertaking would present a rare opportunity to study criminal careers, including issues of criminal violence and habitual criminal behavior. It also would provide knowledge about the majority of the study population who re-entered society after incarceration in a correctional facility and adjusted satisfactorily in their communities. The relevance of the present work in criminology thus seems clear from both perspectives: as a supplemental report to the earlier work and as a study in its own right that can be regarded as the basis of a more comprehensive longitudinal study.

The history of this work, however, calls for a sober assessment of the limitations inherent in criminological research. All too often, expectations are unrealistic. Criminology has many unanswered questions. Funds for scientific research into crime-related issues have until recently been grossly inadequate, mostly short-term, and without consistent focus. Only through such efforts as the research sponsored by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice and the National Institute of Corrections have attempts been made to systematically build a knowledge base by maintaining certain research efforts over time. Not knowing the limitations of a specific study, it is easy to lose one's perspective and demand that it address too many important issues and provide too many answers. It is with these limi-

tations in mind that the present work must be viewed.

The data collection was planned and carried out in the mid-sixties, without any special support for research, by Reception Guidance Center staff. Part of their routine diagnostic and guidance program, the work was not designed for specific scientific inquiry into such issues as violence potential and parole adjustment. Instead, its purpose was to form a general though comprehensive data base composed of about two hundred variables that could be useful for many different research studies. The selection of the variables and the development of procedures for the data collection were carried out in collaboration with outside consultants. Involved were private consultants in clinical psychology and psychiatry and consultants from the California Mental Health Department and the Department of Psychology, University of California at Berkeley. Staff was carefully trained and supervised by the Center's clinical psychologists and routine reliability checks were performed to help maintain a high quality of data collection.

The following objectives were to be met by this two-year data collection effort, which involved every caseworker and diagnostician in the Center.

1. To collect a variety of data for the description of the young adult offender population served by the Reception Guidance Center and to relate these data over time to parole outcome and to criminal behavior in a long-term context.

2. To provide during the intake phase reliable data that would allow the classification of each person to enable him to derive maximum benefit from the correctional programs available, using his own strengths and resources. Efforts were made to include variables that provided the caseworker with information on the positive factor and characteristics of his charges.

3. To include variables that could later lend themselves to use in studies on such subjects as violence prediction, parole prediction, and ethnic differences, in various exploratory or comparative studies, and in hypothesis testing. This objective necessitated such procedures as the collection and preservation of individual testing records (e.g., answer sheets for the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and the California Psychological Inventory), which allow analysis of test items.

4. To obtain during the intake phase of a correctional institutional program a data base that could later be supplemented with data collected during the correctional program as well as prior to and after the inmate's release on parole. (Unfortunately, because of lack of funds only the latter were collected and no information is available on the other two periods.)

5. To create a rich data base that could be tapped for longitudinal studies that would shed light on criminal careers including criminal violence either as a rare event or in a pattern of habitual criminal violence. One of the most signifi-

cant purposes of the present study was to attempt to relate a major part of the data to parole follow-up information. In this sense, the study seems to be unique since all variables, with the exception of continuous testing data, are related to parole outcome as defined by the parole status of each individual maintained fifteen months after his release from a correctional institution. The parole outcome was determined and reported to the study by the Research Division of the California Youth Authority, which followed the parolees over a period of fiteen months after release. Each person was assigned to one of two categories:

1. Parole Failures

This category includes all individuals who received parole revocations as technical violators, absconders, violators with no new incarceration, or violators with new incarcerations. Also included were individuals who received a "bad discharge" because of incarceration with the California Department of Corrections, within a jail facility, or with a correctional facility in another state.

2. Parole Successes

This category includes all wards who were still functioning on parole or had received a good discharge, who had no violations with consequences, and who were not reported to be absconders.

In order to directly relate this parole outcome data to the collected data, a new concept, the Data Map, was designed.

The organization of all the Data Maps along the same general outline and the standardization of the various tables allow the comparison of data among Maps. The eight Maps provide data in fifty-five comparative tables in the following areas: (1) intelligence; (2) race; (3) alcohol and drugs; (4) violence; (5) assault; (6) burglary; (7) robbery; and (8) parole. Data on variables that relate to parole outcome provide the parole success rate in a given cell. In order to guide the reader, symbols are added to the numeric expression. It is believed that this kind of data presentation can be of great use to practitioners and correctional theorists, particularly as, using this model, they can design their own Data Maps with data they collect and organize on the variables of interest to them.

Our Data Maps complement the study report by providing the statistical data for it. They also stand by themselves as a comprehensive and compact source of information. Most chapters of the study report provide an up-to-date discussion of the scientific literature on a topic addressed by a Data Map. The selection of topics was based on the areas of major interest expressed by correctional practitioners in the literature, on discussions with staff and consultants, and on the conceptualizations of criminological theorists.

Limitations in resources did not allow the use of data to test some of the hypotheses that have been advanced over the years. Such analyses, though needed, are costly and funds were not available for them. Similarly, the limitation of funds

prevented the comparison of this descriptive sample with samples from other parts of the country. Any meaningful comparative study would be extremely costly since it would require tremendous efforts not only in comparing data but also in comparing and adjusting the various procedural and testing differences that would almost certainly occur across samples. Although it may be very frustrating to the university-based researcher to see so many good opportunities missed during this work, in setting our study objectives our desire for knowledge had to be tempered with the sense of what it was possible to achieve with the resources available for the work; frankly, we often erred by setting our objectives too high for the support at our disposal.

It also is important to remember that this data was collected in the mid-sixties, and that almost all persons in this study were released from this particular incarceration from ten to fifteen years ago. There is no doubt that during this time span some characteristics of such populations have changed while others may have remained constant. For example, the proportion of young adult offenders admitted today who smoked marijuana certainly is much higher than that at the time our data were collected, whereas the grades achieved in the California Achievement Test battery may be in the same range as before. It would be of interest to examine such changes in a future study. With this time lapse in mind, studies should be undertaken to compare the data presented

in the Data Maps with data on other young adult offender populations and even with current data from the California Youth Authority.

The present study seems relevant because of the richness of the data and the unique organization reflected in the Data Maps, with its innovative feature linking the data with parole outcome. The relevance of these data will increase significantly if funds for a longitudinal study should become available to allow the development of knowledge about criminal careers.

Ernst Wenk
March, 1980

REFERENCES

Gough, H. G., Wenk, E. A., and Rozynko, V. V. Parole Outcome as Predicted from the CPI, the MMPI, and a Base Expectancy Table. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 70(6): 432-441, December 1965.

Rozynko, V. V., and Wenk, E. A. Intellectual Performance of Three Delinquent Groups of Different Ethnic Origin. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 29(3), June 1965.

Sarbin, T. R., and Wenk, E. A. Resolution of Binocular Rivalry as a Means of Identifying Violence-Prone Offenders. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 60 (3):345-350, September 1969.

Wenk, E. A., Sarbin, T. R., and Sherwood, D. W. An Effort to Identify Assault-Prone Offenders. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 5(1):66-71, January 1968.

Wenk, E. A., Sarbin, T. R., and Sherwood, D. W. The Resolution of Binocular Rivalry Among Assaultive and Non-assaultive Youthful Offenders. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 5(2):134-147, July 1968.

Wenk, E. A., Rozynko, V. V., Sarbin, T. R., and Robison, J. O. The Effect of Incentives Upon Aptitude Scores of White and Negro Inmates. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 8(1):53-64, January 1971.

Wenk, E. A., and Emrich, R. L. Assaultive Youth: An Exploratory Study of the Assaultive Experience and Assaultive Potential of California Youth Authority Wards. Monograph prepared for the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, April 1972.

Wenk, E. A., and Emrich, R. L. Assaultive Youth: An Exploratory Study of the Assaultive Experience and Assaultinv Potential of California Youth Authority Wards. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 9(2):171-196, July 1972.

Wenk, E. A., Smith, G. W., and Robison, J. O. Can Violence Be Predicted? Crime and Delinquency, 18(4):393-402, October 1972.

Wenk, E. A. The Violent Habitual Offender. Paper presented at the American Congress of Corrections, Louisville, Kentucky, August 1975.

Wenk, E. A. The Diagnostic Parole Prediction Index. Monograph prepared for the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, December 1979.

INTRODUCTION

CLASSIFICATION AND GROUNDED THEORY: SIGNIFICANCE AND CONCEPT OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The quest for an all-inclusive typology for predicting or explaining criminal behavior has long intrigued the field of criminology. Offenders can be classified on the basis of their criminal behavior patterns as well as on a number of other typological assumptions. Roebuck (1967) indicated that attempts at classification and explanation of criminal behavior must be directed toward the discovery and analysis of particular behavior patterns. Although this seems obvious enough, as with many other aspects of criminology there are serious difficulties involved. Before the issues of classification and a subsequent delineation of the approaches to classifying criminal offenders can be discussed, several basic questions must be answered.

First of all, a serious problem surrounds the definition of "classification." Webster (1970) defines classification as the "...systematic arrangement in groups or categories according to established criteria." Since the term "classification" has been used almost interchangeably with "taxonomy" and "typology," it is useful to define these terms in relation to set theory.

A method of classification dividing a group of individuals according to specified criteria must ensure that several requirements are met. These are: (1) that no subset is empty;

(2) that the intersection of the subsets is empty, i.e., subsets have no common elements; and (3) that the union of all subsets is the total group (the subsets summed equal the set). An example is the division of offenders into two groups, one composed of adults and the other of juveniles. To fulfill the stated requirements, this classification must ensure that: (1) "adult" and "juvenile" are clearly defined, and each group must comprise a defined subgroup; (2) no offender is at the same time adult and juvenile; (3) the sum of the subsets (adults and juveniles) equals the total original set, i.e., that the entire group is divisible by the dichotomous definition. Although the above is a "pure" example of classification, it nevertheless is applicable to many studies in criminological research. The literature on the logic of classification is extensive and authors such as Barton (1955), Hempel (1965), Lazarsfeld and Barton (1951), and McKinney (1966) provide excellent reviews of the topic.

Classification does not explain why the elements of a subset occur or why they have specific characteristics. In classifying juvenile offenders no information need be given as to why individuals commit offenses or what the effects of the offenses are. Thus the controversy about the relationship between classification and the development of theoretical explanation must be discussed.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASSIFICATION TO THEORETICAL EXPLANATION IN CRIMINOLOGY

In recent years there has been much thought about

classification systems and typologies of criminals and delinquents. As in other fields, scientific progress in the field of corrections depends upon reducing through conceptualization the infinite variety of problems to defined sets of problems that can be studied by scientific methods. Research efforts have required either "...the development of an etiology of criminal and delinquent behavior or a charting, in organized fashion, of the signs, symptoms, or dynamics of patterns covering the universe of offenders" (Warren, 1971). This "either-or" explanation oversimplifies the disagreement about the relationship between classification and theory. It has been claimed that classifications, though not directly permitting explanations, may lead to the formation of useful theories (Opp, 1973). Others believe, however, that existing classifications have not promoted the formulation of useful empirical theories (Blalock, 1969). It could be asked whether criminology should deal with explanations or only with descriptions. The answer to this question depends on the type of problem being studied and its implications.

Gibbons (1965) indicated that the construction of a criminal typology must consider not only the function of the classification system but also the assumptions on which it is based. According to Gibbons, a typology has one of two primary functions--the construction of etiological types or the delineation of diagnostic treatment types. Its value,

therefore, depends on how well it fulfills its described function. For example, reorganizing correctional institutions to achieve a behavioral change in inmates requires an understanding of the influence of the facility upon the individuals incarcerated. This understanding cannot come from descriptions or classifications, since knowing how inmates and staff behave may not help to determine the effect of facility structure on institutional or post-release behavior.

Some researchers have contended that classification has explanatory value beyond its designed function. Opp (1973) stated that it cannot be presumed that classification cannot lead to the formation of useful theories. Classification may be related to theoretical formulation in criminology according to the following hypothesis: if phenomena have been classified there is a greater probability of finding explanations for them than if they had not been classified. As Bottoms (1973) noted, "classification in criminology is, like the use of prediction techniques, certainly not an end in itself, but very much a tool, or a means to an end."

Hood and Sparks (1970) pointed out that one of the main reasons those concerned with the explanation of criminal behavior have turned to typologies is the difficulty of generating a viable theory to explain all criminal behavior. As stated by Roebuck (1967), most attempts to formulate such a theory "endeavor to explain too much and therefore actually

explain too little." This criticism emphasizes the need for more accurate definitions of behavior. Eysenck and Eysenck (1970) noted that "by paying attention to differences within the criminal group in respect to psychoticism, extroversion, and neuroticism...we should be able to get much better differences between controls and homogeneous groups of criminals...." Although the search for a single theory of crime may be futile, many have concluded that breaking crime into more homogeneous units is desirable (Sutherland, 1939; Eysenck and Eysenck, 1970).

CLASSIFICATION STRATEGIES AND THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

Assuming that typologies can contribute to the construction of theory, methods must be specified for classifying offenders and their relationshops to criminological theory. Ferdinand (1966) defined two kinds of typology, the empirical and the ideal. He defined empirical typologies as those which seek to chart patterns displayed by specific kinds of individuals. These typologies provide raw material from which theories might be constructed. Ferdinand defined ideal typologies as those utilizing a particular theory a priori as a means of classification. Their main value lies in their ability to support explanations of behavior. While the ideal model suggests that there are as many ideal typologies as there are theories of behavior, the empirical form lacks a theoretical basis.

Ferdinand suggested that a third kind of typology, the

synthetic typology, could strengthen the first two. He called this form "the ultimate goal of all who are interested in crime and delinquency." Although this conclusion may not be justified, attempts to use classification to advance theoretical explanation have been viewed as a worthwhile goal (McClintock and Avison, 1964).

The discovery of theory from data, i.e., grounded theory, is a major task confronting sociology (Glaser and Strauss, 1968). Although not derived from the same assumptions as the typological systems of Ferdinand, grounded theory is roughly similar to empirical typology. The approach, according to Glaser and Strauss, consists of working outwards to generalize explanations through the systematic or "theoretical sampling" of data. Although grounded theory may indicate a theoretical formulation, it must be tested further with other data bases, since it is not deduced from logical assumptions. The basic weakness of grounded theory is that since the mind of the investigator is not a tabula rasa, preconceptions might affect the theory derived (Rex, 1961; Bottoms, 1973).

An example of the application of grounded theory to the classification/theory debate has been provided by Megargee (1966). During his research, Megargee noted that in previous studies of murderers (e.g., Weiss, et al., 1960), MMPI profiles seemed to distinguish two broad personality types. He called these undercontrolled (few inhibitions) and overcontrolled (many inhibitions) types. Megargee confirmed his

findings by applying them to an additional sample. Blackburn (1971) subsequently found the two-personality definition of violence to be oversimplified and Bottoms (1973) suggested that the oversimplification was due to inadequate use of the grounded theory model.

Although predictive classifications have been developed for determining parole success, violence potential, escape risk, etc., such typologies are really artificially derived classifications which generally have more relevance to decision making than to theory building (Bottoms, 1973). Prediction methods have many methodological problems, some of which are discussed in the following chapters.

Another kind of typology has been derived from the area of reformative treatment. Unlike the explanation of crime or the prediction of behavior, the treatment of offenders differs slightly in its major assumption regarding classification. As Hood and Sparks (1970) stated, "What is wanted for treatment purposes is a typology which separates offenders whose treatment needs are different; and such a typology may be utterly useless for explanatory purposes...." The explanation of behavior is a peripheral rather than a primary goal of the development of treatment classifications, although theory can evolve from such typologies.

Sparks (1968) stated that treatment typologies (1) should be valid, i.e., should separate offenders whose treatment needs are different; (2) should be appropriate for the majority of offenders for whom the treatment choices

may be applied; (3) should be as rich in types as possible, utilizing trial and error as the basis for demonstration; (4) should be easily and reliably identified; and (5) should be assessed for reliability. The requirements for explanatory typologies may differ somewhat since practical considerations are not of prime importance.

MODELS AND COMPETITION AMONG CRIMINAL CLASSIFICATIONS

Classification techniques in criminology cover three areas of concern: causal-explanation, treatment, and prediction. Each of these areas has a primary goal. These are respectively, explanation-prevention, rehabilitation, and decision making. Although they may seem to be mutually exclusive, much overlap occurs in the use of different typologies. For example, it is not uncommon to find a classification method designed to distinguish among potential delinquents applied as diagnostic and treatment aids in determining success in treatment as in the use of such instruments as the Jesness Scale and the Socialization Scale of the California Psychological Inventory.

According to Roebuck (1967), criminal typologies can be roughly divided into four groups, although again there is some overlap: (a) legalistic approach; (b) physical-constitutional-hereditary approach; (c) psychological-psychiatric approach; and (d) sociological approach.

The legalistic approach holds that criminology must function from the base of statutory and judicial definitions

of criminal acts. The criminal is defined in terms of his intent and act, e.g., a robber is one who has been convicted of robbery. Legal classifications represent the earliest and most commonly used categories in dealing with the criminal offender.

The constitutional approach is derived largely from the study of heredity and disease. Various combinations of morphological, physiological, and mental characteristics are apparent in such typologies, e.g., physical trait deviation, physical trait inferiority, endocrine malfunction, somatotype and temperament, malstructure of nervous system, disharmonies of physical growth, unregulated bodily functions, and epilepsy. Criminality is viewed as the result of indirect hereditary predisposition or of the impact of environment upon defective or abnormal organisms.

The psychological-psychiatric approach holds that criminal typologies should be delineated in terms of motivational patterns arising from personality structure and various psychological states or disabilities. Delinquent and criminal behaviors are viewed by psychoanalysts, psychiatrists, and clinical psychologists in terms of personality disorders and neurotic mechanisms stemming from mental conflicts and guilt reactions. The primary assumption is that criminals are emotionally deficient.

In the sociological approach criminal behavior is considered a product of social interaction and culture. Criminals must therefore be classified according to their

social orientation and the values and cultural definitions in their world. Sociologists' offender categories refer to role behavior in specific types of situations and not to types of personality organization. Historically, sociologists have been more interested in the relationships of the social characteristics of age, sex, race, nativity, social class, and ethnic subculture than in the construction of typologies (Roebuck, 1967).

While these four approaches are somewhat different, they share the assumption that the criminal act is initially the cardinal focus of attention. Since the legal act has implications for the definition of the "criminal constitution" it helps distinguish habitual and occasional criminals from the populace at large. The latter three approaches often approximate the legal classification, although their presumed intention is to extend the legal definition (Roebuck, 1967).

It should not be assumed that these approaches to classification are complementary; on the contrary, many criminal typologies are highly competitive. For example, behavioral scientists generally reject the legalistic approach because of its inadequate consideration of human motivation, individual differences, group behavior, and social deviancy. The legalists counter that the behavioral scientist offers little more than a collection of conflicting theories. Although legal classifications may seem clearer than behavioral classifications, the relationship between

"criminal" and "deviant" behavior is often neglected. Further, the legalist may study only the adjudicated offender, thus restricting the generalization of the classification.

The conflict extends beyond the disagreements between the behaviorists and legalists. Behaviorists disagree among themselves on many classification issues. Sociologists dismiss the theory of biological determination of behavior, while sociologists and psychologists both condemn the concept of hereditary predisposition. Sociologists claim that the psychological approach underestimates the importance of situational and cultural factors, while psychologists criticize the sociologist for his inability to explain and classify crime as learned behavior. Martin and Fitzpatrick (1964), among others, have maintained that only an eclectic or interdisciplinary approach can do justice to the dynamics of criminal behavior, although the psychogenic-sociogenic rift complicates such an approach.

It can even be argued that classifications in criminology are unjustified. The dangers of stigmatization and labeling must be considered in any attempt to develop a criminal taxonomy. Szasz (1961) and Menninger, et al. (1963) criticized the presumption that individuals must be classified. The contention is that science cannot presently generate enough data to classify individuals adequately. Although this criticism is partially unjustified, it rightly emphasizes the potential for misuse if a classification is applied before the approach in question has been determined to be accurate and/or theoretically relevant.

In another attempt to define typological assignments, Grant (1961) described six general approaches to classification: (1) psychiatrically oriented approaches as exemplified by Jenkins and Hewitt, 1944; Redl, 1956; Erikson, 1950; Aichorn, 1935; Bloch and Flynn, 1956; Argyle, 1961; the Illinois State Training School for Boys Treatment Committee, 1953; the California Youth Authority Standard Nomenclature Committee, 1958; and Cornier, et al., 1959; (2) social theory approaches as exemplified by Schrag, 1944; Sykes, 1958; and social class typologies as represented by Miller, 1959; (3) behavioral, offense, or conformity-nonconformity studies as represented by Gibbons and Garrity, 1958; Ohlin, 1951; Reckless, 1950; and Lejins, 1954; (4) social perception and interpersonal interaction--such as those of Gough and Peterson, 1952; Peterson, Quay, and Cameron, 1959; and Sullivan, Grant, and Grant, 1957; (5) cognitive understanding as summarized by Venezia, 1968; and (6) empirically derived prediction-classification methods as exemplified by Mannheim and Wilkins, 1955; Gottfredson and Beverly, 1962; Glaser, 1962; Babst, et al., 1968; Gottfredson, et al., 1963; and Fildes and Gottfredson, 1972.

The approaches defined by Roebuck (1967) and Grant (1961) indicate the diversity of criminal typologies, although much of the variety may be due to "academic polarization." It is often suggested that more robust explanations and/or theories of human behavior might evolve if behaviorists would stop criticizing and learn to synthesize. According to

Roebuck (1967), the formulation of multi-discipline criminal typologies has been discouraged by criminologists who "...delight in the destruction of each other's theories." Cooperative research could lead not only to the pooling of findings but also to the development of new frames of reference.

Such an optimistic fusion of schools of behaviorism will remain little more than an ideal unless the forms of analysis which characterize the various camps can be integrated. For example, some sociologists (e.g., Cohen, Ohlin, Parsons, Merton) posit stress-strain situations resulting from subcultural memberships as determinants of delinquent behavior. Psychologists are in a position to assess such hypotheses on the individual level and provide validating evidence of many sociological explanations; similarly, sociologists could provide societal or group validation of psychological explanation. Thus, the fusion of "macro" and "micro" perspectives could improve the explanation and classification of offender types, although the degree to which different behavioral disciplines can agree upon common constructs will determine the degree to which they can collaborate.

One attempt which sought to demonstrate the commonality among typologies was undertaken by Warren (1972), who developed a cross-classification of sixteen different offender typologies to determine the extent of consensus. Warren found considerable common ground, and suggested a

"synthetic" taxonomy of six subtypes: (1) asocial; (2) conformist; (3) antisocial manipulative; (4) neurotic; (5) subcultural identifier; and (6) situational. Although Warren concluded that this synthesis could culminate in a simplified taxonomy with almost immediately applicable significance, other authors have disagreed. As Sparks (1968) had remarked earlier, "It is difficult to see why it should be thought desirable apart from an a priori belief--or a desperate hope--that this 'integration' will turn out to be useful for treatment purposes." Similarly, Bottoms (1973) stated that like all typologies, Warren's common taxonomy, although innovative and ambitious, must await the sobering test of validation and the assessment of interaction effects (e.g., persons, times, and settings).

The complexity of variables makes classification--particularly treatment typologies--difficult. Palmer (1971) indicated that the treatment typology is complicated by at least four broad interacting variables: type of program, type of treatment environment or setting, type of client, and type of staff worker. Sparks (1968) and King, et al. (1971) further admitted that treatment typologies are at a "very primitive stage." Borjeson (1968) proposed a complex processual model which would make classification "more realistic."

The issues of classification and grounded theory both have methodological implications for the study of the present data base. Techniques of classification provide ways in which

the data base can be organized for analysis. Grounded theory provides methodological techniques with which descriptive data can be observed and hypotheses formulated or confirmed.

APPLIED ASPECTS OF CLASSIFICATION

Individual offenders can be classified on the basis of their criminal careers, criminal pattern categories (including modi operandi), and psychological and social characteristics. The present authors contend that classification can provide the basis for linking criminal behavior patterns to social and personal background factors. In this study parole outcome is the primary criterion of criminal behavior. Individual criminal behavior patterns must be studied but, in order to form useful classifications, there must be a sizable group of offenders who engage in the same type of crime and share personality and social background factors.

The following dimensions were suggested by Roebuck (1967) as homogeneous units by which offenders can be classified: (a) offense pattern; (b) modi operandi; (c) social attributes; (d) personality type; (e) self-concept; (f) attitudes; and (g) situations. Roebuck's typological dimensions are not the same as those used by the present investigators, who have divided their data base into the following categories: (a) offense; (b) intelligence; (c) race; (d) alcohol and other drugs; (e) psychological and psychiatric factors; and (f) violence factors. These classifications include only three of Roebuck's dimensions--

offense, social attributes, and personality type--although the present research has implications for the other dimensions. The section on variables provides a list of the 195 variable items available for study in this project and shows how they were organized into classification dimensions to be used in this study.

Roebuck defined additional information areas which he considered essential for constructing homogeneous typologies. These areas are: (1) delinquent and/or criminal career; (2) family background; (3) developmental history in the family; (4) developmental history in the community; (5) reference group orientation and identification; (6) attitudes; (7) developmental history, physical; (8) developmental history, personal. Although the present study makes no attempt to approximate Roebuck's dimensions of classification, it is nevertheless important to specify which information areas are emphasized. The present data base offers little about family background, family and community developmental history, or offender attitudes. On the other hand, personal developmental information such as intelligence test scores, personality profiles, information on the offender's delinquent career, physical history, and reference group orientation information are relatively well represented. As with most general order variables derived from legal sources, the data base does not achieve the depth of developmental understanding (e.g., family conflict information, family cohesion, parent attitude)

which Roebuck defined as important to his "dimensional analysis," although such information is available in narrative form from cumulative case summaries.

Since the construction of an "ideal" typology is presently not feasible, the limits to classification in this study were defined by the nature of the data base. For example, the cumulative summary, which is a standard information source for this study and has provided 50 of the 195 variable items collected on the study population, presents some developmental information in the social evaluation by the case worker. It would, however, be difficult to classify each offender on the basis of any defined developmental cue because differences in assessment procedures among case workers have meant that no item of information was collected on all offenders. This difficulty prevents the basing of a developmental typology on behavioral indices. This problem is similar to that involved in developing behavior-relevant classifications beyond the legal definition, as most studies which use legal records lack behavioral and/or developmental information. This does not imply that information derived from legal sources is not of great importance, but rather suggests that fewer behavior-oriented classifications are possible.

To fully understand why the present dimensions of classification were chosen, one must realize that an essential goal of this study was quantitative description

and comparison. The investigators thus have not sought to develop treatment, predictive, or etiological typologies. A further goal of the study was to generate comparative data which might lead to improving treatment and/or parole outcome.

In view of the proposed applications of the study, it is important to explain not only the present investigators' definition of exploration but also the method used to derive relationships. Thus, the assumptions as well as the methodological techniques of grounded theory must be considered.

APPLIED ASPECTS OF GROUNDED THEORY

Since grounded theory, according to Glaser and Strauss (1968), consists of working outwards to generalize explanations through the systematic or theoretical sampling of data, it is apparent that this process is methodologically relevant to the present study. However, instead of assuming that the process of working outward from the data will result in the formulation of theory, the present investigators assume only that grounded theory can provide the methodology for data comparisons. Although theoretical formulation is an important goal of research, it is beyond the scope of this study. Glaser and Strauss (1968) defined grounded theory as "...purposefully discovering theory through social research," which is not the goal of the present descriptive study.

The theoretical implications of this project are more in line with Merton's definition of serendipity (1949) as the unanticipated, anomalous, and strategic finding giving rise to new hypotheses. It is with this idea in mind that the present investigators have proceeded with the project's descriptive and comparative tasks that open up a wealth of exploratory possibilities.

The comparative aspects of this project are important because of the relations between categories that may emerge from the various forms of classification. For example, comparing groups of offenders classified in terms of their intelligence levels (mental defective, borderline, dull normal, average, bright normal, superior, very superior) with their respective average success on parole can have implications if the relationship between the two variables is roughly linear.

The primary value of grounded theory to this study lies in the manner in which data are analyzed and relationships and potential hypotheses noted. The cross-tabulation of any two variables can provide leads for the generation of hypotheses if the investigator is sensitive to the implications of noted relationships. As Glaser and Strauss (1968) remarked, "When quantitative data are reported in verificational and descriptive studies, typically each association is given in table form with a technically exact discussion of it; and then the statement is qualified by

tentative statements and alternative explanations or interpretations." They noted also that direction and magnitude of detected relationships are important to the further elaboration of the association, since if a relationship is found, the reader may verify for himself. Many of these methodological procedures were integrated into this project, including proportions, frequencies, comparative direction and magnitude, as well as methods of facilitating visual comparison.

Grounded theory also has important implications for determining the statistical significance of noted relationships between any two variables. For this project the percentage deviation from the parole success rate of an overall offender population is the primary variable of comparison. Although percentage difference can indicate relationships, the method has limitations in determining the accuracy of the associations. As our efforts are primarily descriptive, the application of statistical tests of significance was regarded as beyond the parameter of our study. As Glaser and Strauss (1968) stated, "Statistical tests of significance of an association between variables are not necessary when the discovered associations between indices are used for suggesting hypotheses." This study could be defined also as a survey analysis, and, according to Selvin (1957), "...this process [tests of significance]

should be relaxed for all survey analysis." Selvin further questioned whether such tests are appropriate with survey data, since the statistical assumptions necessary to use them cannot be met. The use of percentage differences as the primary method of displaying associations was considered sufficient for the exploration of suggested relationships. This method of data presentation allows the suggestion of hypotheses from the inspection of the data, thus fulfilling one of the expectations of the project.

Warren (1971) noted that:

> "Sociologists continue to accuse psychological typologists of taking insufficient cognizance of environmental factors; psychologists continue to accuse sociological typologists of having insufficient regard for intra-psychic factors. Nevertheless, it is now possible to find investigators who are attempting to theoretically link the sociological, psychological, and situational variables which are all relevant to a completely satisfactory taxonomy."

Classification schemes are not equally valuable for all purposes. Some have more direct treatment implications than others; some are more helpful in generating testable hypotheses; others may facilitate various types of decision making. Classification systems are needed for control, for enunciation of probable etiology, and for demonstration of treatment effectiveness. All of these issues should be addressed, but not without an awareness of their inherent complexity. In this volume we have attempted to address many issues, although

to do justice to all their complexities would have required a depth which is beyond the limitations of the present study.

THE AGENCY AND INSTITUTION IN WHICH THE STUDY WAS CARRIED OUT

The California Youth Authority was created by the state legislature in 1941 with a correctional philosophy that substituted rehabilitation for retributive punishment. As expressed in section 1700 of the California Welfare and Institutions Code, the intent was to protect society more effectively by utilizing training and treatment methods to rehabilitate young lawbreakers. This philosophy has guided the Department since its establishment.

The organization of the Youth Authority is provided for by state law. The intent of the lawmakers clearly was to provide a unified state-wide approach to the control of delinquency. By order of the Governor in 1966 and by law in 1968, the Youth Authority was made a part of the state's Health and Welfare Agency. The legal provisions for the Youth Authority are contained in the Welfare and Institutions Code.

A Youth Authority Board, created when the Department was established, was given responsibility for the assignment of wards to appropriate rehabilitative programs, for the approval of time and conditions of parole, and for the consideration of parole revocation and discharge. The Code states that persons serving on the Board (appointed by the

Governor for four-year terms) should have "...a broad background in and ability for appraisal of youthful law offenders and delinquents, the circumstances of delinquency for which committed, and the evolution of the individual's progress towards reformation." Hearing Representatives aid the Board. The Director of the Youth Authority, who is the administrative head of the Department as well as chairman of the Youth Authority Board, is appointed by the Governor for a four-year term.

Section 1731.5 of the Welfare and Institutions Code defines the clients of the California Youth Authority and describes the persons over whom the Authority has control. The Code provides that:

> After certification to the Governor a court may refer to the Authority any person convicted of a public offense who fits all of the following descriptions:
>
> (a) Is found to be less than 21 years of age at the time of apprehension;
>
> (b) Is not sentenced to death, imprisonment for 90 days or less, or the payment of a fine, or after having been directed to pay a fine defaults in the payment thereof, and is subject to imprisonment for more than 90 days under the judgment;
>
> (c) Is not granted probation; or
>
> (d) Was granted probation and probation is revoked and terminated.

Youths under 21 years of age but older than 18 may, depending on the offense, be tried in a juvenile or an adult court, and either court may assign a convicted youth to the Youth

Authority. According to the commentary of the California Codes, the history of the Youth Corrections Authority Act and later amendments to it indicate that the legislature intended that all persons coming within the provisions of the Code ultimately should be referred to the Authority (People v. Walker, 1947, 82 CA end Ed. 196).

In 1943 the state legislature recognized that, to be effective, delinquency prevention efforts must be concentrated at the local level. The most marked shift in program emphasis from the state to the local level occurred in 1965, along with a similarly dramatic shift from a solely institutional program to one with a significant community corrections component. Since 1965, the Youth Authority has experimented with a number of new programs designed to accomplish the desired shift. Two merit special attention here: the county Probation Subsidy program and the Youth Services Bureaus program.

Enacted by the state legislature in 1965, the Probation Subsidy program was designed to encourage counties to reduce commitments to state correctional agencies by retaining more offenders in improved rehabilitative programs in the community. The subsidy program applies to both adult and youthful offenders and state-wide coordination is provided by the Youth Authority. County participation in the subsidy program is voluntary and probation departments are encouraged to develop innovative programs of their own. Participating counties

receive financial reimbursement commensurate with the reductions in state commitments they achieve. Funds for the county programs come from savings to the state resulting from the decrease in numbers of offenders requiring state institutional care.

In the first two fiscal years, the thirty-six counties participating earned $9,823,625 by reducing expected commitments by 2,416 cases. Because some counties did not reinvest their maximum earnings in improving probation services, the actual cost to the state was less. In the first two fiscal years of probation subsidy, the cost was $5,706,227. Since it would have cost more than 15 million dollars to provide institutional care for those retained in community programs, the state saved a total of $9,793,213. As a result of the Probation Subsidy program, more youngsters have been placed on probation in their communities, where more trained professionals are available to help them than in the past. For fiscal as well as rehabilitative reasons, the Probation Subsidy program has been an outstanding success.

A second program designed to increase local contributions to and participation in delinquency prevention and youth rehabilitation is the Youth Services Bureaus program. In July 1968, the legislature passed the Youth Services Bureaus Act, providing for pilot delinquency prevention services in selected target areas. The program was designed to enable public and private agencies to pool their resources

and to develop innovative programs to divert young people from the juvenile justice system. The Youth Services Bureau was to be a place in the community to which delinquent and delinquency-prone young people could be referred by parents, law enforcement officers, school personnel, and others.

Both state and federal funds were made available for the project and nine pilot bureaus were established. The Youth Authority's first-year (January 1970) report to the legislature on the status of this program noted that both public and private organizations had become involved in the work of the pilot Youth Services Bureaus. The Bureaus had been able to initiate coordination of youth services, to identify available resources and needs, and to serve as vehicles for interaction among people interested in delinquency prevention. Multipurpose youth centers, job placement centers, and youth counseling services had been established. Preliminary evaluations indicated that the project was highly successful and plans were made to establish Youth Services Bureaus in communities throughout the state.

In addition to the youth served by these innovative programs, there are other youth in C.Y.A. institutions for whom the Youth Authority has attempted to develop programs to increase the effectiveness of institutional stays. The reception guidance center with its diagnostic facilities is one such program. In 1964 and 1965, when the basic data for the present study were collected, older males committed to

the California Youth Authority were received and processed under an interagency agreement at the Reception Guidance Center, Deuel Vocational Institution (RGC-DVI), one of three reception guidance centers operated by the California Department of Corrections. The RGC-DVI, where the testing and most of the data collection for the present study took place, had the capacity to house approximately three hundred men in single cells. (Since 1964-65, this interagency agreement has been drastically changed, substantially reducing the number of C.Y.A. wards housed in C.D.C. institutions. Diagnostic services for C.Y.A. admissions are now almost fully carried out in C.Y.A. diagnostic facilities.)

In 1964-65, the average stay in the RGC-DVI was approximately six weeks. Wards were processed in weekly classes, the first week being devoted entirely to intellectual, academic, vocational, and psychological assessment. The second and third weeks were programmed for vocational testing in the wood and metal shops. During the fourth week the caseworker made a social evaluation of each ward and during the fifth week a comprehensive case summary was created. With this material, each ward was seen by the California Youth Authority Board at the end of the sixth week, when institutional programming was discussed with the ward, final disposition of the case was made, and transfer orders were issued.

During the two-year study period, this process was made

more formalized and was expanded to include on-going staff training and supervision as well as checks of the reliability of the measures in order to guarantee the validity of data and information. Because of this rigorous assessment program, the present data base was regarded as an important tool for the proper classification of offenders for program planning and placement.

STUDY POPULATION

The study population included 4,146 male California Youth Authority wards, or almost all those received at the Deuel Vocational Institution Reception Guidance Center during 1964 and 1965. Fewer than five per cent of the individual cases were eliminated from the study population as follows:

1. Failure to meet minimum requirements for completeness of data led to exclusion from the study. Cases with any one of the following information items missing were excluded: reception date, crime code for admission offense, date of release, or parole follow-up information.

2. Cases not released to a program of parole supervision were excluded. Discharges, individuals transferred from the California Youth Authority and made inmates of the Department of Corrections during institutionalization, and those who escaped while institutionalized were excluded.

3. Individuals committed more than one time during the two-year study period were included in the study only once. Multiple records were excluded under the following rules:

   a. The most complete record was retained.
   b. In case of multiple complete records the earliest admission was retained.

THE TESTING PROGRAM

During the period when the data for this study were collected, the testing unit at the RGC-DVI was supervised by the author. The objective of the unit was to compile test data on each inmate for purposes of diagnosis, counseling, guidance in institutional programming, and research. The various tests, administered during the first week by trained inmate proctors under the supervision of clinical psychologists, produced the following:

1. An estimate of the level of academic functioning;
2. An assessment of vocational aptitudes;
3. An estimate of the level of intellectual functioning; and
4. Assessments of personality and psychopathology.

More tests were administered to wards in groups. Additional tests were administered to individuals by the clinical psychologists and psychological consultants as needed.

Weekly classes were administered the reading vocabulary section of the California Achievement Test (CAT) battery (Cronbach, 1960), Junior High School level. Individuals who scored below the sixth grade level on this test were assigned to the primary testing group, while those scoring at or above

the sixth grade level were assigned to intermediate and advanced testing groups. Each classification was rechecked as more test results became available.

The testing program was somewhat different for each group because of the reading difficulties of the primary group.

ACADEMIC ASSESSMENT

The primary group was tested with the elementary battery of the California Achievement Test. Individuals who scored very low were administered the primary battery of the same test. Classifying an individual as illiterate was thus avoided in most cases, since each inmate received grade placement scores in reading vocabulary, reading comprehension, arithmetic reasoning, arithmetic fundamentals, mechanics of English and spelling, and equivalents of the total academic functioning level.

The intermediate and advanced groups were administered the Junior High or advanced battery of the California Achievement Test, giving the grade equivalents for the factors mentioned above.

VOCATIONAL APTITUDE TESTS

All groups were administered the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) (U.S. Employment Service, 1962). This testing was administered weekly by staff of the California Department of Employment. The GATB provided scores for vocational counselors and diagnostic shop instructors on General

Intelligence, Verbal Aptitude, Numerical Aptitude, Spatial Aptitude, Perceptional Aptitude, Clerical Aptitude, Motor Coordination, Finger Dexterity, and Manual Dexterity.

INTELLECTUAL ASSESSMENT

The primary groups were administered the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM), the Revised Beta examination, and two relatively "culture-fair" tests, the Raven Progressive Matrices (1956) (Burke, 1968) and the D-48 or Domino test (Gough and Domino, 1963).

Individuals in this group who functioned at a very low level were individually given the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) (Wechsler, 1958) to determine whether they were at the mentally defective level. For those who were judged to be mentally defective, a special assessment report was prepared by the psychologist.

The intermediate and advanced groups also were administered the Raven Progressive Matrices and the D-48, and the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM). The CTMM yields an IQ equivalent for a language portion and a non-language portion in addition to the combined I.Q. equivalent. The two groups were also administered the Army General Classification Test (AGCT) (Karpinos, 1967) which gives, in addition to the total IQ, a percentile reading for Verbal Achievement, Numerical Reasoning, and Spatial Achievement. Individual testing with the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) was administered

by psychologists as needed for diagnostic purposes.

PERSONALITY ASSESSMENT

Because of the difficulty of some of the items on the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) (Gough, 1957) and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) (Hathaway, 1964), these tests were not administered to the primary group. Exceptions were made in special cases where the items were read to an individual who, although academically retarded, was otherwise able to comprehend the test items. Referral cases were individually tested by clinical psychologists, using such tests as the Rorschach, Tafeln, "Z", Sentence Completion Test, Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), the Goldstein-Scherrer Test for organicity, the Tree Test, and others.

The intermediate and advanced groups were given the CPI and the MMPI. To assess maturity level, the Interpersonal Personality Inventory was used with these groups (Ballard, et al., 1966). The Shipley-Hartford Scale was used to measure the intellectual capacity for conceptual thinking.

As with the primary group, individual testing was carried out according to diagnostic need, using a variety of personality and projective tests.

VARIABLES

GENERAL INFORMATION ON VARIABLES

Data on over two hundred variables were collected for each

ward. For definition and detailed description of the variables, please consult the Manual which accompanies the Data Maps. Since many of the variables did not apply to all individuals, the following statistics reflect the data for only the appropriate individual or group of individuals. For instance, only 511 persons or 12.3 per cent of the total study population received a psychiatric examination; therefore the statistics on psychiatric examination data refer only to these 511 individuals. Similarly, only 3,103 individuals or 74.8 per cent of the study population were administered the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), and 3,128 individuals or 75.4 per cent of the study population were given the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). Slightly over one thousand persons were not given this test because they either did not meet the minimum academic requirement of a sixth-grade reading level or they happened to be in a weekly cohort when serious fog conditions practically closed down institutional programs for security reasons and made only minimal testing possible. Other information is not available because of changes in the testing battery, e.g., the D-48 was initiated after the study was in progress and for this reason is available on only about 65 per cent of the study population. These limitations must be kept in mind when the statistical descriptions provided in this study are considered. Such limitations will be further defined in the discussion of the various data elements.

INFORMATION SOURCES

The 195 variables selected for this study were collected from the following sources:

1. Pre-RGC-DVI case file
2. RGC-DVI case file
3. Testing program at RGC-DVI
4. Caseworker's Information Sheet
5. Cumulative Case Summary
6. Psychiatric and Psychological Reports
7. CYA Board decisions
8. CYA Research Division (parole follow-up)
9. Computer computations

ORGANIZATION OF THE DATA MAPS

The following list of variables includes only the data used in the Data Maps. Complete data on all variables are presented in the Manual accompanying the Data Maps.

An important feature of the present report is the organization of the information within eight conceptually defined categories:

1. Individual Case History Factors
2. Intelligence Factors
3. Academic Factors
4. Vocational Factors
5. Personality Factors
6. Psychiatric and Psychological Factors
7. Offense Related Factors
8. Initial Institutional Programming

Variables used in the Data Maps are grouped as follows:

1. Individual Case History Factors

   Commitment Court
   Admission Status
   Race
   Age, Time in Institution, Weight, and Height

   Marital Status
   Children Acknowledged
   Living Arrangements
   Marital Status of Parents
   Death of Parents
   Military Disciplinary Action
   Military Discharge
   History of Alcohol Misuse
   History of Drug Misuse
   History of Opiate Use
   History of Marijuana and Glue-sniffing
   History of Escape and Sexual Deviation
   Previous Psychiatric Diagnosis

2. Intelligence Factors

   Intelligence Classification
   Results of Intelligence Testing

3. Academic Factors

   Results of the California Achievement Test Battery
   Grade Completed
   Grade Achieved
   Age Left School
   Academic Disability
   Rating on Motivation for Academic Training

4. Vocational Factors

   Results on General Aptitude Test Battery
   Ratings of Motivation for Vocational Training
   Work Experience, Union Membership, and Vocational Disability

5. Personality Factors

   Results on the California Psychological Inventory
   Results on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory
   Results on the Interpersonal Personality Inventory
   Results of CPI and MMPI Predictions
   Results of the CPI Predictions
   Results of the MMPI Predictions

6. Psychiatric and Psychological Factors

   Reasons for Referral
   Symptoms Found During Psychiatric Evaluation
   Psychiatric Diagnosis

7. Offense Related Factors

   Admission Offense
   Violation Offense
   Admission Offense Summary
   Violation Offense Summary
   CYA History of Violence
   Caseworker Estimation of Violence Potential
   History of Violence
   History of Carrying Weapons
   Partners in Admission Offense
   CYA Parolee Partners in Admission Offense
   Individual Violence in Admission Offense
   Group Violence in Admission Offense
   Weapon Used by Individual
   Weapon Used by Group
   Economic Loss by Victim

8. Initial Institutional Programing

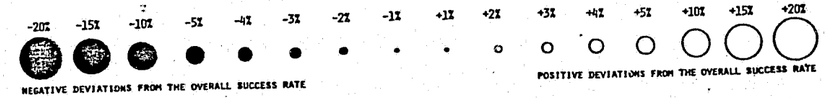
   Custodial Evaluation for Institutional Adjustment
   Counselors Transfer Recommendation
   CYA Board Order for Transfer

TECHNIQUES OF DATA DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Since a primary purpose of this project was to present classification data and their relationships to parole success or failure, the criterion of parole success is the primary variable for comparisons between and among classification subgroups. The following technique was developed to present such comparative data.

The comparative tables give frequencies (N), the percentage (%) for the proportion of the particular subgroup each cell contains, and the per cent success (%S) of the part of the study population represented in the cell. The relationship between any variable and parole success is expressed by a symbol denoting deviation from the overall average success

rate. This symbol is a circular figure designed to express graphically both the magnitude and the direction of the deviation from the total parole success rate (60.9%) for the study population (N = 4,146). The following symbols are used:



Solid circles symbolize parole success rates below the overall success rate of 60.9%, while empty circles denote success rates above that rate. The size of the circle approximates the percentage deviation from the total success rate. Liberal use is made of graphic presentation to facilitate visual summarization of the extensive numerical information.

The table below is a summary table in which the seven Wechsler intelligence classification categories are presented as the horizontal axis and the second variable of interest (in this case, race) is presented as the vertical axis. Each set of comparative tables also contains, in the first column, the data on the total study population as a point of reference for examining the comparative data.

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
RACE

		TOTAL STUDY POPULATION	MENTAL DEFECTIVE	BORDERLINE	DULL NORMAL	AVERAGE	BRIGHT NORMAL	SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR
WHITE	A	N 2212 53.4% 60.9%S	B 6 37.5% 75.0%S	79 22.8% 51.7%S	334 33.9% 56.0%S	1354 55.6% 60.6%S	399 88.5% 65.0%S	79 92.5% 66.9%S	9 100.0% 77.8%S
MEXICAN-AMERICAN		N 772 18.6% 61.1%S	6 26.1% 50.0%S	77 17.3% 64.2%S	258 25.8% 60.5%S	458 18.8% 61.6%S	21 4.7% 66.7%S	2 2.5% 100.0%S	
BLACK		N 1076 26.0% 60.3%S	12 52.2% 75.0%S	75 59.1% 65.3%S	389 38.9% 60.4%S	576 23.7% 60.2%S	C 21 4.7% 57.1%S	1 1.3% 0.0%S	
OTHER		N 80 1.9% 63.8%S	1 4.3% 100.0%S	1 0.8% 100.0%S	19 1.9% 73.7%S	46 1.9% 58.7%S	9 2.0% 55.6%S	3 3.8% 66.7%S	

Reference point A has been chosen as an example of data resulting from the cross-classification of two variable items (in this case, the number of the total study population who are white). From top to bottom within A, the first figure refers to the total number of cases which fall within that category; the second figure indicates the percentages of that category within this column; and the third figure reports the percentage of the subgroup which was successful on parole (%S) 15 months after release.

To permit a clearer view of the comparative data on the specific classification categories discussed, the first column does not contain the circular symbols which represent the difference between the third figure and the overall parole success rate (60.9%S). When no symbol is displayed in one of the other columns it is usually for one of three reasons: (1) the deviation symbol has been provided elsewhere; (2) there are too few cases (fewer than 10) in the category to justify the use of the symbol (e.g., reference point B); or

(3) there is no appreciable deviation (less than one per cent) from the overall parole success rate.

It is important to note that in cases where a sizable deviation symbol is found (e.g., reference point C), the frequency (N) of that subgroup must be checked. When deviations of substantial magnitude occur and the N is small, the value of such information should be weighed with the frequency in mind.

An example of how a relationship can be noted between one or two variables of interest and the criterion of parole success is provided in the table below. It shows the relationships of the seven Wechsler intelligence classifications (horizontal axis), total amount of work experience (vertical axis), and parole success for the study population.

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
AND WORK EXPERIENCE

		TOTAL STUDY POPULATION	MENTAL DEFECTIVE	BORDERLINE	DULL NORMAL	AVERAGE	BRIGHT NORMAL	SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR
NONE	N 459 11.5% 58.8%S	1 5.0% 100.0%S	15 12.1% 46.7%S	108 11.2% 52.8%S	278 11.8% 59.7%S	47 10.9% 68.1%S	6 8.0% 83.3%S		
0 - 6 MONTHS	N 1466 36.7% 59.3%S	10 50.0% 50.0%S	39 31.5% 53.8%S	311 32.4% 57.6%S	800 33.7% 59.7%S	171 39.8% 57.3%S	34 45.3% 79.4%S	4 44.4% 100.0%S	
6 - 12 MONTHS	N 725 18.1% 65.2%S	2 10.0% 100.0%S	27 21.8% 74.1%S	190 19.8% 66.3%S	398 16.9% 64.3%S	88 20.5% 69.3%S	13 17.3% 46.2%S	3 33.3% 33.3%S	
12 - 18 MONTHS	N 318 7.9% 59.9%S		7 5.6% 71.4%S	76 7.9% 59.2%S	191 8.1% 57.6%S	33 7.7% 66.7%S	6 8.0% 83.3%S	1 11.1% 100.0%S	
18 - 24 MONTHS	N 138 3.5% 63.8%S	1 5.0% 100.0%S	4 3.2% 50.0%S	26 2.7% 65.4%S	91 3.9% 61.5%S	13 3.0% 76.9%S	3 4.0% 66.7%S		
24 MONTHS AND OVER	N 433 10.8% 66.3%S	4 20.0% 75.0%S	15 12.1% 80.0%S	121 12.6% 62.8%S	254 10.8% 65.7%S	30 7.0% 70.0%S	7 9.3% 85.7%S	1 11.1% 100.0%S	

Several one- and two-variable relationships can be noted. First, within the borderline and dull normal intelligence subgroups there appears to be some relationship with work

experience. If these two subgroups are scanned vertically, it becomes apparent that the parole success rate improves with the amount of work experience. The transition from negative to positive deviation from the success rate of the entire study group seems to occur between the zero-to-six-months category and the six-to-twelve-months category. This relationship seems to diminish for the average and bright normal groups, although some degree of association is still apparent.

Another relationship is found for amount of work experience, intelligence, and parole outcome. Offenders with work experience of six months or less seem to display a relationship between parole success and intelligence. It appears that as intelligence increases for these experience groups so does their percentage of parole success. Individuals who are handicapped in both their employment history and their intelligence show a relatively high recidivism rate.

As Glaser and Strauss (1968) suggest, such a figurative display allows the reader to verify findings for himself while noting proportions, N's, comparative direction of relationships, and magnitude of deviations. However, because of the vast amount of data this study will offer few tentative explanations for noted relationships since it is uncertain whether they are due to any causal order or whether other variables of importance are involved. The study will also

refrain from suggesting hypotheses which, although plausible, are beyond the descriptive implications of the study design. Such implications should await the verification of correlational procedures and inferential techniques. Until the etiological implications of these findings can be established, no statement can be made about either the explanation or the treatment of criminal behavior.

The table below provides examples of how to observe the dominant implications of the parole success deviation figures and to do simple proportional analyses of two independent variables. Intelligence classification groups are presented as the horizontal axis and violence in the admission offense as the vertical axis.

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
INDIVIDUAL VIOLENCE IN ADMISSION OFFENSE

	TOTAL STUDY POPULATION	MENTAL DEFECTIVE	BORDERLINE	DULL NORMAL	AVERAGE	BRIGHT NORMAL	SUPERIOR	VERY SUPERIOR
NONE	N 2900 72.5% 58.5%	15 75.0% 66.7%	87 70.2%(-2) 59.8%	685 71.2%(-.2) 56.2%	1704 72.2%(-.1) 58.7%	335 77.5%(+3) 60.9%	56 74.7% 66.2%	6 66.7% 66.7%
THREAT NO WEAPON	N 122 3.1% 63.5%	1 5.0% 100.0%	4 3.2%(+.1) 100.0%	35 3.6%(+.5) 54.3%	72 3.1%(-.1) 63.9%	8 1.9%(-1.4) 75.0%	2 2.7% 100.0%	
THREAT WITH WEAPON	N 304 7.6% 71.1%	2 10.0% 100.0%	16 12.9%(+5) 56.3%	76 7.9%(+.3) 65.8%	162 6.9%(-.6) 72.2%	36 8.4%(+.8) 77.8%	9 12.0% 88.9%	1 11.1% 100.0%
MINOR INJURIES	N 393 9.8% 68.2%		9 7.3%(-2) 66.7%	108 11.2%(+1) 69.4%	250 10.6%(+.8) 67.2%	23 5.3%(-4.1) 73.9%	2 2.7% 100.0%	
MAJOR INJURIES	N 107 2.7% 68.2%		3 2.4%(-.3) 100.0%	25 2.6%(-.6) 72.0%	64 2.7%(+.1) 67.2%	12 2.8%(+.3) 58.3%	1 1.3% 0.0%	
DEATH	N 36 0.9% 72.2%			4 0.4% 75.0%	23 1.0% 69.6%	5 1.2% 80.0%	2 2.7% 100.0%	1 11.1% 100.0%

Considering first some proportional analyses, it is interesting to note the distribution of violence in the admission offense in each intelligence subgroup. For example, 72 per cent of the average intelligence group did not threaten or actually commit a violent act, 3 per cent threatened their victim, 7 per cent threatened their victim with a weapon, etc. These proportions are similar across all intelligence groups.

Another example is a comparison of the distribution of intelligence groups for each violent category. Percentage figures have been inserted as numbers outside each category. For example, the "none" distribution indicates that of those who did not threaten or commit a violent act 3 per cent were of borderline intelligence, 23 per cent were of dull normal intelligence, 59 per cent were of average intelligence, and 12 per cent were of bright normal intelligence. These proportions appear relatively constant across all violent groups, indicating that the individuals of average intelligence account for 54 to 64 per cent of violent behavior across all violent categories. The insertion of the additional percentage figures implies that: (1) the tabular display of data is not all-inclusive since certain potential relationships must be extracted by the computations of the reader; and (2) the possible relationships are usually more extensive than the typical table can present. Sensitivity in manipulating descriptive data may help derive relationships which would otherwise remain hidden. If the reader

uses his imagination in looking at such data they may yield findings which the present investigators have neither the time nor the personnel to extract.

Brief mention should be made of the dependent variable, parole success. Since the visual display of success deviation from the overall success rate is the primary variable of comparison, the table should also be analyzed on the basis of this criterion. The most noteworthy finding when viewing the range of deviation figures is that there seems to be a "clustering" effect of parole success deviations. C.Y.A. wards of below average intelligence who are assessed as using no threat or threat without actual violence seem to have a below average success rate. In contrast, wards of average or above average intelligence who were assessed as using a more serious threat or actual violence in their admission offense display parole success rates above that of the total group. This "clustering" effect could have a number of explanations, the delineation of which is beyond the scope of this project.

In summary, grounded theory provides the methodological basis for the examination of data derived from the process of cross-classification. It must be remembered that such a process is limited by the priorities of data assessment chosen by the study's investigators. After considering the primary goals of this project, the present investigators have chosen parole success as the most important variable

of comparison. This does not mean that other forms of proportional analysis are not possible with the tables presented here. Each reader's preconceptions will determine the extent to which he analyzes the data. The present investigators have provided examples of how the data are assessed throughout the study as well as examples of how the data can be independently analyzed. There are undoubtedly methods of tabular analysis which go beyond the methodological techniques of grounded theory and which might make possible other interpretations of the data. This study is therefore presented as both a report and a challenge.

REFERENCES

Aichorn, A. Wayward youth. New York: Viking, 1935.

Argyle, M. A new approach to the classification of delinquents with implications for treatment. (Board of Corrections Monograph Number Two). Sacramento: State of California Printing Division, Documents Section, July, 1961.

Babst, D. V., Gottfredson, D. M., and Ballard, K. B. Comparison of multiple regression and configural analysis techniques for developing base expectancy tables. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1968, 5(1), 72-80.

Ballard, K. B., Jr., et al. Interpersonal Personality Inventory Manual. Sacramento: California Department of Corrections, Research Division, 1966.

Barton, A. H. The concept of property space in social research. In P. F. Lazarsfeld and M. Rosenberg (Eds.), The language of social research. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955.

Blackburn, R. Personality types among abnormal homicides. British Journal of Criminology, 1971, 11, 14-31.

Blalock, H. M. Theory construction. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

Bloch, H. A., and Flynn, F. T. Delinquency. New York: Random House, 1956.

Börjeson, B. Type of treatment in relation to type of offender. In Council of Europe, Collected Studies in Criminological Research (Vol. 3). Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1973.

Bottoms, A. E. Methodological aspects of classification in criminology. In Council of Europe, Collected Studies in Criminological Research (Vol. 10). Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1973.

Burke, H. R. Raven's progressive matrices: a review and critical evaluation. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1968, 93, 199-228.

California Youth Authority. Report of Committee on Standard Nomenclature. Sacramento: California Youth Authority, Standard Nomenclature Committee, 1958.

Cormier, B. M., Kennedy, M., Sangowicz, J., and Trottier, M. Presentation of a basic classification for criminological work and research in criminality. Canadian Journal of Corrections, 1959, 1(4), 21-34.

Cronbach, L. J. Essentials of psychological testing (3rd ed.). New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

Erikson, E. H. Childhood and society. New York: Norton, 1950.

Eysenck, S. B. G., and Eysenck, H. J. Crime and personality: an empirical study of the three-factor theory. British Journal of Criminology, 1970, 10, 225-239.

Ferdinand, T. N. Typologies of delinquency. New York: Random House, 1966.

Fildes, R. E., and Gottfredson, D. M. Cluster analysis in a parolee sample. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1972, 9(1), 2-11.

Gibbons, D. C. Changing the lawbreaker. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

Gibbons, D. C., and Garrity, D. L. A preliminary typology of juvenile delinquents. Unpublished manuscript, 1958.

Glaser, D. Prediction tables as accounting devices for judges and parole boards. Crime and Delinquency, 1962, 8(3), 239-258.

Glaser, D., and Strauss, A. The discovery of grounded theory. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968.

Gottfredson, D. M., Ballard, K. B., and Lane, L. Association analysis in a prison sample and prediction of parole performance. Vacaville, Calif.: Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, November, 1963.

Gottfredson, D. M., and Beverly, R. F. Development and operational use of prediction methods in correctional work. Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section of the American Statistical Association. Washington, D.C.: American Statistical Association, 1962.

Gough, H. G. The California Psychological Inventory. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1957, 21, 359.

Gough, H. G., and Domino, M. The D-48 Test as a measurement of general ability among grade school children. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1963, 27(4), 344-349.

Gough, H. G., and Peterson, D. R. The identification and measurement of predispositional factors in crime and delinquency. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1952, 16, 207-212.

Grant, M. Q. Interaction between kinds of treatments and kinds of delinquents. (Board of Corrections Monograph Number Two). Sacramento: State of California Printing Division, Documents Section, July, 1961.

Hathaway, S. R. MMPI: Professional use by professional people. American Psychologist, 1964, 19, 204-210.

Hempel, C. G. Fundamentals of taxonomy. In C. G. Hempel (Ed.), Aspects of scientific explanation and other essays in the philosophy or science. New York, 1965.

Hood, R., and Sparks, R. Key issues in criminology. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970.

Illinois State Training School for Boys. Report on diagnostic categories. Sheridan: Illinois State Training School for Boys, Treatment Committee, 1953.

Jenkins, R. L., and Hewitt, L. Types of personality structure encountered in child guidance clinics. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1944, 14, 84-94.

Karpinos, B. G. Mental test failures. In S. Tax (Ed.) The draft, a handbook of facts and alternatives. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1967, 35-49.

King, R. D., Raynes, N. Y., and Tizard, J. Patterns of residential care. London: Routledge, 1971.

Lazarsfeld, P. F., and Barton, A. H. Qualitative measurement in the social sciences: Classification typologies and indices. In D. Lerner and H. D. Lasswell (Eds.), The policy sciences. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951.

Lejins, P. P. Pragmatic etiology of delinquent behavior. In C. B. Vedder (Ed.), The juvenile delinquent. New York: Doubleday, 1954.

Mannheim, H., and Wilkins, L. T. Prediction methods in relation to Borstal training. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955.

Martin, J. M., and Fitzpatrick, J. L. Delinquent behavior. New York: Random House, 1964.

McClintock, F. H., and Avison, N. H. Ways of classifying offenses for criminological research. Paper presented at the First National Conference on Research and Teaching in Criminology, 1964.

McKinney, J. C. Constructive typology and social theory. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966.

Megargee, E. I. Undercontrolled and overcontrolled personality types in extreme antisocial aggression. Psychological Monographs, 1966, 80, Whole No. 611.

Menninger, K., Mayman, M., and Pruyser, P. The vital balance. New York: Viking, 1963.

Merton, R. K. Social theory and social structure. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949.

Miller, W. B. Some characteristics of present day delinquency of relevance to educators. Paper presented at meetings of the American Association of School Administrators, 1959.

Ohlin, L. E. Selection for parole: A manual of parole prediction. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1951.

Opp, K. D. Problems of classification in criminology. In Council of Europe, Collected Studies in Criminological Research (Vol. 10). Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1973.

Palmer, T. B. California Community Treatment Project for delinquent adolescents. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1971, 8, 74-92.

Peterson, D. R., Quay, H. C., and Cameron, G. R. Personality and background factors in juvenile delinquency as inferred from questionnaire responses. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1959, 23(5), 395-399.

Reckless, W. C. The crime problem. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950.

Rex, J. Key problems of sociological theory. London: Routledge, 1961.

Roebuck, J. Criminal typology. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1967.

Schrag, C. A. Social types in a prison community. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Washington, 1944.

Selvin, H. A critique of tests of significance in survey research. American Sociological Review, 1957, 22, 519-527.

Sparks, R. F. Types of treatment for types of offenders. In Council of Europe, Collected Studies in Criminological Research (Vol. 3). Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1968.

Sullivan, C., Grant, J. D., and Grant, M. Q. The development of interpersonal maturity: Applications to delinquency. Psychiatry, 1957, 20, 373-385.

Sutherland, E. H. Principles of criminology (4th ed.). Chicago: Lippincott, 1939.

Sykes, G. M. The society of captives. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958.

Szasz, T. The myth of mental illness. New York: Harper, 1961.

U. S. Employment Service. Guide to the use of the General Aptitude Test Battery: Section III: Development. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

Venezia, P. S. Delinquency as a function of intra-family relationships. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1968, 5(2), 148-173.

Warren, M. Q. Classification of offenders as an aid to efficient management and effective treatment. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1971, 62, 239-258.

Warren, M. Q. Correctional treatment in community settings: A report of current research. Rockville, Md.: National Institute of Mental Health, 1972. DHEW Publication No. (HSM) 72-9129.

Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary. Springfield, Mass.: G.& C. Merriam Company, 1970.

Wechsler, D. The measurement and appraisal of adult intelligence (4th ed.). Baltimore: Williams and Wilkens, 1958.

Weiss, J. W. A., et al. The sudden murderer. Archives of General Psychiatry, 1960, 2, 669-678.

CHAPTER 1

INTELLIGENCE

The reader should refer to the Data Map "Intelligence" for the tables discussed in the statistical description section.

INTELLIGENCE FACTORS AND CRIME

The term "intelligence," as used by psychologists, is of fairly recent origin. Introduced near the turn of the century as a technical term, it has since become part of our common language. However, precise definition of intelligence is difficult and there is no universal agreement on it.

Many psychologists have abandoned the attempt to give a formal definition of intelligence and offer instead a practical definition: "Intelligence is that which an intelligence test measures" (Goldenson, 1970). This operational approach allows intelligence to be defined by the properties of tests designed for its measurement. Some of the properties emphasized by intelligence tests are: (a) versatility or flexibility, (b) utilization of a variety of mental processes, (c) ability to learn, and (d) application of learning and experience to the solution of new problems.

Those who develop the tests indicate that intelligence is not a single entity, but a complex, multifaceted set of abilities. Over sixty years ago Binet (1905) defined intelligence as the ability to maintain mental direction and adapt means to ends and the capacity for self-criticism or dissatisfaction with partial solutions. More recently, Wechsler (1966) defined intelligence as "...the aggregate capacity...to act purposefully, to think rationally, and to deal effectively with the environment." These definitions appear to do little to clarify the term's meaning. Nevertheless, as Hilgard and Atkinson (1967) point out, "Although the statement sounds empty it is not...All the tests constructed by psychologists distinguishing bright

from dull show high intercorrelations...therefore they are measuring something in common. What they measure in common is intelligence."

It becomes apparent that intelligence is no more definable than the items selected to measure various abilities. Among them are mathematical problems requiring numerical reasoning, vocabulary questions testing an understanding of words, perception items requiring accurate observation, and problems based on such mental processes as drawing analogies, abstract reasoning, and verbal comprehension.

There are two approaches to identifying the mental activities indicative of intelligence: the first emphasizes test items; the second focuses on the components of intelligence. The first approach, used by Binet, assumes that the relationship between an individual's mental age and his chronological age provides a basis for calculating intelligence or I.Q. The second approach utilizes factor analysis to identify the components of intelligence. For example, Spearman (1904) and Thurstone (1938) identified unitary factors of intelligence as the basis for measuring mental ability.

Because human intelligence is a vast topic within the field of psychology, it would be inappropriate to attempt to review here the many relevant theoretical issues and currents of thought. Countless articles and volumes have been written on the subject (e.g., Stoddard, 1943; Guilford, 1967). An enlightening brief account of the history of the concept has been presented by Burt (1968). Adequate description of most I.Q. testing instruments

can be found in the Burroughs' Mental Measurement Yearbook series as well as Anastasi (1968) and Cronbach (1970).

Disagreement has arisen among psychologists over the issue of "heritability" versus the environmental determination of intelligence. Since some writers, such as Jensen (1969, 1972, 1973), have indicated that genetic endowment is the major determinant of intelligence, the educability of less intelligent individuals has become a potentially volatile issue that could influence social policy.

The relationship between intelligence and criminality has long been a favorite topic of researchers (Ferracuti, 1966). Many surveys have suggested that delinquents tend to perform relatively poorly on I.Q. tests, although there are several limitations to this kind of comparative investigation (West and Farrington, 1973). Particularly with respect to studies comparing the intelligence of delinquents and nondelinquents, certain cautionary remarks should be made.

The primary limitation of many I.Q. comparisons has been the lack of nondelinquent control groups. The test scores of delinquents are usually compared with the test norms, an approach that is valid only if the sample on which the norms are based is drawn from the same population as the delinquent group. Unfortunately, delinquents are often evaluated according to test norms derived from adolescents who are racially and culturally different from them. It has been shown that test norms have often been based on samples with higher socioeconomic status than the general population (Richardson, et al., 1972). It is

therefore advisable to contrast the intelligence of delinquents with that of a properly comparable control group. The present review found that studies utilizing such control groups are rare. When proper control groups are used, the differences are generally less pronounced or the findings are inconclusive.

Most research on intelligence as a causal factor in crime and delinquency has concluded that, while delinquency and low intelligence are frequently related, no causal connection can be established. However, behind the entire issue lies the question of how intelligence is defined and formed and what experiences, especially culture-specific experiences, modify the nature of intelligence. Although studies controlling the socioeconomic concerns may give partial answers to this question, they do not tell us what intelligence is or how it should be measured. Simply stated, the topic is one which is only partially conducive to empirical investigation since basic problems of value orientation as well as of research are involved.

INTELLIGENCE AS A CAUSE OF DELINQUENCY

Because of the limitations of research design and statistics, the demonstration of causality continues to be a major problem in the behavioral sciences. The study of intelligence as a cause of delinquency is no exception.

Much nineteenth and early twentieth century opinion held that criminals were biologically defective. Lombroso, a proponent of this position, tried to describe the psychological symptoms which would lead a person to crime. A low intelligence was considered one of the most important of these (in Caplan,

1965, p. 101). Early in the twentieth century, Goddard, a prominent American psychologist, expressed the view that low mentality was the chief cause of delinquency. He concluded that any mentally defective person should be considered a potential delinquent (in Merrill, 1947, p. 160).

Although this view has become less popular, there is still considerable interest in the relationship between intelligence and crime. Investigations continue into aspects of intelligence or neural functioning that might cause at least some criminal behavior. However, less direct relationships are usually expected.

In the 1930's, Steinbach (1934) studied the backgrounds of 37 delinquents who had scored low on the Stanford-Binet examination. Subjects' socioeconomic backgrounds and "biological and temperamental equipment" were examined. The author concluded that "the problem of juvenile delinquency is provoked by a number of causative factors...of which intellectual deficiency receives disproportionate attention."

After reviewing several studies, Williams (1940) concluded that since there was insufficient information and hypotheses were inadequate, no causal relationship between delinquency and low intelligence could be demonstrated. He stated: "A more reasonable interpretation of the results from most data is that groups of low intelligence simply show a higher incidence of delinquency."

Wheway (1958) reviewed a number of studies in an attempt to identify a "causal chain" that might explain delinquency.

The studies reviewed suggested that low intelligence was rarely, if ever, a primary causative factor in delinquency. This author stated that the poor showing of delinquents on intelligence tests could be explained by the inappropriateness of the tests and by the delinquents' lower social status, poor health, and emotional instability.

Following a survey of studies on the relationship between low intelligence and delinquency, Woodward (1955) concluded that "low intelligence plays little or no part in delinquency."

Allen (1968) suggested that the higher incidence of mental retardation detected in prisons could be explained by the fact that inmates were usually from lower socioeconomic classes. Mental retardation and crime might be more significantly related to environmental factors than to each other.

In an attempt to specify the causes of delinquency, Shapiro (1968) found that disturbances in the maladapted delinquent did not depend on intelligence and that etiological factors were highly interrelated. The author identified these as immaturity, organicity, neurotic mechanisms, and social factors.

Although Cowie, et al. (1968) found that a group of delinquent girls had lower intelligence than the general population, the authors pointed out that these girls were educationally deprived and had psychiatric abnormalities, recurrent depression, and personality deviations. The authors concluded that disturbance of home life was a major cause of delinquent behavior.

Rhodes and Reiss (1969) viewed juvenile delinquency as a reaction to the social frustrations accompanying school failure

and suggested that intellectual ineptitude might be the "initiator" of juvenile delinquency.

Cavan (1969) contended that delinquents and nondelinquents shared the same distributions of intelligence, personality types, and characteristics. The author stated: "If delinquency seems predominant in certain groups or areas, it is most likely that it is because the sociocultural pressures are uniform in these groups and areas."

In a major review of theories of delinquency, Rosenquist and Megargee (1969) indicated that environmental variables seemed to be the most plausible etiological factors. The authors concluded from the analysis of the literature that, while defective intelligence might be important in individual cases, it could not be regarded as a necessary or sufficient explanation of delinquency.

Hirschi (1969) examined the effects on behavior of the school experience and the personal attachments of youth to school. He found a causal chain linking academic incompetence to poor school performance to dislike of school to the rejection of school authority to the commission of delinquent acts. He concluded that a lack of intellectual skills was a forerunner of delinquency. Hirschi and Hindelang (1977) asserted that "...I.Q. affects the likelihood of delinquent behavior through its effect on school performance...."

West and Farrington (1973) concluded their study by noting: "Opinions differ about the extent to which school failure is predetermined by innate ineptitude or by acquired aversion to

the scholastic approach. However this may be, I.Q. measures are, almost by definition, highly predictive of school performance. Hence, one would expect low I.Q. to be an important precursor of juvenile delinquency."

A review of the literature on delinquency and intelligence led Giagiari (1971) to note that "the belief that low intelligence is a cause of crime and delinquency is unsupported by research....Mental deficiency is a complicating factor in, rather than a direct cause of, delinquency....Retardation and delinquency itself are frequently the results of deprivation."

Caplan (1965), in a review of the literature, concluded that, "Intellectual activity probably has a dual function: (a) serving as a basis of reality testing for...the publicly condoned...rationale for social conformity; and (b) serving as a form of impulse control to prevent the acting out of tensions arising from discrepancies between [this] rationale [and] the youth's...testing of [it]."

While the exact nature of the relationship between intelligence and delinquency cannot yet be determined, most modern studies seem to support Caplan's assertion that, "Intelligence operates as a life-shaping force in all human behavior and must enter into the final crystallization of delinquent behavior...."

DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES OF INTELLIGENCE FACTORS

1. Intelligence Comparisons of Delinquent and Nondelinquent Youth

Studies that seek to demonstrate a difference in intelligence between delinquent and nondelinquent groups are generally

inconclusive. Although earlier studies attempted to show a "global" difference in intelligence between these groups, later research has been more cautious in explaining not only the differences between groups, but also the possible limitations of this kind of research.

One of the earliest comparisons of delinquent and nondelinquent groups was undertaken by Caldwell (1929), who compared the intelligence of a group of industrial school delinquents with that of a "normal" group. Results showed that 65 per cent of 408 delinquent boys and 78 per cent of 252 delinquent girls had I.Q.'s below 85, compared with 11 per cent of the "normal" group.

Several years later Rogers and Austin (1934) used scores from the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test and the National Group Test of Intelligence to compare the intelligence of 3,584 juvenile delinquents (age 12 to 16 years) with the standardized frequency curve. Although the frequency distribution was found to be similar to the normal distribution, the mean I.Q. was located at 82.2, neatly 20 points below the normative mean.

Charles (1936) compared intelligence quotients of incarcerated delinquent boys and a group of St. Louis public school boys on the Kuhlmann-Anderson intelligence test. Public school boys between the ages of 12 and 16 were found to be of higher intelligence than boys of the same age in reform schools. Similar comparative studies were completed during the next twenty-five years, although their frequency decreased. Richardson and Surko (1956) found that WISC intelligence scores of a group of male and female delinquents (verbal mean I.Q. 87, performance 92)

differed significantly from the standardization group.

It was not until the early 1960's that intelligence comparisons of delinquents and nondelinquents again received relatively widespread attention. Posselt (1968), in a study of 321 delinquent boys and 105 delinquent girls, found that the performance of the total group on basic subject areas was significantly lower than that of the standardization group. Cowie, et al. (1968) found that the mean intelligence of 318 delinquent girls was below that of the general population. However, the authors noted that the subjects' low level of educational achievement might account for much of their "low intelligence." In a rare study utilizing a proper control group, Wolfgang, et al. (1972) surveyed nearly 10,000 boys born in 1945 who lived in Philadelphia at least between their tenth and eighteenth birthdays. They discovered that delinquents had a lower verbal intelligence than nondelinquents of the same race and socioeconomic status, although the differences were only three to four points.

Several studies have attempted to use differences in intelligence to predict delinquency. Gibson and West (1970) compared the intelligence scores of delinquent and nondelinquent boys derived prior to the commission of first offenses. A group of boys convicted of crimes before the age of 16 were compared with other boys on intelligence tests given to all of these boys at the age of eight. Those who subsequently became delinquents were found to have substantially lower I.Q.'s than the other boys.

This finding agrees with that of Feldhusen, et al. (1976), who studied 1,298 juveniles in an attempt to predict contact with

law enforcement agencies. The authors, who claimed a 69-79 per cent rate of accuracy of prediction over an eight-year period, found the Kuhlman-Anderson intelligence test results to be one of the significant predictor variables.

Other researchers have found little or no significant difference between the intelligence of delinquents and that of nondelinquents. Murphy (1963) tested the hypothesis that offenders tend to be below average in intelligence as compared with nonoffenders. After compiling intelligence scores for all women in New York State treatment facilities, the author noted that "...most of the scores on the Stanford-Binet and Wechsler intelligence tests fell into 'average' and 'low average' categories." Murphy concluded that the "subnormal" hypothesis of delinquency might be false.

After reviewing research findings, Cavan (1969) reported that delinquents and nondelinquents shared the same distributions of intelligence. The most noteworthy difference was found to be sociocultural and not characteristic of individual delinquents. Reporting a similar finding, Smith, et al. (1969) found that the intelligence scores of a group of 15-year-old delinquents (on the Revised Beta Examination) were comparable to the performance of the standardization group.

In reviewing the literature, Lane and Witty (1935) noted that low mental status and delinquency tended to be associated; however, they pointed out that the average I.Q. of a population of 700 delinquent boys was not lower than that of nondelinquents when the groups were matched for racial and socioeconomic factors.

Other approaches have been taken in studying the relationship between delinquency and I.Q. Wechsler (1944) reported that psychopathic adolescents in his studies showed special subtest patterns in the Wechsler Intelligence Scales. Their performance scores generally were higher than their verbal scores. Often referred to as the P>V sign, this phenomenon has been investigated extensively.

Several studies have supported Wechsler's findings both for delinquent boys and for delinquent girls. Camp (1966) compared the WISC scores of 139 acting-out and delinquent children (referred for psychiatric evaluation) with the WISC standardized population. Girls did not differ significantly from the standardized population, but a significantly larger proportion of delinquent boys had performance scores greater than verbal scores. Diller (1952) found that delinquent girls' performance scores were generally higher than their verbal quotients.

In a classic study, Prentice and Kelly (1963) reviewed the findings of twenty-one previous investigations in which the Wechsler Intelligence Scales were used to assess delinquent intelligence. The authors noted that in all of these studies scores on perceptual motor tasks (performance scale) were in the normal range, while scores on verbal skills (verbal scale) were in the high dull-normal range. This consistent discrepancy led the authors to suggest that the relationship between intelligence and delinquency be reconsidered to include the possibility that a low verbal score might be diagnostic of a learning disability rather than a pure measure of intelligence. This is extremely

important since Wechsler previously had assumed that a Performance score higher than a Verbal score was simply indicative of delinquency.

In reviewing the literature, Zimmerman and Woo-Sam (1972), while acknowledging the P>V relationship in juvenile delinquents, cautioned that the relationship is sometimes found in normal nondelinquents and is therefore not diagnostic. Studies by Solway, et al. (1975), Naar (1965), and Henning and Levy (1967) did not support Wechsler's findings.

The P>V sign has been studied concurrently with other variables such as I-level (Andrew, 1974) and neurological function (Black, 1974). Black's finding that the P>V discrepancy might be related to neurological dysfunction should be considered with the finding of Ponitus and Ruttiger (1976) that some delinquents showed signs of neuro-physiological dysfunction.

One investigation (Andrew, 1977) has raised the possibility that a V>P imbalance (Verbal score higher than Performance score) may exist among certain delinquents. Whatever the case, she stated that V>P, P>V, or overall low I.Q. might produce stress in a youngster, predisposing him to delinquency.

According to Wechsler, two types of subtest patterns in addition to the P>V sign distinguished delinquents from non-delinquents. First, he found that the sum of the delinquent's scores on the Block Design and Picture Completion subtests generally was less than the sum of the Object Assembly and Picture Arrangement subtests. (All four of these are performance subtests.) Secondly, he reported on more subtle differences in

rank order position of all subtest scores and certain types of scattering which distinguished delinquent adolescents. These subtest patterns have not generated as much research as the P>V sign.

Siegman (1966) found that the intelligence scores of 24 delinquents were correlated with their estimation of time intervals. Delinquents were found to be less accurate than a control group in judging time intervals. The author stated that lower intelligence in the delinquent group could account for this finding.

In a similar study, Barabasz (1969) found that delinquents between the ages of 14 and 17 were more time-constricted than their controls, when telling stories. This finding was inversely related to intelligence for both delinquent and control groups.

2. Intelligence Comparisons of Delinquent Boys and Girls

It is not generally agreed whether sex should be a distinguishing factor in the study of delinquent intelligence. Many studies have combined male and female delinquent samples when comparing intelligence scores to the standardized norms or to a control study sample, while others have provided comparisons of delinquent intelligence by sex. The most striking characteristics of the latter type of study have been the lack of sound sampling methods and the tendency to ignore important confounding or extraneous variables when making comparisons.

One of the earliest comparisons of male and female delinquent intelligence was undertaken by McClure (1933), when he compared the Stanford-Binet I.Q.'s of boys and girls. For a

population of 600 delinquents, the author noted that the mean I.Q. of the group was 79.34 with a range of 40 to 118. The average I.Q. of the boys was approximately three points higher than that of the girls. Posselt (1968), in a study already mentioned, found that the average I.Q. for 321 delinquent boys was 95.8, while that for 105 delinquent girls was 93.8.

Mann and Mann (1939a) studied the intelligence of 1,731 juvenile delinquents (mean age 14.5 years). The mean I.Q. for the total group was 84.45 and two-thirds of the group were boys. The authors found no sex differences of statistical significance with respect to mean age, variability of age, mean I.Q., variability of I.Q., and percentages of various I.Q. levels. The only difference noted was a slight increase in I.Q. with age for the boys that did not appear for the girls.

Richardson and Surko (1956) compared the WISC intelligence scores of 15 girls and boys. No significant differences in intelligence were found between the two groups.

During a study previously mentioned, Camp (1966) found that the proportion of boys with higher Performance than Verbal scores on the WISC was greater than that for girls. Girls did not differ significantly from the standardization population, while boys showed significantly greater Verbal-Performance discrepancies.

Many of these comparative studies suffered from insufficient consideration of related variables and unsound sampling methods. It remains uncertain whether the inconclusive findings are due to faulty study design or to the complexity of the phenomenon.

3. Delinquency and Intelligence Level

This section reviews a number of studies that compare delinquents with each other, with a control group, or with a standardized distribution on more than one measure of intelligence. It should be noted that the definition of "mental retardation" may vary from study to study.

In one of the early studies of intelligence and classification, McCaulley (1925) found that 42 per cent of 100 delinquent boys fell into either the feeble-minded or borderline groups. Similarly, Healey and Bronner (1926), in a study of 4,000 delinquents, found that the delinquent population had a high percentage of feeble-minded when compared with the nondelinquent population.

After an extensive review of more than thirty previous studies, Cooper (1960) concluded that the relationship between delinquency and "mental inferiority" was real. He asserted, "Delinquency tends on the whole to be much more common among the feeble-minded than among people in general...mental deficiency is likely to be more prevalent among delinquents...."

Vaughn (1970), in a survey of juvenile institutions, found that the extent of mental retardation among inmate populations ranged from 10 per cent to 33 per cent.

Applying the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Tests to 109 delinquents, Durea and Taylor (1948) found that the median scores on all parts of the tests except the non-verbal section fell into the mentally retarded range. The authors noted that their findings were consistent with the results of other studies.

Several explanations have been advanced for the high incidence of retardates in delinquent populations. Merrill (1947) stated that delinquents of lower intelligence were more likely to be apprehended and were more likely to come from inadequate home surroundings, making the filing of a petition in juvenile court more likely. Allen (1968), Doleschal (1970), and Giagiari (1971) have suggested that, compared to offenders of normal intelligence, the mentally retarded are more easily apprehended and convicted of crimes, confined in penal institutions for longer periods, and likely to have had less education. Hirschi and Hindelang (1977) did not agree with these findings. In a review of the literature they stated that, "The police bias, differential ability to avoid detection, and inability to appreciate moral distinctions hypotheses are not consistent with current data."

Durea and Taylor (1948), in their study mentioned previously, believed that the intelligence scores of the delinquents in their sample might be related to socioeconomic conditions. On the nonverbal scale of the instrument, which is the least affected by socioeconomic factors, the median I.Q. fell within the class interval for average intelligence.

Calhoun (1928) investigated the backgrounds of 100 intellectually normal and 100 retarded delinquent boys. It was found that the retarded boys more frequently came from broken homes and that their parents were more frequently foreign-born. Lane and Witty (1935) stated that offenders from unbroken homes tended to average slightly higher in intelligence than those from broken

homes. Mercer (1930) found that only 12 of 85 delinquent boys studied had a satisfactory school adjustment. The remaining cases were either truant or underachievers. Only one-fourth of the group had I.Q.'s above 90. Similarly, Cooper (1960) found that "the educational status of offenders is inferior to that of the general population."

Boslow and Kandel (1965) found that urban and rural areas both supplied large proportions of retarded offenders and that the largest group of retarded offenders consisted of urban blacks. However, comparing 117 delinquent boys with I.Q.'s greater than 95 and 160 boys with I.Q.'s lower than 95, White and Fenton (1931) found that "...the brighter boys come from home environments at least as unfavorable as the homes of the duller boys."

Brown, Courtless, and Silber (1970) drew a sample of 56 retarded (I.Q. less than 70) offenders from six prisons. Comparison of the retarded inmate group with normal inmates showed that the former group was older and less educated. Administration of the Thematic Apperception Test to the retarded subjects indicated that the retarded person might not understand the results of his aggressive actions.

Lech-Sobczek (1973) found that offenders with mental abnormalities frequently displayed self-aggression and aggressive behavior towards others. The author stated that such behavior frequently could be traced to organic brain lesions. Stein (1974) found no differences in intelligence scores between aggressive and nonaggressive boys, though in a pilot study the

aggressive boys had had higher I.Q.'s.

Bhagat and Fraser (1971) attempted to determine the relationship between the low intelligence of retarded offenders and their social perception. The results of their study indicated that retarded offenders were less able than offenders with higher intellectual functioning to experience affection. Wright (1975), in a study of 257 15- to 18-year-old institutionalized male offenders, found that retarded boys had less socially desirable personalities than their intellectually average and above-average peers. He concluded that personality and intelligence were correlated with social and academic behavior among institutionalized delinquent boys. Richardson and Surko (1956) noted that delinquents scored lowest in the WISC in reading and arithmetic and suggested that they have generally less intellectual disability than would appear from the school situation. Cook and Solway (1974), comparing WISC subtest scores of retarded delinquents and retarded nondelinquents, found "a considerable degree of similarity."

Caplan and Powell (1964) compared 100 delinquents of average I.Q. with 100 delinquents of superior I.Q. on personal characteristics, school behavior, delinquency, and family background. Important between-group differences were obtained on a number of items, some of which traditionally have been found to distinguish between delinquent and nondelinquent samples. The authors suggested that the relationship between intelligence and delinquent behavior cannot be expressed as a single fixed value, but only as a multiple consideration.

Many criminologists have wondered whether offenders of different intelligence commit different types of crimes. Brown and Courtless (1967) found that a higher proportion of retarded persons committed crimes against the person, including a high percentage of homicide in the I.Q. group below 55. On the Wolfgang-Sellin scale of offense severity, those in the retarded group tended to cluster at the "serious" end of the scale. The most frequent offense for the mentally deficient was criminal homicide.

Similar findings were noted by Calkins (1967), who indicated that sexual offenses also were common among retarded offenders. Gary (1968) found that certain sex offenses--exhibitionism, homosexuality, and molesting young children--were predominant among older retarded male delinquents.

Gerrish (1975) found that delinquents with lower I.Q.'s tended to commit more violent crimes, while those with higher I.Q.'s were more attracted to alcohol. Similarly, Rockoff and Hoffman (1977), with a sample of 2,227 inmates, found that the group of retarded inmates had committed more violent crimes than the normal group.

Caplan and Gligor (1964), studying 1,100 delinquents, found that, for males, those convicted of assault had significantly lower I.Q.'s than all other categories. For females, runaways had higher I.Q.'s than truants, while runaways and incorrigibles scored higher than sex offenders. In a study previously mentioned, White and Fenton (1931) found that "forgery is the only type of offense that shows a significant relationship with high

intelligence."

Ruggles (1932) compared the intelligence and mechanical ability of 103 delinquent males between the ages of 16 and 22. He concluded (1) that the subjects were significantly below average in intelligence and mechanical ability; (2) that crimes requiring mechanical ability were committed by those ranking highest on the mechanical ability test; and (3) that the baser sex crimes were perpetrated by the feeble-minded.

Ruff, et al. (1976) found that rapists had significantly lower I.Q.'s than nonrapists convicted of violent crimes as well as heterogeneous nonrapist convicts.

Contrary to these studies, Calhoun (1928) found that offenses committed by retarded delinquent boys were much less serious than those of mentally normal boys. The number of court appearances, months incarcerated, and total monetary cost of crimes committed were also less for the retarded group. Templer and Connolly (1977), in a study with a small sample size, found that the I.Q. of retarded persons accused of property crimes was lower than that of retarded persons accused of crimes against persons. They suggested that a lack of size, strength, coordination, or confidence might account for the difference.

Not all studies have found differences in types of offense for offenders of different intelligence. Following the application of the Army Alpha intelligence test to 1,285 young male offenders, Hill (1936) found that, while the group scored predominantly in the dull-normal range, there was no relationship between these scores and severity of crime. Blackhurst (1968)

CONTINUED

1 OF 6

found few differences between crimes committed by a group of retarded offenders and those committed by normally intelligent offenders.

Shapiro (1968) emphasized the point that there was no qualitative difference between delinquents of high intelligence and those of low intelligence. He contended also that there was no relationship between type of offense and level of intelligence, but that type of offense could be attributed to a number of highly interrelated etiological factors such as maturity level, organic factors, neurotic mechanisms, and social factors.

Similarly, Gath, et al. (1971) compared the criminal characteristics of 50 delinquent boys of superior intelligence with those of 50 delinquent boys of average intelligence. The two groups were found to be similar in type and distribution of offense, although more boys of superior intelligence committed offenses that seemed to be psychologically determined. Tennent and Gath (1975), studying matched delinquent groups of bright and normal intelligence, found no significant differences in type of offense.

4. Delinquent Intelligence and Race

The relationship between race and intelligence has become a highly controversial issue. Numerous studies have attempted to compare the relative intelligence levels of white, black, and Mexican-American delinquents.

Smith, et al. (1969) found that a sample of black youths performed as well as the standardization group on the Revised Beta Examination. These authors noted that the small size of

the group of youths tested might have influenced the representativeness of the study sample.

Levi and Seborg (1971) sought to obtain the verbal and nonverbal intelligence scores of 200 white, 68 black, and 67 Mexican women inmates. All subjects were administered the Raven Test and the California Achievement Test Battery. Black and Mexican subjects performed much better on the nonverbal tests than the verbal tests; however, both groups received significantly lower scores than whites on both verbal and nonverbal tests. The authors concluded that both verbal and nonverbal tests might be culturally loaded, even though the nonverbal instrument emphasizes patterns and structures.

Rozynko and Wenk (1965) conducted three independent studies to investigate intellectual test differences among delinquent white, black, and Mexican-American California Youth Authority wards. These studies were carried out in the setting that provided the information for the present study. Subjects were selected randomly from a pool of 984 inmates.

The first study contained 78 subjects in each of three subgroups, while the second and third studies contained 60 in each subgroup. All subgroups were matched for age. The three samples contained a total of 534 subjects, with the mean age of 19.24 years. Educational level varied among the groups, with the white group scoring higher than either the black or Mexican-American group on grade-rated achievement tests (white = 8.45; black = 6.69; Mexican-American = 6.87; $F = 11.65$, $p < .01$). Standard instructions were used in test administration. Analyses of

variance and t tests were used to identify differences.

On the California Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM) in all three studies, the white group scored highest, the black group, lowest. The Mexican-American group equalled the black group on the language portion of the test and tended to occupy an intermediate position between the black and white groups on the nonverbal portions of the test. All differences were significant at the .01 level.

On the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB), the black group tended to score consistently low on both verbal and nonverbal tests, while the whites scored consistently high. The Mexican-Americans occupied an intermediate position on the nonverbal tests but were as low as the blacks on the verbal tests. Only four of the 27 analyses of variance were not significant, four were significant at the .05 level, and the rest obtained probabilities of less than .01.

Initial hypotheses regarding the Mexican-American group were borne out. This group performed most poorly when performance depended on either language ability or knowledge of material taught in school, while they performed best on nonacademic subjects. The black group tended to score lower than the white group on all tests and lower than the Mexican-American group on nonverbal tests. Test differences between the white and Mexican-American groups paralleled differences in educational level. However, differences in educational level could not explain the poorer performance of blacks on the nonverbal tests, especially when compared with the Mexican-American group, since the two

groups did not differ in school achievement. The authors concluded that these unexpected results suggested inadequate motivation was extremely important in determining the black inmate's test performance.

In a later study of the effects of motivation on test performance, Wenk, et al. (1971) could not improve the test performance of black subjects by using monetary incentives. In conclusion, the authors questioned the fairness of some of the testing procedures carried out in institutional settings, pointing out that most tests are conceived, developed, and standardized within limited cultural frameworks and, regardless of attempts to eliminate bias, are inherently unfair to members of minority cultural groups. It was suggested that re-standardization for particular groups may prove inadequate as a corrective measure and that it may be necessary to develop totally new tests appropriate to the culture in which they are to be used.

Until culture-fair testing is achieved, the results of cross-ethnic intelligence testing must be cautiously interpreted. And until the importance of differential cultural conditioning of racial groups is recognized, an instrument that enables interracial comparisons of intelligence will continue to evade our grasp. The relationship between intelligence and race will be discussed further in the chapter on "Race."

The studies summarized here provide a brief overview of research in this area. The inconclusive nature of many findings indicates that the intelligence of the delinquent is a complex research issue. Many studies have found that delinquents score lower than nondelinquents on intelligence tests. Were Lombroso and Goddard right in believing that low intelligence causes delinquency? Such a conclusion is hardly justified, considering the many other factors involved.

One obvious factor is selection: the delinquents included in most of these studies were those who were caught. Another factor is socioeconomic status: most officially recognized delinquents come from the lower groups. It may be that youngsters whose families are of higher socioeconomic status are more likely to be intellectually gifted and less likely to have their offenses officially recorded. Perhaps certain influences on the lower class (e.g., poverty, discrimination) cause both delinquency and lower intelligence scores. Educational level is also a factor. Delinquents tend to be lower achievers than nondelinquents, and educational achievement influences intelligence test performance. In addition, most studies use I.Q. scores obtained after apprehension. The process of adjudication or institutionalization is very likely to depress test results. Motivation may be extremely low to do well on tests which represent the correctional or educational system, neither of which has been

rewarding to him. Some recent studies have shown that by increasing delinquents' motivation with incentives, their I.Q. scores (Cohen and Filipczak, 1971) and academic achievement (Kandel, et al., 1976) can be improved.

After reviewing the literature, Hirschi and Hindelang (1977) asserted that, "As of now there is no evidence that I.Q. has a direct impact on delinquency." However, they stated that, "The assertion that I.Q. affects the likelihood of delinquent behavior through its effect on school performance is consistent with available data. The corollary descriptive assertion that delinquents have lower I.Q.'s than nondelinquents is firmly established."

Although officially recognized delinquents often score lower than nondelinquents on intelligence tests, it cannot be assumed that the average delinquent is mentally inferior, much less that mental inferiority causes delinquency.

New directions in research are needed. Caplan (1965) pointed out that "with the exception of one study (Baker and Sarbin, 1956), there has been an absence of investigations... addressed to determine the cognitive structure of the larger mental framework which correlates with conceptualization, learning, perceptions, and other areas of mental activity that affect patterns of social adjustment."

STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS

During the period when data for the present study were collected, the authors collaborated with several other researchers in the investigation of intelligence factors. The studies (Rozynko and Wenk, 1965; and Wenk, et al., 1971) were designed to help clarify the differences among ethnic groups in performance on intelligence and aptitude tests. Because the test results obtained at the Reception Guidance Center were used in program and placement decisions, the "culture-fairness" of the testing program was of great concern. In addition, the effect of the test proctor and testing environment on test results was of interest to the researchers.

The study reported by Wenk, et al. examined the effects of incentives upon the aptitude performances of white and black wards of the California Youth Authority. The hypothesis that an effective incentive (material reward) would help to narrow the gap between white and black wards' performances was not upheld. The failure of black wards to improve their relative position under the conditions of material reward led the researchers to speculate that, while some other type of incentive might have been more effective in closing the performance gap, it is also possible that the tests used are inherently unfair to minority group members regardless of the steps taken to reduce this bias. If this were the case, restandardization for particular groups may prove an inadequate corrective as totally new tests--appropriate to members

of the culture in which they are to be used--would be required (Wenk, et al., 1971).

The study reported by Rozynko and Wenk was based on data collected on three consecutive samples of white, Mexican-American, and black CYA wards. The first sample consisted of 78 individuals in each ethnic group. The second and third samples consisted of 50 individuals in each ethnic group. All of the Mexican-American admissions were included in the samples, while blacks and whites were eliminated in a random fashion to equalize the number of subjects in each group. Tests for all three samples were administered by a trained inmate proctor. The proctor was a Caucasian graduate student from the University of California in Berkeley; he was intellectually superior, matter-of-fact, well organized, and authoritarian. Soon after testing for these three samples was completed he was replaced by a black proctor, a former Army officer who was intelligent, well organized, warm, supportive, and generally concerned about anyone with whom he came in contact. He communicated his human qualities to his classes and seemed to receive much cooperation from the CYA wards, despite the fact that he was considerably older than they were.

Figure 1 gives the results on the California Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM) for the three small consecutive samples tested by the white test proctor and the large sample tested over a period of 15 months by the black proctor. The black proctor appeared to be successful in motivating almost everyone

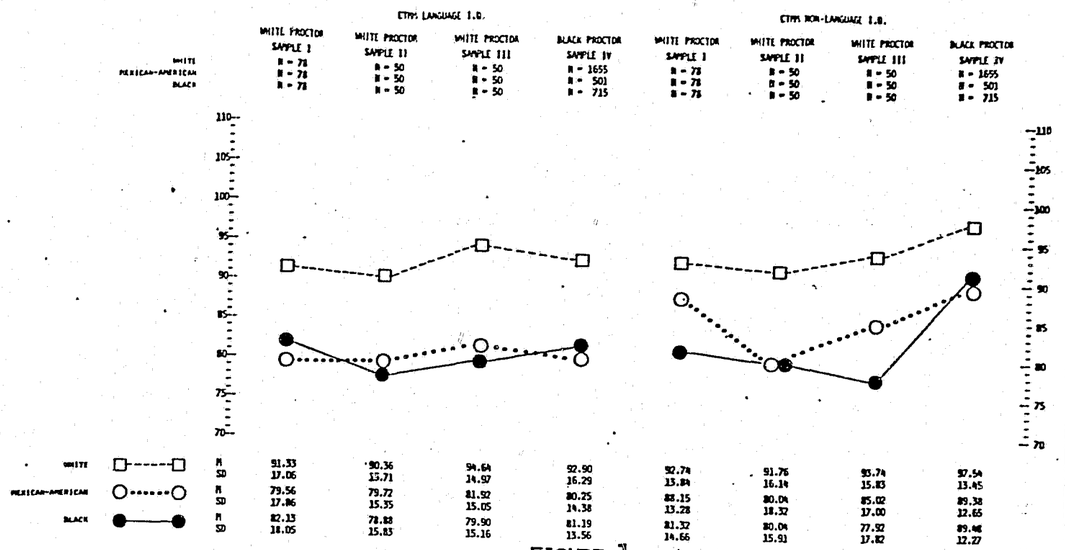


FIGURE 1

CTMM TEST RESULTS ON FOUR SAMPLES OF CYA WARDS SHOWING DIFFERENCES OCCURRING WITH WHITE AND BLACK TEST PROCTORS

to give their best test performance. The results are presented separately for the language portion and the non-language portion of the CTMM. As can be seen, the results on the language portion are minimally affected. Motivation does not significantly affect test results if needed language skills are not present. On the non-language portion, however, some interesting changes occur. Test scores for all three ethnic groups improve with the black proctor, but they improve most dramatically for the black CYA wards.

This rather drastic gain for blacks on test performance appears to have two sources: (1) Together with the other two groups, blacks are affected by an improved social climate during testing that generally enhances test performance, particularly in tests that do not rely heavily on formal academic skills. (2) Blacks appear to receive an additional

boost from the presence of the black proctor who provided them with a desirable model with which they could identify. Although not derived from the formal studies carried out at the Diagnostic Center, this observation is felt to be important to any discussion of the test data presented in this chapter. The effect of the test proctor, the climate during the testing, and the culture-fairness of the tests should be considered in examining the data of the present study.

This section presents the statistical information on the subgroups classified according to intelligence level. For complete data information please refer to the tables presented in the Data Map on Intelligence Factors. The following discussion centers on selected topics and selected data. It should be noted that the average parole success rate of the total study population of 4,146 was 60.9 per cent. Therefore, 39.9 per cent received a bad discharge because of commitment to an adult correctional institution or were recommitted to the California Youth Authority during a 15-month parole follow-up.

1. Individual Case History Information

Table 1 of the Data Map on Intelligence Factors presents a breakdown by commitment court for the seven intelligence classifications. While juvenile court commitments have a generally low success rate (51.6 per cent), this is particularly true for wards who are of average or bright normal intelligence (48.8 per cent and 42.9 per cent). In contrast, juvenile court commitments who are of dull normal intelligence show average performance on parole (60.5 per cent).

Among superior court commitments, a slightly older group, the parole success rates for the bright normal and superior groups are substantially higher (65.7 per cent and 71.4 per cent).

Table 2 presents data on admission status. As can be expected, the parole success rate for first admissions is markedly higher (71.4 per cent for the borderline defective group, 67.5 per cent for the average and 70 per cent for the bright normal group). An exception is the dull normal group for whom only slightly higher than average success is evident. Progressively worse success rates are found for first returns from parole (54.9 per cent) and for persons with more than three admissions to the Youth Authority (47 per cent).

Table 3 shows the breakdown of the data into ethnic groups. Wards of average intelligence do not show any differences among the ethnic groups. Only a small difference is found within the dull normal groups in which white wards show a somewhat lower parole success rate than the other ethnic groups. Interesting differences are found within the borderline and bright normal groups in which Mexican-Americans do somewhat better than average in both groups, while whites and blacks show a different pattern. Whites of bright normal intelligence do relatively well on parole, while blacks of bright normal intelligence do relatively poorly. This pattern is reversed for individuals of borderline and dull normal intelligence: whites do poorly and the

performance of blacks is either average or better than average.

Tables 12, 13, and 14 of the Data Maps provide information on alcohol use, drug misuse, and the use of opiates. Two kinds of information are presented in these tables: (1) a rating of the severity of the particular clinical problem; and (2) information on the relationship of the problem to the present admission offense or to past offenses.

The first three columns of Table 12 show the severity of the alcohol problem. Moderate alcohol misuse implies an alcohol problem that periodically affects the individual's social functioning; 30 per cent of the study population were identified by caseworkers as having a moderate alcohol problem. This rate does not fluctuate appreciably among the various intelligence groups. The recidivism rates of persons with a moderate alcohol problem are either average or above average.

For the approximately 15 per cent of the study population rated as having a severe alcohol problem (identified as alcoholic or in immediate danger of becoming alcoholic), the picture is somewhat different. Wards of borderline and dull normal intelligence with severe drinking problems were particularly less successful on parole (57.1 per cent and 54.3 per cent). Bright normal individuals also were less successful on parole, although to a lesser degree (58.3 per cent). When alcohol was present in the admission offense parole success rates are slightly higher except for the dull

normal and the superior groups. Parole success rates of wards with alcohol in past offenses only are considerably lower (46.7 per cent, 55.7 per cent and 57.2 per cent) except for persons of bright normal or superior intelligence (67.1 per cent and 70 per cent).

While alcohol seems to have some association with parole outcome, the relationship of drug misuse to success on parole appears more pronounced. This is particularly noticeable in the category of moderate drug misuse. Included in these groups are persons with a history of using stimulant and/or depressant drugs. Users of opiates, marijuana, and glue were coded separately.

The percentage of persons using drugs, and particularly the percentage of persons in whose case drug misuse is part of the admission offense, increases noticeably as intelligence increases. Parole success rates drop considerably for all persons illegally involved with drugs (53.4 per cent for moderate misuse, 50 per cent for severe drug misuse). An exception to this pattern is found for those in the bright normal group, who function relatively well on parole despite drug misuse.

Table 14 presents data indicating that opiate use, a relatively rare occurrence among this study population is, regardless of intelligence, associated with a dramatic increase in failure on parole (42.5 per cent parole success rate for offenders with a history of moderate opiate use).

Wards of average intelligence with a history of smoking

marijuana performed relatively poorly on parole (56.9 per cent). This is of particular interest not only because this group is quite large, but also because a reversed pattern is evident for bright normal (68.1 per cent) and superior wards (72.2 per cent) with a history of marijuana use.

Table 16 provides data on wards with a history of escape. The most striking feature is the impressive drop in parole success rate for all persons with a history of escape, regardless of whether the escape was from a minimum security facility without force or from a secure facility with force. It is noteworthy that, within this group of escapees, a group of bright normal individuals shares the poor parole performance record of wards classified as average and dull normal in intelligence. Bright normal individuals usually are exceptions to the variable pattern in that they maintain a rather consistently favorable parole performance pattern.

Information on psychiatric history was obtained from earlier clinical case files received by Reception Guidance Center staff from corrections and mental health agencies with which the ward had been in contact. These histories indicate that for all practical purposes, psychiatric problems seem to be confined to the dull normal and average groups. Generally the frequencies in the psychiatric categories are small:

Previous Psychiatric Diagnosis	% of Study Population	Success Rate
Brain Syndrome	.7	53.6%
Neurosis	1.3	44.4%
Psychosis	1.2	61.2%
Personality Trait Disturbance	6.7	51.1%
Personality Pattern Disturbance	3.2	50.0%
Sociopathic Personality Disturbance	2.8	45.2%

In general, wards who had been given a psychiatric label consistently performed poorly on parole.

2. Intelligence Factors

The results of intelligence testing must be interpreted cautiously because the important issue of the culture-fairness of the test instruments has not been satisfactorily resolved.

Table 18 presents the distribution for the intelligence categories. Each ward was classified into one of the Wechsler intelligence categories by the clinical psychologist supervising the testing program. Wards who scored on the group tests in the mental defective range were given the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale and they were diagnosed as mentally defective only if they scored in the mental defective range on this individually administered test. The results of this classification procedure are shown in Figure 2. Generally, the distribution follows the normal curve with slight over-representation in the below-average category of dull normal. This distribution refutes the common notion that delinquent

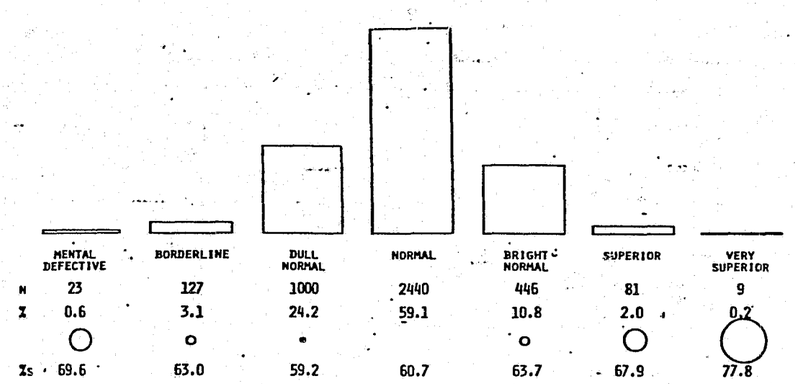


FIGURE 2

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS

INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION

populations are composed mainly of retarded or borderline defective individuals. This rigorous classification procedure produced results suggesting that the distribution on the intelligence factor approximates distributions found for non-delinquents drawn from similar social groups.

The Army General Classification Test (AGCT) and the California Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM) were the principal intelligence tests used. The General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB), the results of which are reported in the section on vocational factors, also provided a measure of intelligence in the G-score that presumably represents a measure of

general intelligence.

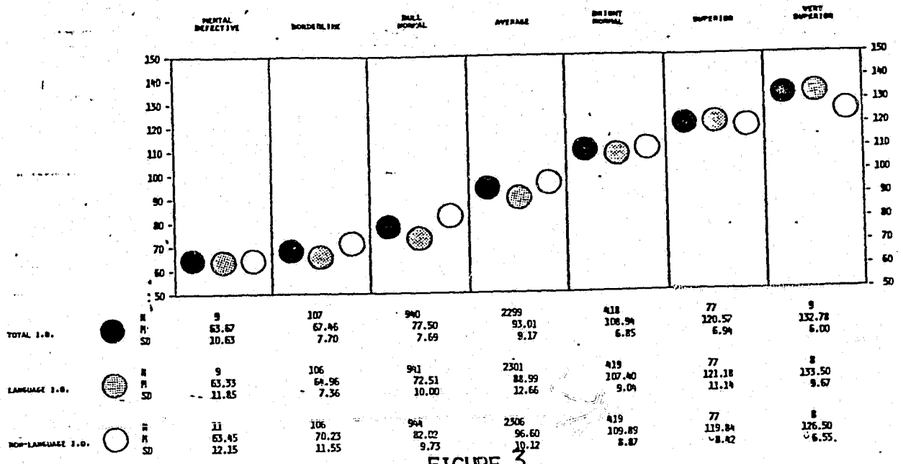


FIGURE 3

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
RESULTS ON THE CALIFORNIA TEST OF MENTAL MATURITY (CTMM)

Most of the wards were given the CTMM; however, total I.Q. was not computed for individuals who, because of illiteracy, did not complete the language portion of the test. Only those wards who scored above the sixth grade on the California Achievement Test (CAT) battery were given the AGCT. This is reflected in the lower N in Figure 3 and in Table 19 where the data on these tests are presented.

Two tests administered experimentally over part of the two-year period when these data were collected claimed culture-fairness and did not require reading skills. For these two tests, the D-48 or Domino Test and the Raven Progressive

matrices, only raw scores are available. These scores are presented in Table 19.

The Shipley Hartford Conceptual Quotient is a score that indicates the relationship between verbal skills and aptitude for abstract thinking: the lower the conceptual quotient the greater the impairment in abstract thinking as compared to verbal ability. This measure was computed only when the level of verbal ability made such comparison valid. If this level in verbal skills was not reached by an individual his C.Q. was not computed. This procedure explains the discrepancy in N found in Table 19 where the Shipley Hartford data are presented.

A summary of the results of the intelligence testing is provided in Table 19. It should be kept in mind that classification into intelligence categories was based on clinical judgments derived from a composite of information on each individual. This is reflected, for instance, in the mean scores of the dull normal group on the CTMM. While the scores for this group on Total I.Q. and on the language portion of the test are in the borderline defective range, their mean score on the nonlanguage portion is in the dull normal range. These individuals apparently have the capacity to perform at a significantly higher level on tasks not dependent on academic skills, indicating that a higher classification is more valid than would be suggested by results on tests that are highly dependent on acquired academic skills.

3. Academic Factors

School-related factors increasingly are coming under study as it becomes evident that the school experience is of critical importance in the development of alienation and social deviance (Wenk, 1974). The data on academic factors are presented here in some detail to allow for discovery of possible leads useful in designing new types of learning environments for that large proportion of youth who do not seem to be served by the existing educational opportunities.

A summary of the results of the academic achievement testing using the California Achievement Test battery (CAT) is given in Table 20. Generally, little variation among academic subjects is found; two exceptions are noted for mental defective and borderline defective individuals who show a slight increase in the arithmetic score. With the two exceptions, measured academic achievement of mentally defective wards was at the 2nd grade level; measured academic achievement levels for the remaining groups were as follows: borderline defective, 3rd grade; dull normal, 4th grade; average, 7th grade; bright normal, 10th grade; superior, 11th grade; very superior, 12th grade. Data presented in Tables 21, 22, and 23 of the Data Map give comparable information on grade completed, grade achieved and age left school for each intelligence classification group. The following results are of particular interest:

No specific pattern for mentally defective wards was found. There are so few individuals in this category that

any conclusions drawn from the findings must be qualified. All of the mentally defective wards completed at least the 7th grade, while two finished high school. Because of their limitations, their achievement is modest. None left school before the age of 15.

The borderline defective group also shows a low achievement because of their limitations. Some of these wards completed only the fifth grade, but more than half of the group completed at least the 9th grade. Nearly half of them dropped out of school by age 16.

The dull normal group shows that a few individuals completed elementary school only. The achievement scores of the dull normal group range mainly within the first eight grades although one-third finished 11th and 12th grade and another 48 per cent finished 9th and 10th grade. It appears that the fewer grades a ward completed and the younger he left school the more he is prone to recidivism, a finding that seems also to be true for wards of average intellectual potential.

The data for the three highest intelligence classification subgroups, bright normal, superior and very superior, show that these groups generally perform above average on parole regardless of academic achievement, grade completed, or age left school.

Figure 4 provides information on two indices that were developed for the project to aid in the assessment of academic retardation. The first index provides an academic disability score indicating the average difference between grade completed

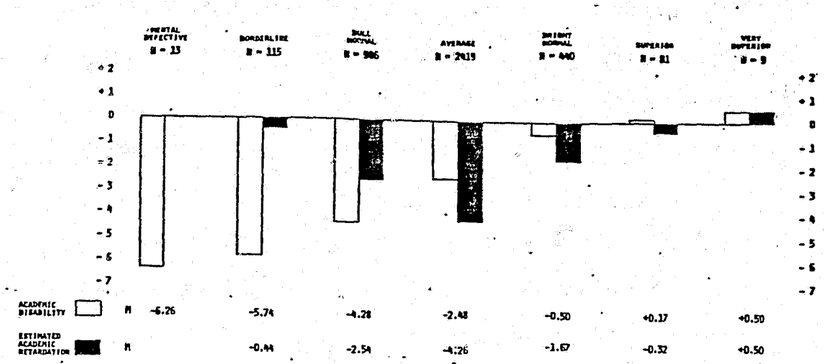


FIGURE 4
COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
ACADEMIC DISABILITY

in school and functioning level as measured by the CAT. The second index provides an estimate of academic retardation by computing the difference between a rather conservative, arbitrarily set expectation and the achieved grade in the CAT:

Intelligence Classification	Expected Grade Placement on the CAT
Mental Defective	0
Borderline Defective	4th Grade
Dull Normal	8th Grade
Average and above	12th Grade

Using this procedure, each person was given a score representing achieved grade minus expected grade. Most scores are minus scores: the greater the minus value, the greater the academic retardation as measured against the above

standards. The fact that no expectations were set for mentally defective individuals should not suggest the assumption that these individuals could not achieve academically. The decision was made, perhaps erroneously, that expectations for mentally defective and borderline defective wards should be kept low. It might have been preferable to set the expectation for the mental defective group at the 2nd grade level.

It is evident from Figure 4 that the largest discrepancies between grade level attending and grade level functioning are found in the lower intelligence categories. This seems particularly critical for the dull normal and average groups in which nearly 1,000 wards, or 24 per cent, were functioning more than four grades below the grade they completed and 2,419 wards, or 58 per cent, were functioning more than two grades below the grade they completed.

The estimated academic retardation index reveals that the average group is most handicapped with respect to the following arbitrarily set expectations: wards of average intelligence performed more than four grades below the expected standard. The dull normal group had an academic retardation index score of -2.5, indicating an achievement deficit of more than two grades. It is clear from these data that the academic disabilities of these wards are quite pronounced. This fact cannot be dismissed with arguments that delinquent populations are handicapped by lack of mental ability. Mental ability and intellectual potential generally are present but are not being productively utilized. This finding takes on

added significance when it is considered that very few individuals in the study population showed signs of mental illness.

In spite of the good intentions that may underlie the programs and curricula designs in the public schools, it seems likely that quite early in the school experience of these academically handicapped youths some serious needs were not met. Research into the school environment and curricula may give us important knowledge into the reasons why the needs of these young people were not met.

Table 25 gives information on ratings by caseworkers on wards' motivation for academic training while incarcerated. It is interesting to note that individuals of average, bright normal, superior or very superior intelligence who were judged to be unmotivated for academic training performed relatively poorly on parole compared to wards who were judged to be motivated for further academic training (average group 56.3 per cent vs. 62.6 per cent; bright normal group 56.9 per cent vs. 66.9 per cent; superior group 57.7 per cent vs. 68.9 per cent; very superior 33.3 per cent vs. 100 per cent).

It appears that many school related factors figure prominently in the forces that forge delinquency and youth crime. Research that focuses on some of the factors such as school climate, student involvement and participation, curriculum planning and design, and relevancy of curriculum, remedial programs and others, is desperately needed.

4. Vocational Factors

Results on the General Aptitude Test Battery subscales

for each intelligence category are summarized in Table 26. This table shows that, particularly for those individuals classed as average or below average, the lowest scores are found for numerical aptitude followed by the scores for verbal aptitude. This again suggests the poor academic skills of these individuals as compared to their fairly good vocational aptitudes not dependent on academic skills and their relative ranking on intellectual potential.

Figures 5 through 10 present information on occupational history, primary area of interest for vocational training, and recommendation by the caseworker for vocational training during institutionalization.

Figure 5 presents data on skilled trades in the construction field. In order to maintain clarity, the frequencies are omitted from these figures. The percentages are based on the following frequencies for the various subgroups: Mental Defective, N=20; Borderline Defective, N=124; Dull Normal, N=962; Average, N=2,360; Bright Normal, N=431; Superior, N=75; Very Superior, N=9.

Very few wards have had practical experience in these trades. It is difficult to estimate how much of this deficiency is directly attributable to the lack of school-related skills that prevents these youths from obtaining vocational training or employment, but lack of basic academic skills certainly aggravates the problem. Another contributing factor is probably the scarcity of training and employment opportunities in certain neighborhoods and communities. From

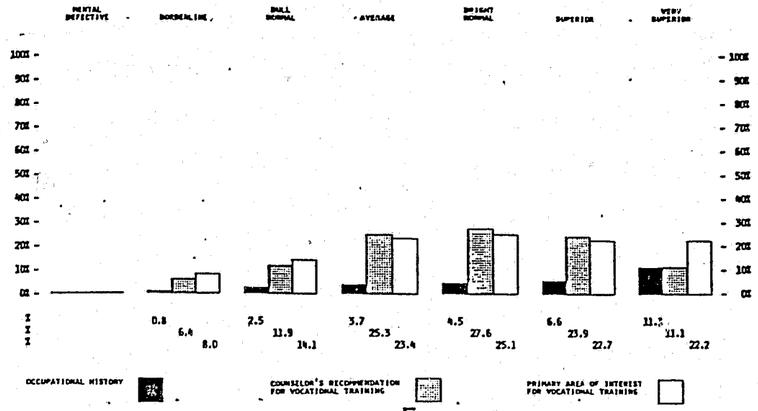


FIGURE 5

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS CARPENTRY, CONSTRUCTION, ELECTRICAL, MASONRY, MILL AND CABINET, HOUSEPAINTING, PLASTERING, PLUMBING, REFRIGERATION AND AIRCONDITIONING, SHEET METAL, AND OTHER SKILLED TRADES

our data it appears that offenders from minority groups are even more deficient than Caucasian offenders in practical vocational experience of a skilled nature. The rate for offenders from minority groups is less than half that of the white offenders: 4.5 per cent of the white offenders and only about 2 per cent of the blacks and Mexican-Americans had experience in a skilled construction trade.

With the exception of those in the mentally defective group, many individuals were interested in receiving training in construction. As can be seen, the caseworkers recommended training for approximately the same proportion as showed

interest: from 8 to 25 per cent of the various groups. While the data do not indicate whether the individual who voiced interest received the appropriate recommendation, it can be assumed that wards generally were guided toward training for which they were motivated.

Figure 6 presents this information with respect to mechanic trades, as well as for body and fender work, heavy equipment operation, T.V. repair, and welding. The data are similar to those describing the situation in the construction trades. Again, in the mechanical vocations, ethnic minorities have substantially less work experience than white subjects.

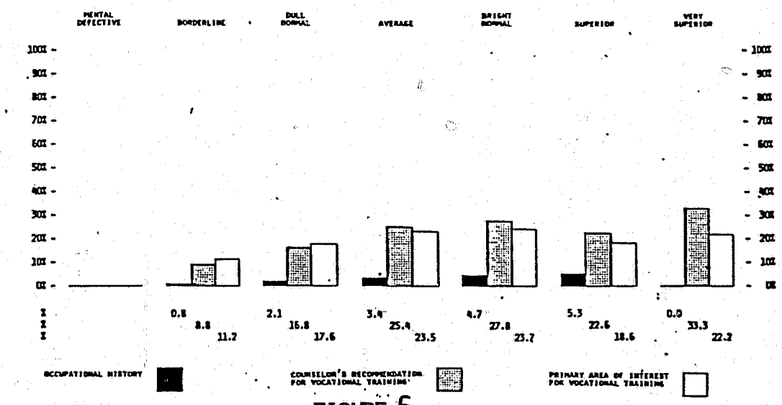


FIGURE 6

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS AIR MECHANICS, AUTO MECHANICS, BODY AND FENDER, HEAVY EQUIPMENT OPERATOR, GENERAL MECHANICS, T.V. REPAIR, WELDING

From Figure 7 it is strikingly apparent that the great majority of these youth, regardless of their intellectual and vocational aptitudes, fall into the semi-skilled and unskilled categories. The picture appears even more bleak when it is considered that the unskilled category includes approximately 90 per cent of the individuals reported in this figure under occupational history. These data make it clear that the majority of the youth in this study had serious vocational handicaps that put considerable economic and psychological strains on them and probably contributed substantially to their becoming delinquent. This finding points up the need

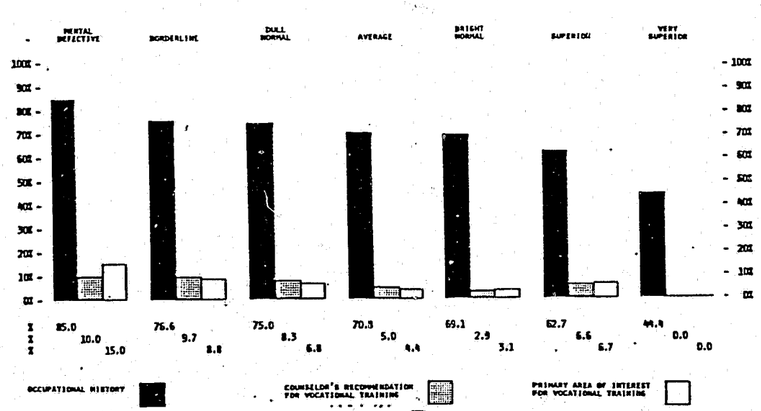


FIGURE 7
COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
MAINTENANCE, INDUSTRIES, LANDSCAPING, WAREHOUSE TRAINING,
AND OTHER SEMISKILLED AND UNSKILLED TRADES

for remedial vocational training programs. Perhaps the community college system could provide such training for probationers and parolees as well as other young people who need it.

Figures 8, 9, and 10 present information on food services trades, various services vocations, and the graphic arts.

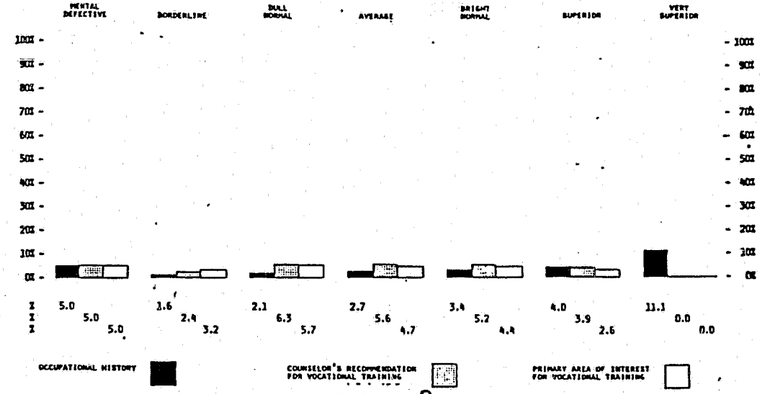


FIGURE 8
COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
BAKING, COOKING, CULINARY ARTS, FOOD SERVICES, AND
MEATCUTTING

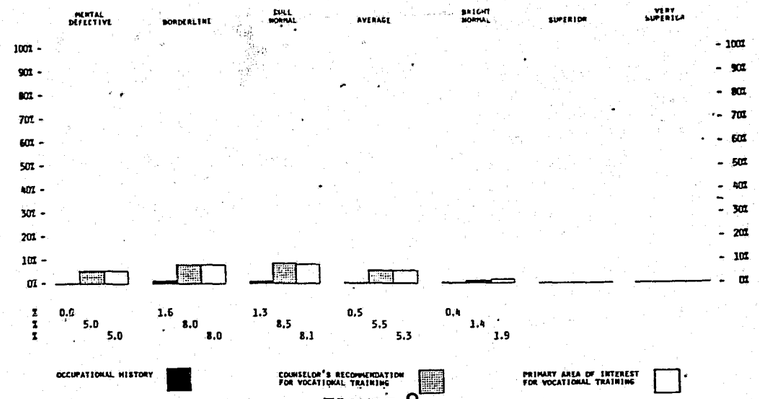


FIGURE 9

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
BARBERING, DRY CLEANING, SHOE REPAIR, UPHOLSTERY

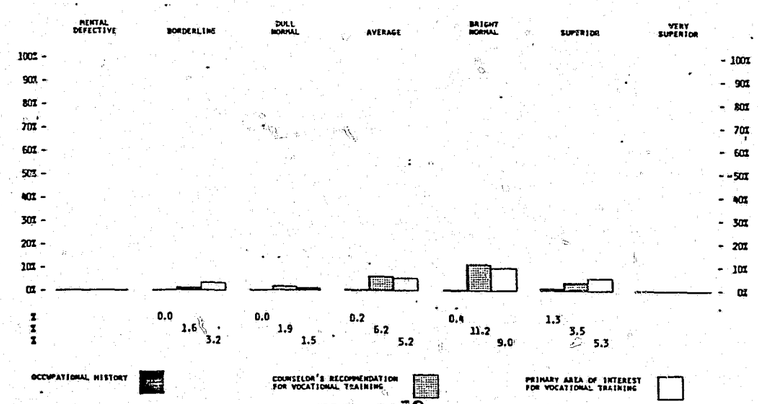


FIGURE 10

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
ARTS AND CRAFTS, GRAPHIC ARTS, MECHANICAL DRAFTING, PRINTING

The Reception Guidance Center program focused much attention on the assessment of vocational needs and carried out two related programs that tested small groups of wards during a one-week period. One program centered around wood-working activities and another around metal-working activities. The ratings on motivation for training made by the two instructors of these programs are shown in Table 27, together with the results of a similar rating by the caseworker. The latter rating was based solely on an interview while the shop instructors based their ratings on an interview after several days of job observation in the metal and wood shops. Also presented in this table is the information on whether or not the individual was recommended by the caseworker for vocational training.

From this table it is apparent that the motivation of the individual as perceived by staff is particularly critical for the average and dull normal groups where individuals perceived by staff as unmotivated show considerably less success on parole than individuals who were perceived as being motivated for vocational training.

It is interesting to note that the pattern is reversed for the mental defective group, in which individuals perceived as unmotivated consistently perform better on parole. In addition, mental defective wards not recommended for vocational training were more successful on parole than were those who had been recommended for vocational training. Although

the numbers are small, this finding could suggest that while mentally defective wards may need some kind of vocational training, the programs offered in the correctional setting may not be appropriate for this kind of person and therefore may have an adverse effect on them. Designing training programs to accommodate the intellectually handicapped may help to solve this problem.

There may also be a lack of suitable training programs for superior and very superior wards. These two groups follow the pattern of the mental defectives: persons not recommended by the caseworker for vocational training are more successful on parole than are persons recommended for training. This may parallel the situations found in many public schools where the handicapped and the gifted often lack adequate programs.

Information on work experience is provided in Table 28. Generally, work experience of less than six months is negatively related to parole success, a finding that is more pronounced for the lower intelligence categories. Inconsistency is evident in the data on individuals with work experience between 12-18 months where for some reason the success rate decreases. Clearly, within the borderline and dull normal intelligence subgroups there appears to be some relationship with work experience. Scanning the borderline/dull normal sub-group vertically indicates that parole success rate improves with amount of work experience; also, this association seems to imply that the transition from negative to positive deviation from the success rate of the entire study group takes place

between the zero-to-six-months category and the six-to-twelve-months category. This relationship seems to diminish for the average and bright normal groups, although some degree of association is still apparent.

Another relationship of interest involves the interaction of amount of work experience, intelligence classification, and parole outcome. For example, offenders with work experience of six months or less seem to display a relationship between parole success and intelligence. It appears that as intelligence increases for these work experience groups so does their percentage of parole success. It certainly is quite apparent from this table that individuals who are handicapped in both employment history and intelligence show a relatively high recidivism rate.

Table 28 gives information on union status and vocational disability. Union membership increased the success rate on parole, making this group a better risk on parole and pointing again to the importance of vocational skills and job stability to the successful readjustment of youthful offenders to the community.

5. Personality Factors

a. Personality Test Results

The purpose of this section is to discuss the findings on three personality tests--the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), and the Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI), as they relate to the

intelligence classification subgroups.

It is fortunate that the data on both the CPI and the MMPI are available on all wards who met the requirement of a sixth-grade reading skill, which seems necessary to comprehend the items on these tests. These data also are available on wards who functioned testwise below this level but could comprehend the items when they were presented to them by tape recording. The two tests permit a valuable assessment of personality factors.

Measures of the nature and extent of possible psychological disturbance are provided by the MMPI and measures of the psychological and social strength and patterns of interpersonal behavior are provided by the CPI. Table 29 presents data on the two tests.

Figure 11 shows the results on the CPI for the dull

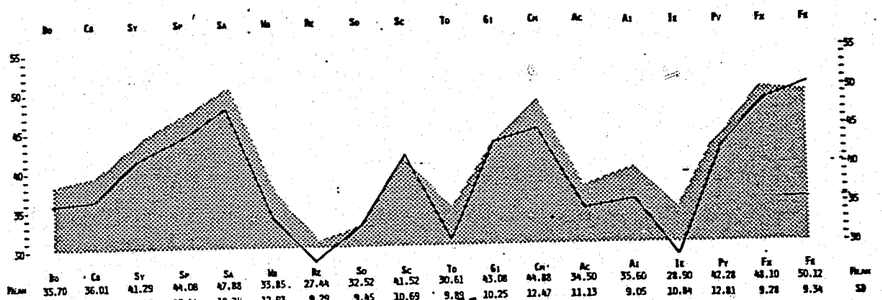


FIGURE 11

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
CPI PROFILE OF CYA WARDS CLASSIFIED AS OF
DULL NORMAL INTELLIGENCE
N = 648

normal group, indicating the areas of difficulty that this group may encounter. The six lowest scores are found on Wb (sense of well being), Re (responsibility), So (socialization), To (tolerance), Ac (achievement via conformance), and Ie (intellectual efficiency), similar to the profile of the total study population, (grey area gives the profile of the total study population), but more pronounced. This would characterize the group as lacking in a general sense of physical and psychological well-being and lacking in seriousness of thought, well-developed values, and dependability. Further, the group shows a great lack of maturity and social integration, often experiences friction with others, and exhibits little tolerance or acceptance of others. The group also has a generally low capacity to achieve in settings where conformance is required and there are indications that intellectual and personal resources are poorly utilized.

On the more positive side the CPI profile shows relatively fair scores on the six subscales Sp (social presence), Sa (self-acceptance), Gi (good impression), Cm (communality), Fx (flexibility), and Fe (femininity), indicating group characteristics of social spontaneity, a fair degree of feelings of self-worth, a desire to create a good impression, a fair capability to adapt in thinking, and a general preference for an accommodating and low-key social posture.

Figure 12 depicts the results on the CPI for groups

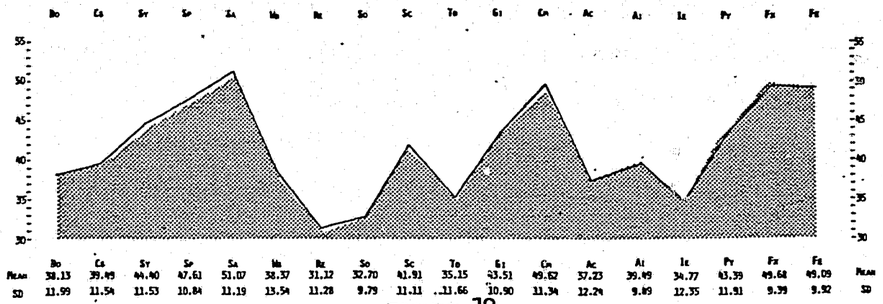


FIGURE 12

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
CPI PROFILE OF CYA WARDS CLASSIFIED AS OF
AVERAGE INTELLIGENCE
N = 1922

classified as average in intelligence. As can be seen, the profile approximates the total study population profile. As intelligence increases, scores on most CPI scales improve dramatically. A striking exception that may be psychologically significant is seen in the persistently low scores on the socialization scale, (Sc), which clearly point up the lack of socialization that characterizes these young men regardless of intelligence. The relatively low scores on the Responsibility scale (Re) for all groups is similarly noticeable, although less pronounced. Figure 13 shows that as intelligence increases the CPI scores improve likewise.

In examining the CPI and MMPI profiles one must keep in mind that for the CPI the more desirable scores

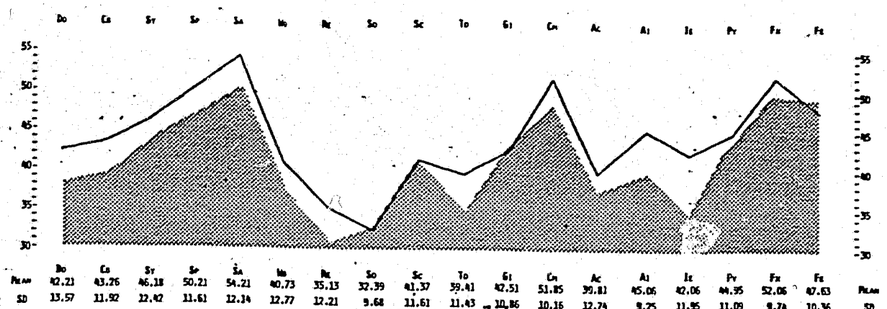


FIGURE 13

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
CPI PROFILE OF CYA WARDS CLASSIFIED AS OF
BRIGHT NORMAL INTELLIGENCE
N = 374

appear in the upper range of the scores, while for the MMPI they appear in the lower range of the scores. High peaks on the CPI therefore denote desirable social attributes while high peaks on the MMPI denote possible psychological disturbance or pathology.

The test results on the MMPI are presented in Figures 14 through 18. These profiles are included despite some justified criticism of the original clinical scales. There is a vast body of research using this clinical test and some of the concepts utilized still have considerable meaning for clinical workers. For these reasons the profiles may be useful to both clinicians and researchers.

The profiles of the total study population, as depicted by the dotted gray area, describe the group as relatively unhappy, with poor morale and generally lacking in hope about the future. The high scores on the

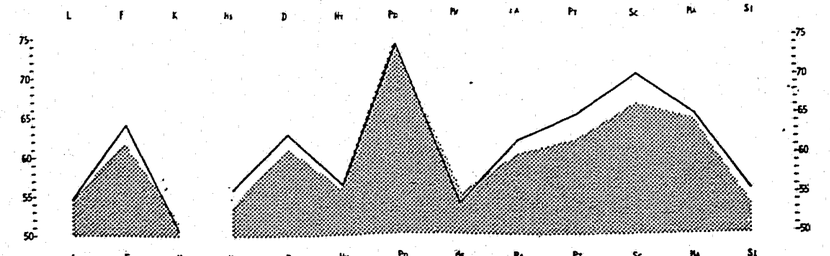


FIGURE 14

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
MMPI PROFILE OF CYA WARDS CLASSIFIED AS OF
DULL NORMAL INTELLIGENCE
N = 646

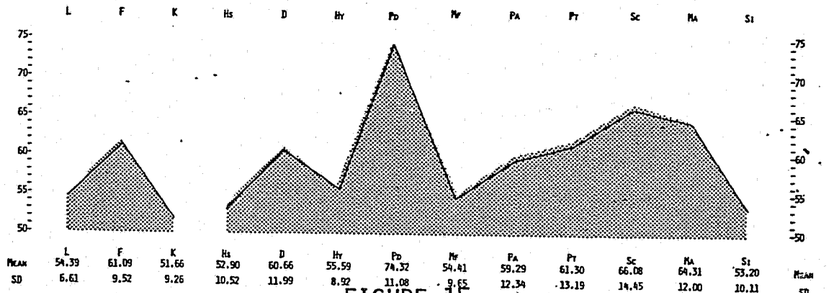


FIGURE 15

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
MMPI PROFILE OF CYA WARDS CLASSIFIED AS OF
AVERAGE INTELLIGENCE
N = 1939

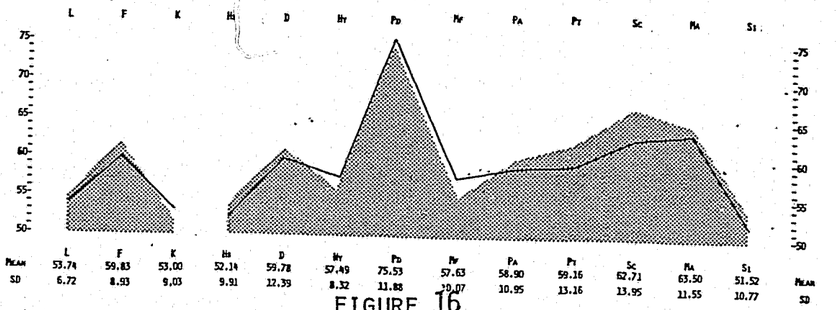


FIGURE 16

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
MMPI PROFILE OF CYA WARDS CLASSIFIED AS OF
BRIGHT NORMAL INTELLIGENCE
N = 379

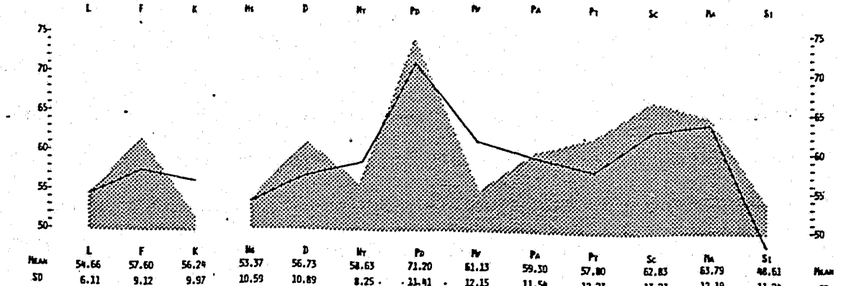


FIGURE 17

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
MMPI PROFILE OF CYA WARDS CLASSIFIED AS OF
SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE
N = 70

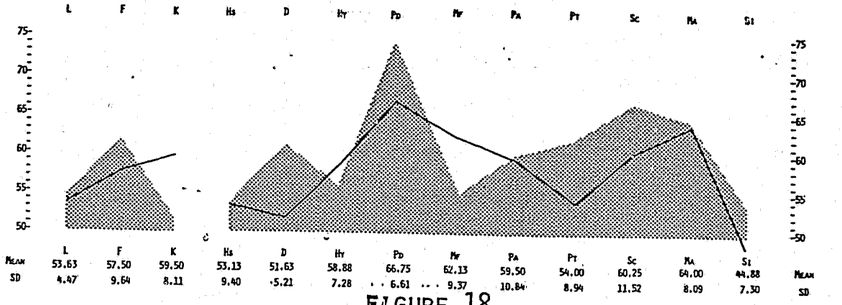


FIGURE 18

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
MMPI PROFILE OF CYA WARDS CLASSIFIED AS OF
VERY SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE
N = 8

Psychopathic Deviate scale (Pd) indicate notable difficulties in social adjustment and reflect their histories of delinquency and antisocial behavior in general. The results on the Pa (paranoia), Pt (psychasthenia), Sc (schizophrenia), and Ma (hypomania) scales suggest that the group is generally suspicious, has a high degree of anxiety, and shows thought patterns often found in psychiatrically disturbed persons. They also seem easily distractable and prone to impulsive and irrational acting-out behavior. These characteristics are more pronounced

for the dull normal group, but there is evidence that some of the responses of this group may be invalid because of carelessness, misunderstanding, or other reasons. It is interesting to note that the scores on Depression (D), Psychopathic Deviance (Pd), and the Hypomania Scale (Ma), are fairly constant for the dull normal, average, and bright normal groups, showing a relationship that is often found among delinquent populations. This constancy is maintained for the superior and very superior groups on the Ma while the scores on D and Pd are decreasing slightly. Generally, we see a similar overall pattern as with the CPI. As intelligence increases MMPI scores improve, with the exception of Pd and Ma, the two main indicators of delinquency problems.

A summary of the results on the CPI and MMPI is provided in Tables 29 and 30. These tables also include the data on those mental defective and borderline defective individuals who took the test by tape recording. Table 31 gives the data on the Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI) suggesting that social maturity as measured by this inventory increases as intellectual potential increases.

b. Parole Prediction Results Based on Personality Tests

This section gives the results on prediction efforts based on personality test data. The extensive use of graphs and tables for this comparative analysis seems justified. Presenting such data in detail throughout the various chapters may reveal some of the internal

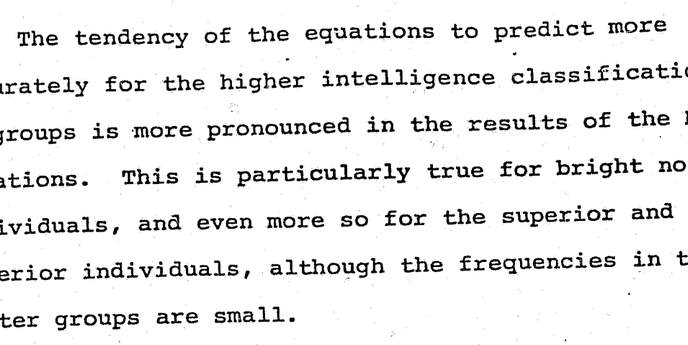
workings of these equations that will help to improve the prediction strategies.

All information presented on prediction is based on work carried out in 1964 and published in 1965 (Gough, Wenk, and Rozynko, 1965). The equations developed on the CPI (success = 45.078 - .353 Sp - .182 Sa + .532 So + .224 Sc) and the MMPI (Success = 66.363 - .081F + .065K - .055 Pd - .168 Mf - .456 Ma) were applied to the total study population and all subgroups. Base Expectancy (BE) scores used in the original study were not available for this work as the BE formula was changed during the study period.

These equations for parole prediction were developed in an effort to increase the clinical utility of prediction instruments and to retain flexibility in individual assessments over time. BE techniques lack flexibility because they are based primarily on background factors that, once they are part of an individual's history, cannot be altered. Prediction instruments based on personality tests allow the changing of prediction scores and allow the re-assessment of probability values when the test is reapplied and change between test administrations is noted. Prediction based on personality assessment therefore seems desirable for its flexibility, in addition to its possible greater utility because of the clinically meaningful potential of the CPI and MMPI equations.

The tendency of the equations to predict more accurately for the higher intelligence classification subgroups is more pronounced in the results of the MMPI equations. This is particularly true for bright normal individuals, and even more so for the superior and very superior individuals, although the frequencies in the latter groups are small.

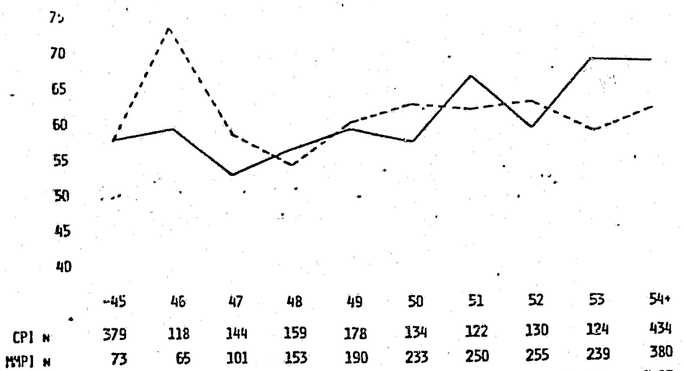
The results of the predictions for the two equations by score level related to per cent parole success (%S) are shown in Figures 19, 20, and 21. These figures indicate the relative success of this prediction method for the three intelligence classification subgroups that contain most of the wards. They depict clearly where the equations performed adequately and where there were deficiencies that lowered predictive accuracy.



	-45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54+
CPI N	102	34	38	50	51	65	34	52	45	177
MMPI N	23	23	32	57	86	81	87	77	76	103

——CPI MEAN = 50.47 SD = 4.69 N = 649 -----MMPI MEAN = 50.69 SD = 2.87 N = 645

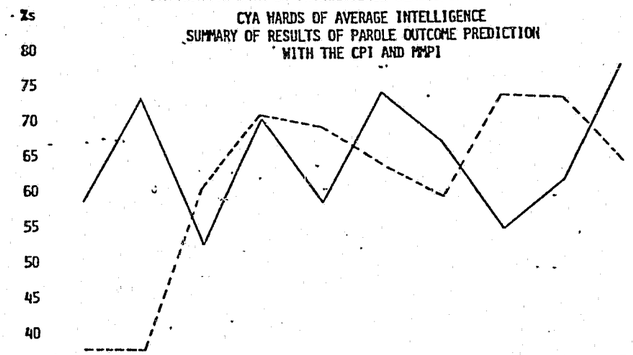
FIGURE 19
COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
CYA WARDS OF DULL NORMAL INTELLIGENCE
SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF PAROLE OUTCOME PREDICTION
WITH THE CPI AND MMPI



	-45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54+
CPI N	379	118	144	159	178	134	122	130	124	434
MMPI N	73	65	101	153	190	233	250	255	239	380

——CPI MEAN = 49.81 SD = 4.99 N = 1922 -----MMPI MEAN = 51.01 SD = 3.13 N = 1939

FIGURE 20
COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
CYA WARDS OF AVERAGE INTELLIGENCE
SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF PAROLE OUTCOME PREDICTION
WITH THE CPI AND MMPI



	-45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54+
CPI N	100	22	21	30	31	23	39	22	18	68
MMPI N	10	5	20	34	45	52	56	42	45	70

——CPI MEAN = 48.78 SD = 5.22 N = 374 -----MMPI MEAN = 50.95 SD = 2.73 N = 379

FIGURE 21
COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
CYA WARDS OF BRIGHT NORMAL INTELLIGENCE
SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF PAROLE OUTCOME PREDICTION
WITH THE CPI AND MMPI

A comparative summary of overall predictive accuracy, i.e., a combination of both true negatives and true positives for both the CPI and MMPI, is provided in Table 32. The predictive efficiency of each instrument in terms of both true positives and negatives and false positives and

negatives is reported in Tables 33 and 34.

These results seem to indicate that prediction techniques utilizing personality test data may be quite feasible, particularly if predictive accuracy could be improved in the future. These prediction results and the results reported in this chapter and the Data Maps could be a valuable source of information that would aid in refining such procedures.

It may seem that these prediction efforts showed only modest success and that the accuracy figures are not overly impressive. The results of these efforts seem to suggest little utility, particularly when they are compared with the accuracy of an undifferentiated prediction that all parolees will succeed, a "chance" prediction that will be correct for 60.9 per cent of the cases. Such a comparison, however, seems inappropriate. An undifferentiated "prediction" has no practical utility, while true prediction statements are potentially useful in casework management and programing, even though their accuracy may be less than optimal. Further efforts to improve the prediction equations may provide a method of prediction of sufficient accuracy, flexibility, and clinical meaning to be valuable to the caseworker.

6. Psychiatric Factors

This section deals exclusively with a subpopulation that was identified to be in need of psychiatric evaluation. Because psychiatric services were limited, only those individuals

specifically referred for evaluation were psychiatrically examined. This subpopulation consists of 511 individuals (12.3 per cent of the total study population) who were referred by caseworkers, custodial staff, administrative staff, California Youth Authority Board members, etc., for various reasons. Self-referral by wards was a reason for psychiatric examination in seven instances. It should be noted that the tables in this section reflect only a summary of the variables; thus, the total frequencies reported do not account for all 511 individuals psychiatrically examined. For instance, Table 35 presents data only on the three major reasons for referral and does not give any information on other reasons (e.g., assessment of treatment needs, narcotics problem, suicide potential, etc.) that concern only a few cases.

Table 35 shows that three categories account for most of the referrals and relatively few individuals fall into categories that have a noticeably lower parole success rate. It should be noted that there may be several reasons for referral mentioned for a particular individual; e.g., a person may have been referred for reasons of prior mental illness and assessment of violence potential. The data presented below, including diagnostic labels and symptoms, are descriptive only of this selected group and it is not implied that the other 87.7 per cent not psychiatrically examined are free of psychiatric disorders. It can reasonably be assumed, however, that most individuals with psychiatric liabilities were screened out for examination through the referral procedure.

Table 36 gives information on the three major symptoms found during the psychiatric examination. As can be seen, the depressive group taken as a whole has a parole success rate that is similar to the total study population rate. However, the breakdown into intelligence classification subgroups reveals that the group classified as average in intelligence is particularly vulnerable on parole while the dull normal and bright normal individuals are more successful.

Table 37 summarizes the results of the psychiatric diagnosis by major diagnostic categories. The most outstanding feature is the consistently poor performance on parole of individuals diagnosed as having some personality trait disturbance. Most of these persons received a psychiatric label of either "emotional unstable personality" or "passive-aggressive personality." Individuals of average intelligence who received a diagnosis of "personality pattern disturbance" showed a surprisingly good parole outcome record. This category was primarily composed of persons who received psychiatric labels of inadequate personality and schizoid personality.

From these data it is apparent that the incidence of psychiatric illness among the youthful offenders studied is rather infrequent. Psychosis was found in only .6 per cent of the total study group. The incidences for the other psychiatric categories are as follows: neurotic disorders, .9 per cent; personality pattern disturbances, 2.6 per cent; personality trait disturbances, 4.9 per cent; sociopathic personality disturbances, 1 per cent; and transitional

situational personality disturbances, 1.1 per cent. Considering the rigorous screening procedures employed to channel all suspect individuals toward a psychiatric evaluation, it must be concluded that serious psychiatric disturbances are largely absent from such delinquent populations and serious psychiatric symptoms such as delusions, hallucinations, thought distortions, and reality distortions are rare indeed. On the other hand, dependency, anxiety, and depression appear to be quite common in this delinquent population, with the first two showing a fairly strong relationship to parole outcome.

7. Offense Related Factors Including Violence Information and Parole Follow-Up

This section will focus on offense-specific data, with particular attention given to violence committed and weapons used during commission of the offense. The types of offenses that led to institutionalization are summarized in Table 38. As is commonly found in studies of adult criminal offenders, individuals who offend against persons are much better risks on parole (in regard to recidivism *per se*) than are persons who engage in property offenses. Examples of the former include wards committed for robbery and assault, while examples of the latter include wards committed for vehicle theft and forgery, a pattern that is clearly visible from Table 38.

When inspecting the data on persons committed for narcotics offenses, one should bear in mind that this group includes not only the user but the seller of narcotics as

well. Since this group consists of a complex mix of persons, offenses, and motives it cannot be regarded as an offense-specific group.

Information on parole violation offenses is provided in Table 39. Tables 40 and 41 present this information on offenses against persons and offenses against property for both admission and revocation offenses. Included in the person offenses are: homicide, negligent manslaughter, robbery, assault, and sex offenses; among the property offenses are such crimes as burglary, theft, vehicle theft, forgery, and narcotics and alcohol offenses. Again, it is apparent from Table 40 that person offenders generally are better parole risks, in terms of recidivism, than are property offenders.

Table 42 provides data on the caseworker's rating of the severity of violence known in the background of each ward and Table 43 gives the caseworker's estimate of each ward's violence potential. These ratings were carried out agency-wide to assess criminal violence.

The classifications in Table 44 were undertaken exclusively for the present study and represent an attempt to obtain data on the history of actual violence for each ward by expanding the definition of violence to include violence that is not necessarily criminal. The category of aggressive crimes without violence includes cases in which aggression was shown by threat with or without a weapon or where violence may have been committed by crime partners but where the ward

classified in this category refrained from actual physical assault. In contrast, the category of "violence" includes persons who physically acted out. The outcome of the assault was regarded as immaterial and violence was defined as physical assault that could consist, for example, of the discharge of a firearm aimed at the victim or aimed into the sky, or any other assault perpetrated against a person. Rape cases were included in this category if force was used, regardless of the legal label given the offense. Noncriminal assault (such as fighting, etc.) was also a reason for inclusion in this category.

Table 45 gives information on the history of carrying weapons. This category contains only individuals who have carried weapons or objects that were clearly meant to be used for offensive or defensive purposes. Weapons used for hunting or sports were not recorded. As can be seen, approximately 30 per cent had a history of carrying weapons for illegal purposes, either for the commission of crimes or use in gang activities or for self-defense in a hostile environment.

Table 46 shows that partners were part of the admission offense in more than half of the crimes committed. In one-sixth of these cases, the partner or partners were under parole supervision by the C.Y.A. As can be seen in Tables 46 and 47, parole outcome for wards with crime partners was generally better than for wards who had acted alone.

The frequency and kind of individual violence committed

during the admission offense is presented in Table 48.

While only 6 per cent of the wards were admitted with a legal label that implied violence, such as convictions for assault, battery, and manslaughter, an analysis of behavior displayed during the admission offense revealed that in actuality 24.1 per cent of the total study population committed violent or aggressive acts ranging from threat without a weapon to inflicting major injuries that led to death in thirty-six cases.

In order to learn about violence committed by partners, data were collected under the same definitions as above but relative to partner-committed violence and use of weapons. The information on violence committed by partners is presented in Table 49.

In more than half of these admission offenses in which violence or aggression was displayed by the ward, some kind of weapon was used. In most cases, this happened to be a firearm. Table 50 gives the breakdown by type of weapon for the individual and Table 51 gives the comparative data for weapons used by crime partners.

It is clear from these data that, regardless of their intellectual potential, wards who commit aggression and violence against persons have a relatively good parole success rate. This is also true for individuals who commit criminal acts in groups of two or more. These findings, which are consistently reported in the literature, suggest that offenders who strike out against others and offenders who

have companions in crime are relatively better functioning psychologically and socially than are persons who commit property offenses and who pursue their criminal activities in isolation.

The loss incurred by victims is depicted in Table 52. It should be noted that the relatively high frequency in the category $1,000-$5,000 loss is a reflection of the fact that all vehicle thefts were recorded in this category. The low parole success rate in this group is consistent with the general finding that auto thieves are poor risks on parole.

8. Initial Institutional Programing

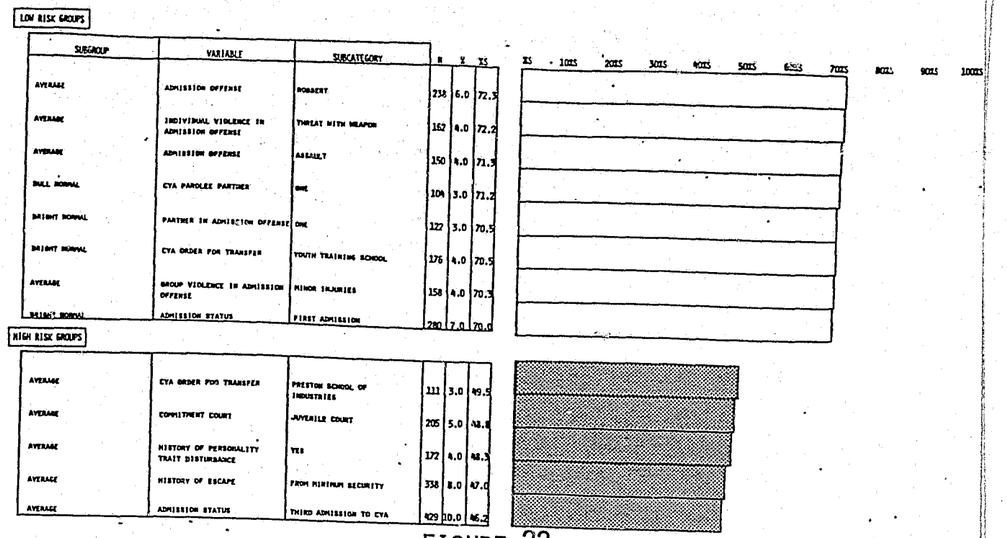
This section presents information on some of the recommendations and decisions made by staff of the Reception Guidance Center and the C.Y.A. Parole Board at the conclusion of the diagnostic study of each ward and before transfer of the ward to an institution for rehabilitation. Table 53 gives a summary of the evaluation made by custodial staff in regard to the ward's prognosis for institutional adjustment.

Table 54 summarizes the counselor's transfer recommendations. It should be noted that the resident population at Preston School of Industry is significantly younger than that of the other institutions of transfer and the higher recidivism rate is related to the relatively young age of these wards.

The C.Y.A. Board orders for transfer are presented in Table 55. Ben Lomond, Mt. Bullion, Pine Grove, and Washing-

ton Ridge are forestry camps. Assignment of wards to individual camps was made on the basis of place availability. Differences among camps in parole outcome rates therefore seem to be a result of differences in camps' social climate and program rather than the result of ward selection. As mentioned above, the Preston School of Industry had a significantly younger population and the lower success rate of their wards can be explained in part by the age factor. The Youth Training School received a selected group of residents who, because of the emphasis on vocational and academic training, were well motivated for such training. Deuel Vocational Institution and the Correctional Training Facility were under the Department of Corrections and their institutional populations were composed of about 50 per cent persons committed to the Department of Corrections and 50 per cent committed to the California Youth Authority. This practice of transfering older C.Y.A. wards to Adult Correctional Institutions was in recent years discontinued.

One feature of the standard computer print-out giving the statistical description of any definable subpopulation is the ranking by parole success rate of all subgroups that contain at least 100 individuals. Figure 22 gives this information for the two extreme ends: the low-risk groups and the high-risk groups. The cut-off points for inclusion in this summary were arbitrarily set at 70 per cent and above for the low-risk groups, and at 50 per cent and below for the high-risk groups. The low-risk groups are



LOW RISK GROUPS

SUBGROUP	VARIABLE	SUBCATEGORY	N	%	YS
AVERAGE	ADMISSION OFFENSE	ROBBERY	238	6.0	72.3
AVERAGE	INDIVIDUAL VIOLENCE IN ADMISSION OFFENSE	THREAT WITH WEAPON	162	4.0	72.2
AVERAGE	ADMISSION OFFENSE	ASSAULT	150	4.0	71.9
DULL NORMAL	CYA PAROLEE PARTNER	ONE	104	3.0	71.2
BRIGHT NORMAL	PARTNER IN ADMISSION OFFENSE	ONE	122	3.0	70.5
BRIGHT NORMAL	CYA ORDER FOR TRANSFER	YOUTH TRAINING SCHOOL	176	4.0	70.5
AVERAGE	GROUP VIOLENCE IN ADMISSION OFFENSE	MINOR INJURIES	158	4.0	70.3
BRIGHT NORMAL	ADMISSION STATUS	FIRST ADMISSION	280	7.0	70.0

HIGH RISK GROUPS

AVERAGE	CYA ORDER FOR TRANSFER	PRESTON SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIES	111	3.0	49.5
AVERAGE	COMMITMENT COURT	JUVENILE COURT	205	5.0	48.8
AVERAGE	HISTORY OF PERSONALITY TRAIT DISTURBANCE	YES	172	4.0	48.3
AVERAGE	HISTORY OF ESCAPE	FROM MINIMUM SECURITY	338	8.0	47.0
AVERAGE	ADMISSION STATUS	THIRD ADMISSION TO CYA	429	10.0	46.2

FIGURE 22

COMPARATIVE DATA ON INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS
SUMMARY OF LOW RISK AND HIGH RISK GROUPS IN REGARD TO
PAROLE PERFORMANCE

primarily offenders against persons and persons who had crime partners. The two high-risk groups of relatively large proportion are offenders with a history of recidivism and/or escape from a minimum security facility.

The data presented describe in some detail offenders divided by intelligence classification. The data are presented in the Data Map on intelligence subgroups in the form of comparative tables which provide a basis for

comparing intelligence subgroups with other variable items and with parole success. Although these tables provide a basis for visual comparison, the simplicity of the descriptive data presented does not allow a more thorough analysis of relationships between variables. Although the format of many tables suggests possible linear relationships and clustering effects between variables, such association generally should be based on tests of significance, etc. This should not imply that the descriptive statistics are not useful since the data as presented can suggest relationships and assist in the formulation of hypotheses which could not be derived from less extensive analysis of the same data.

REFERENCES

Allen, R.C. The retarded offender: unrecognized in court and untreated in prison. Federal Probation, 1968, 32 (3), 27.

Anastasi, A. Psychological testing (3rd ed.). London: Macmillan, 1968.

Andrew, J.M. Immaturity, delinquency, and the Wechsler P V sign. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 1974, 2, 245-251.

Andrew, J.M. Delinquents and the tapping test. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1977, 33, 786-791.

Baker, B.O., and Sasbin, T.R. Differential mediation of social perception as a correlate of social adjustment. Sociometry, 1956, 19, 69-83.

Barabasz, A.F. Time constriction in delinquent and nondelinquent girls. Adolescence, 1969, 3 (12), 435-440.

Bhagat, M., and Fraser, W.I. The effect of low intelligence on the emotional and environmental concepts of retarded offenders. British Journal of Psychiatry, 1971, 119 (553), 639-646.

Binet, A., and Simon, T. Methodes nouvelles pour le diagnostic du niveau intellectuel des anormaux. Anee psychologique, 1905, 11, 191-244.

Black, F.W. WISC verbal-performance discrepancies as indicators of neurological dysfunction in pediatric patients. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1974, 30, 165-167.

Blackhurst, E.A. Mental retardation and delinquency. Journal of Special Education, 1968, 2 (4), 379-391.

Boslow, H.M., and Kandel, A. Psychiatric aspects of dangerous behavior: the retarded offender. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1965, 122 (6), 646-656.

Brown, B.S., and Courtless, T.F. The mentally retarded offender. Submitted to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Washington, D.C., 1967.

Brown, B.S., Courtless, T.F., and Silber, D.E. Fantasy and force: a study of the dynamics of the mentally retarded offender. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 1970, 61 (1), 71-77.

Burt, C. Mental capacity and its critics. Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 1968, 21, 11-18.

Caldwell, M.G. The intelligence of delinquent boys committed to Wisconsin Industrial School. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1929, 20, 421-428.

Calhoun, C.H. A follow-up study of 100 normal and 100 subnormal delinquent boys. Journal of Juvenile Research, 1928, 12, 236-240.

Calkins, L.B. The mentally retarded offender. Correctional Psychologist, 1967, 3 (2), 17-20.

Camp, B.W. WISC performance in acting-out and delinquent children with and without EEG abnormality. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1966, 30 (4), 350-353.

Caplan, N.S. Intellectual functioning. In H. C. Quay (Ed.), Juvenile Delinquency. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1965.

Caplan, N.S., and Gligor, A.M. A study of the relationship between intelligence and offense among juvenile delinquents. Unpublished paper, 1964. Quoted in Quay, Herbert S. (Ed.). Juvenile delinquency. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1965.

Caplan, N.S., and Powell, M. A cross-comparison of average and superior I.Q. delinquents. Journal of Psychology, 1964, 57 (2), 307-318.

Cavan, R.S. Individual differences among delinquents. In Cavan, R., Juvenile delinquency. New York: Lippincott, 1969.

Charles, C.M. A comparison of the intelligence quotients of incarcerated delinquent white and American negro boys and of groups of St. Louis public school boys. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1936, 20, 499-510.

Cohen, H.L., and Filipczak, J. A new learning environment. San Francisco: Josey-Bass Inc., 1971.

Cook, T., and Solway K. WISC subtest patterns of delinquent male retardates. Psychological Reports, 1974, 35, 22.

Cooper, C.C. A comparative study of delinquents and nondelinquents. Psychological Service Center Journal, 1960, 10, 240.

Cowie, J., Cowie, V., and Slater, E. Conclusions of a study of 318 delinquent girls. In Cowie, J., Delinquency in girls. New York: Humanities Press, 1968.

Cronbach, L. J. Essentials of psychological testing (3rd ed.). New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

Diller, L. A comparison of the test performance of delinquent and nondelinquent girls. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1952, 81, 167-183.

Doleschal, E. Hidden crime. Crime and Delinquency Literature, 1970, 2 (5), 546-572.

Durea, M.A., and Taylor, G.T. The mentality of delinquent boys appraised by the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Tests. American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 1948, 52, 342-344.

Feldhusen, J.F., Aversano, F.M., and Thurstone, J.R. Prediction of youth contacts with law enforcement agencies. Criminal Justice and Behavior, 1976, 3, 235-253.

Ferracuti, F. The contribution of personal theories to criminological research: socio-psychological aspects and general methodological problems. Archivo Di Psicologia, Neurologia e Psichiatria, 1966, 27 (2), 121-129.

Gary, H.M. Help for the retarded delinquent. Juvenile Court Judges Journal, 1968, 19 (1), 20.

Gath, D., Gavin, T., and Pidduck, R. Criminological characteristics of bright delinquents. British Journal of Criminology, 1971, 11 (3), 275-279.

Gerrish, P. A factor analysis of juvenile delinquency. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1975 (5-B), 2468.

Giagiari, S. The mentally retarded offender. Crime and Delinquency Literature, 1971, 3 (4), 559-577.

Gibson, H.B., and West, D.J. Social and intellectual handicaps as precursors of early delinquency. British Journal of Criminology, 1970, 10 (1), 21-32.

Goldenson, R.M. The encyclopedia of human behavior. New York: Doubleday, 1970.

Guilford, J.P. The nature of human intelligence. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.

Healy, W., and Bronner, A.F. Delinquents and Criminals. Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1969. (Originally published, 1926.)

Henning, J.J., and Levy, R.H. Verbal performance, I.Q. differences of white and negro delinquents, W.I.S.C.-W.A.I.S. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1967, 23 (2), 164-168.

Hilgard, E.R., and Atkinson, R.C. Introduction to psychology (4th ed.). New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1967.

Hill, G.E. The intelligence of young male offenders. Journal of Juvenile Research, 1936, 20, 20-27.

Hirschi, T. Causes of delinquency. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

Hirschi, T., and Hindelang, M.J. Intelligence and delinquency: a revisionist review. American Sociological Review, 1977, 42, 571-587.

Jensen, A.R. Educability and group differences. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Jensen, A.R. Genetics and education. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Jensen, A.R. How much can we boost I.Q. and scholastic achievement? Harvard Educational Review, 1969, 39 (1), 1-123.

Kandel, H.J., Ayllon, T., and Roberts, M.D. Rapid educational rehabilitation for prison inmates. Behavior Research and Therapy, 1976, 14, 323-331.

Lane, H.A., and Witty, P.A. The mental ability of delinquent boys. Journal of Juvenile Research, 1935, 19, 1-12.

Lech-Sobczek, A. The concept of a service for social readaptation. Psychiatria Polska, 1973, 7, 203-207. (Psychological Abstracts, 1977, 57, No. 11051.)

Levi, M., and Seborg, M. The study of the differences between mean scores on verbal vs. nonverbal tests of intelligence (I.Q.) and versus academic achievements of institutionalized women drug addicts belonging to different racial and ethnic groups. Unpublished manuscript, 1971.

Mann, C.W., and Mann, H.P. Age and intelligence of a group of juvenile delinquents. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1939, 34, 351-360. (a)

McCaulley, S. One hundred nonconformed boys. Psychological Clinician, 1925, 16, 141-166.

McClure, W.E. Intelligence of 600 juvenile delinquents. Journal of Juvenile Research, 1933, 17, 35-43.

Mercer, M.L. School maladjustment as a factor in juvenile delinquency. Journal of Juvenile Research, 1930, 14, 41-42.

Merrill, M.A. Problems of Child delinquency. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1947.

Murphy, K. The intelligence factor in the criminality of women. American Catholic Sociological Review, 1963, 24 (4), 340-347.

Naar, R. An attempt to differentiate delinquents from nondelinquents on the basis of projective drawings. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 1965, 55 (1), 107-110.

Ponitus, A.A., and Rittiger, K.F. Frontal Lobe system maturational lag in juvenile delinquents. Adolescence, 1976, 11, 509-518.

Posselt, F.W. A survey of admissions to the Wissage Remand Home in 1962. Approved Schools Gazette, 1968, 62 (8), 417-422.

Prentice, N.M., and Kelly, F.J. Intelligence and delinquency: a reconsideration. Journal of Social Psychology, 1963, 60 (2), 327-337.

Rhodes, A.L., and Reiss, A.J. Apathy, truancy, and delinquency as adaptations to school failure. Social Forces, 1969, 48 (1), 12-22.

Richardson, H.M., and Surko, E.F. WISC scores and status in reading and arithmetic of delinquent children. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1956, 89, 251-262.

Richardson, K., Spears, D., and Richards, M. Race and intelligence: The fallacies behind the race-IQ controversy. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972.

Rockoff, E.S., and Hoffmann, R.J. The normal and the retarded offender. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 1977, 21, 52-56.

Rogers, K.H., and Austin, O.L. Intelligence quotients of juvenile delinquents. Journal of Juvenile Research, 1934, 18, 103-106.

Rosenquist, C.M., and Megargee, E.I. Juvenile delinquency: theory and research. In C. Rosenquist, Delinquency in three cultures. Austin: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, 1969.

Rozynko, V.V., and Wenk, E.A. Intellectual performance of three delinquent groups of different ethnic origin. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1965, 29 (3), 282.

Ruff, C., Templer, D., and Ayers, J. The intelligence of rapists. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 1976, 5, 327-329. (Psychological Abstracts, 1976, 56, No. 10113.)

Ruggles, E.W. An analytical study of various factors relating to juvenile crime. Journal of Juvenile Research, 1932, 16, 125-132.

Shapiro, A. Delinquent and disturbed behavior within the field of mental deficiency. In A. De Reuck, The mentally abnormal offender. Boston: Little, Brown, 1968.

Siegman, A.W. Effects of auditory stimulation and intelligence on time estimations in delinquents and non-delinquents. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1966, 30 (4), 320-328.

Smith, H.E., Fenton, G.F., and Hammacher, E. The performance of youthful offenders on the Revised Beta Examination--a preliminary study. Correctional Psychologist, 1969, 3 (7), 14-15.

Solway, K.S., Hays, J.R., Roberts, T.K., and Cody, J.A. Comparison of WISC profiles of alleged juvenile delinquents living at home versus those incarcerated. Psychological Reports, 1975, 37, 403-407.

Spearman, C. General intelligence objectively determined and measured. American Journal of Psychology, 1904, 15, 201-293.

Stein, M.D. Correlates of aggressiveness in boys in residential treatment. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1974 (35-B), 1065-1066.

Steinbach, A.A. Intelligence and juvenile delinquency. Elementary School Journal, 1934, 34, 691-697.

Stoddard, G.D. The meaning of intelligence. New York: Macmillan, 1943.

Templer, D.I., and Connolly, W. Relationship between IQ and type of crime committed and ability to stand trial in criminally accused subnormals. Canadian Journal of Criminology, 1977, 19, 362-365.

Tennent, G., and Gath, D. Bright delinquents. British Journal of Criminology, 1975, 15, 386-390.

Thurstone, L.L. Primary mental abilities. Psychometric Monographs, 1938, No. 1.

Vaughn, W.D. The defective delinquent. Master's thesis, Northern Arizona University, 1970.

Wechsler, D. The IQ is an intelligent test. New York Times Magazine, June 26, 1966, p. 12.

Wenk, E.A. Schools and delinquency prevention. Crime and Delinquency Literature, 1974, 6 (2), 236-258.

Wenk, E.A., Rozynko, V.V., Sarbin, T.R., and Robison, J.O. The effects of incentives upon aptitude scores of white and Negro inmates. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1971, 8 (1), 53-64.

West, D.J., and Farrington, D.D. Who becomes delinquent? London: Heineman Educational Books, 1973.

Wheway, J.P. Intelligence and delinquency. Durham Research Review, 1958, 2, 208-214.

White, R., and Fenton, N. Aspects of delinquency and superior mentality. Journal of Juvenile Research, 1931, 15, 101-107.

Williams, H.M. Intelligence and delinquency. Yearbook of National Social Studies and Education, 1940, 39, 291-297.

Wolfgang, M.E., Figlio, R.M., and Sellin, T. Delinquency in a birth cohort. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1972.

Woodward, M. The role of low intelligence in delinquency. British Journal of Delinquency, 1955, 5 (3), 281-300.

Wright, W. Personality, intelligence, and social and academic behavior in institutionalized delinquent boys. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1975, 35 (12-B), 6171.

Zimmerman, I.L., and Woo-Sam, J. Research with the WISC: 1960-1970. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1972 (Monograph Supplement #33), 33-34.

CHAPTER 2

RACE

The reader should refer to the Data Map "Race" for the tables discussed in the statistical description section.

RACE FACTORS AND CRIME

The classification of any research population along "racial" lines is difficult and often misleading. Study of the relationship between race and delinquency, while it might appear to involve a simple comparison of ethnic subgroups, must surmount numerous methodological problems. Researchers must guard against defining as "races" population subgroups distinguished primarily by cultural or geographic origins. The process of differentiation also is complicated by intermarriage and by conflicts between descent and geographic origin. Even when subdivisions are established along ethnic lines, research findings may be heavily influenced by factors such as socioeconomic status, cultural values, experimenter preselection, and measurement bias. And studies of the relationship between race (or any other distinguishing feature) and delinquency are confronted by the problem of determining whether any differences noted are attributable directly to group membership rather than to differential selection and processing by the criminal justice system.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACE AND DELINQUENCY

It is popularly believed that racial and ethnic groups in the United States differ in the degree to which they are involved in crime. Studies of delinquency and race have supported this notion, finding quite different rates of offending for different ethnic groups. Rates of alcohol-related offenses, for example, have been found to be twelve times the national average among American Indians (Dozier, 1966). The California Youth Authority reports a high and rapidly rising

rate of Mexican-American commitments (California Youth Authority, 1977). And delinquency rates among Japanese-Americans have been reported as significantly lower than those of whites or blacks (Chambliss and Nagasawa, 1969).

While some research has focused on these and other subgroups, most studies have compared blacks with whites, finding that the black crime rate is disproportionately high. In the national population whites outnumber blacks almost eight to one (Census Bureau, 1976), yet whites apparently commit only three times as many crimes (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1977). In California, although there are more than twelve times as many whites as blacks (Census Bureau, 1976), first admissions to the California Youth Authority include almost as many blacks as whites (California Youth Authority, 1976). Official rates of crime among blacks are not only high; they also seem to be increasing. Proportions of blacks among institutionalized and paroled male wards of the California Youth Authority increased from 29 per cent in 1968 to 35 per cent in 1977 (California Youth Authority, 1977), while a study of homicide patterns in Chicago during the period 1965-1973 (Block, 1976) revealed a substantial increase in the number of young black males among both offenders and victims.

If, as such studies suggest, racial groups do differ in rates of crimes committed, do they also differ in the types of crime they tend to commit? A study of crimes committed by black and by white delinquents (Segal, 1966) found that

71 per cent of a sample of incarcerated male blacks had committed substantive crimes against persons or property, while 63 per cent of the white offenders had committed technical offenses such as running away or truancy. Williams and Gold (1972) also found that black youth were involved in more serious crimes--assault, burglary, theft, and property damage. In apparent conflict with these and similar findings is a study by Axelrod (1952) which found that, among institutionalized delinquents at least, whites had committed more serious offenses than blacks.

A third aspect of the relationship between race and delinquency--differential rates of recidivism--also has received some attention. Applying a configural approach to data on 2,548 delinquents, Uncovic and Ducsay (1969) found blacks significantly more likely than whites to become recidivists. Fishman (1977) found that only for 16- to 18-year-olds was there a significant relationship between race and recidivism: reoffending in this age group was more common among non-whites than whites. In an 18-year follow-up of prison releasees, Kitchner, et al. (1977) found that non-whites were more likely than whites to fail after release, although whites who failed tended to do so sooner after release than non-whites who failed. And, defining recidivism as offense history rather than reoffending during follow-up, Datesman, et al. (1975) found that 36 per cent of white males and 61 per cent of black males appearing before a juvenile court had had previous contacts with the court. For females these

figures were 20 per cent for whites and 43 per cent for blacks.

Unfortunately, while most studies of differential rates and types of crime and recidivism reveal a correlation between race and official crime rates, they do not establish a relationship between race and rates of crime commission, nor do they eliminate the possibility that factors other than race are involved. Self-report studies have been undertaken to deal with the former objection. Several such studies have failed to find differences between blacks and whites in rates of reported delinquent behavior (Chambliss and Nagasawa, 1969; Gould, 1969; Voss, 1970). In a study of delinquency among high-school students Baker, et al. (1975) found that, although official records showed that a higher proportion of black youths than white had been arrested for violent crimes, self-report questionnaires showed no racial differences. And Williams and Gold (1972) report that black youth admitted more serious, but not more frequent, delinquent acts than whites.

Self-report studies, of course, also are questionable, especially when they involve such sensitive matters as criminal behavior (Brandt, 1972). Just as studies based on arrest records or institutional populations can do no more than describe official rates of crime, self-report studies must limit their claims to rates of reported crime commission. In addition, both kinds of study are plagued by the difficulty of distinguishing the criminogenic effects of race from those

of other (possibly race-related) factors.

OTHER SOURCES OF VARIANCE IN CRIME RATES

A number of factors make it difficult to determine whether race is causally related to delinquency. Unavoidable discretion at every point in criminal justice processing means that biases may be introduced into official arrest, conviction, and incarceration rates. As a result, official records may not be reflective of actual rates of crime commission. Also, if crime rates do differ according to race, the cause of any disproportionate tendency toward crime and delinquency may be not race but such socioeconomic variables as family, community, cultural, or class characteristics or attitudes toward authority and the justice system. Geis (1970) has suggested that hypothesized relationships are so confused by other variables that the study of racial proportions of crime should be abandoned entirely.

1. Differential Processing by the Criminal Justice System

Many observers have noted that the disproportionately high black crime rate may be due not to racial differences but to differential arrest and criminal justice practices (Douglass, 1959; Chambliss, 1969). Discrimination, when it occurs, is often unintentional; an aggressive action, for example, may be perceived as more violent or more threatening if performed by a black person than if performed by a white (Duncan, 1976). At times, however, racial biases on the part of police or officials in the judicial process are more conscious and direct. In either case, law enforcement and

judicial practices may be affected, resulting in racial distortions of official records. Goldman (1963) found that a policeman's attitudes, experience, and concern for status in the community did affect his decision to report juvenile offenses. And Wolfgang and Cohen (1970) have observed that an arrest and its subsequent recording often depend on the policeman's interpretation of the act and his perceptions of community pressures to arrest.

Some studies have concluded that police dispositions are not influenced by the race of the suspect (Weiner and Willie, 1971; Terry, 1969). Others have found police bias to be a contributing factor along with blacks' higher crime rate and distinctive physical appearance (Piliavian and Briar, 1970). But many have suggested that police practices largely account for higher rates of official crime among blacks and some other minorities. Doleschal and Klapmuts (1973) report that the white, non-immigrant member of the upper class has the best chance of avoiding prosecution through informal adjustment of his case by police. Purdy (1971) found that minority-group members were more likely to be arrested for drunk driving than were white upper-class persons detected in the same condition. After hearings in the Southwest, the Commission on Civil Rights (1970) concluded that Mexican-Americans were treated harshly by police, were often arrested without sufficient reason, and received unduly severe penalties. The Commission also emphasized the problems encountered by Mexican-Americans who, because of the unfamiliarity with the

English language, are handicapped in their dealings with police officers and the courts.

There is evidence of discrimination in later stages of criminal justice processing as well. Chiricos and Waldo (1971), in a study of 2,419 felony cases, found that blacks were judged guilty more often than whites, regardless of other factors such as prior record, type of offense, and age. Gerard and Terry (1970) failed to find evidence of discrimination either in the behavior of prosecutors or in the setting of bail, but juries did appear biased. The latter found "grossly disproportionate percentages" of blacks guilty.

The Southern Regional Council (1969), examining 1,200 cases from prison and parole records in seven southern states, found that (for similar offenses) whites were less likely than blacks to receive severe sentences. The Council reported a "significant absolute disparity between the sentences received by black offenders and those received by white offenders." Analysis of the data failed to reveal any factor other than race that would account for the disparity. A similar study of 3,500 delinquents (Thornberry, 1972) found blacks more likely than whites to receive severe dispositions even when legal variables (seriousness of offense, number of previous offenses) were held constant. The same conclusion was drawn in a later study by Thomas and Case (1977).

There have been conflicting findings. Clarke and Koch (1976) found race to be unimportant in determining whether an individual received an active prison sentence in criminal

court. Kelly (1976) found that among burglary defendants, blacks tended to receive longer sentences, but race accounted for only 1 per cent of the variance in sentence length. Interestingly, race explained 3 per cent of the variance for homicide because of the tendency for Mexican-Americans and Indians to receive shorter sentences for this crime. Racial discrimination, it seems, does not always work to increase the severity of punishment for minority groups.

Carrol and Mondrick (1976) found evidence of racial bias in the parole system. Their study showed that, apparently unintentionally, the parole board applied different standards to white and black prisoners. In addition to meeting the same criteria that white prisoners had to meet, black prisoners had to participate in institutional treatment programs in order to be paroled. Although a few blacks were paroled without participating in these programs, these usually were older property offenders with slightly more prior convictions than blacks who did participate. The investigators interpreted these findings as evidence of a bias against racial militancy.

Finally, a somewhat ominous finding has emerged from a group of studies that have examined dispositions by race at various stages of criminal justice processing (Wolfgang and Cohen, 1970; Bazelon, 1970; Ferdinand and Luchterhand, 1970; Green, 1971). These studies suggest that the possibility of unequal treatment for non-whites increases with each step in the criminal justice system. Banks (1977) offers the hope

that if the broad discretionary powers of justice officials were minimized, or standards and guidelines set for their use, the criminal justice system might become more just.

2. Socioeconomic Factors and Differential Crime Rates

According to some investigators, race is one link in a "causal chain" leading to juvenile crime (Hirschi, 1972). But, since the relationship between race and crime is not perfect, multiple causation is a more likely explanation of delinquency (Hirschi and Selvin, 1967). Other variables believed to contribute to the explanation of delinquency include: family, community, culture, social class, and attitudes toward authority and the criminal justice system.

a. Family

Several subcultural comparisons of the family structures of black and white delinquents have found that blacks as a group experience a higher rate of family disruption (Harris, 1975). Barker and Adams (1963) identified a fatherless home as one of a "cluster" of deprivations leading to delinquency among blacks. Willie (1970) indicated that non-white delinquency may be the result of family instability and the absence of a father figure, remarking that progress in preventing delinquency may have to await resolution of the problems of family disruption and poverty.

Some studies have found the absence of a father figure unrelated to black male delinquency (Rosen, 1969) or damaging only to white boys (Hunt and Hunt, 1975).

Hunt and Hunt (1975) noted that black youth without fathers did not seem to suffer in terms of personal identity or conventional achievement orientation (measured by school grades and educational and marital aspirations). They may, of course, be affected in other ways. Silver (1974), for example, found that delinquents from mother-based homes rated themselves and were rated by peers as more "manly" and "tougher" than those from other types of home and blacks rated themselves and were rated as more manly than whites. This study of "compulsive masculinity" suggested that delinquency among blacks, as well as other delinquent subgroups, may be traceable in some cases to efforts to achieve manhood without the help of a father figure.

Family characteristics other than the absence of the father have been correlated with delinquency. Hill (1970) found a stronger relationship for family status (as well as school adjustment). Using a cross-cultural approach to examine family value structures, Schafer and Knudten (1970) also found the broken home less important in generating delinquency than factors such as family disharmony. They remarked that since socio-ethical values are an important determinant of family cohesion, they help to explain delinquency.

Family socialization methods may be another influence on delinquency. The Moynihan Report (Moynihan, 1965) observed that black families and white families

socialize their children in different ways, the former producing more anti-social behavior, less effective education, and lower levels of occupational attainment. Conflicting with this report, a study of families of teenage youth (Berger and Simon, 1974) found few consistent differences in the ways different families treated their children, while another (Hackly and Linden, 1970) found that black parents were more supportive of youth programs than white parents.

b. Cultural Factors

Jobes (1970) has suggested that while race may be an important factor in delinquency, the degree of participation in cultural activities may be more important. His research indicated that participation in the larger culture is vital to the prevention of delinquency. This finding is supported by Riffenburgh (1964), who found that problems may arise when the norms of a minority group conflict with those of the larger society. He suggested that the cultural isolation of the American Indian, combined with sporadic contacts with the larger society, may result in culture conflict and indecision. Dozier (1966) added to this the observation that the breakdown of tribal traditions and the deep sense of inadequacy Indians feel when faced with the dominant culture might be largely responsible for the preponderance of alcohol-related offenses among this group.

Findings from a pilot study of Canadian Indians

(Jilak and Roy, 1976) also have indicated that lack of exposure to traditional Indian culture may be correlated with early asocial behavior. Loss of communal discipline, marital instability, and an inability to adapt traditional roles to the function of survival in modern society have been implicated as causes of delinquency among Nez-Perce Indians (Ackerman, 1971). Noting that black drug addicts were likely to have been reared in broken homes, to have working mothers, and to have supported themselves through illegal activities, Chambers, et al. (1970) concluded that conditions in the black community were sufficiently different from those in the white culture to be a possible explanation for their deviant behavior.

Others have suggested that the middle-class value system, rather than that of the subculture, may be an important contributor to delinquency. Matza and Sykes (1969) claimed that many supposedly delinquent values are also held by the dominant society, where their expression is condoned only in leisure activities. Examples of such values include a taste for excitement, adventure, and luxury, living by one's wits rather than by hard labor, and the expression of manhood through the use of force. The authors of this study suggested that it might be useful to study the similarities rather than the differences between subcultural and middle-class values. Supporting this conclusion is the finding of Kitano (1971) that Japanese immigrant families produced more delinquent

offspring the longer they remained in the United States; learned values, he suggested, may be an important precursor of delinquency. England (1969) theorized that middle-class American youth of all races and ethnic groups exaggerated the dominant culture because society allows them no outlet other than "hedonistic pursuits" that violate adult norms.

c. Social Class

A number of authors have contended that social class is as important as race in the genesis of delinquency. Clark and Wenniger (1970) claimed that socioeconomic status and community proximity, rather than race, are the primary correlates of delinquent behavior. A study of the distribution of white delinquency in the social-class structure (Reiss and Rhodes, 1970) suggested that delinquency is more persistent and more serious in the lower class; that lower-class delinquents are more likely to become persistent offenders; that lower-class subjects are more conforming non-achievers; and that peer-oriented delinquency is more common along the lower class.

Short, et al. (1970) found that social class, gang membership, and lack of perceived legitimate opportunity were highly related to delinquent behavior. Noting that black youths perceive fewer legitimate opportunities than middle-class whites, these investigators reported that lower-class, gang, and black youths were more likely to manifest antisocial behavior. Palmore and Hammond (1970)

also found that delinquency was directly correlated with barriers to legitimate opportunity. However, if this relationship is causal, it may not operate through the commonly assumed mechanism of frustration over blocked pathways to success. A study by Farley and Sewell (1975) measuring the "locus of control" and achievement motivation among black delinquents and non-delinquents found that frustrations and feelings of helplessness are not correlated with black delinquency.

From a review of the records of over 1,200 adjudicated delinquents, Scarpitti and Stephenson (1971) concluded that, compared with parolees, juvenile correctional institution populations include a larger proportion of disadvantaged offenders. However, since a significant proportion of incarcerated youth were black, the authors were uncertain whether race or economic disadvantage was the causative factor. Green (1970) analyzed arrest rates for blacks and whites for selected years between 1942 and 1965, finding that racial variance was sharply reduced when the effects of occupation and birth were held constant. Although no statistical tests were reported, Green concluded that the higher crime rates among blacks were due largely to social class characteristics associated with crime.

In a review of the literature on social class and crime, Doleschal and Klapmuts (1973) reported that, despite the preponderance of lower-class persons in official

records, there was little relationship between social class and actual rates of crime and delinquency. Voss (1970) found that the relationship between social status and delinquent behavior was negligible, but that higher-status boys tended to be more delinquent than lower-status boys. Wilson (1972) found that neither frequency nor seriousness of crime was related to social class, suggesting that official records were a reflection of arrest practices.

d. Attitudes Toward Authority

Attitudes toward authority, and toward the criminal justice system in particular, also have been implicated in the generation of delinquency and in the relationship between race and crime. In a study of three ethnic groups, Rosenquist and Megargee (1969) showed that delinquents were more disrespectful of authority and that their anti-social attitudes were shared by their parents. Among delinquents, blacks and Mexican-Americans have been found to have more negative attitudes than whites toward authority figures. Three separate studies found that Mexican and Latin youth were consistently more negative in their attitudes toward their fathers (Rosenquist and Megargee, 1969); that blacks expressed more unfavorable attitudes than whites toward all dimensions of the criminal justice system (Waldo, 1970); and that, among third-grade black, white, and Mexican-American children, Mexican-Americans

expressed the most antipathy for the police (Derbyshire, 1971).

Two studies suggest avenues for future research into the reasons for minority group attitudes toward authority and the association between rebelliousness and delinquency. Schiller (1969) has argued that the subordinate position of black youth in society should be studied more seriously as an important contributor to juvenile delinquency. And McDonald (1975) suggests that the rise in black militancy and demands for equality may help to explain the increase in black crime, since black militant leaders active in crime may serve as criminal models for black youth.

e. Community Variables

Several studies have examined hypothesized relationships between community factors and delinquency. A study of police dispositions of juvenile offenders in four racially and socioeconomically different communities (Goldman, 1970) found more arrests for serious crimes in the poorer communities and a high degree of property crime among black offenders. In a similar study, Trattner and Reed (1970) showed that more arrests were made in predominantly black, lower-class neighborhoods and that black offenders generally were arrested for more serious crimes. Willie (1970) also has documented higher arrest rates in low-income and black neighborhoods.

In an attempt to explain "high delinquency" neighbor-

hoods, Maccoby, et al. (1968) theorized that such communities contain people with little in common and less inclination than residents of other neighborhoods to prevent other people's children from engaging in delinquent activities. This argument implies that knowing community values concerning acceptable behavior might help distinguish high-delinquency from low-delinquency neighborhoods.

There are, of course, other explanations of the differences in crime rates in different communities. In addition to any discriminatory tendencies in the arrest practices of police, area concentrations of police officers may account for higher arrest rates in many cases. The argument that police deployment practices (assigning more police to low income and minority neighborhoods) may be responsible for higher arrest rates in these communities was contradicted by a recent study by Morales (1970). Comparing crime rates and police deployment in two neighborhoods patrolled by the Los Angeles Police Department, this researcher found a higher crime rate in the white community but a heavier concentration of police in the Mexican-American community. This finding suggested that some police administrators may be relying more on conventional beliefs about crime rates in minority neighborhoods than on statistical analyses of the incidence of crime (Morales, 1970).

INTELLIGENCE, RACE, AND CRIME

Intelligence testing of offender populations has often produced differences along racial lines. As with non-offender groups, minority offenders generally score lower than white offenders on intelligence tests (Fine and Fishman, 1968; Kendall and Little, 1977). However, since most tests have been constructed for and standardized on white middle-class samples, there has been considerable controversy over their use with lower-class minority populations. Some attribute the differences in test scores to inherent traits of different groups (Jensen, 1969), but many claim that deprivation and cultural and motivational differences account for the depressed scores of lower class and minority subjects.

The latter argue that minority group members are often involved in a culture or subculture in which their experiences are different from those in the dominant white culture. A Mexican-American child whose family uses tortillas rather than bread may be hindered in answering a question on the WISC concerning bread. Poor children, with lower standards of health care, inadequate education, and lower self-concepts, may do poorly on all performance tests. Children unfamiliar with the English language or with white, middle-class dialects also have difficulties on the verbal portions of conventionally standardized tests. And tests that involve time limits may penalize those whose cultures do not stress time.

Another important reason for the lower scores of minority populations may be a lack of motivation. Disinterest in

printed materials, in test-taking, or in participating in the dominant culture may affect the motivation of minority persons--and delinquents in general--to perform well on intelligence tests. Attempts to design less culture-bound tests and to offer incentives to minority and delinquent subjects have met with mixed success. An effort by Wenk, et al. (1971) to improve test performance of black and white delinquents failed, while a similar effort by Cohen and Filipczak (1971) succeeded in dramatically elevating test scores through both incentives and a program of enrichment.

The variety of factors shown to influence intelligence test performance (Sussman, 1976) suggests the need for great caution in interpreting the findings of racial differences in tested I.Q. Nonetheless, many such comparative studies have been undertaken with delinquent and non-delinquent populations containing two or more ethnic subgroups. The I.Q. levels of white, black, and Mexican-American institutionalized women were tested by Levi and Seborg (1971), who administered the Raven and California Achievement Tests to a sample population. Blacks and Mexican-Americans performed much better on the non-verbal Raven test than on the CAT, but they scored significantly lower than whites on both instruments.

Similar results have been found for other minority groups. When the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) scores of Canadian white and Indian delinquents were compared, Indians had lower full-scale and verbal I.Q.'s (Davis and Cropley, 1976). Testing delinquent and non-delinquent Anglo,

Mexican-American, and Mexican boys on the WISC, Rosenquist and Megargee (1969) found that delinquents scored lower than non-delinquents and Mexican-Americans scored lower than Anglos. (Mexican delinquents scored significantly higher than Mexican non-delinquents, but no adequate explanation for this difference was found.)

In the same study, both Mexican-American and Anglo delinquents obtained higher scores on the performance section of the test than on the verbal section. This tendency was reported originally by Wechsler and subsequently found in several studies to be characteristic of delinquent populations (Prentice and Kelly, 1963; Camp, 1966; Zimmerman and Woo-Sam, 1972). Henning and Levy (1969) reported that the tendency was greater among white delinquents than black delinquents.

A few studies have not supported the typical finding that whites do better than non-whites on conventional I.Q. tests. Cross and Tracy (1971) report similar scores for whites and blacks, while Vance (1976) discovered that, among underprivileged children, blacks obtained higher verbal WISC scores than whites.

PERSONALITY, RACE, AND CRIME

Personality tests also have been constructed for and standardized on white populations, so their scales and individual items may not measure the same traits for blacks as they have been demonstrated to do for white populations. Racial comparisons of personality test scores thus must be made with as much caution as comparisons of tested I.Q. The

many studies involving personality testing of different ethnic groups have produced findings that are suggestive but not conclusive.

A number of studies have compared the test performances of racial subgroups of offenders on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). A review of the literature by Gynther (1972) suggested that both normal and institutionalized blacks tend to score higher than whites on scales F (validity), Sc (schizophrenia), and Ma (hypomania). Individual items differentiated between races even more than the scales. However, according to Gynther, these differences appear to be due to varying interests and values, rather than to differences in psychopathology. (High scores indicate psychopathology in white populations.) The MMPI profiles of Utah State prison inmates (Kennedy, 1971) also suggested some differences between racial subgroups in masculine role identification. Caucasians were found to have the least stable masculine identification, while Mexican-Americans had the most stable identification. Heilbrun and Heilbrun (1977) found impulsiveness to be more characteristic of blacks who had committed violent crimes than of violent whites. When impulse control was measured with rating scales, two behavioral scales, and two MMPI scales (Pd added to Ma), black and white nonviolent criminals did not differ in self-control. Haven (1969) found that black delinquents' scores on the MMPI Overcontrolled-Hostility (O-H) Scale were somewhat higher than those of white delinquents. He noted, however,

that better controls are needed to validate this scale as a comparative measure of hostility.

Some studies have employed subscales of the MMPI in conjunction with other instruments. Zipper (1973) found significant differences between white and black delinquents and non-delinquents using the Harris-Lingoes subscales of the MMPI and the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS). White delinquents' scores suggested more psychopathology than those of white non-delinquents. Black delinquents demonstrated more cynicism and bitterness than black non-delinquents, but otherwise there were few differences between the two black groups. This researcher concluded that personality problems are more important causes of delinquency among whites, while situational factors are more important in producing delinquent behavior among blacks.

A number of other personality tests have been employed in the study of racial differences. Using the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) and the 16 Personality Factor Inventory, Cowden, et al. (1969) rated a group of delinquent boys on maturity, neurotic symptoms, personality disturbance, and sociopathy. Black youths were found to be more group-dependent, less sensitive to others, less tolerant, more egocentric, and more "feminine" in orientation than white youths.

Megargee used three projective techniques--the Thematic Apperception Text (TAT), the Rosenzweig PF Study, and the Holtzman Inkblot Technique (HIT)--with a matched sample of black and white delinquents. No differences were found on

TAT and PF scores, but significant differences appeared on three of 22 HIT scores. This researcher observed that matching the subjects on intelligence may have accounted for the lack of differences.

Compiled scores on psychiatric diagnoses, achievement, I.Q., Bender-Gestalt, Draw-a-Person, Rorschach, and the Thematic Apperception Test were used by Fine and Fishman (1968) to compare groups of black and white delinquent girls. Although blacks scored somewhat lower than whites on the I.Q. and achievement tests, differences on all of the other tests were negligible.

Henning and Levy (1970) administered the Junior-Senior High School Personality Questionnaire to 100 black and 100 white delinquents and compared the results with those of other delinquent groups and the non-delinquent normative population. Compared to the white delinquent group, black delinquents were found to be intellectually less developed, emotionally more stable, less assertive, more serious, less shy, more sensitive, more self-sufficient, and more inclined to view themselves as conforming to social demands.

When Cross and Tracy (1971) interviewed and classified black and white delinquent boys using the Children's Locus of Control Scale (Bialer, 1961; Rotter, 1966), the Future Events Test (Stein, et al. 1968), and Warren's interpersonal maturity (I-Level) categories, blacks tended to have a shorter time perspective, a more external locus of control, and less interpersonal maturity than whites. Another study

involving I-level classification of 934 delinquents (Werner, 1975) found that a significantly higher proportion of non-whites were at a lower maturity level (I_3), while more whites were at a higher, but more neurotic level (I_4, neurotic). And a study by Fisher (1967) found blacks and Mexican-Americans to be more defensive, as rated on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

Until the interaction of race and other variables is more completely understood, comparisons of the crime rates of different ethnic groups will continue to generate interesting but ambiguous results. Similar complexities confound the understanding of the relationships between race and intelligence and race and personality. The problems confronting such studies are often methodological, involving the study of single-variable causation when multivariate techniques are warranted. Even to recognize, catalogue, and control the correlates of the relationship between race and crime is an ambitious undertaking.

STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE RACE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS

The comparison of ethnic factors cannot proceed without caution as any cross-cultural comparison presents many difficult problems. Some of these are discussed in this chapter.

Much remains to be learned about the phenomenon of crime and cross-cultural differences certainly are of great interest and importance to those concerned with crime prevention and control and the rehabilitation of the offender. The information in this chapter hopefully contributes useful insights and findings in this area.

1. Individual Case History Information

Table 1 presents the data by commitment court for the three ethnic groups. Commitments from juvenile court have a generally low success rate, with white offenders distinctly lower than the two minority groups. For superior court commitments, there are no differences in parole success rate among the three races.

Among commitments from municipal court, white and Mexican-American offenders show a parole success rate that is similar to that of the overall population, while for some unknown reason black offenders in this category show a remarkable drop in parole success.

The data on admission status are given in Table 2. As expected, first admissions have a better than average parole success rate. Again, the ethnic breakdown shows no differences among the groups and first offenders, regardless of race, are relatively successful on parole. Second admissions, on the other hand, show a substantial drop in parole success

that is particularly pronounced for whites and blacks and somewhat less so for Mexican-Americans. Young adult offenders who were committed to the California Youth Authority three or more times show a further decline in parole success rate. This decline is most serious for the white offender groups, whose parole success rate drops from 67.2 per cent for first admissions to a low of 44.2 per cent for offenders committed to the California Youth Authority three or more times. The same trend is evident in the parole success rate for whites re-admitted after an earlier discharge from the C.Y.A. However, it does not hold true for minority groups: The performance of the small group of Mexican-American and black offenders in this category is above average.

Table 3 gives the data on ethnic groups. Parole success rates for the three ethnic groups are virtually the same. The small variations are within 1 per cent of each other.

Data on age, time in institution, weight, and height are presented in Table 4. While there are no age differences among the three ethnic groups, slight differences in length of institutional confinement are found. The small increase in institution time for the minority groups may be related to the type of offense that led to incarceration. Blacks in this sample committed proportionally more offenses against persons, while Mexican-American offenders had a remarkably higher incidence of narcotic offenses. At the time these data were collected, both of these offense groups were receiving somewhat longer institutional commitments. The

admission rates for the three ethnic groups on offenses against persons are 16.5 per cent, 21.9 per cent, and 28.8 per cent for white, Mexican-American, and black wards, respectively; for narcotic admission offenses, these rates are 7.3 per cent, 15.3 per cent, and 7.6 per cent, respectively.

Tables 12 through 17 present data related to various clinical problems. Tables 12, 13, and 14 provide information on alcohol and drug misuse and the use of opiates. Two kinds of information are presented in these tables: (1) a rating of the severity of the particular clinical problem; and (2) information on the relationship of the problem to the present admission offense or to past offenses.

The first three columns of Table 12 indicate the severity of the alcohol problem. Moderate alcohol misuse implies an alcohol problem that periodically affects the ward's social functioning. These individuals have one or more arrests involving drinking, were dismissed from work for reasons involving alcohol use, or have experienced occasional frictions in their immediate social environment because of drinking. Moderate alcohol misuse is particularly evident for wards of Mexican-American background (37.4 per cent) and somewhat less evident for white and black wards (28.7 per cent and 27.8 per cent, respectively).

Parole success rates for these three groups are slightly above average with small variation among them.

Cultural differences are more apparent in the category

of severe alcohol misuse. Wards in this category were found to have drinking problems that seriously affected their social functioning and were identified by caseworkers as alcoholic or in immediate danger of becoming alcoholic. The highest incidence of persons with severe alcohol misuse is found for wards of Mexican-American background (28.1 per cent), while black offenders show the lowest rate (7.8 per cent) and white wards an intermediate rate (13.5 per cent). Both whites and Mexican-Americans in this category perform below average on parole while the performance of the black offender group is average.

The relationship between parole outcome and alcohol-related criminal behavior is depicted in the lower half of Table 12. Information also is presented to indicate whether or not drinking was part of the admission offense or involved in the commission of prior offenses. As can be seen from this table, cultural differences do exist. While 40 per cent of the Mexican-American group committed their admission offenses under the influence of alcohol, only 16.9 per cent of the black wards and 23 per cent of the white wards did so. Mexican-American wards also constitute the largest proportion of offenders who had committed previous offenses while intoxicated, although their present offense was carried out while they were sober. These rates are appreciably lower for the white as well as the black wards. It is interesting to note that where alcohol was a factor only in past offenses, parole success rates for the minority groups are

relatively low while that of the white offender group is above average.

The negative effect of drug misuse is apparent from Table 13. Included in the groups who misused drugs are persons with a history of using stimulants (e.g., cocaine, amphetamines) and/or depressants (e.g., barbiturates). Users of opiates, marijuana, alcohol, and glue were excluded from this rating and coded separately. Again, substantial differences among the ethnic groups on this variable are noticeable. The Mexican-American group is disproportionately represented in all drug misuse categories. Isolated drug misuse leads to a drastic reduction in parole success rate for black wards, while the same behavior does not seem to affect the parole performance of white or Mexican-American wards. Moderate drug abuse--that is, a more than experimental use of drugs with no severe dependency--decreases parole success drastically for all groups, but particularly for black wards. Mexican-American wards have twice the proportion of persons in this category than the other two groups.

Frequent drug use with developed dependency is related to a further decrease in success on parole for white and Mexican-American wards. The very small group of black wards in this category with a parole success rate of 100 per cent can be ignored because of the insignificant number of individuals in this cell.

For cases in which drugs were part of the admission offense a decrease in parole success is again found and the

largest proportion in this category are again Mexican-American.

The differential parole success rates for white wards and black wards in this category again suggest the importance of ethnic factors in the relationship between drug use and parole outcome.

Table 14 presents data on opiate use. The most striking finding is the low incidence of opiate use among black wards in this study population. Opiate use appears to be confined to the white and Mexican-American groups where it is highly related to negative parole outcome. Again the Mexican-American group is disproportionately represented. However, individuals of Mexican-American descent who use opiates only intermittently perform surprisingly well on parole, a finding that does not negate the fact that opiate use generally appears to be detrimental to success on parole.

Histories of marijuana use and glue-sniffing are depicted in Table 15. It must be remembered that these data were collected on C.Y.A. intakes during 1964 and 1965, before marijuana use had become very widespread. The incidence of marijuana use in this study is again higher among Mexican-American wards. Parole success rates in this category are somewhat depressed for white and Mexican-American wards but generally better than average for black wards. This pattern is reversed for wards with a history of sniffing glue where black wards, who are proportionately underrepresented, show an exceptionally low parole success rate. Mexican-American glue-sniffers

perform fairly well on parole, while the success rate for whites in this category is somewhat below average. As was found for other alcohol, drug, and opiate use categories, the proportional involvement of Mexican-Americans in glue-sniffing was substantially higher than that of the two other groups.

Table 16 provides a variety of data on wards with histories of escape or sexually deviant behavior. The most striking feature is the impressive drop in the parole success rate for all persons with a history of escape, regardless of whether the escape was from a minimum-security facility without force or from a secure facility with force. Black wards constitute a remarkably lower proportion of individuals in these categories. Also notable is the much lower success rate (34 per cent) of white wards with a history of escape from a secure institution with force.

Wards with a history of forcible rape are found least often in the white offender group and most often in the black offender group. Success rates are low for white and Mexican-American wards in this category and unexpectedly higher for black wards. The remaining categories in Table 16 give information on various sexual deviations with relatively low frequencies. Parole success rates differ among the ethnic groups for wards with a history of isolated sexually deviant behavior: Minority group wards in this category show a low success rate on parole while the white group shows above average performance. A small group of

individuals with a history of repeated sexually deviant behavior have a relatively good parole success rate regardless of ethnic background. History of homosexual behavior shows a negative relation to parole success for whites and blacks while the small group of Mexican-American wards in this category maintain a relatively high success rate.

Table 17 gives the caseworker's summary of psychiatric history and psychiatric labels applied to the ward during previous psychiatric evaluations. This information was contained in earlier clinical case files that were requested and received by reception guidance center staff from corrections and mental health agencies with which the ward had been in contact.

Histories of suicide attempts are practically absent among the black offender group. This type of self-destructive behavior, which is infrequent even among white and Mexican-American wards, generally is negatively related to parole success. Both history of neurosis and history of psychosis are negatively related to parole success for white wards and black wards but positively related for Mexican-Americans. The incidences of personality trait disturbance, personality pattern disturbance, and sociopathic personality disturbance are approximately equal for the three ethnic groups and for each group these labels have negative implications for parole outcome. Generally, the frequencies in these psychiatric categories are small: less than 1 per cent for brain damage and epilepsy, slightly over 1 per cent for neurosis and

psychosis, less than 5 per cent for personality pattern disturbance and sociopathic personality disturbance, and slightly more than 5 per cent for personality trait disturbances. Overall, this study population is only minimally handicapped by psychiatric problems. However, where such a history is found parole performance appears to suffer.

2. Intelligence Factors

In the previous chapter on Intelligence, considerable attention was directed to the cultural bias inherent in many testing instruments as well as the possible impact of the test proctor on test results. Some observations were presented that seemed to indicate that the race of the test proctor may influence test performance of the various ethnic groups, particularly on the non-language tests that are more independent of academic skills. It was also questioned whether it is advisable to utilize tests developed primarily within limited cultural frameworks that render them inherently unfair to members of other cultural groups regardless of the steps taken to reduce this bias. One should keep these issues in mind when reviewing the data presented.

Table 18 presents the distribution for the intelligence categories. For white wards the distribution follows the normal curve. For the minority groups the distribution shows a slightly skewed pattern with a small overrepresentation in the below average categories. White wards of borderline defective and dull normal intelligence show a decrease in parole success rate, while their counterparts in the bright

CONTINUED

2 OF 6

normal and superior categories show a substantial increase in success on parole. Parole success rates for Mexican-American and black wards do not differ substantially from one intelligence category to another except for four relatively small groups. A small group of wards classified as borderline defective and another group classified as bright normal show fairly good parole success rates. Among the black wards a group of defective and borderline defective wards show a relatively high parole success rate while a small group of bright normal blacks show a dramatic drop in parole success to a low of 38.1 per cent.

Table 19 gives a summary of the results on the intelligence tests that were given on a routine basis. The variation in the frequencies for the different tests occurred for the following reasons: The Army General Classification Test (AGCT) was given only to individuals who scored above the sixth grade on the California Achievement Test (CAT) battery. Nearly all wards were given the California Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM) but no overall I.Q. could be computed for individuals who failed to complete the language portion because of severe illiteracy. The D-48, Raven Matrices, and Shipley-Hartford were administered to all wards. These tests, however, were not administered throughout the entire two-year period of the data collection phase, which explains the lower frequencies for these tests.

The results on the AGCT show that white wards tested substantially higher than those of minority background. The

difference in I.Q. between the white wards and the black wards is almost 10 points, with Mexican-American wards testing slightly higher than the black wards. This difference is maintained in all three areas: the verbal, numerical, and spatial components of the test. On the language portion the black wards edge slightly ahead of the Mexican-American wards. The language handicap of the minority groups is primarily cultural for the black wards and cultural with a bilingual element for the Mexican-American wards.

The California Test of Mental Maturity shows a similar difference between the white offender population in this study and their minority group counterparts. The results show clearly that the greatest differences between the white wards and the minority wards occur in those areas that depend heavily on language skills. Non-language portions of the test show similar differences but to a lesser degree.

3. Academic Factors

School-related factors increasingly are coming under study as it becomes evident that the school experience is of critical importance in the development of alienation and social deviance (Wenk, 1974). The data on academic factors may help us to discover possible leads useful in designing new types of learning environments for that large portion of youth who do not seem to be served by the existing educational system.

The results of the academic achievement testing on the California Achievement Test battery are presented in Table 20.

Again we see a substantial difference between the white wards and the wards of minority background. Generally, Mexican-American wards and black wards tested about two grades below the white wards. The largest differences are found in the reading component of the test and the smallest in the arithmetic scores. On the average, the test performance of white wards places them on a functioning level equivalent to the eighth grade, while wards in the two minority groups place at or near the sixth grade level.

Table 21 gives the data on grade completed in school. This information was provided by the wards during the interview with the caseworker and found to be quite reliable by a reliability study conducted earlier.[1] A relationship between grade completed and parole success is found at least for the white wards and the black wards.[2] White wards who did not complete the 8th grade have a substantially lower success rate on parole, while black wards who did not complete the 10th grade show a similar drop in parole success. The data on the Mexican-American wards are less consistent.

Table 22 presents the data on grade achieved. These data are based on scores obtained by each ward on the California Achievement Test battery. The results and their relationship to parole outcome are not clear-cut. Examination of the ethnic composition of all wards who tested at the sixth-grade level or below reveals that the minority groups are heavily represented. While only 27.3 per cent of the white wards are found in this low academic achievement group,

53.9 per cent of the Mexican-American wards and 58 per cent of the black wards are found in this group. The relationship between achievement level and parole outcome is not clearly apparent. For black wards very low achievement and relatively high achievement seem to be related to negative parole outcome with little variation for the intermediate groups. Mexican-American wards show a reversed pattern: for these wards the two ends of the scale are relatively successful on parole, while the categories in the middle show an inconsistent pattern. For the white wards high grade achievement is related to above average performance on parole, while average and low achievement show an inconsistent pattern.

Table 23 gives clear indication that dropping out of school prematurely is related to low success on parole, a finding that seems particularly well supported by the data on black wards.

Table 24 presents data on academic disability scores and an estimate on academic retardation. The procedures used to derive these estimates are described in the chapter on intelligence. These scores vary greatly among the three groups. On the CAT white wards achieved a grade level that was about two grades below the last grade they actually completed in school. This difference increases to about three grades for the Mexican-American wards and about four grades for the black wards. On the average, then, black wards functioned four grade levels below the grade they actually completed in school.

The estimated academic retardation index reveals that the differences among the three ethnic groups on these arbitrarily set expectations are less pronounced than those obtained with the CAT. The results show that all three groups fell approximately three grades below expectations, and therefore, that a rather severe degree of academic retardation is evident for all three ethnic subgroups.

4. Vocational Factors

The results of testing on the General Aptitude Test Battery are presented in Table 26. It may be useful to examine these scores by combining them into three clusters. The first three scales are primarily dependent on learned academic skills. Numerical Aptitude and Verbal Aptitude are highly related to academic achievement and therefore present a picture similar to the results of the academic achievement test battery discussed earlier. The G score supposedly measures an individual's general intelligence. This score is primarily composed of the Numerical Aptitude and Verbal Aptitude scores, although an additional component of the General Intelligence score is taken from the Spatial Aptitude score. Therefore, with respect to the first three scales, it must be remembered that each is heavily influenced by school-related skills and since illiterate and functionally illiterate wards are seriously handicapped in these areas, they may receive general intelligence scores that are inherently unfair. Thus the generally low scores for the study population, and particularly low scores for the two minority

groups, are not surprising. While the black and Mexican-American wards score around 80 on both numerical and verbal aptitude, white wards perform in the 90's, with their weakest scores on verbal aptitude.

The results for the second group of three scales show a somewhat different picture. The Spatial Aptitude Scale and the Perceptual Aptitude Scale measure primarily perceptual tasks that are less dependent on academic skills. The Clerical Aptitude Scale includes some verbal material that is more easily handled when reading skills are present, but reading comprehension is not as crucial here as it is for the verbal and numerical aptitude scales. These nuances are reflected in the test results, where it can be seen that the black wards perform in the low 90's on both the spatial and the perceptual aptitude tests and close to 90 on the clerical aptitude scale. Mexican-American wards score in the high 90's on the spatial and perceptual aptitude tests and slightly above 90 on the clerical aptitude scale. White wards score above 100 on spatial and perceptual aptitudes and in the high 90's on clerical aptitude. Thus the pattern again shows a decrease in scores on tasks that are dependent on school-learned skills. This decrease is particularly noticeable for wards of minority background.

The last three scales give scores on motor coordination tasks. For all groups most scores are fairly high; with one exception, they are at least in the 90's, while for manual dexterity scores for all groups are well over 100. In summary,

it can be stated that, with the exception of school-related tasks, all groups show fairly good test results on the GATB and thus that the study group possesses fairly good aptitudes for vocational pursuits.

Despite this indicated potential, there is little evidence that vocational skills have been developed. It is difficult to estimate how much of this deficiency is attributable to the lack of school-related skills that may prevent these youth from entering training or work that may lead to the development of vocational skills. However, it can be assumed that the lack of basic academic skills certainly aggravates the situation.

Very few wards have had practical experience in the trades. While one reason for their lack of vocational skills may be poor academic preparation, another contributing factor probably is the scarcity of training and employment opportunities in minority and low-income neighborhoods. Minority group wards are even more deficient than white wards in practical vocational experience of a skilled nature. The rate for minority wards is less than half that of white wards: 4.5 per cent of the white wards and only about 2 per cent of the Mexican-American and black wards had experience in a skilled construction trade. The figures for other vocational groups are essentially the same. The majority of youth, regardless of their intellectual and vocational aptitudes, fall into the semi-skilled and unskilled categories, indicating serious vocational handicaps and thus considerable economic

and psychological strains that may have contributed to their criminal activities.

5. Personality Factors

The purpose of this section is to present the findings of three personality tests, the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), the Minnesota Multi-Phasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), and the Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI), as they relate to the ethnic classification subgroups. The data on both the CPI and the MMPI are available on nearly all wards who met the requirement of a sixth-grade reading skill, which seems necessary to comprehend the items on these tests. Some of these data also are available on wards who functioned below this level but were able to comprehend the items if they were presented to them by tape-recording. The two tests permit a valuable assessment of personality factors.

Measures of the nature and extent of possible psychological disturbance are provided by the MMPI, while measures of psychological and social strengths and patterns of interpersonal behavior are provided by the CPI. On examining the CPI and the MMPI profiles, it must be kept in mind that for the CPI the more desirable scores appear in the upper range of scores, while for the MMPI the less pathological scores appear in the lower range of scores. High peaks on the CPI denote desirable social attributes, while high peaks on the MMPI denote possible psychological disturbance or pathology.

For the total study population, the CPI profile shows

relatively high scores on the six subscales Sp (social presence), Sa (self-acceptance), Gi (good impression), Cm (communality), Fx (flexibility), and Fe (femininity), indicating characteristics of social spontaneity, a fair degree of feelings of self-worth and satisfaction with one's own self, a desire to create a good impression, a tendency to respond in a conforming way to the test items, a relatively good capability to adapt in thinking and social behavior, and a general preference for an accommodating and low-key social posture.

The six lowest scores are found on Wb (sense of well being), Re (responsibility), So (socialization), To (tolerance), Ac (achievement via conformance), and Ie (intellectual efficiency). This would characterize the group as lacking in a general sense of physical and psychological well-being and lacking in seriousness of thought, well-developed values, and dependability. Further, the group shows a lack of maturity and social integration, often has friction with others, and shows little tolerance and acceptance of others. This group also has a generally low capacity to achieve in settings where conformance is required and there are indications that intellectual and personal resources are poorly utilized.

In comparing the three CPI profiles, it can be seen that all three profiles are generally similar. The characteristics identified for the total group generally also describe the ethnic subgroups, although there are some differences among the three ethnic groups that should be noted.

The first five scales, which measure social poise, leadership ability, self-confidence in personal and social interactions, and self-acceptance, show quite noticeable differences between the black wards and the Mexican-American wards (with the black wards obtaining higher scores on all these scales), while the white wards maintain an intermediate position. In the areas of socialization, maturity, and responsibility, black and Mexican-American wards score considerably lower than white wards on To (tolerance) and Cm (communality), indicating that the former tend to be less mature and socially integrated and less tolerant and accepting of others. In the area of achievement potential, black and Mexican-American wards show less motivation to achieve in an independent and self-reliant way than their white counterparts as measured by the Ai (achievement via independence) scale. Similarly, the minority groups score lower on the Ie (intellectual efficiency) scale, indicating that they place less emphasis on cognitive and intellectual matters.

In summary, we can conclude that the three ethnic groups are more similar on characteristics measured by the California Psychological Inventory. The description of the total group provided at the beginning of this section can also be used to describe each of the three ethnic groups. There are, however, some differences in degree and these set the groups apart on certain scales. Primarily, the black wards appear more sure of themselves, more dominant, and more outgoing than the Mexican-American wards. Both minority groups seem

less tolerant and more judgmental in their social beliefs and attitudes and show less motivation for achievement than their white counterparts.

The MMPI profile of the total study population describes the group as relatively unhappy with poor morale and generally lacking in hope about the future. The high scores on the Psychopathic Deviate scale (Pd) indicate notable difficulties in social adjustment and reflect their histories of delinquency and antisocial behavior in general. The results on the Pa (paranoia), Pt (psychasthenia), Sc (schizophrenia), and Ma (hypomania) scales suggest that the group is generally suspicious, has a high degree of anxiety, and shows thought patterns often found in psychiatrically disturbed persons. They also seem easily distractable and prone to impulsive and irrational acting-out behavior.

As with the CPI, the MMPI profile for the white wards is generally similar to that of the total study population with slightly lower scores on some scales while the MMPI profile for the Mexican-American group shows substantial increases in scores on several scales. The most prominent differences between the Mexican-American wards and the other two groups are found on four scales: Hs (hypochondriasis), D (depression), Pt (psychasthenia), and Sc (schizophrenia). This would tend to characterize this group as lacking in ambition to the point of discouragement. As a group, they seem more dissatisfied, uncomfortable, and insecure than the black wards or white wards. They also seem to be more worried,

tense, and anxious. These elevations also suggest this group's greater social isolation. Mexican-American wards in this sample seem to feel more misunderstood and more confused in their relationships with others than the other two ethnic groups and thus, perhaps, more difficult to reach in the therapeutic setting.

The MMPI profile for the black wards shows scores lowest of all groups on D (depression) and Pa (paranoia), although the differences on the latter scale are small. The negative relationship usually found between D and Ma scales is clearly expressed in the relatively high Ma (hypomania) score, suggesting that as a group these wards are outgoing, often uninhibited, and irritable, with relatively high Pd (psychopathic deviance) scores. They show a capacity for maladaptive hyperactivity that is primarily based on impulse and mood.

Table 31 presents the results on the Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI). As can be seen, the two minority groups score about 5 points below the white wards on this measure of social maturity.

6. Psychiatric Factors

This section deals exclusively with a subpopulation of 511 wards that was identified to be in need of psychiatric evaluation. On Table 35, the per cent for the various referral categories of the total study population refer to the 511 persons examined by the psychiatrist, while the per cent for the ethnic classification refer to the total study population of 4,146 individuals. Nearly half of all individuals

referred for psychiatric evaluation were referred for evaluation of violence potential (47.4 per cent). The breakdown by ethnic group shows that 4.0 per cent of all white wards, 7.1 per cent of all Mexican-American wards, and 8.5 per cent of all black wards in the total study population were in this referral category. It should also be noted that, for a particular individual, there may be several reasons for referral mentioned. For instance, a person may have been referred for reasons of prior mental illness as well as for assessment of violence potential.

The data presented in Tables 36 and 37, including diagnostic labels and symptoms, are descriptive only of this selected group and it is not implied that the other 87.7 per cent not psychiatrically examined were free of psychiatric disorders. It can reasonably be assumed, however, that most individuals with psychiatric liabilities were screened out for examination through the referral procedure.

Table 36 gives information on the three major symptoms found during the psychiatric examination. As a rule, such symptoms are related to a lower parole success rate for all three ethnic groups. One exception to this rule is unexplained at the present time: depressed blacks did very well on parole (75 per cent successful). It could be that this group is composed of first admissions who suffered a depressive reaction at reception during the time of the examination primarily as a response to the incarceration experience. In summary, we can state that, regardless of ethnic background,

individuals who showed signs of depression, anxiety, or dependency during psychiatric examination also showed a decrease in parole success.

The results of psychiatric diagnosis are broken down into major diagnostic categories in Table 37. The data indicate an inconsistent pattern. Only 29 persons were diagnosed as psychotic (0.7 per cent of the total study population). The 17 white wards in this category show a parole success rate (52.9 per cent) that is substantially below the average rate of 60.9 per cent. In contrast, the six individuals of Mexican-American background in this category showed an unusually high parole success rate (83.3 per cent), while the three black wards given this diagnostic label performed very poorly. Individuals diagnosed as neurotic showed similar inconsistencies: the white wards again perform relatively poorly, while both minority groups perform better than average. A diagnosis of personality pattern disturbance, which is believed to be indicative of poor prognosis for therapeutic gains, is related to a surprisingly high parole success rate for white wards and black wards, while the Mexican-American wards with this label perform slightly below average. Individuals who received a diagnosis of personality trait disturbance showed a reverse pattern with white and black wards performing below average and Mexican-American wards performing about average. Black wards diagnosed as sociopathic or as suffering from a transitional situational personality disturbance performed extremely

poorly on parole but their number is quite small. On the other hand, white and Mexican-American wards diagnosed as sociopathic perform very well on parole, while the wards in these two groups who received a diagnostic label of transitional situational personality disturbance performed about average.

From these data it is apparent that the incidence of psychiatric illness among the youthful offenders studied is rather low. The relationships to parole outcome for the various diagnostic categories for the three ethnic groups are inconsistent and not very meaningful. This may be due to the highly subjective way in which diagnostic labels are applied by the different psychiatrists. The results point up a need for the study of psychiatric diagnostic practices and psychiatric therapeutic intervention techniques for youthful offender groups.

7. Offense-Related Factors Including Violence Information and Parole Follow-Up

This section will focus on offense-specific data, with particular attention to violence committed and weapons used during commission of the admission offense. The types of offense that led to institutionalization are summarized in Table 38.

a. Person Offenses

As indicated in this table, the parole success rate for homicide offenders is unexpectedly low. It should be noted that this small group of offenders is not

representative of homicide offenders as a whole since in most cases where death of the victim was involved the offender was committed to the California Department of Corrections. The particularly low parole success rate for the white wards in this category cannot be explained from the available data.

Negligent manslaughter includes cases referred to the California Youth Authority because of traffic accidents that resulted in death of the victim. Without exception, these individuals were not delinquent in the usual sense but because of drinking or other reasons they negligently committed a criminal act. Their perfect parole outcome can be explained by the unique qualities of this group. The group of offenders committed for robbery shows a relatively good parole success rate. Viewing the parole success rates for the three ethnic groups separately reveals a striking difference between the white robbery offender (75.3 per cent) and the Mexican-American robbery offender (62.3 per cent). The black robbery offender maintains an intermediate position (67.4 per cent). Substantial differences also are apparent in the percentage contribution of the three ethnic groups to this offense category. Less than 8 per cent of the Mexican-American wards were admitted for an act of robbery, while 9 per cent of the white wards, and 16 per cent of the black wards were admitted for this kind of offense.

Some type of assault was implied by the legal label given to 233 wards. In this category black wards show a slightly lower parole success rate but in general, individuals in this category performed well on parole. There are differences among ethnic groups in the percentage contribution to this offense category: 8.9 per cent of the black wards and 8.3 per cent of the Mexican-American wards were committed for assault, while only 3.2 per cent of the white wards received this legal label for their admission offense.

Forcible rape, while a relatively small category, shows striking differences in parole success rates between the three ethnic groups. The highest parole success rate is shown for the Mexican-American wards. This group had a parole success rate of 83.3 per cent, while their black counterparts had a success rate of only 50 per cent. The white wards in this category also were quite successful on parole (76.9 per cent); however, as mentioned, this category contains very few individuals and the possibility of sampling error is always increased in such small samples. Nevertheless, these data seem to point to interesting cultural differences for offenders charged with forcible rape. Statutory rape, across ethnic groups, is related to a parole success rate that is lowest for the Mexican-American wards (50 per cent) and highest for the black wards (59.4 per cent). The parole success rate for white wards is 55.6 per cent. Other sex offenses are

combined because of the small frequencies in these categories. As is evident from Table 38, substantial differences in parole success rates are also apparent. White offenders show a rather low parole success rate, while the few persons of minority background in this category show extremely good results on parole.

b. Property Offenses

Over one-fourth of all admissions were for burglary offenses. While this group as a whole performed about average on parole, Table 38 shows that black wards performed over 5 percentage points below the average parole success rate. A slightly larger portion of the white wards were committed for burglary. Theft accounts for about 10 per cent of the crimes in our study. Mexican-American wards are slightly underrepresented in this category. The parole success rates for minority group members in this category are substantially below average, particularly for the Mexican-American wards, and a few percentage points above average for the white wards.

A substantial difference between ethnic groups also is found in the vehicle theft category, in which Mexican-American wards obtain relatively good parole success rates (60.7 per cent) in contrast to white wards and black wards who obtained relatively poor parole success rates (51.1 per cent and 53.1 per cent, respectively). A slight difference is noted in the percentages of wards contributed to this category by each ethnic group: white

wards and black wards each contributed approximately 18 per cent of their respective groups to the offense category of vehicle theft, while only 13.9 per cent of the Mexican-American wards were in this category.

Forgery again shows a pattern that points up substantial differences among the three ethnic groups. While 7.2 per cent of all white wards were committed for forgery, only 2.3 per cent of the Mexican-Americans and 2 per cent of the black wards were admitted with this legal label. As can be seen in Table 38, the few Mexican-American wards committed for forgery performed particularly poorly on parole (44.4 per cent). Also the white wards had a rather low parole success rate (51.9 per cent), while the black wards in this offense category performed well above average (66.7 per cent).

Narcotics offenses were committed by a greater proportion of Mexican-American wards (15.3 per cent) than white wards (7.3 per cent) or black wards (7.6 per cent). The parole success rates are above average. It should be kept in mind that this group includes not only the user but also the seller of narcotics. Thus this group contains a complex mix of persons, offenses, and motives and cannot be regarded as an offense-specific group.

The "other" category is composed of all offenses that do not fall into one of the above categories and therefore constitutes a complex mix of criminal activity. The parole violation category contains persons who violated

their parole on technical grounds. Again we see a striking difference between the black wards in this group who performed relatively well on parole (63.2 per cent) and the white wards and Mexican-American wards who performed quite poorly (47.6 per cent for both ethnic groups).

In each ethnic group, three offense categories account for approximately half of the offenses committed on parole. These offenses are as follows:

White wards:	Burglary	21.0%
	Narcotics offenses	15.2%
	Vehicle theft	13.0%
		49.2%
Mexican-American wards:	Narcotics offenses	26.0%
	Burglary	16.5%
	Assault	11.7%
		54.2%
Black wards:	Robbery	26.2%
	Burglary	17.3%
	Theft	13.6%
		57.1%

Such information may be quite useful in parole planning and preventive case management on parole.

Tables 40 and 41 categorize admission and parole violation offenses into person offenses and property offenses. Again it can be seen that, on the average, person offenders do better on parole than property offenders, but that there are some differences among the ethnic groups. These two tables also show that more offenses against persons are committed by black wards than

by the other two groups and that this percentage increases for parole violation offenses. While 28.8 per cent of all black wards were admitted for offenses against persons, 36.1 per cent of the black wards who committed an offense on parole committed an offense against persons; that is, one in three black wards who violate parole do so by committing either a robbery or an assault upon another person.

Table 42 gives information on the C.Y.A. history of violence as recorded by the case worker. It is apparent from this table that a greater proportion of black wards have a history of moderate or serious violence in their background. A lower parole success rate is evident for black wards with no history of violence.

In summary, interesting differences among the parole success rates of the three ethnic groups are evident for several offense categories. The findings point up the need for more specific study of particular kinds of crimes with close attention to cross-cultural comparisons.

Table 39 presents information on parole violation offenses of the three ethnic groups. Of all wards who committed another offense during the 15-month parole follow-up after release, one in four blacks committed a robbery offense, one in four Mexican-Americans committed a narcotics offense, and one in five whites committed a burglary offense.

Case worker estimates of violence potential are

summarized in Table 43. It is apparent from this table that the black wards received a rating of higher violence potential than the other two groups.

The classifications in Table 44 were undertaken exclusively for the present study and represent an attempt to obtain data on the history of actual violence for each ward by expanding the definition to include violence that is not necessarily criminal. The category of aggressive crimes without violence includes cases in which aggression was shown by threat, with or without a weapon, or where violence may have been committed by crime partners but where the ward himself refrained from actual physical assault. In contrast, the category of "violence" includes persons who physically acted out. The outcome of the assault was regarded as immaterial and violence was defined as physical assault that could consist, for example, of the discharge of a firearm aimed at the victim or aimed into the sky, or any other assault perpetrated against a person. Rape cases were included in this category if force was used, regardless of the legal label given the offense. Noncriminal assault (such as serious fighting, etc.) was also a reason for inclusion in this category. Again these data show that black wards have a higher incidence of aggressive crimes with no violence as well as a higher incidence of violence committed.

Table 45 gives information on history of carrying weapons. This category contains only individuals who

have carried weapons or objects that were clearly meant to be used for offensive or defensive purposes. Weapons used for hunting or sports were not recorded. Approximately 30 per cent have a history of carrying weapons for illegal purposes, for the commission of crimes, for use in gang activities, or for self-defense in a hostile environment. These percentages are substantially higher for wards of minority backgrounds: 38.2 per cent of the black wards, 33.8 per cent of the Mexican-American wards, and 22.6 per cent of the white wards have a history of carrying weapons.

Table 46 shows that partners were part of the admission offense in more than half of the crimes committed. When partners were present the parole success rates are noticeably above average for all three ethnic groups.

Table 47 gives information on partners involved in the admission offense who were under parole supervision by the California Youth Authority. It is interesting to note how the involvement of crime partners is related to substantially lower parole success rates for Mexican-American wards, in contrast to wards of the two other ethnic groups who perform better than average under the same circumstances. This finding could be related to the fact that a particularly high percentage of violators in the Mexican-American group are involved in narcotic type of violation offenses.

The frequency and kind of individual violence committed

during the admission offense are presented in Table 48.

While only 6 per cent of the wards were admitted with a legal label that implied violence, such as convictions for assault, battery, and manslaughter, an analysis of behavior displayed during the admission offense revealed that in actuality 24.1 per cent of the total study population committed violent or aggressive acts ranging from threat without a weapon to inflicting major injuries that led to death in thirty-six cases. Table 48 also shows that white wards had the highest incidence of non-violent behavior during the admission offense (78.3 per cent), while black wards had the lowest 62.7 per cent) and Mexican-Americans occupied an intermediate position (69.6 per cent). Black wards contributed proportionally more threat and minor injuries and Mexican-American wards proportionally slightly more major injuries and death.

In more than half of these admission offenses in which violence or aggression was displayed by the ward, some kind of weapon was used. In most cases, this happened to be a firearm. Although parole success rates for individuals who used weapons during the admission offense are generally better than average, the behavior exhibited clearly constitutes dangerous criminal behavior that is of great concern to the community as well as to correctional and law enforcement officials.

The data presented in this chapter describe in some

detail offenders divided by ethnic classification. The data are presented in the form of a Data Map that contains 55 comparative tables that provide a basis for comparing ethnic subgroups with other variable items and with parole success. Although these tables provide a basis for visual comparison, the simplicity of the descriptive data does not allow a more thorough analysis of relationships between variables. Although the format of many tables suggests possible linear relationships and clustering effects among variables, the confirmation of such associations must await more powerful tests. The descriptive statistics are still useful since such analyses can suggest relationships and assist in the formulation of hypotheses which could not be derived from less extensive analysis of the same data.

Current interest in cultural factors and their relationship to the etiology of crime provides a highly interesting backdrop for this chapter. The size of the study population (N=4,146) increases the probability that any relationship between race and other factors is not due to chance.

Summarily, this chapter has indicated a number of possible relationships which deserve further scrutiny. Ethnic factors may indeed be related to parole outcome, with a number of variables, (e.g., opiate use, drug use, alcohol use, psychiatric factors, academic factors, etc.) acting as important second variables. Further research will shed more light on some of these relationships.

REFERENCES

Ackerman, L. A. Marital instability and juvenile delinquency among the Nez-Perces. American Anthropologist, 1971, 73(3), 595-603.

Axelrod, S. Negro and white institutionalized delinquents. American Journal of Sociology, 1952, 57, 569-574.

Baker, T., Mann, F., Friedman, C. Selectivity in the criminal justice system. Prison Journal, 1975, 55, 23-34.

Banks, T. The criminal justice system and the black offender. The Black Law Journal, 1977, 5, 20-29.

Bazelon, D. L. Racism, classism, and the juvenile process. Judicature, 1970, 53(9), 373-380.

Berger, A. S., and Simon, W. Black families and the Moynihan Report: a research evaluation. Social Problems, 1974, 22, 145-161.

Bialer, I. Conceptualization of success and failure in mentally retarded and normal children. Journal of Personality, 1961, 29, 303-321.

Block, R. Homicide in Chicago: a nine year study (1965-1973). The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1976, 66, 496-510.

Brandt, R. Studying behavior in natural settings. New York: Random House, 1972.

Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1976. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976.

California Youth Authority. Annual Report, 1976. Sacramento: CYA, 1976.

California Youth Authority. A comparison of characteristics of Youth Authority wards in institutions and on parole: 1968-1977. Sacramento: CYA, 1977.

Camp, B. W. WISC performance in acting-out and delinquent children with and without EEG abnormality. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1966, 30(4), 350-353.

Carroll, L., and Mondrick, M. E. Racial bias in the decision to grant parole. Law and Society, 1976, 11, 93-107.

Chambers, C., Hinesley, K., and Moldestad, M. Narcotic addiction in females: a race comparison. International Journal of the Addictions, 1970, 5(2), 257-278.

Chambliss, W. J. On the validity of official statistics: a comparative study of white, black, and Japanese high-school boys. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1969, 6(1), 71-77.

Chambliss, W. J., and Nagasawa, R. H. On the validity of official statistics. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1969, 6, 71-77.

Chiricos, T., and Waldo, G. Inequality in the imposition of a criminal label. Unpublished study prepared for the Southeastern Correctional and Criminological Research Center, Florida State University, 1971. Cited in D. A. Bell, Racism in American Courts. California Law Review, 1973, 61, 165-203.

Clark, J. P., and Wenninger, E. P. Socio-economic class and area as correlates of illegal behavior among juveniles. In D. Glaser (Ed.), Crime in the city. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

Clarke, S. H., and Koch, G. G. The influence of income and other factors on whether criminal defendants go to prison. Law and Society Review, 1976, 11, 57-92.

Cohen, H. L., and Filipczak, J. A new learning environment. San Francisco: Josey-Bass Inc., 1971.

Commission on Civil Rights. Language disability and inequality before the law. Mexican Americans and the administration of justice in the Southwest. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

Cowden, J. E., Schroeder, C. R., and Peterson, W. M. The CPI vs. the 16 PF at a reception center for delinquent boys. Madison, Wisc.: Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services, 1969.

Cross, H. J., and Tracy, J. J. Personality factors in delinquent boys. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1971, 8, 10-22.

Datesman, S. K., Scarpitti, F. R., and Stephenson, R. M. Female delinquency: an application of self and opportunity theories. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1975, 12, 107-123.

Davis, J. C., and Cropley, A. J. Psychological factors in juvenile delinquency. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 1976, 9, 69.

Derbyshire, R. L. Children's perceptions of the police: a comparative study of attitudes and attitude change. In Wagner, N. N., and Haug, M. J. (Eds.), Chicanos: Social and psychological perspectives. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Co., 1971.

Doleschal, E., and Klapmuts, N. Toward a new criminology. Crime and Delinquency Literature, 1973, 5(4), 607-627.

Douglass, J. H. The extent and characteristics of juvenile delinquency among Negroes in the United States. Journal of Negro Education, 1959, 28(3), 214-229.

Dozier, E. P. Problem drinking among American Indians: the role of socio-cultural deprivations. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1966, 27(1), 72-87.

Duncan, B. Differential social perception and attribution of intergroup violence: testing the lower limits of stereotyping of blacks. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 34, 590-598. (Abstract).

England, R. W., Jr. A theory of middle class juvenile delinquency. In R. Cavan (Ed.), Readings in juvenile delinquency (2nd ed.). New York: Lippincott, 1969.

Farley, F. F., and Sewell, F. F. Attribution and achievement motivation differences between delinquent and nondelinquent black adolescents. Adolescence, 1975, 10, 391-397.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. Crime in the United States, 1976. Uniform Crime Reports. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

Ferdinand, T. N., and Luchterhand, E. G. Inner city youth, the police, the juvenile court, and justice. Social Problems, 1970, 17(4), 510-527.

Fine, R. H., and Fishman, J. J. Institutionalized girl delinquents. Diseases of the Nervous System, 1968, 29(1), 17-27.

Fisher, G. The performance of male prisoners on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale: differences as a function of race and crime. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1967, 23(4), 473-475.

Fishman, R. An evaluation of criminal recidivism in projects providing rehabilitation and diversion services in New York City. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1977, 68, 283-305.

Gerard, J. B., and Terry, T. R. Discrimination against Negroes in the administration of criminal law in Missouri. Washington University Law Quarterly, 1970, 415-437.

Goldman, N. The differential selection of juvenile offenders for court appearance. New York: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1963.

Green, E. Race, social status, and criminal arrest. American Sociological Review, 1970, 35, 476-490.

Green, B. The disposition of juvenile offenders: a comment on R. V. Turner and R. V. Haig. Criminal Law Quarterly, 1971, 1393, 348-367.

Gynther, M. White norms and black MMPIs: a prescription for discrimination? Psychological Bulletin, 1972, 78, 386-402.

Hackler, J. C., and Linden, E. The response of adults to delinquency prevention programs: the race factor. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1970, 7(1), 31-45.

Harris, R. Imprisonment and the expected value of criminal choice: a specification and test of aspects of the labeling perspective. American Sociological Review, 1975, 40, 71-87.

Haven, H. J. Racial differences on the MMPI O-H (Overcontrolled Hostility) Scale. FCI Research Report (Tallahassee, Fla., Federal Correctional Institution), 1969, 1(5).

Heilbrun, A. B., and Heilbrun, K. S. The black minority criminal and violent crime: the role of self-control. British Journal of Criminology, 1977, 17, 370-377.

Henning, J. J., and Levy, R. H. Personality characteristics of white and Negro adolescent delinquents. Correctional Psychologist, 1970, 4(1), 12-19.

Hirschi, T. Causes of delinquency. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1972.

Hirschi, T., and Selvin, H. C. Delinquency research: an appraisal of analytic methods. New York: Free Press, 1967.

Hunt, L. L., and Hunt, J. G. Race and the father-son connection: The conditional relevance of father absence for the orientations and identities of adolescent boys. Social Problems, 1975, 23, 35-52.

Jensen, A. How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement? Harvard Educational Review, 1969, 39, 1-123.

Jilak, W., and Roy, C. Homicide committed by Canadian Indians and non-Indians. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 1976, 20, 201-216.

Jobes, P. C. Juvenile delinquency in Los Alamos, New Mexico. (Dissertation). Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1970.

Kelly, H. E. A comparison of defense strategy and race as influences in differential sentencing. Criminology, 1976, 14, 241-249.

Kendall, P. C., and Little, V. L. Correspondence of brief intelligence measures to the Wechsler scales with delinquents. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1977, 45, 660-666.

Kennedy, G. A. A study of the inmates of the Utah State Prison. (Dissertation). Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1971.

Kitano, H. H. Asian Americans: an annotated bibliography. Unpublished manuscript, University of California at Los Angeles, School of Social Welfare, 1971.

Kitchener, H., Schmidt, A. K., and Glaser, D. How persistent is post-prison success? Federal Probation, 1977, 41, 9-15.

Levi, M., and Seborg, M. The study of the differences between mean scores on verbal vs. nonverbal tests of intelligence (I.Q.) and vs. academic achievements of institutionalized women drug addicts belonging to different racial and ethnic groups. Unpublished manuscript, 1971.

Maccoby, E. E., Johnson, J. P., and Church, R. M. Community integration and the social control of juvenile delinquency: problems and programs. New York: MacMillan, 1968.

MacDonald, J. M. Armed robbery: offenders and their victims. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1975.

Matza, D., and Sykes, G. Juvenile delinquents and subterranean values. In W. Gerson (Ed.), Social problems in a changing world. New York: Thomas Crowell, 1969.

Morales, A. Police deployment theories and the Mexican-American Community. Voices: Readings from "El Grito," 1970.

Moynihan, D. The Negro family: The case for national action. U.S. Dept. of Labor. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965.

Palmore, E. B., and Hammond, P. E. Interacting factors in juvenile delinquency. In J. Teele (Ed.), Juvenile delinquency: a reader. Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1970.

Piliavan, I., and Briar, S. Police encounters with juveniles. In J. Teele (Ed.), Juvenile delinquency: a reader. Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1970.

Prentice, N. M., and Kelly, F. J. Intelligence and delinquency: a reconsideration. Journal of Social Psychology, 1963, 60(2), 327-337.

Purdy, R. L. Factors in the conviction of law violators: the drunken driver. (Dissertation). Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1971.

Reiss, A. J., Jr., and Rhodes, A. L. The distribution of juvenile delinquency in the social class structure. In J. Teele (Ed.), Juvenile delinquency: a reader. Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1970.

Riffenburgh, A. S. Cultural influences and crime among Indian-Americans of the Southwest. Federal Probation, 1964, 28(3), 38-46.

Rosen, L. Matriarchy and lower class Negro male delinquency. Social Problems, 1969, 17(2), 175-186.

Rosenquist, C. M., and Megargee, E. I. Juvenile delinquency: theory and research. In C. Rosenquist, Delinquency in three cultures. Austin: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, 1969.

Rotter, J. B. Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. Psychological Monographs, 1966, 80, Whole No. 1.

Scarpitti, F. E., and Stephenson, R. M. Juvenile court dispositions: factors in the decision-making process. Crime and Delinquency, 1971, 17(2), 142-151.

Schafer, S., and Knudten, R. Organized delinquency. In S. Schafer (Ed.), Juvenile delinquency: an introduction. New York: Random House, 1970.

Schiller, B. M. Racial conflict and delinquency: a theoretical approach. Phylon, 1969, 30, 261-271.

Segal, B. E. Racial perspectives and attitudes among Negro and white delinquent boys: an empirical examination. Phylon, 1966, 27(1), 27-30.

Short, J. F., Jr., Rivera, R., and Tennyson, R. A. Perceived opportunities, gang membership, and delinquency. In J. Teele (Ed.), Juvenile delinquency: a reader. Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1970.

Southern Regional Council. Race makes the difference. Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Regional Council, 1969.

Stein, K. B., Sarbin, T. R., and Kulik, J. A. Future time perspective: its relation to the socialization process and the delinquent role. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1968, 32, 257-264.

Terry, R. M. Discrimination in handling delinquents. In R. O'Brien (Ed.), Readings in general sociology (4th ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969.

Thomas, C. W., and Cage, R. J. The effect of social characteristics on juvenile court dispositions. The Sociological Quarterly, 1977, 18, 237-252.

Thornberry, T. P. Punishment and crime: the effect of legal dispositions on subsequent criminal behavior. (Dissertation). Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1972.

Trattner, R., and Reed, D. Marion County Juvenile Court Study: 1970. Indianapolis: Marion County Juvenile Court, 1970.

Unkovic, C. M., and Ducsay, W. J. An application of configural analysis to the recidivism of juvenile delinquent behavior. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1969, 60, 340-344.

Vance, H. R., Huelsman, C. B., and Wherry, R. J. The hierarchical factor structure of the Wechsler intelligence scale for children as it relates to disadvantaged white and black children. The Journal of General Psychology, 1976, 95, 287-293.

Voss, H. L. Socio-economic status and reported delinquent behavior. In H. Voss (Ed.), Society, delinquency and delinquent behavior. Boston: Little, Brown, 1970.

Weiner, N. L., and Willie, C. V. Decisions by juvenile officers. American Journal of Sociology, 1971, 77(2), 199-210.

Wenk, E. A., Rozynko, V. V., Sarbin, T. R., and Robison, J. O. The effect of incentives upon aptitude scores of white and Negro inmates. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1971, 8(1), 53-64.

Werner, E. Psychological and ethnic correlates of interpersonal maturity among delinquents. British Journal of Criminology, 1975, 15, 51-68.

Williams, J. R., and Gold, M. From delinquent behavior to official delinquency. Social Problems, 1972, 20(2), 209-229.

Willie, C. V. The relative contribution of family status and economic status to juvenile delinquency. In J. Teale (Ed.), Juvenile delinquency: a reader. Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1970.

Wilson, N. K. Risk ratios in juvenile delinquency. (Dissertation). Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1972.

Wolfgang, M. E., and Cohen, B. Crime and race: conceptions and misconceptions, New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1970.

Zimmerman, I. L., and Woo-Sam, J. Research with the WISC: 1960-1970. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1972 (Monograph Supplement #33), pp. 33-34.

Zipper, B. O. The personality and self-concept characteristics of Negro and white delinquent and non-delinquent boys. Dissertation Abstracts, 1973, 34(1-B), 431.

CHAPTER 3

ALCOHOL AND DRUGS

The reader should refer to the Data Map 'Alcohol and Drugs" for the tables discussed in the statistical description section.

ALCOHOL AND DRUG FACTORS AND CRIME

There is little disagreement with the observation that the United States today, like many other societies, has what is commonly described as a "drug problem." Drugs are very widely used by people of all ages and social classes under conditions that are legal or illegal, medical or nonmedical, and socially approved, condoned, or disapproved. Legal drugs of various sorts are advertised in the mass media. They are easily purchased over the counter or they are obtained by prescription from the family doctor. Illegal drugs, or legal but restricted drugs, are perhaps just as easily obtained from black market or "underground" sources, although usually at a much higher cost. Drugs have so proliferated in the past decade that it is difficult even to keep abreast of new developments in the production or use of mood-altering substances.

While few would argue that this country has no problem with drugs, there is no consensus regarding the nature of the problem, the extent of drug use, the relationship of drug-taking to crime, or the appropriate response to different drugs and drug users. Some of the controversy surrounding the drug problem can be attributed to the multitude of different meanings the term "drug" has for different people (Gregory, 1971) and to the often arbitrary way in which society defines and deals with problems arising from the use of these substances. Popularly, the term "drug" is selectively applied to certain substances (e.g., marijuana, LSD, opiates) but not to others (e.g., alcohol, caffeine, nicotine), apparently depending on the social acceptability of the substance. The "drug user" or "addict" is distinguished from

the rest of society not by his drug use but by his use of particular drugs that are generally disapproved or by his misuse of substances that are used by others under more appropriate or socially approved circumstances.

It is not only the public that is confused by the concepts and terminology of the drug problem. In the absence of an all-inclusive definition of the term "drug" that would cover all substances with a potential for abuse, Senate bill 2628 (1964) defined a "psychotoxic" (and thus legally restricted) drug as "a drug which contains any quantity of a substance which the Secretary (of Health, Education, and Welfare), after investigation, has found to have, and by regulation designates as having, a potential for abuse that may result in psychotoxic effects or anti-social behavior."

Noting that even scientists frequently disagree as to the precise definition of the term "drug," the Canadian Commission of Inquiry into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs (1970) adopted the following definition: "A drug is considered to be any substance that by its chemical nature alters structure or function in the living organism." The Commission interpreted its mandate to be the study of the nonmedical use and effects of psychotropic or psychoactive drugs as defined by their capacity to alter sensation, mood, consciousness, or other psychological or behavioral functions. Nonmedical drug use (as distinguished from illegal use) was defined as "all drug use which is not indicated on generally accepted medical grounds." Alcohol and tobacco were identified as the most popular psychotropic drugs in nonmedical

use by both young people and adults (Canada, Commission of Inquiry, 1970).

In contrast, the Task Force on Narcotics and Drug Abuse of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice stated that alcohol, while capable of producing physical dependence, is "not considered part of the drug abuse problem" (U.S. President's Commission, 1967). Most of the public apparently agrees with this analysis: a national survey, reported by Stencel (1973), found that alcohol is regarded as a drug by only 39 per cent of the adult population and 34 per cent of youths. While it may appear to be only a problem of semantics, the definition of the term "drug" largely determines social understanding and response to the problems generated by drug use and thus is critical to any consideration of the drug abuse problem.

The current widespread public and governmental concern over drug use in the United States might suggest that the use of drugs is a contemporary phenomenon uniquely associated with the conditions of modern life. Because it is often viewed as either an unexplainable aberration of individual deviants or a growing trend indicative of a general collapse of "traditional" social mores, it is useful to place the current drug problem in perspective. The Canadian Commission (1970) reports that the use of psychotropic drugs seems to be an almost universal phenomenon that apparently has occurred throughout recorded history in almost all societies. The Commission notes that some scholars have suggested that the use of drugs may have been among the earliest

behavioral characteristics distinguishing man from other animals. Blum (1967b) points out that mind-altering drug use is common to mankind: "Such drugs have been employed for millennia in almost all cultures. In our own work we have been able to identify only a few societies in the world today where no mind-altering drugs are used: these are small and isolated cultures. Our own society puts great stress on mind-altering drugs as desirable products which are used in many acceptable ways.... In terms of drug use the rarest or most abnormal form of behavior is not to take any mind-altering drugs at all."

Perhaps because intoxicants and mood-altering substances are so widely used in modern society in legal, medical or non-medical ways (Lennard, 1971), the term "drug use" has been largely replaced by "drug abuse" to suggest the illegal or socially unacceptable use of drugs. Drug abuse, which is the object of greatest concern, is the use of illegal drugs, the illegal use (i.e., without prescription or by underage persons) of restricted drugs, or the immoderate use (e.g., alcoholism) of legal substances. Definitions of abuse are based on social values and expectations regarding the appropriate use of different drugs.

It is instructive to note that these values change over time (California Youth Authority, 1974a): the most obvious example is alcohol, illegal during Prohibition and now so acceptable that social pressures to consume it are evident; governmental and public opinions on marijuana use currently are vacillating, while the use of tobacco is gradually becoming

unacceptable. Blum (1967d) comments that judgments of "abuse" are based on the answers to such questions as: (1) How much of the drug, or drug combinations, is taken and how is intake distributed? (2) Does the person take disapproved drugs (e.g., heroin instead of alcohol, marijuana instead of tranquilizers)? (3) Does he take drugs in unapproved settings (e.g., an adolescent drinking wine with a gang rather than at the family dinner table, an adult taking amphetamines without medical approval)? (4) Does his behavior under drugs offer some real risk to himself or to others (e.g., crime, accidents, suicide, medical dangers)?

These questions are difficult to answer even with respect to an individual drug user. It is even more difficult to estimate the extent of the drug abuse problem for society as a whole or how many of the total number of drug users are drug abusers. Such estimation is complicated by rapidly changing social valuations of different drugs and different types of users as well as by the lack of reliable information on the effects of particular drugs or on the relationship of drug-taking to undesirable outcomes such as crime, accidents, or physical and mental damage to the user.

Noting that the potential of nonmedical drug use for harm is such that it must be controlled, the Canadian Commission stated that "the extent to which any particular drug use is to be deemed undesirable will depend upon its relative potential for harm, both personal and social." Unfortunately, the potential for harm of most drugs is largely unknown, uncertain, or unproven. Classifications of drugs have been developed in an

attempt to simplify the problem of determining the appropriate social response to a particular drug.

CLASSIFICATION OF DRUGS

There appears to be little agreement on the optimal scheme for classifying biologically active substances. Drug classifications may be based on a variety of considerations, including chemical structure, medical use, potential health hazards, legality and availability, physiological effects, potential for nonmedical use, and effects on psychological and behavioral processes. Classification schemes overlap considerably, yet they often show striking incongruities. For example, drugs that appear very similar in chemical structure may be quite different in pharmacological activity and vice versa (Canada, Commission of Inquiry, 1970).

The utility of a classification scheme will depend on the purpose for which it is required. The two most generally accepted approaches to classification of drugs are those derived from the law (the purpose being to control their manufacture, sale, distribution, and use) and those derived from medicine (the purpose being to use drugs medicinally).

Since the Canadian Commission (1970) was primarily concerned with the pharmacological effects of psychologically active substances, their drug classification system was based on pharmacological considerations. The Commission identified eight major classes of drugs: (1) sedatives and hypnotics (barbiturates, minor tranquilizers, alcohol); (2) stimulants (amphetamines, caffeine, nicotine); (3) psychedelics and hallucinogens

(marijuana, LSD); (4) opiate narcotics (heroin, opium); (5) volatile solvents (glue, gasoline); (6) nonnarcotic analgesics (aspirin); (7) clinical antidepressants; and (8) major tranquilizers. Way (1969) offers a more succinct version: "Drugs that are subject to abuse can conveniently be classified according to their effect on the central nervous system into four main groups: narcotics, general depressants, stimulants, and hallucinogens."

Because the effects of various drugs are difficult to state with any certainty (a particular drug may have very different effects on different users under different circumstances) the placement of drugs into their respective categories is often controversial. Marijuana, for instance, causes considerable confusion: although sometimes designated a narcotic or a hallucinogen, it is more often placed with the psychedelics or in a category by itself (Weil, 1972).

Official classifications of drugs in the United States (based on legal and social control considerations) have been described as "illogical and capricious" in that they regard some substances such as alcohol and nicotine as nondrugs and equate marijuana with heroin as narcotics (Consumers Union, 1972). The Consumers Union suggests that misclassification of drugs makes a mockery of drug law enforcement and brings drug education into disrepute.

Einstein (1969) has pointed out that society informally "classifies" psychotropic substances by social usage. Alcohol, commonly used by the dominant social groups, is classed as a "beverage," while nicotine is classed as a "nasty habit" but a

nondrug.

EXTENT OF DRUG ABUSE

While there has been much speculation about the extent of drug abuse in the United States, there is relatively little reliable information about the problem. There are many difficulties associated with the derivation of estimates of the extent of drug abuse. Estimates derived from arrest rates are likely to reflect police activity or enforcement policies rather than the actual extent of drug use. This is especially important with respect to speculations about trends in the use of particular drugs: a dramatic rise in arrests of youth for possession of marijuana, for example, may be simply a reflection of shifts in law enforcement policy, in resources available to police, or in the visibility of drug use. Police files provide a record of the number of arrests made in connection with drug offenses, but they are of limited value for purposes of establishing the true extent of illegal drug use or for estimating trends in such use.

In one demonstration of the extent of undetected opiate use (not appearing in police records), Weissman, Giacinti, and Lanasa (1973) compared a random sample of "walk-in" patients from a private methadone treatment clinic with police intelligence files on drug users in a major eastern U.S. city. An independent law enforcement agency substantiated the accuracy of police files and the treatment agency verified the addiction of the patients. Comparison of these two information sources disclosed that 51.8 per cent of the entire patient sample and 70 per cent of addicts under age 30 were not known to law enforcement authorities as

drug users. Such findings tend to discount official estimates of addiction rates. Bullington, et al. (1969) concluded from their study of undetected heroin addicts that there is no way of knowing how many such individuals there are in the United States, nor whether their number is increasing or decreasing.

Scientific survey data also are limited in value by the nature and quality of the research design, the adequacy of the samples, and the rigor with which the data are analyzed. Even a high quality study of drug use in a particular locale is limited in its generalizability to the national population. Drug use patterns vary so widely from one community to another that survey data on the use of heroin in New York City, for example, reveal little about the extent of its use in the United States as a whole. In addition, as reflected in studies over time, patterns of use are continually shifting. Thus the researcher is always behind the times in his estimates: "Whatever point in time an investigation is made will be past history by the time the data are processed and recorded" (U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1970).

Despite these difficulties, there have been a number of attempts to generate nationwide data on the abuse of drugs in the United States. The Drug Abuse Survey Project (Wald and Hutt, 1972) estimated that the number of active heroin addicts in the United States in 1971 was probably between 250,000 and 300,000. Some estimates ran as high as 300,000 in New York City and 600,000 nationally, but these had little support (Wald, 1972). The U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, using

a statistical procedure, arrived at an estimate of 315,000 narcotics addicts in the United States (U.S. Bureau, 1971). The Heroin Indicators Trend Report (1976) stated that Robins (1975) had found that while 34 per cent of a group of men had used heroin while serving in Vietnam, 10 per cent had used narcotics (primarily heroin) in the past year.

The U.S. National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse (1972) sponsored a survey of marijuana users that produced an estimate that about 24 million Americans over the age of 11 years had used marijuana at least once. Consistent with other surveys, this study found that the incidence of active use was highest among the 18- to 21-year-old group (40 per cent, as compared with 12 per cent or less for all groups over age 30). The U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (1971) estimated the national prevalence of marijuana use in mid-1971 to be 15 million, or 9 per cent of the population aged 11 and over. Of the 15 million persons who had tried marijuana, half a million (3 per cent) were estimated to be using the drug daily. The Bureau reported that the number who had used marijuana one or more times was probably increasing at a rate of 20 to 30 per cent a year. The Sixth Annual Report on Marijuana and Health (1976), prepared by the National Institute of Health, reported that "Marijuana use among the general U.S. population (had) not appreciably changed since the issuance of the Fifth Report."

Chambers, et al. (1972) reported that some 30 per cent of the nation's population were regular users of one or more of the tranquilizers, sedatives, and stimulants. They noted that

empirical documentation indicated that nonnarcotic drug abuse was widespread and that there was a constant supply of these drugs (barbiturates, amphetamines, sedatives, tranquilizers, antidepressents, and hallucinogens) available on the illicit market.

Alcohol remains the most abused drug in the United States (Fort, 1970). In most areas of the country, drinking is typical behavior and abstinence is atypical. A national survey of American drinking practices found that two-thirds of the adult population of the United States drank and 7 per cent (or nine million people) were alcoholics or problem drinkers (Cahalan, et al., 1969). A more alarming statistic was reported by Stencel (1973): There were an estimated 450,000 alcoholics in the U.S. under the age of 21.

Studies have found some racial differences in drug use. O'Donnell et al. (1976) stated that differences between blacks and whites in drug use seemed to be diminishing. Among whites more younger men than older men had used drugs (except tobacco and alcohol), while among blacks more older men had used drugs. In older cohorts, for most drugs a higher percentage of blacks than whites were users, while in younger cohorts there was little difference.

Galchus and Galchus (1977), studying 716 college students, found no racial difference for marijuana use. More blacks used heroin and cocaine, while more whites used amphetamines and barbiturates. Tobacco was associated with marijuana for both blacks and whites.

McDermott and Scheurich (1977) found in 2,130 random telephone interviews that the distribution of drug use scores most nearly fit the logarithmic normal curve. They concluded that since the distribution was continuous, drug abuse could be reduced by reducing drug use in general.

The significance of most studies of the use of illegal drugs has been restricted by inadequacies in study design or by the lack of representative samples. The U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (1970) published a compilation of studies, surveys, and polls on the extent, frequency, and current illicit use of dangerous drugs and other "exotic" substances. Of the 69 surveys included in this compilation, the vast majority were studies in single institutions (e.g., high school, college) and, according to Berg, author of the report, "rather haphazard in design." The review summarized most of the research on natural populations up to 1970 and included drug-use statistics for students in colleges, universities, senior and junior high schools, as well as high school dropouts, "hippies," working youth, and a number of adult populations. Only four of the studies were nationwide and, of these, three were conducted among college students and one was conducted among the adult population 21 years of age and over. As Berg noted, variations in reliability and validity make it difficult to generalize the results of these studies. Other more recent nationwide surveys of drug use by college students are reported by Johnston (1973).

DRUGS AND YOUTH

Beginning in the mid-1960's the media began spreading the word that drug use was rampant in American high schools and colleges and that, unlike adults, a very large percentage of youth were drug users or abusers. While the media apparently were reporting on a real shift in patterns of drug use from the urban poor to the white middle class (California Youth Authority, 1973) the immense publicity given to the trend led to the widespread belief that drug use among young people in the United States was of epidemic proportions.

It is a considerable task even to begin to uncover the facts about drug use among youth in this country. Partly because there have been few well-designed nationwide surveys of drug use and partly because patterns of use are constantly changing, it is impossible to state accurately the current extent of use of various types of drugs by a particular age group.

It is evident that between 1955 and 1970 a revolution occurred in drug use among the general population. Boggs and DeLong (1973) documented this dramatic shift in the parameters of the drug problem, pointing out that between 1958 and 1967 the number of new prescriptions for psychoactive drugs rose by 65 per cent (while all other prescriptions increased 35 per cent). By 1967 approximately 50 per cent of adult Americans had used a psychoactive drug at some time in their lives and 17 per cent of all prescriptions written were for such drugs. Against this background of rapidly increasing use of psychoactive drugs by the entire population, the explosion of drug

use among youth is less surprising.

Increasing use of drugs throughout society during the 1960's did much to overturn the traditional etiological theories of drug use: "By the end of the decade it was perfectly clear that most marijuana users were not inherently deviant, not mentally ill, not criminal, and not hurting themselves. There was no way to fit them into the classic drug scheme" (Boggs and Delong, 1973). Not only marijuana and the other "soft" drugs but, by 1971, heroin as well (Consumers' Union, 1972; Blum, 1969a) had found their way into the white middle class.

The primary social reactions to this relatively sudden development were confusion and outrage: there was no satisfactory way to explain it. "Coming from 'good' homes with 'good' parents and possessing all the opportunities denied to impoverished youth, today's middle class drug users are neither frustrated by intolerable environmental conditions nor do they possess unique psychological predispositions to drug use" (McGrath and Scarpitti, 1970). Events so challenged popular beliefs (as well as scientific theory) about who used drugs and why that established views of the typical drug user as psychologically or socioeconomically lacking in some way had to be reconsidered.

There have been a few comprehensive attempts to study drug use patterns of youth or a segment of the youth population in the United States. An ambitious study, entitled Youth In Transition, followed a nationwide sample of 2,200 young men from 1966, when they were in the 10th grade, to 1970, a year after

graduation for the majority (Johnston, 1973). Alcohol and cigarettes were considered along with marijuana, hallucinogens, amphetamines, barbiturates, and heroin. The study sought to determine the frequency of use of each drug, the relationships between the use of each drug and the use of any others, the attitudes of youth toward drug use generally, and the characteristics of young people or their environments that seemed to be associated with drug use.

Data indicated that the incidence of illegal drug use up to the point of normal high school graduation was considerably less than reports in the media would suggest. None of these drugs had been used regularly (i.e., once a week) by more than 2 per cent of the sample, with the single exception of marijuana (6 per cent regular use). Alcohol and cigarettes, two traditionally acceptable drugs, were clear favorites. Marijuana users reported higher than average use of alcohol. (This finding has been noted by other researchers, e.g., Lipp, et al. 1972.)

The number of users of all drugs jumped substantially in the year following graduation, the largest increases being found for marijuana and the regular use of alcohol. The greatest increase in the use of almost all drugs in the year after high school occurred in the subsample that went on to domestic military service. Contrary to popular belief, the college sample showed the same incidence of use of some illegal drug at least once during the year as that of the entire sample.

In summarizing the findings of the Youth In Transition

project, Johnston (1973) noted that, while American youth did not appear to be as involved with drugs as reports in the media had suggested, the pervasiveness of the phenomenon was impressive. "One simply cannot say that illicit drug use (or the use of legal drugs for that matter) is totally concentrated in any one sector of our society. It has reached all sectors--rich and poor; rural, suburban, and urban; black and white; college and noncollege."

O'Donnell, et al. (1976), in a survey of 2,510 men representative of all men in the general population who were 20-30 years old in 1974, found no evidence that the "drug epidemic" was over. With the possible exception of psychedelics, they did not discover a decline in the use of any drug. For some drugs, notably cocaine, there was an increase in use. Of the survey group, 97 per cent had used alcohol in their lifetime and 92 per cent were current users; 55 per cent had used marijuana and 38 per cent were current users; 31 per cent had used opiates and 10 per cent were current users; 27 per cent had used stimulants and 12 per cent were current users; 22 per cent had used psychedelics and 7 per cent were current users; 20 per cent had used sedatives and 9 per cent were current users; 14 per cent had used cocaine and 7 per cent were current users; and 6 per cent had used heroin and 2 per cent were current users.

The Sixth Annual Report on Marijuana and Health (1976) found that the largest percentages of those who had ever used and were currently using marijuana were in the 18-25 age range. Of this group 53 per cent had ever used it and 25 per cent had

used it within the past month. The Report included the results of a survey by Johnson (1976, personal communication) of 13,000 high school seniors from 1975-1976 which showed that the percentage of those who had ever used marijuana increased from 47 per cent to 53 per cent and current users from 27 per cent to 32 per cent.

The second report on Alcohol and Health of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (1974) estimated that 71 per cent to 92 per cent of high school students had at least tried alcohol and stated that drinking increased with education and social class.

A major problem in attempting to make any meaningful statement about "drugs and youth" is that the phenomenon is very much more complex than is generally believed. Attempts to identify characteristics of drug users have followed one of two approaches: (1) the study of the drug user in general, as compared to the nonuser; or (2) the study of the user of a specific drug, as compared to users of other drugs as well as to nonusers. The former approach assumes the existence of a drug-using personality with a predisposition toward drug use. The user has been described as having a negative self-concept (e.g., Committee on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence, 1970; Kolton, et al., 1972; Cohen, 1969; Burke, 1971), as psychopathic or delinquency-prone (Pittel, 1971; James, 1971; Bearman and Sheridan, 1971; West and Farrington, 1977), or as socially maladjusted or emotionally disturbed (Eddy, 1970; James, 1971; Gossett, Lewis, and Phillips, 1971; Silver, 1977).

Others have found that, compared to nonusers, drug users have more mature attitudes and less anxiety (Schoell and Tupker, 1971), more sensitivity, creativity (Panton and Brisson, 1971), more education (Cockett, 1971), or higher parental income and education (Barter, Mizner, Werme, 1971).

Silver (1977) found nondelinquent drug users had higher I.Q.'s than delinquent nonusers. Using the MMPI, he found that the users were alienated and were more prone to anxiety and depression. Drug users rated their mothers more favorably than their fathers, while the delinquent group did the opposite.

Those who study users of specific drugs have found that which drug or drug combination is used will depend on social, economic, racial, sexual, regional, and age characteristics (Goode, 1973) and that drug use patterns are shaped by associations, social circumstances, and personality (Blum, 1969b). For instance, studies have indicated that some or all of the following observations may be accurate, at least for the late 1960's and early 1970's: Glue is sniffed by the very young and its use declines with age. Marijuana is more likely to be used by middle class and affluent youths, although working class young people use it as well. College students use a wide range of illegal psychoactive drugs. Tranquilizers are more likely to be used by females, while heroin is more likely to be used by males. Whites are much more likely to use methedrine, LSD, and the amphetamines, while blacks are more likely to use cocaine and heroin (Goode, 1973). Cox and Smart (1972) observe that the majority of "speed" users come from middle class homes.

More recently, Sullivan and Fleshman (1975) found that 28 of 29 heroin addicts in their study had been raised in homes with absent or nonfunctioning father or father figure during preadolescence and thus lacked competent role models.

Barber (1970) found that marijuana users differed from others on ten of the nineteen scales of the California Psychological Inventory, obtaining significantly higher scores on scales used to measure social presence, flexibility, empathy, and achievement via independence. Using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, Burke and Eichberg (1972) compared adolescent male hospitalized and nonhospitalized multidrug users and hospitalized nondrug users. All had Sc-Pd profiles, suggesting the confusion, isolation, and alienation of adolescence. However, comparing the drug samples with similar nontreated samples, they found suggestions of "a broad continuum of pathology associated with drug use," although this was most apparent with hospitalized subjects, while the nontreated samples approached normality. Allinwood (1967) found the MMPI profiles of amphetamine users to be significantly different from those of users of other drugs. The relative popularity of various drugs thus depends on the characteristics of a particular youth population. Study findings on both the specific and the general characteristics of drug users are summarized in a review of the literature on antecedents of drug abuse published by the California Youth Authority (1973).

Some interesting findings on the relationship between legal drug use and illegal drug use have been reported. Many

researchers (Johnston, 1973; Cohen, 1969; Blum, 1970; McGrath, 1970; Pittel, 1971) have noted that there appears to be an "addiction liability" or a general disposition toward the use of psychoactive substances, both legal and illegal. The Youth In Transition project found that regular cigarette smokers reported a considerably higher incidence of using all of the illegal drugs than did nonsmokers. The same was found for regular drinkers. Johnston (1973) concluded from these findings that there appeared to be a factor derivable from the drug-use data--a "general disposition" toward the use of psychoactive substances--a finding that replicates an earlier one by Blum (1970). Goode (1969) also found that, compared with cigarette smokers, nonsmokers were far less likely to experiment with and use any illegal drug. This was true of all drugs, from marijuana to heroin.

Wechsler (1976) in a study of high school students found a strong relationship between the extent of drinking and the use of drugs. The use of the less common drugs was limited to people who had been intoxicated. Testing the "stepping stone hypothesis," Whitehead and Cabral (1976) found that the use of tobacco, alcohol, and solvents typically preceded the use of marijuana; that speed and tranquilizers usually precede opiates; and that for almost 50 per cent of the respondents the use of LSD and barbiturates preceded the use of opiates. Kandel (1975), in two longitudinal surveys of high school students, found four stages in the sequence of drug involvement: beer or wine, or both; cigarettes or hard liquor; marijuana; and

other illicit drugs. He stated that the legal drugs were necessary steps between nonuse and marijuana. Bogg (1976), after studying high school marijuana users, suggested a sequence in which adolescents are attracted to drinking for socioemotional benefits, after which a minority go on to marijuana for the same reasons as well as to express antiestablishment views.

There appears to be a close connection between the use of prescription drugs by parents and the abuse of nonprescription drugs by their children. Smart (1971) found that mothers who consumed tranquilizers daily were 3.5 times as likely to have children who were marijuana smokers as mothers who were not using tranquilizers. The children of habitual users of tranquilizers were seventeen times as likely to use barbiturates, ten times as likely to use opiates, seven times as likely to use tranquilizers, speed, and other hallucinogens, five times as likely to use stimulants other than speed and LSD, four times as likely to use hashish, and three times as likely to sniff glue.

Because it is so rarely considered to be part of the youthful drug problem, alcohol use by young people should receive special attention. There have been numerous reports that young people are turning again from other drugs to alcohol (Stencel, 1973). Alcohol is often cheaper and easier to obtain. State laws lowering the drinking age to 18 or 19 and advertisement campaigns directed toward the young consumer have encouraged the return to alcohol. The social acceptability of alcohol also

encourages its use by young people: a 1971 survey for the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism found that the vast majority of parents polled considered hard liquor less of a threat to the future health and safety of their children than marijuana, LSD, amphetamines, heroin, or sleeping pills. Only 16 per cent felt hard liquor was a greater threat than marijuana (Stencel, 1973).

The importance of the family in the transmission of drinking habits is demonstrated by the high correlation between parents and their children with respect to types, frequency, and amounts of alcohol consumption (Stencel, 1973). Among the sociocultural factors that are associated with whether and how much a person will drink are: sex and age; ethnic background; religious affiliation; socioeconomic level; education; occupation; degree of urbanization; and behavioral factors such as childhood experiences and association with drinkers or non-drinkers. Certain personality measures (e.g., alienation, neurotic tendencies, and impulsivity) are useful in explaining some of the variations in drinking and heavy drinking within subgroups (National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1971). The National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism has suggested that the factors which determine who will become an alcohol abuser or alcoholic individual are probably established at an early age. Morris E. Chafetz, Director of the Institute, attempted to alter the perspective on the youth drug problem: "While we agonize over the possibility that our children might join the ranks of the nation's quarter of a million

hard drug addicts, we pay scant attention to the possibility that they stand a far better chance of joining the nation's nine million alcoholics and problem drinkers."

DRUG USE AND CRIME

A primary community concern about drugs is the relationship between drug abuse and delinquent, criminal, or violent behavior. It is commonly believed that the drug user is prone to violence or other criminal behavior either because drugs cause him to become violent and to commit crimes or because the need for money to purchase drugs leads him to commit crimes. Public fear of the "drug addict" comes from the belief that drug users are desperate, unpredictable, criminally oriented, and likely to be violent or dangerous. Geiger (1971) reported that 82 per cent of respondents polled in a nationwide telephone survey conducted in August 1970 agreed that "using marijuana leads people to commit crimes and acts of violence." Evaluation of these beliefs requiresthe separation of fact from myth.

Various biasing factors make it difficult to estimate the extent of drug-related crime. Friedman and Friedman (1973 - first study) found that while drug users admitted to significantly more delinquent behavior than nonusers, the relationship between drug use and official records was close to zero.

Chambers (1974) found the risk of arrest and incarceration for drug-related criminal activity to be extremely low. In addition, Kittrie, et al. (1973) found when comparing juvenile court records in three districts that methods of handling juvenile drug offenders may vary widely.

DeFleur (1975) described further biasing factors. There may be bias in the formation of official records, since certain offenses are more likely to be discovered than others, since the climate of social control varies, since the number of assigned personnel varies, as do their judgments and stereotypes, and since the attitudes of complainants and offenders vary. There may also be bias in drug arrest statistics with variability in drug arrest trends, in public demands for drug drives or in drives for political or budgetary reasons, and with organizational and policy changes. Johnson, et al. (1977), studying the arrest probabilities for marijuana users, concluded that both differential enforcement and differential visibility were involved.

Shellow (1976), reviewing the relationship between drugs and crime, found four types of crime that could be associated with drug use: (1) criminal behavior directly attributable to taking a drug, (2) drug-defined crimes, (3) crimes maintaining drug-distribution channels, and (4) income-generating crimes.

The effects of various drugs are difficult to specify. A recent study by Abel (1977) found that the use of marijuana, and possibly other drugs, might lead to violence in persons with a history of violent behavior associated with poor impulse control. Blum (1967b), however, observed that no mind-altering drug, taken within the range of dosage that allows the person taking it any choice of action, has a uniformly predictable outcome. Drugs may modify behavior but they do not create it.

The drug-crime relationship depends upon the kinds of persons who choose to use drugs, the kinds of persons a drug user meets, and the life circumstances existing before drug use and developing afterward as results of the individual's response (e.g., dependent or addictive) and society's response to him (e.g., prohibition of use, arrest, incarceration).

Blum (1969b) noted that, while there is evidence that drug use is often part of the lives of persons described as having criminal careers, the total life pattern of such persons and the role of drugs in their lives are rarely considered in estimating the relationship between drug use and crime. He concluded that, despite popular beliefs, it cannot be assumed that drug dependency leads inevitably to any particular type of social conduct, including criminality. The use of illicit drugs or illegal behavior associated with their use may be part of a long history of delinquency, personal maladjustment, and social disadvantage, or, as in the case of the college user, it may be isolated and not associated with other visible criminality (Blum, 1969b).

The Task Force on Individual Acts of Violence, in its report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (U.S. National Commission, 1970), reached a similar conclusion. Discussing the role of alcohol, narcotics, and dangerous drugs in individual violence, the Task Force stated: "There is no direct causal connection between alcohol, drugs and narcotics and violence. No drug, narcotic or alcoholic substance presently known will in and of itself cause the taker

to act violently. Drugs, narcotics, and alcohol can only modify bodily processes and behavioral capabilities already present." But, the Commission noted, "while these substances only modify behavior and do not directly cause it, their involvement in acts of crime and violence--sometimes because of modifications of basic behavior patterns and sometimes for less direct reasons--cannot be overlooked."

1. Association between Drugs and Crime

If drugs do not cause criminality or violence, how often are they associated with such behaviors? Alcohol abuse presents the most startling correlation with crime and especially with violence (U.S. National Commission, 1970; U.S. National Institute, 1972). Alcohol is frequently involved in homicide situations. A typical study found alcohol present in approximately two-thirds of homicide situations (Wolfgang, 1966); another found that 69 per cent of homicide victims had been drinking (Fisher, 1951). The Wolfgang study is probably the most frequently cited study of the relationship between alcohol and violence. Of 588 criminal homicide offenses, alcohol was present in 374 cases or nearly two-thirds of the total. In approximately 44 per cent of the cases studied, alcohol was present in both the victim and the offender.

Aggravated assault follows homicide as the type of crime most commonly associated with alcohol: the U.S. President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia (1966) found that 35 per cent of 121 offenders and 46 per cent of 131 victims had been drinking prior to the assault. In a study of male

first admissions to the California Youth Authority, alcohol use was found to distinguish those committed for assaultive offenses from those committed for nonassaultive offenses. Two separate studies showed that wards rated as moderate or chronic users of alcohol committed a greater than expected number of assaultive offenses (Molof, 1967). Taylor, et al. (1976) concluded that alcohol-induced aggression seemed to be a function of the interaction of alcohol consumption and the degree of threat or provocation.

With specific reference to alcohol use by youth, Blum (1969a) suggested that studies that show higher rates of drinking for assaultive youths, such as the one of California Youth Authority wards (Molof, 1967), are "particularly important--and elevate concern with alcohol use correlatively--because assault (the personal attack) is not only the most frequent among the crimes of violence in the United States but the majority of those convicted are between 18 and 24" (Ohmart, 1967). West and Farrington (1977) concluded that the tendency for certain youths to become aggressive after drinking probably contributed to the link with delinquency.

A less prominent but still important relationship has been found for alcohol and sexual offenses. A study of 646 forcible rapes occurring in Philadelphia between 1958 and 1960 revealed that alcohol was a significant factor in the rape situation, especially when present in the offender. Alcohol was present in one-third of all rapes and in 63 per cent of the cases in which alcohol was involved, both victim and offender had been

drinking (Amir, 1965).

As with alcohol, there is no evidence to support the contention that narcotics and dangerous drugs cause people to act violently or to commit crimes. However, in contrast to alcohol, there apparently is not a strong relationship between drug use and violence. There is some evidence that narcotics users may be involved in violent crimes more often today than in previous years. Three studies reported by Mackay (1970) found that a significant number of juvenile delinquents were problem drinkers who used alcohol pathologically or addictively. Stephens and Ellis (1975) found that over the period 1969-1972 crimes against persons became increasingly common among addicts. Chambers also (1974) found that contemporary addicts were more likely to commit crimes against persons than were addicts in earlier years. On the whole, however, as reported by Blum (1969a), the emergence of violence is rarely attributable merely to the influence of drugs and, with the exception of alcohol, the absolute number of cases in which there is even an association between acute drug effects and violent conduct is low.

Narcotics addicts, or those drug users who are physically or psychologically dependent on drugs and must steal to maintain an expensive habit, apparently are responsible for a significant share of property crimes in some urban areas (U.S. National Commission, 1970; Bearman and Sheridan, 1971). Greenberg and Adler (1973) concluded that addicts commit crimes that yield a financial return, whether they are violent or not. Violent behavior, it seems, is no more characteristic of drug users than

of nonusers: when illicit drug users are compared with other offenders, it is evident that the user is not more violent and generally will be found to be less violent than the offender with a history of aggressive actions (Blum, 1969a).

Analysis of data from a continuing study of California Youth Authority wards revealed that drug-involved wards are not more prone to violence than are nonuser delinquents. While among Youth Authority wards alcohol use has been shown to be a significant predictor of violence (habitual users were involved in robbery twice as often as nonusers), opiate-using wards contribute no more to assault or rape, participate only slightly more often in robberies, and contribute to a less than expected degree to homicide (Blum, 1969a) than nonusers.

Where addiction and violent crime have been found to be associated, social, economic, and personality factors have been involved: "The popular assumption that opiates are a causal factor of violence arises from the identification of narcotics addicts (particularly in metropolitan areas) as disproportional contributors to certain violent crimes, and robberies in particular. Unfortunately, it is not always recognized that these offenders are drawn from the larger pool of young urban males, primarily minority group members, who are involved in various street crimes, and who represent a disproportionate share of heroin addicts as well.... Given the widespread social and personal distress of the impoverished urban Negro and his highly visible involvement in crime, causal relationships between heroin use and crime may easily be deduced, even though

such a relationship is scientifically unsupported" (U.S. National Commission, 1970).

The Task Force on Narcotics and Drug Abuse of the U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) concluded that while there is no evidence that opiates lead inevitably to criminality, among addicts with a delinquent lifestyle drug use is part of their activities as is crime. Again, the extent to which drug use is associated with violent behavior depends on the social, economic, racial, and other characteristics of the drug user. For example, while drug use may be associated with violent crime among inner-city blacks, among white youths drug use and violence may not be related. McGrath (1970) compared adolescent barbiturate users with narcotics users, assaulters, and auto thieves in a systematic sample of 16- and 17-year-old New Jersey boys. Drug use was found to be primarily a white-race activity among this population: 90 per cent of barbiturate users and 67 per cent of heroin users were white, as compared with 31 per cent of the auto thief group and 26 per cent of the assault group. Although the white heroin users were the least delinquent initially, after addiction they committed more crimes, primarily against property. Since the blacks were much more involved in violence, the white groups--and thus the (mostly white) drug users--had a low rate of violent crime.

2. Drugs and the Criminal Career

Interest in the relationship between the use of narcotics and crime has generated numerous studies of the incidence of

crime after addiction onset, during periods of abstinence, and after treatment. A study of narcotics and criminality by Finestone (1957) indicated an increase in property crimes but a decrease in crimes of violence after addiction onset. O'Donnell found that there was no change in the rate of violent crimes before and after identified addiction of patients (1966) and that some of the post-addiction crime of these addicts occurred during periods of opiate abstinence while they were drinking alcohol (1967).

Voss and Stephens (1973) obtained data on drug use and criminal activity of 1,096 addicts committed for treatment. Of the addicts in this sample, 990 admitted illegal activities or arrest. The subjects had been extensively involved in income-producing criminal activities during their lifetimes and the range of illegal behavior broadened following drug use. With alcohol excluded from the definition of drugs, 44 per cent of the sample had been arrested before any other drug use; when use of alcohol and marijuana is excluded, 53 per cent of the sample reported an arrest before they used any other drug. These researchers noted that the relationship between drug use and crime is not a simple or unidirectional one. Some addicts were involved in criminal activities before their use of drugs, while others apparently turned to crime to obtain funds to purchase drugs.

Numerous other researchers have attempted to determine whether criminal activity precedes drug use. West and Farrington (1977), who found that persistent aggressiveness was a

distinctive feature among the delinquents in their sample, discovered that many youths had been recognizably aggressive from an early age. Many other studies have found that antisocial behavior precedes the use of drugs. Guze, et al. (1962) reported that heavy drinking did not appear in many alcoholics until after the onset of antisocial behavior. Shellow (1976) stated that, while there was no question that drug abuse was statistically associated with crime, most criminal careers started before drug use. Once a criminal became addicted, criminal behavior intensified. Similarly, Greenberg and Adler (1973) found that many heroin addicts had substantial criminal histories prior to the first use of drugs and concluded that the argument that addiction causes law-abiding persons to commit crimes, or criminality to increase, could not be supported. They stated that, although criminal activity may increase after addiction, it might have increased anyway, since most addicts are in the high risk age for crime. They concluded also that while engaging in criminal activities often did not lead to addiction, it increased the probability of addiction.

In a five-year follow-up of drug arrestees, the California Department of Justice (1974) concluded that the use of drugs was an incidental activity to a criminal way of life. Over half of the subjects had records of nondrug criminality at the time of their first drug arrest. Friedman and Friedman (1973) found that drug use or sales occurred on the average about three years after the first delinquent act, one and a half years after the first recorded arrest, and half a year after the first violent

activity. In a study of opiate users, Mott (1975) found a somewhat higher proportion than expected from a general population had criminal convictions before admitted drug use. Chambers (1974), in a review of the literature, concluded that addicts were much more likely than in the past to be criminally involved prior to using drugs. He added that the majority of narcotics addicts supported their addictions through crime, although many did not steal most of the time.

Contrary to these studies, Cushman (1974), in a study of 269 lower class, mainly minority group narcotics addicts, found that they were predominantly noncriminal before addiction and that their rates of annual arrests increased progressively after addiction began. During treatment, frequencies of arrest for certain crimes declined steeply, while rates of arrests for misbehavior and violence remained somewhat higher than those for the control group.

Stephens and Ellis (1975) found that for each type of offense studied, more persons were arrested after than before they began using drugs. Most of the increase seemed to be economically motivated. The researchers concluded that it seemed that addicts became more criminal as they progressed through their addict career, although the type of crime did not alter radically. Weissman, et al. (1976) found evidence of dramatic increases in criminal activity associated with the onset of addiction. This increase was displayed in violent crime categories as well as property and drug offense categories.

Many studies have indicated that, while drug use and crime

or delinquency seem to be associated, it is more likely that delinquents tend to use drugs than that drug use leads to criminal involvement. Data from the Youth In Transition project indicated that self-reported delinquency during high school was strongly related to the use of both illegal and legal drugs. However, while the user populations in this study were substantially more delinquent than the nonuser population by the end of high school, the differences had been as great as early as the ninth grade, prior to the onset of drug use for the vast majority. The more delinquent were substantially more likely to become users, but the users did not appear to increase their levels of delinquency (Johnston, 1973).

In cooperation with the Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, the California Youth Authority initiated a study of all juveniles under age 18 arrested in 1960 and 1961 in Los Angeles for first-time marijuana or dangerous drug violations (Roberts, 1967). The relationship between drug involvement and other delinquency was studied by examining both prior arrests and subsequent nondrug arrests. Only for 323 of the 866 cohort members (33.3 per cent) was a continuing association between drug use and other delinquency found. Of these, 176 (20.3 per cent) had prior records suggesting that their delinquent careers could not be attributed to drug use. Thus, for only 147 (17 per cent) could a causal relation between drug use and nondrug delinquency be suspected, and even for this group the existence of such a relationship was not supported by the data.

Roberts (1967) suggested that, rather than supposing that drug use leads to delinquency, a more valid hypothesis might be that delinquents frequently become involved with drugs during the course of their careers. Roberts suggested also that the use of drugs by delinquents may make them more prone to apprehension by police so that there might appear to be a closer association than there is. He pointed out that the findings of the study tended to counter a number of popular assumptions: (1) that marijuana use leads to use of heroin (only 12.1 per cent were rearrested on opiate charges); (2) that once a drug abuser, always a drug abuser (more than half avoided subsequent arrest on a drug charge); (3) that drug use is primarily associated with poverty and the slums (although the majority were from substandard areas, arrestees from those areas were less likely to be subsequently arrested on drug or opiate charges); and (4) that drug use leads to criminal behavior (for only 17 per cent could a continuing causal relationship between drug involvement and nondrug delinquency even be suggested).

A rich source of data on prior drug use among adjudicated delinquents is the California Youth Authority. The C.Y.A. Division of Research initiated a Narcotics Census Project in 1960 to provide ongoing assessment of narcotic and drug involvement of Youth Authority wards and determine basic characteristics of drug-abusing wards. Beginning in 1965, surveys of drug-involved youth in the Youth Authority population were undertaken. These surveys indicate the significant growth of the drug problem: between June 1965 and June 1971 the percentage of drug-

involved wards increased 211 per cent, from 18 to 64 per cent of the Youth Authority population (Roberts, 1974). Roberts pointed out that this rapid increase in drug use by C.Y.A. wards was part of a more widespread problem of youthful drug use: the growth rate among Youth Authority wards was only slightly more than half the 389 per cent increase in narcotics and drug arrests in California during the same period.

Increases in drug use during the period 1965 through 1971 were particularly marked in involvement with nonopiates: opiate involvement of Youth Authority wards increased from 3.6 per cent in 1965 to 11.8 per cent in 1971, while nonopiate involvement increased from 14.6 per cent to 52.4 per cent. By 1977, drug-type offenses among Youth Authority wards, which had been rising dramatically from 1968-1971, had declined to the early 1960 level.

Findings from early studies of drug involvement of Youth Authority wards challenged a number of popular assumptions about drug abuse and abusers: (1) the view that use of marijuana leads to heroin use was not supported since a relatively small proportion (22 per cent) of wards involved with marijuana were later involved with heroin; (2) the presumed relationship between drug involvement and major property crime or violence was shown to be simplistic and narrow; and (3) the monolithic stereotype of the drug addict began to fade as the more complex differences among various types of users emerged. Clear differences in drug initiation and subsequent development were found between those with and those without prior delinquent histories. Also, the risk of becoming seriously involved with narcotics was

found to vary with such background characteristics as sex, age, race, family constitution, and socioeconomic status (Roberts, 1974).

3. Characteristics of Drug Users

Some of the relationships between ward characteristics and drug involvement can be derived from the Statistical Fact Sheets, published by the C.Y.A. Research Division, which indicate opiate and nonopiate involvement by institution, sex, and race. For example, the 1965 Fact Sheet indicated the following: of 21,090 wards (boys and girls), 28.5 per cent were involved with some kind of drug use; 5.8 per cent used "dangerous drugs," 18.6 per cent used marijuana, and 4.1 per cent used opiates. Girls' involvement with dangerous drugs was twice as high as boys' (10.3 as compared to 5.0 per cent), and girls showed a somewhat higher involvement with the other two classes of drugs as well (marijuana: 19.6 per cent as compared to 18.3 per cent; opiates: 5.2 per cent as compared to 4.0 per cent). The overall rate of involvement of girls was 35.1 per cent as compared to 27.3 per cent of the boys. The breakdown of drug involvement by institution, which directly reflects the age groups within institutions, indicated that older wards were more involved with all classes of drugs. Data from 1960, 1965, and 1967 Fact Sheets on opiate involvement by race show that black boys were consistently underrepresented among opiate-involved youths while Mexican-American boys were overrepresented. Studying characteristics of 223 consecutive male criminals, Guze, et al. (1962) found no differences between alcoholics and nonalcoholics for

parental divorce or separation, parental desertion, parental death, or placing of the child in a foster home or orphanage or with relatives. Alcoholism was associated with an increased family history of alcoholism and suicide, an increased personal history of suicide attempts, wanderlust, military service problems, fighting, job problems, and arrests.

Other studies have investigated the relationship between type of crime and other variables. Greenberg (1976) found that types of crimes committed by amphetamine users did not differ from those committed by users of other drugs.

Some studies using psychological test instruments with institutionalized offenders, both juvenile and adult, have suggested similarities between drug users and nonusers. Hill, et al. (1962) found far more similarities than differences on MMPI profiles when institutionalized alcoholics, heroin addicts, and person or property offenders were compared. All of these groups had a high psychopathic component. In another study, three distinct groups of incarcerated juvenile offenders were administered an attitude questionnaire and the MMPI, and a drug-use inventory and social history data were obtained on each youth. A group composed of narcotics law violators was found to differ from other drug-using as well as nondrug-using offenders on various personality characteristics, but MMPI profiles for all groups were similar and generally typical of juvenile delinquents (Davis and Brehm, 1971).

Other studies have demonstrated differences between drug users and nonusers on both background characteristics and

responses to psychological testing. Panton and Brisson (1971) found that drug users differed considerably from nonusers in the same prison population with regard to age, I.Q., education, educational achievement, and crime classification. These researchers developed a 36-item MMPI scale, which successfully identified 75 per cent of the drug users and 81 per cent of the nonusers. Roebuck (1967) distinguished the narcotic drug addict from criminals in the traditional sense of robber, auto thief, burglar, murderer, etc., noting that when the addict is involved in nondrug offenses he is rarely found to be a serious offender against persons or property, but is more often convicted for unsophisticated thefts, burglaries, or forgeries. Roebuck's statistical analysis of 400 offenders, 50 of whom were narcotic offenders, found that the addict group differed from the other offenders on twenty-eight of thirty-four social and personal characteristics studied.

Friedman and Friedman (1973), in a study of 388 delinquents which compared drug users and sellers with nonusers/nonsellers, found that drug users came from families with greater annual income, used alcohol more frequently, and had fathers with greater tendencies toward drunkenness. Drug users described themselves as more emotionally distressed and having stronger excitement needs. Drug users and sellers were significantly younger at the time of their first delinquent and first violent act. The authors found no significant differences in intellectual or academic functioning or academic achievement, although users scored higher than nonusers.

Other studies have compared drug use of delinquents and nondelinquents. Murphy and Shinyei (1976), comparing 25 delinquents and 25 nondelinquents matched for age and legal occupation, found that the two groups were not reliably different on nonprescription use of marijuana, barbiturates, tranquilizers, psychedelics, and strong stimulants, but were reliably different on nonprescription opiate use. West and Farrington (1977), in a longitudinal study of delinquents, found that frequent and heavy drinkers both included significantly higher proportions who were delinquents and that drug users, particularly users of the less popular drugs (pep pills, LSD, or sleeping pills) had a significantly higher proportion of delinquents than nonusers.

Friedman and Friedman (1973 - 2nd study), using self-report records on 498 black and white lower class boys, found that more drug users than nonusers had committed violent and nonviolent crimes. O'Donnell, et al. (1976) found that reported involvement in criminal behavior varied directly with drug use, as did arrests, appearances in juvenile courts, convictions, and prison sentences.

4. Drug Use and Recidivism

How are drug use and recidivism related? Adams and McArthur (1974) found higher failure rates among narcotic-involved prison releasees than in the general population of releasees. Friedman and Friedman (1973), on the other hand, found no differences in violent or nonviolent recidivism in a comparison of drug users/sellers with nonusers/nonsellers.

Recidivism may vary with the drug used. West and Farrington (1977) found that recidivism was particularly high among youths who admitted taking the less popular drugs (pep pills, LSD, or sleeping pills). They found also that aggressive reactions after drinking were particularly closely associated with recidivism. Edwards, et al. (1977) found that both male and female alcoholics were more likely to be reconvicted within five years than offenders reported in other studies. Similarly, Guze and Cantwell (1965) reported that over a three-year period, alcoholics had significantly higher recidivism rates than non-alcoholics.

Weitzner, et al. (1973) found that many marijuana offenders committed two or more offenses. They found also that the more severe the penalty for the first marijuana offense, the more likely were subsequent offenses to appear. However, the California Department of Justice (1974), in a five-year follow-up of drug arrestees, found that marijuana offenders had the lowest arrest potential, followed by users of opiates and then of dangerous drugs.

As Blum (1969a) observed: "What is required, as one seeks better understanding of the events which link behavior under the influence of the opiates to the range of biological and social factors, is the realization of multiple influences on behavior, of shifts over time and interaction effects among variables, and of unavoidable uncertainty given the limitations of investigatory methods. One must also realize, as Ball, et al. (1966) have shown, that among addicts there exist discrete

groups each with its probable set of life styles, some criminal and some not, and that even within these groups there is diversity."

Few reliable conclusions can be drawn from the literature on the relationship between drug use and behavior or between drug use and crime. The effects of drugs are simply not known: "...psychopharmacology today must be content with exploring the interaction of chemicals...with a largely unknown human psychobiological system of enormous complexity" (Canada, Commission of Inquiry, 1970). As Nowlis pointed out (1969): "If there is a single result that has emerged from the past ten years of study of the relationship between specific drugs and behavior, either in the laboratory or in field studies, it is that such a relationship is an increasingly complex affair."

Nonmedical drug use, especially among the young, has become a problem of widespread concern in the United States. Nationally, one-half of all persons arrested for narcotics law violations are under 21 years of age (F.B.I., 1972). While people of all ages use psychoactive drugs, and many are dependent on them, the use of illicit drugs appears to be primarily a phenomenon of youth (Johnston, 1973). A primary reason for the growing concern with the "drug problem" in this country during the past decade has been the spread of illegal drug use throughout all sectors of society: no longer confined to the poor and minority groups, drug abuse is commonly found among middle-class suburban youth as well as among urban blacks (California

Youth Authority, 1973).

Research on drug abuse, especially on the etiological issues, has had to respond to these shifts in drug use patterns by expanding its focus. Many earlier studies are not particularly relevant to current forms of drug use. Since drug abuse can no longer be considered simply a product of the psychological or sociological disabilities of members of various minority groups, researchers have begun to study the complex relationships between different types of drug users and different patterns of drug use. This has led to the emergence of new perspectives on questions such as the association between drug use and crime. Research results have established that there is no such thing as a "typical" drug user, nor any one-to-one link between drugs and behavior (Blum, 1969b). Nevertheless, there apparently are identifiable characteristics that distinguish the drug offender from other offender types. Among these are a somewhat greater likelihood of failure on parole (N.C.C.D., Uniform Parole Reports) and a stronger than average tendency to repeat the same type of offense (Roebuck, 1967).

Popular beliefs linking drug use with violence have not been substantiated by research. Blum (1969b) reports that while in some individuals in some settings psychoactive drugs can facilitate the release of assaultive or self-destructive behavior, the drug user is not more violent and generally will be found to be less violent than the offender with a history of aggressive behavior. The exception, as already noted, is the alcohol abuser (Blum, 1969b) and alcohol is still the drug most

commonly used by both young people and adults (Fort, 1970).

One of the major suppositions in outlawing certain drugs has been that the drug user must resort to crime to support his habit. Another is that drug users are more prone to criminal activity due to their lack of self-control and moral restraint. However, the data derived from recent research on drug use and drug users do not permit simplistic conclusions. Much remains to be established by research--including the effects of different drugs on different persons under different circumstances, the real extent and nature of drug use nationwide, and the relationship between drug use and criminal behavior--but it seems clear that the drug problem is considerably more complex than it once appeared to be and that there are no simple solutions.

STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ALCOHOL AND DRUG MISUSE AND OPIATE USE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS

The Data Map "Alcohol and Drugs" presents data on the parole success of several drug and/or alcohol use subgroups, subclassified by a variety of other variables. Six drug and/or alcohol use categories are discussed here. All were derived from the counselors' study of each case and a final interview during which these "use" classifications were established. The following description presents a definition of each of these categories and discusses briefly how each classification was arrived at during the case study process.

Column 1: Total Study Population

This column provides summary data on each category of the variable presented as the cross-classification factor in each table.

Column 2: Moderate Alcohol Misuse

An effort was made to determine from case records and individual interviews whether the ward had a history of a "moderate" alcohol problem, defined as periodic disturbance of his social functioning. If the individual had one or more arrests where drinking was implied, was dismissed from work for reasons involving alcohol usage, had occasional friction in his immediate social environment, or if there was other evidence of alcohol impairing functioning, this category was checked.

Column 3: Severe Alcohol Misuse

If alcohol use was consistently affecting the inmate's social functioning this category was checked. If any of those periodic symptoms associated with the "moderate" category were extremely pronounced and the individual could commonly be called an alcoholic or if he were in immediate danger of becoming an alcoholic, the ward would be classified as having a "severe" problem.

Column 4: Moderate Drug Use

Applying the same criteria to a case as the above distinction between moderate and serious alcohol misuse, the caseworker would classify the degree of drug use. A drug was defined as all of those drugs known as "stimulants," e.g., benzedrine, cocaine, etc., and "barbiturates," e.g., amytal, barbital, luminal, nembutal, pentothal, phenobarbital, tronal, seconal. Opiate and marijuana usage were classified separately.

Column 5: Severe Drug Use

If drug use was consistently affecting the inmate's social functioning this category was checked.

Column 6: Moderate Opiate Use

If the ward had a history of using any opiate, e.g., heroin, codeine, Demerol, methadone, Dilaudid, Metopon, Morphine, Laudanum, Pantopon, Paregoric, etc. to the extent that it affected any of the above defined areas for "moderate"

use he was classified in this category.

Column 7: Severe Opiate Use

If opiate use was consistently affecting the inmate's social functioning this category was checked.

When examining these tables one should keep in mind that each subclassification on the alcohol, drug and opiate factors was compiled independently for each factor. An individual therefore can be included in only one alcohol group, in one drug group or in one opiate group, although he may have a history of multiple problems in this area, i.e., problems with alcohol as well as with drugs and opiates. As the data are arranged at present, multiple problem cases cannot be isolated and described separately. However, tables 12-17 give descriptions of multiple problem cases, at least on the basis of two problem areas, e.g., alcohol and drugs, drugs and opiates, or alcohol and opiates. In future work with this data base, categories of multiple problem cases in the alcohol and drug area will be coded and studied.

1. Individual Case History Information

Table 1 presents the parole success rates of the six major drug and alcohol subgroups as classified by Court of Commitment. Of particular interest is the variation of parole success rates for those subgroups released from Superior Court. For each classification subgroup (alcohol,

drug and opiate use) there is reduction in the parole success rates from moderate to severe use as well as across all subgroups. Deviation figures for other subgroups are not particularly noteworthy because of the low number of cases in those cells.

Table 2 reports the parole success rates of drug and alcohol subgroups classified by admission status. Clearly even the first admission subgroups, which usually show consistently high parole success rates, have markedly lower parole success rates for the drug and opiate subgroups. Similar reductions for other admission status subgroups also are apparent, although the number of cases in some cells indicates that caution should be used in interpretation. Of particular interest are the consistently lower parole success rates for the second and more returns subgroups than for other admission status subgroups.

Table 3 shows the parole success rates for drug use subgroups when subclassified by racial affiliation. The white and Mexican-American subgroups display almost identical parole success rates across drug use categories, indicating that drug and alcohol use are similarly related to these groups. Because of the small number of blacks in many of the drug use categories, a comparison across all racial subgroups is difficult to make. However, in the one cell with sufficient cases (moderate drug use), the black

parole success rate is somewhat below those for the other two subgroups.

Table 4 reports Age at Admission, Age at Release, Time in Institution, Weight, and Height for all alcohol and drug use subgroups. The only noteworthy differences have to do with age at release and time in institution. For the age at release category it can be noted that the wards are somewhat older in the severe opiate use category when released. Also, in regard to time in institution it can be seen that there is somewhat greater disparity between the severe opiate use category and the remaining drug use categories.

Table 5 reports the marital status of all CYA wards across the six alcohol and drug use categories. As expected, the parole success rates for the single subgroups become somewhat worse as the seriousness of drug use increases. Again, a thorough analysis for the marital status subgroups seems to be frustrated by the inadequate number of cases in many of the category cells. For example, the married subgroups indicate some progression across drug use categories until the category "severe drug use," in which again the small number of cases prevents further comparison.

Comparative data on alcohol and drug misuse subgroups, as subclassified by living arrangement at time of offense, are presented in Table 7. Two items of interest can be noted in this table. First, for the natural parents subgroups

there seems to be an almost linear relationship between the level of drug use and the living arrangement. Even more interesting is the fact that the ward living alone in a fixed abode has a somewhat higher parole success rate than the ward living with natural parents, wife, or girlfriend at the time of the offense.

Tables 12 through 17 present data related to various problems as assessed during clinical diagnosis. Tables 12, 13, and 14 provide information on alcohol and drug misuse and the use of opiates. Two kinds of information are presented in these tables: 1) a rating of the severity of a particular clinical problem; and 2) information on the relationship of the problem to the present admission offense or to past offenses.

Table 12 provides comparative data on alcohol and drug misuse subgroups as subclassified by history of alcohol use and misuse and the presence or absence of alcohol as a factor in the admission offense or in past offenses. Of particular interest is the clustering of below average parole success rates of those wards with severe or moderate drug and opiate use. This finding is consistent across all alcohol use categories. Regardless of the specific alcohol misuse history category, it can be noted that wards who fall in the categories of moderate and severe opiate use have somewhat poorer parole success rates than those in the other drug use category subgroups.

Table 13 provides comparative data on alcohol and drug misuse subgroups as subclassified by the history of drug misuse. Categories of drug misuse include an estimation of the severity of that misuse plus the presence or absence of drugs as a significant factor in the admission offense. As in Table 12, it can be noted that there is a general clustering of poor parole success rates in the categories of moderate and severe drug use as well as moderate and severe opiate use. Again, parole success rates seem to be poorest for wards with moderate opiate use. Similar findings may be attributed to wards with severe opiate use, although the small number of cases in those cells renders further analysis inconclusive.

Table 14 provides comparative data on alcohol and drug misuse subgroups as subclassified by history of opiate use. Again, it can be noted that several measures of the degree of opiate use are provided as well as the presence or absence of opiates in the admission offense. In contrast to previous tables, Table 14 provides some evidence that the history of opiate use is highly related to poor parole success rates as seen in the consistently poor rates associated with the moderate and severe alcohol misuse columns. Again, in contrast to Tables 12 and 13 there is less clustering of parole success rates, indicating that any history of opiate use is highly related to poor parole success rates, regardless

of associated problems.

Table 15 provides comparative data on alcohol and drug misuse subgroups as classified by the presence or absence of histories of either marijuana use or gluesniffing. Of particular interest here is the fact that those wards who have either a history of marijuana use or a history of gluesniffing have parole success rates across all drug use categories which are somewhat better than those of wards with no history of marijuana use or gluesniffing. Again, there is a clustering of poor parole success rate figures associated with both moderate and severe drug and opiate use.

Table 16 provides a variety of data on wards with a history of escape and/or sexually deviant behavior. It provides evidence of the generally poor parole success rates for all drug use categories regardless of the specific type of history of either escape or sexual deviation. However, some variation between the escape and sexual deviation rows can be noted. For example, those wards who either escaped from minimum security or escaped with force generally show poor parole success rates when they had also moderate and severe alcohol use. This finding is in contrast to those for most other escape and sexual deviation subgroups, except for wards with a history of either isolated sexually deviant or isolated homosexual behavior. Unfortunately, the

insufficient number of cases in the history of repeated sexually deviant behavior category prevents the comparison of this subgroup with the subgroup of wards with a history of isolated sexually deviant behavior. As usual, moderate opiate and severe opiate use subgroups have the poorest parole success rates of almost all the subgroups.

Table 17 reports the caseworker's summary of psychiatric history and psychiatric labels applied to the ward during previous psychiatric evaluations. This information was contained in earlier case files which were received from the reception guidance center staff of corrections and mental health agencies with which the ward had had contact. Generally, the frequencies in the psychiatric categories are small--less than 1 percent of the total study population had a history of frequent suicide gestures, serious suicide attempts, brain damage, or epilepsy. Slightly more than 1 percent had a history of infrequent suicide gestures, neurosis, and psychosis. Approximately 3 percent had a history of sociopathic personality disturbance and personality pattern disturbance and 6.7 percent had a history of personality trait disturbance. Some interesting findings result from the comparison of these categories of psychiatric diagnosis across all drug use categories. First, for the columns severe drug use, moderate opiate use, and severe opiate use, parole success rates generally

are poor regardless of the specific psychiatric diagnosis. Only for the columns moderate alcohol misuse and severe alcohol misuse is there any noticeable difference in parole success rate. By reading across rows, another finding can be noted involving two primary psychiatric classification categories: history of personality trait disturbance and history of personality pattern disturbance seem to indicate generally poor parole success rates across all alcohol and drug misuse categories. These findings are particularly interesting since these are the only substantially poor parole success rates associated with the alcohol misuse and severe alcohol misuse subcategories.

2. Intelligence Factors

Tables 18 and 19 represent a variety of intelligence test scores cross-classified by type and severity of drug use. Table 18 presents the distribution for intelligence categories. The clinical psychologist supervising the testing programs classified each ward into one of the Wechsler intelligence categories. Wards who scored in the mental defective range on the group test were given the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale and were classified as mental defectives only if they scored in the mental defective range on this individually administered test.

Table 18 provides comparative data on alcohol and drug use subgroups as subclassified by the Wechsler intelligence

categories. For those rows with a sufficient number of cases--i.e., borderline, dull normal, average, and bright normal intelligence classification categories--it can be noted that the bright normal subgroup has somewhat better parole success rates than any of the three other intelligence subgroups. Unfortunately, the insufficient number of cases in some of the bright normal drug use categories precludes an adequate comparison. Again, the most noteworthy finding is that if a ward has a history of moderate drug use, severe drug use, moderate opiate use, or severe opiate use, his parole outcome generally is going to be unfavorable regardless of his intelligence classification. Of interest here is the moderate alcohol misuse column, in which cells with sufficient cases generally have a favorable parole outcome.

A summary of the results of the intelligence testing is provided in Table 19. It should be kept in mind that classification into intelligence categories was based on clinical judgments derived from a composite of information on each individual. The primary figure of comparison in this table is the mean score for any given cell. Of particular interest across all intelligence test measures for all alcohol and drug misuse categories are the generally consistent mean scores associated with each subgroup.

3. Academic Factors

Tables 20 through 25 report the findings related to various measures of academic achievement, ability, and performance.

Table 20 provides California Achievement Test Battery scores for alcohol and drug misuse subgroups. The ten measures derived from the CAT Battery indicate that the mean scores for all subgroups are remarkably similar. Their range is confined to the seventh and eighth grade levels.

Table 25 provides information on caseworkers' ratings of wards' motivation for academic training while incarcerated. Again, it can be noted that regardless of the presence of assessed motivation for academic training, the parole outcome for the four major drug use groups generally is poor. However, some minor differences can be seen when the rows involving motivated and unmotivated wards or staff recommendation and no staff recommendation are compared. For example, wards assessed as being motivated for academic training have somewhat better parole success rates than those assessed as being unmotivated. Similarly, wards receiving staff recommendation for academic training seem to have somewhat better parole success rates than those not receiving recommendation for training.

4. Vocational Factors

Tables 26 through 28 provide a variety of data pertinent to various measures of vocational competence and/or

achievement. Included as measures of training potential are major subtests of the General Aptitude Test Battery, various counselor and workshop instructor ratings, union membership, and presence or absence of vocational disability.

Major alcohol and drug use subgroups, as cross-classified by major subtests of the General Aptitude Test Battery, are provided in Table 26. As in Table 19, it can be noted that there are substantial differences between the mean scores for the severe drug use subgroups and those for the remaining drug and alcohol use subgroups. For example, in the severe drug use column it can be noted that the mean scores for the general intelligence, verbal aptitude, numerical aptitude, spatial aptitude, and clerical aptitude subtests are substantially higher than the scores in the remaining alcohol and drug columns. Further, the scores of the severe drug use, moderate opiate use, and severe opiate use subgroups on the finger dexterity subtest are noticeably higher than those of the other subgroups.

Table 27 provides information on the subjective recommendations of a variety of instructors and/or counselors. A comparison of rows regarding the assessment of motivation versus non-motivation for each staff type, i.e., woodshop instructor, metalshop instructor, counselor, and staff indicates very few substantial differences across drug and

alcohol use columns. When parole success rates for the rows associated with motivated ratings and those associated with not motivated ratings are compared, there is little difference.

Table 28 provides a variety of vocational information on the length of work experience, union membership, and vocational disability. It can be noted that this table shows a clustering effect similar to that of many previous tables, indicating that no matter what cross-classification variable is considered, the relationship between drug use and poor parole outcome is so strong that very little additional variance can be attributed to cross-classification factors.

5. Personality Factors

This section presents the findings of three personality tests--the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), and the Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI)--as they relate to the alcohol and drug use subgroups.

The data on both the CPI and the MMPI were available on all wards who met the requirement of a sixth-grade reading level. These data also were available on wards who functioned below this level in testing but who could comprehend the items when they were presented by tape-recording. The two tests permit a valuable assessment of personality factors. For a

more detailed discussion of these issues, consult the Personality Factors section of the chapters on Intelligence and Race.

A summary of results on the CPI is provided in Table 29. Mean scores for all drug and alcohol categories as cross-classified by the CPI subscales are reported in this table. Although there are few cases in the severe opiate use column, this subgroup scores somewhat higher than other subgroups on the Self-Acceptance subscale. Lower mean scores for this subgroup can be noted on the Dominance and Psychological Mindedness subscales. Mean scores on the Achievement via Independence and the Flexibility subscales are higher for the severe drug use and the two opiate use subgroups. There seem to be very few other differences in mean scores between subgroups across subscales.

A summary of results on the MMPI is provided in Table 30. As in the previous table, subscale scores across alcohol and drug use groups are generally similar with a few exceptions of mean scores for the moderate and severe opiate use groups.

Table 31 reports the results of the Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI) for the various drug and alcohol groups. The IPI provides a classification of either high or low maturity in accordance with interpersonal maturity theory. Mean scores across subgroups indicate that there is

a general increase in scores from the alcohol and moderate drug use categories to the severe drug use and opiate use categories.

6. Psychiatric Factors

The reader should refer to Chapter 1 for details of this subpopulation. Table 36 shows the parole success rates for wards found to show symptoms of depression, anxiety, and dependency. It should be noted that a particular individual may be part of more than one symptom subgroup. Almost all categories are associated with unfavorable parole success rates, with the exception of wards with a history of severe alcohol misuse who are classified as being depressed.

Table 37 provides information on the diagnosis given by the psychiatrist during the examination. The small number of cases in the various categories precludes extensive comparison.

7. Offense Related Factors Including Violence Information and Parole Follow-up

This section will focus on offense-specific data, with particular attention given to violence and weapons used during commission of the offense. The types of offenses that led to institutionalization are summarized in Table 38. As is commonly found in studies of adult criminal offenders,

this study of young adult offenders shows that individuals who offend against persons are much better risks on parole (in regard to recidivism per se) than are persons who engage in property offenses. Examples of the former include wards committed for robbery and assault, while examples of the latter include wards committed for vehicle theft and forgery.

Although the overall parole success percentages associated with the Total Study Population column seem to support this conclusion, the parole success rates of various alcohol and drug subclassifications generally are unfavorable regardless of the admission offense. Although there are some differences in parole success rates between, for example, the assault and vehicle theft drug use subgroups, both offense groups have a highly unfavorable parole success rate when compared on the moderate drug use column. This finding may show that regardless of the exact nature of the admission offense, a history of drug use is highly indicative of a general poor parole outcome.

Table 39 reports comparative data on the relationship between violation offense and levels of drug and/or alcohol use. Table 40 provides information on whether the admission offense was against person or property. Included in the person offenses are: homicide, negligent manslaughter, robbery, assault, and sex offenses; among the property

CONTINUED

3 OF 6

offenses are burglary, theft, vehicle theft, forgery, and narcotics and alcohol offenses. In this table it can be noted that the parole success rates of person offenders are somewhat higher than those for property and other offenders. In contrast to Table 39, which had insufficient numbers of cases in cells, Table 40 provides some evidence that person offenders as a group are more successful on parole in spite of the level or type of drug use.

Table 42 furnishes information on the caseworker's rating of the severity of violence known in the background of each ward and Table 43 gives the caseworker's estimate of each ward's violence potential. These ratings were carried out agency-wide to assess criminal violence. Both tables indicate the generally poor parole prognosis associated with drug and opiate use although both tables indicate also slightly higher parole success rates for wards assessed as having moderate or serious violence history or potential.

Table 44 presents classifications derived specifically for this study and represents an attempt to obtain data on the history of actual violence for each ward. By expanding the definition of violence to include violent behavior which is not necessarily criminal, e.g., interpersonal conflicts or aggression indicated by threat only, it was felt that a more behaviorally interesting definition might be offered. The addition of the category of aggressive crimes but no

violence provides more of a gradation from no violence to actual acting out behavior. However, the application of these definitions to the comparison of parole success rates reveals only minor differences between these categories when they are compared across drug use columns.

Table 46 shows that over fifty percent of the crimes committed by the offender population were perpetrated with one or more partners. With those cells with sufficient cases, it is possible to see that there are minor differences in parole success rates between rows, although the number of such comparisons is limited. When viewed across all alcohol and drug use columns, wards who acted alone had almost consistently lower parole success rates than those who did not act alone.

Table 48 reports the degree of individual violence perpetrated against the victim as the major cross-classification variable. Again parole success rates decrease across drug columns for the no violence subgroup. Also of interest is the number of positive parole outcome figures associated with the moderate alcohol use column.

REFERENCES

Abel, E.L. The relationship between Cannabis and violence: a review. Psychological Bulletin, 1977, 84, 193-211.

Adams, S., and McArthur, V. Performances of narcotic-involved prison releasees under 3 kinds of community experience. Research Report No. 16. District of Columbia Department of Corrections, 1969. Cited by Petersen, D.M., Some reflections on compulsory treatment of addiction. In Inciardi, J.A., and Chambers, C.D. (Eds.), Drugs and the criminal justice system. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.

Amir, Menachem. Patterns of forcible rape. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1965.

Ball, J.C., O'Donnell, J.A., and Cottrell, E. Selected social characteristics of consecutive admissions to Lexington in 1965. Criminologica, 1966, 4 (2), 13-16.

Barber, T.X. LSD, marijuana, yoga and hypnosis. Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

Barter, J.T., Mizner, G.L., Werme, P.H. Patterns of drug abuse among college students in the Denver-Boulder metropolitan area. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, 1971.

Bearman, D., and Sheridan, M. Patterns of heroin distribution in a white middle-class college community. Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 1971, 4, 65-70.

Blum, R. Drugs and violence. In U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Task Force on Individual Acts of Violence, Crimes of violence (Vol. 13). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969 (a), pp. 1461-1523.

Blum, R. Drugs, behavior, and crime. In Blum and Associates, Society and drugs. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969 (b), pp. 277-291.

Blum, R. Drugs, dangerous behavior, and social policy. In U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force report: narcotics and drug abuse. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967 (a), pp. 64-79.

Blum, R. Mind-altering drugs and dangerous behavior: dangerous drugs. In U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force on Narcotics and Drug Abuse, Task Force report: narcotics and drug abuse. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967 (b), pp. 21-39.

Blum, R. and Associates. Students and drugs. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970.

Bogg, R.A. Drinking as a precursor to hallucinogenic drug usage. Drug Forum, 1976, 5, 55-67.

Boggs, R.V.O., and DeLong, J.V. Basic aspects of the drug addict's conflict with law and society. In Ernest Harms (Ed.), Drugs and youth: the challenge of today. New York: Pergamon Press, 1973, pp. 136-148.

Bullington, B., Munns, J.G., Geis, G., and Raner, J. Concerning heroin use and official records. American Journal of Public Health, 1969, 59 (10), 1887-1893.

Burke, E.L. Drug usage and reported effects on a select adolescent population. Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 1971, 3, 55-62.

Burke, E.L., and Eichberg, R.H. Personality characteristics of adolescent users of dangerous drugs as indicated by the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. Journal of Nervous and Mental Desease, 1972, 154, 291-298.

Cahalan, D., Cisin, I.H., and Crossley, H.M. American drinking practices: a national study of drinking behavior and attitudes. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Center for Alcohol Studies, 1969.

California Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics. Five year follow-up of 1966 drug arrestees. Sacramento: California Department of Justice, 1974.

California Youth Authority Department. Community Centered Drug Program. (Research Report No. 1). Antecedents of drug abuse: a review of the literature, by D. Faye Widmann. Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1973.

California Youth Authority Department. Community Centered Drug Program. (Research Report No. 4). Drug abuse and drug treatment, by Alan L. Switzer. Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1974.

Canada. Commission of Inquiry Into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs. Interim report. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970.

Chambers, C.D. Narcotic addiction and crime: an empirical review. In Inciardi, J.A., and Chambers, C.D. (Eds.), Drugs and the criminal justice system. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.

Chambers, C.D., Brill, L., and Inciardi, J.A. Toward understanding and managing non-narcotic drug abusers. Federal Probation, 1972, 36 (1), 50-55.

Cockett, R. Drug abuse and personality in young offenders. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971.

Cohen, L. The personality of the user--before and after. In R. E. Hicks and P. J. Fink (Eds.), Psychedelic drugs. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1969.

Committee on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence, American Medical Association. The crutch that cripples. In R. E. Horman and A. M. Fox (Eds.), Drug awareness. New York: Avon Books, 1970.

Consumers Union. Licit and illicit drugs. The Consumers Union report on narcotics, stimulants, depressants, inhalants, hallucinogens, and marijuana--including caffeine, nicotine, and alcohol. Mt. Vernon, N. Y.: Consumers Union, 1972.

Cox, C., and Smart, R.G. Social and psychological aspects of speed use. International Journal of the Addictions, 1972, 7, 201-217.

Cushman, P. Relationship between narcotic addiction and crime. Federal Probation, 1974, 38(3), 38-43.

Davis, G. C., and Brehn, M. L. Juvenile prisoners: motivational factors in drug use. In Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1971, 6, 333-334.

DeFleur, L. B. Biasing influences on drug arrest records: implications for deviance research. American Sociological Review, 1975, 40, 88-103.

Eddy, N. B., et al. Drug dependence of hallucinogen (LSD) type. In R. E. Horman and A. M. Fox (Eds.), Drug awareness. New York: Avon Books, 1970.

Edwards, G., Kyle, E., and Nicholls, P. Alcoholics admitted to four hospitals in England. III. Criminal Records. Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1977, 38, 1648-1664. (Abstract from Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1977, 38, 1180).

Einstein, S. The addiction dilemma: gaps in knowledge, information dissemination, service, and training. In J. R. Wittenborn, et al. (Eds.), Drugs and youth: proceedings of the Rutgers Symposium on Drug Abuse. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1969, pp. 92-104.

Ellinwood, E. H. Amphetamine psychosis: (1) Description of the individuals and process. Journal of Mental and Nervous Diseases, 1967, 144, 273-83.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. Uniform crime reports: crime in the United States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Finestone, H. Narcotics and criminality. Law and Contemporary Problems, 1957, 22, 69-85.

Fisher, R. S. Symposium on the compulsory use of chemical tests for alcoholic intoxication. Maryland Medical Journal, 1951, 3, 291-292.

Fort, J. The semantics and logic of the drug scene. In R. E. Horman and A. M. Fox (Eds.), Drug awareness. New York: Avon Books, 1970.

Friedman, C. J., and Friedman, A. S. Drug abuse and delinquency. Drug use in America: problem in perspective. Vol. 3. Second Report of the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Galchus, D. S., and Galchus, K. E. Drug use: some comparisons of black and white college students. Drug Forum, 1977, 6, 65-73.

Geiger, L. H. Age, reported marijuana use, and belief in some assumed negative effects of the drug. Paper presented at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Conference of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Pasadena, Calif., May 19-22, 1971.

Goode, E. The major drugs of use among adolescents and young adults. In E. Harms (Ed.), Drugs and youth: the challenge of today. New York: Pergamon Press, 1973, pp. 33-72.

Goode, E. Multiple drug use among marijuana smokers. Social Problems, 1969, 17, 48-64.

Gossett, J. T., Lewis, J. M., and Phillips, V. A. Psychological characteristics of adolescent drug users and abstainers. Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, 1971, 36(4), 425-435.

Greenberg, S. W. The relationship between crime and amphetamine abuse: an empirical review of the literature. Contemporary Drug Problems, 1976, 5, 101-130.

Greenberg, S. W., and Adler, F. Crime and addiction: an empirical analysis of the literature, 1920-1973. Contemporary Drug Problems, 1973, 3, 221-270.

Gregory, R. J. The eye of the beholder: an important variable in addiction typologies. International Journal of the Addictions, 1971, 6, 161-172.

Guze, S. B., and Cantwell, D. P. Alcoholism, parole observations, and criminal recidivism: a study of 116 parolees. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1965, 122, 436-439.

Guze, S. B., Tuason, V. B., Gatfield, P. D., Stewart, M. A., and Picken, B. Psychiatric illness and crime with particular reference to alcholism: a study of 223 criminals. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 1962, 134, 512-521.

Heroin Indicator Trend Report. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Publication #(ADM) 760315, 1976.

Hill, H. E., Haertzen, C. A., and Davis, J. An MMPI factor analytic study of alcoholics, narcotic addicts, and criminals. Quarterly Journal of Alcohol Studies, 1962, 23(3), 411-431.

James, I. P. Changing patterns of narcotic addiction in Britain. International Journal of the Addictions, 1971, 6, 119-132.

Johnson, W. T., Petersen, R. E., and Wells, L. E. Arrest probabilities for marijuana users as indicators of selective law enforcement. American Journal of Sociology, 1977, 83, 681-699.

Johnston, L. Drugs and American youth. (Youth in Transition project report) Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1973.

Kandel, D. Stages in adolescent involvement in drug use. Science, 1975, 190, 912-914.

Kittrie, N. M., Weaver, J., Trencher, W. M., Wolfgang, J., Dahlke, A., and Tro, J. The juvenile drug offender and the justice system. In Drug Use in America: Problem in perspective, Vol. 3. National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, pp. 686-797.

Kolton, M. S., Dosher, A., and Dwarshuia, L. Community drug abuse programs for youth: a conceptual model. International Journal of the Addictions, 1972, 7, 333-339.

Lennard, H. L., et al. Mystification and drug misuse. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

Lipp, M., et al. Medical student use of marijuana, alcohol, and cigarettes: a study of four schools. International Journal of the Addictions, 1972, 7, 141-152.

Mackay, J. R. Problem drinking among juvenile delinquents. In B. Cohen (Ed.), Crime in America. Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1970.

McDermott, D., and Scheurich, J. The logarithmic normal distribution in relation to the epidemiology of drug abuse. Bulletin on Narcotics, 1977, 29, 13-19.

McGrath, J. H. and Scarpitti, F. R. Youth and drugs: perspectives on a social problem. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1970.

Molof, M. J. Difference between assaultive and non-assaultive juvenile offenders. (Research Report No. 51) Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1967.

Mott, J. The criminal histories of male non-medical opiate users in the United Kingdom. Bulletin on Narcotics, 1975, 27, 41-48.

Murphy, B. C., and Shinyei, M. J. Cons and straights: comparative free behavior rates of 25 delinquents and 25 non-delinquents matched for age and legal occupation in British Columbia, Canada. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, 1976, 18, 343=361.

National Council on Crime and Delinquency. Uniform Parole Reports. Davis, Calif.: NCCD Research Center, annual.

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. First special report to the U.S. Congress on alcohol and health. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. Alcohol and Health: 2nd report to the U.S. Congress - summary and excerpts. National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1974.

National Institute of Health. Marihuana and health. Sixth Annual Report to the U.S. Congress. Rockville, Md.: National Institute of Health, 1976.

Nowlis, H. H. Drugs on the college campus. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969.

O'Donnell, J. A. Narcotic addiction and crime. Social Problems, 1966, 13(4), 374-385.

O'Donnell, J. A. The rise and decline of a subculture. Social Problems, 1967, 15(1), 73-84.

O'Donnell, J. A., Voss, H. L., Clayton, R. R., Slatin, G. T., and Room, R. G. W. Young men and drugs - a nationwide survey. National Institute on Drug Abuse Research Monograph 5, Rockville, Md.: National Institute on Drug Abuse, 1976 (NTIS No. PB 247 446).

Ohmart, H. The community and the juvenile. Current History, 1967, 53(312), 94-101.

Panton, J. H., and Brisson, R. C. Characteristics associated with drug abuse within a state prison population. Corrective Psychiatry and Journal of Social Therapy, 1971, 17(4), 3-33.

Pittel, S. M. Psychological aspects of heroin and other drug dependence. Journal of Psychedelic Drugs, 1971, 4, 40-45.

Roberts, C. F., Jr. Research on drug abuse. In California Youth Authority Department, A review of accumulated research in the California Youth Authority. Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1974.

Roberts, C. F., Jr. Study of the juvenile drug offender. California Youth Authority Quarterly, 1967, 20(4), 3-7.

Robins, L. N. Veterans' drug use three years after Vietnam. Department of Psychiatry, Washington University School of Medicine, 1975.

Roebuck, J. B. Criminal typology: the legalistic, psychiatric-constitutional-hereditary, psychological-psychiatric, and sociological approaches. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1967.

Schoell, J. D., and Tupker, H. E. An examination of some personality and behavioral characteristics of institutionalized delinquent drug users and nonusers. Eldora, Iowa: Iowa Training School for Boys, Research Center, 1971.

Shellow, R. Drug abuse and crime: fact or fancy? Contemporary Drug Problems, 1976, 5, 131-147.

Silver, A. M. Some personality characteristics of groups of young drug misusers and delinquents. British Journal of Addictions, 1977, 72, 143-150.

Smart, R. G. Illicit drug use in Canada: a review of current epidemiology with clues for prevention. International Journal of the Addictions, 1971, 6, 383-405.

Stencel, S. Resurgence of alcoholism. Editorial Research Reports, No. 24, December 26, 1973.

Stephens, R. C., and Ellis, R. D. Narcotic addicts and crime. Criminology, 1975, 12, 474-488.

Sullivan, N. D., and Fleshman, R. P. Paternal deprivation in male heroin addicts. Drug Forum, 1975-76, 5, 75-79.

Taylor, S. P., Gammon, C. B., and Capasso, D. R. Aggression as a function of the interaction of alcohol and threat. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 34, 938-941.

U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. Illicit use of dangerous drugs in the United States: a compilation of studies, surveys, and polls, by Dorothy F. Berg. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. Marijuana: an analysis of use, distribution and control. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Task Force on Individual Acts of Violence. Crimes of violence (Vol. 12), prepared by Donald J. Mulvihill and Melvin M. Tumin. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

U.S. National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. Marihuana: a signal of misunderstanding. New York: New American Library, 1972.

U.S. National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Alcohol and the criminal justice system: challenge and response, by Helen Erskine. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

U.S. President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia. Report. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Task Force on Narcotics and Drug Abuse. Task Force report: narcotic and drug abuse. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Voss, H. L., and Stephens, R. C. Criminal history of narcotic addicts. Drug Forum, 1973, 2(2), 191-202.

Wald, P. M., and Hutt, P. The Drug Abuse Survey Project: summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations. In Drug Abuse Survey Project, Dealing with drug abuse: a report to the Ford Foundation. New York: Praeger, 1972, pp. 3-61.

Way, E. L. Contemporary classification, pharmacology, and abuse potential of psychotropic substances. In J. R. Wittenhorn, et al. (Eds.), Drugs and youth: proceedings of the Rutgers Symposium on Drug Abuse. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1969, pp. 27-36.

Wechsler, H. Alcohol intoxication and drug use among teen-agers. Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1976, 37, 1672-1677.

Weil, A. T. Altered states of consciousness. In Drug Abuse Survey Project, Dealing with drug abuse: a report to the Ford Foundation. New York: Praeger, 1972, pp. 329-344.

Weissman, J. C., Giacinti, T. A., and Lanasa, F. W. Undetected opiate use: a comparison of official drug user files and a private methadone clinic's patient records. Journal of Criminal Justice, 1973, 1(2), 135-144.

Weissman, J. C., Marr, S.W., and Katsampes, P. L. Addiction and criminal behavior: a continuing examination of criminal addicts. Journal of Drug Issues, 1976, 6, 153-165.

Weitzner, M., Smith, A., Pollack, H., Gerver, I., and Figlio, R. M. A study of the relationship of disposition and subsequent criminal behavior in a sample of youthful marijuana offenders in New York State. In Drug use in America: Problem in perspective, Vol. 13. National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

West, D. J., and Farrington, D. P. The delinquent way of life. New York: Crane Russak, 1977.

Whitehead, P. C., and Cabral, R. M. Scaling the consequence of drug using behaviors: a test of the stepping-stone hypothesis. Drug Forum, 1975-1976, 5, 45-53.

Wolfgang, M. E. Patterns in criminal homicide. New York: John Wiley, 1966.

CHAPTER 4

VIOLENCE

The reader should refer to the Data Maps "Violence" and "Assault" for the tables discussed in the statistical description section.

VIOLENCE FACTORS AND CRIME

DEFINITION OF VIOLENCE

The term "violence" often suggests simply an individual confrontation in which one person seeks to do harm to another. However, on closer examination it becomes apparent that an operational definition of violence, as required for scientific inquiry, is difficult to formulate. As Megargee (1969b) remarked, "No definition of violence has ever proved completely successful."

A commonly used term, "violence" is a topic of great concern in this society. The combination of sex and violence in American movies and paperback books is frequently deplored. The word itself is widely used, but a behaviorally accurate description of its phenomenon is elusive. The Encyclopedia Britannica Dictionary defines a violent act as having the characteristics of "physical force," "intense emotional excitement," and "unjust coercion." Goldensen (1970) made no mention of violence in the Encyclopedia of Human Behavior but defined aggression as "violent destructive behavior usually directed toward bringing suffering or death to other people, but sometimes displaced to objects or turned inward to the self." In a more ambitious attempt to clarify the term, Garver (1968) stated that violence is associated more with violation than with force. Garver expanded the definition of violence along two dimensions: personal/institutional and overt/covert. Overt personal violence includes physical assault, rape, and murder, while overt institutional violence includes warfare and riots. Covert violence refers to a threat of injury (personal) as well as to institu-

tionalized racism (institutional). Garver's distinction between personal and institutional violence is similar to that suggested by Spiegel (1968), who distinguished between individual violence (in which the assailant knows his victim) and collective violence (war, gang warfare, civil disorders).

The formulation of a behaviorally accurate definition of violence is complicated by the need to determine legality and intentionality. Megargee (1969b) defined violence as the "overtly threatened or overtly accomplished application of force which results in the injury or destruction of persons or property or reputation or the illegal appropriation of property." This definition is legally ambiguous since it fails to distinguish between violent crimes (homicide, forcible rape, gang violence) and legal "violence" such as executions, homicide in self-defense, police activities, or sports-related injuries. Intentionality, since its nature cannot be observed, is even more difficult to determine. While committing an act of violence a person may not always be aware of the exact nature or full magnitude of his actions. The existence of the "unconscious" indicates that motives are not always self-evident, even to the aggressor. The determination of intentionality, therefore, is often arbitrary.

The fact that legal and behavioral definitions of violence often are not comparable also indicates that the study of violence may be based on ambiguous assumptions. The absence of agreement on which acts are violent and which are not impedes progress in both theoretical explanation and empirical

documentation of the phenomenon. This should not discourage further attempts to understand and explain violence, since only by continued examination can violence be better defined.

Another important definitional problem concerns the meaning of "dangerousness" as it relates to violence. As used in this study, "dangerousness" implies potentiality: the possibility of behavior that is likely to cause harm. An assessment of the potential for violence is somewhat different from the description of an assaultive act. According to Sarbin (1967), "violence denotes actions, while danger denotes a relationship." Thus, the antecedents of the two may be different. The relationship implied by "danger" involves a precursor of violent behavior that may be triggered under certain conditions or in a specific situation. Defining an offender as "dangerous" indicates that violence or assaultive behavior may be the predictable outcome of certain antecedent or concurrent conditions: an offender is dangerous if he is assessed as having the potential to do harm to others. This behavioral possibility can be assessed by reviewing the offender's history, which often allows authorities to make speculations about his future behavior. It is this retrospective element that distinguishes between the description of a violent behavioral incident and the identification of an offender as dangerous. A violent incident may also be dependent upon antecedent conditions, but it does not necessarily assume a potentiality for violence in either offenders or situations.

Dangerousness is defined by the District of Columbia in

terms of acts "which result in harm to others, or cause trouble or inconvenience to others" (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, 1963). Dershowitz (1970) and Goldstein and Katz (1960) have defined the term by fusing "severity" and "likelihood," indicating that a person should never be confined unless the danger he poses is of sufficient severity and sufficient likelihood to warrant deprivation of his freedom. An approximation of this definition was offered by the Council of Judges of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (1972), which identified two types of dangerous offender: (1) the offender who has committed a serious crime against a person and shows a behavior pattern of persistent assaultiveness based on serious mental disturbance; and (2) the offender who is deeply involved in organized crime (Board of Directors, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1973). These definitions will be excluded from further discussion here in favor of a dangerousness model that is contingent upon retrospective understanding.

INCIDENCE OF VIOLENT CRIME

It is customary to regard offenses involving the exercise of physical force, or intimidation by threat of physical force, as belonging to a special category of "crimes of violence" (Morris and Hawkins, 1969). As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) reported, "The crimes that concern Americans the most are those that affect their personal safety--at home, at work, or in the streets." The problem of "collective violence" (war, riots, etc.) is not of primary interest here. It is individual

violence that commands primary attention in this chapter. Of the seven Index crimes in the Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, four are crimes of personal violence: murder, aggravated assault, rape, and robbery. In 1976, these crimes together accounted for 9 per cent of all Index crimes in the United States (F.B.I., 1977).

It is popularly believed that American society is becoming more violent, that crimes against the person occur much more frequently today than in the past. A survey conducted for the President's Crime Commission found that one-third of Americans felt unsafe walking alone at night in their own neighborhoods and other national polls have indicated that most people think that the situation in their own communities is getting worse (U.S. President's Commission, 1967). How accurate are these feelings that the individual is in much greater danger of personal attack than he was in the "good old days"? In a staff report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, the Task Force on Individual Acts of Violence (1970) stated that there was no historical evidence that levels and trends of criminal violence were significantly greater during the period from the 1930's to 1970 than in the more distant past. Examination of trends from the latter part of this period, however, produces less comforting conclusions.

Any estimate of levels and trends of violent crime in the United States is hampered by the recognized inadequacies in the statistics compiled on crime in this country. Variations in legal definitions of offenses, changes in reporting procedures

leading to incomparability of data over time, high levels of unreported crime, police misclassification of offenses, and inadequacies in classification procedures all limit the reliability and validity of statistics on crime (Doleschal, 1969). Williams (1976), studying the effects of victim characteristics on the dispositions of 5,042 violent crimes, found that cases in which the screening prosecutor perceived victim provocation or participation were more likely to be "no-papered," i.e., dismissed at screening by the prosecutor. It should be understood, therefore, that estimates of crime frequencies and trends are no more than "best guesses" concerning the real extent of crime in the United States.

The Task Force on Individual Acts of Violence, in its staff report to the National Commission, presented national rates for each of the seven major F.B.I. Index crimes, as well as combined rates for the four violent crimes and the three property crimes. Based on offenses known to the police, the levels of major violent crimes were dwarfed by the levels of major property crime. Over time, the levels for the four major violent crime rates combined were lower than those of auto theft alone (which, in turn, has generally been the property offense with the lowest rates). Although violent crimes are generally considered much more serious than property crimes, the latter have a much higher rate of incidence.

In recent years, however, there has been a striking similarity between the reported upward trends in violence and in property crime rates. Since 1965, the reported combined

violence rate has increased 40 per cent, while the reported combined property rate increased 48 per cent (Task Force, 1970). In other words, the proportion of violent offenses in the total number of Index offenses reported has remained fairly constant.

Analysis of the data on crime from the 1930's to 1970 led the Task Force to conclude that, at least with respect to homicide, robbery, and assault, meaningful increases in true rates occurred. (The large reported increases in forcible rape are more difficult to interpret and reliable conclusions about trends in true rates of forcible rape cannot be drawn.) Depending on which year is taken as a base rate, trends in these three violent offenses have varied over time but, at least since 1958, there have been definite increases in reported rates.

The crime of murder, the killing of a human being with malice aforethought and without justification, is the most obvious form of violence. The criminal homicide trend decreased 10 per cent from 1933 to 1968. When 1940 is taken as the base year, there was a slight increase of 5 per cent. The 1958-68 period registered an increase of 48 per cent, while the 1965-68 period increase alone was 33 per cent. According to Uniform Crime Reports (F.B.I., 1977), the murder rate increased 41.9 per cent between 1967 and 1976, although a decrease of 2.2 per cent was shown for the period 1972-1976. This rate in terms of number of individuals in the population who committed murders was 8.9 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1972 and 9.3 in 1973 (Schonborn, 1975). The figure decreased again to 8.9 in 1976 (F.B.I., 1977). The F.B.I. reported in 1978 that although overall crime

rates have dropped somewhat recently (3 per cent between 1976 and 1977), violent crime rates have continued to rise; the number of murders rose by 2 per cent between 1976 and 1977. Somers (1976) also reported this rise in violent crime, calling murder the fastest growing cause of death. The annual homicide rate, according to this study, rose over 100 per cent from 1960 to 1974.

It should be noted that the incidence of violent crimes varies according to whether official records or self-reported crime figures are used. Stephan (1977) reported a "dark figure" relation of 1:14 for crimes of violence, that is, only one of fourteen committed offenses was known to the police. West and Farrington (1977) also found in their fourteen-year study of 389 male youths that official police records were an extremely poor index of the true extent of violence among their subjects.

The overall reported robbery trend showed an increase since 1958 that began gradually but has become unprecedented. The Uniform Crime Reports showed a rise of 139 per cent from 1958 to 1972; 84 per cent from 1965 to 1968, and 90 per cent between 1967 and 1976. Schonborn (1975) reported that the robbery rate for 1973 was 182 per 100,000 inhabitants. According to U.C.R. the estimated rate for 1976 was 195.8 (F.B.I., 1977). There was, however, a 10 per cent decline in the robbery rate between 1975 and 1976. The number of juvenile arrests for robbery also decreased between 1975 and 1976, according to the Bureau of Criminal Statistics (1976).

The increase in aggravated assault in recent years resembles

the 1958-68 upsurge in reported robberies. Assaults increased 79 per cent between 1958 and 1968 and 29 per cent between 1965 and 1968 (Task Force, 1970). Between 1976 and 1977, aggravated assaults increased another 6 per cent (F.B.I., 1978). Schonborn (1975) reported that the aggressive assault rate per 100,000 in 1973 was 198. This figure increased over the next three years to an estimated 228.7 for 1976 (F.B.I., 1977), a 75.7% increase from 1967.

Between 1967 and 1972, the violent crime rate as a whole increased 59 per cent (F.B.I., 1972) and increased another 14.6 per cent between 1972 and 1976, although declining 4.5 per cent in 1975 (F.B.I., 1977). According to the most recent statistics (F.B.I., 1978) the overall crime rate dropped another 3 per cent between 1976 and 1977.

A significant amount of the increase in reported crimes against the person may be explained by demographic changes--urbanization and age redistribution in the population. Violent crime is primarily a phenomenon of large cities (U.S. National Commission, 1969). U.C.R. noted that, while the overall U.S. homicide rate was 8.9 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1972, this figure varied from a high of 19.7 in cities with populations of more than 250,000 to 4.6 in suburban and 7.4 in rural locales. From all the agencies reporting to the Uniform Crime Reports in 1967, six cities with populations of more than one million (12 per cent of the total population) contributed about one-third of the total reported major violent crimes (Menninger, 1970). Twenty-six cities with populations over 500,000

contributed 49 per cent of the total, although they comprised only about 19 per cent of the total population (Task Force, 1970). Thus the movement of people into urban areas over the past few decades may be responsible for much of the increase in violence there.

Similarly, the young, who have been shown to commit more crimes against the person, have become an increasingly large proportion of the total population in the postwar years (Task Force, 1970). The Task Force reported that 18 per cent of the increase in the four major violent crimes between 1950 and 1965 was attributable to urbanization alone and 12 per cent of the increase in arrests for the four major violent crimes between 1950 and 1965 was attributable to age redistribution alone.

The effects of urbanization and age redistribution are emphasized not to play down any increase in violent crime but to show that a significant proportion of recent reported increases in violence is attributable to basic demographic shifts in society rather than to pathogenic factors (Task Force, 1970). Additional information on the relationship between age and commission of violent crimes is presented in the third section of this chapter.

Rates of violent crime vary not only between urban and rural areas of the country but also from one region to another, from one city to another, and within a single city from one neighborhood to another. These variations are not reflected in national rates of crimes against the person, but must be derived from studies of crime rates and patterns. Variations among

cities in rates of each type of violent crime were examined by Normandeau and Schwartz (1971). These authors studied crime in 164 standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's) in an attempt to classify different cities as "high burglary area" or "low rape area." Using a sextile deviation, which identifies the upper and lower 16.7 per cent of cases in the distribution, these researchers obtained profiles for each city on each crime category for the years 1960, 1963, and 1966. They found considerable variance in each of the seven major Index crimes.

Other researchers have studied the variation of offense patterns from one neighborhood to another within a single city. A study of robbery in the United States, with special emphasis on patterns in the city of Oakland, California, found that in a three-year period in which Oakland's robbery rate was one of the highest in the country, two-thirds of the half-block areas in the city recorded no robberies at all. Twenty-five per cent of the robberies occurred in 4 per cent of the half-block areas in the city and over 50 per cent occurred along 36 major streets (Feeney and Weir, 1974).

Regional variations in the reported rates for the major offenses against persons also have been found. For 1967, the Task Force found that the South had the highest reported homicide offense rate: the overall rate for the South was 9 per 100,000 compared with 5 each in the North Central, the West, and the Northeast regions. The reported Southern homicide offense rate levels were consistently about twice as high as those for any other region (Task Force, 1970).

Gastil (1971) argued that violence rates in other parts of the country could be explained partly by the proportion of their population that came from the South. Glaser and Zeigler (1974) asserted that the South has led the nation in homicide rates and in the use of capital punishment, and Glaser (1975) suggested that violence is condoned more in the South than in other regions of the United States. However, Bailey (1976) criticized Gastil's findings because they were based on Public Health Service figures, which do not differentiate between types of killings. Bailey's data, which included socioeconomic and demographic factors as control variables, indicated that Southerness had only a slight independent effect on homicide rate.

Forcible rape offense rates in the West were nearly twice as high as those in each of the other regions in 1967, while the sharpest overall reported increase was in the North Central states where the rate more than doubled from 1958 to 1967. Reported robbery offense rates for 1967 were highest in the Northeast, although the North Central and Western rates were only insignificantly lower. For aggravated assault, the South was consistently highest, the West consistently second, and the other two regions remained close together in third place over the period from 1958 to 1967 (Task Force, 1970).

The Task Force (1970) computed the proportion of Americans in the total population who were responsible for serious crimes against persons. For the year 1968, 295 major violent crimes were reported for every 100,000 people in the country. (This figure was estimated at 459.6 for 1976 (F.B.I., 1977).) Because

multiple offenders in the same crime are common, the Task Force's conservative estimate was that there were more than twice as many offenders as offenses in major violent crime. Thus, for 1968, there were probably 600 violent offenders for every 100,000 persons in the country. Since victimization surveys indicate that the true rate of crimes against persons is about twice as great as the reported rate, the Task Force estimated that roughly one out of every 100 persons in the United States may have committed a major violent crime in 1968.

Estimates of the cumulative proportion of the population committing at least one offense against persons over a number of years are even more striking. A longitudinal study of a Philadelphia birth cohort (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1972) found that 22 per cent of the 10,000 boys studied were arrested for one or more of the major crimes of violence over the ten-year study period. Such findings are probably more revealing than annual figures in estimating the proportion of Americans who are responsible for serious crimes against persons.

Whether violent crimes are observed for any one year or over a number of years, rates are considerably higher for certain subgroups of the total national population than for others (Task Force, 1970). Characteristics that distinguish these offender subgroups, in addition to urban residence (already discussed), include age, sex, race, socioeconomic status, and intelligence, and are discussed in the next section.

CHARACTERISTICS OF OFFENDERS AGAINST PERSONS

Statistics on offenders, as opposed to those on offenses,

are based solely on arrests by police since the mere knowledge that an offense has been committed reveals nothing about the characteristics of the offender. Because those arrested by police may not be an unbiased sample of offenders in general, conclusions drawn from arrest data are risky; however, arrest figures remain the most reliable source of information about the personal characteristics of offenders.

The clearance rates for crimes against persons are relatively high in comparison with those for property crimes. Nationally, law enforcement agencies continue to be successful in clearing by arrest a greater percentage of homicides than of any other Crime Index offense. Eighty-two per cent of the homicides in 1972 were solved. Of these, persons under 18 years of age were involved in 5 per cent of the criminal homicides solved by police. In 1972, 66 per cent of the cases of aggravated assault were cleared by arrest. Persons under 18 years of age were identified in 11 per cent of these clearances. For forcible rape, 57 per cent of the total number of cases reported to the police in 1972 were cleared by arrest, 12 per cent of these by the arrest of individuals under 18. For the same year, 30 per cent of the total reported robbery offenses were cleared by arrest. Adults were involved in 80 per cent of these offenses, while persons under 18 were involved in 13 per cent of the clearances for armed robberies and 31 per cent of those for strong-arm robberies (F.B.I., 1972).

1. Age

After examining arrest rates in urban areas of the United

States, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence concluded in 1969 that violent crime in cities was concentrated among youths between the ages of 15 and 24 (U.S. National Commission, 1969). Its Task Force indicated that for the period 1958-67 the levels of reported homicide arrests were consistently highest for the 18- to 24-year-old group and consistently lowest for the 10- to 14-year-old group. The other age ranges remained at levels somewhere in between. Violent crime arrests for persons under 18 years of age increased 28 per cent during the five-year period of 1972-1976. The C.Y.A. (1977), reporting on admission characteristics of Youth Authority wards, found that the proportion of violent-type commitment offenses doubled in the years from 1970 to 1975, then stabilized in 1976. Regarding homicide, the U.S. National Commission (1969) reported much sharper increases between 1958 and 1967 in juvenile arrest rates relative to rates for other groups. While the rate of increase over the period was 76 per cent for the 18-24 group, the 10-14 cohort rate increased by 150 per cent and the 15-17 rate by 112 per cent (Task Force, 1970).

The 18- to 24-year-old group was shown to have consistently maintained the highest reported rate level for forcible rape while the 15-17 group was consistently second, the 25-plus group third, and the 10-14 group fourth.

In the case of robbery, the reported arrest rates for the 18- to 24-year-old group and for the 15- to 17-year-old group have been highest by far over this period. The 10-14 group and the 25-plus group have had much lower arrest rate levels.

The overall upward trend in arrest rates was greater in robbery than in any other of the four major violent crimes. The 10-14 reported arrest rate increased 193 per cent over the period. The rate for the 15-17 cohort increased by 87 per cent, enough to surpass the 18-24 arrest rate level in 1965. The rate of the latter group increased by 38 per cent over the period.

The 18-24 group consistently showed the highest reported aggravated assault arrest rate over the 10-year period. The reported 15-17 rate level was consistently second and the 25-plus level consistently third.

The Task Force concluded that a significant relationship existed between the true rate for each of the major violent crimes and that for the 18-24 and 15-17 cohorts. That this did not apply to the 10-14 cohort shows that it is misleading to generalize about "juveniles" and "youth" without specifying definite and rather narrow age ranges. With regard to trends, the Task Force noted a disproportionate increase in the true rates of the 10-14 and 15-17 cohorts for robbery and aggravated assault and suggested that, since Census projections indicated a continued increase in the juvenile and youth age groups relative to other population groups, a large part of any violence reduction policy should be concentrated on these groups (Task Force, 1970).

The concentration of violent crime among the younger age groups has been pointed out by many researchers. Block and Zimring (1973) studied homicide in Chicago during the period of 1965 to 1970. They noted that killings involving younger

victims and younger offenders increased far more substantially than did aggregate homicide rates. Homicide offense rates for black males aged 15-24 almost tripled during the six-year period, while victimization among the same group more than tripled.

Sagalyn (1970) reviewed research on robbery in the United States during the period from 1965-1970, observing that 75 per cent of all persons arrested for robbery violations during 1968 were under 25 years old. Strong-arm robbers tended to be most often teenagers (Sagalyn, 1971). Quinney (1975) found that 31.9 per cent of all arrests for robbery were under 18 and 54 per cent were under age 21. According to Quinney, a study of robbery in Philadelphia found that the highest arrest rates were for ages 15-19 and 20-24. Weir (1973), in an attempt to learn about the robber through the victim, discovered that the robber in the population studied was almost always a black male in his late teens or early 20's. Ward, et al. (1975) also found that many street robberies involving two or more robbers were committed by youths. The perpetrator of armed robberies was likely to be young, and juveniles frequently regarded commission of a robbery as an admirable display of manhood. Nonvisible (off-street) robberies were generally committed by youths who were more likely to be armed than in visible robberies.

In contrast to these findings, other reports have indicated that the image of a vicious juvenile population is not substantiated by the available evidence. The F.B.I. (1977) reported that only 4.6 per cent of the total juvenile arrest offenses in 1977 were crimes against persons. Wolfgang (1970)

reported that although two-thirds of all automobile thefts and one-half of all burglaries and robberies were committed by persons under 18 years of age, the same group accounted for only 8 per cent of criminal homicides and 18 per cent of forcible rapes and aggravated assaults.

Using U.C.R. data, Wolfgang (1970) calculated the rates of violent crime for youths between the ages of 10 and 17 for the years 1958-1964. (See also N.Y. Division of Youth, 1966, and Beatties and Kenney, 1966.) After summing the population of all cities of 25,000 inhabitants or more, Wolfgang divided the number of arrested juveniles by the population of persons between the ages of 10 and 17 and then multiplied by 100,000. The rates for these years were then compared. It was found that the rates for negligent manslaughter and rape remained stable or decreased, while those for criminal homicide increased slightly. Aggravated assault was found to have more than doubled during this period.

Comparing 1967 and 1972 U.C.R. data on violent crimes by persons under 18 years of age, it can be seen that this age group accounted for 24.3 per cent of all crime in 1967, and 25.6 per cent in 1972--a negligible increase.

In a study of crime in a birth cohort, Wolfgang (1970) and Wolfgang, et al. (1972) followed 10,000 males born in 1945 from their tenth to their eighteenth years. Of the entire cohort, 3,475 or 35 per cent were delinquent (had at least one contact with the police). Twenty-nine per cent of the white subjects and 50 per cent of the nonwhite group were found to be

delinquent. In general, about 30 per cent of the cohort's offenses were Index crimes (as defined by UC.R.) involving injury, theft, or damage. Of 815 personal attacks (homicide, rape, aggravated and simple assaults), 53 per cent were committed by chronic offenders. Seventy per cent of the nonwhite violent delinquents were chronic offenders and nonwhites were found to have assault and robbery rates six and twelve times (respectively) the rates for white delinquents. Most offenses of bodily injury were committed by delinquent repeaters; fewer than 10 per cent of the injury offenses were committed by one-time offenders, although one-time offenders comprised 45 per cent of all the delinquents.

According to Wolfgang (1970), then, there is no need for an alarmist attitude concerning the volume of youth crime. Until age-specific data are available, a highly plausible explanation of youth crime, confirmed by Sagi and Wellford (1968), may be that there are more young people.

2. Sex

Using the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reports (U.C.R.) and the U.S. Census reports on population for the period 1958-1967 (urban data only), the Task Force (1970) examined arrest rate breakdowns for males and females. Reported male arrest rates for this period were overwhelmingly greater than reported female arrest rates. For example, in 1967 the reported male homicide rate was about five times higher than the female rate, the aggravated assault rate about 6.5 times greater, and the robbery rate about twenty times greater. When the seven major

F.B.I. Index offenses (criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny of $50 and over, and auto theft) were considered, only 14 per cent were committed by females in 1967 (F.B.I., 1967). The Task Force concluded that, in spite of the statistical problems, it was safe to infer that the true level of violent crime was still disproportionately weighted toward male offenders. This conclusion is upheld by F.B.I. findings (1978). For the year 1976-77, males under age 25 accounted for 56 per cent of those arrested, and men were arrested in five of six cases.

3. Race

A significant relationship exists also between race and violent crime. Using U.C.R. arrest rate levels and U.S. Census Population reports for 1964 to 1967, the Task Force (1970) concluded that a much greater proportion of all four major violent crimes was committed by blacks than by whites. The following rates are based on U.C.R. data for the year 1967: with respect to criminal homicide, the arrest rate for blacks in the 10- to 17-year-old group was about 17 times greater than that for the white 10-17 cohort, while the black rate for all ages (10 and over) was 18 times greater than the corresponding white rate. In forcible rape, the black reported arrest rates for both age groups were 12 times those of whites. The robbery arrest rate for those blacks under 18 years old was twenty times higher than the white 10-17 cohort rate, while the overall black rate was 16 times that of whites. In aggravated assault, the black reported arrest rate for 10- to 17-year olds was eight times the corresponding white rate, and the black rate

over all ages was approximately ten times the white rate.

Increases in reported black urban arrest rates during the 1964-67 period for criminal homicide, forcible rape, and robbery were greater than increases in white rates. Aggravated assault was the only major violent crime in which the reported urban arrest rate for whites rose faster than that for blacks (Task Force, 1970).

Graham (1970) contended that the picture of black crime presented by F.B.I. figures was distorted because only violent offenses were surveyed, while white-collar and middle-class crimes were excluded. Moreover, the statistics were based not on convictions but on arrests. Graham and others have charged that blacks are arrested more often than whites.

The Task Force (1970) warned that national arrest rate computations must be kept in proper perspective. It is perhaps inappropriate to compare levels and trends of violence for whites and blacks since these populations represent significant social and cultural differences. If it were possible to reproduce a social world for whites to parallel that experienced by blacks, legitimate comparisons could be made concerning the violent behavior of both groups. In a classic delinquency study in Chicago, for example, it was concluded that rates of delinquency for black boys (as for whites) varied by type of area. Although delinquency rates were higher for black boys than for white boys in general, they were not necessarily higher than rates for white boys in comparable areas (Shaw and McKay, 1969).

While noting that violence rate differentials between blacks and whites could be noticeably smaller if conditions of equal opportunity prevailed, the Task Force (1970) attempted to derive the true levels and trends of major violence by race from reported arrest figures. They concluded that: (1) from 1964 to 1967, the true rate for criminal homicide probably increased faster for blacks than for whites; (2) the true increase in rates of robbery for blacks was probably greater than for whites, although reporting problems made this conclusion less certain; and (3) for forcible rape and aggravated assault, it was impossible to say whether the true rate of increase was significantly greater for one race than for the other (Task Force, 1970).

Numerous explanations have been offered of why reported arrest rate levels indicate a markedly higher involvement in the major violent crimes by blacks than by whites. The apparent predominance of black participation in acts of violence has been attributed to sociological, anthropological, biological, and/or psychological factors. The Task Force pointed out that simple causal references about race and violence must be avoided. However, although no adequate determination of cause exists, evidence regarding race and violent behavior strongly suggests that differences in the rates of violent crime may be due to social and cultural variations. There are marked differences in the patterns of life and in opportunities of blacks and whites. Unlike whites, blacks experience the effects of segregation and barriers to upward mobility, which have tended to decrease their

motivation to conform to norms and laws set by "white" society. Graham (1970) noted other common theories of causation of the high black crime rate in terms of poverty and cultural isolation. Explanations are likely to be most accurate when a combination of such forces is considered.

Williams and Gold (1972) examined self-report data of 800 juveniles and found that white girls were no more or less frequently delinquent than black girls; white boys were no more or less frequently delinquent than black boys but were less seriously delinquent. Assault was one of the offenses accounting for the greater seriousness of black delinquents' behavior. In a study of 2,860 male youths followed over a twelve-month period, Fishman (1977) found no significant relationship between race and violent crime arrest rates except for the 16- to 18-year-old group.

Baker, et al. (1975) studied 536 juveniles from underprivileged areas and found a discrepancy between official and self-reported delinquency: a higher proportion of those arrested for violent crimes were black, whereas self-report data indicated no racial differences, leading to the conclusion that selectivity in the criminal justice system could account for some of the findings pertaining to the relationship between race and delinquency. Duncan (1976), in a study of differential perceptions and attributions of violence based on the race of the perpetrator, also found incidence of racial bias. Curtis (1974) examined 1967 data from 17 cities and composed a national aggregate of criminal violence. Reported homicide and aggravated

assault, according to this aggregate, most frequently involved black offenders and victims, with the next most frequently reported racial patterns being white offenders on white victims and black offenders on white victims. Heilbrun and Heilbrun (1977) found a difference in impulse control between blacks and whites. Black criminals who had committed violent crimes were characterized by poorer impulse control than white violent criminals. No racial differences in self-control were found for nonviolent criminals.

4. Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status is also seen as a determining factor in violent crimes, with higher rates of violent crimes generally found for persons of lower socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status usually refers to the perpetrator's income, occupation, or education. Although an SES index including education as well as occupation and income would be valuable, few analyses using such an index are available. However, since these three variables are closely related, an analysis of violent crime using any one of them provides an adequate approximation.

In a Philadelphia cohort study of youthful male offenders, socioeconomic status (SES) was derived from the mean income in the census tract where each individual resided. Upper and lower socioeconomic status were the two categories reported. For assaultive crimes the rate per 1,000 for lower SES cohort boys was 142, while the rate for upper SES boys was only 30. Similarly, in robbery, the rate for the lower group was 35 while that for the upper SES group was six (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1972).

Fannin and Clinard (1965) had previously reported that, compared to their middle-class counterparts, lower-class delinquents committed many more violent crimes and were more often involved in violent incidents. Studies (based on self-report data) have revealed that crimes of violence are somewhat more common among boys from lower social classes (Hardt and Bodine, 1965; Elmhorn, 1965).

In many studies, the offender's occupation has been the primary indication of socioeconomic status. Investigations consistently relate major violence to offenders at the lower end of the occupation scale. Data from a succession of studies in Philadelphia indicated the percentages of violent offenders at the lower end of the occupational scale, ranging generally from skilled workers to the unemployed. A study by Wolfgang (1958) determined that roughly 90-95 per cent of criminal homicide offenders from both races were in this group. Amir (1965) found 90 per cent of forcible rape offenders, and Normandeau (1968) found 92-97 per cent of robbery offenders to be at the low end of the occupational scale.

The D.C. Crime Commission found that 44 per cent of black offenders in major violent crimes and 40 per cent of white offenders were unemployed. The violent offender, whether employed or not, was generally found to have an occupational history of unskilled work (D.C. Crime Commission, 1966). A Victim-Offender Survey by the Task Force (1970) recorded separate occupational breakdowns for offenders arrested for criminal homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault, armed

robbery, and unarmed robbery. From these national data from big cities it was shown that the highest percentages of major violent crimes were committed predominantly by offenders holding "labor" occupations. The "student" category, however, shows proportionately large percentages, particularly for armed and unarmed robbery. This finding reflected mainly arrests of juvenile offenders. The Task Force concluded that the true rates of major violence appeared to be much greater for those of lower socioeconomic status than for those of higher status. The poor, uneducated individual with minimal or no employment skills is more likely to commit serious violence than the person higher up on the socioeconomic ladder (Task Force, 1970).

5. Intelligence

The relationship between intelligence and crimes of violence has been examined by several studies. Caplan and Gligor (1964) reported in their study of 1,100 juvenile delinquents that subjects convicted of assault had significantly lower I.Q.'s than those in all other categories. This finding is supported by that of Gerrish (1975) whose factor analysis on a smaller sample (N = 100) indicated a positive relationship between low I.Q. and violent crime commission. Another study recommended special social readaptation services for offenders with "mental abnormalities" because of the frequency of aggressive behaviors toward others exhibited by this group (Lech-Sobezak, 1973). Rockoff and Hoffman (1977) also found that retarded inmates had committed more violent crimes than had inmates of normal intelligence (N = 2,227). Contradicting these

findings somewhat was the study by Stein (1974), who concluded that aggressive and nonaggressive boys showed no differences on intelligence scores (WISC).

Another group of studies presented research relating to abstract reasoning ability and violent crime (e.g., Baker, et al., 1975; Hays and Solway, 1977; and Kunce, et al., 1976). Some of these studies indicated that individuals exhibiting violent behavior scored lower than nonviolent individuals on certain measures (e.g., Wechsler Similarities Ratio) of abstract reasoning abilities. Wagner and Klein (1977), studying attackers and murderers, found a substantial difference in I.Q. in favor of the attacker. Ruff, et al. (1976) found that rapists had lower I.Q.'s than a sample of nonrapist prisoners. Walshe-Brennan (1977) studied eleven children convicted of homicide and found them to be of normal intelligence.

6. Poor Impulse Control

In a study of 31 juveniles charged with homicide, Sorrels (1977) concluded that most of them had been deprived of models for controlling impulses. Plutchik, et al. (1976) also concluded that individuals who showed overt violence tended to have poor control, as measured by the Monroe Dyscontrol Scale.

7. Family Characteristics

In detailing a profile to describe individuals who show repeated acts of violence against other individuals, Plutchik, et al. (1976) cited history of family violence as a variable correlated with violence. Walshe-Brennan's 1977 analysis of eleven children convicted of murder indicated an over-dominant

maternal relationship in eight of the males studied, although the need for future research on this aspect was indicated. The relationship between physical punishment of children and their subsequent behavior was examined by Maurer (1977). Among a sample of the most violent inmates in San Quentin, 100 per cent had suffered extreme punishment and most of a sample of juvenile delinquents had experienced either severe (31 per cent), or extreme (64 per cent) punishment.

Baker, et al. (1975) analyzed a sample of 536 juveniles according to both official and self-report data. Violent offenders in both categories exhibited serious family disturbances and dysfunction, less involvement with families, and more loyalty to street gang members. Self-reported violent offenders' profiles were characterized by more open and direct parental defiance; those with official records tended to avoid constructive family activities and to come more often from families where the mother assumed traditionally masculine roles. Sorrels' analysis of 31 juvenile murderers characterized the subjects' families as violent and chaotic. Many parents had histories of crime, alcohol abuse, and violence (Sorrels, 1977).

8. Other Characteristics

Studies reporting the relationships between alcohol and drug use and offenders against persons are included in Chapter 3. Research relating to personality types of person offenders may be found in the eighth section of this chapter under the discussion of violence prediction. Information about recidivism of violent offenders is found in Chapter 6, on parole issues.

VICTIMS OF VIOLENT CRIME

The chance of becoming a victim of one of the major crimes of violence varies according to where one lives and who one is. Studies of criminal victimization have indicated that the likelihood of becoming a victim of a crime of violence is much greater for certain subgroups than for others. For example, a survey in Chicago indicated that the risk of physical assault for the black ghetto dweller was one in 77; for the white middle-class citizen the odds were one in 2,000; and for the upper middle-class suburbanite the odds were one in 10,000 (Hawkins and Morris, 1970). A survey conducted for the President's Crime Commission showed that the probability of becoming a victim was much greater for people in urban areas than in non-urban areas, for the age group 20-29 than for older age groups, for males than for females, for blacks than for whites, and for the poor than for the affluent (U.S. President's Commission, 1969).

Curtis (1974) compiled criminal violence information from 17 cities (from police offense and arrest reports) for 1967 and arrived at a "national aggregate" embracing the four major violent crimes. The study found that reported criminal homicide and aggravated assault most frequently involved black offenders and victims. Victims tended to be black males in their teens and twenties or older who were either friends or acquaintances of the offender, or strangers living near the offender, and tended to be attacked for trivial provocations. Frequently the victim participated in his or her own demise (victim

precipitation) through alcohol or drug use preceding the attack (Curtis, 1974). Stephan (1977) found also that victims of violent crimes were more frequently men than women, and members of the 15-20 year age group. In addition, unmarried rather than married or divorced individuals were more likely to be victims of violent crime. There are notable exceptions: rape, of course, is perpetrated only against females, while older people, especially older women, are frequent victims of robbery. The study by Feeney and Weir (1974) found that more than one-third of the noncommercial robberies in Oakland, California, involved female victims over the age of sixty-five.

More extensive attempts have been made to identify the characteristics of victims. Johnson, et al. (1973) identified three basic groupings: those whose physical or mental deficiencies make them easy prey, those who are unfairly treated because of ignorance or lack of status, and those who in some manner bring violence upon themselves. Wolfgang (1958) found that 48 per cent of both homicide victims and violent offenders were users of alcohol. Johnson, et al. (1973) similarly noted that 34 per cent of assault victims had histories of alcoholism. Male victims outnumbered females (76 per cent to 24 per cent) and 74 per cent of homicide victims and 75 per cent of offenders were black (Wolfgang, 1958). The latter findings are remarkable since blacks comprised only 19 per cent of the study population.

VICTIM/OFFENDER RELATIONSHIPS

Prior to the criminal act, any of a number of possible interpersonal relationships may exist between victim and

offender, from the most intimate to that of strangers. The Task Force (1970) categorized a range of relationships existing between victim and offender in violent crimes, including the closest "primary" relationships as well as "non-primary" and "miscellaneous or unknown" relationships.

Strangers are involved in a considerable proportion of criminally violent interactions. The Task Force found that the proportion was relatively low in homicide (16 per cent), but rose in aggravated assault (21 per cent), became a majority in forcible rape (53 per cent), and dominated in armed (79 per cent) and unarmed (86 per cent) robbery. In general, the percentage of non-primary relationships rose steadily from homicide to robbery, while the percentage of family and other primary group relationships uniformly declined. The popular fear that violent attack will come from a stranger was therefore strongly justified for robbery and rape, but much less for aggravated assault and homicide.

Most murders were committed by relatives of, or persons well acquainted with, the victim. About 63 per cent were committed with firearms. The Task Force estimated that from about one-third to two-thirds of criminal homicides involved primary group relationships. According to Goode, the reason lies partially in the fact that since the relationship between victim and offender is intimate, the contact is close and fairly constant. Just as these relationships may be a main source of pleasure, they may also be a main source of frustration

and hurt (Goode, 1969).

The Task Force Victim-Offender Survey revealed a number of important distinctions when sex and race of the parties in victim/offender relationships were considered. In general, the data showed a higher proportion of family relationships for female victims. Regardless of race, when a female was killed there was a much greater probability that the victim/offender relationship involved husband and wife than when a male was killed. When another family relationship was involved, there were also more females killed than males. The pattern was the same and more clear for offenders. In the killings involving mates, about half of the offenders were husbands and half were wives. When the races were considered separately, however, proportionately more black than white wives, and more white than black husbands, were offenders (Task Force, 1970).

For aggravated assault, primary group involvement was lower and non-primary group involvement somewhat higher than for criminal homicide. Fourteen per cent of all aggravated assaults in the survey were between family members, and 7 per cent involved other primary group contacts; 55 per cent occurred in non-primary group relationships (Task Force, 1970). The percentage of assaults involving primary group relationships ranges from about one-quarter to slightly over one-half. Although the involvement of strangers and non-primary group relationships increases with aggravated assault, friends and intimates appear to play an important role in this act of violence, as they do in criminal homicide.

The general family relationship category was dominated by husband-wife assaults (7 per cent of all interactions). Assaults between close friends were highest among other primary group relationships (4 per cent), while assaults between strangers (21 per cent) and acquaintances (16 per cent) were most prevalent in non-primary group relationships.

When aggravated assault relationships were broken down by sex and race, the general patterns that emerged were very similar to those for homicide. The relationship was more likely to be between husband and wife when the victim was female. Male victims appeared more involved in non-primary group relations than females, and white males more than black males. Regardless of race, a female offender was more likely than a male offender to assault individuals in primary group relationships, while the opposite was true for non-primary group relationships. The husband was the offender in about three-quarters of the assaults between mates (Task Force, 1970).

Morris and Hawkins (1969) stated that since the survey conducted by the District of Columbia Crime Commission revealed that victim-offender relationships in forcible rape closely resembled those for murder, it was not the marauding stranger who posed the greatest threat. The risk, they claimed, of serious attack from strangers on the street was only half as great as the risk of such attack from spouses, family members, or acquaintances. The Victim-Offender Survey conducted by the Task Force, however, revealed very different findings. Only 10 per cent of all forcible rape interactions in the survey involved

primary group relationships, while 86 per cent were non-primary group relationships; the remainder were unknown or miscellaneous. Although in almost half of the rapes there appeared to be some previous knowledge of the offender or some prior relationship between him and the victim, the stranger category (53 per cent) dominated all other specific types of relationships. The data revealed little difference between blacks and whites, except that more black than white victims were involved in primary group relationships other than within the family. White offenders committed incest more often than blacks (Task Force, 1970).

THEORIES OF VIOLENCE AND/OR AGGRESSION

There are two primary types of theoretical explanations of violence. One is based upon a priori assumptions regarding human behavior and can be classified as philosophical theorizing (i.e., the formulation of hypotheses on nonempirical bases). The second is the formulation of theories of "aggression" rather than theories of violence. Since aggression denotes actions that are not necessarily violent but are often intrusive (e.g., verbal criticism), aggressive behavior has a broader theoretical base. This has allowed theories of aggression to proliferate while theories of violence have remained relatively undeveloped (Megargee, 1969b).

Most of the research literature has dealt not with the determinants of violence but with the explanation of aggression. While violence is relatively limited, "aggression" can subsume a wide variety of behaviors. Although some operational

definitions of aggression focus on physical injuries inflicted on another human being, other studies utilize fantasy aggression, verbal criticism, or other tests as criterion measures. Some of these theories might be extrapolated to the study of violence, but in many cases their applicability remains unproven (Megargee, 1969b).

In any situation, a single response, whether violent or not, can be the result of the interaction of many factors and dozens of choices. In a violent confrontation, the individual can make any one of a number of responses, including flight, a conciliatory gesture, or verbal or physical attack. Megargee (1969b) has isolated three broad classes of factors that interact to determine response strength. The first of these is instigation to aggression, or the sum of all factors motivating an individual to commit a violent or aggressive act (e.g., hatred, fear, economic gain, sexual gratification). The second major set of variables is inhibition against aggression, or the sum of all factors inhibiting the perpetration of a violent act (e.g., moral prohibitions, learned taboos, deterrence, the physical superiority of an opponent). The third class of variables, stimulus factors, includes the immediate environmental variables that may facilitate or impede aggressive behavior (e.g., availability of a weapon, proximity of law enforcement officials, peer influence, aggressive gestures of the antagonist). All three sets of factors are important, yet theoretical explanations of violence generally attempt to interpret the phenomenon in terms of only one of them. Very few

theories of violence are interactional.

Different theorists have chosen to emphasize different sets of factors. Some have stressed instigation, others have focused on inhibitions, while still others have dealt primarily with stimulus factors. While theorists may disagree about the relative importance of the three, most would agree that all are important to the dynamics of violence. Fundamental disagreements are found when the relationship between punishment and further aggression or between violence and television-watching are investigated. Theoretical disagreements are aggravated by controversies over the appropriateness of research methodology or the validity of study findings. Thus, while all camps use the word "aggression," there is little consensus regarding the variables that influence the three violence factors.

The following discussion will roughly organize theories of aggression and violence into "inherent," "learned," "situational," and "miscellaneous" sections. Although the congruence between this organization and the "factor" approach is not perfect, this method allows an introductory examination of aggression and violence theories that will be helpful in understanding the data of the present study.

1. Aggression as an Inherent Part of Human Nature

A number of theories attempt to explain violence as an indelible part of human nature - a "drive," a "need for aggression," or a "predisposition to respond aggressively." Conceptions of violence as instinctual have been advanced by proponents

of two major schools of thought--ethologists, who study animal behavior, and those who propound psychoanalytic theories of aggression. Ethologists are particularly interested in explaining why man is homicidal. According to many scientists, no other animal approaches man in his propensity for killing members of his own species. Lorenz (1966) contended that intra-species aggression has survival value in providing a stable hierarchy of leadership. He also suggested that man and other animals are born with innate aggressive tendencies that, if not vented, will result in aggressive confrontations. The aggressive tendencies of man are a product of natural selection. Another ethological hypothesis was advanced by Ardrey (1966), who claimed that territorial defense is an innate human behavior trait and a natural response of one human being to another. Tinbergen (1968) concurred that aggression is born but, unlike Lorenz and Ardrey, he maintained also that overt behavior is determined by a complex interaction of heredity and environment.

A modification of the "innate" theory of the ethologists was offered by Fromm (1973), who agreed that man shares with animals a phylogenetically programed impulse to attack or flee when vital interests are threatened. However, Fromm distinguished between protective aggression, which he viewed as benign, and malignant aggression (cruelty), which he believed to be a peculiarly human trait. Malignant aggression, Fromm argued, is not instinctual, but a product of social learning.

Critics of the ethological approach have pointed out that the innate-aggression hypothesis cannot explain why the Pueblo

Indians, the Eskimo, the bushman, the Ifaluk, the Australian aborigines, the pygmies, and many other peoples have managed to avoid inheriting this "natural" urge to fight (Montagu, 1968). Crook (1968) noted that the concept of territoriality does not apply to the primates nearest to man and that the assumptions regarding early man's behavior patterns are not supportable. Scott (1958, 1962) acknowledged that aggressive or violent behavior could be influenced by inherited temperamental differences, although he stated that the search for causes of individual violence must include an examination of factors in the immediate social environment.

Freud postulated that man is motivated by two groups of instinctual drives, which he labeled life instincts (Eros) and death instincts (Thanatos). The energy of life instincts, called libido, is outwardly directed toward preservation of the individual and the species. Although Freud did not give a name to the energy of death instincts, the implication is that it is directed toward the destruction of the individual. While the existence of life instincts is easily observable, death instincts are not so obvious. While seeking to identify the energy of these instincts, Freud concluded that when death instincts interact with life instincts, the result is the projection of innate aggression. This interaction is manifested in violence toward others. Aggression can also come about through the frustration of libido (sexual instincts), but in this case it is secondarily invoked, deriving its energy from those sexual instincts and thus coming from a different source

than primary aggression (Ilfeld, 1969). Since violence is the goal of the destructive instinct, lesser aggression comes about only as a result of intrapsychic conflict between this violent urge and other facets of the personality. As Megargee (1969b) remarked, "the suggestion that violence is the aim of aggressive impulses cannot be adequately tested empirically...there are no firm data on which to make a judgment."

Many scholars, including psychoanalysts, balk at Freud's notion of a death instinct, particularly when they attempt to work out the biological implications. His contention that "the aim of all life is death..." (Freud, 1929) remains controversial. Rank (1949), for example, totally rejected the idea of innate destructive tendencies, while Menninger (1942, 1968) argued that the death instinct not only exists but also is functional. Other psychoanalysts agreed with the innate origin of aggression but accept little else of Freud's original hypothesis (see for example, Hartman et al., 1949; Solomon, 1969; and Megargee, 1969b).

2. Violence as a Consequence of Social Learning

Social learning theorists who study aggression generally have focused on those factors that facilitate or impede the learning of aggressive habits. Favorite topics include child-rearing practices and the influence of reward and punishment on the formation of aggressive and non-aggressive habits. Buss (1961), for example, indicated that prejudices that culminate in intergroup conflict are the result of social learning. Social learning has been seen as instrumental also in the

development of "ritual" aggression, as noted in studies by Yablonsky (1966) and Thrasher (1927).

Social learning has its greatest effect in teaching the child that aggression can satisfy a number of needs. As McNeil (1959) stated, "Since a child will learn whatever responses are rewarded by others or bring gratification of his needs, it is easy to see how he can grow in sophistication in the use of aggressive devices." McCandless (1967) argued that the use of aggressive devices may be most prevalent in the culture of poverty. It is not surprising, therefore, that investigators such as McKee and Leader (1955) have observed more aggressiveness among lower-class children. Goldfarb (1943a, 1943b, 1944, 1945) studied the development of children in institutions with inadequate adult attention and found that they manifested temper tantrums, destructiveness, impudence, and antagonism. Goldfarb attributed the development of these characteristics to an environment in which children had to learn aggressive habits to compete for adult attention.

Bandura and Walters (1959, 1963) reviewed facets of prior experience associated with aggression and violence. From these studies the researchers noted that physical aggression, like any other response, could be learned in accordance with the tenets of learning theory. Unlike the frustration-aggression hypothesis, preceding frustration was not required. Aggressive and non-aggressive habits seemed to be acquired largely through imitation or through the direct rewarding of aggressive or non-aggressive responses. If this theory is correct, it is of great

importance to the prevention of violence.

According to Ilfeld (1969), violence can be inhibited either by aversive stimulation or by strengthening incompatible positive responses. Punishment, shame, and guilt are all known to act in this capacity. Bandura and Walters (1963) demonstrated that physically aggressive, punitive parents tended to have physically aggressive children. In general, it has been found that punishment by an authority figure seems to inhibit direct violence toward the punitive person but is associated with destructive aggression toward other targets (Ilfeld, 1969).

Bandura and Walters (1963) suggested also that imitation or modeling might be an important aspect of social learning, i.e., that children exposed to adult models of physical aggression would display more aggression in later life.

Another approach to the study of the antecedents of violence in child-rearing practices is the comparison of socialization practices in several cultures (e.g., Bacon et al., 1963; Textor, 1967; and Archer and Gartner, 1976). Although this method has some obvious limitations in reliability of data, comparative definition of variables, and control limitations, it can provide an independent testing ground for hypotheses derived from field or laboratory studies.

The bulk of social learning for most people, from school age through adulthood, occurs among peers or reference groups. Group norms (expected standards of behavior) and values (shared beliefs) are critical in shaping the group member's perceptions, cognitions, and actions. The importance of the peer group in

determining the individual's behavior and attitudes in relation to violence has been emphasized by Wolfgang (1957) and by Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967, 1973). Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) theorized that there is a "subculture of violence" in which violence is an expected and accepted mode of problem-solving. Violence as a means of coping with life and as a demonstration of masculinity or toughness is highly valued among some groups. Although this hypothesis has been extensively formulated by Wolfgang and Ferracuti, the idea that violence may be a function of certain ethnic or age groups was previously expressed by Shaw and McKay (1942); Cohen (1955); and Cloward and Ohlin (1960).

3. Violence as a Consequence of Frustration, Fear, and Other Situational Factors

Of all the hypothesized causes of violence, situational factors are the most hotly debated, not because they play a questionable role in violence, but because they are more apparent and modifiable (Ilfeld, 1969).

Central to many theories of the situational causes of violence is the frustration-aggression hypothesis. The basic assumption of this hypothesis is "...that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. More specifically the proposition is that the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and its corollary, i.e., the existence of frustration leads to some form of aggression" (Dollard, et al., 1939). Dollard and his associates did not suggest whether this relationship was innate or learned; they

simply hypothesized that it was a necessary relationship, regardless of origin (Megargee, 1969b).

According to Ilfeld (1969), frustration can stem from a threat to one's life, from the thwarting of efforts to meet such needs as hunger, thirst, sex, or self-dignity, or from competition or conflict. Berkowitz (1962) extended the definition of frustration to include other interfering behavior such as injury, criticism, or attack. Because in some cultures frustration does not typically culminate in overt aggressive behavior, but instead may manifest itself in apathy, resignation, or evasion, Berkowitz (1962, 1969) clarified this theory by explaining that instigation to aggression is the response to frustration. Whether or not this instigation results in overt aggressive behavior depends on internal inhibitions and external stimulus events.

Studies by Pastore (1952), Rothaus and Worchel (1960), and Kregarman and Worchel (1961) have indicated that the frustration hypothesis is far too simple to accurately explain human aggression.

The hypothesis that only frustration can elicit aggression also has met with objections. Buss (1961) and Ulrich et al. (1965) demonstrated that attack also can result in aggression, while Megargee (1969b) argued that generalized as well as specific frustrations can elicit aggression. In support of the "generalized frustration" hypothesis, it is interesting to note that Palmer (1960) and Duncan et al. (1958) found a high incidence of frustration and trauma in the early childhoods of

murderers.

In addition to frustration, there are other important situational contributors to violence, including: a precipitating event, low expectancy of punishment, ready availability of weapons, alcohol intoxication, group contagion, boredom, and obedience to leaders.

Toch and Schulte (1961) investigated the interactions between police and offenders in an attempt to determine the stimulus factors leading to violence. Toch (1966) later identified three main patterns of violence. The first involved the interpersonal events that led up to violent acts; the second focused on patterns of violent behavior associated with a particular person; and the third was concerned with the type of event created by the collision of two personal behavior patterns. Provocation has been indicated as an important aspect by Wolfgang (1957) and MacDonald (1967).

Aggressive behavior on the part of others seems to lower an individual's inhibitions against acting aggressively (Bandura, et al., 1963; Redly and Wineman, 1957; Wheeler and Caggiula, 1966). Redly and Wineman labeled this phenomenon "contagion" and described it as the "collective impulsive aggressive actions of adolescents."

The behavior of others can have a number of other effects upon the likelihood of violent behavior. Morris (1967) and Buss (1966) found that when a shocked victim responded with moans and groans, subsequent aggression by the attacker was decreased.

Another important stimulus factor is the availability of weapons. Berkowitz (1968) and Berkowitz and Le Page (1967) suggested that weapons in themselves may increase instigation to aggression. Whether or not weapons elicit aggression, there can be little doubt that their presence can play an important role. MacDonald (1967) indicated that the availability of a weapon at the moment of rage often made the difference between a confrontation that was seriously violent and one that was significantly less violent and injurious.

4. Miscellaneous Theories of Violence and Aggression Reduction

Brief mention should be made of violence and aggression theories that do not fit easily into the above framework. The following review will describe other significant theories and present those findings that have substantially influenced the status of the major constructs.

Some theorists explain violence in terms of physiological abnormality. Behavioral geneticists, such as Scott (1958) and Boelkins and Heiser (1969), have argued that chromosomal aberrations (XYY) of male sex hormones may be predispositional factors towards violence. However, Shah (1976), after reviewing the research on the XYY abnormality, concluded that the image of the XYY male as more antisocial and prone to violence than the average citizen is false. Brill (1959) proposed that damage to the central nervous system could explain aggressive behavior. Lewis (1976) studied charts of 285 children referred to a juvenile court over a two-year period and found that of the eighteen

subjects who had psychomotor epilepsy, sixteen of those also experienced paranoid symptoms that led to aggressive behavior. It was suggested that psychomotor epilepsy may be related to delinquency in children. Lewis and Balla (1976), after studying children referred to a clinic from juvenile court, also suggested that delinquency and psychopathology are connected; they concluded that genetic disorders contribute to or underlie the development of children's deviant behavior. In a different sort of study, Rada, et al. (1976) measured plasma testosterone levels in 52 rapists and found that those rapists judged to be most violent had significantly higher mean plasma testosterone levels than normals, child molesters and other rapists in the study.

Most frustration theories explain violence in terms of instigating factors. A number of studies have indicated that frustration need not lead to violence if instigation can be reduced by catharsis, displaced aggression, or vicarious expression. The cathartic model was described by Buss (1961) and Megargee (1969b). Other behavioral scientists (e.g., Lorenz, 1966) have indicated that unless aggression is expressed, the subject will remain in a state of tension. Aggression may be reduced also by response substitution, such as sublimation, in which aggressive instigation is redirected into constructive paths (Tinbergen, 1968).

Vicarious expression has been explained as a method whereby aggression may be reduced by watching someone else perform an aggressive act. A most controversial aspect of this theory has been the proposed relationship between the viewing of violence

on film or television and subsequent aggression. Parke, et al. (1977) studied the effects of violent and non-violent movies on 14- to 18-year-old boys in a minimum security penal institution and concluded, in two separate experiments, that exposure to film violence increased the viewers' aggressive behavior. These authors noted, however, that predispositional factors, e.g., varying levels of harassment or verbal and physical insult prior to viewing the films, elicited differential reactions to the aggressive movies. While some studies have reported similar increases in aggression after viewing film violence (Somers, 1976), others have demonstrated decreases in subsequent aggression (e.g., Kaplan and Singer, 1976). Additional variables, such as age of subjects, resemblance to violent role, viewed punishment, realism of the film, level of excitement, and justifications for violence have been found to influence the results obtained (Albert, 1957; Bandura, et al., 1963; Berkowitz, 1964; Berkowitz and Green, 1966; Berkowitz and Rawlings, 1963; Eron, 1963; Feshback, 1961; Maccoby and Wilson, 1957; and Walters and Thomas, 1963).

A related topic is the degree to which the availability of pornography has influenced the incidence of rape and other sex crimes. Cross-cultural data presented by Court (1976) seem to indicate that trends in reported rape figures do bear an important relationship to the circulation of pornographic literature. Court reviewed other research pertaining to this topic, and concluded that the relationship is not a simple causal one so much as one of triggering or instigating sex crimes. This

relationship, then, is similar to that reported by Parke, et al. (1977) regarding the viewing of violence and the triggering of aggressive behavior.

Other methods of reducing instigation to aggression are cognitive redefinition and reduction by physiological means. The former method was defined by Singer (1968) as the perceptual redefinition of an incident. For example, a man who is jostled while waiting for a bus may be aroused and turn angrily only to have his anger disappear when he notices that the man who bumped him is blind. Reduction of aggressive tendencies can be accomplished also by physiological means or "psychosurgery," but this approach is highly controversial (Moyer, 1968).

While developing an instrument to measure hostility, Buss and Durkee (1957) found that an a priori socially understandable state already existed and that violent tendencies were operant in a variety of behaviors. The authors indicated that direct physical assault, hostility, resentment, verbal aggression and suspicion were related to self-esteem and perceptions of total environmental experience.

A relationship between fear and aggression was outlined by Gardner (1971) who described the chronic fear of aggressive tendencies directed toward others as "anxiety overload."

Rottenberg (1971) added a significant dimension to the concept of aggression by stating that violence occurs when anger can no longer serve as an alerting apparatus because of impaired intrapsychic and interpersonal interaction. He viewed hate and anger as products of ongoing states of anxiety that, if

unrelieved, can cause great psychic stress. Such stress may erupt in acts of physically and verbally destructive behavior in a manner similar to that suggested by the "catharsis" theory.

Few studies have attempted to test theories of human violence and those empirical studies that focus on violence generally have not been designed to test such theories (Megargee, 1969b). Evidence seems to suggest an interactive explanation of violence similar to what Gil (1970) has termed a "combination" hypothesis. There is a profound need for research to determine the extent to which aggression hypotheses apply to human violence. Theories of aggression must be examined and deductions about violent behavior must be made. Theories of violence need to be expanded to explain other forms of aggression. For example, a recent study examined aggressive behavior in sports (Pilz, et al., 1973). This type of research could be undertaken to study aggression in the context of the prevailing social order.

TYPOLOGIES OF VIOLENCE

A diverse number of schemes for the classification of violence have been proposed. The most widely used typology is that offered by the penal codes of various states or nations. Typically, the law considers several factors: the legality or illegality of an act, the amount of violence used, and the object of the attack. Homicide, aggravated assault, and assault and battery are distinguished by the extent of injury or potential injury to the victim. The final consideration is the degree of "malice aforethought," which distinguishes first- from second-

degree murder and manslaughter.

Typologies of violence offered by behavioral scientists focus more often on the motivation of the violent person than on the nature of the violent behavior. Although the majority of typologies classify murderers, they apply equally as well to people who have committed lesser assaultive acts (Megargee, 1969b).

Buss (1961) proposed that assaultive acts, including violent acts, could be divided into two broad classes: "angry aggression" and "instrumental aggression." The former referred to those acts in which the primary goal is to injure someone, while the latter included those acts in which aggression is the means to some other end. Megargee (1964a, 1965, 1966) subdivided Buss' "angry" category into "overcontrolled" and "undercontrolled" violent types. Overcontrolled persons suppress anger until it overwhelms them and they commit a sudden, potentially very dangerous act of violence; undercontrolled or habitual aggressors never learned societal inhibitions and taboos against violent behavior.

Conrad (1966) grouped violent offenders into six types according to the social or psychological context in which the violent event occurred. These types were: (a) the Culturally Violent, who learns violence as an accepted way of life; (b) the Criminally Violent, who commits violence to achieve some end; (c) the Pathologically Violent, who is mentally ill; (d) the Situationally Violent, who commits acts of violence only under extreme provocation; (e) the Accidentally Violent, who injures

others by accident; and (f) the Institutionally Violent, who commits violence while incarcerated.

Wenk and Emrich (1972) also found that the most accurate classification scheme included a behavioral explanation of the violent act. These authors identified two major types of violent events: (1) Type A (attack) events are sudden, well-planned assaults, involving little communication and designed to gain some criminal objective; (2) Type N (negotiation) events are circumstantial situations characterized by communication, threat, and counter-threat. Wenk and Emrich indicated that the severity of the violent attack also may be a highly relevant basis for classification, providing that it is defined in terms of its behavioral concomitants.

Other attempts to classify murderers can be found in Jesse (1952), Abrahamsen (1960), Banay (1952), Glaser, et al. (1968) and Guttmacher (1960). These various typologies overlap considerably, e.g., Conrad's Criminally Violent category is essentially the same as Buss' Instrumentally Aggressive category, etc. Warren (1971) found that 24 offender typologies could be collapsed into six basic categories; a similar effort with violence taxonomies seems well justified.

IDENTIFYING AND PREDICTING THE VIOLENT OFFENDER

Early diagnosis of the violent offender and prevention of violent behavior are attractive goals. From the standpoint of public safety as well as that of effective treatment intervention, accurate prediction of individual violent behavior could greatly improve the effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

The assessment of "dangerousness" (see Section I of this chapter) or the potential for future violence implies the identification of conditions that might precede violent acts. The element of potentiality implied by the term "dangerousness" is reflected in its definition as "...an estimation of the probability of dangerous behavior" (Steadman, 1974).

Behavior is predicted by psychiatric evaluation, actuarial methods, psychological testing, or various combinations of these ("synthesis" models). Few approaches are used alone; for example, the statistician may use a psychological test score as one variable in a multiple regression equation. While the issue of predictive accuracy of the "actuarial" and "clinical" approaches is controversial (e.g., Meehl, 1954; Gough, 1962; Holt, 1958, 1970; Sawyer, 1966), few researchers have indicated how these approaches might complement each other.

One problem in predicting future behavior concerns the "false positive," in which those predicted to engage in certain behaviors do not do so (Hirsch, 1972). This issue is extremely important to the prediction of violence for two reasons: First, the rarity of violent crime tends to inflate the proportion of false positives; and second, the consequences (preventive incarceration) for non-dangerous individuals mistakenly identified as dangerous are very serious (Hirsch, 1972).

The situational quality of violence makes it particularly difficult to predict. Deterministic models notwithstanding, violence is not simply a quality that is attributable to certain "dangerous" individuals; it is an event that may or may not

occur depending upon a variety of circumstances (victim response, presence of bystanders, etc.) The identification of the "violence-prone" individual, then, may be an oversimplified approach to the prediction of violence.

1. Use of Psychological Testing, Projective Techniques and Psychiatric Evaluation

The interaction of personality and situation factors in eliciting violence indicates that the "static" measure of personality derived from diagnostic tests may not be completely accurate as a predictive measure. Psychological test data may not reflect the fluctuating nature of the instigation to aggression and the specific conditions of testing often make generalization to other samples scientifically unjustifiable.

The inadequate use of typologies further complicates the application of psychological test scores to the prediction of violence. For example, if violent offenders are not divided on the basis of a binary classification scheme, "lumping" their differences could cancel them out so that violent offenders, on the average, appear no different from a nonviolent group. This difficulty is best summarized by Megargee (1969a): "If a psychological test is sensitive to a personality dimension which is present in one type of violent person but not another its true effectiveness in discriminating this type of person will be masked considerably if extremely heterogeneous criterion samples are used."

a. Structured Tests

Of all structured psychological tests, the Minnesota

Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) is probably the most widely used in the diagnosis and prediction of violence. A number of researchers have found that, under extremely frustrating environmental circumstances, psychopaths and paranoid schizophrenics are more likely to resort to aggressive acts than a normal population (Dahlstrom and Welsh, 1960; Hathaway and Monachesi, 1953; Wirt and Briggs, 1959). Butcher (1965) and Erikson and Roberts (1966) and Waldron (1976) found that high-aggressive groups scored higher on several MMPI scales. Waldron's consistently violent criminal group (N = 52) scored significantly higher on the psychopathic deviancy and paranoia scales than did nonviolent criminals. Shipman and Marquette (1963) correlated scores on several scales of the MMPI with ratings of verbal hostility, physical hostility, and hostile attitude. No significant correlations between these scales and their ratings were noted. Megargee and Mendelsohn (1966) found that, while several MMPI scales could discriminate criminal from noncriminal groups, no scale was able to discriminate violent from nonviolent criminals. McCreary (1976) also concluded that no definitive set of personality traits could be said to characterize assaultive offenders. This study consisted of an investigation of MMPI scale scores and profiles of 450 individuals arrested for assaultive and nonassaultive offenses. Only the Ma scale showed a significant difference between the two types of male offenders.

Small groups of (male) rapists and assaulters were compared on various MMPI scales by Rader, et al. (1977). The most

disturbed group, the rapists, was found to have MMPI-K-corrected mean raw scale scores that were greater than those of the assaulter group on Pd, Pt and Sc.

A number of other scales, derived from the MMPI item pool, purport to measure traits that seem relevant to violence (Moldawsky, 1953; Cook and Medley, 1954; Schultz, 1954; Block, 1955; Harris and Lingoes, 1955; Siegel, 1956; Panton, 1958; Gough, 1960b; Megargee, et al., 1967). Many of these scales have failed to correlate with behavioral criteria of violence, although some promise has been noted for the Overcontrolled Hostility Scale (Megargee et al., 1967; Megargee, 1969a).

Deiker (1974) confirmed Megargee's prediction of lower scores on hostility measures and higher on control for aggressive criminals, although this result was qualified by noting a "naysaying response style" in the aggressive groups which accounted for all group differences.

Hoppe and Singer (1977) conducted a study of 115 criminal offenders in a psychiatric hospital. Patients were administered the Overcontrolled Hostility Scale, the Self Focus Sentence Completion and an emotional empathy measure. The results did not support the hypothesis that violent offenders as a group score higher on the Overcontrolled Hostility Scale than their less aggressive counterparts.

Another instrument that has been used to identify violence-prone offenders is the Buss-Durkee Inventory (1957). Studies by Miller, et al. (1960), Buss, et al. (1962), and Berkowitz, (1968) indicated that the inventory was generally unable to

distinguish violent from nonviolent samples or to relate to aggressive behavior or violence ratings. Plutchik, et al. (1976) proposed that the Monroe Dyscontrol Scale be considered a promising index of brain dysfunction associated with epilepsy. These authors suggested that the measure of episodic dyscontrol, combined with certain measures of violence and psychopathology, may combine to accurately describe and predict the individual who will act violently.

The California Psychological Inventory (CPI) (Gough, 1960a) generally has not been applied to the assessment of violence, although Megargee (1966) indicated that it may have some utility in this type of research.

Zaks and Walters (1959) and Walters and Zaks (1959) have reported the derivation and preliminary validation of a scale for the measurement of aggression.

b. Projective Techniques

Projective techniques provide the clinician with a sample of behavior from which he can assess the likelihood of violence. Because the individual is free to respond in a number of ways (within certain broad limits), projective tests produce rich, complex, and varied responses. Although these tests are capable of revealing the full scope of the individual's personality, their very complexity makes it difficult to interpret and classify the results or to treat the data in psychometric fashion. Also, because a number of different scoring systems are available, results often are incomparable and of restricted generalizability. The issues of response determinants, response

classification, interpretation, and validation, which are particularly relevant to projective tests, compound the many problems inherent in predicting violence (Megargee, 1969a).

The Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study (P-F) was designed to assess the nature and direction of aggressive responses to frustration. The Extrapunitiveness (E) Scale of the P-F purportedly indicates aggression directed toward others. A number of studies have been undertaken to determine the extent to which this scale relates to overt criteria of aggression and violence. Studies summarized by Megargee (1964a,b), as well as studies by Mercer and Kyriazis (1962), and Rizzo (1961), indicated that the P-F study had relatively little usefulness for the prediction of violence.

One of the most complex and contradictory devices used in the assessment of overt aggressive behavior is the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). One school of thought holds that aggressive responses on the TAT indicate a propensity for overt aggressive behavior (Atkinson, 1958), while another group maintains exactly the opposite (Lazarus, 1961). Weissman (1964) found that the TAT did not differentiate between aggressive and non-aggressive delinquents. Mussen and Naylor (1954) used the TAT to demonstrate a positive non-significant relationship between lower-class delinquents and overt aggressive behavior. Megargee and Cook (1967) replicated the Mussen and Naylor study, but found no relationship between delinquent status and aggressive behavior. Marquis (1961) also failed to find such a relationship, while Stone (1953, 1956) found that a group of

assaultive prisoners had significantly higher fantasy aggression scores than non-assaultive groups.

The Rorschach Inkblot Test, a widely used projective device, is associated with problems of scoring and interpretation similar to those of the TAT. Because of these problems, the relationship between formal Rorschach scores (measuring responses for color, movement and human content) and violence is controversial.

According to traditional Rorschach interpretation, the uncontrolled use of color is indicative of impulsive, violent individuals. Rabin (1946) reported that one person who committed both murder and suicide changed his perception of color as he approached violence. Comparing non-aggressive and overtly aggressive delinquents, Townsend (1967) found significantly more color-form responses for the latter. Megargee (1966) found that Inkblot color scores were related to impulsivity and lack of control, indicating that the color-aggression hypothesis has the same value.

Another area of interest in inkblot interpretation is the degree to which the subject describes his percepts as if they were alive or engaged in movement. Megargee (1966) found that movement scores were lower for assaultive individuals.

A third major interpretation of the Rorschach that has implications for prediction of assaultive behavior is the presence or absence of human content. It is generally believed that absence of human content indicates a lack of concern for others. Wolfgang (1967) reported a study by Serebrinsky (1941)

which supported this thesis. On the contrary, Perdue (1961, 1964) found that murderers were characterized by a high degree of human content.

The Hand Test is another projective instrument that has been found to be valuable in the assessment of criminal behavior. The test consists of nine drawings of hands on which the examinee offers interpretation (Bricklin, et al., 1962). Unlike other projective devices, the Hand Test has an objective scoring system and purportedly measures aggression and acting-out tendencies. Bricklin and his associates (1962) reported that, compared to normal subjects, prison inmates had a higher proportion of aggressive responses. However, these researchers were unable to distinguish between aggressive and non-aggressive criminal groups. Wagner and Medredeff (1963) found that the Hand Test successfully differentiated between aggressive and non-aggressive schizophrenics. Wetsel, et al. (1967) and Brodsky and Brodsky (1967) obtained conflicting results while attempting to differentiate between offender groups.

In another study, Sarbin, et al. (1968) used a modified Hand Test to test the hypothesis that assaultive offenders would have a higher "access-ordering" of the hand as the primary vehicle of violence. This hypothesis was confirmed, and the instrument correctly classified over 73 per cent of a sample of matched assaultive and non-assaultive offenders. Although 27 per cent of the non-assaultive offenders were misclassified (false positives), the investigators concluded that this testing procedure might be useful in assigning assault-prone

parolees to specific programs. However, they warned that the results obtained in the study, using matched pairs of violent and nonviolent offenders, did not constitute a real test of the predictive power of this instrument.

A number of other devices, including the Holtzman Inkblot Test (HIT) and other modified Rorschach instruments, also have been used in attempts to identify violence-prone individuals. Because many of these studies used neuropsychiatric patients as experimental and control groups, generalization to offender groups is difficult.

In a relatively little-used approach, Sarbin and Wenk (1969) attempted to identify violence-prone offenders using the stereoscopic test developed by Toch and Schulte (1961) and Berg and Toch (1964). The hypothesis, that a rigorously selected sample of violent offenders would see and report more "violence" resolution than a carefully matched sample of nonviolent offenders, was not confirmed. The investigators noted that the findings may have been influenced by the subjects' belief that the test results might be used against them.

Blair and Birkman (1972) administered to inmates the Birkman Method, which consists of a self-image and social-perception scale, an interest survey, and an intelligence test. After separating the offenders into violent and nonviolent groups and analyzing their test results, the researchers found an overall difference significant beyond the .05 level. The violent group was found to be less able to vent hostility and showed greater hostility toward people.

To provide psychological validation of the "subculture of violence" hypothesis, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1973) administered the Make-a-Picture-Story Test (MAPS), Ohio Penal Classification Test (I.Q.), Rorschach, and Buss-Durkee Inventory to a number of offender groups. All instruments failed to distinguish between high- and low-violence groups, although clinical diagnostic assessments were able to partially differentiate between the groups.

In summary, the mixed and contradictory findings of almost all studies using psychological tests to predict violence indicates that a fully adequate predictive device does not yet exist. According to Monahan (1973a), none of the literature of the past few years would modify this statement.

c. Psychiatric and Clinical Evaluation

Psychiatric and clinical evaluation of violence-proneness cannot easily be separated from the use of structured or projective instruments to predict the same phenomenon. The highly flexible nature of the diagnostic situation permits the integration of any number of instruments into the evaluative process. Psychiatrists make predictions under a wide variety of conditions by applying various individual "subjective" standards. The often non-objective integration of various forms of clinical data by the psychiatrist was best described by Halleck (1967): "If the psychiatrist was asked to show proof of his predictive skill, objective data could not be offered."

Studies by Steadman and Halfon (1971), Steadman and Keveles (1972), Steadman (1972, 1973) and Steadman and Cocozza (1973)

followed for four and one-half years 967 criminally insane patients evaluated as "extremely dangerous." Fewer than 20 per cent of all released patients were assaultive during this period, indicating to Steadman (1974) that psychiatrists tended to overpredict assaultiveness. In light of the average time incarcerated--14 years for this study population--such overprediction of dangerousness is very serious.

Kozol, et al. (1972) reported the examination of 592 violent male sex offenders by two psychiatrists, two clinical psychologists, and a social worker. These clinical examinations, along with the results of a full psychological test battery and a review of extensive life-history information, formed the basis for predictions of future behavior. Although Kozol, et al. reported a degree of predictive success, Monahan (1973b) stated that they seriously overpredicted, since 65 per cent of those who were predicted to commit a dangerous act did not do so, and that they were wrong in two out of every three predictions.

In another series of investigations, similar conclusions have been reached regarding the failure of clinicians' predictions. Monahan and Cummings (1975), reviewing the literature, found that of those predicted by psychiatrists to be dangerous, between 54 per cent and 99 per cent were false positives. Freidman and Mann (1976) examined recidivism prediction for delinquents in correctional institutions. Their findings indicated that staff members at three institutions were unable to accurately predict violent and nonviolent criminal behavior during a two-year follow-up period. At all three institutions,

the release of a ward was dependent entirely upon the decision of the staff members.

In another indictment of the reliability of clinical predictions of violence-proneness, Klein (1976) found that 60-70 per cent of psychiatrists' recommendations were false positives. Thornberry and Jacoby (1977), Gurevitz (1977), and Perez (1976) also reported similar clinical diagnostic failures in the prediction of violence potential.

2. Other Significant Attempts to Predict Violence

The following violence prediction studies do not fit into any previously discussed category. These studies are distinctive either because the approach to prediction is different or because a variety of variables (both background characteristics and test scores) are combined to form a predictive equation. In contrast to most of the previous violence studies, these studies make generous use of multiple regression techniques, which combine predictors to form optimum predictive equations.

Eysenck, et al. (1977) attempted to classify adult offenders according to personality type based on questionnaires and psycho-physiological measurements. The results demonstrated clear psychological differences among four criminal groups categorized according to nature of offense.

The Research Division of the California Department of Corrections developed a Violence Proneness Scale for predicting violence on parole (1965). Weighted scores were determined for a number of predictor variables: commitment offense, number of prior commitments, opiate use, length of imprisonment,

and institution of release. The most violent class isolated according to this method could expect fourteen per cent of its members to commit a violent act. This base rate was generally recognized as unsatisfactory for further development.

Gough and Wenk (1966) used personality test data to attempt to predict violence. Results were disappointing when regression techniques were applied, although a nonlinear configural model was somewhat more successful.

Molof (1967) attempted to characterize offenders using a number of variables. Race, alcohol and narcotics use, prior commitments, scores on the California Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM), age at time of admission, religion, prior delinquent contacts, and prior escapes were some of the variables considered. The researcher found none of these variables capable of distinguishing between assaultive and non-assaultive offenders.

In an extensive study, Wenk and Emrich (1972) sought to explore the relationships among selected variables and simple and violent recidivism on parole and to develop an index or equation that might predict violence on parole. Six subgroups were found to have violent recidivism rates greater than 10 per cent: (1) psychiatric referral for evaluation of violence potential; (2) history of actual violence; (3) four or more admissions; (4) violent admission offense; (5) Mexican-American; and (6) severe alcohol problem.

During the study by Wenk and Emrich (1972), predictive strategies were attempted by Griffin and Meredith. Meredith attempted to distinguish violent recidivists from the rest of

the sample. He found that intelligence and aptitude variables discriminated more successfully than personality variables, although neither did very well. By applying a weighted variable scheme, Griffin found that the only variables that distinguished between violent and nonviolent recidivists were last full grade claimed, Interpersonal Personality Inventory Score, number of CYA admissions, and the Manual Dexterity score of the General Aptitude Test battery (GATB). It was concluded that the rarity of the event to be predicted (violence), as well as the difficulty of defining violence and classifying the violent offender, may have been partly responsible for the study's failure to predict criminal violence.

Walker, et al. (1970) examined records of 4,301 offenders over an eleven-year period and determined that once an individual had committed a violent offense, there was a high probability of his committing another, thus supporting the practice of holding violent offenders in custody. While only six per cent of the entire population committed a violent offense, the percentage of those committing subsequent violent acts increased with each offense. That is, of the eleven who had committed four violent offenses, 55 per cent committed another during the follow-up period.

Almost all attempts to predict violence, including psychological test scores, psychiatric and psychoanalytic evaluation, experience tables, and multiple regression equations, have failed to satisfy the requirements for a fully adequate tool of decision-making. Unlike parole outcome, which is often a

dichotomous criterion (failure-success) that can be applied to an entire offender population, violent behavior is a relatively uncommon occurrence. To avoid overprediction, the frequency of the predicted event should be close to 50 per cent (Meehl and Rosen, 1955). No subgroup of offenders has included such a high percentage of violence-prone individuals. As Wenk, et al. (1972) noted, the highest violent recidivism rate for any subgroup was 6.2 per cent. Many studies show that the proportion of persons mistakenly predicted to be dangerous has ranged from two to twelve times the number correctly classified.

According to Monahan (1973a), seven facts account for the unreliability of violence prediction: (1) There is a lack of corrective feedback on false-positives. (2) Considering the inability to predict violence accurately, it is better to overpredict than underpredict. (3) Classifying someone as dangerous assures confinement and/or treatment in his "own best interest." (4) Expectations as to what constitutes a predictor of dangerousness are stereotyped. (5) Many violent crimes, which would increase the representativeness of the criterion, are not discovered or reported. (6) The rarity of the event results in the low base rates. (7) Falsely classified individuals are unlikely to resist. Although several of these facts are not pertinent to the methodological problems of predicting violence, most will be given more consideration as the "cost-benefit" or "trade-off" implications of overprediction are weighed against the possibility of underprediction.

Levine (1976) concluded that, until measures of the social

contexts in which persons behave are developed, predictions will always account for only a portion of violent behavior.

THE PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE

The prevention of violence is an individually specific and theoretically complex issue. Reducing the likelihood of violence is dependent upon: (1) predicting individuals likely to be violent and applying preventive measures of treatment and confinement; or (2) developing behavior strategies (based upon theoretical explanations of aggression) for application in "aggression reduction" models.

As concluded in the previous section, attempts to predict individual violence potential have so far met with little success. The prediction of violence, of course, is important only as an initial step toward what society considers its own protection. The law normally requires conviction of a crime before subjecting a person to incarceration on the basis of predicted dangerousness. The fact that dangerousness is greatly overpredicted would suggest grave caution in relying upon such predictions as a principal means for deciding who should be detained and for how long (Monahan, 1973a).

In the absence of accurate predictive methods, preventive confinement remains ethically untenable. It can be assumed that the techniques of prediction produce a relatively high incidence of false positives. It is important to consider whether the prediction method "generates false positives at a rate which substantially exceeds the rate of erroneous confinements" (Dershowitz, 1971). The justification for preventive

confinement would require that the benefit of preventing the really dangerous individual from future crimes exceeded, in the aggregate, the cost of mistakenly identifying and confining the non-dangerous (Hirsch, 1972). Systematically generating mistaken confinements clearly violates the obligation of society to do individual justice.

If individual prediction cannot accurately distinguish between the potentially violent and nonviolent, what alternatives are left? Other than "treatment" of the adjudicated violent offender, which is an ex post facto issue, prevention must turn to the theories of aggression for guidance.

Without restating the many explanations of aggression, it is sufficient to note a number of preventive hypotheses derived from these theories. Implicit in the theories of Freud and Lorenz is the expression of aggression as spontaneous and inevitable. Since aggression is an inherent part of human nature, the only means of avoiding violence is the diversion of the aggressive drive into safe channels. Several of these diversionary methods are: (1) displacement--redirection of the aggressive drive against an object; (2) projection, introjection, and reaction formation--turning anger against the self, repressing and denying the undesired aggression and guilt projection; (3) sublimation--discharge of aggressive energy into socially acceptable activities; and (4) empathy--reduction of aggression through interpersonal understanding.

Other preventive concepts consider social learning theory and child-rearing as the primary referents. For example,

studies have shown that corporal punishment by parents does not inhibit, and probably encourages, violence (Ilfeld, 1969). Others have suggested that the peer group may provide a breeding-ground for violence and have advocated the dispersion of violence-prone groups (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967).

Modification of frustration-producing situational or stimulus factors has also been suggested as a preventive measure. Ilfeld and Metzner (1969) have indicated that a nonviolent response to the threat of attack often neutralizes violent tendencies in individual confrontations. By minimizing escalation of a potentially violent situation, one can often help disperse the aggressive feelings of an opponent. There is even some evidence that participation in nonviolent action reduces the chances of later violence (Pierce and West, 1966; Solomon, 1965). Manipulation or avoidance of precipitating agents, such as weapons, alcohol, boredom, or anger, can often help to divert aggressive feelings. It has been suggested that violence-reduction strategies might be incorporated into school curricula. According to one investigator, many studies of crime are considering inadequate educational and economic opportunities as potential sources of youth crime and violence (Wenk, 1974).

Many of these suggestions are either not widely acceptable or difficult to implement. In many cases, the individual must take primary responsibility for the modification and control of his own behavior. Unfortunately, the vast number of theories about violence implies as many potential "cures" as there are

explanations.

Two suggestions for future study can be made. First of all, prediction of violent behavior has yet to present the dynamics of the violent act as a realistic phenomenon. The polarization of psychology into camps, and the inability of social psychology to provide an effective bridge between sociology and psychology, are major deterrents to advancement in this field. The emergence of "social ecology" is a step in the right direction; however, whether this will contribute to the explanation of violence remains to be seen. The human personality and environmental setting are interactive elements. The explanation of violence depends upon the development of typologies of settings and personality types. Until behavior is explained as a multiplicity of interacting characteristics and environmental factors, the phenomenon of human violence will remain scientifically unexplainable. As Monahan (1973a) stated:

> Ultimately, it may be possible to classify both persons and environments in a typology of violence. One might then predict with some validity that a person of a given type will commit a violent act if he remains in one type of environment, yet will remain non-violent if placed into another situational context.

The study by Wenk and Emrich (1972), in which violent acts are classified as either Type A (attack) or Type N (negotiation), provides a second suggestion for future study. During Type N events, in which threat and counterthreat may culminate in violence, there is often time for intervention. Such preventive interference requires that the intervening

party (usually police) be highly trained to deal with potentially violent situations. Training must take into account the cultural and envrionmental factors of the setting in which the violent act occurs. For example, an intrafamily dispute and a violent confrontation in a bar would require somewhat different strategies. The behavioral complexities of the potentially violent situation should not dissuade police departments from integrating preventive training into their programs. Such programs can help ensure that violence-prone persons can be controlled and violence-producing situations can be modified without increasing the danger to law enforcement officers.

STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE VIOLENCE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS

Before proceeding with the presentation of the comparative tables on violence classification subgroups, the subgroups will be briefly described.

Column 1: Total Study Population

This is the total study population as described in detail in Chapter 1. As indicated earlier, the data for the total study population are presented in the first column of each table of the Data Map in order to provide a point of reference. To permit a clearer view of the comparative data on the classification subgroups discussed in this chapter, the column giving data on the total study population does not contain the circular symbols that denote deviation from the overall average parole success rate.

Column 2: Actual Violence in Admission Offense

This classification is based on an analysis of the behavior exhibited by the individual offender during the offense that led to his admission to the California Youth Authority prior to the study. Information from records and from interviews with the offender by the caseworker was used for this classification. The classification is believed to be more meaningful to behavioral scientists than a

classification based on legal labels which are affixed during the judicial process and which often bear little relationship to the actual behavior of the offender. This group exhibited the following violence-related behaviors:

122 individuals threatened victim(s) with no weapon present;

304 threatened victim(s) with a weapon;

393 caused minor injuries to victim(s);

107 caused major injuries to victim(s);

36 caused death to victim(s).

Most of the above individuals were committed for robbery (36.6%) or assault (12.2%), but others were committed for burglary (6.8%) or various kinds of theft (12.3%). Table 38 presents detailed information on the legal labels given these individuals.

Column 3: No Actual Violence in Admission Offense

This group consists of individuals who did not threaten or commit any violence during the perpetration of the crime that led to their admission to the California Youth Authority. Most of these individuals were committed for burglary (31.9%), theft (21.5% for auto theft and 10.6% for other theft), or narcotics offenses (11.1%), but a few received legal labels implying violence even though the individual was not personally involved in violence. Four individuals (0.1%) were committed for homicide, 86 persons for robbery (2.6%),

and 48 persons for assault (1.5%). This information can be seen in Table 49 where the violence committed by partners is presented. While these individuals did not exhibit actual violence during the admission offense, their partners showed the following behaviors:

7 partners threatened victim(s) without a weapon;
64 partners threatened victim(s) with a weapon;
26 partners caused minor injuries to victim(s);
4 partners caused major injuries to victim(s);
2 partners caused death to victim(s).

Column 4: Weapons Present in Admission Offense

This subgroup consists of individuals who were responsible for the presence and/or use of a weapon during the commission of the admission offense. The following kinds of weapons were present or used:

Toy guns in 40 cases;
Unloaded guns in 13 cases;
Loaded guns in 125 cases;
Guns, unspecified, in 149 cases;
Knives, etc., in 135 cases;
Other weapons in 116 cases.

Weapons used by persons in the "other" category included a wide range of objects, many of which are capable of inflicting serious injuries. These objects included broken bottles,

pipes, metal bars, steel tools, rocks, bricks, pieces of concrete, towels and cords to choke victims, cars, and, in one instance, the offender attempted to run down police officers with a Greyhound bus. The high incidence of serious injuries with "other" weapons points to the potential danger of these makeshift weapons. An earlier report by the author: "Assaultive Youth: An Exploratory Study of the Assaultive Experience and Assaultive Potential of California Youth Authority Wards" gives a detailed breakdown of kinds of injury by weapon category.

Column 5: No Weapon Present in Admission Offense

This subgroup consists of individuals who did not personally have a weapon present during the admission offense. Again some of them were with partners who used weapons, but they themselves did not have in their possession or use weapons of any kind during the offense that led to their admission to the California Youth Authority.

Column 6. Major Injuries or Death, Alcohol

This subgroup consists of individuals who were under the influence of alcohol when they committed the admission offense and who inflicted major injuries upon their victim or caused their victim's death.

Column 7: Major Injuries or Death, No Alcohol

This subgroup consists of individuals who were not under the influence of alcohol when they committed the

admission offense and who inflicted major injuries upon their victim or caused their victim's death.

The discussions in this chapter are based on the "Violence" Data Map, which deals exclusively with classification subgroups that were derived by analyzing the behavior of the offender during the commission of the admission offense. An additional Data Map, "Assault," focuses on some legal labels and presents comprehensive data on some categories that relate to offenses against persons. The "Assault" Data Map is not discussed in this report but should be consulted for statistical descriptions of these offender groups.

1. Individual Case History Information

Table 1 presents the data by commitment court. While juvenile court commitments generally have a low parole success rate, this is particularly true for non-violent wards or for wards who did not use weapons. A small group of juvenile court commitments who inflicted major injuries or death upon their victims while under the influence of alcohol performed rather well on parole. The superior court commitments performed mostly above average with a slight decrease in parole success rates for non-violent wards and for those who did not carry weapons. Municipal court commitments show a reversal for armed offenders, who

have a rather low parole success rate. This striking difference is particularly impressive in the comparison of armed offenders committed by superior court (72.3% success) and those committed by municipal court (52.9% success).

Table 2 presents data on admission status. As expected, parole success rates for first admissions are markedly higher than the average parole success rate for the total study population, which is 60.9% success. Although this finding holds true for all categories, fluctuations are apparent, with non-violent offenders and wards who were not armed showing slightly lower parole success rates. First returns show a dramatic drop in parole success rates, a finding which is fairly similar for all subcategories. There are major differences between the first offender and the repeater, not only in parole success rates but also in some of the characteristics found in the two subgroups.

Table 3 shows the breakdown of the data into ethnic groups. Non-violent offenders and offenders who were not armed show remarkably similar parole success rates for all ethnic groups. A comparison of violent offenders and armed offenders classified by race makes interesting differences apparent. First, the violent Mexican-American wards and the violent black wards show a slightly better than average parole success rate. Violent white offenders perform even better on parole than the two minority groups. It appears

that the ethnic composition changes as one moves from the non-violent to the violent subgroups. While the racial composition of the non-violent subgroups approximates the racial composition of the total study population, the proportion of violent offenders increases markedly in the black offender subgroup. While only 23.0% of the non-violent offenders are black, 35.9% of the violent offenders belong to this ethnic group. The violent Mexican-American offenders represent 20.6% of all violent offenders, which is only a slight increase from the 18.1% contributed by Mexican-American wards to the non-violent group. The violent white offenders represent 42.1% of the violent offender group, a substantial decrease from the 56.8% they contribute to the non-violent offender category.

A similar picture appears in the armed offender subgroup, where blacks again are overrepresented, although to a lesser degree. Generally, the racial composition of non-violent and unarmed offender subgroups follows the racial composition of the total study population. The racial composition of the violent and armed offender subgroups is altered somewhat by increasing representation of black offenders and a slight increase in Mexican-American wards.

Table 4 presents information on the age of the subgroups and time spent in the institution as well as data on weight and height. There are no differences in age among

the various subgroups. Time spent in the institution is several months longer for violent offenders and armed offenders, a difference that is reflected also in their age at release. While the average height of the offenders in all subgroups is similar, slight differences occur in weight with violent and armed individuals being somewhat more heavily built.

Tables 12 through 17 present data related to various clinical problems. Tables 12, 13, and 14 provide information on alcohol, drug misuse, and the use of opiates. There are two kinds of information presented in these tables: (1) a rating of the severity of the particular clinical problem; and (2) information on the relationship of the problem to the present admission offense or to past offenses.

The first three columns of Table 12 show the severity of the alcohol problem. Moderate alcohol misuse implies an alcohol problem that periodically affects the ward's social functioning. These individuals have one or more arrests involving drinking or they were dismissed from work for reasons involving alcohol use or they have experienced occasional frictions in their immediate social environment because of drinking. While 30% of all offenders studied had a history of moderate alcohol abuse, this percentage increases slightly for the violent and the armed offender

while it decreases somewhat for the non-violent and the unarmed.

A similar picture appears for offenders classified as having a severe alcohol problem. Wards in this category were found to have drinking problems that seriously affected their social functioning and were identified by caseworkers as alcoholic or in immediate danger of becoming alcoholic. Here again the violent and armed offender subgroups show higher percentages of individuals who have severe problems with alcohol.

The relationship between parole outcome and alcohol-related criminal behavior is similar, with particularly large differences in cases where alcohol played a role in the admission offense. Here 36.0% of the violent offenders were under the influence of alcohol, compared to only 21.3% of the non-violent wards.

As a factor in the etiology of crime, alcohol seems to be a little understood phenomenon. The inconclusive results of many correctional research analyses which have pooled offenders may be due to the treatment of variables such as alcohol as constant, more or less unidirectional factors. The data presented here suggest that the role of alcohol in crime is complex and quite powerful.

In a study comparing violent and non-violent habitual offenders with violent and non-violent first offenders,

some interesting findings in relation to alcohol came to light (Wenk, 1977). This study defined the violent offender in the same way as the present study: all wards who threatened or injured their victims or were responsible for their victim's death. The non-violent offenders were all others. A habitual offender in this study was an offender who was four or more times committed to the California Youth Authority.

Data compiled for this study on the violent habitual offender point to a decisive shift within the violent habitual offender group from no history of alcohol involvement to history of moderate alcohol misuse and from moderate misuse to severe misuse. Nearly one-third of the violent habitual offenders have a history of severe alcohol abuse, compared to only 11.9% of their non-violent counterparts. While the groups with a history of moderate alcohol misuse differ in the same direction, although less, the groups with no history of alcohol misuse are again substantially apart, showing that only 40.5% of the violent habitual offenders had no alcohol abuse in their background, compared to 63.2% in the non-violent habitual offender group.

39.2% of the admission offenses perpetrated by violent habitual offenders were found to be carried out under the influence of alcohol. Only 15.5% of the non-violent habitual offenders were intoxicated while committing their

offenses. Intoxication during the admission offense also was quite prevalent for violent first offenders, 35.4% of whom were drunk while committing their offenses, compared to 18.1% of the non-violent first offenders. These findings point to alcohol as a potentially powerful antecedent to violent events.

The assumption that the role of alcohol is not only underestimated but also poorly understood is further supported by data on two more groups: the robbery offenders and the burglary offenders. The non-drinking, non-alcoholic robber (N = 230) shows a very good parole success rate of 73.9% on the 15-month follow up; the drinking, possibly alcoholic robber (N = 208) showed a success rate of only 66.3% (which, however, is still above the overall success rate of the total study population of 60.9%). For the robbery offender, alcohol is clearly associated with a decrease in successful rehabilitation.

The non-drinking and non-alcoholic burglary offender (N = 581), on the other hand, has a success rate of only 57.8%. His drinking and possibly alcoholic counterpart (N = 499) shows a success rate of 62.5%, which means that this group is a better risk on parole than the non-drinking burglar. Although these findings are statistically non-significant, alcohol does seem to have different meanings for the robbery offender, where it seems to be a negative

factor, and for the burglary offender where, for reasons not presently understood, alcohol appears to be a positive factor. The need for research into the role of alcohol in the etiology of various crimes seems well supported by these data.

While alcohol appears to have a definite impact on parole outcome, the effects of drug misuse appear even more pronounced. This is particularly noticeable in the category of moderate drug misuse. Included in these groups are persons with a history of using stimulant drugs (e.g., cocaine, amphetamines) and/or depressant drugs (e.g., barbiturates). Users of opiates, marijuana, alcohol, and glue were excluded from this rating and coded separately.

While drug use generally affects parole outcome negatively, this effect is particularly strong for violent offenders and armed offenders. This finding is in contrast to the overall pattern in which these two groups generally fare better than the non-violent and unarmed offender. The same holds true for wards who were involved with drugs when committing the admission offense, except for the relatively small group of offenders who used a weapon. These individuals again had a higher than average success rate. Table 13, particularly in the third column, shows clearly that drug misuse negatively affects parole

CONTINUED

4 OF 6

outcome across all categories studied.

As shown in Table 14, this negative impact is even more dramatic when comparing parole success rates for individuals with a history of opiate use. Non-violent and unarmed offenders with a history of moderate or severe opiate use show very low parole success rates, ranging between 36.4% and 44% success.

Table 15 presents information on the history of marijuana use and glue-sniffing. Generally there is little difference between wards who used marijuana and wards who did not and between wards who sniffed glue and those who did not. One exception is that violent wards who did not use marijuana perform substantially better on parole than violent wards who used marijuana (70.1% and 61.8% success, respectively).

Table 16 provides a variety of data on wards who had a history of escape and/or sexually deviant behavior. A history of escape is associated with a dramatic decrease in parole success rate. This association is particularly apparent for a fairly large group of offenders with a history of escape from a minimum-security facility. For this group, across the classification on the violence and weapon factors, the parole success rates are rather low, although differences between the violent and the non-violent and the armed and the unarmed are noticeable. Large

differences are found between these categories for wards with a history of escape with force (73.3% and 31.8% success for the violent and non-violent, respectively, and 60.0% and 36.6% success for the armed and not armed, respectively).

Table 17 gives the caseworker's summary of psychiatric history and psychiatric labels applied to the ward during previous psychiatric evaluations. This information was contained in earlier clinical case files received by reception guidance center staff from corrections and mental health agencies with which the ward had contact. Generally, the frequencies in the psychiatric categories are small: less than 1% of the total study population had a history of frequent suicidal gestures, serious suicide attempts, brain damage, or epilepsy. Slightly more than 1% had a history of infrequent suicidal gestures, neurosis, and psychosis. Approximately 3% had a history of sociopathic personality disturbance and personality pattern disturbance and 6.7% had a history of personality trait disturbance.

The following diagnostic groups contributed equally to violent/non-violent and armed/not armed categories: frequent suicide gestures (0.6% success), history of personality pattern disturbance (3.3%), and history of sociopathic personality disturbance (2.8%). Violent and armed wards contributed proportionally fewer cases than non-violent and not armed wards to the following categories:

history of brain damage (0.3% vs. 0.8%), history of epilepsy (0.3% vs. 0.6%), and history of neurosis (0.9% vs. 1.4%). Slightly larger proportions of violent than of non-violent offenders and of armed than of not armed offenders were found in the personality trait disturbance category (8.0% vs. 6.3% and 8.5% vs. 6.4%, respectively).

Negative impact across categories can be detected for wards with a previous diagnostic label of sociopathic personality disturbance. Differential impact for the violent and the non-violent and for the armed and the not armed can be seen for various categories. For example, violent wards with a history of personality trait disturbance had a parole success rate of 64.9%, while their non-violent counterparts had a rate of only 45.7%. Similarly, armed wards with the same label had a parole success rate of 67.3% compared to 47.6% for the not armed wards with this diagnostic label. Generally, the differences between the violent and the non-violent and the armed and the not armed are quite pronounced (often 10% or more).

It is quite clear from these data that a psychiatric diagnosis, if applied to a non-violent and not armed individual, presents a rather gloomy picture in regard to parole outcome. For violent and armed offenders such a diagnosis has little effect on parole performance except for wards who have a diagnosis of personality pattern disturbance

or sociopathic personality disturbance.

2. Intelligence Factors

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, a great deal of attention was directed in this study to the problems of cultural bias of the test instruments and the possible impact of the test proctor on test results. The results of intelligence testing are presented with the reminder that cultural bias of the test instruments may in part invalidate the intellectual assessment of culturally mixed groups. Since the important issues of culture-fairness still are not satisfactorily resolved, these results must be interpreted cautiously.

Table 18 presents the distribution for the intelligence categories. Each ward was classified into one of the Wechsler intelligence categories by the clinical psychologist who was supervising the testing program. Wards who scored in the mental defective range on the group tests were given the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) and were classified as mental defective only if they scored in the mental defective range on this individually administered test. Table 18 shows that violent individuals are slightly overrepresented in the lower intelligence categories and slightly underrepresented in the upper intelligence categories, Parole success rates also improve with intelligence. The poorest parole success

rates are found for non-violent and not armed wards of dull normal intelligence.

Table 19 gives a summary of the results of the various intelligence tests. It should be kept in mind that the classification of wards into intelligence categories as presented in Table 18 was based on clinical judgment, using the information for each individual on the tests presented in Table 19. On most of the intelligence tests administered, the differences in achieved test scores for the violent, the non-violent, the armed and the not armed are negligible, although there is a slight advantage of the violent and the armed over the non-violent and the not armed in the verbal and numerical scores on the Army General Classification Test (AGCT) and a slight reverse of this pattern on the spatial portion of this test.

More variation is found between the scores of wards who caused major injuries or death to their victims under the influence of alcohol and those who did so while sober. On most measures, the group under the influence of alcohol when committing the admission offense obtained higher scores. This pattern, however, was reversed on some non-language tests which assess primarily spatial skills.

3. Academic Factors

School-related factors increasingly are coming under

study as it becomes evident that the school experience is of critical importance in the development of alienation and social deviance (Wenk, 1974). The data on academic factors are presented here in some detail to allow for discovery of possible leads useful in designing new types of learning environments for that large proportion of youth who do not seem to be well-served by the existing educational system.

The results of the California Achievement Test Battery (CAT) are presented in Table 20. Again, similarities in the test scores for the violent, non-violent, armed, and not armed offender are evident. The violent offenders have slightly but consistently lower scores than the non-violent offenders. The armed offenders, on the other hand, show a slight advantage over the not armed offenders on most scores on the CAT. It is important to emphasize the smallness of these differences but equally important to point out that the direction of the differences is quite consistent.

There appear to be more distinct differences between the achievement test scores of the offenders who inflicted major injuries or death while under the influence of alcohol and those who did so while not under the influence of alcohol. The test performance of those under the influence when committing their violent acts during the admission

offense was consistently superior to the performance of those who committed the violent acts while sober. These differences are particularly important in the reading portion of the test (close to one grade difference), followed by the language portion, and, last but still noticeably clear-cut and consistent, by the arithmetic portion of the CAT. These findings support the hypothesis that persons who commit violent acts generally are good "communicators" and thus more reachable for therapeutic and corrective intervention than the non-violent property offender, who is more seriously handicapped in his social relationships.

Table 21 presents data on grade completed in school for the groups under study. These findings can be summarized as follows:

(1) Wards who dropped out below the eighth grade generally performed below average on parole, with the exception of a few individuals in the violent offender group.

(2) Wards who dropped out between the eighth and the twelfth grades show the normal pattern with the violent and armed offenders performing quite well on parole and the non-violent and not armed offenders performing below average and quite distinctly below the violent and armed groups.

(3) Wards who finished the twelfth grade or more performed generally above average regardless of their subcategory.

Table 22 presents data on grade achieved, as measured by the California Achievement Test Battery. Generally, individuals who achieved at a level better than the tenth grade performed well above average on parole, regardless of their other classification. Excellent parole performance is evident for violent offenders and offenders who were armed, but relatively good parole performance also is quite frequent for the non-violent and not armed wards, who usually perform well below average on parole.

Grade Achieved	Violent	Non-Violent	Armed	Not Armed
10	73.8%S	72.5%S	72.5%S	60.7%S
11	80.0%S	63.2%S	81.3%S	64.0%S
12	100.0%S	65.1%S	100.0%S	68.1%S

Since the average parole success rate for the total study population is 60.9%, the above parole success rates are quite impressive. This finding underlines the fact that school achievers among the delinquent populations have a better chance for rehabilitation than individuals who are deficient in school-related skills.

The various groups of wards achieving below the tenth grade on the CAT (close to 90% of all wards tested) follow the general pattern: violent and armed offenders have better parole outcomes than the non-violent and not armed offenders.

Age left school is presented in Table 23. It seems

clear that wards who dropped out of school at age fourteen or earlier perform poorly on parole, regardless of their classification as violent/non-violent or armed/not armed. It is equally clear from this table that wards who stayed in school past age eighteen perform very well on parole, again regardless of their classification on the violence dimensions. The subgroups between these two subgroups perform typically, with above average performance for the violent and the armed and slightly below average for the non-violent and the not armed offender.

Table 25 again pinpoints school-related factors as important variables for the study of violence in young offenders, especially as these factors relate to parole performance. Individuals rated by the caseworker as motivated for further academic training while institutionalized generally show a good parole performance. While the non-violent and the not armed offenders perform close to average and the violent and armed well above average in the motivated category, parole performance drops considerably for wards judged to be unmotivated for further academic training. The parole performance of wards who obtained a high school diploma before institutionalization was above average for all groups, with the violent and armed showing an excellent parole performance record throughout.

In summary, it can be stated that the more positive

the school experience, the more positive the parole performance can be expected to be for all wards, the violent and the non-violent, the armed and the not armed. Generally, however, the violent and the armed show a substantial advantage over their non-violent and not armed counterparts, who seem to have some handicap in the area of verbal communication and social relationships.

4. Vocational Factors

The results of the testing on the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) are presented in Table 26. Small differences are apparent among the scores obtained by the violent, the non-violent, the armed and the unarmed offenders. On about half of the scores the violent subgroups show a tendency to score slightly lower than the non-violent. The greatest differences again appear on the spatial factor, where a difference of more than 3½ points suggests a handicap in spatial perception for the violent offender. This difference is also apparent for the armed offender, who scores below the unarmed offender in Spatial Aptitude. Otherwise, the scores of the armed offender are slightly higher than the scores of the unarmed offender on Numerical, Clerical, Motor Coordination, Finger Dexterity, and Manual Dexterity.

Differences again are more pronounced when offenders who committed their seriously violent act under the influence

of alcohol are compared with those who committed serious violence while sober. The most pronounced differences are in Verbal Aptitude, where the offender who was drinking while committing his criminal act performed substantially better than his non-drinking violent counterpart, and in Manual Dexterity, where the results are reversed. Lesser differences are found for the General Intelligence, Spatial Aptitude, and Clerical Aptitude factors, in which offenders who were intoxicated performed better than their non-intoxicated counterparts, and in Motor Coordination, where the finding was reversed for the two groups. Also of interest is the finding that the last two groups, who committed serious violence, scored generally higher than the other four groups depicted in these tables.

5. Personality Factors

This section presents the findings on three personality tests--the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), and the Interpresonal Personality Inventory (IPI)--as they relate to violence factors.

The data on both the CPI and the MMPI are available on all wards who met the requirement of a sixth-grade reading skill, which seems necessary to comprehend the items on

these tests. These data also are available on some wards who tested below this reading level but who could comprehend the items when they were presented by tape recording. The two tests permit a valuable assessment of personality factors.

The MMPI provides measures of the nature and extent of possible psychological disturbance, while the CPI provides measures of the psychological and social strength and patterns of interpersonal behavior. Tables 29 and 30 provide a summary of the results on these two tests and Table 31 presents the results on the Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI).

As can be seen clearly from the statistical descriptions of the various subgroups in Tables 29 and 30, the differences among the various subgroups created by alternative definitions of violence-related categories usually are small, making it extremely difficult to distinguish the non-violent from the violent offender. One reason for this failure to distinguish more clearly between the two categories may be our inability to form meaningful subclassifications of violent offenders. Too often we resort to crude classifications that prevent us from discovering important relationships. For example, to lump all violent offenders into one category obscures the fact that some subcategories of violent offenders show remarkable differences on some of

the variables. To learn about these differences and to utilize them in prediction and program classification seems to be one of the most critical needs in our efforts to control crime.

To demonstrate this need and to underline the importance of developing such a research focus in the future, two groups of violent offenders will be described separately: the violent first offender and the violent habitual offender. It should be noted that when these two groups of offenders are combined the personality test profiles are basically similar to the profiles of the total study population. When these two violent offender groups are further subcategorized into first offenders and habitual offenders, quite impressive differences in their characteristics appear.

A violent offender is defined as an offender who showed evidence of threat with or without a weapon or inflicted minor or major injuries upon the victim or caused the victim's death during the admission offense. Violent first offenders are such persons committed for the first time to the California Youth Authority. Violent habitual offenders are such persons with four or more commitments to the California Youth Authority.

The MMPI scores of the violent habitual offender suggest increased emotional and psychological disturbance, with the

most pronounced deviations on the paranoia, schizophrenia, and manic-depressive scales,

A similar, but more negative picture appears from the CPI profiles of the violent habitual offender group, which indicate that on most of the social dimensions the violent habitual offender is more deficient than the violent first offender. The violent habitual offender scores particularly low on the scale that measures a sense of well-being (Wb) and on the scales for responsibility (Re) and socialization (So). This would indicate that, as a group, violent habitual offenders in this study are lacking in a general sense of physical and psychological well-being, seriousness of thought, well-developed values, and dependability.

Substantial differences also are apparent in areas other than personality characteristics. A few examples are given below.

Race. With regard to the racial composition of these categories, minority group members are overrepresented in the violent habitual offender category. While the nonviolent habitual offenders approximately reflect the overall racial composition of the total study population (59.6% white; 15% Mexican-American; and 23.2% black), the violent habitual offenders contained only 24.1% white, 27.8% Mexican-American, and 45.6% black, thus cutting the white proportion of this population in half while doubling the

proportion of Mexican-Americans.

Alcohol and Drugs. A decisive shift occurs within the violent habitual offender group from no alcohol involvement to a history of moderate alcohol misuse and from moderate misuse to severe misuse. Nearly one-third of the violent habitual offenders have a history of severe alcohol abuse and 39.7% of the admission offenses perpetrated by this group were carried out under the influence of alcohol. In comparison, among the violent first offenders 15.9% have a history of severe alcohol abuse and 35.4% perpetrated the admission offense under the influence of alcohol, pointing to alcohol as a potentially powerful antecedent to violent events in this offender group.

With respect to drug involvement, the violent habitual offender shows twice the rate of the violent first offender, with 15.2% of the violent habitual offenders having a history of moderate to severe misuse. For opiate use the difference is even more pronounced: 8.2% of the violent habitual offenders and 2.9% of the violent first offenders have a history of opiate use.

Results on various tests. Results on the intelligence tests, vocational aptitude tests, and academic achievement tests show that the violent habitual offender generally tests lower than the violent first offender on most measures.

The violent habitual offender scored approximately 5 points below the level of the violent first offender on the Army General Classification Test (IQ, 96.4), the California Test of Mental Maturity (Average IQ, 86.4; Language IQ, 82.7; Non-language IQ, 90.5), the Shipley Hartford (Conceptual Quotient, 94.4), and the Raven Progressive Matrices (41.8). Grade placement as measured by the California Achievement Test Battery was approximately one grade below the other groups at 6.8, with little variation among the subjects measured. Vocational aptitude testing placed the violent habitual offender somewhat above the other groups on motor coordination tests and slightly below on academic and perceptive tasks.

It is interesting to note that the violent habitual offender group has a high incidence of leaving school at an early age: 21.2% of the violent habitual offenders left school before the age of fifteen, compared to 8.5% for the violent first offender.

It is clear from these data that a great many difficulties encountered in prediction and classification work are related to the tendency to crudely lump individuals together by using superficial criteria and neglecting to experiment with refined subclassifications that are empirically derived. Future studies should be guided by some of these concerns.

6. Psychiatric Factors

The reader should refer to Chapter 1 for details of this subpopulation. Table 35 shows that three categories account for most of the referrals and relatively few individuals fall into categories that have a noticeably lower parole success rate. It should be noted that there may be several reasons for referral mentioned for a particular individual--e.g., a person may have been referred for reasons of prior mental illness and assessment of violence potential. The data presented, including diagnostic labels and symptoms, are descriptive only of this selected group and it is not implied that the wards not psychiatrically examined are free of psychiatric disorders. It can reasonably be assumed, however, that most individuals with psychiatric liabilities were screened out for examination through the referral procedure.

Table 36 gives information on the three major symptoms found during the psychiatric examination. Wards with signs of depression show differing parole success rates for violent/non-violent and armed/unarmed offenders, while wards with signs of anxiety and dependency perform consistently poorly on parole, with the exception of a small subgroup of armed wards who showed signs of anxiety but kept their parole performance at an average level.

Table 37 summarizes the results of the psychiatric

diagnosis by major diagnostic categories. This table gives some interesting information on two psychiatric subgroups: the psychotic and the personality pattern disturbance group. As mentioned before, psychosis is very rare in delinquent populations; in our study sample only 0.7% were diagnosed as psychotic. Violent wards and armed wards, although an extremely small group (6 and 4 respectively), show a poor parole performance record, while the non-violent and unarmed wards (23 and 25 respectively) who were diagnosed as psychotic performed well on parole. These findings suggest that offenders with a history of psychosis and a history of violence or crimes where weapons were used should get special attention in both personality assessment and supervision.

Offenders diagnosed as having personality pattern disturbances show a consistently good parole performance, regardless of subcategories. This group is somewhat larger (N = 109) and is primarily composed of persons labeled either inadequate personality (N = 39) or schizoid personality (N = 64), two diagnostic labels that are traditionally viewed by psychiatrists as having a poor prognosis for change. In regard to parole performance, this group shows unexpectedly good success rates across all subcategories.

The other diagnostic subgroups show the regular fluctuation between the violent/non-violent and the armed/

not armed as found in tables pertaining to other variables. In the instance of personality trait disturbance and transitional situational personality disturbance, this fluctuation is somewhat more pronounced, particularly for the non-violent groups.

These data confirm the low incidence of psychiatric illness among youthful offenders. Considering the rigorous screening procedures employed to channel all suspect individuals toward a psychiatric evaluation, it must be concluded that serious psychiatric disturbances are largely absent from such delinquent populations and that serious psychiatric symptoms such as delusions, hallucinations, thought distortions, and reality distortions are rare indeed. On the other hand, dependency, anxiety, and depression appear to be more common in this delinquent population, with the first two showing a fairly strong relationship to parole failure.

7. Offense-Related Factors Including Violence Information and Parole Follow-up

This section will focus on offense-specific data with particular attention to violence committed and weapons used during commission of the offense. The types of offense leading to institutionalization are summarized in Table 38. As is commonly found in studies of adult criminal offenders, individuals who offend against persons are much better risks on parole (in regard to recidivism *per se*) than are persons

who engage in property offenses, a pattern that is clearly visible from this table. Examples of the former include wards committed for robbery and assault, while examples of the latter include wards committed for vehicle theft and forgery.

A noteworthy exception in our study is the low success rate for individuals committed for homicide. Contrary to expectations, this subgroup performed poorly on parole. This small subgroup is atypical as it includes mostly individuals committed to the California Youth Authority for second degree murder charges that resulted from car accidents while under the influence of alcohol or drugs. When inspecting the data on persons committed for narcotics offenses, one should bear in mind that this subgroup includes not only the user but also the seller of narcotics. Since this subgroup consists of a complex mix of persons, offenses, and motives, it cannot be regarded as an offense-specific subgroup.

Table 38 suggests also the extent to which the legal labels given to offenders (admission offense) correspond to actual behavior, especially in relation to violence and the carrying of weapons. It should be kept in mind that threat with or without a weapon is behavior included in the subcategory "Actual Violence in Admission Offense." For instance, in 36 instances of car theft, threat of violence

or violence was involved and in 21 cases weapons were present. Similarly, about one-fourth of the thefts show that threat of violence or violence was involved and a smaller number of thefts included the presence of weapons. Most of the forcible rape cases and more than half of the statutory rape cases included threat of violence or violence, but very few involved weapons.

Interesting patterns for some offenses in regard to parole outcome and parole outcome differences between the violent/non-violent and armed/unarmed offenders are evident from Table 38. Offenders committed for assault or robbery generally perform well on parole. Differences between the parole success rates of the violent and the non-violent and of the armed and the not armed are noticeable within the robbery offender group, the violent and the armed performing better than the non-violent and the not armed. These differences are less pronounced for offenders committed for assault.

Offenders committed for vehicle theft and offenders committed for statutory rape perform poorly on parole, regardless of subcategories. Narcotics offenders show a reversed pattern: the few individuals in this subgroup who were violent and armed perform extremely poorly on parole. This again points out a relatively small group of offenders who are involved with narcotics, use violence, are armed

when committing their offense, and show a rather low parole success rate. As in the case of the violent and armed psychotic offender, this group of narcotics offenders seems to need special personality assessment as well as special supervision.

Also of interest is the parole violation subgroup. Persons who violated after showing behavior that was threatening or violent do quite well on parole when again released, while wards revoked for non-violent behavior do rather poorly. Similar findings are noted for wards in this group who were armed or not armed, although the differences in parole outcome are not as pronounced. Further study of this phenomenon could help in formulating better parole management policies. The remaining offenses more or less follow the general pattern.

The last two columns in Table 38 give interesting information on the offense categories in which major injuries or death occur and the extent to which alcohol is involved. As can be seen, most major injuries and deaths occur under the general label of assault and about three-quarters of these serious assaults are carried out under the influence of alcohol. About 20% of all assaults ended with major injuries or death for the victims. In contrast, only 5% of all robberies led to major injuries or death, with half of these perpetrated under the influence

of alcohol.

The homicide group shows four persons not personally involved with violence. These persons were charged with homicide for the violence committed by their crime partners. Major injuries and death occurred in other offense groups and many of these cases show that alcohol was heavily involved when these crimes were committed.

Differences in percentages of violent and armed offenders found in the various offense groups are of interest. As expected, the following offense groups show high proportions of violent offenders: Homicide (78.9%), Negligent Manslaughter (100%), Robbery (80.4%), Assault (79.4%), and Forcible Rape (85.7%).

Smaller proportions of violent offenders were found in the following offense groups: Theft (19.7%), Statutory Rape (39%), Other Sex Offenses (31.8%), Alcohol Offenses (21.6%), Other (28.6%), and Parole Violation (19.6%). Relatively few violent offenders were found in Burglary (6%), Vehicle Theft (5%), and Narcotics Offenses (4.9%).

The following percentages (in round numbers) of offenders were armed in the various offender groups:

Homicide	63%
Robbery	57%
Negligent Manslaughter	46%
Assault	44%
Other	26%
Other Sex Offenses	14%

Parole Violation	13%
Forcible Rape	11%
Alcohol Offenses	8%
Theft	6%
Burglary	5%
Narcotics Offenses	5%
Vehicle Theft	3%
Statutory Rape	1%
Forgery	½%

Table 43 suggests that caseworkers' ratings of mild or least violence potential, if applied to wards who engaged in violence during the admission offense or who were armed, identify a group of offenders that is exceptionally successful on parole.

The classifications in Table 44 were undertaken exclusively for the present study. Since they expand the definition of violence to include violence that is not necessarily criminal, they represent an attempt to obtain data on the history of actual violence for each ward. The category of aggressive crimes without violence includes cases in which aggression was shown by threat with or without a weapon or where violence may have been committed by crime partners but where the ward classified in this category refrained from actual physical assault. In contrast, the category of violence includes persons who physically acted out. The outcome of the assault was regarded as immaterial and violence was defined as physical assault which could consist of the discharge of a firearm

aimed at the victim or aimed into the sky, or any other assault perpetrated against a person. Rape cases were included in this category if force was used, regardless of the legal label given the offense. Noncriminal assault (such as fighting, etc.) also was included in this category.

It should be noted that the definitions of "actual violence in admission offense" and "history of violence" are different, particularly as the former includes all kinds of threats. Because of these differences, a person may be classified as having no history of violence while at the same time classified in the subcategory "actual violence in admission offense," since threat of violence with or without a weapon would require this classification.

Table 45 gives information on the history of carrying weapons. This category contains only individuals who have carried weapons or objects that were clearly meant to be used for offensive or defensive purposes. Weapons used for hunting or sports were not recorded. While 29% of the total study population had a history of carrying weapons, this figure increases to 55.4% for the wards who engaged in violence during the admission offense.

Table 46 shows that partners were part of the admission offense in more than half of the crimes committed. In one-sixth of these cases, the partner or partners were under

parole supervision by the CYA. Tables 46 and 47 indicate that parole outcome for wards with crime partners was generally better than for wards who acted alone.

The frequency and kind of individual violence committed during the admission offense is presented in Table 48. While only 6 percent of the wards were admitted with a legal label that implied violence, such as convictions for assault, battery, and manslaughter, an analysis of behavior displayed during the admission offense revealed that in fact 24.1 percent of the total study population committed violent or aggressive acts ranging from threat without a weapon to inflicting major injuries that led to death in 36 cases.

In order to learn about violence committed by partners, data were collected under the same definitions as above but relative to partner-committed violence and use of weapons. The information on violence committed by partners is presented in Table 49.

In more than half of the admission offenses in which violence or aggression was displayed by the ward, some kind of weapon was used. In most cases this was a firearm. Table 50 gives the breakdown by type of weapon for the individual.

It is clear from these data that wards who commit aggression and violence against persons have relatively

good parole success rates. This is true also for individuals who commit criminal acts in groups of two or more. These findings, which are consistently reported in the literature, suggest that offenders who strike out against others and offenders who have companions in crime function relatively better psychologically and socially than do persons who commit property offenses and those who pursue their criminal activities alone.

The loss incurred by victims is depicted in Table 52. It should be noted that the relatively high frequency in the category $1,000-$5,000 loss is a reflection of the fact that all vehicle thefts were recorded in this category. The low parole success rate in this subgroup is consistent with the general finding that auto thieves are poor risks on parole. It is interesting to note the very low parole success rates of wards who engaged in crimes with economic loss to the victim of $500 or more and who were non-violent and not armed. In these subgroups are various thieves, burglars, and forgers.

REFERENCES

Abrahamsen, D. The psychology of crime. New York: Wiley, 1960.

Albert, R. S. The role of mass media and the effect of aggressive film content upon children's aggressive responses and identification choices. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1957, 55, 211-285.

Amir, Menachem. Patterns of forcible rape. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1965.

Archer, D., and Gartner, R. Violent acts and violent times: a comparative approach to postwar homicide rates. American Sociological Review, 1976, 41, 937-963.

Ardrey, R. The territorial imperative. New York: Atheneum, 1966.

Atkinson, J. W. Motives in fantasy, action, and society. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958.

Bacon, M. K., Barry, H., and Child, I. L. A cross-cultural study of correlates of crime. Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 1963, 66, 291-300.

Bailey, W. C. Some further evidence on homicide and a regional culture of violence. Omega: Journal of Death and Dying, 1976, 7, 145-170.

Baker, T., Mann, F., and Friedman, C. Selectivity in the criminal justice system. Prison Journal, 1975, 55, 23-24 (Criminal Justice Abstracts, 1977.

Banay, R. S. Study in murder. The Annals, 1952, 284, 26-34.

Bandura, A., Ross, D., and Ross, S. A. Imitation of film-mediated aggressive models. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, 66, 3-11.

Bandura, A., and Walters, R. H. Social learning and personality development. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963.

Berg, S. D., and Toch, H. H. Impulsive and neurotic inmates: a study in personality and perception. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 1964, 55, 230-234.

Berkowitz, L. Aggression: A social psychological analysis. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Berkowitz, L. The effects of observing violence. Scientific American, 1964, 210, 35-41.

Berkowitz, L. Impulse, aggression and the gun. Psychology Today, 1968, 2(4), 18-22.

Berkowitz, L. (Ed.) Roots of aggression: a re-examination of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. New York: Atherton Press, 1969.

Berkowitz, L., and Geen, R. G. Film violence and the cue properties of available targets. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 3, 525-530.

Berkowitz, L., and Le Page, A. Weapons as aggression-eliciting stimuli. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1967, 7, 202-207.

Berkowitz, L., and Rawlings, E. Effects of film violence on inhibitions against subsequent aggression. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, 66, 405-412.

Blair, J., and Birkman, R. An effort to distinguish the violent from the nonviolent. Southern Medical Journal, 1972, 65(6), 703-706.

Block, J. The development of an M.M.P.I. based scale to measure ego control. Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Berkeley, Department of Psychology, 1955.

Block, R. and Zimring, F. E. Homicide in Chicago, 1965-1970. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1973, 10(1), 1-12.

Board of Directors, National Council on Crime and Delinquency. The nondangerous offender should not be imprisoned. A policy statement. Crime and Delinquency, October 1973, 19, 449-456.

Boelkins, R. C., and Heiser, J. S. The anatomy of aggression. In Committee on Violence. Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, Department of Psychiatry, 1969.

Bricklin, B., Piotrowski, Z. A., and Wagner, E. E. The Hand test. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1962.

Brill, H. Post-encephalitic psychiatric conditions. In S. Arieti (Ed.), American Handbook of Psychiatry. New York: Basic Books, 1959.

Brodsky, S., and Brodsky, A. M. Hand test indicators of anti-social behavior. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 1967, 31(5), 36-39.

Buss, A. H. Instrumentality of aggression feedback and frustration as determinants of physical aggression. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 3, 153-162.

Buss, A. H. The psychology of aggression. New York: Wiley, 1961.

Buss, A. H., and Durkee, A. An inventory for assessing different kinds of hostility. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1957, 21(4), 343-349.

Buss, A. H., Fisher, H., and Simmons, A. J. Aggression and hostility in psychiatric patients. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1962, 26, 84-89.

Butcher, J. N. Manifest aggression: M.M.P.I. correlates in normal boys. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1965, 29, 446-454.

California Department of Corrections Research Division. Predicting violence proneness on parole. Unpublished paper, November, 1965.

California Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics. Crime and delinquency in California, 1976. Sacramento: California Department of Justice, 1976.

California Youth Authority. A comparison of admission characteristics of Youth Authority wards, 1970-1976. Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1977.

Caplan, N. S., and Gligor, A. M. A study of the relationship between intelligence and offense among juvenile delinquents. Unpublished paper. Quoted in Quay, Herbert (Ed.). Juvenile Delinquency. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1965.

Cloward, R. A., and Ohlin, L. E. Delinquency and opportunity: a theory of delinquent gangs. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960.

Cohen, A. K. Delinquent boys, the culture of the gang. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

Conrad, J. P. The nature and treatment of the violent offender: a typology of violence. In C. Spencer, A typology of violent offenders. Sacramento, Calif.: Department of Corrections, 1966, Research Report No. 23.

Cook, W. W., and Medley, D. M. Proposed hostility and pharasaic virtue scales for the M.M.P.I. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1954, 38, 414-418.

Court, J. H. Pornography and sex-crimes. International Journal of Criminology and Penology, 1976, 5, 129-157.

Crook, J. H. The nature and function of territorial aggression. In A. Montagu (Ed.), Man and aggression. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Curtis, L. A. Criminal violence. Lexington: Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974.

Dahlstrom, W. G., and Welsh, G. S. An M.M.P.I. handbook: a guide to use in clinical practice and research. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960.

Deiker, T. E. A cross-validation of MMPI sales of aggression on male criminal criterion groups. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1974, 42, 196-202.

Dershowitz, G. Imprisonment by judicial hunch: the case against pretrial preventive detention. The Prison Journal, 1970, 50(2), 12-22.

Dershowitz, G. On preventive detention. In A. S. Goldstein and J. Goldstein (Eds.), Crime, law and society. New York: Free Press, 1971.

Doleschal, E. Criminal Statistics. Information Review on Crime and Delinquency, 1969, 1(8), 1-28.

Dollard, J., Doob, L. W., Miller, N. E., Mowrer, O. H., and Sears, R. R. Frustration and aggression. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939.

Duncan, B. Differential social perception and attribution of intergroup violence: testing the lower limits of stereotyping of blacks. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 34, 590-598.

Duncan, G. M., Frazier, S. H., Litin, E. M., Johnson, A. M., and Barron, A. J. Etiological factors in first degree murder. Journal of the American Medical Association, 1958, 163, 1755-1758.

Elmhorn, K. Study in self-reported delinquency among school children in Stockholm. In K. Christiansen (Ed.), Scandinavian studies in criminology (Vol. 1). London: Tavistock, 1965.

Erikson, R. B., and Roberts, A. H. An M.M.P.I. comparison of two groups of institutionalized delinquents. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 1966, 30, 163-166.

Eron, L. D. Relationship of TV viewing habits and aggressive behavior in children. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, 67, 193-196.

Eysenck, S. B. G., Rust, J., and Eysenck, H. J. Personality and the classification of adult offenders. British Journal of Criminology, 1977, 17, 169-179.

Fannin, L. F., and Clinard, M. B. Differences in the conception of self as a male among lower and middle class delinquents. Social Problems, 1965, 13, 205-214.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. Violent crime rises steadily. Davis Enterprise, FBI, 1978.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. Uniform crime reports: crime in the United States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. Crime in the United States, 1976. Uniform Crime Reports. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. Uniform crime reports: crime in the United States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Feeney, F., and Weir, A. The prevention and control of robbery: a summary. Davis, Calif.: University of California Center on Administration of Criminal Justice, 1974.

Feshbach, S. The stimulating vs. cathartic effects of a vicarious aggressive activity. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 63, 381-385.

Fishman, R. An evaluation of criminal recidivism in projects providing rehabilitation and diversion services in New York City. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1977, 68, 283-305.

Freud, S. Civilization and its discontents. (Originally published in 1929.) In J. Strachey (Ed.), The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud. (Vol. 21) London: Hoquart, 1961.

Friedman, C. J. and Mann, F. Recidivism: the fallacy of prediction. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology. 1976, 20, 153-164.

Fromm, E. The anatomy of human destructiveness. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

Gardner, G. E. Aggression and violence--The enemies of precision learning in children. The American Journal of Psychiatry, 1971, 128(4), 445-450.

Garver, N. What violence is. The Nation, June 24, 1968.

Gerrish, P. A factor analysis of juvenile delinquency. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1975(5-B), 2468.

Gil, D. G. Violence against children. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Glaser, D. Strategic criminal justice planning. Rockville, Md.: National Institute of Mental Health, 1975.

Glaser, D., Kenefick, D., and O'Leary, V. The violent offender. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social Rehabilitation Service, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, 1968.

Goldenseon, R. M. The encyclopedia of human behavior. New York: Doubleday, 1970.

Goldfarb, W. The effects of early institutional care on adolescent personality. Journal of Experimental Education, 1943, 12, 106-129. (a)

Goldfarb, W. Infant rearing and problem behavior. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1943, 13, 249-266. (b)

Goldfarb, W. Infant rearing as a factor in foster home placement. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1944, 14, 162-167.

Goldfarb, W. Psychological privation in infancy and subsequent adjustment. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1945, 15, 247-255.

Goldstein, T., and Katz, J. Dangerousness and mental illness: some observations on the decision to release persons acquitted by reason of insanity. Yale Law Journal, 1960, 70, 225.

Goode, W. Violence among inmates. In U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Task Force on Individual Acts of Violence, Crimes of Violence (Vol. 13). Wash. D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

Gottfredson, D. M. Assessment and prediction methods in crime and delinquency. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force report: juvenile delinquency and youth crime. Washington, D.C.: 1967.

Gough, H. G. California psychological inventory manual. Palo Alto, Calif.: Consulting Psychologists' Press, 1960. (a)

Gough, H.G. Clinical vs. statistical prediction in psychology. In L. Postman (Ed.), Psychology in the making. New York: Knopf, 1962.

Gough, H. G. Theory and measurement of socialization. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1960, 24, 23-30. (b)

Gough, H. G., and Wenk, E. A. Prediction of assaultive behavior from personality inventory data. Unpublished manuscript, 1966.

Graham, F. P. Black crime: the lawless image. Harper's Magazine, September, 1970, pp. 62, 65, 68-71.

Gurevitz, H. Tarasoff: Protective privilege versus public peril. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1977, 134, 289-292.

Guttmacher, M. S. The mind of the murderer. New York: Farrar, 1960.

Halleck, S. Psychiatry and the dilemmas of crime. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

Hardt, R., and Bodine, G. F. Development of self-report instruments in delinqeuncy research. Syracuse, N.Y.: Youth Development Center, Syracuse University, 1965.

Harris, R. H., and Lingoes, J. C. Subscales for the M.M.P.I.: an aid to profile interpretation. Unpublished manuscript, University of California School of Medicine, San Francisco, 1955.

Hartmann, H., Kris, E., and Loewenstein, R. M. Notes on the theory of aggression. In Psychoanalytic study of the child. New York: International Universities Press, 1949.

Hathaway, S. R., and Monachesi, E. D. Analyzing and predicting juvenile delinquency with the M.M.P.I. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1953.

Hawkins, G., and Morris, N. The honest politician's guide to crime control. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Hays, J. R., and Solway, K. S. Violent behavior and differential Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children characteristics. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1977, 45, 1187.

Heilbrun, A. B., and Heilbrun, K. S. The black minority criminal and violent crime: the role of self-control. British Journal of Criminology, 1977, 17, 370-377.

Hirsch, A. von. Prediction of criminal conduct and preventive confinement of convicted persons. Buffalo Law Review, 1972, 21(3), 717-758.

Holt, R. R. Clinical and statistical prediction: a reformulation and some new data. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1958, 56, 1-12.

Holt, R. R. Yet another look at clinical and statistical prediction: or, is clinical psychology worthwhile? American Psychologist, 1970, 25(4), 337-349.

Hoppe, C. M., and Singer, R. D. Interpersonal violence and its relationship to some personality measures. Aggressive Behavior, 1977, 3, 261-270.

Ilfeld, F. W. Overview of the causes and prevention of violence. Archives of General Psychiatry, 1969, 20, 675-689.

Ilfeld, F. W., and Metzner, R. J. Alternatives to violence: strategies for coping with social conflict. In Committee on Violence. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, Department of Psychiatry, 1969.

Jesse, F. T. Murder and its motives (Rev. Ed.). London: Harrar, 1952.

Johnson, J. H., Kerper, H. B., Hayes, D. D., and Killinger, G. G. The recidivist victim: a descriptive study. Criminal Justice Monograph, 1973, 6(1).

Kaplan, R., and Singer, R. Television violence and viewer aggression: a reexamination of the evidence. Journal of Social Issues, 1976, 32, 35-70.

Klein, J. F. The dangerousness of dangerous offender legislation: forensic folklore revisited. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections.

Kozol, H. L., Boucher, R. J., and Garofalo, R. F. The daignosis and treatment of dangerousness. Crime and Delinquency, 1972, 18, 371-392.

Kregarman, J. J., and Worchel, P. Arbitrariness of frustration and aggression. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 63, 183-187.

Kunce, J. T., Ryan, J. J., and Eckelman, C. C. Violent behavior and differential WAIS characteristics. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1976, 44, 42-45.

Lazarus, R. S. A substitutive-defense conception of apperceptive fantasy. In J. Kagan and G. S. Lesser (Eds.), Contemporary issues in thematic apperceptive methods. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1961, 51-71.

Lech-Sobczek, A. /The concept of a service for social readaptation./ Psychiatria Polska, 1973, I, 203-207 (Psychological Abstracts, 1977, 57, No. 11051).

Levine, D. Careers of violence: further comments. British Journal of Criminology, 1976, 16, 161-163.

Lewis, D. O. Delinquency, psychomotor epileptic symptoms, and paranoid ideation: a triad. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1976, 133, 1395-1398. (P.A., 1977, 57, 10538.

Lewis, D. O., and Balla, D. A. Delinquency and psychopathology. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1976.

Lorenz, K. On aggression. New York: Bantam, 1966.

Maccoby, E. E., and Wilson, W. C. Identification and observational learning from films. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1957, 55, 76-87.

MacDonald, J. M. Homicidal threats. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1967, 124(4), 61-68.

Marquis, J. N. Fantasy measures of aggressive behavior. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1961). (University Microfilms No. 16-1763).

Maurer, A. Personal communication, 1976. Reported in Wedge, R. F. A review of the literature on the antecedents of adolescent aggression and delinquency. Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1977.

McCandless, B. B. Children: behavior and development. (2nd edition). New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967.

McCreary, C. P. Trait and type differences among male and female assaultive and nonassaultive offenders. Journal of Personality Assessment, 1976, 40, 617-621.

McKee, J. P., and Leader, F. B. The relationship of socioeconomic status and aggression to the competitive behavior of preschool children. Child Development, 1955, 26, 135-142.

McNeil, E. B. Psychology and aggression. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1959, 3, 195-293.

Meehl, P. E. Clinical vs. statistical prediction: a theoretical analysis and a review of the evidence. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.

Meehl, P. E., and Rosen, L. Antecedent probability and the efficiency of psychometric signs, patterns, and cutting scores. Psychological Bulletin, 1955, 194, 104-141.

Megargee, E. I. Assault with intent to kill. Transaction, 1965, 2(6), 27-31.

Megargee, E. I. The assessment of violence with psychological tests. A paper prepared for Task Force III: Individual Acts of Violence, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. November 15, 1969. (a)

Megargee, E. I. A critical review of theories of violence. In D. J. Mulvihill and M. M. Tumin, Crimes of violence (Vol. 13). A staff report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. December, 1969, pp. 1037-1115. (b)

Megargee, E. I. Undercontrol and overcontrol in assaultive and homicidal adolescents. (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley). (University Microfilms No. 64-9923, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1964). (a)

Megargee, E. I. Undercontrolled and overcontrolled personality types in extreme anti-social aggression. Psychological Monographs, 1966, 80(3), Whole No. 611.

Megargee, E. I. The utility of the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study in detecting assaultiveness among juvenile delinquents. Paper presented at the meeting of the Southwestern Psychological Association, San Antonio, Texas, April 1964. (b)

Megargee, E. I., and Cook, P. E. The relation of TAT and inkblot aggressive content scales with each other and with criteria of overt aggressiveness in delinquents. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 1967, 31(1), 48-60.

Megargee, E. I., and Mendelsohn, G. A. A cross validation of twelve M.M.P.I. indices of hostility and control. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1962, 65, 431-438. Reprinted: E. I. Megargee (Ed.), Research in clinical assessment. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

Megargee, E. I., Cook, P. E., and Mendelsohn, G. A. Development and evaluation of an M.M.P.I. scale of assaultiveness in overcontrolled individuals. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 1967, 72, 519-528.

Menninger, K. The crime of punishment. New York: Viking, 1968.

Menninger, K. Love against hate. New York: Harcourt, Grace and World, 1942.

Menninger, W. W. Violence and the urban crisis. Crime and Delinquency, 1970, 16(3), 229-237.

Mercer, M., and Kyriazis, C. Results of the Rosenzweig P-F Study for physically assaultiveprisoner mental patients. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1962, 26, 490.

Miller, L., Spilka, B., and Pratt, S. Manifest anxiety and hostility in "criminally insane" patients. Journal of Clinical and Experimental Psychopathology, 1960, 21, 41-48.

Moldawsky, P. A study of personality variables in patients with skin disorders. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1953.

Molof, M. J. Differences between assaultive and nonassaultive juvenile offenders. (Research Report No. 51). Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1967.

Monahan, J. Dangerous offenders: a critique of Kozol, et al. Crime and Delinquency, 1973, 19, 418-420. (b)

Monahan, J. The prediction and prevention of violence. Paper presented at the Pacific Northwest Cobference on Violence and Criminal Justice, Issaquah, Wash., December 6-8, 1973. (a)

Monahan, J., and Cummings, L. Social policy implications of the inability to predict violence. Journal of Social Issues, 1975, 31, 153-164.

Montagu, A. Chromosomes and crime. Psychology Today, 1968, 2(5), 42-49.

Morris, D. The naked ape. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.

Morris, N., and Hawkins, G. From murder and from violence, Good Lord, deliver us. Midway, 1969, 10(1), 63-95.

Moyer, K. E. Brain research must contribute to world peace. Paper presented at Symposium on brain research and human behavior sponsored by UNESCO and the International Brain Research Organization, Paris, France, March, 1968.

Mussen, P. H., and Naylor, H. K. The relationships between overt and fantasy aggression. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1954, 49, 235-240.

National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Council of Judges. Model Sentencing Act (2nd ed.). Hackensack, N.J.: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1972.

Normandeau, A. Patterns and trends in robbery. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968.

Normandeau, A., and Schwartz, B. A crime classification of American metropolitan areas. Criminology, 1971, 9)2/3), 228-247.

Palmer, S. The study of murder. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1960.

Panton, J. H. Predicting prison adjustment with the M.M.P.I. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1958, 14, 308-312.

Parke, R. D., Berkowitz, L., Leyens, J. P., West, S. G., and Sebastian, R. J. Some effects of violent and nonviolent movies on the behavior of juvenile delinquents. In Berkowitz, L. (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology, Vol. 10. New York: Academic Press, 1977.

Pastore, N. The role of arbitrariness in the frustration-aggression hypothesis. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1952, 47, 728-731.

Perdue, W. C. Rorschach responses of 100 murderers. Corrective Psychiatry and the Journal of Social Therapy, 1964, 10, 323-328.

Perdue, W. C. A study of the Rorschach records of 47 murderers. Journal of Social Therapy, 1961, 7, 158-167.

Perez, F. I. Behavioral analysis of clinical judgment. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 1976, 43, 711-718.

Pierce, C. M., and West, L. J. Six years of sit-ins: psychodynamic causes and effects. International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1966, 12, 29-34.

Pilz, G., Schilling, G., and Voight, H. Welchen Beitrag vermag die Sportpsychologie zur Aggressionforschung zu leisten? Eidgenossisches Sportsinstitut, Magglingen, Switzerland, 1973.

Plutchik, R., Climent, C., and Ervin, F. Research strategies for the study of human violence. In Smith, W.L., and Kling, A. (Eds.), Issues in brain/behavior control. New York: Spectrum Publications, Inc., 1976.

Quinney, R. Criminology: analysis and critique of crime in America. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1975.

Rabin, A. I. Homicide and attempted suicide: a Rorschach study. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1946, 16, 516-524.

Rada, R. T., Laws, D. R., and Kellner, R. Plasma testosterone levels in the rapist. Psychosomatic Medicine, 1976, 38, 257-268. (PA, 1977, 57, 1432).

Rader, C. MMPI profile types of exposers, rapists, and assaulters in a court services population. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1977, 45, 61-69.

Rank, B. Aggression. In A. Freud, H. Hartmann, and E. Kris (Eds.), The psychoanalytic study of the child (Vol. 3-4). New York: International Universities Press, 1949.

Redl, F., and Wineman, D. The aggressive child. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.

Rizzo, G. B. Il Rosenzweig P-F Study applicato ad un gruppo di omicide e ad un gruppo di autori di reati contro la proprieta. Paper presented at V Congresso Internazionale Rorschach, Freiburg, 1961.

Rockoff, E. S., and Hoffman, R. J. The normal and the retarded offender. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 1977, 21, 52-56.

Rothaus, T., and Worchel, P. The inhibition of aggression under nonarbitrary frustration. Journal of Personality, 1960, 28, 108-117.

Rottenberg, A. On anger. The American Journal of Psychiatry, 1971, 128(4), 257-260.

Ruff, C., Templer, D., and Ayers, J. The intelligence of rapists. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 1976, 5, 327-329. (Psychological Abstracts, 1976, 56, No. 10113).

Sagalyn, A. The crime of robbery in the United States. U.S. Department of Justice, LEAA, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1971.

Sagalyn, A. The crime of robbery in the United States: an assessment of studies and related data from 1965-1970. Cambridge, Mass.: A. D. Little, 1970.

Sagi, P. C., and Wellford, C. P. Age composition and patterns of change in criminal statistics. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1968, 59, 29-36.

Sarbin, T. The dangerous individual: an outcome of social identity transformations. British Journal of Criminology, July 1967, 285-295.

Sarbin, T. R., and Wenk, E. A. Resolution of binocular rivalry as a means of identifying violence-prone offenders. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1969, 60(3), 345-350.

Sarbin, T. R., Wenk, E. A., and Sherwood, D. W. An effort to identify assault-prone offenders. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1968, 5(1), 66-71.

Sawyer, J. Measurement and prediction, clinical and statistical. Psychological Bulletin, 1966, 3, 178-200.

Schonborn, K. Dealing with violence. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1975.

Schultz, S. D. A differentiation of several forms of hostility by scales empirically constructed from significant items on the M.M.P.I. Pennsylvania State University Abstracts of Doctoral Dissertations, 1954, 17, 717-720.

Scott, J. P. Aggression. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Scott, J. P. Hostility and aggression in animals. In E. L. Bliss (Ed.), Roots of behavior. New York: Harper, 1962.

Sellin, T., and Wolfgang, M. E. Delinquency in a birth cohort. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Serebrinsky, B. El psicodiagnostico de Rorschach en los homicidas. Cordoba, Argentina: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1941. Cited by M. E. Wolfgang, Crimes of violence. Report for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967.

Shah, S. The 47, XYY abnormality: A critical appraisal with respect to antisocial and violent behavior. In Smith, W. L., and Kling, A. (Eds.), Issues in brain/behavior control. New York: Spectrum Publications, Inc., 1976.

Shaw, C. R., and McKay, H. D. Juvenile delinquency in urban areas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

Shaw, C. R., and McKay, H. D. Rejoinder reproduced in J. F. Short, Jr., Introduction, in C. R. Shaw and H. D. McKay, Juvenile delinquency in urban areas (revised edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Shipman, W. G., and Marquette, C. H. The manifest hostility scale: a validation study. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1963, 21, 186-190.

Siegel, S. M. The relationship of hostility to authoritarianism. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1956, 52, 368-372.

Singer, D. L. Aggression arousal, hostile humor, and catharsis. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology Monograph Supplement, 1968, 8, 1-14.

Solomon, F. Civil rights activity and reduction of crime among Negroes. Archives of General Psychiatry, 1965, 12, 227-236.

Somers, A. R. Violence, television and the health of American youth. New England Journal of Medicine, 1976, 294, 811-817.

Sorrels, J. M. Kids who kill. Crime and Delinquency, 1977, 33, 312-320.

Spiegel, J. Unpublished report submitted to the President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1968.

Steadman, H. J. An empirical assessment of psychiatric predictions of dangerous behavior. Paper prepared for presentation at Symposium on Dangerousness and Mentally Disturbed Persons sponsored by the Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency of N.I.M.H., Rockville, Md., May 28, 1974.

Steadman, H. J. Follow-up on Baxstrom patients returned to hospitals for the criminally insane. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1973, 130, 317-319.

Steadman, H. J. The psychiatrist as a conservative agent of social control. Social Problems, 1972, 20, 263-271.

Steadman, H. J., and Cocozza, J. The criminally insane patient: who gets out? Social Psychiatry, 1973, 8, 230-238.

Steadman, H. J., and Halfon, A. The baxstrom patients: backgrounds and outcomes. Seminars in Psychiatry, 1971, 3, 376-386.

Steadman, H. J., and Keveles, G. The community adjustment and criminal activity of the Baxstrom patients. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1972, 129, 304-311.

Stein, M. D. Correlates of aggressiveness in boys in residential treatment. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1974 (35-B), 1065-1066.

Stephan, E. Personality and attitude measurement in two studies of self-reported delinquency and victimization. International Journal of Criminology and Penology, 1977, 5, 275-287.

Stone, H. The relationship of hostile-aggressive behavior to aggressive content on the Rorschach and Thematic Apperceptic Test. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1953.

Textor, R. B. A cross-cultural summary. New Haven: Human Resources Area Files Press, 1967.

Thornberry, T. P., and Jacoby, J. E. The use of discretion in a maximum security mental hospital: the Dixon case. In Allen, H. E., and Beran, N. J. (Eds.), Reform in corrections. N.Y.: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

Thrasher, F. The gang. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

Tinbergen, N. Social behavior in animals. London: Methuen, 1968.

Toch, H. H. Social psychology of violence. Paper presented to the American Psychological Association, September 5, 1966.

Toch, H. H., and Schulte, W. H. Readiness to perceive violence as a result of police training. British Journal of Psychology, 1961, 52, 389-393.

Townsend, J. K. The relation between Rorschach signs of aggression and behavioral aggression in emotionally disturbed boys. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 1967, 31(6), 13-21.

Ulrich, R. E., Hutchinson, R. R., and Azrin, N. N. Pain-elicited aggression. The Psychological Record, 1965, 15, 11-126.

U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Task Force on Individual Acts of Violence. Crimes of violence (Vol. 12), prepared by D. J. Mulvihill abd M. M. Tumin, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Commission statement on violent crime: homicide, assault, rape, robbery. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. The challenge of crime in a free society. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

University of Pennsylvania. Liberty and required mental health treatment. University of Pennsylvania Law Review, 1963, 114, 1067-1070.

Wagner, E. E., and Klein, I. WAIS differences between murderers and attackers referred for evaluation. Perceptual Motor Skills, 1977, 44, 125-126.

Wagner, E. E., and Medredeff, E. Differentiation of aggressive behavior of institutionalized schizophrenics with the Hand Test. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 1963, 27, 110-112.

Waldron, J. A. A study of consistently violent criminals. Dissertation Abstracts, 1976, 36(11-B), 5775

Walker, N., Hammond, W., Steer, D., and Carr-Hill, R. The violent offender: reality or illusion? Occasional Papers No. 1 published for the Oxford Penal Research Unit. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970.

Walshe-Brennan, K. S. A socio-psychological investigation of young murderers. British Journal of Criminology, 1977, 17, 58-63.

Walters, R. H., and Zaks, M. S. Validation studies of an aggression scale. Journal of Psychology, 1959, 47, 209-218.

Ward, R. H., Ward, T. J., and Feeley, J. Police robbery control manual. National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, April 1975.

Warren, M. Q. Classification of offenders as an aid to efficient management and effective treatment. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1971, 62(2), 239-258.

Weir, A. The robbery offender. In Feeney, F., and Weir, A. (Eds.), The prevention and control of robbery. Vol. 1. Davis, Cal.: UCD Center on Administration of Criminal Justice, 1973.

Wenk, E. A. The Violent Habitual Offender. Paper presented at the American Congress of Corrections, Louisville, Kentucky, August 1975.

Wenk, E. A. Schools and delinquency prevention. Crime and Delinquency Literature, 1974, 6(2), 236-258.

Wenk, E. A., and Emrich, R. L. Assaultive youth: an exploratory study of the assaultive experience and assaultive potential of California Youth Authority wards. Report on ACORN NI-095 to the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, April, 1972. (a)

Wenk, E. A., and Emrich, R. L. Assaultive youth: an exploratory study of the assaultive experience and assaultive potential of California Youth Authority wards. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1972, 9(2), 171-196.

Wenk, E. A., Robison, J. O., and Smith, G. W. Can violence be predicted? Crime and Delinquency, 1972, 18(4), 393-402.

West, D. J., and Farrington, D. P. The delinquent way of life. New York: Crane Russak, 1977.

Wetsel, H., Shapiro, R. J., and Wagner, E. E. Prediction of recidivism among juvenile delinquents with the Hand Test. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 1967, 31)4), 69-72.

Wheeler, L., and Caggiula, A. R. The contagion of aggression. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 1966, 2, 1-10.

Williams, K. M. The effects of victim characteristics on the disposition of violent crime. In McDonald, W. F. (ed.), Criminal justice and the victim. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.

Williams, J. R., and Gold, M. From delinquent behavior to official delinquency. Social Problems, 1972, 20, 209-229.

Wirt, R. D., and Briggs, P. F. Personality and environmental factors in the development of delinquency. Psychological Monographs, 1959, 73 (Whole No. 485).

Wolfgang, M. E. Crimes of violence. Paper prepared for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967.

Wolfgang, M. Patterns in criminal homicide. Philadelphia: University of Maryland Press, 1958.

Wolfgang, M. E. Victim-precipitated criminal homicide. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1957, 48(1), 1-11.

Wolfgang, M. Youth and Violence. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Social and Rehabilitation Service, Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, 1970.

Wolfgang, M. E., and Ferracuti, F. Psychological testing of the subculture of violence. Rome: Biblioteca Di Cultura 46 Bulzoni Editore, 1973.

Wolfgang, M. E., and Ferracuti, F. The sub-culture of violence. London: Tavistock, 1967.

Wolfgang, M.E., Figlio, R. M., and Sellin, T. Delinquency in a birth cohort. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Yablonsky, L. The violent gang. Baltimore: Penguin, 1966.

Zaks, M. S., and Walters, R. H. First steps in the construction of a scale for the measurement of aggression. Journal of Psychology, 1959, 47, 199-208.

CHAPTER 5

PROPERTY OFFENSES

The reader should refer to the Data Maps "Burglary" and "Robbery" for the tables discussed in the statistical description section.

PROPERTY OFFENSE FACTORS AND CRIME

Offenses against property are the most pervasive crimes in the United States today. While they do not pose as serious a threat to the victim's personal safety as do violent crimes, crimes against property have a much higher rate of incidence. Of the seven major felonies assessed in the Uniform Crime Reports (U.C.R.), only 13 per cent were crimes of violence, while crimes against property accounted for the remaining 87 per cent (U.S. President's Commission, 1967a). The three property crimes which make up this percentage of the total number of Index crimes are burglary, automobile theft, and larceny of $50 and over. (Larceny includes such crimes as shoplifting, pocket-picking, purse snatching, thefts from autos, thefts of auto parts and accessories, and bicycle thefts.)

These three major crimes against property only partially reveal the extent of property crimes occurring in this country. Numerous other property crimes are reported in the Uniform Crime Reports as non-Index crimes. These include forgery, white-collar crimes such as embezzlement and fraud, tax evasion, loan-sharking, employee theft, price rigging, bribery, graft, extortion, and blackmailing. Although for Index offenses both offense and arrest information are reported, knowledge of the volume and trends of non-Index crimes is dependent upon arrest statistics only. Since reporting to the F.B.I. for arrests covers less than 70 per cent of the population, information on non-Index crimes is necessarily less complete than the "offense known" category.

Many of these non-Index crimes present a significant problem

to the criminal justice system. Relatively little is known about white-collar crimes and organized crime, for example, and their incidence cannot be determined from existing statistics. In addition to the non-Index offenses mentioned above, there is no way of knowing how many other forms of thievery from individuals, commercial institutions, or from the general public there are. Studies for the President's Commission have indicated that the economic losses caused by these crimes are far greater than those caused by the three Index crimes against property. Too often crimes in this category are never discovered while others, although discovered, are never reported (U.S. President's Commission, 1967a).

Since the majority of property crimes are those of stealth and opportunity, their nature makes detection of the perpetrator difficult and frequently impossible. The lack of witnesses, the tremendous volume of such crimes, and negligence on the part of victims work in the offender's favor. For these reasons and others the clearance rate for crimes against property is relatively low.

Demography is an important influence on crime rate. Recent official statistics indicate that both the total number of crimes and the number of crimes per 100,000 Americans are increasing. Property crimes are up in both the biggest and the smallest cities, in the suburbs as well as in the rural areas (U.S. President's Commission, 1967a). Young people are being arrested in increasing numbers. The fact that young people make up a larger part of the population than they did ten years ago

accounts, in part, for this reported increase in juvenile and youth crime. In a report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967), it was noted that the highest percentages of offenders against property were in the group under the age of eighteen. This age group accounted for nearly 50 per cent of all those arrested for burglary and larceny and for more than 60 per cent of those arrested for auto theft.

Growing property crime rates cannot be explained in terms of the increased restiveness or growing numbers of American youth or of increased urbanization alone. Stealing, which is the fastest growing and most widespread kind of crime (U.S. President's Commission, 1967a), is not, as once was popularly believed, restricted to one class of persons, one race, or one social enclave. Property crimes are perpetrated by all types of persons at all levels of society.

The scope of white-collar crime has expanded in recent years. But as Winslow (1973) points out, "white-collar crime" is an imprecise and somewhat misleading label. For although white-collar crimes are usually seen as crimes committed by the relatively well-to-do, it has come to include crimes which are not necessarily committed either in connection with a particular occupation or by persons of higher social status. Employee theft, for example, ranges from pilfering by truck drivers, stockroom personnel, or retail sales people to embezzlement by top executives. Lipman estimated in 1973 that a minimum of half the people who worked in industry, whether in plants or in

offices, steal, even if it was considered only petty theft. Of the 50 per cent who stole, half of them--25 per cent of the nation's work force--stole important items. Probably 5-8 per cent of all workers stole in volume. Lipman further reported that industrial thefts were escalating at the rate of 15-20 per cent a year; estimates in dollar volume ranged from $3 billion to $15 billion a year.

Crimes against property are harmful not only because of monetary loss. They also--particularly burglary--generate fear and personal danger to the victim. The distinction between burglary and robbery should be noted. Burglary is the unlawful entry of a structure to commit a felony or a theft, with or without the use of force. The offense is considered robbery when an unlawful entry results in a violent confrontation with the occupant. Because of this distinction, the U.C.R. Index categorizes robbery as an offense against persons, and burglary as a property offense. This does not, of course, negate the fact that confrontation with the occupant during a burglary is frequently imminent.

Stephan (1977) reported that the victims of property crimes were more frequently men, younger rather than older persons, members of the two highest social classes, and unmarried. These conclusions were supported by data from the United States, Canada, Australia, and Finland.

That property crimes in the United States are increasing in frequency, and are costly and difficult to control, makes them of major concern to both the criminal justice system and

society as a whole. A fully reliable method for measuring the volume of crime does not yet exist. Because of the difficulties encountered in obtaining reliable data and in classifying and defining offenses, and because of the disparity between reported and unreported crimes, the U.C.R. Index is only a reasonably reliable indicator of the total number of property crimes reported to the police.

The reporting of crimes by the public is often inaccurate and unreliable. Too, crimes reported directly to prosecutors usually are not indicated in police statistics. Still other crimes reported to the police do not get into the statistical system. Thus for some crimes the number of unreported offenses is considerably greater than the number reported.

A study by Stephan (1977) of self-reported crime found that property offenses were only seven to eight times as frequent as violent crimes, while according to police statistics they were about 32 times as frequent. The author stated that the difference was probably the result of differential recording of reports by the police.

The President's Crime Commission initiated a national survey of crime victimization, conducted in 1965-66 by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago and later by others. These surveys indicated that the actual amount of crime in the United States was several times that reported in the U.C.R. (U.S. President's Commission, 1967b). N.O.R.C. found that the amount of property crime reported to them was more than twice as great as the U.C.R. rate.

Studying self-report data, West and Farrington (1977) found that when 288 nondelinquents and 101 delinquents were asked whether they had done anything against the law in the previous three years without being caught, a significantly higher percentage of delinquents than of nondelinquents admitted each act, with the exception of buying cheap. Belson (1975), interviewing 1,425 London boys aged 13-16 years, reported that all admitted at least some stealing. Fifty per cent had never been caught, while those caught by the police had been more heavily involved in stealing than the others.

The U.C.R. Index, in dealing with property crimes specifically, has additional problems in producing accurate assessments. Some crimes are evaluated differently in different state jurisdictions. Some states, for instance, consider many larcenies as misdemeanors rather than felonies. Auto theft involving only unauthorized use, for example, is often considered a misdemeanor.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS

1. Early Criminal History

According to Quinney (1975), property offenders often start their criminal careers early in life with truancy, destruction of property, street fighting, and delinquent gang membership. By the time they are adults, they often have had extensive contact with the law.

Belson (1975) found that truancy was an important factor in the development of stealing, as was the expectation that one would not get caught. Associating with boys who stole was also an important influence. A strong desire for fun and excitement

was seen as contributing to the starting and maintaining of delinquent stealing.

2. Family Relationships

Studying groups of stealers, clinic referrals, and "normal" controls with poor school progress, Sanderson (1977) found that stealers had a significantly higher mean antisocial score, were significantly less dependent on their mothers for affection, communication, and travel, and had mothers who were more neurotic and introverted (although not significantly).

Similarly, Dentler and Monroe (1961) found that subjects with high Theft Scale scores were less likely than those with low scores to confide in their parents, more likely to see themselves as disobedient, and more likely to see their families as unloving.

Belson (1975) found that high theft rates were associated with miserable or uninteresting homes but not with broken homes or with punishment for misbehavior. The level of theft was reduced by intense antitheft training at home, school, and church.

Oliner and Manel (1973) reported that stealers reported knowing a higher percentage of "significant others" who stole (parents, siblings, and friends) than nonstealers.

3. Social Class

Belson (1975) found a tendency in Britain for levels of stealing to vary according to father's position: sons of the unskilled stole more than sons of professionals. The author stated, however, that the difference was not great. Some types of theft were found to be more common among certain social

classes.

4. Personality and Intelligence

Canepa, et al. (1974) tested the extent to which offenders with a "negative identity" (theory of Erickson and Mailloux) also had the four offender character traits (theory of Pinatel and De Greeff). All 55 offenders studied had a "negative identity": they felt different, cast out, and predestined to crime. However, while all subjects showed two or three of the offender traits (egocentricity, instability, aggressiveness, and affective indifference) in various combinations, none showed all four. Instability (65 per cent) and aggressiveness (58 per cent) were most commonly shown.

The authors suggested that offenders and nonoffenders did not differ greatly, but that nonoffenders were able to cope in socially accepted ways.

McKissack (1973), in a British study investigating the relationship between difficult behavior at school and property offending, found that they did not increase in the same way but were different criteria of a general maladjustment. The peak age of property offending coincided with the last year of compulsory schooling. The author concluded that the steep rise in property offending in early adolescence was a result of maladjusted individuals moving into the world outside home and school.

In a study by Templer and Connolly (1977), 21 patients accused of crimes against persons had a mean I.Q. of 70.24, while the 18 patients accused of property crimes had a mean I.Q. of 63.94. The authors raised the possibility that persons function-

ing at a lower range of retardation may lack the size, strength, coordination, or confidence to attempt to overpower another person.

The results of a study by Eysenck, et al. (1977) of 155 adult prisoners suggested that different types of crime may be committed by persons of different psychological types.

5. Drug Use

Shellow (1976) stated that estimates of the percentage of heroin users among imprisoned property offenders may be biased. Since heroin addiction may affect criminal competence or may attract the criminally inept, imprisoned users are probably not a random sample of offenders against property.

Cushman (1974) found that during heroin use, increased arrests were mainly for property crimes; during methadone maintenance treatment, the frequency of arrest for property offenses fell sharply, approaching the incidence in a control population. Similarly, Mott (1975) found a decreased number of convictions for theft when opiate users were given the drug on prescription. Weissman, et al. (1976) showed that after the onset of opiate addiction there were substantial increases in property acquisitive crimes. Arrest rates for larceny and burglary more than doubled in the post-onset period.

Baridon (1976) found that 15.9 per cent of a group of addicts admitted pre-addictive participation in burglary. After addiction, their main sources of money for drugs were family and friends, jobs, dealing, larceny, robbery, and burglary. In burglary and robbery, addicts took more chances than non-addicts.

In a review of the literature, Chambers (1974) reported that most contemporary addicts supported their addiction through crime, although there might be a large number of addicts who did not steal most of the time. The author found that younger narcotics addicts were attracted to whatever criminal opportunities presented themselves. A study by Stephens and Ellis (1975) showed that, while arrests for crimes against persons were becoming more prominent among addicts, the prime motive in these offenses seemed to be the acquisition of property. Almost all crimes against persons included property-type offenses as well.

Baridon (1976), studying the relationship between the incidence of property crimes and the price of heroin, found a strong inverse relationship. Month-to-month fluctuations in the price of heroin did not correlate with changes in reported property crime. Other factors which probably contributed to the relationship were: increases in law enforcement resources, massive methadone programs, and changes in the social environment of the city. The Drug Abuse Council (1976) found that as the price of heroin increased by 10 per cent, revenue-producing crimes increased (especially robberies and residential burglaries) and heroin use decreased, although the impact varied among neighborhoods.

6. Theories of Motivation

Wehner-Davin (1975) found that poverty was not a primary factor in delinquency, since a higher level of prosperity led to a higher crime rate, especially among juveniles. The author stated that juvenile property offenses were influenced by the

difference between the delinquent's needs and his possibilities of fulfilling them. Since needs increase as their fulfillment improves, an increase in property crimes with an increase in affluence is not surprising: theft is a means of fulfilling needs. While the majority of apprehended theft suspects are from the lower socioeconomic classes, anyone can steal, and the author stated that those from the lower classes are most likely to be caught and institutionalized. Criticizing citizens for making property theft too easy for juveniles, the author suggested that simple theft by juveniles be treated as a misdemeanor, with the obligation to compensate the victim.

Investigating student theft, Oliner and Manel (1973) confirmed that it was becoming more political. Material deprivation was still a strong motivation for stealing, although role models were more important. Cobroz (1975) saw a correlation at all levels of society between economic recession in industrialized western countries and certain types of property crime. West and Farrington (1977), studying motivations of crime, found that for property crimes studied, rational motives were most common (59.9 per cent) of all motives; enjoyment was next (19.2 per cent). Belson (1975) found a high level of theft among boys who went out looking for fun and excitement.

BURGLARY

Of the three major types of property offenses indexed in the U.C.R., burglary is probably the most serious for both the victim and the criminal justice system. Although burglary is a costly, frightening, and all too frequent crime, its clearance

rate is relatively low. It has been suggested that burglars are perhaps the most numerous class of serious offenders in the United States correctional system (U.S. President's Commission, 1967a).

The tremendous volume of burglary and its increase are illustrated by crime statistics in the U.C.R. In 1965, 1,173,201 burglaries were reported to the F.B.I. In 1973, an estimated total of 2,540,900 burglaries occurred, an increase of 188,100 from 1972. Burglary accounted for 29 per cent of the total Crime Index offenses; however, when considered as a segment of property crime, it comprised 33 per cent of the total (FBI, 1974).

Both the trend and the rate of burglary for 1973 indicated an increase in this offense. From 1968 to 1973 burglary offenses rose 38 per cent. Large core cities (population over 250,000) reported an increase from 1972 to 1973 of 4 per cent, while suburban and rural areas had increases of 10 per cent and 8 per cent respectively. The five-year trend, 1968-1973, indicated a burglary rate increase of 31 per cent. The rate for this offense in 1973 was 1,211 per 100,000 inhabitants. A rate of 1,949 burglaries per 100,000 people was recorded for large core cities in 1973. That for suburban areas was 1,054 offenses per 100,000 population and for rural areas, 564 offenses per 100,000 population (F.B.I., 1974). In 1973, residential burglaries accounted for 62 per cent of the total while nonresidential burglaries accounted for 38 per cent. The trend from 1968-1973 indicated an increase of 56 per cent in the volume of daytime residential burglaries; in 1973 over half the residential burglaries were

committed in daylight. Viewed as a group, however, nighttime burglary represented 61 per cent of all burglaries.

In 1976, burglary accounted for 27 per cent of all Index crimes and 30 per cent of all property crimes (F.B.I., 1977). While there was an increase of 26 per cent from 1972 to 1976, the rate decreased 5.7 per cent from 1975 to 1976. Thirty-seven per cent of all burglaries in 1976 were nonresidential. In 1977, the number of burglaries dropped by one per cent (F.B.I., 1978).

The economic loss incurred by burglary offenses is substantial. In 1965, the estimated value of property stolen by burglars was $284 million (U.S. President's Commission, 1967b). In 1972 this figure rose to $722 million and in 1973 to $856 million. From this, the average dollar loss per burglary in 1973 was estimated to be $337 (F.B.I., 1974).

The involvement of youth in the offense of burglary is demonstrated by clearance and arrest statistics compiled for the U.C.R. Although arrest statistics suggest that more juveniles than adults are involved in the offense of burglary, clearance rates indicate greater involvement by adults. Both of these crime statistics are inadequate in portraying the actual extent of involvement by either group.

Crimes of stealth, such as burglary, are difficult to resolve. In 1973 only 18 per cent of all burglary offenses were cleared (F.B.I., 1974). Of this total, adults were involved in 67 per cent, while juveniles (under 18 years of age) were involved in 33 per cent. Nationally, juveniles accounted for

54 per cent of all arrests for this crime. When all persons under the age of 25 were considered, this age group accounted for 84 per cent of all arrests for burglary in 1973 (F.B.I., 1974). Similarly, the Task Force maintained that the 15- to 17-year-old group constitutes the highest arrest rate category for burglary, larceny, and auto theft (U.S. President's Commission, 1967b). In 1976, 17% of burglary offenses were cleared (F.B.I., 1977). Of these, youth under 18 were involved in 33 per cent. Arrests of persons under 25 again accounted for 84 per cent of all arrests for burglary. The most frequent offender group for burglary, larceny, and auto theft was the 13- to 17-year-old male. As Shover (1971) pointed out, although more juveniles than adults are being arrested for burglary, this does not necessarily mean that more juveniles are committing burglary.

When considering racial factors in regard to arrest statistics, arrests of whites outnumbered blacks two to one in 1973 (F.B.I., 1974). In 1976, arrests of whites accounted for 69 per cent of all burglary arrests, while arrests of blacks accounted for 29 per cent (F.B.I., 1977).

Data on burglary offenses in the State of California portray a similar picture with respect to youth involvement. The California Criminal Statistics Bureau (1973) claimed that burglary is a crime of the young offender; their 1972 study found that 49.4 per cent of the offenders were age 17 or under. In assessing patterns of arrest for burglary in California, the study reported a ratio of 49 per cent adult to 51 per cent juvenile for 1972.

The California Bureau of Criminal Statistics (1976) reported a 22.4 per cent increase in arrests of juveniles for burglary from 1971 to 1976, although there was a 8.3 per cent decrease from 1975 to 1976. While it is difficult, using arrest statistics, to estimate the real extent of involvement in burglary offenses by both adults and juveniles, one thing is certain: more individuals under the age of 18 are being arrested for burglary than are adults.

Scarr (1972) found that burglary frequencies were strongly correlated with population size in suburban areas, but not in urban areas. The author found that both rates and frequencies of burglary were strongly positively correlated in the urban area studied with such characteristics as percentages of overcrowded housing units, lower-cost rental units, black overcrowded housing units, lower cost housing units, and strongly negatively correlated with percentages of white population, white population aged 5-24, husband-wife households, and owner occupied housing units.

In an attempt to treat burglary offenders, Gray and Gray (1977) suggested that offenders accused of breaking and entering feel left out or "locked out" of something (family, not being able to talk with parents, not being able to buy what they want, etc.), and that they break and enter because they want "in" on something. The authors taught offenders socially acceptable ways of "breaking in."

LARCENY

Larceny-theft is the unlawful taking or stealing of property

or articles of value without the use of force, violence, or fraud. Crimes included in this category are shoplifting, pocket-picking, purse snatching, thefts from autos, thefts of auto parts and accessories, bicycle thefts, etc.

The tremendous volume of larceny and its continued increase are reflected by statistics compiled for the Uniform Crime Reports. For 1972 it was estimated that an offense of larceny ($50 and over) was committed once in every 17 seconds. That year larceny constituted 31 per cent of the Crime Index total (F.B.I., 1973). With a 5 per cent increase in 1973, larceny theft accounted for 50 per cent of the Crime Index total. The nationwide trend for larceny reported in 1972 revealed that the number of offenses increased 75 per cent between 1967 and 1972. The larceny rate registered in large core cities (population over 250,000) in 1973 was 2,652 per 100,000 inhabitants. The suburban larceny rate was 1,952 and the rural rate 678 per 100,000 population (F.B.I., 1974). In 1976, larceny-theft accounted for 55 per cent of Crime Index offenses. From 1972 to 1976, the rate increased 47 per cent and from 1975 to 1976 it increased 4.2 per cent (F.B.I., 1977). In 1977 there was a six per cent drop in reported larcenies and thefts (F.B.I., 1978).

It was estimated that total dollar loss to victims of larceny in 1973 was $603 million. The average value of goods and property reported stolen from victims of pickpockets was $101; by purse snatchers, $62; by shoplifters, $28; by thefts from autos, $160; and by miscellaneous thefts from buildings, $246 (F.B.I., 1974). Of this, only a negligible portion of goods

stolen from victims was recovered and thus the overall loss was not materially reduced.

The clearance rate for larceny is comparatively low. A frequent lack of witnesses and the high volume of unreported larceny offenses all work against the solution of such crimes. Only 19 per cent of all larceny offenses brought to police attention in 1973 (F.B.I., 1974) and 1976 (F.B.I., 1977) were solved.

A fairly high proportion of youthful offenders is indicated to be involved in larceny-theft. The U.C.R. reported that the arrest of persons under 18 years of age accounted for 37 per cent of the larceny offenses which were cleared in the nation's cities. Juvenile clearance figures were 40 per cent for suburban areas and 27 per cent for rural areas. The volume trend from 1968 to 1973 indicated that arrests for larceny-theft increased 29 per cent. Larceny constituted 47 per cent of the total arrests for Crime Index offenses in 1973. Of this, 48 per cent were arrests of persons under 18 years of age (F.B.I., 1974). Of the cases cleared in 1976, 43 per cent were cleared by the arrest of persons under 18 and 60 per cent by persons under 21. According to the California Bureau of Criminal Statistics (1976), there was a 132.8 per cent increase in the incidence of juvenile arrests reported for theft from 1971 to 1976. From 1975 to 1976 there was a 3.2 per cent increase.

Although youth involvement in larceny offenses is evident, it is clear that adults account for the greater proportion of arrests for larceny. In both groups, the rates of arrest have risen considerably over the past few years. From 1968 to 1973

arrests of juveniles rose 12 per cent while adult arrests rose 50 per cent (F.B.I., 1974).

Dentler and Monroe (1961) found that of subjects studied, those 14 and older reported higher frequencies of stealing than did younger children. Belson (1975) found no increase in theft level from age 14 to 15 to 16, although there was a decrease for some types of stealing.

Arrest statistics indicate that both sex and race are determining influences in larceny offenses. Thirty-two per cent of all those arrested for larceny-theft in 1973 were female. In the same year, women were arrested more often for larceny than for any other offense. While arrests for males increased 2 per cent, those of females rose 8 per cent. There were more than twice as many whites as blacks arrested for larceny in 1973 and 1976. All other races comprised about 2 per cent of such arrests (F.B.I., 1974 and 1977).

Retail theft or shoplifting is one of the major types of theft included under larceny in the U.C.R. Index. Because of the approximate 221 per cent increase in shoplifting from American retailers between 1960 and 1972, the F.B.I. declared it "the fastest growing larceny in the country" (Shapson, 1973). The U.C.R. Index revealed that from 1967 to 1972, shoplifting increased 73 per cent (F.B.I., 1973).

Although individual acts of shoplifting constitute only a minor loss to retailers, the total volume of shoplifting presents a serious problem for most commercial enterprises. Surveys have estimated the average value of property shoplifted by

clients at approximately $3-$4 per shoplifter (Normandeau, 1971; Griffin, 1973). When viewed in terms of total volume, however, the picture is alarming. Hartman (1972) reported an annual loss of about $3 billion to retail merchants due to shoplifting. The serious rise in shoplifting rates can be seen in a 1973 study which reported that $4 billion were lost annually by American retailers through shoplifting (Shapson, 1973). Both Griffin (1973) and the Commercial Service System (1974) made conservative estimates that shoplifting occurred six times a day in each supermarket--or 2,190 times a year in each of the more than 30,000 chain supermarket stores in the United States. For the grocery trade, the President's Commission (1967) estimated that shoplifting and employee theft almost equalled the total amount of profit.

Theories of shoplifting have tended to be dominated by psychological interpretations such as passive-aggressive behavior patterns or lack of self-worth. The young, women, and minority group members are among the special categories of persons who have been viewed as high risks. In contrast, Dobmeyer (1973) and others have contended that shoplifting must be viewed primarily as a crime against property for economic rather than psychological reasons. Both Hughes (1974) and Fournier (1970) found that age was not a significant determining factor. Hughes revealed also that race apparently did not make a substantial difference.

On the contrary, Robin (1963) found that shoplifting was primarily a juvenile activity, although the value of goods

stolen by juveniles was considerably less than that of goods stolen by adults. Most juveniles were apprehended shoplifting in groups, confirming the social nature of the activity among juveniles. Although more offenders apprehended were female than male, the author found little justification for regarding shoplifting as an almost exclusively female offense. Blacks were disproportionately represented in the apprehension figures in comparison to their proportion in the population of the city studied.

A study by Kraut (1975) showed that college students who had shoplifted most reported that the low risk of apprehension was an important reason for stealing. Teevan (1976) found that those who perceived a higher severity of punishment did not engage less in shoplifting. Those who saw it as an offense *mala in se* engaged less in shoplifting but were less deterred by the threat of punishment than those who saw shoplifting as an offense *mala prohibita*.

The clearance rate for shoplifting is surprisingly low, partly because the frequent lack of witnesses makes detection of the perpetrator difficult. In addition, a significant number of thefts from merchants never come to police attention. Grocery store studies have shown that less than 15 per cent of those apprehended are prosecuted (Supermarket Institute, 1966). It appears that most retailers prefer to handle shoplifters themselves and so leave the offense unreported. The President's Commission (1967b) suggested that the amount of unreported shoplifting could be estimated at $300 to $350 million annually.

Blankenberg (1976) found that fewer than 10 per cent of all shoplifters were detected, only 70 per cent of those detected were reported, and only 55 per cent were prosecuted. Foreigners, adults, and blue-collar workers were most likely to be prosecuted. The author challenged the assumption that norms backed by legal sanctions are highly effective.

Security experts for retail and other commercial establishments believe that employee theft accounts for a considerably larger volume of theft than shoplifting. A survey for the President's Commission, however, found that 74 per cent of the commercial establishments studied did not report employee theft to the police (U.S. President's Commission, 1967a).

AUTOMOBILE THEFT

The U.C.R. defines auto theft as the unlawful taking of a motor vehicle, including attempts. This definition excludes taking for temporary use by those persons having lawful access to the vehicle. Auto theft is not only costly and inconvenient but also frequently poses a threat to other motorists. The committing of this offense is said to begin many criminal careers and to facilitate many serious crimes.

A 5 per cent increase in auto thefts was reported from 1972 to make a total of 923,600 motor vehicle thefts in 1973 (F.B.I., 1974). That is, in one year there was an increase of 41,400 cars stolen in the United States. The five-year trend, from 1968-1973 indicated that the number of auto thefts increased 19 per cent. In large core cities the number of auto thefts rose 1 per cent during 1973. In rural and urban areas increases of

15 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively, were recorded.

The auto theft rate of 440 offenses per 100,000 persons in 1973 was 4 per cent higher than in 1972, a 13 per cent increase from 1968. The national auto theft rate in 1973 in large core cities was 978 per 100,000 inhabitants. In suburban and rural areas it was 307 and 83 respectively (F.B.I., 1974). From these data, it is clear that automobile theft is primarily a problem of large cities. The frequency of this crime is startling. National figures for 1973 revealed that one of every 128 registered automobiles was stolen (F.B.I., 1974). In 1972 the Journal of American Insurance reported that auto thefts were growing about four times faster than auto registrations.

The Uniform Crime Reports for 1976 (F.B.I., 1977) showed that motor vehicle theft accounted for 8 per cent of the total Index offense. While from 1972 to 1976 the rate increased 5 per cent, from 1975 to 1976 it decreased 5 per cent. In 1976, one of every 139 registered motor vehicles was stolen nationally; 83 per cent of such thefts were of autos.

Economically, auto theft represents a substantial sum. In 1973 the average value of stolen automobiles was $1,095 at the time of theft (F.B.I., 1974), making a nationwide estimated total for 1973 of over $1 billion. In California alone, auto thefts cost the criminal justice system over $50 million yearly (U.S. President's Commission, 1967a). Auto theft, however, poses far greater threats than property loss alone. Many of the juveniles who steal automobiles are incompetent drivers and frequently damage the vehicle and injure themselves or others.

Because the accident rate of stolen cars is 200 times that of the overall auto accident rate, all motorists are clearly endangered (Journal of American Insurance, 1972).

Of the three major crimes against property, auto theft has the lowest clearance rate. In 1973, 16 per cent of the auto thefts were cleared by arrest of the offender (F.B.I., 1974). In 1976, 14 per cent were cleared by arrest (F.B.I., 1977).

Juvenile involvement in auto theft in all geographic divisions and population groups is indicated in the U.C.R. by the high proportion of clearances which were through the arrest of persons under the age of eighteen. In 1973, juveniles accounted for 56 per cent of all persons arrested for auto theft. The proportion of arrests rose to 74 per cent when persons under 21 years of age were included in the calculations. From 1972 to 1973 there was a 5 per cent increase in arrests for auto theft. Arrests of adults for this offense decreased about 1 per cent while that of juveniles increased 10 per cent. White persons accounted for 66 per cent of auto theft arrests, blacks, 32 per cent, and all other races accounted for the remainder.

In 1976, 26 per cent of clearances were by the arrest of persons under 18. Fifty-three per cent of all persons arrested were under 18 and 72 per cent under 21. No other Index offense resulted in such a high percentage of juvenile court referrals (F.B.I., 1977).

The California Bureau of Criminal Statistics (1976) reported a 17.5 per cent decrease in juvenile arrests for motor vehicle theft from 1971 to 1976, with a 2.4 per cent increase

from 1975 to 1976.

Wattenberg and Balistieri (1952), comparing 230 white boys charged with auto theft with 2,544 others in trouble with the police in 1948, found that those accused of auto theft had good peer-group relationships and came from more favored neighborhoods but were otherwise similar to juvenile offenders in general. The authors suggested that the common factor could be a personality structure which readily accepted the values of immediate associates but responded weakly to the norms of society. On the contrary, McCaghy, et al. (1977) found that juveniles from more favored neighborhoods and socioeconomic backgrounds did not account for a disproportionate number of juvenile car thefts and were not more numerous among those who steal cars than among those involved in other types of delinquency. In addition to joy-riding and profit, the authors found short- and long-term transportation and the commission of another crime to be motivations for auto theft.

Schepses (1961), evaluating the very young boy (12-16) arrested for auto theft, found some statistically significant characteristics distinguishing boys who committed car theft only and those who combined it with other offenses. The following characteristics were found to distinguish boys arrested for auto theft from other delinquent boys and to be particularly strong for the "pure" group: white rather than black or Puerto Rican; onset of delinquent behavior at a later age; fewer very dull boys; fewer illiterate boys; homes with better economic circumstances; fewer broken homes. Those in the "pure" group

had a slightly better chance of a satisfactory adjustment after treatment than "mixed" offenders; if a boy in the "pure" group got into trouble again it was usually for car theft.

Gibbons (1958) found that those who only stole cars tended to come from unbroken homes, to be later members of large families, and to have reached an institution after several convictions for which they were not institutionalized. They often had neurotic symptoms. The author found no evidence that the "pure" offenders were less seriously delinquent or had a better prognosis than other delinquents.

FORGERY AND COUNTERFEITING

Forgery and counterfeiting are two of the many non-Index property crimes in the U.C.R. which account for a substantial economic loss. The American Banker's Association (1964) estimated that total forgery losses on banking instruments probably did not exceed $60 million annually for all individuals and businesses. In fiscal year 1965, public losses from forged United States Government checks were estimated at $4 million and about $0.6 million from forged bonds (U.S. Treasury Department, 1965). Public losses due to counterfeiting were estimated by the Treasury Department at about $0.8 million in fiscal year 1965.

Because forgery and counterfeiting are increasing in volume and thus in total dollar loss, and because the rate of recidivism is high among perpetrators of such crimes, these offenses are becoming matters of greater consideration in respect to property offenses as a whole.

Considering the characteristics of forgers, McCall (1974) found that compared with other felons forgers were more capable--more intelligent, more skilled in family relations, more employable--and more likely to violate probation by repeating their offense. The author found that forgers had a common personality pattern, differing from those of burglars and auto thieves. Compared with these, the forger was older, more likely to have been on probation before, friendlier, more cooperative, better disciplined, less prone to use of alcohol or drugs, neater in appearance, and less truthful.

McGuire (1969) found that forgers tended to be male and of higher intelligence than the general criminal population. The average convicted forger was in his early 30's, although forgers ranged in age from 7 to 80 years. The majority were extroverted, had high verbal ability, and were white. Forgery often followed unsuccessful ventures into other forms of crime. One psychologist reported to the author that forgers tended to solve their problems in evasive or impulsive ways. Others found that forgers had a low tolerance for frustration. Generally, the author reported that in contrast to most criminals, forgers came from middle class homes where, according to some studies, the mother tended to be dominant. Forgers were neat in dress, had organizational capacities, were nonviolent, and were able to plan and prepare for their crimes. They often rejected traditional authority and rebelled against authority figures.

VANDALISM

Marshall (1976) distinguished four types of vandalism:

(1) play vandalism (which occurs during play, by youths up to the age of 12); (2) acts of daring to gain prestige among peers (ages 13-16); (3) persistent vandalism, usually committed by persons who also commit other types of crime (after the age of 16); and (4) instrumental vandalism, which is a means to an end and is more common among adults than among juveniles (e.g., for revenge, stealing, destroying records).

Martin (1961) categorized vandals according to whether they were: (1) disturbed; (2) essentially law-abiding (only incidentally delinquent); or (3) subcultural. The author found that vandalism could be categorized according to motivation into three groups: predatory, vindictive, and wanton. Cohen (1973) distinguished five categories of vandalism based on motivation: acquisitive, tactical (e.g., ideological, attention-getting), vindictive, play, and malicious.

According to Marshall (1976), many incidents of vandalism do not appear in police records. The author reported a study in which all 600 male secondary students interviewed admitted some minor act of vandalism within the previous six months. Another study reported by the author stated that the peak age of male damage offenders brought to the notice of the police was less than 10. Martin (1961) found that a significantly higher proportion of vandals than of nonvandal offenders were white and male. Vandals tended to be younger (12.5 years) than nonvandal offenders (14.5 years).

In summary, burglary, automobile theft, and larceny over $50

represent the three property crimes of major concern. These offenses not only cause considerable inconvenience and economic loss, but also frequently pose a real threat to the victim and place great demands on the criminal justice system. It is clear, however, that offenses against property cannot be equated in seriousness with violent crimes. It is perhaps partly for this reason that their clearance rate is low in comparison with violent offenses. In comparing the volume of these two types of crime, it is evident that many more property offenses than violent offenses are committed. The rate of property crimes continues to increase and has generated a growing concern for the prevention and clearance of these offenses.

Property crimes are said to be the fastest growing and the most widespread type of crime in the United States. A look at the volume and trends of the major property crime categories readily reveals the serious increase in the incidence of these offenses. In 1976 burglary accounted for 27 per cent of the total Index offenses and the trend from 1972 to 1976 indicated an increase of 26 per cent. (There was a 5.7 per cent decrease from 1975 to 1976 and a 1 per cent decrease in 1977.) Auto theft represented approximately 8 per cent of the total Index crimes and its five-year trend revealed a 5 per cent increase. (There was a 5 per cent decrease from 1975 to 1976.) Larceny constituted 55 per cent of the Index total and increased 47 per cent from 1972 to 1976. (There was a 6 per cent decrease in larcenies and thefts in 1977.) (F.B.I., 1977 and 1978.)

The contention that property crimes are crimes of youth is

not entirely accurate. Although arrest statistics suggest that juveniles (under 18 years of age) are involved in property crimes more often than adults, these arrest data do not reflect the real levels of offenses committed by either group, partly because age-population ratios are unequal. The youth population in America substantially exceeds the adult population. Studying property crimes committed by juveniles and those committed by adults, West and Farrington (1977) found that thefts from shops, vehicles, cycles, and automatic machines decreased from the juvenile to the adult years. Similarly, burglaries decreased slightly, but fraud increased, as did other theft, largely because thefts from employers increased. Offenses involving damage to property increased in the adult years. Crimes against property are committed by all types of persons, in all age brackets, and in all social classes. According to Lipman (1973), America's national pastime is not baseball but theft.

With respect to racial factors associated with property offenses, it is indicated by arrest statistics that whites perpetrate these crimes more often than blacks. Twice as many whites as blacks were reported arrested for all three of the Index property crimes in 1973. Other races account for a negligible portion of total arrests for property offenses.

The clearance rates for offenses against property are surprisingly low. It is estimated that there are over three times as many crimes against persons cleared by arrest as crimes against property. Individually, the clearance rates for the three Index property crimes in 1973 were as follows: burglary

18 per cent, larceny 19 per cent, and auto theft 16 per cent. In 1976 the rates were 17, 19, and 14 per cent respectively. As already noted, the lack of witnesses, the tremendous volume and high rates of nonreporting of these crimes, and the inefficiency in reporting procedures are a few of the factors leading to the relatively low clearance rates for property offenses.

The rising concern over crimes against property is understandable when the damage generated by such crimes is considered. Many property crimes could be prevented if adequate measures were taken by both individuals and business enterprises. Such measures coupled with increased accuracy and consistency in the reporting of offenses could reduce property crimes.

STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE OFFENDERS AGAINST PROPERTY CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUPS

This chapter presents the Data Maps and accompanying narrative for two major offense groups: burglary and robbery offenders. Burglary offenders are defined as offenders against property; robbery offenders have been in part discussed in Chapter 4 on violence as offenders against persons. This chapter categorizes robbers as an intermediate group, offending partly against persons, partly against property, because the intent of this form of criminal activity is to acquire money or goods even though the process usually involves either direct threat or implied threat in a situation of personal confrontation that may include violence.

Discussing burglary offenders and robbery offenders side by side permits interesting comparisons which show that in many respects these two offender groups are distinctly different. It then becomes clear that combining them, as is done routinely in many studies of offenders, leads to a blurring of important features that become pronounced when the two groups are studied separately. It is quite important to see the many positive features present in the robbery offenders and to specially design correctional programs for them to enhance their good potential for rehabilitation. On the other hand, the shortcomings often found in the burglary offender also have to be recognized, as this offender group seems to have quite different needs for treatment and training

programs as well as for supervision and reintegrational programs in the community.

These two offender groups serve therefore as an example of the need for more refined methods for the classification of offenders, methods which take into account differences in offender groups and which allow the application of specific treatment and supervision programs to distinctly different groups. The two Data Maps on Burglary and Robbery as well as all the other Data Maps are similarly organized in order to facilitate such a comparison.

The Burglary Data Map provides comparative data on the burglary classification subgroups. As an added feature, the final three columns present information on burglary subgroups as categorized by their racial affiliation. Following is a brief description of each column.

Column 1: Total Study Population

The column provides summary data regarding each category of the variable presented as the cross-classification factor in each table.

Column 2: Burglary

Defined as an offense in which a person entering any building, tent, vessel, railroad car, trailer coach or vehicle as defined by the Vehicle Code with intent to commit grand or petty larceny or any felony is guilty of burglary (California Penal Code, 1963). As presented in this study,

this column refers only to those burglary offenses unspecified as either a first or second degree offense, or as determined by the Juvenile Court.

Column 3: Burglary 1st

A person who attempts a burglary of an inhabited dwelling, trailer coach, and every burglary committed by a person armed with a deadly weapon, or who, while in the commission of such burglary, arms himself with a deadly weapon is considered to have committed burglary of the first degree (California Penal Code, 1963).

Column 4: Burglary 2nd

All forms of burglary which do not involve the possession of a deadly weapon (California Penal Code, 1963).

Column 5: All Burglary

The sum of all cases falling into columns 2, 3, and 4.

Column 6: White Burglary Offenders

Of all cases reported in column 5, the number who are of Caucasian descent.

Column 7: Mexican-American Burglary Offenders

Of all cases reported in column 5, the number who are of Mexican-American descent.

Column 8: Black Burglary Offenders

Of all cases reported in column 5, the number who are black.

The Robbery Data Map provides comparative data on the

robbery classification subgroups. As do the burglary tables, these tables devote the final three columns to robbery subgroups subdivided on the basis of their racial affiliation.

Column 1: Total Study Population

This column provides summary data for each category of the cross-classification variable for each table.

Column 2: Robbery

All cases in which there is the felonious taking of personal property in the possession of another, from his person or immediate presence, and against his will, accomplished by means of force or fear (California Penal Code, 1963). This column, however, refers only to those robbery offenders unspecified as either first or second degree offenses, or as determined by the Juvenile Court.

Column 3: Robbery 1st

All persons who commit robbery and who perpetrate the offense by torture and who are armed with a dangerous or deadly weapon are committing robbery of the first degree (California Penal Code, 1963).

Column 4: Robbery 2nd

All forms of robbery which do not involve the possession of a dangerous or deadly weapon (California Penal Code, 1963).

Column 5: All Robbery

The sum of cases falling into columns 2, 3, and 4.

Column 6: White Robbery Offenders

Of all cases reported in column 5, the number who are of Caucasian descent.

Column 7: Mexican-American Robbery Offenders

Of all cases reported in column 5, the number who are of Mexican-American descent.

Column 8: Black Robbery Offenders

Of all cases reported in column 5, the number who are black.

It should be noted that each table has two sections. The first section deals only with a comparison of different offense categories plus a summary column, while the second section deals with all cases after division according to racial affiliation. Therefore every ward convicted of a burglary or robbery offense is considered three times: first in accordance with the specific degree of the offense, second in a combined column, and finally, by racial affiliation. Although much of the following narrative does not make any distinction between these sections as related to any one table, the reader should be cognizant of this distinction and initiate his or her own comparisons. The following narrative comments on some of the tables contained in the two Data Maps on Burglary and Robbery. These two Data Maps always will have to be consulted side by side.

1. Individual Case History Information

It is clear from viewing Tables 1 on Commitment Court that all burglary subgroups perform generally more poorly on parole than the robbery subgroups, which show a parole success rate well above the average. While the Mexican-American robbery offender committed by Superior Courts shows a parole success rate that is nearly identical to the average parole rate of the total study population, white robbery offenders perform substantially better (76.4% success) and black robbery offenders occupy an intermediate position that is also noticeably above average (67.7% success).

Tables 2 on Admission Status show some interesting features that are easily apparent from the circular symbols depicting deviations from the average parole success rates. Most striking are the relatively high parole success rates obtained by robbery offenders committed for the first time to the California Youth Authority (68.4% success for black robbery offenders to 81.4% success for white robbery offenders). These rates suggest that the potential for rehabilitation of this offender group is remarkably high and may justify the design of special programs to maximize this potential. First offenders committed for burglary also have above average, although less impressive, parole success rates. It is interesting to note that for Mexican-American burglary offenders there is practically no difference in parole success

between those committed for the first time to the CYA and those with previous CYA commitments. This is contrary to the usual findings that consistently show a progressively worse parole outcome pattern the more commitments to the CYA precede the current one.

Similarly Tables 3 show clearly the very promising rehabilitation potential of the robbery offender, particularly if he is white. As mentioned earlier, for the Mexican-American offender there is no noticeable difference between parole success rates of burglary and robbery offenders, the performance of both subgroups being average or slightly above. The white burglary offender has a close to average parole success rate (61.4%) while the white robbery offender shows a substantially higher than average parole success rate.

Tables 12 present comparative data on burglary and robbery classification subgroups as subclassified by the history and severity of alcohol misuse. These tables provide an impressive example of how the use of the symbols can make possible interesting discoveries. A clear message appears from an examination of the robbery subgroups: in the severe alcohol misuse category, the usual pattern of empty circles denoting a good parole performance is interrupted and full circles appear, denoting a poor parole performance for this group. In contrast, the burglary offender with a history of

severe alcohol misuse shows a relatively good parole performance. It would be interesting to investigate this finding further by subdividing the robbery offenders who committed their robbery under the influence of alcohol into offenders who had a history of severe alcohol misuse and offenders who had no such history. This would shed some light on the problem of the alcoholic robbery offender, which seems so different from the usual pattern that it would justify special program design and supervision for this offender group. The question also arises: why does the burglary offender with a history of severe alcohol misuse perform so much better on parole than the burglary offender with no problem with alcohol?. It seems clear from these data that both groups--the burglary offender with a history of severe alcohol misuse who performs unexpectedly well on parole, and the robbery offender with a history of severe alcohol misuse, who performs unexpectedly poorly on parole--need further attention.

Tables 13 report comparative data on burglary and robbery classification subgroups as subclassified by their previous history of drug misuse generally or of misuse in relation to offenses. Both tables, the one providing the data for the burglary offender subgroups as well as the one for the robbery offender subgroups, give information that follows the expected pattern: the robbery offender, regardless

of drug misuse, performs better than average on parole while the burglary offender performs substantially below average on parole. One important difference, however, appears in the table giving data on the burglary offender: while white and black offenders show increasing difficulties the more they get involved with drugs, no such decrease in parole success is evident for the Mexican-American burglary offender; in fact, drug users in this category perform slightly better on parole than non-users. Although only 16% of Mexican-American burglary offenders, 13.2% of the black burglary offenders, and 8.9% of the white burglary offenders had a history of involvement with drugs in our sample, it seems advisable to study this cultural difference further.

Tables 14 report on burglary and robbery classification subgroups as subclassified by history of opiate use and/or history of opiates in either admission or past offenses.

The cells giving data on opiate users in either of these tables contain a very small number of cases. Of interest perhaps is the difference in parole success between the robbery offender with a history of moderate opiate use (81.8%) and the burglary counterpart (28.6%).

Tables 15 provide comparative data on burglary and robbery classification subgroups as cross-classified by either a history of marijuana use or a history of gluesniffing. It is clear from Table 15 on robbery offenders that neither

marijuana use nor gluesniffing leads to any significant drop in parole success rates for this group. For the burglary offenders, however, that is not the case. While the burglary offender with a history of gluesniffing does better on parole than his non-user counterpart, the burglary offender with a history of marijuana use performs more poorly on parole than the non-user. It is also noteworthy that the proportion of Mexican-American offenders in the users categories for both marijuana and gluesniffing is much higher than the proportion of either the white or the black offender groups, a trend also reflected in the robbery offender group.

Tables 17 report the case histories summary of psychiatric history and psychiatric labels applied to the offender during previous psychiatric evaluations. This information was contained in earlier case files that were requested and received from Reception Guidance Center staff of corrections and mental health agencies with which the offender had contact. Generally, the frequencies in the psychiatric categories are relatively small--less than 1% of the total study population had a history of frequent suicide gestures, serious suicide attempts, brain damage, or epilepsy. Slightly more than 1% had a history of infrequent suicide gestures, neurosis, and psychosis. Approximately 3% had a history of sociopathic personality disturbance and personality pattern disturbance, and 6.7% had a history of personality trait disturbance.

While Table 17 on the robbery offender subgroups does not reveal any information of particular interest, Table 17 on burglary offenders contains some information that is noteworthy: burglary offenders with a previous psychiatric diagnosis show an extremely poor performance on parole, particularly in the personality disturbance categories. The three major diagnostic categories for all burglaries combined show the following parole success rates:

Personality Trait Disturbance	33.4%
Personality Pattern Disturbance	43.3%
Sociopathic Personality Disturbance	38.5%

2. Intelligence Factors

Tables 18 and Tables 19 present a variety of intelligence scores and classifications for burglary and robbery offenders. Tables 18 give the distribution of intelligence categories for the two groups. Each ward was classified into one of the Wechsler intelligence categories by the clinical psychologist who was supervising the testing programs. This procedure was described earlier. The two tables give essentially a very consistent pattern that shows that the two groups do not differ in achievement on intelligence tests and that, for burglary and robbery offenders alike, as intelligence increases, parole success rate increases, although the robbery subgroups, as seen all along, do much better on parole. Comparison of the subgroups divided by ethnic origin shows substantial

differences. Regardless of offenses, white offenders perform much better than the Mexican-American and black offenders on all intelligence tests, although this difference is particularly pronounced in tasks that are related to academic skills.

3. Academic Factors

Tables 20-25 report the findings related to various measures of academic achievement, ability, and performance. Tables 20 provide comparative data on burglary and robbery subgroups as subclassified by various California Achievement Test Battery subscale scores. As noted, there are ten measures derived from the CATB. Again, the mean score for any particular subgroup is the primary measure of comparison. Reading across rows for both of these tables, one can see that regardless of the specific subtest in question the white robbery and burglary offenders show higher mean scores than do the other racial subgroups. This finding, as in the previous example of the intelligence testing, generally is consistent across all of the CATB subtests. Most of the time this difference is in excess of one grade, with the minority subgroups consistently achieving between the sixth and the seventh grades and the white offenders achieving between the eighth and ninth grades in all subjects tested.

Tables 22 provide comparative data on the major offense subgroups as subclassified by grade achieved, grade achieved in this case being measured by the total grade placement score

as derived from the California Achievement Test Battery. Low achievers in the burglary subgroups perform better on parole than offenders who performed in the middle range (fifth to eighth grades). Burglary offenders who achieved above the eighth grade and robbery offenders who achieved above the sixth grade perform better than average on parole. This finding is true for all offenders regardless of racial background, with the exception of a small group of black burglary offenders who achieved above the ninth grade.

Tables 23 report on the offense subgroups as cross-classified by the age the ward left school. An interesting contrast can be provided by the two tables, particularly in regard to offenders who were convicted of burglary and who left school at age eighteen in comparison to offenders who were convicted of robbery and who left school at age eighteen. The table giving information on burglary offenders shows that those who left school at age eighteen were predominantly successful on parole in contrast to the generally poor performance evident in the other parts of the table. On the other hand, the data on robbery offenders show a consistent pattern of successful parole deviation figures across all categories of robbers.

4. Vocational Factors

Tables 26-28 provide a variety of data pertinent to various

measures of vocational competence and/or achievement. Included as measures of training potential are major subtests of the General Aptitude Test Battery, various counselor and workshop instructor ratings, union membership, and presence or absence of vocational disability.

Tables 26 provide comparative data on burglary and robbery classification subgroups as subclassified by the nine subscale scores of the General Aptitude Test Battery. The primary measure of comparison is the mean score for each of the offender subgroups. Of note is the comparison of scores for the different racial affiliation subgroups for both offender groups. While the white burglary and robbery offenders scored substantially higher than the other racial subgroups on general intelligence, verbal aptitude, numerical aptitude, spatial aptitude, perceptual aptitude, and clerical aptitude subscales, the Mexican-American and black offenders' scores were equal to or higher than those of the white offenders on the motor coordination, finger dexterity, and manual dexterity subscales.

Tables 27 provide information regarding the subjective recommendations of a variety of instructors and/or counselors. A comparison of rows regarding the assessment by each staff type of offenders' motivation for vocational training indicates a generally more successful parole performance for offenders rated as being motivated, regardless of offense

category. Both tables are dominated by the previously identified relationship between the major offense category and parole success, i.e., burglary offenders being associated with a less successful parole outcome and robbery offenders being associated primarily with a fairly successful parole outcome.

5. Personality Factors

The purpose of this section is to present the findings of three personality tests: the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), and the Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI), as they relate to the burglary and robbery offense groups.

Tables 29 present comparative data on burglary and robbery classification subgroups as subclassified by the eighteen subscales of the California Psychological Inventory. As in previous tables dealing with intelligence and academic testing, this table also relies on the mean score for the offense groups. Although it is not appropriate to provide here a clinical interpretation of the meaning of and implications for the various subscales of the California Psychological Inventory, we nevertheless can note some interesting differences, particularly when comparing the racial subgroups of both the burglary and robbery offenders. For example, the black burglary offenders scored somewhat higher on the

Dominance, Capacity for Status, Sociability, and Self-Acceptance subscales, while the Mexican-American burglary offenders scored higher on the Good Impression subscale, and the white burglary offenders scored higher on the Tolerance and Communality subscales. The Mexican-American robbery offenders scored lower than the other two offender subgroups on the Capacity for Status and Sociability subscales and also lower on the Intellectual Efficiency and Psychological Mindedness subscales.

Tables 30 report comparative data on the burglary and robbery classification subgroups as subclassified by the thirteen subscales of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. An analysis of these tables shows that on most subscales the white offenders obtained scores fairly close to the overall means. Exceptions were the below-average scores on Psychasthenia and Schizophrenia for the white robbery offenders as well as the below-average score for the white burglary offenders on the Schizophrenia subscale.

In contrast, the Mexican-American robbery offenders scored high on the Hypochondriasis (Hs), Depression (D), Paranoia (Pa), Psychasthenia (Pt), and Schizophrenia (Sc) subscales, while the Mexican-American burglary offenders scored high on the Hs, D, Pt, and Sc subscales. The only subscale for which the Mexican-American groups showed a below-average score was the Psychopathic Deviate (Pd) subscale,

where the burglary subgroup obtained a score that was somewhat below the average mean. The MMPI scores for the black robbery offender group showed below average means on Hs, D, Pd, Pt, and Sc. The black burglary offender group obtained a lower than average score on the D subscale and a relatively high score on the Sc subscale. All other scores of the three ethnic subgroups fell essentially in the average range.

Tables 31 report the results of the Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI) for the different offense groups. The IPI provides a classification of maturity in accordance with the interpersonal maturity theory of Sullivan, Grant, and Grant (1957). The higher the score on the instrument, the greater the assumed level of maturity of that group. Inspecting Tables 31, we find the white burglary and robbery offender scores somewhat higher on the IPI than those of either the Mexican-American or the black offenders.

6. Psychiatric Factors

The reader should refer to Chapter 1 for a description of this subpopulation. It should be noted that since the tables in this section reflect only a summary of the variable the total frequencies reported do not account for all 511 individuals psychiatrically examined. For instance, Tables 35 present data on only three major reasons for referral and do not give any information on other reasons (e.g.,

CONTINUED

5 OF 6

assessment of treatment needs, narcotics problems, suicide potential, etc.) which concern only a few cases.

The data presented in Tables 35 provide information on the burglary and robbery offense subgroups as subclassified by reason for referral for psychiatric examination. Because of the small number of cases in most cells, a thorough analysis of the relationship between reason for referral and parole outcome cannot be accomplished. A difference which becomes apparent on inspection of the tables is that robbery offenders referred for the evaluation of their violence potential performed relatively well on parole whereas burglary offenders referred for the same reason were less successful.

Tables 36 show the parole success rates for offenders found to show symptoms of depression, anxiety, and dependency. It should be noted that a particular individual may be part of more than one symptom subgroup. Almost all categories with sufficient cases demonstrate a generally unfavorable parole outcome.

Tables 37 provide information on the psychiatric diagnosis given by the psychiatrist during the examination. Again, the small number of cases in the various cells precludes a great number of comparisons. The most outstanding feature is the exceptionally low parole success rate for the burglary offender who received a psychiatric diagnosis of personality trait disturbance.

7. Offense Related Factors Including Violence Information and Parole Follow-up

This section will focus on offense-specific data, with particular attention given to violence committed and weapons used during the commission of the offense.

Tables 42 provide information on the caseworker's rating of the severity of violence known to be in the background of each ward, and Tables 43 give the caseworker's estimate of each ward's violence potential. These ratings were carried out by the California Youth Authority agency-wide to assess criminal violence. It is strikingly evident that the robbery offender, regardless of ethnic background or degree of offense, is an extremely good risk on parole. In contrast, the burglary offender, regardless of degree of estimated violence potential and C.Y.A. rated history of violence, performs much more poorly on parole.

Tables 44 provide comparative data on the burglary and robbery classification subgroups as cross-classified by the actual history of violence. Looking at the burglary classification subgroups, it is interesting to note that the parole success rate becomes somewhat poorer for all burglary columns as the severity of actual violence increases. This finding is in contrast to that for the robbery offender subgroups, where parole performance seems consistently successful.

Tables 45 present comparative data on burglary and robbery classification subgroups as subclassified by a history

of carrying weapons. The table for burglary shows that for most burglary columns those wards with a history of carrying weapons do substantially less well on parole than those with no such history.

Tables 46 provide comparative data on burglary and robbery classification subgroups as subclassified by the number of partners in the admission offense. In these tables it can be noted that for most burglary and robbery columns parole success rates tend to improve as the number of partners in the admission offense increases.

Comparative data on burglary and robbery classification subgroups as subclassified by the severity of individual violence during the admission offense are presented in Tables 48. As might be expected, the parole success rates tend to improve as the severity of injuries inflicted increases, giving support to the widely accepted belief that violent offenders are relatively good parole risks. This finding is particularly noteworthy in that the results are strong not only for the robbery offender subgroups but also for the burglary offender subgroups, which usually tend to show much poorer parole success rates.

Tables 50 report parole outcome information for individual offenders as cross-classified by the type of weapon used. The findings are similar to those in Tables 48: offenders who used weapons show a fairly consistent pattern

of parole success. This pattern is evident not only for the robbery offender but, with few exceptions, also for the burglary offender.

This chapter has presented information on burglary and robbery offense groups as subdivided by a variety of other variables. Although in this study both of these offense groups have been presented as offenders against property, the inclusion of the robbery offender in this category is open to question. For example, if we accept the assumption (to some extent substantiated) that offenders against persons can be expected to be more successful on parole than offenders against property, the parole outcome rates for the robbery group in this study are much closer to those expected for offenders against persons. Although there is much disagreement on the proper classification of the robbery offender (particularly for the formation of a dichotomous criterion for violence prediction efforts), little progress has been made toward resolving this controversy. This ambiguous situation is aggravated further by the failure in many respects of the offense label itself to consider the behavioral implications of each incident, i.e., to specify how much threat and/or physical intimidation is involved. In future studies this information should be considered as part of the accurate categorization of such acts.

The general findings of this chapter are similar in many

respects to those of previous studies of person and property offenders, which show that the nature of the offense, i.e., burglary or robbery, is highly related to parole outcome." In many of our tables, the domination of these relationships far overshadowed most other variables in explaining the relationship between the offense label and parole success or failure.

In this as well as other chapters, this study has noted relationships between the nature of the offense and subsequent parole outcome. An effort should be made to assess the implication of the nature of these commonly noted relationships. Although much research has combined our predictive knowledge of such relationships in forming newer predictive or Base Expectancy instruments, little research has tried to explain why the person who chooses to commit one type of offense is more likely to succeed on parole than a person who chooses to commit another type of offense. While some work by Glaser has attempted to integrate some theoretical explanation into this discussion, the extent of such efforts does not match the widespread attempts to identify and construct even better predictive devices.

The almost endless search for parole prediction items should yield answers to the question of what socio-psychological processes might explain these relationships. Unless exploration

or theoretical specialization can transform the data collected by prediction efforts into a more substantial quest for answers to these more basic questions, parole prediction may have reached the point of "diminishing returns."

REFERENCES

American Bankers' Association. Protective Bulletin, July-August, 1964.

Barison, P. C. Addiction, crime, and social policy. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1976.

Belson, W. A. Juvenile theft: the causal factors. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Blankenburg, E. The selectivity of legal sanctions: an empirical investigation of shoplifting. Law Society Review, 1976, 11, 109-130. (Abstracts in Criminology and Penology, 1977, 17, 1554.).

California Criminal Statistics Bureau. The burglar in California: a profile, by Hugh S. Penn and Quinton Hegner. Sacramento: California Criminal Statistics Bureau, 1973.

California Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics. Crime and delinquency in California, 1976. Sacramento: California Department of Justice, 1976.

Canepa. G., Gatti, U., Bandini, T., and Traverso, G. B. Criminological studies of the relationship between negative identity and character traits. Rass. Criminology, 1974, 5, 5-17. (Abstract).

Chambers. C. D. Narcotic addiction and crime: an empirical review. In Inciardi, J. A. and Chambers, C. D. (Eds.), Drugs and the criminal justice system. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.

Cobroz, B. Economic recession and crime. Review of International Criminology and Police Technology, 1975, 28, 115-116. (Abstracts in Criminology and Penology, 1976, 16, 2069.).

Cohen, S. Property destruction: motives and meanings. In Ward, C. (Ed.), Vandalism. London Architectural Press, 1973.

Cushman, P. Relationship between narcotic addiction and crime. Federal Probation, 1974, 38(3), 38-43.

Dentler, R. A., and Monroe, L. J. Social correlates of early adolescent theft. American Sociological Review, 1961, 26, 733-743.

Dobmeyer, J. A. M. The sociology of shoplifting: avocation and vocation. (Doctoral Dissertation). University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1973.

Drug Abuse Council, Inc. Heroin supply and urban crime. Washington, D.C.: Drug Abuse Council, 1976.

Eysenck, S. B. G., Rust, J., and Eysenck, H. J. Personality and the classification of adult offenders. British Journal of Criminology, 1977, 17, 169-179.

Fournier, G., et al. Les aspects du vol dans les grands magasins (Aspects of thefts in department stores). International Annals of Criminology, 1970, 9(2), 455-464.

Gibbons, D. C., and Garrity, D. L. A preliminary typology of juvenile delinquents. Unpublished manuscript, 1958.

Gray, W., and Gray, L. R. System specifics in "Break-in": A therapeutic approach. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 1977, 21, 31-40.

Hartmann, D. P., et al. Rates of bystander observation and reporting of contrived shoplifting incidents. Criminology, 1972, 10(3), 247-267.

Hughes, M. M. Shoplifting statistics. Security World, 1974, 11(5), 58-62.

Kraut, R. E. Deterrent and definitional influences on shoplifting. Social Problems, 1975, 23, 358-368.

Lipman, M. Stealing: how America's employees are stealing their companies blind. New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1973.

Marshall, T. Vandalism: the seeds of destruction. New Society, 1976, 36, 625-627.

Martin, J. Juvenile vandalism. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1961.

McCaghy, C. H., Giordano, P. C., and Henson, T. K. Auto theft: Offender and offense characteristics. Criminology, 1977, 15, 367-383.

McCall, C. C. Rehabilitating forgers. Crime and Delinquency, 1974, 20, 263-268.

McGuire, E. P. The forgers. Bernardsville, N.J.: Padric Publishing Co., 1969.

McKissack, I. J. The peak age for property crimes: further data. British Journal of Criminology, 1973, 13, 253-261.

Mott, J. The criminal histories of male non-medical opiate users in the United Kingdom. Bulletin on Narcotics, 1975, 27, 41-48.

Oliner, S. P. and Manel, M. Student theft: Crime or Protest? Humboldt Journal of Social Relations, 1973, 1, 29-35.

Quinney, R. Criminology: Analysis and critique of crime in America. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1975.

Robin, G. D. Patterns of department store shoplifting. Crime and Delinquency, 1963, 9, 163-172.

Sanderson, H. Dependency on mothers in boys who steal. British Journal of Criminology, 1977, 17, 180-188.

Scarr, H. A. Patterns of burglary. U.S. Department of Justice. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972.

Schepses, E. Boys who steal cars. Federal Probation, 1961, 25, 56-62.

Shapson, E. M. The $4 billion retail rip-off. Public Relations Journal, 1973, July, 12-15.

Shellow, R. Drug abuse and crime: fact or fancy? Contemporary Drug Problems, 1976, 5, 131-147.

Stephan, E. Personality and attitude measurement in two studies of self-reported delinquency and victimization. International Journal of Criminology and Penology, 1977, 5, 275-287.

Stephens, R. C., and Ellis, R. D. Narcotic addicts and crime. Criminology, 1975, 12, 474-488.

Supermarket Institute. Facts on security. Chicago: Supermarket Institute, Security Specialists Conference, 1966.

Teevan, J. J. Subjective perception of deterrence (continued). Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1976, 13, 155-164.

Templer, D. I., and Connolly, W. Relationship between IQ and type of crime committed and ability to stand trial in criminally accused subnormals. Canadian Journal of Criminology, 1977, 19, 362-365.

U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The challenge of crime in a free society. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967(a).

U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Task Force Report: crime and its impact--an assessment. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967(b).

U.S. Treasury Department. Annual report, 1965. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

Wattenberg, W. W., and Balistieri, J. Automobile theft: A "favored-group" delinquency. The American Journal of Sociology, 1952, 57, 575-579.

Wehner-Davin, W. Stealing is normal. Notes on juvenile property offenses. Jungend, 1975, 27, 380-386.

Weissman, J. C., Marr, S. W., and Katsampes, P. R. Addiction and criminal behavior: a continuing examination of criminal addicts. Journal of Drug Issues, 1976, 6, 153-165.

West, D. J., and Farrington, D. P. The delinquent way of life. New York: Crane-Russak, 1977.

CHAPTER 6

PAROLE

The reader should refer to the Data Map "Parole" for the tables discussed in the statistical description section.

PAROLE FACTORS AND CRIME

The term "parole" originated as a military term indicating the word of honor given by captured prisoners to forbear taking up arms against their captors (Black, 1968). The Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures (1939) defined parole as "release of an offender from a penal or correctional institution after he has served a portion of his sentence, under the continued custody of the state and under conditions that permit his reincarceration in the event of misbehavior." Parole was defined more recently by the National Workshop for Correctional and Parole Administrators (1972) as: (1) a decision--by an authority constituted according to statute to determine the portion of the sentence which the inmate can complete outside of the institution, and (2) a status--the serving of the remainder of the sentence in the community according to the rules and regulations set up by the Parole Board.

There have been many criticisms of parole, including suggestions that it be abolished. Harris (in Moseley, 1977) sorted criticisms of parole into three categories: (1) those concerned with equity, including arguments that parole decisions are arbitrary or capricious; (2) those asserting that the decision-making process arouses a high level of tension in prisoners because of its capriciousness; and (3) those concerned with the effectiveness of treatment, some of whom wish a return to a philosophy of punishment.

Neithercutt (1977) reported that several studies had shown that parolees performed better in the community than those released in other ways. In addition, the author stated that

parole was less expensive than extended imprisonment and that, in general, the success rate of parole was approximately 80 per cent. Moseley (1977) reported that studies indicated that parolees had a lower rate of recidivism than did other prison release types (although their success might be due to the ability of parole boards to select good risk cases rather than to the effectiveness of parole itself).

Attempts to find solutions to the problems of parole have resulted in suggestions for variations and changes in the parole system. Friday, et al. (1975), studying the effectiveness of shock probation, found it was effective for certain kinds of offenders (e.g., those with 1-2 previous convictions but not more, and those married with dependents).

Moseley (1977), in a critical review of parole effectiveness, stated that sentencing discrimination cannot be eliminated and that proposals for determinate sentencing merely displace discretion from parole boards to other areas where it is less visible and hence less subject to control. Examples of such displacement are: plea bargaining, leeway of judges in sentencing ranges, and allocation or revocation by prison administrators of "good time." Neithercutt (1977), who found no strong relationship between time served and parole outcome, maintained that determinate sentencing proposals, which apparently will lengthen the time served, are an ineffective solution to the crime problem.

Glaser, et al. (1966), discussing the relationship between the sentencing and parole processes, stated that although

traditionally there has been a dichotomy between determinate and indeterminate sentences, a parole board can alter the period of confinement under each type and often has more discretion with determinate sentencing.

There are many legal, administrative, and behavioral issues involved in the parole process. Some of these are: authority and composition of parole boards, parole decision making, community resources, conditions of parole, supervision, definitions of parole violation and recidivism, and prediction of parole outcome. This chapter will focus on studies concerning: (1) parole decision making; (2) parole outcome and offender characteristics; and (3) parole prediction. It should be noted that studies cited here deal with both adult and juvenile groups.

PAROLE DECISION-MAKING

A parole board has four major functions: (1) selection and placement of prisoners on parole; (2) assistance, supervision, and control of parolees in the community according to previously established conditions; (3) discharge of parolees from parole status when supervision is no longer necessary or when sentences are completed; and (4) determination of need for revocation and return to the institution if a parolee violates the terms of parole (Newman, 1968).

Gottfredson (1966) noted that when making a decision a parole board must take into account the scarcity of community resources, alternatives to parole, and the desire to optimize the probability of "successful" parole outcome and societal protection. Gottfredson, et al. (1973) defined two types of

decisions made by paroling authorities: individual case decisions and policy decisions, "which set a broad framework within which...case decisions are made." They stated that before either type of decision can be made the following must be identified and defined: (1) objectives; (2) information demonstrably relevant to the decision outcome; (3) the available decision alternatives; and (4) the consequences of decision alternatives (in terms of the objectives).

Regarding objectives, the authors emphasized the importance of including not only parole success but also sanctioning, due process, system regulation, and citizen representation. They reported that federal and state paroling authorities believed that the most important objectives were protection of the public, release of inmates at the optimal time for most probable success on parole, and improvement of inmate adjustment in the community after release.

With regard to information relevant to the decision outcome, it was found by Gottfredson, et al. (1973) that federal parole board representatives considered the following to be important in deciding on individual cases: (1) adequacy of the parole plan; (2) a past record of assaultive offenses; (3) the offender's present family situation; (4) the attitude of the offender's family toward him; and (5) the use of weapons in the offense. The authors suggested that these items be considered as hypotheses to be tested.

Guidelines for policy decisions, on the other hand, generally were not explicitly stated. In an appendix to Gottfredson,

et al. (1973), Sigler stressed the importance of making implicit policies explicit in order to achieve consistency and fairness in decision making. To this end, it would have to be determined what factors were being used in making policy decisions and what weights were being given to these factors in practice. Once these facts were known, the parole board could proceed to set standards for policy decisions, leaving the hearing examiners to make many of the individual case decisions on the basis of the board's guidelines.

Sigler reported that three primary factors used in parole decision making had been identified: (1) severity of offense; (2) parole prognosis; and (3) institutional performance. Guidelines had been set up relating these three factors to general policy: the first two were to be used to indicate the range of time to be served, while the third was to be considered in deciding on an individual parole plan within this time range. Feedback on decision trends would allow evaluation and modification of the guidelines. With this procedure, discretion would not be removed but would be exercised fairly and rationally. Inmates would be under less psychological stress, since they would have a clearer idea of their release dates than with indeterminate sentencing.

Other studies have confirmed the lack of explicit guidelines. Parker (1975) found that many parole boards did not have written criteria for parole selection. Since statutes were often very broadly written, individual parole board members had to apply their own criteria.

Hoffman (1972) found that at the first hearing, a parole board member's estimation of the severity of the present offense was given the greatest weight in the decision-making process. Next most important was his estimation of the risk of parole violation. At subsequent hearings, institutional adjustment was found to be the primary determinant. Hoffman found that using "...multiple correlation techniques and graphical analysis, a set of expected decisions for given factor combinations (could) be determined."

In a study by Scott (1973), many parole board members seemed to think that an inmate's suffering should be commensurate with the crime committed before he could be paroled. Since sociobiographical characteristics were better predictors of length of punishment than was institutional adjustment, Scott concluded that the criterion of rehabilitation was still of secondary importance.

As Gottfredson, et al. (1973) pointed out, different people make decisions in different ways. The authors found that decision-makers had preferences for kinds of information and methods of presentation. Different items of information were considered important for different cases, and decision-makers did not agree on the relative importance of these items. Often the same decision was made by different people using different information.

Nicholson (1968) stated that the classification of individuals according to risk should be a prerequisite to decision-making and that minimal supervision should be provided to those

classified as low-risk. Parker (1975) found that since the size of parole officers' caseloads often precluded much intensive supervision, many states had experimented with differential caseloads, dividing parolees into groups needing varying degrees of supervision. In an attempt to clarify paroling policy, the University of California (1969) stated that the need for supervision might not be the same as the risk of recidivism. An offender judged to have a high risk of recidivism might not be capable of benefiting from treatment and his recidivism might even be aggravated by intensive supervision.

Wenk, et al. (1970) suggested that an on-line interactive retrieval system (DIALOG) could facilitate parole decision making by providing computer access to parole data. Gottfredson, et al. (1972) indicated that the goal of the Uniform Parole Reports project was to develop and test a nationwide system of parole reporting that would contribute to improved parole decision making and management. This research was particularly important in identifying and classifying offenders according to their likelihood of parole violation.

There are various factors which may influence decision-making. One of these is racial prejudice. Chiricos and Waldo (1971) found that blacks were much less likely than whites to be placed on probation. Carroll and Mondrick (1976) found evidence of discrimination between black and white offenders in parole decision making. Unlike white prisoners, most black prisoners had to participate in institutional treatment programs in order to be paroled; they also served a significantly longer

portion of their sentences than did white treatment participants.

Another influence in the decision-making process is representation at parole hearings. Beck (1975) found that prisoners with representatives served less time than those without them (institutional staff being the most effective representatives). Decisions may be influenced also by the reputation of the institution to which an offender is assigned. Scott and Snyder (1975) reported that when two inmates were identical on all independent variables except the institution in which they resided, the one from the institution housing what was perceived as the more dangerous criminals was incarcerated longer.

Gottfredson, et al. (1973) recommended the use of fairness criteria to evaluate decisions and ensure that "similar persons are dealt with in similar ways in similar situations."

PAROLE OUTCOME AND OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

Numerous studies have sought to distinguish the delinquent or potential delinquent from the nondelinquent. The identification of characteristics that might distinguish the recidivist from the non-recidivist has been less frequently attempted. Gottfredson, et al. (1967) stressed that parole decision making must consider the characteristics of and differences among the various kinds of parole offenders.

In a study of California Youth Authority wards, Woodring (1969) noted that the effectiveness of decision making cannot be accurately assessed until "recidivism" has been defined with reference to specific agency goals and individual behavioral and attitudinal characteristics.

Buikhuisen and Hoekstra (1974) criticized the static approach taken by most recidivism studies and stated that recidivism should be studied as a process, using longitudinal studies. They mentioned also the unreliability of the criterion of official crimes in recidivism research. Webb, et al. (1976) have stated that the definition of recidivism must be made comprehensive enough to account for such factors as partial success (e.g., Was the second offense less serious than the first? Is the length of time between offenses increasing? Has the offender increased his education or improved his occupation between sentences?).

The problem of defining and measuring recidivism will be discussed further at the end of this chapter.

In an attempt to identify pre-institutional characteristics and their relationship to parole performance, Asbury (1971) found no pre-institutional criminal offender typology that was related to parole outcome. However, the author did find some offender types that were homogeneous with respect to background characteristics.

1. Intelligence and Personality

A number of studies have investigated the intelligence of recidivists. Some have found that recidivists are more intelligent than first offenders. For example, Murchison (1926) found that, for black and white native-born males and for white foreign-born males, recidivists consistently had intelligence scores superior to those of first offenders, and that this superiority increased with the degree of recidivism. He con-

cluded that "certainly feeble-mindedness cannot be a cause of criminal recidivism...."Hill (1936) also found frequent recidivists were more itelligent than non-recidivists. Similarly, Tulchin (1939), studying a group of 10,413 prisoners, found that for nearly all groups recidivists had a lower percentage rating inferior and a higher percentage rating superior than did non-recividists. (The author reported that the increase in Alpha score of recividists was generally more pronounced for those with one or two previous commitments than for those with three or more.)

Other studies have not supported this view. Healy and Bronner (1926), studying 4,000 delinquents, found that the mentally normals had the lowest rate of recidivism of all groups except the psychoneurotic group. In a study of 411 boys, 82 of whom became delinquent, West and Farrington (1973) found that recidivists had lower I.Q.'s than one-time delinquents. Kipper (1977) matched for age, sociocultural status, and intelligence a group of 33 incarcerated criminal recidivists with a group of 33 work placement trainees. When tested on the original version of the Kahn Test of Symbol Arrangement, the recidivists scored significantly lower than the other group, although on the modified version of the test there was no difference in scores.

An interesting possibility was raised by Caplan (1965), who suggested that adjudication, incarceration and/or treatment can reduce intellectual functioning. If this is so, it is plausible that the more times a person in incarcerated the lower his intelligence will be. Some studies have shown no differences in

intelligence between recidivists and first offenders. In a review of a number of previous studies, Lane and Witty (1935) found that recidivists and nonrecidivists did not differ in intelligence. Similarly, Merrill (1947) found no differences in the I.Q.'s of 134 single offenders and 123 recidivists. (The author admitted the presence of more juveniles of defective than of nondefective intelligence among court cases, but pointed out that the former were more likely to be caught and more likely to come from inadequate homes, making the filing of a petition more likely to be resorted to.) In a study by Rockoff and Hoffman (1977), retarded inmates had more previous arrests but fewer previous convictions than those of normal intelligence. Glaser and O'Leary (1966) concluded that the relationship between intelligence and parole outcome was not marked or consistent enough to be useful in parole prediction. Brooks (1972) found that in the superior I.Q. range there was no significant relationship between intelligence and recidivism. Tennent and Gath (1975), comparing a group of 50 bright delinquents with a matched group of normal delinquents, showed that there were no significant differences in recidivism between the groups and concluded that high intelligence made no difference to parole outcome, at least over the three-year follow-up period.

Personality factors also have been investigated. Eysenck and Eysenck (1974) reported that boys who became recidivists had higher P, E, and N scores, although only in the case of extroversion (which in Eysenck's theory (1970) bears the heaviest load in accounting for criminality) was the difference signifi-

cant. They recommended further research with larger numbers before discounting the possibility of a relationship of P and N to recidivism. Mack (1969) tested the ability of Quay's factors (aggressive acting-out, neuroticism, and inadequacy) to predict parole outcome and found factors 1 and 2 to be highly reliable with adolescents and younger children. The author stated, however, that, "While it appears that recidivists as a group are more aggressive but not more neurotic than successful parolees, overlap between groups is too great to allow valid prediction of parole adjustment for individuals on the basis of rated aggressiveness."

Riddle and Roberts (1977), using the Porteus Maze Tests, found that the relationship between the Porteus TA and recidivism was unclear. Delinquent male recidivists obtained higher Q scores than nonrecidivists. In a study by Roberts, et al. (1974), measures of impulse control and foresight and planning ability differentiated 10 recidivists from nonrecidivists. Further research supported the evidence for impulse control but not for the other measure. The Porteus Q-score measure of impulsiveness showed the most promise with respect to predicting recidivism.

Woychick (1970) gave the Jesness Asocial Index to 161 institutionalized delinquent offenders. A follow-up completed one year later indicated that boys with higher asocial scores had significantly more parole revocations. Six MMPI scales were used by Adams (1976) to differentiate between imprisoned first and multiple offenders. While there was no significant

difference in the overall group profiles, multiple offenders scored higher than first offenders on the Pd, Ap, and HC scales, implying that multiple offenders tended to have more of an antisocial pattern. Christensen and LeUnes (1974) found they could not differentiate between first and multiple offenders using the MMPI and the Prison Adjustment Scale.

Lord (1974), using the Cattell Culture Fair Intelligence Test, the Jesness Inventory, the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, and the Wide Range Achievement Test, found that only the "autism" scale of the Jesness Inventory demonstrated a significant difference between recidivists and nonrecidivists, although other variables approached significance.

2. Family

The influence of family relationships on parole success has also been studied. Studying the relationship between prisoner-family involvement and parole behavior, Holt and Miller (1972) noted that "there is a strong and consistent positive relationship between parole success and maintaining strong family ties while in prison. Only 50 per cent of the "no contact" inmates completed their first year on parole without being arrested, while 70 per cent of those with three visitors were not arrested during this period." The Wisconsin Division of Corrections (1972) found that married parolees had greater success on parole.

Jenkins (1972) found the Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS) highly predictive of recidivism. Studying nearly 300 released offenders, the author found that over 90 per cent of

those who became recidivists scored high on the EDS. In addition, 84 per cent of a sample of men without law encounters scored low on the EDS.

Buikhuisen and Hoekstra (1974), who studied 451 delinquents in the Netherlands between 1962 and 1964, found less recidivism among groups who moved, especially those who left an unstable family or asocial environment. Even in groups with a high criminal history, moving decreased recidivism, although it was most effective for delinquents with relatively low criminal histories.

Virkkunen (1976) found that, although as many recidivists as nonrecidivists had lost their fathers through death, the recidivists seldom had step- or adoptive fathers and the father's death had occurred more often in the parolee's adolescence than earlier. The author found that the father's death could be crucial even in an otherwise normal or nearly normal home background. The absence of the mother and the number of divorces did not significantly differentiate between groups. Arbuckle and Litwack (1960) found that boys who were successful on parole had older mothers and had fathers who had not been in legal trouble.

3. Sex

Ganzer and Sarason (1973) found that female recidivists came more frequently than males from "personality and socially disorganized" families; the authors underlined the need to consider sex differences in parole prediction studies of juveniles.

4. Age

Other researchers have studied the relationship between age

and parole outcome. Lerman (1975), studying 6,228 delinquents, found that younger boys were a much higher risk group than older boys. However, the author pointed out that, although older parolees are less likely to violate parole, there is still the risk that they may commit offenses of a more violent type. Arbuckle and Litwack (1960), Glaser (1964), Glaser and O'Leary (1966), and Public Systems, Inc. (1970) also found that older parolees had a lower rate of recidivism than younger parolees.

Carney (1967) found that of the group studied, 64.9 per cent of those 29 and under at the time of commitment became recidivists. Of those first arrested at 19 or younger, 61.9 per cent became recidivists; of those first arrested at 20 or older, 39.5 per cent became recidivists. Similarly, Kitchener, et al. (1977) found that those first arrested in their early teens had a high risk of parole failure.

Sakata and Litwack (1971) and Roberts, et al. (1974) also found that the recidivist was younger at the time of commitment and parole than the nonrecidivist. Ganzer and Sarason (1973) found that recidivists got into trouble and were first institutionalized at younger ages. Babst, et al. (1972), studying burglars, stated that "Supportive evidence was found for the maturation concept. In 21 of 22 comparisons, the older parolees had more favorable outcomes on parole."

5. Type of Crime

Studies investigating relationships between parole outcome and offense variables have generally found that offense classification is related to parole outcome. Gottfredson and Beverly

(1962), Glaser (1964), Glaser and O'Leary (1966), and Jaman (1974), among others, reported that property crimes, such as burglary, shoplifting, and forgery, were associated with a higher violation rate, while crimes of violence, such as rape, homicide, manslaughter, and assault were associated with favorable parole performance.

Numerous studies have supported these findings. Stanton (1969) found that the rates of violation and new convictions on parole for paroled murderers were very significantly lower than those for paroled nonmurderers. (He pointed out, however, that paroled murderers are not representative of murderers in general, as only a select group are paroled.) Carney (1967) reported that offenders against persons were significantly less likely to recidivate than other groups of offenders. Lerman (1975), studying 6,228 delinquents with a 15-month follow-up period, found that boys convicted of violent offenses (homicide, robbery, and assault) and narcotics offenders were better parole risks than property offenders. The highest violation rates were for juvenile status/technical violation offenders.

Savitz (1959) and Glaser and O'Leary (1966) reported that auto thieves had the highest rates of parole violation in most jurisdictions (perhaps because of their age). Kitchner, et al. (1977) also found auto thieves to be among those offenders with highest failure rates. On the contrary, Jacks (1966) found that persons convicted of automobile theft, the youngest offenders, were the least likely to violate parole.

The California Youth Authority reported in 1974 that of

wards released between 1960 and 1972, 30.1 per cent of offenders against persons and 37.5 per cent of offenders against property had had their parole revoked. In 1976, the C.Y.A. reported the percent removed for violation within 24 months as follows: homicide, 29.9 per cent; narcotic and drug offenses, 32.6 per cent; robbery, 36.1 per cent; assault, 39 per cent; burglary, 46.1 per cent; theft, 47.1 per cent; and sex offenses, 47.8 per cent. Heilbrun, et al. (1976) found that those committing violent crimes were better parole risks than those committing nonviolent crimes. In general, successful parole was associated with the less self-controlled crimes.

Glaser (1964), Glaser and O'Leary (1966), and Public Systems, Inc. (1970) found that prisoners with no prior criminal record had consistently lower parole violation rates than those with a record. However, the rate did not always increase markedly with each increase in number of convictions. Jaman (1974) found that men who committed only one type of crime were least likely to become involved in criminal activity on parole and most likely to receive an early parole discharge. Jacks (1966) noted that the burglar who had the highest violation rate was most likely to repeat the same type of crime. Glaser and O'Leary (1966) reported that burglars, forgers, and narcotics users were most likely to repeat the same offense if they committed another; sex offenders had a relatively low rate of repeating the same offense, and homicide offenders had the lowest rate.

6. Alcohol and Drugs

Other researchers have studied the relationship of recidi-

vism to alcohol and drug use. Adams and McArthur (1974) found that three groups of narcotic-involved prison releasees followed for six months all showed higher parole failure rates than the general population of prison releasees. (Three types of release were studied: release to a rehabilitation center, parole, and unsupervised release.) Friedman and Friedman (1973), on the other hand, found no differences in violent or nonviolent recidivism in a comparison of drug users/sellers with nonusers/nonsellers..

Glaser (1964) found that alcoholics had higher parole violation rates. The Wisconsin Division of Corrections (1972) found that a history of drug or alcohol use had a negative effect on the parole outcome of juveniles. Public Systems, Inc. (1970) reported that men with "more serious narcotics histories had higher than average rates of parole failure."

Recidivism may vary with the drug used. West and Farrington (1977) found that recidivism was particularly high among youths who admitted taking the less popular drugs (pep pills, LSD, or sleeping pills). They found also that aggressive reactions after drinking were particularly closely associated with recidivism. Edwards, et al. (1977) found that both male and female alcoholics were more likely to be reconvicted within five years than offenders reported in other studies. Similarly, Guze and Cantwell (1965) reported that over a three-year period, alcoholics had significantly higher recidivism rates than

nonalcoholics.

Weitzner, et al. (1973) found that many marijuana offenders committed two or more offenses. They found also that the more severe the penalty for the first marijuana offense, the more likely were subsequent offenses to appear. However, the California Department of Justice (1974), in a 5-year follow-up of drug arrestees, found that marijuana offenders had the lowest rearrest potential, followed by users of opiates and then of dangerous drugs.

7. Institutional and Parole Variables

Considering institutional and parole variables, Hudson (1973) found that supervision status (supervised or unsupervised parole) had no significant effect on the length of time to the first apprehension or arrest while on parole. Craig (1976) evaluated changes in self-concept and academic achievement following a treatment program and found that a smaller proportion of those who had gained in self-concept (on the Total Positive Scale of the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale) became recidivists than of those who had lost in self-concept. Those who saw themselves as bad, worthless, and inadequate after treatment tended to fail on parole. Significant differences were found also on the Self-Satisfaction, Personality Integration, and Moral-Ethical subscales. Gains in academic achievement were positively related to gains in self-concept.

In a study of the relationship of prison behavior to parole outcome, Jaman (1971) found that performance in vocational training, academic education and work assignments, participation in

voluntary group programs, number of disciplinary actions, violent incidents, and an overall rating could provide an index of behavior. Applying this index, the author found some relationship between academic education and favorable parole outcome. (Similarly, Arbuckle and Litwack, 1970, and Public Systems, Inc., 1970, reported that better educated parolees were more successful on parole.) Jaman (1971) reported that those receiving high ratings in work assignments or vocational training tended to perform less favorably on parole than those receiving poorer ratings. In comparing the parole performances of new admissions and readmissions, however, the author obtained inconsistent and contradictory results.

Jaman (1973) found that delinquents in a 20-bed living unit remained longer on parole than those assigned to an identically staffed 50-bed living unit. (Neurotics gained most from the smaller unit program, while non-neurotics did the same in either program.) Once on parole, those who were successful most often sought work (Litwack, 1960) or were employed full-time (Wisconsin Division of Corrections, 1972). However, the latter study showed that juveniles enrolled in school were less likely to be successful than those who were not enrolled.

Berman (1973) reported that length of time an offender was out of prison on parole correlated with how much he liked his parole officer. The author stated that this finding supported the idea that parolees like their agents when they find they do not enforce every parole rule. (Parole agents in the study tended to act as counselors rather than as policemen.)

8. Length of Imprisonment

The relationship between recidivism and length of imprisonment has been investigated. Carney (1967) found that, in the group studied, of those who had had longer sentences 50.3 per cent became recidivists, while of those with shorter sentences 57.2 per cent became recidivists. However, as Jarman and Dickover (1969) pointed out, although previous research indicated that persons serving less time have better parole outcomes, there is an abundance of uncontrolled variables. Seeking to control these extraneous variables in a two-year follow-up of robbers, they found that those who served less time had significantly better parole outcomes. They observed, however, that since random assignment of persons to sentences was not possible, no firm conclusion could be drawn from this finding.

Berecochea, et al. (1973) found that time served could be reduced without affecting the level of recidivism. Kolodney, et al. (1970) (from Trudel, et al., 1976) reported that, "Mathematical models...indicated that time served is not a useful predictor of post-release outcomes." Similarly, Neithercutt (1977) stated that while time served appeared to be related to parole outcome in a curvilinear fashion, when the differences between groups serving the longest sentences and those serving the shortest sentences is statistically controlled, there seemed to be no strong relationship.

9. Race

There have been many studies on the relationship between race and recidivism. Applying a configural approach to data on

2,548 delinquents, Unkovic and Ducsay (1969) found blacks significantly more likely than whites to become recidivists. Public Systems, Inc. (1970) and the Wisconsin Division of Corrections (1972) had similar findings. However, Fishman (1977), studying the relationship between race and recidivism for various age groups, found that only for 16- to 18-year-olds was there a significant relationship: recidivism was more common among nonwhites than among whites. Carney (1967) found no significant racial differences in recidivism, although nonwhites had a somewhat higher failure rate (of nonwhites, 62.5 per cent were recidivists, while the rate for whites was 52.8 per cent). Glaser and O'Leary (1966) did not find the criterion of race useful in evaluating parolees.

While recidivism usually refers to the number of released offenders who commit another crime during the follow-up period, it may also be considered a cumulative measure of lifetime criminality. Using this definition, Datesman, et al. (1975) observed that among youths appearing before a juvenile court 36 per cent of white males and 61 per cent of black males had had previous contact with the juvenile court. For females, the figures were 20 per cent for whites and 43 per cent for blacks. In an 18-year follow-up of prison releasees, Kitchner, et al. (1977) found that nonwhites were more likely than whites to fail after release, although whites who failed tended to do so sooner after release than nonwhites who failed. Heilbrun, et al. (1976) found that, especially in the case of blacks, successful parole was associated with more impulsive crimes.

In general, studies relating race and recidivism have found that where differences exist between the races, black and Mexican-American youths have had higher recidivism rates than whites. However, as has been seen, comparisons of recidivism studies are plagued by numerous problems.

A more extensive review of the relationship between parole outcome and offender characteristics is provided by the Annual Statistical Report (1961-1973) of the California Youth Authority and by a C.Y.A. report summarizing findings of this type of study (California Youth Authority, 1965).

PAROLE PREDICTION

The problems of prediction in delinquency and related areas have interested many people. There is an extensive body of literature describing techniques for developing and evaluating prediction procedures. Considerable controversy exists regarding research methods used and inferences drawn, suggestions for practical use, and complaints concerning misuse (Gottfredson, 1967).

Numerous methods have been developed to predict delinquency, but attempts to predict delinquent parole outcome are less common. Instruments which have been developed to identify potential delinquents at an early age include the Glueck Social Prediction Table (Glueck and Glueck, 1934, 1940, 1950, 1959, 1960, 1962); the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide (Stott, 1960); the Kvaraceus KD Proneness Scale (Kvaraceus, 1961); the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Hathaway and McKinley, 1951; Hathaway and Monachesi, 1954, 1957); and the California

Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1948, 1960). Other measures have been applied, but their influence has been minor.

The discussion of predicting parole outcome and, more specifically, delinquent parole outcome will consider: (1) procedure and models of prediction; and (2) prediction studies of parole outcome.

1. Procedure and Models of Prediction

As identified by Horst (1941), Sarbin (1944), and Bechtoldt (1951), the five steps of any prediction study are: (1) establishment of the criterion categories of "favorable" performance (in this case parole success); (2) selection and definition of the characteristics on which the predictions are to be based; (3) determination of relationships between the criterion categories and the predictor candidates in a sample representative of the population for which inferences are to be drawn; (4) verification by the use of new or cross-validation samples of the relationships derived from the original sample; (5) application of prediction methods only in situations for which they were developed and only if the stability of the predictions has been supported by cross-validation procedures.

There are numerous methods or "models" of prediction by which the third step (determining relationships between criterion categories and predictor candidates) can be accomplished. The most common techniques for this procedure involve the combination of predictors to achieve optimum predictive accuracy. Variables can be combined, either without weighting or by some weighting or configural method. For the nonweighted approach,

each item found to be related to the criterion is assigned one point regardless of the strength of its association, and the sum provides a measure of (in this case) the probability of parole violation. Various applications of this method to parole prediction have been made in the past, e.g., Gillin (1950); Gough (1962); Ohlin (1951, 1955); Tibbitts (1931, 1932); Warner (1923).

Although nonweighted systems are popular, the most widely used method of combining predictors has been the assignment of unit weights. This method usually employs a smaller number of predictive characteristics. The best known example is that developed by the Gluecks (1934, 1940, 1950, 1959, 1960, 1962), in which each item is weighted in scoring by assigning it the per cent figure for the criterion among persons characterized by the predictor attribute. Two theoretically different models, which assign weights differently, are those of multiple linear regression and linear discriminant function. Multiple regression has been used to predict post-release behavior by Mannheim and Wilkins (1955) and in a number of California Parole Prediction studies (Gottfredson and Bonds, 1961; Gottfredson, et al., 1962; and Gottfredson and Ballard, 1965). The discriminant function has been employed for prediction in various areas, although seldom in the prediction of parole outcome (Gottfredson, 1967).

An additional method, developed by MacNaughton-Smith (1963) and entitled "predictive attribute analysis," is classified as a configural prediction method. This approach has been used in parole prediction by Wilkins (1954), Grygier (1964), and

Ballard and Gottfredson (1963). A closely related procedure is the "configural analysis" of Glaser (1964), which also has been used in parole prediction by Mannering and Babst (1963). Predictive attribute analysis requires successive partitioning into subgroups on the basis of a single variable in each subgroup found to have the closest association with the criterion. This procedure continues until the repeatedly divided subsamples are found to have no additional items significantly associated with the criterion. Another configural approach, entitled "association analysis," was developed by Williams and Lambert (1959), and has been employed in delinquency prediction by Wilkins and MacNaughton-Smith (1961) and Gottfredson, et al. (1963). Association analysis allows the division of a heterogeneous population into subgroups that are relatively homogeneous with respect to the attributes studied and permits empirical classification without regard to the criterion.

Additional methods of prediction include several synthesis models combining association and regression techniques as well as other prediction models such as the Bayesian model (Newman and McEachern, 1968).

Several studies have compared prediction methods. Simon (1972), comparing several multivariate methods for combining variables into a prediction instrument (including point scores, multiple linear regression, and hierarchical configurations), found that they worked equally well.

Gottfredson and Ballard (1964) compared the predictive efficiency of multiple linear regression, association analysis,

and predictive attribute analysis. The authors found that association analysis was more efficient and less vulnerable to error than predictive attribute analysis. They recommended a combination of association analysis and multiple regression. In an eight-year follow-up study of parolees, Gottfredson and Ballard (1965) tested tables made by multiple regression and association analysis and concluded that the predictive power of these tables was virtually the same after eight years, although a new regression equation made up of fewer criteria (major offenses against persons, narcotics laws, and property) was applied.

Babst, et al. (1968) compared two statistical techniques--multiple regression and configural analysis--with respect to their ability to (1) differentiate between offenders who violate parole and those who do not; and (2) identify potential violators among a new group of parolees. The authors applied the two methods to the same data and concluded that they worked about equally well. They too suggested that prediction might be improved by combining association analysis and regression techniques.

Another comparison of analytical techniques was made by Ward (1968), who weighted 14 variables found to be correlated with youthful recidivism. He used these variables to build four predictive methods: Burgess (unweighted points score), Glueck, discriminant function analysis, and multiple linear regression. After determining the validity of each approach, Ward noted that it ranged from .35 for the Burgess scale to .44 for that derived from the discriminant function analysis. This pattern of results

is as expected, since the simplest method of scaling (Burgess) gave the least correlation; those methods giving rational weights to factors were next, and those scales taking correlations into account provided the best predictions.

Gottfredson, et al. (1973) suggested that simpler methods such as the nonweighted approach might in practice be more useful than more sophisticated methods because "the nature of the data does not satisfy the assumptions which are made in statistical theory." However, they added that better data were needed before major advances could be made with any method.

2. Parole Prediction Studies

An important goal of correctional personnel is the determination of who might and who might not succeed on parole. This section will review briefly a number of parole prediction studies of both adult and juvenile parolees. Although "actuarial" as well as "clinical" predictions have been applied in the determination of probable parole outcome, only the former will be reviewed here.

One of the first attempts to introduce an actuarial method in prediction was the "experience table" of Hart (1923). Reanalyzing an earlier work by Warner (1923), he found that life-history and background variables could yield a useful and valid predictive index. Borden (1928) studied paroled men and correlated each factor in an experience table with the degree of success on parole. The author found three factors that gave a multiple correlation of .41 with the criterion. Burgess (1928), studying the institutional files of 3,000 paroled men, established

the base rate of parole violation and examined the experience-table factors for significant deviations. The author identified twenty-one pre-parole factors that provided significant deviations. Experience-table factors were scored by assigning one point to any category with a violation rate less than the baseline rate, a zero weight being given to all other categories. The total number of points provided a basis for comparing violation and nonviolation rates. The Gluecks (1930) and Vold (1931) also used the zero-one weighting system in applying experience tables to the study of recidivism. Tibbitts (1931) and Monachesi (1932), too, obtained valid results by applying experience tables to parole prediction studies.

An important extension of the experience table was developed by Ohlin and Duncan (1949), who applied probability theory to the improvement of the prediction table. Applying their theory to twenty-two previous studies, the authors found most prediction tables to be inefficient, i.e., not surpassing the "base rate" accuracy. Later methods of predictive efficiency were developed by Duncan, et al. (1953) and Duncan and Duncan (1955). Controversy over the application of predictive efficiency techniques to the use of experience tables in predicting parole success has reduced interest in such approaches (Thompson, 1952; Gough, 1962). One noteworthy attempt to integrate a technique of predictive validity into the prediction of parole outcome was that of Glaser (1955), who incorporated a measure of accuracy into his study.

Numerous studies have employed the multiple regression

method. In a classic prediction study, Mannheim and Wilkins (1955) obtained 60 variables from the records of a sample of youths. From these variables, they selected a much smaller number that were significantly correlated with the criterion of reconviction. Multiple regression identified six variables that were weighted to provide an equation score for predicting parole outcome.

In a series of studies, Gottfredson, et al. (1962) and Gottfredson and Beverly (1962) prepared base expectancy tables for adult prisoners and Youth Authority wards. Tables showing chances of success on parole within two years of release were derived from multiple linear regression analysis.

Beverly (1964) compared the predictive value of data found in the routine records of C.Y.A. cases (age, race, type of offense, etc.) with more extensive data, gathered by a social worker, on family background. Using multiple regression on a construction sample, Beverly obtained a coefficient of .31 between the routine information and parole violation rate, while a coefficient of .34 was found when the social information was added.

An important comparison of one of the C.Y.A. base expectancy tables with personality inventories was made by Gough, et al. (1965). Using construction and validation samples, the authors built six multiple regression equations (to predict the probability of parole violation) from selections and combinations of the base expectancy score for boys (BE), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, and the California Psychological

Inventory. These equations were compared with one another, with the base expectancy alone, and with earlier prediction scales constructed from the MMPI by Clark (1948, 1953) and by Panton (1962). The discriminating power of the equations was assessed by the value of t for the difference between mean scores of violators and nonviolators. The largest t was obtained for the equation combining the base expectancy and the CPI. Two other combinations, the BE + MMPI, and the BE + CPI + MMPI, also did better than the BE alone. Clark's and Panton's special scales did not give significant discrimination.

In order to measure the predictive accuracy of the equations, the authors transformed them into two-class tables and predicted successes and failures by taking a cutting point. The best equation, BE + CPI, gave a table with a hit rate of 63 per cent compared with 59 per cent for the BE alone. The authors noted that the combination of the BE score with inventory data increased the "flexibility" of the information towards the treatment process and improved the diagnostic implications of the prediction process.

Beverly (1965) utilized a base expectancy analysis of data pertaining to 6,462 male Youth Authority wards released to parole supervision in 1962. A four-variable regression equation and a six-category base expectancy table were derived to assess ward performance on parole as a function of institution of release.

The Select Committee on the Administration of Justice in California (1970) utilized base expectancy scores to confirm

the fact that offenders released in 1968 were no more likely to fail on parole than those released in 1963. Kolodney, et al. (1970) (from Trudel, et al., 1976) found the base expectancy model (developed by the California Department of Corrections) highly accurate when properly used.

Molof (1965) combined five predictors (background variables) to form a multiple regression equation: commitment offense, age at first admission, race, birth place, and prior record. After deriving experience tables from the regression equation, Molof applied these tables to a validation sample. All variables were found to be related to the criterion (post-release offense) at better than the 5 percent level of confidence. Race was the variable found to be most strongly related to the criterion.

In an application of a multiple regression equation to the prediction of recidivism among C.Y.A. female wards, Molof (1970) developed an equation using five variables: age at admission, age at release, admission status, number of co-offenders, and number of foster home placements. An index evaluating predictive success showed this equation to have limited predictive ability. Molof concluded that, although identifying the correlates of recidivism might be valuable, the prediction of parole outcome had limited utility for the decision-making process.

In a parole prediction study of women offenders, Pauze (1972) utilized treatment and "traditional" variables in conjunction with a stepwise multiple regression analysis to identify those predictor variables significantly related to the

criterion of parole outcome. Many variables were found to be unrelated to the criterion. Although the best predictors in previous studies held up (prior criminal record and type of offender), type of offense committed and a number of other variables previously found significant were not related to parole success. None of the treatment variables showed any significant relationship to the dependent variable, although number of disciplinary reports while incarcerated and type of parole job were significantly related to parole outcome.

Other studies have employed configural methods. In an application of association analysis to parole prediction, Gottfredson and Ballard (1966) conducted a two-year follow-up of two groups of men, using the Base Expectancy scale as the predictor candidate. They noted that psychological tests and attitude measures did not improve predictive efficiency over that of the BE alone (an interesting finding when compared to the earlier study by Gough, et al., 1965). Using association analysis, the authors classified the sample into nine subgroups, each with prediction equations. Results indicated that the association analysis subgroups provided more predictive information than the Base Expectancy.

A reassessment study by Babst, et al. (1971) noted that since numerical prediction scores are impersonal, configural analysis (which combines prediction classifications with case study material) could improve prediction. Since the configural table attempts to classify cases into those that will succeed and those that will not succeed if specific actions are taken,

an empirically derived offender typology can be used within the base expectancy concept to evaluate institutional programs.

Fildes (1972) sought to expand the classification ability of association analysis by including two different statistics, thus forming a hierarchical subdivision. Although the procedure was one of classification, the attributes by which an individual was classified were the same as those often associated with parole outcomes and used in the Uniform Parole Reports. Fildes explored the use of this technique in parole prediction, demonstrating that subgrouping by association analysis resulted in parolee groups with significantly different parole outcomes.

Various other methods have been used to predict parole outcome. Grygier, et al. (1971) summarized the results of three parole prediction studies undertaken to confirm and extend the results of earlier research and to assess the relationship of parole selection to parole outcome. Study I cross-validated the method of "predictive attribute analysis" used in an earlier study. Generally, the same attributes that predicted parole success in 1964 still predicted successfully in 1968. Study II introduced additional predictors of parole success. As expected, increasing the number of predictors increased the accuracy of predictions. Study III applied the methodology of Studies I and II to the decisions of the parole board. It was found that these decisions could be predicted with only 3 per cent error.

Barton and Jenkins (1973) developed a behavioral assessment scale useful in longitudinal follow-up studies of released offenders. Focusing on the behavior of the released offender

in the community, the scale (called the maladaptive behavior record) was found to be highly predictive of recidivism.

Devies (1976) used a behavioral classification system to distinguish probation successes from probation failures. The author found that only one--asocial/aggressive--of the behavior classification hypotheses tested differentiated between the two groups.

Rice (1976) concluded that because of the complexity of recidivism, it could best be understood by studying the combined effects of many predictor variables.

Other studies have evaluated parole prediction itself. Sterne (1966) and Wilkins (1966) suggested that important clarifications should be made. Sterne indicated that prediction efforts stress an anatomical diagraming of relations between static background factors and an undefinable criterion (success or failure on parole). The author stated that, until prediction studies include important elements of behavior, the value of parole prediction will remain limited. From a policy standpoint, Wilkins pointed out that the goals of parole boards must be determined before appropriate prediction methods can be constructed.

Following historical analysis of parole prediction, Dean and Duggan (1968) noted that, although there had been some improvements in methodology, there had been no appreciable increase in predictive power. The authors stated that the limitation of available data and the absence of problem-relevant knowledge were responsible for the lack of improvement in predictive power.

Lipton, et al. (1975) discussed the problems involved in the study of recidivism. First, since the follow-up period varies from one study to another, comparison of studies is difficult. Second, a nonrecidivist is not necessarily rehabilitated. He may merely become a more effective criminal or may become deviant in other ways. Third, the rate of recidivism is influenced by agency policies and the amount of superivsion of parolees. (The experimental group may be more leniently treated or may be more visible to authorities.) Fourth, there are various definitions of recidivism and little knowledge of how related they are. Some examples are: number of police contacts, proportion in custody at the end of the follow-up period, conviction for a new offense, time to first arrest, seriousness of offense after release, and violation of parole or probation rules.

However, despite the shortcomings of parole prediction methods, Johns (1967), in a comparison of subjective parole prognosis and statistically determined prediction scores for C.Y.A. wards, found that the latter was much more successful. Similarly, O'Leary and Glaser (1972) found that statistical prediction was more successful than subjective prediction in identifying the poor risks on parole and the most successful good risk group.

STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE
PAROLE CLASSIFICATION SUBGROUP

The Data Map "Parole" presents data on the parole outcomes of several subgroups classified on the basis of the number of prior commitments as well as one subgroup for parole successes and one for parole failures. The following description presents each of the admission status categories which make up the major columns of classification:

Column 1: Total Study Population

The column provides summary data regarding each category of the variable presented as the cross-classification factor in each table.

Column 2: First Admission

Included in this category are wards who were admitted to the California Youth Authority for the first time.

Column 3: First Return

This category includes all wards returned from parole either because of a technical violation or because of a new commitment and who have one prior commitment to the California Youth Authority.

Column 4: Second Return

Included in this category are all wards returned from parole either because of a technical violation or because of a new commitment and who have two prior commitments to the California Youth Authority.

Column 5: Three and More Returns

This category includes wards returned from parole either because of a technical violation or because of a new commitment and who have three or more prior commitments to the California Youth Authority.

Column 6: Parole Successes

Provided as a summary column, this column presents a frequency, which is the number of successful wards on parole for that cross-classification row, and a percentage figure, which is the percentage of cases of the total column that fall into that cell.

Column 7: Parole Failures

This column is similar in structure to Column 6 except that the frequencies are the parole failures associated with each cross-classification row, while the percentage figures again reflect the number of cases of the total column that fall into that cell.

The number of cases associated with each of the four major categories varies greatly. For example, over half of the total study population falls into the first admission category (N = 2,470). The number of cases in the first return category is 800, while all remaining admission status groups total only 732, the second and third and more return categories each accounting for approximately 50 per cent of this figure.

1. Individual Case History Information

Table 1 provides comparative data on the admission status subgroups classified by the court of commitment. A great disparity in the parole deviation figures for the various admission status columns can be noted. The parole deviation figures for the first admission column are predominantly positive, while those for the remaining admission status columns are predominantly negative. Also noteworthy is the variation among deviation figures within columns as associated with the different courts of commitment. For example, while the successful parole deviation figures associated with the first admission column are reduced when reading from the first to the third row, the negative deviation figures associated with the first return and third and more returns columns become increasingly negative. This indicates that parole success rates of wards who are predominantly successful diminish when reading from juvenile to municipal court, while for wards with predominantly negative parole deviation rates this tendency is reversed.

Comparative data on the admission status groups as classified by racial affiliation are presented in Table 3. The stability of the deviation figures for all cells seems to indicate that there is very little interaction between racial affiliation and admission status.

Table 7 presents comparative data on admission status groups as classified by living arrangement at the time of the offense. In contrast to the stability of parole deviation figures for the first admission column in other tables, Table 7 seems to indicate a general improvement of parole success rates as the ward is further removed from living with parents. Except for wards committed for a first offense and living with foster parents, the parole deviation figures indicate a general improvement of parole success for wards either living alone or living with friends in a fixed above.

Table 12 provides comparative data on admission status subgroups as classified by history of alcohol use and misuse and by the presence or absence of alcohol as a factor in the admission offense or in past offenses. Known to be somewhat related to parole success, the presence or absence of alcohol use or misuse does not seem here to appreciably affect the parole deviation figures associated with the admission status columns. As in many previous cases, there is a generally consistent parole success rate associated with each admission status column. Little, if any, variation can be noted in any of these columns and none of the alcohol use or misuse rows seems to affect these generally consistent findings.

Table 13 presents comparative data on parole experience

and admission status subgroups as classified by either a history of drug misuse or drugs as a factor in crime. The presence or absence of drug misuse is known to be highly related to parole outcome, and a comparison of parole deviation figures for the first admission column cells points out some interesting interactions. While wards classified as having either no history or isolated history of drug misuse, or for whom drugs were a minimal factor in current or previous crimes, show positive parole success rates, wards with a history of either moderate or severe drug misuse show negative parole success rates. This finding suggests that when a good indicator of successful parole outcome (i.e., first admission offense status) is cross-classified with a known predictor of poor parole performance (i.e., moderate to severe drug misuse) the latter is more indicative of poor parole outcome than the former is of successful parole outcome.

Table 14 presents information on the admission status subgroups as classified by history of opiate use or opiate use as a factor in previous or current offense. Known also as a variable highly related to poor parole performance, moderate and severe opiate use can be seen to be much more indicative of poor parole outcome than first admission offense is indicative of positive parole outcome. The strength of this relationship generally is consistent across

all admission status columns, implying that this relationship is indeed a very strong one.

Table 17 reports the caseworker's summary of psychiatric history and psychiatric labels applied to the ward during psychiatric evaluations prior to admission. Generally, the frequencies in the psychiatric categories are small--less than 1% of the total study population had a history of frequent suicide gestures, serious suicide attempts, brain damage or epilepsy. Slightly more than 1% had a history of infrequent suicide gestures, neurosis, and psychosis. Approximately 3% had a history of sociopathic personality disturbance and personality pattern disturbance, and 6.7% had a history of personality trait disturbance. Negative parole deviation rates are associated with first admission wards who have a history of brain damage, epilepsy, psychosis, or personality trait disturbance. Except in the latter instance, there is an insufficient number of cases in each cell to permit a conclusion to be drawn. However, the entire table generally is dominated by negative parole deviation figures.

2. Intelligence Factors

Tables 18 and 19 represent a variety of intelligence test scores as classified by admission status. The reader should refer to various chapters for details of the testing

procedures. Table 18 presents the distribution for intelligence categories. Parole deviation figures can be seen to be generally consistent when read down each of the admission status columns. Noteworthy is the progressive worsening of parole deviation figures associated with the various intelligence rows when read across admission status columns. This table provides evidence that intelligence classification makes little, if any, difference in explaining the relationship between admission status and parole outcome.

A summary of the results of the intelligence testing is provided in Table 19. It should be noted that the classification into intelligence categories was based on clinical judgments derived from a composite of information on each individual. This approach is reflected, for instance, in the mean scores of the dull normal group on the CTMM. While the scores for this group on total IQ and on the language portion of the test are in the borderline defective range, the mean score on the non-language portion is in the dull normal range. The primary figure of comparison in this table is the mean score for any given cell. When reviewing mean scores for different admission status groups as classified by various intelligence tests or subtest scores, few distinctions across admission status columns can be noted. Although wards committed as first admission offenders scored slightly higher on the Army General Classification Test IQ

and its related verbal and numerical rank scores, this finding is not supported by the results of other major intelligence tests and their related subtests. For example, when reading across admission status columns for the D-48 raw score (a non-verbal test of intelligence) little, if any, difference can be noted between mean intelligence scores for the admission status groups. This general lack of significant difference between admission status groups on any of these measures of intelligence suggests again that intelligence appears not to be an important variable in the relationship between admission status and parole outcome.

3. Academic Factors

Tables 20-25 report the findings related to various measures of academic achievement, ability, and performance.

Table 20 provides comparative data on admission status groups as classified by the different subscales of the California Achievement Test Battery. As noted, there are ten measures derived from the CAT battery. In a comparison of mean scores on these subscales across the admission status column, almost no appreciable differences can be noted. In fact, every mean score of every cell in this table consists of seven and a related decimal. Either across rows or down columns, there is so little variation between mean scores that further discussion of the CATB subscales is probably unwarranted.

Table 21 provides data regarding the ward's self-reported grade completed as classified by admission status. Previous research has shown that a delinquent's self-report of grade completed is generally a reliable index of the actual grade completed. Of some interest is the partial indication, when the parole deviation figures associated with the first admission column are viewed, that the parole success figures become progressively smaller until the 9th grade is completed, at which time they again increase until the 13th grade is completed. This tendency is also partially apparent in relation to the first return column, although the deviation figures are predominantly negative. In the first column in particular, there is some indication of a curvilinear relationship between the grade completed and parole success rates for the first admission status column. Again, however, it can be seen that the parole deviation figures for each admission status column differ very little from the expected relationship noted throughout previous tables.

Table 22 provides comparative data on admission status subgroups as classified by the actual grade achieved, measured by the total grade placement score derived from the California Achievement Test Battery. Of some interest are the deviation figures associated with the first admission status column. For both the first admission and first return

columns there again seems to be an indication of a curvilinear relationship between, in this case, the actual grade achieved and parole outcome.

4. Vocational Factors

Tables 26-28 provide a variety of data on various measures of vocational competence and/or achievement. Included as measures of training potential are major subtests of the General Aptitude Test Battery, various counselor and workshop instructor ratings, union membership, and presence or absence of vocational disability.

The test results of the admission status subgroups, as classified by the subscales of the General Aptitude Test Battery, are provided in Table 26. Again, the primary method of comparison involves an assessment of the mean scores for each of these subscales across all admission status columns. Of some interest is the deviation of mean scores on the General Intelligence, Verbal Aptitude, Numerical Aptitude, Clerical Aptitude, and Finger Dexterity subscales of the GATB for those wards convicted for a second return to the California Youth Authority.

5. Personality Factors

This section presents the findings of three personality tests: the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), and the

Interpersonal Personality Inventory (IPI), as they relate to the admission status subgroups. The reader should refer to Chapter 1 for details of the testing procedure.

Mean scores for all admission status subgroups as classified by the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) subscales are reported in Table 29. As in previous tables which have reported the results of various psychometric and/or intelligence and academic tests, this table reports the mean scores on the eighteen CPI subscales for each of the cells for comparison. The closeness of the mean scores for admission status groups disallows any conclusion other than that there seems to be no appreciable relationship between any of the CPI subscales and admission status of California Youth Authority wards. In cases where there seems to be a slight deviation, i.e., social presence for the second return admission group, sense of well being for the three and more returns admission status group, and achievement via conformance for the first admission status group, the difference is extremely small.

Table 30 reports the results of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) for parole experience and admission status subgroups and provides some interesting comparisons regarding wards convicted for three and more returns. For example, on the hysteria, psychopathic deviate, paranoia, psychasthenia, schizophrenia, and hypomania sub-

scales, this admission status group scored somewhat higher than the other admission status groups.

6. Psychiatric Factors

The reader should refer to Chapter 1 for details of this subpopulation.

Table 37 presents comparative data on parole experience and admission status groups as classified by specific type of psychiatric diagnosis. The only exceptions to the previously noted relationships between admission status and parole outcome are seen here by first admission wards diagnosed as being psychotic and second return wards diagnosed as suffering from personality pattern disturbance.

7. Offense Related Factors Including Violence Information and Parole Follow-up

This section will focus on offense specific data, with particular attention given to violence committed and weapons used during commission of the offense.

Table 38 provides comparative data on parole experience and admission status groups as classified by type of admission offense. This table is dominated by the convergence of two major factors in parole prediction. The first of these is the major classification of this chapter, i.e., admission status, and the second is the exact nature of the admission offense. Both variables have been shown in numerous previous studies to be highly related to parole outcome. Reading the

first admission column shows that there are several interactions apparent in two major offense groups: forgery and statutory rape. Although most parole deviation figures in this column are successful, the forgery and statutory rape groups show negative parole success rates. When comparing percentage figures for the total study population and the first admission columns for the forgery group, we find that overall the forgery subgroup achieved a 52.7% parole success rate while forgers committed to the California Youth Authority for the first time achieved a 57.9% rate of success on parole. When comparing similar figures in the statutory rape column, it can be noted that overall 56.1% of these offenders were successful on parole, in contrast to 49% of those admitted for the first time to the CYA. This finding suggests that the negative parole success rates associated with these offense groups seem to be stronger than the positive parole success rates associated with the first admission offender.

Table 40 provides comparative data on admission status groups as classified by type of offense, i.e., person or property offense. Known from other studies to be more successful on parole, the individual convicted of a person offense would be expected here to have somewhat better success on parole than the individual convicted of a property offense. The parole deviation figures shown in this table are

consistently better across all admission status columns for wards convicted of a person offense than for wards convicted of a property offense.

Tables 43-45 provide comparative data on admission status subgroups as classified by the caseworker's estimation of violence potential, the offender's history of violence, and his history of carrying weapons. The strong relationship between admission status and parole outcome is the dominant feature of this table and no appreciable differences in parole outcome are seen among the various subgroups.

Table 46 reports on admission status groups as classified by number of partners in the admission offense. Of some interest is the deviation of parole success figures for those wards whose commitment offense involved two additional partners. Reading across this row, there are two instances of deviation from the general figures associated with that column. First, while the other three cells hold negative parole deviation figures, the two-partner row for the California Youth Authority first returnee contains a positive parole success figure. Second, in contrast to the deviation figures associated with the other three cells in the three and more returns column, those wards involved in a criminal act with two partners achieved a somewhat better degree of parole success.

Table 48 provides comparative data on parole experience

and admission status as classified by the severity of violence during the commitment offense. Since we might expect the severity of injuries inflicted to be associated with the type of crime, i.e., person or property, we might also expect parole deviation figures to improve somewhat as the severity of inflicted injury increases. This expectation is borne out, particularly in the first admission column in this table, which shows a general increase in the parole success rate with the increase in the severity of injuries inflicted.

Comparative data on admission status subgroups as classified by weapon used by the individual during the commitment offense are presented in Table 50. With few exceptions, the deviation figures associated with the columns are essentially as anticipated, although the number of cells with insufficient cases is substantial enough to disallow a thorough assessment of this table.

California Youth Authority Board orders for transfer are presented in Table 55. Since assignment of wards to individual camps is made on the basis of place availability, differences among camps in parole outcome rates seem to be the result of differences in camp social climates and programs rather than the result of ward selection. As mentioned previously, the Preston School of Industry had a significantly younger population and the lower success rate of its wards can be explained in part by the age factor. The Youth

Training School received a select group of residents who, because of the emphasis on vocational and academic training, were well motivated for such training.

The preceding tables and accompanying narrative have presented parole outcome information regarding five major admission status groups as classified by a variety of other variables. While many of the tables reviewed present little information worthy of additional comment, several tables present findings of interest.

If we posed the question: "What is the single most consistent finding of this chapter's tables and discussion?", the answer would certainly lie with the strength of the relationship between admission status and parole outcome. Although several other major classification factors related to parole outcome have been presented in other chapters, the association between admission status and parole outcome is known to be the strongest single relationship. As part of another study with these data, the Pearson-product moment coefficient between admission status and parole outcome was found to be .19 (N = 3,352) which, although not significant at the .05 level, was nevertheless close to achieving significance. The consistent association of negative parole deviation figures with wards having one or more returns to the California Youth Authority provides evidence of this relationship. Similarly, the positive deviation figures

generally associated with wards committed for the first time to the CYA provide further evidence of this relationship. These findings are comparable to those of numerous parole prediction studies which have demonstrated a strong relationship between parole success or failure and number of prior commitments. Few tables presented in this chapter provide evidence contrary to this expected finding, although several tables deviate somewhat from this tendency.

For example, Table 38 presented the major commitment groups as classified by the nature of the admission offense. This table provides one of the few examples in this chapter in which a classification variable known to be highly related to parole outcome is cross-classified with a variable also highly related to parole outcome. In this case, the nature of the admission offense (against persons or property) is known to be related to parole outcome, with two property offenses (vehicle theft and forgery) generally indicative of unfavorable parole performance. When these offense categories were compared for wards committed for the first time to the California Youth Authority (associated with favorable parole performance), it was found that one offense designation (forgery) was predominant and that therefore the parole rate for this group was negative even though the wards were first admission offenders. This example provides a simple basis for studying interactions, i.e., situations in which two

variables known to be related to parole outcome are considered simultaneously as characteristics of the same group of offenders. Although opportunities to study such interactions did not dominate the tabular presentations, there were ample opportunities to examine these situations, e.g., Tables 12, 13, 14, 16, 38, 40, 42, 43, and 44.

This chapter has provided a major descriptive presentation of the parole success rates of different admission status offenders after classifying them by a variety of other variables. The examination of the tables has not been exhaustive and it is suggested that the tables be reviewed from additional perspectives and with different intentions. Reanalysis of our data no doubt will identify other interesting findings.

REFERENCES

Adams, T. C. Some MMPI differences between first and multiple admissions within a state prison population. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1976, 32, 555-558.

Adams, S., and McArthur, V. Performance of narcotic-involved prison releasees under 3 kinds of community experience. Research Report No. 16. Dist. of Columbia Department of Corrections, 1969. Cited by Petersen, D. M., Some reflections on compulsory treatment of addiction. In Inciardi, J. A. and Chambers, C. D. (Eds.), Drugs and the criminal justice system. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.

Arbuckle, D. S., and Litwack, L. A study of recidivism among juvenile delinquents. Federal Probation, 1960, 24(4), 45-48.

Asbury, G. O. Preinstitutional criminal offender types and parole performance: a study of a typology. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1971.

Attorney General's survey of release procedures (Vol. 5). Washington, D.C.: Department of Justice, 1939.

Babst, D. V., Gottfredson, D. M., and Ballard, K. B. Comparison of multiple regression and configural analysis techniques for developing base expectancy tables. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1968, 5(1).

Babst, D. V., Inciardi, J. A., and Jaman, D. R. The uses of configural analysis in parole prediction research. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, 1971, 13(3), 200-208.

Babst, D. V., Koval, M., and Neithercutt, M. G. Relationship of time served to parole outcomes for different classifications of burglars based on males paroled in fifty jurisdictions in 1968 and 1969. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1968, 5(1), 72-80.

Bechtoldt, H. P. In S. S. Stevens (Ed.), Handbook of experimental psychology. New York: Wiley, 1951.

Beck, J. L. The effect of representation at parole hearings. Criminology, 1975, 13, 114-117. (Crime and Delinquency Literature, 1975, 7, 432).

Berecochea, J., Jaman, D., and Jones, W. A. Time served in prison and parole outcome - an experimental study. California Department of Corrections, 1973. (From Trudel, et al., 1976).

Berman, J. J. Parolees' problems, aspirations and attitudes. Dissertation Abstracts, 1973, (10-A), 5848.

Beverly, R. F. Base expectancies and the initial home visit research schedule. Sacramento, Calif.: California Youth Authority, Research Report No. 37, 1964.

Beverly, R. F. An analysis of parole performance by institution of release. Sacramento, Calif.: California Youth Authority, Research Report No. 40, 1965.

Black, H. C. Black's Law dictionary (rev. ed.). St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1968.

Borden, H. G. Factors for predicting parole success. Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1928, 19, 328-336.

Brooks, R. Bright delinquents. National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, 1972.

Buikhuisen, W., and Hoekstra, H. A. Factors related to recidivism. British Journal of Criminology, 1974, 14, 63-69.

Burgess, E. W. Factors determining success or failure on parole. In A. A. Bruce (Ed.), The workings of the indeterminate sentence law and the parole system in Illinois. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Board of Parole, 1928, 205-249.

California Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics. Five year follow-up of 1966 drug arrestees. Sacramento, California Department of Justice, 1974.

California Youth Authority. Annual Report, 1976. Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1976.

California Youth Authority. Characteristics of the California Youth Authority parole caseload. Sacramento, Calif.: California Youth Authority, Parole Research Section, 1965.

California Youth Authority, Division of Research. An analysis of parole performance of the 1972 parole release cohort. Sacramento, California Youth Authority, 1974.

Caplan, N. S. Intellectual functioning. In H. C. Quay (Ed.), Juvenile Delinquency. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1965, pp. 100-138.

Carney, F. J. Predicting recidivism in a medium security correctional institution. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1967, 58, 338-348.

Carroll, L., and Mondrick, M. E. Racial bias in the decision to grant parole. Law and Society, 1976, 11, 93-107.

Chiricos, T., and Waldo, G. Inequality in the imposition of a criminal label. Unpublished study prepared for the Southeastern Correctional and Criminological Research Center, Clorida State University, 1971. Cited in D. A. Bell, Racism in American Courts. California Law Review, 1973, 61, 165-203.

Christensen, L., and LeUnes, A. Discriminating criminal types and recidivism by means of the MMPI. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1974, 30, 192-193.

Clark, J. H. Application of the MMPI in differentiating AWOL recidivists from non-recidivists. Journal of Psychology, 1948, 26, 229-234.

Clark, J. H. Additional applications of the AWOL recidivist scale. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1953, 9, 62-64.

Craig, R. S. Changes in self concepts and academic achievement of institutionalized delinquent boys in a differential treatment program. Dissertation Abstracts, 1976, 36 (9-A), 5938.

Datesman, S. K., Scarpitti, F. R., and Stephenson, R. M. Female delinquency: an application of self and opportunities theories. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1975, 12, 107-123.

Dean, C. W., and Duggan, T. J. Problems in parole prediction: a historical analysis. Social Problems, 1968, 15(4), 450-459.

Devies, R. K. The use of the differential behavior classification system of the juvenile offender to distinguish probation successes from probation failures. Dissertation Abstracts, 1976, 36 (9-A), 5819.

Duncan, O. D., and Duncan, B. A. Methodological analysis of segregation indexes. American Sociological Review, 1955, 20, 210-217.

Duncan, O. D., Ohlin, L. E., Reiss, A. J., and Stanton, H. R. Formal devices for making selection decisions. American Journal of Sociology, 1953, 48, 573-584.

Edwards, G., Kyle, E., and Nicholls, P. Alcoholics admitted to four hospitals in England. III. Criminal Records. Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1977, 38, 1648-1664. (Abstract from J. Stud. Alc., 1977, 38, 1180).

Eysenck, S. B. G., and Eysenck, H. J. Crime and personality: an empirical study of the three-factor theory. British Journal of Criminology, 1970, 10, 225-239.

Eysenck, S. B. G., and Eysenck, H. J. Personality and recidivism in Borstal boys. British Journal of Criminology, 1974, 14, 385-387.

Fildes, R. E., and Gottfredson, D. M. Cluster analysis in a paroleè sample. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1972, 9(1), 2-11.

Fishman, R. An evaluation of criminal recidivism in projects providing rehabilitation and diversion services in New York City. The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1977, 68, 283-305.

Friday, P. C., Petersen, D. M., and Allen, H. E. Shock probation: a new approach to crime control. In Petersen, D. M., and Thomas, C. W.(Eds.), Corrections: problems and prospects. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975.

Friedman, C. J., and Friedman, A. S. Drug abuse and delinquency. Drug use in America: problem in perspective, Vol. 3. Second Report of the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Ganzer, V. J., and Sarason, I. G. Variables associated with recidivism among juvenile delinquents. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1973, 40, 1-5. (Psychological Abstracts, 1973, 50, 1246-1253.)

Gillin, J. L. Predicting outcome of adult probationers in Wisconsin. American Sociological Review, 1950, 15, 550-553.

Glaser, D. The efficacy of alternative approaches to parole prediction. American Sociological Review, 1955, 20, 283-287.

Glaser, D. The effectiveness of a prison and parole system (Chapter 3). New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964.

Glaser, D., and O'Leary, V. Personal characteristics and parole outcome. Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Glueck, E. T. Efforts to identify delinquents. Federal Probation, 1960, 24, 49-56.

Glueck, E. T. Toward improving the identification of delinquents. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1962, 53, 164-170.

Glueck, S., and Glueck, E. T. 500 criminal careers. New York: Knopf, 1930.

Glueck, S., and Glueck, E. T. One thousand juvenile delinquents. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934.

Glueck, S., and Glueck, E. T. Juvenile delinquents grown up. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1940.

Glueck, S., and Glueck, E. T. Unraveling juvenile delinquency. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950.

Glueck, S., and Glueck, E. T. Predicting delinquency and crime. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Gottfredson, D. M. Assessment and prediction methods in crime and delinquency. Reproduced from U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force report: juvenile delinquency and youth crime. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Gottfredson, D. M. The evaluator frame of reference. New York: National Parole Institutes, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1966.

Gottfredson, D. M., and Ballard, K. B. Association analysis, predictive attribute analysis and parole behavior. Paper presented to the Western Psychological Association meetings, Portland, Oregon, April, 1964.

Gottfredson, D. M., and Ballard, K. B. The validity of two parole prediction scales: an eight year follow-up study. Vacaville, Calif.: Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, 1965.

Gottfredson, D. M., and Ballard, K. B. Offender classification and parole prediction. Vacaville, Calif.: Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, 1966.

Gottfredson, D. M., Ballard, K. B., and Bonds, J. A. Base expectancy: California Institution for Women. Sacramento, Calif.: Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency and California Department of Corrections, 1962.

Gottfredson, D. M., Ballard, K. B., and Lane, L. Association analysis in a prison sample and prediction of parole performance. Vacaville, Calif.: Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, November, 1963.

Gottfredson, D. M., Ballard, K. B., Venezia, P., and Wenk, E. A. Issues in assessment of parole outcomes. Paper presented at the American Congress of Corrections, Miami, Florida, August, 1967.

Gottfredson, D. M., and Beverly, R. F. Development and operational use of prediction methods in correctional work. Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section of the American Statistical Association. Washington, D.C.: American Statistical Association, 1962.

Gottfredson, D. M., and Bonds, J. A. A manual for intake base expectancy scoring (Form CDC BE61A). Sacramento, Calif.: California Department of Corrections, 1961.

Gottfredson, D. M., Neithercutt, M. G., and Wenk, E. A. Uniform Parole Reports. Final report: Parole in the United States--a reporting system. Davis, Calif.: NCCD Research Center, 1972.

Gottfredson, D. M., Wilkins, L. T., Hoffman, P. B., and Singer, S. M. Parole Decision Making--Summary: The utilization of experience in parole decision-making--a progress report. Davis, Calif.: NCCD Research Center, 1973.

Gough, H. G. A sociological theory of psychopathy. American Sociological Review, 1948, 53, 359-366.

Gough, H. G. Theory and measurement of socialization. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1960, 24, 23-30.

Gough, H. G. Clinical vs. statistical prediction in psychology. In L. Postman (Ed.), Psychology in the making. New York: Knopf, 1962

Gough, H. G., Wenk, E. A., and Rozynko, V. V. Parole outcome as predicted from the CPI, the MMPI, and a base expectancy table. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 1965, 70(6), 432-441.

Grygier, T. Treatment variables in non-linear prediction. Paper presented to the joint annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Montreal, December, 1964.

Grygier, T., Blum, F., and Porebski, O. R. Decision and outcome: studies in parole prediction. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Correction, 1971, 13(2), 133-146.

Guze, S. B., and Cantwell, D. P. Alcoholism, parole observations, and criminal recidivism: a study of 116 parolees. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1965, 122, 436-439.

Hart, H. Predicting parole success. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1923, 14, 405-413.

Hathaway, S. R., and Monachesi, E. D. Analyzing and predicting juvenile delinquency with the MMPI. New York: The Psychological Corporation, 1954.

Hathaway, S. R., and Monachesi, E. D. The personalities of pre-delinquent boys. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1957, 48, 149-163.

Hathaway, S. R., and McKinley, J. C. The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory manual (Revised). New York: Psychological Corporation, 1951.

Healy, W., and Bronner, A. F. Delinquents and criminals. (1926) Republished in Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1969.

Heilbrun, A. B., Knopf, I. J., and Bruner, P. Violence and subsequent parole outcomes. British Journal of Criminology, 1976, 16, 367-377.

Hill, G. E. The intelligence of young male offenders, Journal of Juvenile Research, 1936, 20, 20-27.

Hoffman, P. B. Paroling policy feedback. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1972, 9, 117-133.

Horst, P. The prediction of personal adjustment. New York: Social Science Research Council Bulletin, No. 48, 1941.

Hudson, C. H. An experimental study of the differential effects of parole supervision for a group of adolescent boys and girls. U.S. National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973.

Jacks, W. L. Offender characteristics predictive of parole behavior. American Journal of Corrections, 1966, 28(3), 10-12.

Jaman, D. R. Behavior during the first year of prison--as related to parole outcome. Sacramento, Calif.: California Department of Corrections, 1971 (Report No. 44).

Jaman, D. R. Sentences and offenses - one or more than one: time served and parole outcome. California Department of Corrections. Sacramento, 1974. (Crime and Delinquency Literature, 1975, 7, 163-164.)

Jenkins, W. O. A manual for the use of the Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS) in Corrections - the prediction of criminal behavior. Elmore, Alabama: Rehabilitation Research Foundation, 1972. (From Trudel, et al., 1976.)

Johns, D. Institutional program patterns, parole prognosis and outcome. Sacramento, Calif.: California Youth Authority (Research Report No. 52), 1967.

Kipper, D. A. The Kahn Test of Symbol Arrangement and criminality. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1977, 33, 777-781.

Kitchener, H., Schmidt, A. K., and Glaser, D. How persistent is post-prison success? Federal Probation, 1977, 41, 9-15.

Kolodney, S. E., et al. A study of the characteristics and recidivism experience of California prisoners. San Jose, Cal.: Public Systems, Inc., 1970. (From Trudel, et al., 1976).

Kvaraceus, W. C. Forecasting juvenile delinquency: a three year experiment. Exceptional Children, 1961, 18, 429-435.

Lane, H. A., and Withy, P. A. The mental ability of delinquent boys. Journal of Juvenile Research, 1935, 19, 1-12.

Lerman, P. Community treatment and social control. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Lipton, D., Martinson, R., and Wilks, J. The effectiveness of correctional treatment. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.

Lord, J. H. Predicting recidivists and nonrecidivists in a delinquent population. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1974. (Crime and Delinquency Literature, 1975, 7, 195.)

Mack, J. L. Behavior ratings of recidivist and nonrecidivist delinquent males. Psychological Reports, 1969, 25, 260.

MacNaughton-Smith, P. The classification of individuals by the possession of attributes associated with a criterion. Biometrics, June 1963.

Mannering, J. W., and Babst, D. V. Wisconsin base expectancies for adult male parolees. Progress report No. 4, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, Bureau of Research and Division of Corrections, April, 1963.

Mannheim, H., and Wilkins, L. T. Prediction methods in relation to Borstal training. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955.

Merrill, M. A. Problems of child delinquency. Westport, Conn.: Greenwich Press, 1947.

Molof, M. J. Prediction of future assaultive behavior among youthful offenders. (Research Report No. 41). Sacramento: California Youth Authority, 1965.

Moseley, W. H. Parole: how it is working. Journal of Criminal Justice, 1977, 5, 185-203.

Murchison, C. Criminal Intelligence. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University, 1926.

Neithercutt, M. G. Parole legislation. Federal Probation, 1977, 41, 22-26.

Newman, J. R., and McEachern, A. W. The application of a Bayesian model. The American Behavioral Scientist, 1968, 11(3), 34-43.

Nicholson, R. C. Use of prediction in caseload management. Federal Probation, 1968, 32(4), 54-58.

Ohlin, L. E. Selection for parole: a manual of parole prediction. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1951.

Ohlin, L. E. Some parole prediction problems in the United States. Paper presented at the Third International Congress of Criminology, London, 1955.

Ohlin, L. E., and Duncan, O. D. The efficiency of prediction in criminology. American Journal of Sociology, 1949, 54, 441-451.

O'Leary, V., and Glaser, D. The assessment of risk in parole decision making. In West, D. J. (Ed.), The future of parole. London: Duckworth, 1972.

Panton, J. H. Use of the MMPI as an index to successful parole. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1962, 53, 484-488.

Parker, W. Parole: origins, development, current practices and statutes. College Park, Md.: American Correctional Association, 1975.

Pauze, B. K. Parole prediction in Iowa. Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1972.

Public Systems, Inc. A study of the characteristics and recidivism experiences of California prisoners. San Jose, Calif.: Public Systems, Inc., 1970.

Rice, W. E. Recidivism: a multivariate explanation of the length of time recidivists remain free before returning to prison incarceration. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Xerox University Microfilms, 1975. (Crime and Delinquency Literature, September, 1976, 17719.)

Riddle, M., and Roberts, A. H. Delinquency, delay of gratification, recidivism, and the Porteus Maze tests. Psychological Bulletin, 1977, 84, 417-425.

Roberts, A., Erikson, R. V., Riddle, M., and Bacon, J. G. Demographic variables, base rates, and personality characteristics associated with recidivism in male delinquents. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1974, 42, 833-841.

Rockoff, E. S., and Hoffman, R. J. The normal and the retarded offender. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 1977, 21, 52-56.

Sakata, R., and Litwack, L. Recidivism among juvenile parolees. Psychological Reports, 1971, 29, 351-355.

Sarbin, T. R. The logic of prediction in psychology. Psychological Review, 1944, 51, 210-228.

Scott, J. E. An examination of the factors utilized by parole boards in determining the severity of punishment. Dissertation Abstracts, 1973, 33 (8-A0, 4554.

Scott, J. E., and Snider, P. J. Perceptual effects of penal institutions on the severity of punishment. International Journal of Criminology and Penology, 1975, 3, 52-62.

Select Committee on the Administration of Justice. Parole Board reform in California. Sacramento, Calif.: California Assembly, 1970.

Simon, F. H. Statistical methods of making prediction instruments. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1972, 9, 46-53.

Stanton, J. M. Murderers on parole. Crime and Delinquency, 1969, 15, 149-155.

Sterne, R. S. A re-evaluation of parole prediction. Criminologica, 1966, 3(4), 3-7.

Stott, D. H. A new delinquency prediction instrument using behavioral indications. International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1960, 6, 195-205.

Tennent, G., and Gath, D. Bright delinquents. British Journal of Criminology, 1975, 15, 386-390.

Thompson, R. E. A validation of the Glueck social prediction scale for proneness to delinquency. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1952, 43, 451-470.

Tibbitts, C. Success and failure on parole can be predicted. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1931, 22, 11-50.

Tibbitts, C. The reliability of factors used in predicting success or failure on parole. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1932, 22, 844-853.

Tulchin, S. H. Intelligence and Crime. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

University of California, School of Criminology. The San Francisco project final report: a review and new findings. Research Report No. 14. BErkeley, California, 1969.

Unkovic, C. M., and Ducsay, W. J. An application of configurational analysis to the recidivism of juvenile delinquent behavior. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1969, 60, 340-344.

Virkkunen, M. Parental deprivation and recidivism in juvenile delinquents. British Journal of Criminology, 1976, 16, 378-384.

Vold, G. B. Prediction methods and parole. Hanover, N.H.: The Sociological Press, 1931.

Ward, P. G. The comparative efficiency of differing techniques of prediction scaling. Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 1968, 1(2), 109-112.

Warner, S. B. Factors determining parole from the Massachusetts Reformatory. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1923, 14, 172-207.

Webb, V. J., Hoffman, D. E., Wakefield, W. O., and Snell, J. Recidivism: in search of a more comprehensive definition. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 1976, 20, 144-147.

Weitzner, M., Smith, A., Pollack, H., Gerver, I., and Figlio, R. M. A study of the relationship of disposition and subsequent criminal behavior with sample of youthful marijuana offenders in New York State. In Drug Use in America: Problem in Perspective, Vol. 13, National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Wenk, E. A., Gottfredson, D. M., Summit, R., Radwin, M. Progress in combining a national data base with DIALOG: a general purpose on-line retrieval system for computer assisted parole decision making. Paper presented at the SEARCH symposium in Dallas, Texas, November 10-12, 1970.

West, D. J., and Farrington, D. P. The delinquent way of life. New York: Crane-Russak, 1977.

West, D. J., and Farrington, D. P. Who becomes delinquent? London: Heineman Educational Books Ltd., 1973.

Wilkins, L. T. A re-evaluation of parole prediction: some comments. Criminologica, 1966, 3(4), 9-10.

Wilkins, L. T., and MacNaughton-Smith, P. New prediction and classification methods in criminology. The Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1954, 1, 19-32.

Williams, W. T., and Lambert, J. M. Multivariate methods in plant ecology. Journal of Ecology, Parts I, II, and III, 1959, 47, 83-101; 1960, 48, 680-710; 1961, 49, 717-729.

Wisconsin Division of Corrections. 1971 probation and parole terminations. Planning, Development, and Research Bureau, 1972 (Statistical Bulletin C-56).

Woodring, T. M. A dilemma: rehabilitation and its relationship to recidivism. California Youth Authority Quarterly, 1969, 22(4), 3-8.

Woychick, T. Asociability index scores relationship to adjustment of youthful offenders. Correctional Psychologist, 1970, 4(2), 68-72.

POSTSCRIPT

A wealth of information has been presented in the proceeding chapters and in the Data Maps that complement the text with statistical data. The intention was to do justice to the issues discussed within the limitations imposed by the resources available. Using the Data Maps, practitioners and scientists alike can examine these interesting data; for both, the descriptive data and the text should be of great value.

At this point an important decision will have to be made about a possible second phase of these studies. Arrest histories available on all members of this study population could be utilized in a longitudinal follow-up that would cover most crime-prone years of a person's life. As most of our offenders were about twenty years of age when they were released from the institution, they now are in their early thirties. Most of them no doubt adjusted satisfactorily to life. Some, however, returned to correctional facilities. Some returned after committing serious crimes. It is known, for example, that a few individuals from the non-violent sample in one of the violence prediction studies later committed serious violent crimes. It therefore would seem very important to re-analyze the existing data with longitudinal data included to obtain valuable knowledge about criminal careers.

END