Sanchez, Jose Emilio

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City University of New York PH.D. 1984

AN ASSESSMENT OF CHILDHOOD AND ADULTHOOD FACTORS AS PREDICTORS OF VIOLENT CRIMINALITY AMONG A MALE POPULATION

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1984

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 26, 1984
date

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Abstract

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Adviser: Professor Edward Sagarin

Longitudinal data were collected on 165 lower class, urban males who between 1950 and 1960 were adjudicated juvenile delinquents and interned at the Wiltwyck School for Boys in New York State. Employing case history materials and criminal justice records, this study set out to discern a set of factors which would identify the most dangerous offenders among this high risk population. Childhood and adult factors were examined in turn and together using stepwise regression and tabular analyses. It was found that childhood variables were consistently more powerful predictors of dangerousness than adult factors other than age and a record of previous criminal violence. Using procedures to measure the extent to which these factors were better predictors than chance alone, five key variables were derived. Negative labeling as a child, a record of serious juvenile delinquency, prior incarceration, being under age 30, and a record of previous criminal

violence were significantly better than chance in predicting dangerousness among this high risk group; family related variables were found to be no better than chance alone. However, the best dispositional factors accounted for only a small amount of the variance in the dependent variables. Young age and a record of criminal violence were by far the best predictors. The study supported current knowledge regarding the inability to accurately predict dangerousness, even among a population with a high base-rate of violence. The findings point to the need to extend the current focus on the dangerous offender to situational variables and to the interaction between biography and situation in addition to dispositional predictors.

Acknowledgements

There are many individuals who have in their own unique way been supportive, encouraging, enlightening, challenging and loving to me during the writing of this thesis. They have all been brought together by their independent interest in me and my work. The following are persons who have in some way shared in creating the pages ahead.

First, I want to thank my dissertation committee: Dr. Edward Sagarin of the City University of New York, Dr. William McCord of the City College of New York and Dr. Carl Wiedemann of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Edward Sagarin, the Chairman of the Dissertation Committee, has been my teacher on several occasions - both in and out of class. He is sincerely interested in the progress of his students, motivates them to think, and challenges them at every step. He provided many hours of explanation, discussion and encouragement at various points during the writing of this dissertation where I felt most confused or weak. Edward Sagarin has been an inspiration and has played a crucial role in this study.

William McCord has had a tremendous impact in my thinking, and this work has benefited much from our frequent discussions. I would like to express my gratitude to him for his constant encouragement and understanding. In addition, I am grateful for his generosity, since without

which the data used in this study would not have become available.

Carl Wiedemann led me through the methodological and statistical mazes which I often created for myself during the course of this study. He spent hours upon hours helping me to better understand the nature of my results. I would like to thank him for his sincere interest in my work and for the consistently enlightening assistance he provided. Working with Carl Wiedemann has been truly a learning experience.

I would also like to express my gratitude to other individuals whose teaching has influenced me: Professors Joseph Bensman, Betty Yorburg, Sigmund Tobias, Stephen Thayer and the late George O'Neill of the City College of New York.

In addition, I would like to thank several individuals who, as colleagues, have been a very important source of support for me: Professors Alan Arcuri, Alan Cohen, Marsha Hershman, Leonard Kline, Larry Nutt and John Richert. I want to thank especially Professor Fred Montanino who read much of the manuscript and provided many constructive comments. He has been and continues to be a wonderful colleague and friend.

I want to thank the American Sociological Association Minority Fellowship Program and the National Institute of Mental Health for their economic support during the last three years. Specifically, I am thankful to Mr. Ed Cline

and Dr. Paul Williams, of the American Sociological Association, who have been extremely helpful during this time.

Some of my students have been an important source of support throughout this endeavor. I specifically want to thank Laura Bolcar, Terrie Borelli, Richard Byer, Clement Lewis, Bonnie Putterman, Don O'Holloran and Susan O'Neill of Stockton State College, Guillermo Chavarria of the City College of New York, and Garth Roberts of Hunter College. My thanks also go out to all of my students, past and present.

Other persons derserve my thanks for all of their kindness and concern: Gail Gregson and Janice Shockley of Stockton State College and Vivian Cox of the City College of New York.

I am grateful to Gwen McClarren who typed the manuscript. I want to thank her for having been conscientious, hard-working, unrelenting in her striving for perfection, and for always being a friend.

I want to thank my wife, Laura Ciavarella-Sanchez, who has been my most important source of emotional support. I am truly fortunate to know her. The deep trust and love that binds our relationship proved to be stronger than the many pressures we encountered during the writing of this work. I love her for who she is and for what she has done for me.

My in-laws, Frank and Mary Ciavarella, have been very supportive throughout this endeavor. I thank them for their kindness. In addition, I want to thank Paula Ciavarella, Frank Ciavarella, John Ciavarella, Robert Ciavarella and Mike, Linda and Lauren Hamar for their encouragement and consistent support.

Finally, I am most grateful to my parents. *Le quiero dar las gracias a mís padres, Emilio y Ana Sánchez, que han puesto tanto esfuerzo en ayudarme a llegar adonde estoy. En gran parte es por ellos que la carrera mía en sociología comenzó, y es por ellos que la he podido terminar. Les doy mi amor y las gracias por todo lo que han hecho por mi. También le quiero dar mi carino a mi hermana y a su esposo, Caridad y Emilio Osoria, y a mis sobrinos Jo Anna y Emilito.*

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CHAPTER I

An Overview of Violent Behavior and the Prediction of Dangerousness

Under the Anglo-American system of law, judges and juries are inevitably involved in prediction. By setting the limits of punishment, they implicitly or explicitly judge empirical questions: How many years in prison will prevent this man from further violent crime? What punishment will deter others from committing the violent crime? How will this judgment affect the security of the community? Answers to each of these questions are predictions. Thus, the real question is: How, if at all, can the necessary predictions made by public agencies become more accurate?

One potential and promising solution to the problem of violent crime, according to some students, is to increase our ability to accurately predict what personal and social factors predispose certain individuals to commit criminal violence (Monahan, 1981). Predictive indices are employed by mental health and criminal justice personnel in order to make decisions as to whether individuals will be likely to engage in future violent behavior. These indices, and the predictive instruments from which they are derived, have not to the present day served reliably to tell us of the fate of an individual after his release from confinement. In fact, their lack

of accuracy has raised great controversy. Accurate instruments presently do not exist. The very attempt to predict a phenomenon such as criminal violence, an act that occurs quite infrequently during a person's life, makes these problems of prediction even more difficult to solve (Gottfredson, 1967). Yet, in spite of these difficulties, and of the state of the art of violence prediction, efforts to improve the reliability of predictions must not be abandoned (ibid., p. 352). Attempts to improve the number of correct predictions (i.e. true-positives and true-negatives) and to reduce the number of incorrect predictions (i.e. false-positives and false-negatives) can be helpful to the present state of the art.

On the other hand, efforts which test the effects of certain predictive factors on violent criminality and result in negative findings similarly serve to enhance the art of prediction. By eliminating certain factors as predictors of violence such efforts reduce the absolute number of possible independent variables while refining the prediction problem for the researcher.

The relative value of prediction research findings is dependent upon such factors as the amount, quality, and breadth of the data, the size and representativeness of the sample, and the statistical manipulation of the variables as well as upon the skills of the researcher. Longitudinal data lends itself most efficiently to prediction research. It is such data that have been collected for the present

study.

Presently the best estimates on the ability to predict violent criminality state that only one-third of all predictions made result in correct judgments (Monahan, 1981). This may be due to a lack of long-term longitudinal research which covers a broad set of factors regarding individuals' lives. As noted, efforts must be made to either reduce the number of incorrect predictions or to reduce the number of factors that the researcher must take into account.

The present study will examine the impact of a number of independent variables upon the rate of violent criminality among a group of once incarcerated males as measured by their arrest data. Thus, it is the purpose of this investigation to test a series of factors as predictors of future criminal violence among males. The findings that such hypothesis testing yields, it is hoped, will contribute to the area of the prediction of dangerousness, to the explanation of violent behavior, and to criminological theory in general.

Prediction in Criminal Justice and Mental Health

> An effective predictive device would make the process of criminal justice more efficient and articulate. It would furnish judges with a means of bringing objectified and organized past experience relevantly to bear on the individual case determining which offenders might be expected to do well on probation, which are more suited to various forms of institutional control, how to deal with different types or recidivists (Glueck and Glueck, 1964:83).

In spite of the many moral and technical problems it raises, prediction is seen by the Gluecks as important and necessary to the control of crime in society. In a sense we still have not lost the need for the magician and the soothsayer who will tell us of tomorrow. Buttressed by the pragmatic orientations of scientific research, government funding, and the goals of scientific control of our world, the disciplines of criminology and criminal justice are compelled to find accurate methods of predicting delinquent and criminal behavior. In fact, predicting who will become criminal is only one area in which prediction is called for; prediction studies play an important role at several junctures along the criminal justice funnel. Similarly the field of mental health, a first cousin of criminal justice, relies heavily on prediction regarding the ability of an ex-patient to adjust to the outside world, as well as to the likelihood that the pre-patient and society might benefit by changing the former's status to that of patient.

Prediction is, according to Shah (1978:225), employed at various points in the legal process.

1. Decisions regarding bail and self-recognizance
2. Decisions to waive juveniles to adult courts
3. Sentencing decisions
4. Decisions regarding furloughs and work-release
5. Parole decisions

6. Determination of dangerousness
7. Decisions pertaining to special treatment
8. Commitment of drug addicts
9. Emergency decisions to commit
10. Decisions regarding conditional/unconditional release
11. Decisions pertaining to hospitalization of those acquitted by reason of insanity
12. Decisions as to the degree of security in the confinement of an individual
13. Decisions concerning extended sentencing requiring special legal proceedings
14. Decisions concerning capital punishment

At the above points in the administration of civil and criminal law prediction is involved as an aid to rational decision-making. And, while in areas such as probation statistical prediction is the most commonly employed, clinical prediction is the predominant method employed in law (Monahan, 1981:118-120) and in predicting who will become dangerous. We could add that predictions are first made at the point of arrest, or even at the point where the police officer makes a determination that a given situation may get "out of line" and decides to attend to it.

The Prediction of Violent Behavior

The criminal justice system has been very interested in the development of research concerning the control of

violent behavior. Yet, research on the prediction of dangerousness does not abound. Psychiatrists, psychologists, and other mental health practitioners have paid much attention to existing research. These professionals are often entangled in decisions involving criminal as well as civil commitment. The data from examinations performed by these individuals is very often employed by judges and parole boards to render decisions deeply affecting the life-style of the subjects in question. For this and other reasons, attempts at predicting violence (or "dangerousness," as it has come to be called) have come under moralistic fire.

The moral objections to predicting who will become violent begin with the very central notions of what are "violence" and "dangerousness." While the controversy is manifestly a definitional one that complicates the research in methodologically relevant ways, it contains the seeds of a moral argument. What is considered violent and/or dangerous is often tinged with political and ideological bias. The non-criminal act of manufacturing a dangerous automobile may not by some be considered as dangerous as the assaultive behavior of, say, a mugger. One is tempted to allude to the notion that certain members of a society may be insulated from a label, while others may not, due to their position in a status hierarchy. One may also allude to the view that corporations, acting as persons in an impersonal way, limit the power of society in its legal

establishments to label particular individuals. The sanctions imposed by labeling the product of a corporation as "dangerous" or "violent" have consequences distinct from the labeling of an individual. The first may have economic consequences due to decrease in sales or loss of license to operate, the latter may feel the impact in all spheres of his life. In other cases, the definition of violence includes, in addition to the physical attack upon persons, injury to property or another's reputation (Rubin, 1972; Mulvihill and Tumin, 1969); in some cases even the experiencing of fantasies of committing harm against others or their property are to be included in the definition (Ervin and Lion, 1969); and even when these acts are aimed against the self they will be subsumed under the definition.

The lack of specificity in defining what violence and dangerousness mean raises methodological problems regarding the criterion variables and how these will be measured; thus, the problem of establishing a "cutting score." As will be recalled, Monahan (1981) reminds us that where one sets a cutting score is more a political than a scientific decision. These methodological problems are partly responsible for the lack of accuracy of most predictive schemes. And it is this very lack of accuracy of violence prediction that has come under moral as well as methodological attack. According to Monahan (1981), the American Psychological Association (1978) and the American Psychiatric Association (1974), among others, predictions of dangerous behavior are

not yet accurate enough to justify sentences imposed upon individuals. The problem of the "false-positives" continues to lurk in the background of the act of predicting violence. According to Monahan (1981:77)

> ...it could be fair to conclude that the best clinical evidence indicates that psychiatrists and psychologists are accurate in no more than one out of three predictions of violent behavior over a several-year period among institutionalized populations that had both committed violence in the past (and thus had high base rates for it) and who were diagnosed as mentally ill.

Such little success in predicting who will become violent adds fuel to the controversy of whether prediction is possible at all. Other attacks on predicting violence or dangerousness are related to the lack of accuracy: If it is so that clinicians are accurate only one-third of the time, are they not denying the basic rights of some to incarcerate others? This argument has been spearheaded by Thomas Szasz (1963). He objects to the political nature of the label "dangerous." For, "it is not dangerous in general that is at issue here, but rather the manner in which one is dangerous" (p. 46). In fact, Szasz would claim that a person who "'acts' paranoid" may be less dangerous than a person who drinks to excess and then drives, yet only the former may be committed to an asylum. Naturally, mental health personnel are often the ones called upon to make the diagnosis and disposition of these cases. In this way, the status honor which contaminates their occupations

permits these clinicians to gain access to power which may have serious implications for social control. This characteristic adds a policing role to the clinician's more humanitarian interest in the well-being of individuals. Steadman (1972), in a careful study (see also Steadman and Cocozza, 1974) of the interrelations between the mental health and criminal justice systems and the violators' careers as they travel between and through these systems, explores the conservative role of the psychiatrist. The police power of the court in the involuntary commitment of a criminal defendant is a power virtually allocated to the psychiatrist at the time of examination (1972:264). Steadman (1972) also considers the political and administrative pressures that befall many a psychiatrist and influence many a decision to label and/or commit.

The effects of predicting who will become violent may also affect some groups of society more than others. Upon skimming of the literature on the etiology of violence one finds many demographic variables such as sex, age, race, social class, residence, drug use, prior criminal record (Wolfgang, 1969; Scott, 1977; Monahan, 1981). Very often the categories within the above variables which best predict violence and/or dangerousness are occupied by the most disadvantaged members of society. The dilemma for social scientists becomes who to blame. Does one blame the powerful in society, or does one blame those who respond to the plight of their situation and to

discrimination and prejudice with violence against society? Is this not further oppression and discrimination? All kinds of implications can be derived as to the political latent purposes of violence prediction. Certainly, such power as that attained by those who claim to have the ability to predict a person's future has been and, probably, will be always a temptation that is open to misuse.

It would follow that such power can be extended to other researchers who, like the present author, seek to discover the most powerful correlates of violent criminality, as well as those who delve into areas such as child abuse, wife battering, suicide, etc. Ideally, the statistical findings of such research will be used by mental health and criminal justice personnel to increase their predictive acumen. Inasmuch as such statistical research is employed in the decision to detain an individual or extend his sentence, the power held by the psychiatrist contaminates the researcher. And, insofar as research in the field of violence is still inconclusive and relatively inconsistent in defining its predictors and criteria, the researcher shares in the blame invoked by the argument regarding the political nature of prediction. Those who wish to support a political view may find available a selection of perspectives, each supported by the legitimacy of scientific/intellectual institutions, to validate their position. The lack of definitional consensus, the riches

of small, specific studies and the lack of theoretical closure, as well as political pressures from administrative and community sources, provide the vast selection of interpretations of the available research. Current research must address itself to such issues, if it is to make a contribution to a still somewhat muddled area of human life.

The Etiology of Violent Behavior

What causes an individual to act out violent behavior? A variety of answers have been provided for this question. For some, violence (or the propensity for it) is biologically built into the individual and it becomes society's job to keep checks on its potential to realize itself in behavior. For others, violent behavior is either learned or culturally transmitted to individuals as members of society, through reward, punishment, and modeling. Yet for others the violent acts of an individual (from suicide, homicide, vandalism to fantasies of violence) are determined by subcultural, societal and cultural disjunctions and/or specific institutional configurations. The above divisions of theory are broad and arbitrary; comparative examination of specific approaches within these raises their differences into focus.

Biological Factors

At the biological level, studies regarding violent behavior have focused on physiological structure, orthomolecular factors, heredity, neurological factors, and chemical imbalances. Many of such studies have as their

central purpose the explanation of criminal behavior in general through the explanation of violent criminality. The phrenology of Gall spoke of the "lower propensities" of man, the control of which was relegated to his moral sentiments. The anthropometry of Lombroso in his studies of atavism (Fink, 1938), the research of Sheldon (1949) into mesomorphy, and the continuation of this habit of mind by the Gluecks (1950; 1956), and Cortés (1972) make up the backbone of biological theories of violence based on physiological structure. These theories are criticized regarding their lack of empirical support, and their inability to describe the connection between these physical attributes and violent or even criminal behavior.

Other theorists have delved into other areas of biology, and have also been severely criticized. The work on endocrinological imbalance, begun in Germany by Wohler in 1828, possessed an image of man as a chemical thing. The most exciting work in this area was initiated in the United States by Louis Berman (1921) who attempted to explain personality differences as produced by glandular defects. This work in biology entered the criminological scene through Schlapp and Smith (1928) who proclaimed themselves as the founders of the "new criminology" based on the argument that imbalances in the endocrinological system produced emotional disturbances, which were to be related to criminality. The connections between the work of Berman and that of Schlapp and Smith are clearly discernible. Other

early studies have found, at best, spurious relationships between glandular disorders and criminality.

Similar inconsistencies exist in the application of glandular disorders for explaining sex offenses (MacNamara and Sagarin, 1977). And, recently, there is great interest in the area of female criminality and its relation to pre-menstrual cycles. One of the problems with biological explanation is that too often an attempt is made to explain one level of facts with another. Crimes are more than just behavior, they are also legal categories and labels which may be applied to acts as well as to persons. The relationship between the symbolic and legal and the biological orders is very complicated, and these theories do not provide criminologists with all of the links in the causal chain. In fact, little is known regarding what is "normal" behavior, sexual or otherwise. The findings in this area leave much to question, but a fertile area still remains for study since so many connections need to be found. A most modest conclusion can be derived from the research in this field: hormonal imbalance, while a contributing factor, is one among many other independent variables; albeit, a facilitating factor.

Other research focuses on the brain and its relation to violence and/or crime. The inconclusive research on EEG patterns, the limbic system, chromosomal triplication (XYY) and orthomolecular imbalances and brain allergies, has also left criminologists confused. Similar problems have been

found with the research on learning disabilities and their relationship to criminality (Murray, 1976). There is still question as to whether a learning disability has social determinants or biological origins. There would appear to be several factors to be controlled such as labeling and social class, to mention only two of many. Other students have focused on the ethological bases of violent or aggressive behavior. The key proponent of this view has been Lorenz (1958; 1963) who claims that aggression has a preservative function for organisms, and has evolved into ritual responses between animals other than man. In man, however, this instinct has gone out of control; aggression has become a source of threat rather than survival. This, Lorenz claims, is due to the technological advances which have interfered with the natural processes of selection.

The above represents a sketchy depiction of biological theories of violence and/or aggression. While recognizing that there is a vast literature on the biology of violent behavior, I am limited not only by the depth of my knowledge in this area, but by the scope and circumference of the present research as well. But, before concluding these brief remarks on this topic, I must not leave the reader with the impression that biological criminology attempts to explain all of human behavior solely by invoking biological factors.

Biological explanations of crime and violence have come a long way since Lombroso's day. Current research in the areas of genetics, endocrinology, neurology, and brain physiology consist of carefully controlled experiments which, while focusing on biology, give the environment relatively equal valence. No biological criminologist today would fail to recognize the importance of psychosocial factors in explaining behavior. Let the reader beware, however, that there are still the remains of the nature-nurture controversy and that not to recognize these vestiges of an old argument would render our presentation extremely optimistic. As McClearn (1969) notes:

> The causes of aggression are currently being examined with an unprecedented vigor, impelled by the urgency of many of our contemporary social problems. The social, behavioral, and biological sciences are all concerned with this evaluation, and the data and concepts from their domains are being invoked in an attempt to understand the causes of violence. Unfortunately, a residual from the old nature-nurture controversy impedes the exchange of ideas and concepts among these various disciplines. There often appears to be among social scientists an implicit (and sometimes explicit) feeling that any point conceded to biological factors is one point less for social and behavioral factors...there is no merit in the old proposition that puts nature against nurture as logically incompatible forces. The factors and processes that constitutes the domain of the biological scientist interacts continuously with those of the social scientist. (p. 980, emphases added).

Thus, as can be inferred from the McClearn quotation above, the biological approach to human behavior, while suffering from some of its old ailments, has in its mature years begun to recognize its limitations and the size of its relative

contribution to the study of violent behavior. It behooves social and behavioral scientists also to subscribe to a more mature perspective regarding the relationship of the organism to the person.

Armed with such information, the empirical work on chromosomal abnormalities (Jacobs, 1965; Baker et al., 1970), orthmolecular imbalances (Hoffer, 1975; Pawlak, 1972; Hippchen, 1978), disorders of the limbic system (Mark and Ervin, 1970), brain injury and disorders (Mark and Ervin, 1970; Sweet et al., 1969), and genetics (Scott, 1978; Guhl et al., 1960; Levine et al., 1965) will appear less threatening to the social scientist. These elements, it is clear, may be seen as providing propensities - some limiting, others facilitative - whose effect on human behavior may only be assessed when taking into account their interactions with situational, social, cultural, and personality variables. And, while it is relatively easy to attack late 19th and early 20th century biological criminology, current research presents a greater challenge since it is armed with carefully conducted empirical research combined with a mature and flexible perspective.

Psychological Factors

At another level of analysis, one of greater scope than the biological, violent behavior is seen as the

product of psychological forces and/or impairments. Among these one finds theories emphasizing innate drives mediated by the psychosocial structures of the psyche; learning, through modeling and conditioning; childhood deprivations; improper socialization; inadequate intellectual functioning; and inadequate and/or harmful early relationships with parental figures. A well-known perspective is the psychoanalytic approach, the foundations of which are derived from the work of Sigmund Freud. In this view individuals possess basic drives; the two most relevant of these being the sexual (libidinal) and aggressive drives. Freud's abhorrence of man's inhumanity to man during the First World War led him to postulate a "death instinct." For him, man was bent on destroying himself and others, and could do very little about such a state of affairs. For Freud the instinct to commit violence was pervasive in human society, and even in criminal law:

> Civilization has to use its utmost efforts in order to set limits to man's aggressive instincts and to hold the manifestation of them in check by psychical reaction formation.... In spite of every effort, these endeavors of civilization have not so far achieved very much. It hopes to prevent the evident excesses by brutal violence against criminals, but the law is not able to lay hold of the more cautious and refined manifestations of human aggressiveness (1961:59).

When combined with sexuality such an instinct actualizes itself in forms of sexual aberrations such as masochism and

sadism. Freud's formulation of a death instinct has been criticized by social and behavioral scientists and not supported by empirical evidence.

In other ways, violence and crime have been explained by psychoanalytic theory. For example, violent crime might be seen as symbolic behavior which actualizes internal psychological conflicts; students holding this view include Healy and Bronner (1936), Robert Lindner (1944) and Abrahamsen (1967), among many and including Freud himself.

Psychological theorists have also employed a learning perspective to explain violent behavior, with variations regarding the learning techniques employed. Some perspectives emphasize classical and/or operant conditioning while others place their focus on imitation and modeling, as well as a combination of all these techniques.

A brand of learning theory has been known by the term "behaviorism," coined by J. B. Watson (1930) for whom the subject matter of human psychology was the behavior or activities of the human being. Behaviorism, with its commitment to positivism, ignored to a large extent subjective concepts that the psychologist could not observe. Later refinements of the theory were created by B. F. Skinner (1953), who introduced operant, in contrast to the earlier classical, conditioning of Pavlov and other associationist theorists. It is to Skinner's merit to have demonstrated the great plasticity and malleability of the human being by engaging in conditioning experiments in shaping behavior in

ways previously thought to be against "innate tendencies."

Behind such work is the idea that regardless of what man is thought to be as an organism, he can learn to become different, and the society in which he lives can have a great deal of influence in this process. In fact, Skinner's Walden Two (1948) is an attempt to create a cybernetic utopia based on the principles of operant conditioning - here all problems of human beings could be solved by a scientific technology of behavior.

The behavioristic study of violent behavior is clearly put forth by Buss (1961). He views aggression as a response which delivers noxious stimuli to another organism, without the need to take into account "intent." The notion of intent is an invisible concept to Buss, as a behaviorist, and such a view is in agreement with the positivist-behaviorist position of Skinner that only observable phenomena may be the subject of scientific research.

Interesting experimental demonstrations have been conceived which attempt to study man's destructive side. The experiments by Milgram (1963), by Zimbardo (1972), and by Bandura and his colleagues are the most famous. In the first it was shown by Milgram that individuals under the influence of external authority can be made to hurt their fellows. In the second, provided with authority over others, Zimbardo's subjects embraced the guard role to an almost sadistic degree. They inflicted great "pains of imprisonment" on those subjects who were assigned to the role of

prisoner, and acted as if the experiment was no longer an experiment but a real situation. Naturally, these findings have come under scrutiny by some (see Fromm, 1973). Other interesting psychological experiments on violence and aggression are found in Bandura and Walters (1964) and Bandura (1973). As adherents of learning theory, Bandura and Walters were interested in demonstrating how violent behavior is learned through observation of a model and through vicarious reinforcement.

Bandura and his colleagues were interested in showing the effects of observation on the learning of aggressive behavior. They based their studies on the conditioning-reinforcement theory of the behaviorists. In one experiment they showed that children who were exposed to a model insulting, beating and mistreating a Bo-Bo doll tended to imitate such behavior. Other children who were not exposed to an aggressive model were less likely, after frustration, to strike the doll.

Next, Bandura and his staff compared the effects of real-life models with that of filmed models in conditioning aggressive behavior. They found out the most effective model in producing aggressive behavior in the children was the filmed human model. Children who observed either a live human model or a human dressed as a cartoon character demonstrated less aggressive behavior. The three groups taken together, however, when compared to a control group, which saw no aggressive models, tended to be more aggressive.

In a third experiment by the same researchers, the aggressive models were either reinforced or punished for their aggression. The results indicated that the nursery school children who were exposed to a rewarded aggressive model demonstrated more aggressive behavior than those who observed the punishment of aggressive acts. They concluded that the perceived success of the models' aggression by the children vicariously reinforced them, thus increasing the probability that the observed behavior would be imitated. Thus, Bandura and his assistants combined learning through observation and through operant conditioning in their explanation.

As convincing as these studies appear to be, they invite criticisms. The setting of a laboratory serves very often to simplify the complex nature of the world, the social as well as natural. (See Klapper, 1968; and Liebert, Neale and Davidson, 1973.) In addition one might ask what the purpose of a Bo-Bo doll is in the first place. This inflatable toy is made to bounce back when punched or kicked. Its obvious purpose as a toy, the way in which one plays with it, is as an object of aggressive play - a punching bag. The children were, in fact, acting according to what is deemed to be proper behavior in relation to a Bo-Bo doll.

In spite of the above criticisms, the Bandura research has served to teach social scientists very important lessons about how humans learn, and how they learn to aggress. Observation not only teaches a person the techniques by which

he can become aggressive, but also when to act in such ways. This way of acting becomes part of an individual's behavior repertoire due to its inherent capacity to reinforce and be reinforced. Aggressive behavior may be seen as a drive reduction mechanism; as a way to attain self-esteem in societies where manhood is expressed through aggression; as a way of gaining acceptance into a peer group; or as a way to obtain economic or social goals. Success in some of these areas may help to generalize the use of aggression to other areas of life (Walters and Brown, 1963). And punishment of aggressive behavior may serve as a model through which violent behavior may be learned.

Along similar lines, observing violent behavior may have a cathartic effect on the observer. According to this premise aggression can be vicariously drained off by watching violent television programs or through reading violent novels or other literature. Aggression may also be drained off through its behavioral expression upon a "safe" target - a substitute object. The theoretical and empirical case for the cathartic effects of observing violence is quite weak. This is the case especially in the area of television watching. Many dollars are at stake here, and television executives have a great deal to gain by making a case to support these hypotheses. Researchers feel that when the hero gets the girl, the success, and the fame after beating and/or killing the "bad guys," observational learning of aggressive behavior is vicariously rein-

forced (Feshbach, 1970; Bandura, 1973). As the debate continues, and economic stakes remain high, the evidence for both sides remains inconclusive regarding these questions.

Social Factors

To the rather sketchy list of biological and psychological explanations must be added those explanations which focus on the social milieu and social factors as generators of violent behavior. Among social factors, one can include crowding, lower class membership, ethnicity, rising aspirations, deprivation, differential socialization, cultural conflict, blocked opportunity, need for status, among others. Due to the macroscopic nature of their discipline, sociologists concern themselves with various forms of violent behavior. Riots, vigilantism, crime, war revolution, and other mass forms of aggression fall under the purview of the sociologist.

Emile Durkheim was an early student of aggressive behavior. In his Division of Labor in Society (1933), Rules of Sociological Method (1950), and Suicide (1951), Durkheim explored crime and suicide as "social facts," defined as "every way of action, fixed or not, capable of exercising on the individual an external constraint" (1950:2). Social facts are not amenable to individual control but rather influence the individual and give sociology a subject matter, a province. For Durkheim crime and suicide were normal in society, they could be found universally. Derived from

this, aggression against the self and against others is a universal and, thus, normal phenomenon. For example, how cohesive a given group is determines the rate of suicide in such a group: The greater the cohesiveness between the group members, the lower the suicide rate. However, should this cohesion become extreme, suicide rates would rise proportionately. Thus, during "normal times" a society experiences a "normal rate." Declines or increases in suicides that drastically exceed the normal rates indicate "pathology" in the society. These pathological states are characterized by extreme altruism, egoism or the presence of anomie.

Crime is also intimately connected with normal and pathological states in society. As a normal phenomenon, crime is unavoidable and extreme reductions in society are considered the product of pathological conditions. A society without crime was unimaginable for Durkheim. Such a society would have to be one where either no act is defined as criminal or where even the smallest of pecadillos would incur a restrictive response. In the first society egoism would reach extreme levels, in the second altruism would be extreme. Such societies would, according to Durkheim's studies on suicide, be breeding grounds for suicidal behavior. As such, aggressive behavior is an unavoidable and even beneficial fact of living in society. Some crime or suicide, according to this view, is an indication that the society is not stagnant, and that social progress and social change

are possible. However, too rapid social change could have its impact on suicide and crime rates. Drastic changes in society produce anomie, individuals being declassed as their social bonds are broken between them and their fellows, their station in life, and the collective consciousness. For Durkheim social change was to be slow and gradual, and crime and suicide would exist at a normal, optimal level. Societies that permit fluid mobility between strata increase the pulls of anomie on individuals - stratified societies ultimately become anomic societies.

This thread was followed by Merton (1938) who discussed anomie as a causal factor in social deviance. Lack of culturally acceptable means, with the influence of an unattainable and legitimate cultural goal, led to adaptations based on such conflict. Thus, some individuals may reject the idea of hard work as an avenue toward reaching success while accepting success as a goal. Some of these individuals may resort to violent personal crime in order to achieve these goals. In addition, others may reject both the means and goals provided by society and do violence to their bodies in the form of heroin use or suicide. Yet others will reject the culturally prescribed goals and replace the acceptable means with those which they may consider more valid. To do this these individuals may have to resort to committing violence against the existing political institutions.

Merton's views have been seen as only depicting one

side of the world, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) extended his views into the difficulties with innovating. The theory of anomie was combined with cultural transmission theory as an effort to explain the various forms that delinquency took. Individuals who accepted the adaptation of "innovation" (Merton, 1938) were to find obstacles to opportunity even after they had adapted to those of society. For in the illegitimate world of innovation there were standards of means and ends as well. Individuals not possessing the necessary attitudes and skills to join the upper ranks of crime were weeded out into other groups. The "conflict" and "retreatist" subcultures were available for some of these individuals. More so in the criminal and conflict subcultures than in the retreatist, violent crime was an important part of the subcultural way of life. Clearly, violence against the self predominates in the retreatist subculture.

Another argument which places the emphasis on lower-class membership is that of Cohen (1955). Delinquency for Cohen has a malicious, hedonistic and negativistic nature. The boy rebelled against the conventional morality of society as an attempt to reintegrate his self-concept and regain self-esteem. The battleground for Cohen, however, is the school - where middle-class values are expounded and espoused by the teacher. The failure of lower class boys leads to reaction formation through which conventional values become negative and their opposite is given legitimacy.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) see poverty, residential instability, and low I.Q. as related to becoming a chronic offender. These factors facilitate entry into the subculture of violence where violent behavior is demanded of members.

One might extend their formulations to certain associations in society which are organized for political or racial violence. Among individuals belonging to groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, FALN, the Weathermen, etc., violence is a frequently demanded behavior that is legitimate when applied against the appropriate out-group. Further, the successful deployment of aggression may bring prestige and status to aggressive individuals within these groups. The means of conventional society are viewed as ineffective and are replaced by violent means that are viewed as efficient. Further, violence against the enemy may be rationalized away through "techniques of neutralization" (Sykes and Matza, 1967) as when an individual denies the status of the victim, injury committed, or appeals to the higher loyalties of his group.

While the subculture of violence is interesting as an explanation of the existence of aggressive behavior in society, there are other factors which determine whether or not violence will occur between groups. For example, certain social conditions are conducive to certain patterns of behavior - some of which may be violent. The lack of availability

of legitimate channels of expression may be conducive to creating illegitimate ones. Competition between workers in capitalist society may create lines of cleavage placing two racial or ethnic groups at odds for limited occupational resources (Coleman, 1956; Coser, 1956; Dahrendorf, 1958; Smelser, 1962; Simpson and Yinger, 1965; Blalock, 1970; Bonacich, 1972).

Another source is structural strain stemming from conflict between norms and values (i.e. lack of clarity regarding the behavior demanded by a situation). Such strain produces anomie or alienation (Seeman, 1959). Subjective deprivation, the feeling of not getting a fair share of the available resources' may cause some to attempt to change the conditions of life violently (Gurr, 1970). Similar attacks may be made by groups who fear the loss of their present security to others who are undeserving. Both superordinate and subordinate groups may feel exploited and unjustly served.

Other important causal variables in the exploration of violent behavior include urban vs. rural residence and, related to those, crowding, anonymity, and modernity. Experiments on the social behavior of rats living in crowded conditions demonstrate the impact of crowding on the behavior of organisms. According to J. B. Calhoun (1963) rats that were placed in an overcrowded "behavioral sink" developed intense viciousness and destructiveness against each other. Cannibalism as well as homosexuality developed

among the rats. Clahoun's radically social-ecological perspective led him to conclude that it was the physical conditions presented by the behavioral sink that were at the root of these behaviors.

Other social ecologists, like Louis Wirth for example, see the urban environment as one which breeds impersonality, a balsé attitude, rationality, superficiality in the inhabitants (Wirth, 1938). These conditions, it may be argued, can facilitate tolerance toward aggressive behavior - expecting it as a normal part of urban living. Similarly, the studies by Milgram (1970) attempt to demonstrate that urban inhabitants experience stimulus "overload" due to the large numbers, high density and heterogeneity of the population. They are less likely to get involved when someone is in trouble, less likely to do favors for others, more harried. In order to avoid an overload of stimulation they curtail their moral and social involvement with others. There is just not time to care about and interact with everyone. The view represented here by Wirth (1938) and Milgram (1970) is less radical than that of those who sympathize with Calhoun's perspective. For the former violence is mediated by negative social-psychological reactions to urban life.

Not everyone, however, views city life negatively, nor as a crucial causal variable. According to Gans (1962), for example, cities would be violent because of concentration of particular subpcpulations in them. For him ecological

factors are not as important as, for example, the characteristics of the groups settling in urban areas. In fact, cities provide their inhabitants with a taste for the different and facilitate sophistication. The contact between different subgroups is a key contributing factor. Similar views have been put forth by Oscar Lewis (1965). Neither Lewis nor Gans found anonymity and impersonality in urban life. Urban life, they contend, is not mass living, but habitation in small groups, such as families, churches and natural communities with traditional values. What changes the character of such groups is their values, which in some cases, as in a slum, may be violent ones.

Sociologists have been greatly concerned with the processes of secularization, industrialization and modernization as explanations for today's social problems - whether mental illness, crime, pollution, or violence. These structural processes are said to create the modal personalities of specific historical periods. For example, Ted Gurr (1979), after comparing the crime rates of the United States with those of various European countries and Japan, concludes that there is a decline in America. The crime wave experienced during the 1960's was seeing its ebb during the late 1970's. Gurr notes that during the 1960's the authority of many American as well as European institutions was challenged. Post-industrial values emphasized peace, toleration and social progress. These values facilitated a turning away from material concerns and

a turning toward social and sexual satisfactions, and they coexisted with a disdain for authority. He notes that: "The most devastating episodes of public disorder seem to occur when these kinds of crises coincide with changes in values" (1970:370).

Gurr continues by connecting his argument to the hypothesis that legitimate violence between nations usually brings about an increase in interpersonal violence, Vietnam being an illustration here. Archer and Gartner (1976), in support of this hypothesis, demonstrate a bulging of homicide after wars and find the legitimation of violence explanation consistent with the evidence. Another important correlate of crime waves, especially violent crime, is that of the size of the youthful population, those between the ages 14 and 24. According to the FBI (1975) and the Bureau of the Census (1977), males between the ages of 13 and 20 made up 9% of the population and comprised more than one-half of arrests for property crimes and more than one-third of all arrests for crimes involving violence (Zimring, 1979). Zimring notes decreases in most crimes since 1970 with the exception of aggravated assault. And this exception, he argues, may be due to changes in reporting practices. These findings support the notion that there is a decrease in the rate of violent crime since the 1960's. Historical evidence brings home the point that after "baby-booms" crime rates tend to swell (Gillis, 1974; Pierre et al., 1977; Silberman, 1980). Silberman, for example, while

recognizing that birth rates are declining, and with these the size of the projected "dangerous" population and the crime rates, places a wedge of embarrassment in this optimism. He claims that although the population of individuals between ages 14 and 24 is decreasing, this is not the case for all groups in America. Blacks, Chicanos, and Hispanics, who take a large place among the ranks of those arrested for crimes, have not experienced as large a decline in birth rates as their white Anglo counterparts. This will mean that since these groups are more likely to inhabit ghetto areas and face more blocked opportunities, the projected swelling of their 14-24 population threatens to increase criminal violence. Since "demographic overload" is difficult to handle with traditional socialization channels, youths will have to spend more time with those of their own age, segregated from adults. Silberman adds that, compared with previous generations, present youth has become more financially independent, which has served to increase their needs and demands. Increased wants and lack of parental controls, he claims, are the ingredients of a lethal force which he calls the "invading army," and warns us to "Beware the Day They Change Their Minds."

These frightening words are echoed by students of gang activity, the current dean of whom may be said to be Walter Miller. Miller (1975) conducted a nationwide study encompassing six of the largest cities in the United States. Among several important findings of his research was the

discovery that one of the salient features of present day gangs is their weaponry. More than any other time in history youth gangs are "armed to the teeth" with weapons ranging from revolvers to bazookas. And, a majority of these gangs are ethnically Black, Chicano or Puerto Rican. Wesley Skogan (1979) too, as Gurr and Silberman, asserts that "because the fertility level for Black females (although reduced) is substantially above that for whites, Blacks will continue to contribute disproportionately to the crime count at least into the next century" (p. 387).

The diffusion of "hippie values" through the mass media, and the misinterpretation and popularization of these, laid the groundwork for the "me" generation of the 1970's (Lasch, 1979). What Gurr (1970) calls "aggressive hedonism" developed during the 1960's and led many to seek personal satisfactions without much attention being paid to the means. It was such hedonism that may be used to account for the decline in birth rates. "If the Western crime wave of the 1960's does continue to ebb, it will be partly because the invisible hand of hedonism has dictated that an unprecedented proportion of young adults...forego having the children who would become the potential criminals and victims of the 1980's" (Gurr, 1979:371).

In addition to a declining birth rate, Gurr ascribes some impact of a reaffirmation of older moral values and a retreat from the individual freedom brought by the 1960's.

It would seem, however, that such reaffirmation may revive old prejudices and bring about decreases in the national budget portions that will go to depressed groups. It seems to me that such a development could generate unprecedented rebellion from groups in society that will experience the expanding gap of relative deprivation and will respond to it with violence.

Many writers (Geis, 1967; Slater, 1970; Commager, 1971; Brown, 1975; Silberman, 1980) see American violence as ingrained into the social structure. Slater for example, accuses Americans of living under the myth that they are not a violent people. Gradually, however, this myth has been eroding due to the unavoidable, buffeting reality of present-day violence. "Today the chuckle is gone, the respect more genuine, for the casual violence of American life has become less casual, and its victims threaten to include those other than the disadvantaged" (1970:29).

Roy Francis (1965) identifies some important American cultural themes: force, speed, and violence. These, he claims, "appear in virtually every aspect of public life" (p. 328): he includes the violence which is a part of the social, political, military, economic and intellectual orders. The forms encompass such diverse patterns of aggression as "the psychologist's new-found power in the experimental setting in which he can violently reorient the actors in a situation" (p. 331), the psychiatric application of electric shock, instrument throwing

musicians, as well as war and crime. While Francis (1965) may be commended for his anthropological insights regarding some of the dominant themes of American society, he overstates these by focusing on them and missing others. In American society, themes of "equality," "fair play," "talking things out," and "staying out of trouble," exist in conjunction with those described by Francis, and may be seen as forces which modify the expression of aggression. One can agree with Francis as long as such limitations are recognized. Henry Steele Commager (1971) insightfully locates countless sources of violence in American society, some of which are legitimate and others which are not. Americans have aggressed against each other in countless ways. Religious violence, racial violence, consumer violence, violence against the environment, criminal violence, political violence, violence against foreign nations, all are familiar to Americans. And for Francis: "Violence, like order, is a seamless web. It is not feasible to indulge lawlessness and violence in one realm of society and government and to decry it in others.... So we can say that those who visit wanton violence and destruction on others will find violence and destruction at home" (p. 24).

If we are to castigate some for acting violently, then we will often have to indict ourselves, as well as those who are powerful and who often help to define the norms of society. Criminal violence is one of those forms of aggression which is according to official statistics' overrepre-

sented by the more powerless in American society. This form of aggression is often exploited by the media to sell subscriptions, or products and services, and often create images of crime waves. Criminal violence, in this broader context, becomes a single aspect of the very broad concept of violence. The present study is limited by its focus on the former. It is further limited by its focus on four types of violent crime (those directed against persons and not necessarily property), murder, robbery, aggravated assault, and forcible rape. Other crimes such as arson and vandalism which would qualify as violent under a more general definition will not be examined in the present research. These parameters of the present study are further limited by the nature of the sample employed for this research. The sample in the study is composed of boys, later become men, who at some point during their youth were incapacitated by official social control agencies. This is not a study of the differences between the sample and other individuals having no formal contacts with the criminal or juvenile justice systems, but who might or might not have been involved in equally serious delinquency. While this limits my research, it does not interfere with comparisons between those arrested for property vs. personal crime, which will be crucial in this study. Further, the types of crime being studied here are those that are most often reported, with the possible exception of rape.

In sum, seen from a broad context, this research is a

miniscule, but hopefully valuable, attempt to study a vast territory.

Summary of the Literature

The literature on prediction confronts empirical as well as moral problems. These problems lie at the core of various ongoing debates within this literature. Powerful attacks on prediction of violent criminality have been offered by those who question the basic assumption that prediction is possible (Halleck, 1967; Dershowitz, 1969; American Psychiatric Association, 1974; Diamond, 1974; Ennis and Emery, 1978; American Psychological Association, 1978).

For some theorists and researchers prediction of violent behavior may lead to serious injustices regarding the rights of certain individuals. As such, prediction takes on a political quality (Conrad and Dinitz, 1977). The trouble begins when decision-makers within the criminal justice system arm themselves with research studies which draw a profile of the person most likely to become a violent criminal. Making use of prediction studies as a basis for keeping an individual in confinement can lead to errors of prediction which can seriously undermine democratic principles (Szasz, 1963). This sort of activity can go further to assign the mental health professional or the criminologist a social control function (Peszke, 1975). Such a role is in too many cases opposed by individuals in those professions. Another source of

injustice in the prediction of violent criminality may come from the predictors that are used. For example, sex, age, race, SES, etc. are factors that are associated with patterns of discrimination and prejudice in American society. For prediction based upon these factors, Ryan (1971) claims, may further disadvantage those who are most victimized in America. Certainly this is an area in which science and morality do not work hand-in-hand.

Finally, the question of accuracy calls forth further moral implications. Some students of the problem have asked, "How accurate is accurate enough?" How many false-positives do we have to keep in confinement in order to prevent one false-negative from hurting someone? Furthermore, "Is this degree of relationship sufficiently great to justify preventive intervention [and] what represents an acceptable trade-off between the values of public safety and individual liberty?" (Wenk et al., 1972:402).

The consequences of the prediction of violent criminality may range from denying release to an inmate to imposing a death penalty (Shah, 1978). Thus, in contrast to other forms of prediction (e.g. academic success, marital longevity), the prediction of violent criminality raises serious moral questions. The reason may be found in the application or misapplication of the findings and the purposes toward which these findings are aimed. Prevention of violent criminality through prediction has the danger of becoming, according to some students, a denial of

basic human rights. Yet, one cannot overlook the fact that the more successful our efforts at prediction become the more individual liberties for a majority may be protected. This is the argument of many researchers who stress the need of prediction.

Those researchers who believe in the validity of prediction efforts disagree among themselves on the importance attributed to certain predictors over others. For some childhood factors are weak predictors (see, for example, Clinard, 1974; Jessor and Jessor, 1977). While for others (Robins, 1966; Block, 1971; Weiner and Smith, 1977; J. McCord, 1979), childhood predictors are crucial. The latter studies indicate the importance of family atmosphere during childhood and of child-rearing practices in the prediction of future criminality. Many psychiatrists and psychologists agree that certain childhood factors, such as poor father identification, maternal deprivation, childhood violence and parental brutality, are reasonable predictors of adult violence (Goldstein, 1974). Very few of these assumptions, however, have been studied empirically (Monahan, 1981). The Glueck (1950) study, not specifically concerned with violent criminality, cites supervision and discipline by the mother as well as family cohesiveness as important childhood predictors of delinquency. Aggressive behavior at an early age has been cited as a reliable predictor of violent behavior during early adulthood (Lefkowitz et al., 1977). In the same study,

other factors such as identification of the child with his parents, as well as the father's upward social mobility, were found to be statistically significant predictors of future violence. J. McCord (1979), like the Gluecks, found that lack of supervision by the mother was related to violent criminality. In addition, she cites exposure of parental aggression, a mother lacking in self-confidence, and the exposure to parental conflict as determinants of adult violent criminality. Finally, the famous study by Wolfgang and his associates (1972) saw residential instability and low I.Q. as statistically related with being a chronic offender.

The Aims of the Present Study

The present research has several objectives and raises many important questions in criminology and, to some extent, in sociology. To do this, biographical data has been collected on 165 individuals, who shared similar childhood characteristics and probably, at one time, knew one another. I have collected information regarding events that have marked these men's lives for the past 25 years, and seek to know whether and how these events are dependent on one another. This study begins with no individual hypothesis, but I am aware of the perils of such a beginning. Surely, one's sense of direction is easier to maintain if a specific hypothesis is being tested. Yet to take such a course and to reap such clarity and focus regarding one's problem makes fuzzy much of the ground on which the problem

lies. Instead the present study represents an exploratory examination of violent criminality, an area in which there is presently much moral, empirical and ethical debate going on.

It is of interest to the present research to answer the following queries:

1. Given the vast amount of biographical data collected about the sample, are there any childhood variables that help to identify those individuals who will commit violent offenses as adults?
2. Which of these childhood variables will identify the degree of involvement with criminality in general among this sample?
3. Which of the childhood variables will identify the most serious violent recidivists?
4. How does criminal justice react toward violent criminals, and what are the consequences of such reactions for the offenders?
5. What are the effects of maturation on violent recidivism?
6. What is the impact of a history of previous violence on subsequent violent criminality?

7. What is the relative importance of childhood and adult variables for identifying individuals who will become dangerous offenders?
8. Based on the results of this study, one which examines a high risk group, can the prediction of criminal violence and dangerousness be justified on empirical grounds?

CHAPTER II

The Sample, The Procedures, and the Variables

The present study employs part of data collected for another research study (W. McCord, 1982; W. McCord and Sanchez, 1983). The purpose of that study was to assess the rehabilitative effects of milieu therapy on an incarcerated population. An explication of the data collection techniques employed in the present research necessarily represents a partial rendition of the procedures employed in the original study from which my data is derived. For a complete accounting of the procedures employed in the McCord-Sanchez research the reader is referred to the original work. The present description of procedures and methods will refer only to the research herein. Although my study depends upon data collected for other uses, its aims, interests and findings do not.

The sample employed in this study consists of males, all of lower class socioeconomic background and urban residence, who had been adjudicated juvenile delinquents and interned at the Wiltwyck School for Boys during the period of 1950 to 1960.

Wiltwyck was founded in 1937 as a summer camp for maladjusted and delinquent children. At that time Wiltwyck workers employed punitive measures to control the boys. It was not until 1950, and during the directorship of

Ernst Papanek, that the method of dealing with the children became more humanistic in its application. Papanek's background as a psychiatrist, influenced by the work of August Aichhorn and Bruno Bettleheim, served to guide the new philosophy of treatment at the school. His interest lay mainly in the areas of psychopathy and milieu therapy. He sought to instill in these boys a sense of responsibility and self-worth not provided by more punitive, rational, and impersonal approaches to treatment. The approach involved nonpunitiveness and friendliness in the relationship between the boy and the staff as well as educational, psychiatric and psychological conjoint services. Each boy had to learn that his behavior had consequences for which he was responsible.

Wiltwyck's physical setting consisted of approximately 200 acres near the Hudson River near Ossining, New York. There were no walls surrounding the area. Within these environs, the boys occupied cottages, a school, a gymnasium, arts and crafts shops, art rooms, a dining hall, and a multi-unit living quarter for children considered more disturbed by the authorities. During my frequent data gathering visits to Wiltwyck, during the summer and fall of 1980, I had the opportunity to tour the grounds guided by one of the social workers. The natural beauty, the vast open spaces and the restful quiet made me forget that Wiltwyck was a place where juvenile delinquents - some murderers, and others robbers - were detained. Tall, massive trees and hiking

trails surrounded a large fishing and boating lake. The grounds of the school had been provided by the late Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

It was easy to see that such a place was conducive to a milieu therapy approach to treatment. Milieu therapy aims at treating the individual through a restructuring of his environment. The underlying rationale of this approach is that by providing an environment where deviant adaptations will become unnecessary, personality changes will follow, leading to more conforming behavior. The work of Aichhorn (1935) is at the root of this approach. "His work earned him the title of 'father of milieu therapy'" (McCord, 1982). August Aichhorn's work was a reaction to the brutal and punitive treatment given to maladjusted Austrian children during the early twentieth century. A disciple of Sigmund Freud, Aichhorn employed psychoanalytic techniques in conjunction with a radical alteration of the environment. Aichhorn's followers included such figures as Fritz Redl and Bruno Bettleheim. Redl established the Pioneer House in Detroit (see Redl and Wineman, 1954) and Bettleheim founded the Orthogenic School in Chicago (see Bettleheim, 1950). Other applications of milieu therapy have included the Highfields Project (McCorkle et al., 1958) and the program at Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls (Powdermaker et al., 1937).

Critical appraisals of these experiments are mostly negative, and point, at best, to confusing findings (Weeks, 1958; Empey, 1978) . The results at Wiltwyck, derived from

the McCord-Sanchez research (1982; 1983), demonstrates that milieu therapy, when compared to a more punitive treatment approach, showed promise in treating psychopathic delinquents when reached at a young age. It was also found that Wiltwyck reduced recidivism for a period of five years after release.

Data Collection

The data employed in the present study was collected between the summers of 1980 and 1981. During this time I was employed as senior research associate working under William McCord, principal investigator of an ongoing research study comparing the treatment approaches of Wiltwyck and another youth correctional facility, The Lyman School in Massachusetts.

After a perusal of the case files for boys who had been detained at Wiltwyck during 1950-1960, a data sheet was constructed. The files contained such life-history information as the name, date of birth, date of admission to Wiltwyck, release dates, sex, ethnicity and race as well as anecdotal and case-history information regarding the more personal spheres of life of each subject. Upon admission to Wiltwyck, the boys were given psychiatric and psychological evaluations to assess personality and intelligence variables. Social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists recorded periodic reports on the boys, and these were included in the file. Here I found diagnostic and prognostic decisions, I.Q., marital status

of the family of the boy, information regarding deviance in the family, the quality of the relationship between the boy and his parents, and the disposition rendered after the boy's release from Wiltwyck, as well as whether follow-up treatment was administered. Also in the case files was a partial medical history of the boys. This medical information, however, was not collected since, at that time, it was reasoned that collecting such data would consume too much time and provide information of too limited use to the study.

The second phase of the study consisted of obtaining information regarding the later lives of the Wiltwyck group from various social service and correctional agencies, bureaus of vital statistics and military services. With the assistance of the State of New York, Division of Criminal Justice Services, complete information regarding criminal arrests in that state was made available. In these records were to be found the number of arrests, the crimes committed, and important sentencing information. Official records were examined in order to determine the mortality of this sample. In all, seven of 172 subjects had died, six from physical ailments, such as diabetes and cardiovascular disorders, and one died from a stab wound during a fight.

These data were supplemented with intensive personal interviews of six Wiltwyck graduates. A period of approximately three hours was spent with each informant.

Using structured-focused interviews, informants were asked essentially to attempt to narratively reconstruct their lives, providing vast information about their views of Wiltwyck, and how their lives have evolved during the years following their release. Using criminal justice data already in my possession at that time, I was able to compare the accuracy of the informant's account. The interviews proved to be illuminating regarding the informant's own "dark figure" of crime. That is, the informant's account of the crimes he had engaged in, after his release from Wiltwyck, usually exceeded those that had come to the attention of the authorities. How much of the "dark figure" involved bragging or understating is unknown. But, in the context of the interview and probing by the interviewer, a certain consistency in the account had to be maintained by the interviewee. Clearly, I had to accept the validity of the anecdotal information "if it all hung well" on the skeleton formed by the more objective case-history and criminal justice data.

The Variables

At least two kinds of variables are examined in this study. We can call these "simple" and "complex" variables. A simple variable is operationalized by using only one indicator derived from the data collected. For example, age is a simple variable in this study since only a numerical response to the question "What is the age of the subject?" is required. Other simple variables are: age of commitment,

race, number of murders committed between ages 15 and 19, number or rapes committed between the ages 20 and 24, prognosis. A complex variable involves the combination of more than one indicator. In the present study, complex variables are family situation, incidence of violent crime and family deviance, among others.

Certainly it is not my intention to try my hand at creating neologisms, nor at renaming concepts already known by other names. The above dichotomy is merely a way of clarifying and simplifying, nothing more. Nor am I saying that a variable like age of the boy, for example, is any less complicated than his family situation. A variable such as age has biological, psychological, social, as well as economic and political dimensions - it is certainly not less complicated in this sense. Perhaps a better distinction can be made by employing the terms "indicator" and "index," the latter being a term of greater circumference (Burke, 1945). An index is a combination, a cluster of single related indicators. The vast amount of data collected on the 172 subjects has yielded a very large number of possible variables whose relationships can be explored. The following are the independent variables in the present research:

1. Original juvenile offense (ORCHARGE)
2. Childhood mental disorder (WILDIAG)
3. Race/Ethnicity (RATHNIC)
4. Intelligence (I.Q.) the results of a battery of

intelligence tests during confinement at Wiltwyck.

5. Aftercare upon release from Wiltwyck (AFTRCR)

6. Adjustment to Wiltwyck (SKOOLADJ)

This variable combines the adjustment experienced by the boy and his level of sociability as a behavioral adaptation to the educational aspects of Wiltwyck. This variable views withdrawal, sociability, and hostility as intervals in a scale of acted out aggressiveness against others, or, conversely, as a scale of withdrawal.

7. Family situation during childhood (FAMSIT)

This variable combines information regarding the boys' relationships to their fathers and mothers during childhood with data on abuse, neglect or rejection by their parents. The referents of this variable were drawn from the casefiles; notably, the psychotherapy and psychosocial reports prepared by psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers.

8. Family deviance (FAMDEV)

This is an index which combines data on the history of criminality, alcoholism, mental illness, and other deviance by the father and mother of the

subject. Upon admission to Wiltwyck, the boy's family was interviewed and visits were made by the social worker to his home. The date, reason and highlights of these visits were documented in the casefiles.

9. Prognosis after juvenile detention (PRGNOSIS) This variable represents the first attempt to predict the likelihood that the boy can succeed in the community. Before considering the boy's release from Wiltwyck the staff conducted psychiatric and psychosocial evaluations, and based on the results the prognosis was made.

10. Disposition after juvenile detention (DSPFTRWL) This variable consists of the decision made as to whether a boy would best benefit by further incarceration, by placement in a foster-home or in a half-way house, or by being released to his immediate family.

The key dependent variable in the present research is the incidence of violent crime among the members of the sample. The forthcoming discussion will attempt to define the parameters and to describe the referents of this and other variables.

Violent crime in the present study will refer to what has also come to be known as "personal crime" or "crimes against the person." Such ways of referring to crimes have inherent terminological problems. That is, one might say

that burglary, an offense classified as a property crime, or vandalism, an overtly aggressive act against property, are violent or personal offenses. In burglary, violence is done against a person or persons by the theft of their belongings and by the latent consequences of an individual breaking into their home. The vandal acts aggressively by destroying public or private property. According to this view, destruction of private property constitutes violence against one person or family while vandalism against public property has violent consequences of greater circumference and scope: it hurts us all! The definition of violent crime employed in the present research will not include such instances as burglary and vandalism, but will follow F.B.I. guidelines.

Parameters are even more blurred in the categories named "sex offenses other than forcible rape" and arson. Does the exhibitionist or the pederast behave violently when acting out this role? Does the prostitute act violently against society and the client's family when she places herself in his hire? An act of arson in which no one is killed or even physically injured may create a situation where those whose home and property has been destroyed may feel violated. As noted in Chapter I, there are tremendous controversies surrounding the definition of what is violent. These center very often around political definitions and the differential power some groups possess in creating these definitions and in enforcing

their existence. Also noted were the empirical controversies over what constitutes proper and valid indicators of violence and the definitional difficulties this presents for criminology as a science. Certainly, if lack of definitional consensus exists, several researchers may engage in dialogues where two different definitions of a phenomenon are being held, yet the argument is manifestly about which causal factors are most important. The present research could contribute to existing confusion, and this could place me in a position of arguing that certain factors are "good" predictors of "violent criminality" during adulthood. There are, as it becomes obvious, many limitations in what I will present in this study. The most serious have become unavoidable. For the use of a term such as "violent criminality," as has been seen, is a precarious and incomplete way of referring to behavior; when one employs a legal label to describe such a complex act as attacking the person of another, one strengthens the effects that the limitation will have on a study. In many cases, as will be shown, the nature of these terminological limitations have made me stretch the definitions of certain terms into somewhat of a "tight fit" in a garment of referents. To avoid overstating (or possibly understating) the value of the present research, the reader will be privy to the parameters of each variable with as much specificity as I am capable of offering. In this way a true assessment of this work must either

criticize the definitional nature of my referents and provide a reasonable explanation for so doing, or it must provide contrary evidence measured in like manner.

The dependent variable in this study, criminal violence, consists of a combination of four index crimes against persons: homicide, aggravated assault, robbery and forcible rape.

Homicide in this study will refer to what is described in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (1983) as murder and non-negligent manslaughter. I have adopted therefrom the following definition: Murder and non-negligent manslaughter, as defined in the Uniform Crime Reporting Program, is "the willful (non-negligent) killing of one human being by another" (p. 6). Excluded from this definition are deaths caused by accident or negligence as well as attempts to inflict death through assaults or attacks.

Aggravated assault in this study will represent unlawful attacks "by one person upon another for the purpose of inflicting severe or aggravated bodily injury" (FBI: UCR, 1983:20). This variable will include attempted murder cases which have been omitted from the definition of homicide.

Robbery will refer to acts which involve "the taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care, custody or control of a person or persons by force or threat of force or violence and/or by putting the victim in fear" (FBI: UCR, 1983:16). The behavioral characteristics of

robbery make it necessary that I give special attention to its nature. Robbery can be considered a crime both against property and against persons (Silberman, 1980:75). And it may also be seen as a crime that is driven by socially accepted goals, and as such robbery is "conventional" criminality. It is "consistent with the conventional goals of economic success but inconsistent with the sanctity of private property, write Clinard and Quinney (1973:17), who regard robbery as "aggravated larceny," the stealing of property complicated by the threat or actual use of force.

While some researchers will find justification for considering robbery a property offense, I will consider robbery as a crime against persons. I am justified in so doing since the presence, or threat, of violence is always a part of the act. Note, however, that the level of professionalism among robbers is measured according to the degree to which violence could be avoided in carrying out the act. The ability of an offender to do this will depend on his ability to convince his victim that he means business. "Opportunist robbers," however, overrepresent the ranks of robbers, while few may be considered professional. The former are characterized as disorganized in their behavior, young, impulsive and have as a goal making an "easy score." "It is this peculiar combination of purposefulness and impulsiveness that make street robbers so dangerous" (Silberman, 1980:75). Silberman (1980) and Miller (1975) warn that street robbers are armed more often and with greater firepower than ever

before. As such, the inclusion of robbery as a violent offense in this study is justified.

Forcible rape refers to "the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will. Assaults or attempts to commit rape by force or threat of force are also included; however, statutory rape (without force) and other sex offenses are not included in this category." (FBI: UCR, 1983:13). The term "unlawful" above, under some jurisdictions and interpretations, generally excludes husbands who have sexual relations with their wives against their will. Some cases, however, have challenged this definition (see Brownmiller, 1975; Geis, 1978). In addition, the above definition of forcible rape does not include males as victims. The interest of the 1960's and 1970's in prison conditions and in the inmate resulted in the publicizing of an area where male "rapes" are common. Women had been perceived as the sole victims, and males as the likely aggressor. Given the nature of American society and the ways that this nature leads to the definition of sex roles, the dominance accorded males contaminates their behavior and the subjective perceptions that others have of men.

Each of the simple dependent variables above will be employed independently and in combination with the others, thus forming complex variables. Each will also be measured in terms of five year time segments and as incidents in a given sequence of violent criminality. Further, each

dependent variable, simple or complex, except for the incidence of a fifth violent offense and violent criminality occurring after age 35, will act as temporally prior independent variable as well. We can derive, then, the following simple and complex variables:

- Murder 16-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-34; 35-40
  The incidence of homicide in the sample measured by arrests at specific age periods.
- Assault 16-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-34; 35-40
  The incidence of aggravated assault at specific age periods.
- Robbery 16-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-34; 35-40
  The incidence of robbery at specific age periods.
- Rape 16-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-34; 35-40
  The incidence of forcible rapes at specific age periods.
- Violent Crime 1; 2; 3; 4; 5
  The first, second, third, fourth, fifth and more violent offenses. These variables also indicate the seriousness of a violent offender's career and degree of dangerousness.
- Violent Crime 16-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-34; 35-40
  A complex variable made up of the additive effects of murder, assault, robbery and rape at respective age periods.

In addition to these violent crime variables, property and drug offenses, measured by the number of arrests for such offenses, will be treated in similar ways for purposes of comparison. The following variables will be created:

- Property Crime 16-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-34; 35-40
  A complex variable including many types of property-related offenses at specific age periods.
- Drug Use 16-19; 20-24; 35-29; 30-34; 35-40
  A simple variable including all arrests for possession of controlled substances.
- Drug Crime 16-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-34; 35-40
  A complex variable encompassing all arrests for both sale and possession of controlled substances.

Other variables specifically relevant to the adult contacts of the sample with criminal justice will be necessary. These variables - some simple, some complex - represent the responses of criminal justice for criminally violent acts committed by the sample. The following variables were constructed:

- Inside 1; 2; 3; 4
  This simple variable represents the actual length of time, measured in years and portions thereof, spent in prison for each violent criminal act. This variable measures the effects of incarceration on the

inmate as these relate to subsequent violent criminality.

- Seriousness 1; 2; 3; 4

  This simple variable, measured by the sentence meted out by criminal justice (and not the actual time served), represents an indicator of the seriousness of each violent offense committed. As noted, it is very difficult without additional information regarding intentionality, situation, and other circumstances surrounding the violent act to measure the act's seriousness. As such this study operates on the assumption that the court, after hearing the evidence, will act on classical principles of commensurate punishment.

- Severity 1; 2; 3; 4

  This complex variable measures the severity of criminal justice reactions, as perceived by the recipient of these. It is constructed by obtaining the quotient resulting from the division of the actual amount of time spent in prison by the length of the sentence for the offense. The resulting index ranges between 0 and 1, the latter representing a perception by the inmate that criminal justice will usually keep its word regarding sentences.

Quotients approximating the former represent perceptions by the inmate that sentences meted out by criminal justice have little meaning.

- Certainty 1; 2; 3; 4

  This is the interaction between two simple variables: the offense for which punishment was administered and the disposition resulting therefrom. The above interaction represents a perception in the offender of whether he is certain to be tried and punished for a violent crime after an arrest.

- Expected Punishment 1; 2; 3; 4

  This represents an interaction between the perception of severity and the perception of certainty of punishment. It will measure the combined impact of perceived severity and certainty regarding previous violent offenses on subsequent criminal violence.

- Age

  The age of the offender at the time when a given violent offense was committed.

All of the above are simple and complex variables, except for perceived certainty and expected punishment which are interactions of variables. Each of the above represents a reaction by criminal justice in relation to a specific sequence of violent criminal acts.

Methods of Analysis

The present research will employ tabular and regression analysis in order to assess the impact of childhood and adult predictors of criminal violence. Stepwise multiple regression will be employed because of its value in discerning the relative effects of various predictors. Tabular analysis will be used to focus on the specific details of statistical relationships between variables.

Statistical Analysis System (SAS), a computer package, was employed to perform the stepwise regression procedure. "Stepwise is most helpful for exploratory anaysis, because it can give you insight into the relationships between the independent variables and the dependent or response variable" (SAS, 1982:101). The exploratory nature of the present study finds such a procedure adequate for the analysis. In addition MAXR, a model selection method for stepwise, was employed.

> The MAXR method begins by finding the one-varaible model producing the highest R^2. Then another variable, the one that yields the greatest increase in R^2, is added. Once the two-variable model is obtained, each of the variables in the model is compared to each variable not in the model. For each comparison, MAXR determines if removing one variable and replacing it with the other variable increases R^2. After comparing all possible switches, the one that produces the largest increase in R^2 is made. Comparisons begin again, and the process continues until MAXR finds that no switch could increase R^2...the comparing-and-switching process is repeated to find the best three-variable model, and so forth (SAS, 1982:102).

MAXR improves on stepwise in that at every step switches and additions are evaluated by the program. Step-

wise employed alone removes the least contributing independent variable while looking at what other remaining variables may contribute to R^2. Clearly, however, the program is limited by the variables included since all of the possible factors in a complex social world may not be part of the researcher's data.

Characteristics of the Sample

The men in the present sample occupied a place at Wiltwyck while the milieu therapy philosophy was in practice. The sample is comprised of 165 males from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Approximately one-fourth of these males were white, while the rest were Hispanic and Black - mostly Black. More than one-half were admitted between the ages of nine and 11 years, and almost one-half of these boys spent between one and three years at Wiltwyck, while approximately an equal number spent between three and 6.67 years there. Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 summarize the above.

Table 2.1
Racial Composition of the Sample

Race/Ethnicity	Percentage	Number
White	23.8	39
Black	64.6	106
Hispanic	11.6	20
	100.0%	165

Table 2.2
Age at Commitment

Age	Percentage	Number
5-8	14.4	22
9-11	79.7	12
12-13	5.9	9
	100.0%	15*

*Dates of commitment were not available for 11 subjects.

Table 2.3
Time Spent at Wiltwyck - Fractions of 10 Years

Years	Percentage	Number
1-3.33	46.8	72
3.34-6.67	46.1	71
6.68-10.0	7.1	11
	100.0%	154*

*Time not available for 11 subjects.

One important connection investigated by the present research is that between two stages in the life cycle, childhood and adulthood. Because I seek this connection, how much and what kind of delinquency was committed by the sample becomes an important variable. Table 2.4 represents a depiction of that delinquent offense which created the situation because of which the boy originally came to the attention of the juvenile justice system.

Table 2.4

Original Charge upon which Admission to Wiltwyck Was Based

Original Charge	Percentage	Number
Status Offense*	48.8	80
Criminal**	43.3	71
Neglect or Psychiatric	7.9	13
	100.0%	164***

*This category reflects only those offenses which are considered delinquent because of the age of the violation. Neglect petitions and psychiatric commitments have been excluded from this category and placed under "neglect or psychiatric" above.

**"Criminal" includes both property and violent offenses.

***Original charge was not provided for one case.

These data have been divided into general categories that distinguish status, psychiatric and criminal reasons for admission. Thus if a boy was considered incorrigible and out of control, or has come to the attention of the authorities for truancy and other such offenses for which only minors (age 15½ years and younger in this case) can be detained, he falls under the category "status." Boys who came to the attention of the authorities for committing offenses against property or persons fall under the category of "criminal." Yet other boys were referred to Wiltwyck by order of the courts on psychiatric grounds, or where a determination that their families were neglectful of them. This combining of neglect and psychiatric petitions <u>does not</u> reflect on a prior assumption by me that

neglect leads to delinquency and that this relationship is so strong that these are interchangeable indicators. Rather, the reason for combining the categories has more pragmatic than theoretical grounds. The relatively small number of cases which fall into these categories were just enough to justify the creation of a new category and the removal of these cases from the category of "status offenses." Moreover, the "status offense" category is made purer when separating actions which the juvenile performs from conditions which are out of his control. This last category excludes those cases where a juvenile was referred to a psychiatrist or psychologist for an assessment of his psychiatric condition because of having committed a delinquent act. The only cases included were those where a referral to psychiatric treatment by an educational or social service agency was made; and, based upon the examination results, admission to Wiltwyck was made. In spite of Wiltwyck's emphasis on therapeutic treatment rather than on punitive incapacitation, only a small number of cases between 1950 and 1960 were referred there on psychiatric grounds. As Table 2.4 shows, psychiatric and neglect cases consisted of less than 8%. If combined with status offenses, and compared with criminal original charges, these consist of a little over one-half of the commitments; if separated, the percentage difference between status and criminal

commitments all but disappears. These data indicate that the sample employed in this study is not over-represented by those whose first contact with the juvenile justice system involves serious delinquency.

As noted earlier, each boy upon admission to Wiltwyck underwent psychological and psychiatric evaluation routinely. Table 2.5 shows the distribution of psychodiagnostic categories among the sample. Those who were diagnosed neurotic or psychotic were overrepresented, and those diagnosed as psychopathic or free from any symptoms of mental illness made up less than one third of the sample, the latter forming the smallest category. These data show that childhood mental disorder is a dominant characteristic of the sample employed in this study.

Table 2.5

Psychiatric Diagnosis upon Admission to Wiltwyck

Diagnosis*	Percentage	Number
Psychopath	27.5	44
Psychotic or Neurotic	68.8	110
Normal	3.7	6
	100.0%	160**

*The initial diagnosis was based upon a psychiatrist's report. "Normal" here refers to the absence of psychoneurosis, psychotic delusions and behavior, or of psychopathic lack of guilt or affect.

**There were five cases for which no diagnosis could be found.

The debate over the relationship between intelligence and crime or violence remains unresolved. And, while the sample contained a number of subjects who scored over 110 in intelligence tests, the number of those who scored "normal" (90-110) is equal to those who scored "below normal" (below 90). This ideal distribution will be important in the forthcoming analysis in shedding some light on the intelligence controversy. Table 2.6 denotes this distribution.

Table 2.6

Intelligence Quotient Scores Distribution

IQ	Percentage	Number
Below 90 (Below Normal)	45.9	73
90-110 (Normal)	45.9	73
Above 110 (Superior)	8.2	13
	100.0%	159*

*I.Q. scores were not available for six cases.

Wiltwyck is described, by the six informants in the sample who were interviewed, as a "country club" -- as a "nice place" with many "nice people." According to records, however, most of the sample adapted to Wiltwyck by withdrawing from their social environment, while only a few (5.1%) were aggressive

in their adaptation. Exactly one-fourth of the sample adapted to Wiltwyck by acting in a sociable manner as shown in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7
Mode of Adjustment to Wiltwyck

Mode	Percentage	Number
Withdrawal	69.9	109
Sociability	25.0	39
Aggressive	5.1	8
	100.0%	156*

*Information was unavailable for nine cases.

At release from Wiltwyck, a staff psychiatrist made the first attempt at clinical prediction regarding the boy's chances at success in the community. Later a decision was made as to disposition. Table 2.8 and 2.9 show that almost as many were given a negative as a positive prognosis but two-thirds of the sample were released to their families, almost 17% were released to foster homes and half-way houses, and only 16.6% were incarcerated immediately after their release from Wiltwyck,

These data indicate that Wiltwyck's philosophy of psychosocial treatment vs. punitive incarceration might have been a factor which influenced the nature of the dispositions. No doubt, even a broken family was seen by the professional staff of Wiltwyck as a necessary

Table 2.8

Prognosis at Wiltwyck for Later Success

Prognosis	Percentage	Number
Positive	52.3	80
Negative	47.7	73
	100.0%	153*

*Information regarding prognosis was unavailable for 12 cases.

Table 2.9

Disposition Upon Release from Wiltwyck

Disposition	Percentage	Number
Release to Family	67.7	108
Halfway House or Foster Home	16.7	28
Further Incarceration	16.6	27
	100.0%	163*

*No disposition available for two cases.

part of the boy's life for which no functional alternative exists in an institutional environment. A similar preference was given to the boy's immediate family than to foster homes of halfway houses; here even a broken home was preferable to a home where he might come to see himself as a step-son, -brother, etc. Table 2.10 shows that almost 65% of the boys came from a broken home, which in this study will refer to that broken by divorce, separation, or

abandonment or either parent by the other. It will exclude those homes broken due to the death of either parent.

Table 2.10
Marital Situation of Subjects' Families

Marital Situation	Percentage	Number
Intact	35.4	57
Broken	64.6	103
	100.0%	160*

*There was no information regarding the family status of two individuals, and the remaining three were orphans of either or both parents.

The question of family deviance raises social as well as psychological and genetic questions involving improper socialization practices, "bad genes," and psychological disorders produced by disordered parents. Among the classical studies in this area are those of the Jukes (Dugdale, 1877), the Kallikak family (Goddard, 1912), and the Nam family (Estabrook and Davenport, 1912). Our data, however, lacks the sophistication of the medical science data required to make genetic connections between generations, since it is limited to the information known to the social agencies, social workers, and the correctional personnel with whom the boys came into contact. Table 2.11 shows the type of deviance that fathers and mothers of the boys had been known to have engaged in. Almost one-third of the fathers (31.0%) absconded from their

families, 14% were considered alcoholic, and 9.1% had criminal records. The mothers, in contrast, experienced psychiatric disorders, 22.4% of the mothers had had a record of serious psychological problems. However, for the fathers the rate was only 6.1%. None of the mothers abandoned their families.

Table 2.11
Deviance in the Family

	Father		Mother	
Type of Deviance	%	N	%	N
Crime	9.1	15	4.2	7
Alcoholism	14.0	23	5.5	9
Psychiatric	6.1	10	22.4	37
Sexual*	0.0	0	9.1	15
Absconding**	31.0	52	0.0	0

*This category includes a record of prostitution or homosexuality, and other forms of sexual "promiscuity."
**This category refers to absconding from the marriage and the family by any of the parents.

Another dimension of the relationship of the boy's criminal behavior and his family is the nature of the boy's relationship to his parent. Table 2.12 shows that almost one-half (44.7%) of the boys experienced rejection from their fathers, while only 27.4%, the smallest proportion, experienced a supportive relationship with the father. Almost an equal number of the boys had rejecting mothers as those whose fathers rejected them (38.8%). But the

proportion of those who had supportive mothers was almost equal to these (38.4%).

Table 2.12
Quality of the Relationship between Parents and Son

	Father-Son		Mother-Son	
Relationship	%	N	%	N
Supportive	27.4	43	38.4	61
Neglecting	27.9	44	22.8	36
Rejecting*	44.7	70	38.8	62
	100.0%	157**	100.0%	159***

*In this category are included parents who abandoned their children as well as those who remained at home but rejected them.
**There were eight cases for which information was not available.
***There were six cases for which information was not available.

Criminal History

The term criminal history is used here in a limited sense since we will only be looking at an official rendition. That is, the data collected on the sample regarding specific offenses committed covers only that time when records were available from correctional authorities in New York State. These data begin at age 16, for this is the age at which an offender may be considered a criminal rather than a delinquent. Records for specific offenses before age 16 are confidential and were not made available. The exception to this, as has been noted, was the access to the boys' case-files at the Wiltwyck

School. While these are valuable for discovering the offense that precipitated internment at Wiltwyck, these data cannot be used as a reliable source from which to enumerate the frequency of childhood offenses. Although in some cases mention was made in the Wilwtyck records by caseworkers regarding repetitious previous delinquency, such mention was the exception rather than the rule. And, in these cases, the observations were anecdotal and impressionistic, lacking the "countability" and objectivity of official records. Table 2.13 describes the criminal history of the sample in five consecutive age segments.

Table 2.13 is a key table in the present study since it brings together all crimes, violent and otherwise, committed by the sample under study. Crimes are listed according to individual types and as more general categories. The table also depicts the percentage of the sample committing specific and general categories of offenses, the number represented by this percentage and the incidence of offenses committed by the sample. Moreover, the table permits the reader to discover biographical patterns and trends in the official criminal activity of the sample.

We look first at a comparison of the more general categories of violence, property and drugs. Figure 2.1 shows a curve over time for each category.

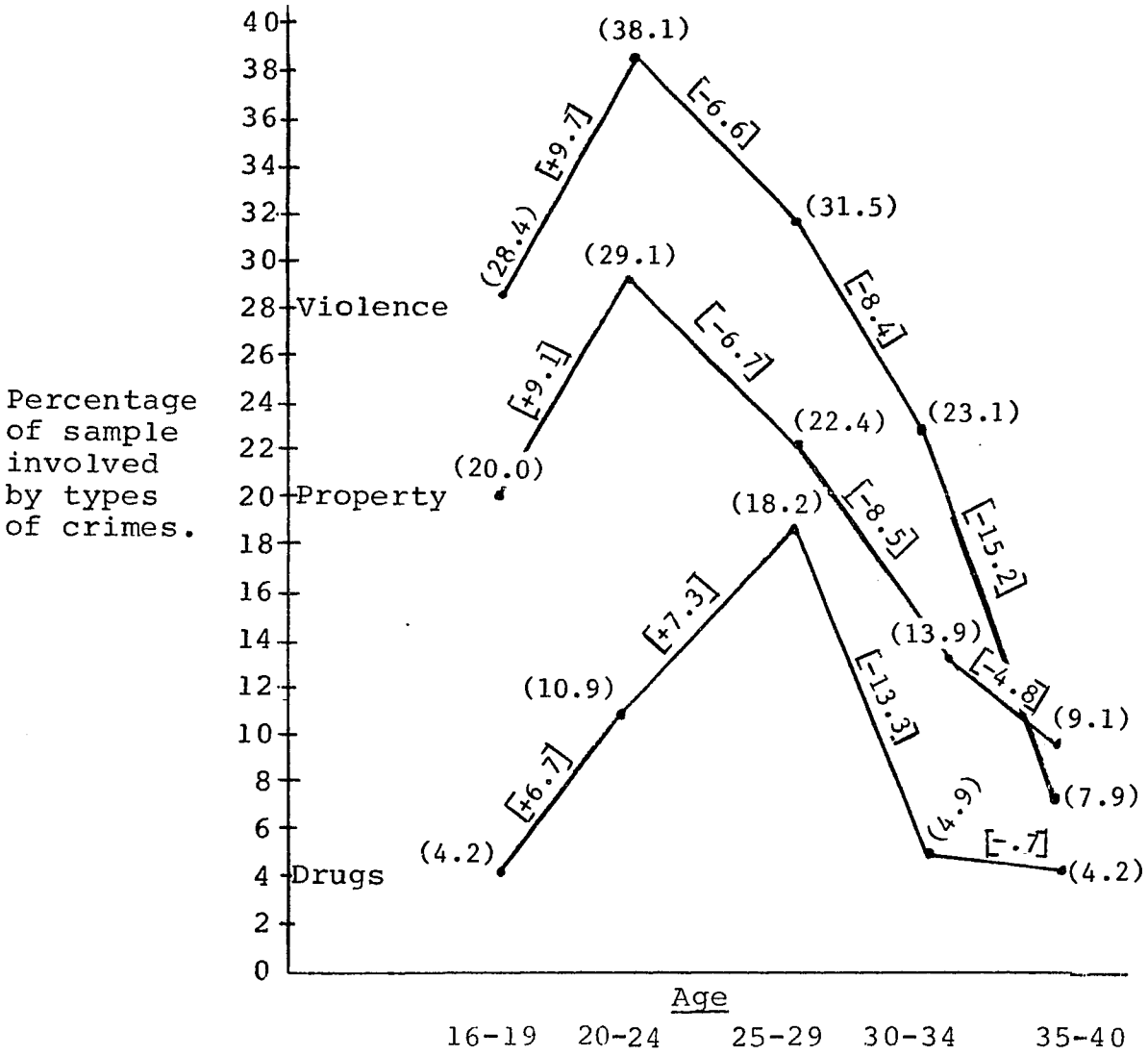
Table 2.13

Criminal History of the Sample by Age

	AGE														
	16-19			20-24			25-29			30-34			35-40		
Offense+++	%***	N+	No++	%	N	No	%	N	No	%	N	No	%	N	No
Murder	1.8	3	3	0.6	1	1	1.2	2	2	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0
Assault*	13.9	23	25	20.6	34	43	15.8	26	45	13.4	22	30	6.1	10	13
Robbery	10.9	18	20	14.5	24	29	11.5	19	24	8.5	14	16	1.2	2	3
Rape**	1.8	3	3	2.4	4	5	3.0	5	5	1.2	2	4	0.6	1	1
Drug Abuse	4.2	7	15	9.1	15	36	12.7	21	43	4.9	8	22	3.0	5	9
Drug Sale	0.0	0	0	1.8	3	5	5.5	9	12	0.0	0	0	1.2	2	3
Property	20.0	33	51	29.1	48	77	22.4	37	82	13.9	23	41	9.1	15	23
Violence	28.4	57	51	38.1	63	78	31.5	52	76	23.1	38	50	7.9	13	17
Drugs	4.2	7	15	10.9	18	41	18.2	30	55	4.9	8	22	4.2	7	12

*Aggravated assault incidents.
**Forcible rape incidents.
***Percentage of sample committing the offenses listed by age groups.
+Number of subjects in the sample committing the offenses listed by age groups.
++Number of offenses committed in each category of offense by age groups.
+++Certain offenses have not been included in this table - these fall into the category "other."

Figure 2.1: Curves for General Offense Categories by Age



Violent offenses and property offenses show a strikingly similar curve. Both begin to escalate after age 16 and peak at age 24. From there a continued and steady decline takes place in the percentage of individuals participating in either of these two crime categories. A similar escalation takes place regarding drug offenses but, as Figure 2.1 shows, the curve does not peak until age 29. At that point a rapid decline occurs in the percentage of drug

offenders among the sample. Clearly the great effects of age in the criminal patterns of the sample are quite evident. Violent and property crimes increase to 24 and decline after 24 at similar rates. Criminal violence, however, shows a much more rapid decline after age 29 than property offenses - here it resembles drug offenses. According to Table 2.13 and Figure 2.1 the percentage involved in violent offenses is greater than property offenders and drug offenders at every age category. The exception is the after age 35 category when the percentage involved in violence is less than those involved in property crimes, but still greater than drug offenses.

Figure 2.2: Curves for Specific Offense Categories by Age

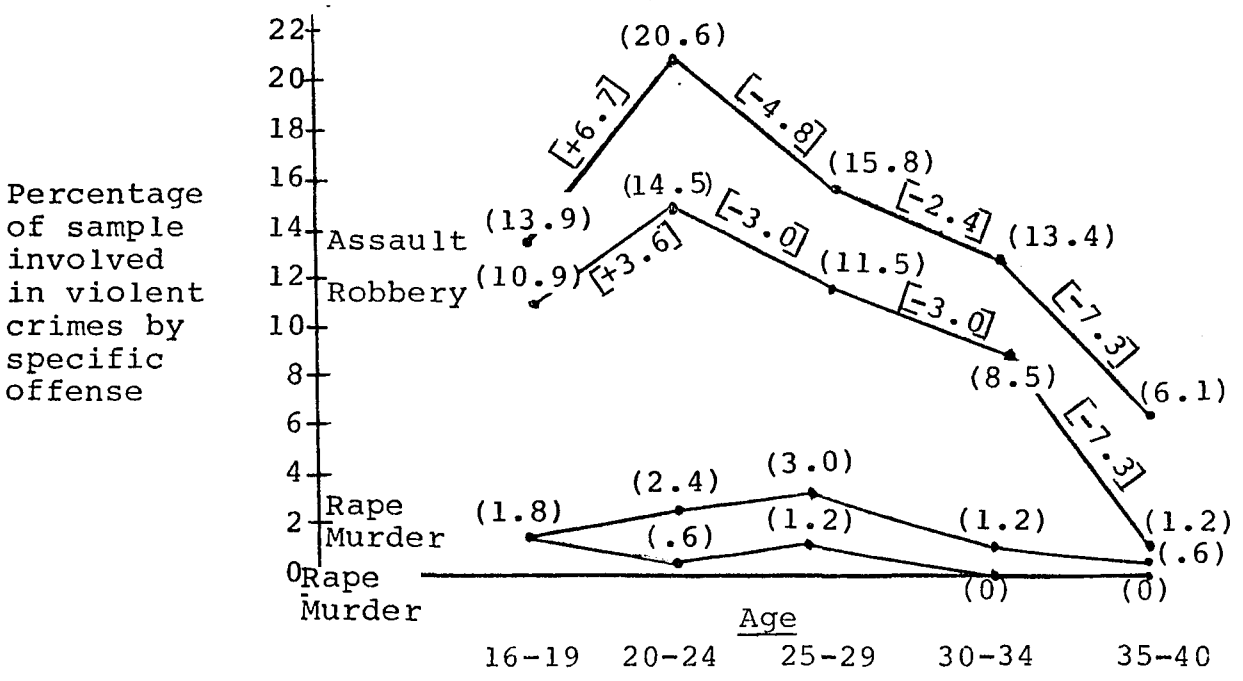


Figure 2.2 attempts to distinguish the patterns of specific violent offenses. It is clear from a glance at the curves of particular crimes where the forces that shape the violent crime curve in Figure 2.1 are derived. Assault and robbery are not only the most frequent violent offenses committed by the sample, but both seem to march to a similar drummer. The similarities between the two curves are striking - both even decline at similar rates. The peak age for these specific crime categories occurs at 24, as it does for violent and property offense curves. Rape and murder occur with less frequency and both peak at age 25. Age appears to be having a significant impact on involvement in robbery and assault at an early point while its impact on rape and murder takes place at a later time. However, tabulation and discussion of the facts presented in Table 2.13, and Figures 2.1 and 2.2, will be left until the section of this study in which the data will be analyzed. The table and figures above will be called upon once again at that point.

The absolute number of offenses that any individual can commit is affected, at least in part, by the amount of time he has available for committing these. Thus, any study that attempts to derive theoretical connections from the findings must take into account the effects of incapacitation. Table 2.14 shows the <u>incapacitation history</u> of the sample after age 16.

Table 2.14

Incapacitation after Age 16

Time	AGE				
	16-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-40
Not Incapacitated	75.8	64.2	76.4	78.8	91.5
1 day to 1 year	9.7	12.7	10.3	1.8	4.2
1 year to 3 years	11.5	9.7	7.3	10.9	2.4
3 years to 5 years	3.0	13.3	6.1	8.5	1.8
Totals (N=165)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

This table shows that between ages 16 and 19 approximately three-fourths of the sample had no record of incarceration for the commission of any offense. This figure decreases as the sample enters their twenties to 64.2% and, thereafter, increases continuously reaching a high of 91.5% after age 35. Thus, these data indicate that the most incapacitation prone ages for this sample are between 20 and 24. Of those who were incapacitated during this period, 13.3% were interned for a total of three to five years, or 60% to 100% of the time they had available for committing offenses, and 12.7% of the sample were inactive for one year or less. Of those incapacitated between ages 15 and 19, 19 subjects (or 11.5% of the sample) spent anywhere betwen 20% to 60% of this five year period incarcerated. Only 3% of the sample was incapacitated longer than 60% of the five year period. In contrast, those incapacitated between ages 30 to 34 for 20% to 60% of this five year period consisted of 10.9% of the sample, and those who were incapacitated for more than 60% of this time segment was 8.5%. This contrasts with all other age groups, where those incapacitated for such a large part of the five year period make up a smaller number. The only possible exception appears in the 20 to 24 group. This group, however, also had as large a portion of the sample (12.7%) who were incapacitated for one year or less, while the 30 to 34 age group had only 1.8% incapacitated for less than one year.

Limitations of the Data and the Sample

The data used in the present study is derived from case files and official criminal justice records. The sample is made up of individuals who share several factors in common and, thus, constitute a specialized sample, very different from the general population.

Criminal justice data is the subject of much criticism (Black, 1970; Skogan, 1975; Cicourel, 1976). In the production of official data, so many opportunities exist for biases to enter the process that sometimes insoluble problems become a permanent part of criminal statistics. Discretion on the part of police officers, judges, parole boards and juries regarding offenders, the dark figure of crime, police deployment practices, clerical errors, and police over- or underreporting represent several sources of problems. The data collected for this study contain these inherent difficulties. However, I believe that to date these problems of official data have not found solutions, and that victimization and self-report data face their own inherent biases. The present research faces one additional difficulty, and this is the geographic mobility of the sample. Since only criminal records produced in New York State were collected, I have no way of knowing whether these individuals were involved in criminality and arrested in other jurisdictions. In order to know this 52 individual searches would have been necessary in order to cover every state, commonwealth and federal

jurisdiction. The financial costs of such an endeavor are prohibitive. In addition, even after a nationwide search, the data obtained would continue to face the difficulties enumerated above. As a result, it was considered unwise to move in that direction.

The State of New York Criminal Justice Services produced "rap-sheets" on each individual who had a criminal record, and a statement of "no criminal record" for those who did not. I have assumed in this research that those individuals who did not possess a criminal record in New York State were "non-criminal." This should not be taken to mean that I have been ignorant of the fact that hidden criminality, discretionary practices by criminal justice, sample geographic mobility, and procedural errors have not occurred. I can justify my categorizations by noting that this study is mainly interested in those individuals in the sample who committed violent offenses, and this information is readily available in the official records. The findings of the present study may be subject to adjustment should nationwide information on the sample become available. Whether adjustments in the findings will be necessary and the relative magnitude of these, are issues to which no answer can be provided by this research.

The members of the sample share some characteristics which make them a specialized group. They are all male, lower class, urban residents who had been adjudicated juvenile delinquents during their youth. As a result of

their delinquencies these individuals were interned in a training school setting and there received milieu therapy. In addition, more than 75% of these men were either Black or Hispanic. The nature of the sample obviously sets limits of generalizability. The findings yielded by the present research cannot be generalized to the population at large. However, in spite of the liabilities associated with such a special group of individuals the use of such a sample can be justified.

The men being studied herein represent a high risk group. Poverty, being part of a racial minority, urban residence, maleness, and a previous record of juvenile delinquency and incapacitation are, according to FBI statistics, factors which identify the most serious offenders. My research capitalizes on this profile and focuses on this high risk group. I seek to discover whether there are any factors that are important in distinguishing the violent and most dangerous individuals within this population. In this way my study obviates the potential misuse of characteristics such as race, poverty, sex and urban residence as predictors of future violence. These are traits which also describe some very general populations in American society, and every effort should be made to find finer distinctions between this apparently homogeneous group. Such distinctions will be of importance when predicting who will become violent. It is possible to further deprive certain social categories of people of their

civil liberties when extended incapacitation is based on predictions which employ racial and social class variables.

Thus, what at first appears as a limitation later becomes an asset to this study. This sample had a base-rate of violence of .45, 42% of its members committed no recorded offenses (in New York State), and only 13% engaged solely in non-violent offenses (in this state).

Table 2.15
Percentage of Offenders by Offense Type

Type of Offense	Percentage	Number
No offense	42	73
Non-violent	13	17
Violent	45	75
	100%	165

Table 2.15 above shows that almost as many individuals were violent as were non-offenders. The base rates of violent and general criminality are .45 and .55 respectively. This points to the fact that neither crime nor violence is a rare event among this sample. Yet, neither is noninvolvement in criminal activity. I have been favored in this study with a natural experiment since becoming violent was just as likely an outcome as being non-violent for this sample.

I have presented herein much of the information that will be used in the present research. This was done in order to create an image, a profile, of the sample by denoting some of its main characteristics. Little analysis

has been attempted in this chapter since description was its main objective. The forthcoming chapters will carry out an analysis of the relationships between the variables discussed in the present one. Thus, I will reserve further discussion and analysis until a time when relationships between variables will permit more responsible inference.

CHAPTER III

An Assessment Of Childhood Factors As Predictors Of Adult Violent Criminality

Race and Violent Crime

Silberman (1980), Gurr (1979), Skogan (1979) and others have noted the relationship between being non-white, poor, and committing crimes, violent and otherwise. The present study attempted to test the relationship of race and violent offenses. Since Hispanics cannot be considered a race, the categories of Hispanic and Black were collapsed into one and referred to as "non-white." By dichotomizing the race variable, it was hoped that a clear-cut relationship between race and violent criminality could be obtained. A similar dichotomizing procedure was performed on the dependent variable. Violent crime was divided into "none" and "one or more" offenses during each specific age period. This simplification, it was hoped, would permit a clear look at violent crime as an either-or phenomenon. That is, I asked the questions: Did individuals of a given race category engage in reported delinquency or criminality during specific age periods? Were non-whites in this sample more likely to be involved in violent offenses than whites?

The answer to the last question is no. While the percentage differences in the two-variable tables ranged from 2% to 14% greater involvement for non-whites, the results were <u>not</u> statistically significant at any age, including during childhood. Even if the above findings had

been statistically significant, the differences between white and non-white categories were certainly not dramatic. Therefore, it appears that factors other than race are at work in producing reported violent crime rates. Often socioeconomic status is seen as intervening in the relationship between race and crime. The present research, by holding SES constant, permits the relationship between race and reported violent criminality to emerge uncontaminated by social class. The reader is reminded that all members of the sample are from lower SES. In this economically equal, or near-equal, sample, race was not an important factor in predicting who ultimately came to the attention of the authorities for a violent offense.

Intelligence and Violent Crime

Intellectual functioning, like race, has received a great deal of positive as well as negative attention from criminologists as far back as the early 20th century. It was thought that criminals were usually those with low intellectual capacity. I.Q. testing, however, as well as the relationship of this variable to criminality, has lived in a climate of controversy. What do I.Q. tests measure: ingelligence, cultural bias, test-wiseness, academic achievement or just what? And, are any differences found between the I.Q. of certain groups due to other factors such as social class, or to genetic endowment? Shockley declared that differences

in the I.Q. of Blacks and whites were genetic in nature and that poverty and crime were not the result of differences of I.Q. but partly genetic in nature (1967). However, it was an article written by Arthur Jensen in 1969 that fired the controversy. In this article, Jensen agreed with Shockley's analysis and concluded that I.Q. tests actually measured an intellectual capacity necessary in modern industrial society. He also concluded that the inability of some to score high on I.Q. tests was due in part to genetic determinants. Non-whites, in this case, did not have as great a capacity to learn in and benefit from remedial education programs, thus explaining the failure of such efforts. Kierkegaard-Sorensen and Mednick (1977) in their research on I.Q. and delinquency found that their "results are in keeping with the previous research, which has shown lower I.Q.s for criminals ... and lower I.Q.s for children who later becomedelinquent" (1977:271). While their research points to a statistically significant relationship between low I.Q. and crime, the present research does not show a similar interplay between I.Q. and, specifically, violent criminality. I.Q. is not significantly related to violent criminality according to age groups among the sample. In addition, an attempt to correlate I.Q. and race in this study also failed to produce significant results.

The Family and Violent Crime

Family related variables, such as the broken family,

child's family position, children of working mothers, and family size, have been examined with relation to delinquency and crime. Increases in divorce and separation rates have been invoked as causal factors in delinquency and later criminality. The present study examines only one of these variables, the "broken home." An overwhelming number of studies have pointed to a relationship between the broken family and delinquency. Haskell and Yablonsky (1982) provide a summary table of studies investigating the broken family as a determinant in delinquency and criminality:

Table 3.1

Incidence of Broken Homes among Delinquents and Nondelinquents

		From Broken Homes			
		Delinquents		Controls	
Investigator	Sex	N	%	N	%
Burt, 1929	Both	197	57.9	400	25.7
Weeks & Smith, 1939	Boys	330	41.4	2,119	26.7
Shaw & McKay, 1942	Boys	1,675	42.5	7,378	36.1
Gardner & Goldman, 1945	Men	500	58.6	200	32.0
Merrill, 1947	Both	300	50.7	300	26.0
Glueck & Glueck, 1950	Boys	500	60.4	500	32.4
Nye, 1958	Boys	368	23.6	792	17.6
Koller, 1971	Girls	121	61.5	101	12.9

Source: M. Haskell and L. Yablonsky, Juvenile Delinquency (3rd Ed.), Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin Co., 1982, p. 108.

The present research is interested in examining the relationship between divorce, abandonment and separation and violent criminality at various age periods. As noted in Chapter II these three situations have been collapsed into the category of "broken family." Cases where either of the parents died were omitted from this classification since it was believed by this investigator that the death of a parent is not comparable with the family discord which usually precedes divorce, abandonment or separation, unless the death was a result of such discord. Such instances (i.e., of death resulting from an intra-familial struggle) were included in the broken family category.

A cross-tabulation of broken family and childhood violent delinquency and adult violent criminality at various age intervals failed to produce statistically significant results at any age. Whether a family was broken cannot be considered a reliable predictor of violent criminality during childhood or between ages 16 and 40. However, a relationship was found between broken homes and the status offense category. This relationship may be interpreted as a product of the effects of the doctrine of parens patriae and the helping arm of social service agencies on dependent boys.

Parent-Son Relations and Violent Crime

Given the support of the null hypothesis discussed above (that the broken family is not predictive of violent criminality at any age), I proceeded to refine these

findings by examining the nature of parent-child relationships in the sample. Table 2.13 in Chapter II shows that, out of 157, 114 or 72.6% of the sample experienced rejecting and neglecting relationships with their fathers. With respect to mother-son relations, 61.6% (N=98) experienced neglecting and rejecting relationships. Put otherwise, supportive relationships between father and son and mother and son were experienced by only 27.4% (N=43) and 38.4% (N=61), of the sample, respectively. These extreme differences may be responsible for the sample's initial contact with juvenile authorities. However, it is impossible to say this with any certainty since we do not have the comparative data on a nondelinquent population necessary to support this conclusion. Previous research, however, points to the impact of indifference, hostility and rejection on delinquency. Bandura and Walters (1959), comparing delinquents to nondelinquents, found a clear relationship between paternal rejection and delinquent aggression. W. McCord (1982) also notes the relationship between paternal rejection and deprivation and psychopathy (1982:256-7); psychopaths were found to be responsible for most crimes at all age levels studied (McCord and Sanchez, 1982). Relations between the boy and each parent will be examined individually in turn.

Father-Son Relations

It is noted by some researchers that the quality of the relationships between father and son has some effects on

whether a boy will become delinquent (see Andry, 1971). Ivan Nye (1958) found that rejection of the boy by his parents was related to delinquency. William and Joan McCord, in their classic reexamination of cases involved in the Cambridge-Sommerville study (1959), found evidence to support the hypothesis that parental rejection leads to delinquency. They specifically focused on paternal acceptance, and found it to be an effective functional alternative when maternal acceptance was lacking. When parents had been involved in any deviance, rejection tended to produce delinquency. In addition, the McCords found higher delinquency rates among those with passive ineffectual fathers. The findings of Bandura and Walters (1959) also support the rejection-delinquency hypothesis. Controlling for intelligence and social class, these investigators found a special importance in paternal rejection for explaining delinquency and criminality. In fact, the father-son relationship was given more importance than that between mother and son. A higher incidence of criminality was found among those boys whose fathers were rejecting and neglecting.

The focus of these and other studies has mainly been to explain delinquency and/or criminality in general, not specifically violent crime or delinquency. The present research partially represents a limited test of the rejection-delinquency/crime hypothesis. I am interested here not in crime or delinquency as a general phenomenon, as most of the previously cited research, but in the indepen-

dent variables that predict violent criminality.

Table 3.2 describes the relationship between the quality of the father-son relationship and violent crime between ages 16 and 19. At no other point in the violent crime careers of the sample was this relationship statistically significant in explaining violent delinquency or criminality.

Table 3.2

Violent Criminality between Ages 16 and 19
By Father-Son Relationship

	Father-Son Relationship	
Violent Crime	Supportive	Neglecting/Rejecting
None	83% (95)	67% (29)
1 or more	17% (20)	33% (14)
	100%	100%
	(n=115)*	(n=43)*

$x^2 = 4.263$ $p < .05$ $r = .16$

*There were 7 missing cases.

Of those individuals committing violent crimes between ages 16 and 19, those who experienced neglecting/rejecting fathers outnumbered those with supportive fathers by 16%. This certainly is too low a percentage difference to infer a strong causal connection between the two variables. It is likely that the effect of rejection on violent criminality among those in the sample may be masking the relationship of other independent variables and the incidence

of violent crime during these ages. Further, one's suspicion is aroused by the lack of effects of this variable on violent crime at any other age period. The answers to these suspicions will not be forthcoming until this variable with others is entered into a stepwise regression model.

Mother-Son Relationship

McCord and Sanchez (1982) have shown that psychopaths have most often been recipients of paternal as well as maternal rejection and neglect (p. 256-7). The present study attempted a partial test of the maternal rejection/violent crime hypothesis and again found no statistically significant relationship between these variables at any age. One might be willing to accept maternal rejection as a determinant of psychopathy. However, the work of Andry as early as 1950 placed doubt upon the maternal deprivation hypothesis. More importance is placed by Andry upon the boy's relationship to his father than on that between him and his mother. Given the measures of maternal rejection available in the present study there does not appear to be any reason to infer that maternal deprivation was ever a partial explanation of violent criminality among this sample according to specific age categories.

The Impact of Extended Youth Incapacitation

Extended periods of time behind bars provides the manifest functions of punishment, retribution, and the protection of society from an individual considered incapable of

functioning adequately in his community. Naturally, extended incapacitation has latent consequences for the individual and may later have consequence for his community, and for agencies of the criminal justice system. There are some who condemn incarceration because of its educative function. Prisons, training schools, as well as other total institutions are seen as cultural pockets where incoming and outgoing individuals participate in socialization. The total institutions which contain criminals or delinquents are often considered schools for crime. Here an individual may polish his criminal skills and techniques while internalizing the "rationalizations" for both continuing the learning process and for committing crimes.

In this study neither the length of time spent at Wiltwyck nor whether further incarceration ensued immediately after release showed any statistically significant relationship with violent criminality at any age. What may be inferred from the lack of statistical significance here is that violence may not be something that is learned so much as it may be produced by other factors. The hypothesis that incarceration produces hostilities in the inmate that are later lashed out on the community is not supported by this study. Extended youth incarceration had no statistically significant effect on the incidence of violent criminality at any age.

Childhood Delinquency and Violent Crime

Much has been said in the criminal career literature regarding the relationship between delinquency and criminality. In an excellent paper which attempts to synthesize the results of four major studies on criminal careers, Petersilia (1980) also examines the evidence concerning the initial crime type in a criminal career. She notes that "there is evidence that the more serious the first police contact, the greater the likelihood that subsequent police contacts will occur" (p. 350). She also notes that "(t)hose who engage in serious crime at an early age are the most likely to continue to commit crimes as adults. By contrast, when juvenile criminality is lacking, sporadic, or unserious an adult criminal career is exceedingly uncommon" (p. 347). She is quick to add, however, that juvenile delinquency may be intertwined closely with other socioeconomic, racial and ethnic factors. And, "the present state of knowledge does not tell us whether this early onset [of a criminal career] reflects mainly chance, an early onset of delinquent behavior, selectivity of law enforcement, or something else" (p. 349). An examination of the relationship between the juvenile delinquency of the sample and later violent criminality provides again no statistically significant relationships at any five year age period between 16 and 40.

Due to the surprising results of the present research on childhood factors and violent criminality, further tests had to be performed on the data. Perhaps the artificial time

periods (the five-year intervals) might be having an effect on the statistical relationships between the variables. To test my suspicions, a stepwise multiple regression procedure was performed on a newly created index: Violence. The dependent variable "Violence" is a construct consisting of the sum of violent crime at all age periods (16 to 19; 20 to 24; 25 to 29; 30 to 34; 35 to 40). Violent crimes committed at any age would be subsumed in this variable. Next, I regressed all of the childhood variables on "Violence." The results of this regression procedure confirmed the previously reported findings: no childhood variable played any significantly important role in distinguishing the violent offenders from others in the sample. Table 3.3 reports the best three variable model predicting any portion of the variance in the dependent variable.

Table 3.3

Regression Model for Violence after Age 16

Independent Variable	Contribution to R^2	Dependent Variable
Prognosis	.05[a]	Violence
Father-Son Relations	.03[a]	
IQ	.02[bc]	
Total R^2	.10[b]	

[a] prob < .01

[b] prob < .05

[c] negative beta

The complete three variable model accounts for 10% of the variance in violent crime after age 16. Certainly, most of the variance in the dependent variable is explained by variables other than those examined by this study.

The above confirmation led to further examination of the variables. Perhaps the independent variables are significantly related with particular violent offenses and not with others? If so, are those specific violent offenses which are not related to the childhood variables reducing the effects of some other independent variables?

VC1519, VC2024, VC2529, VC3034 and VC35 are themselves indices of violent crime at specific ages; they are constructed from the additive incidence of murders, assaults, robberies and rapes of these age groups. To answer the above questions, individual violent offenses committed at all age groups were combined and thus the effects of artificially created time periods were removed. In addition to violent offenses, drug and property crimes were converted into indices by collapsing such offenses occuring at all ages into two dependent variables: Property and Drugs. Childhood variables were regressed on each of these. Table 3.4 reports the findings of stepwise regression procedures performed on Murder, Assault, Robbery, Rape, Property, and Drugs.

Table 3.4 confirms the findings reported earlier and, thus, echoes the conclusion reached in this study: No childhood variable as measured or examined in the present research

Table 3.4

Regression Models for Specific Types of Crimes after Age 16

Independent Variable	Contribution to R^2	Dependent Variable
Youth Aftercare	.051[c]	Murder
Total R^2	.051	
Prognosis	.028[c]	Assault
Race	.046[e]	
Total R^2	.074[c]	
Prognosis	.019[d]	Robbery
Father-son Relations	.020[d]	
Total R^2	.039[d]	
Prognosis	.039[d]	Rape
Extended Youth/ Incarceration	.017[e]	
Total R^2	.056[d]	
Childhood Mental Illness	.058[a]	Property
Maternal Deviance	.030[c]	
Total R^2	.088[b]	
Maternal Deviance	.028[c]	Drugs
Race	.017[e]	
Total R^2	.045[c]	

[a] prob < .001

[b] prob < .01

[c] prob < .05

[d] prob = .05

[e] prob > .05

[f] negative beta

played an important role in predicting adult violence. Only one variable was related to murder after age 16: AFTRCR. However, psychiatric and social work aftercare explained directly only 4.7% of variance in the dependent variable. Negative prognosis at Wiltwyck and race accounted for little more than 7% of the variance in the dependent variable assault. Robbery was related to two childhood variables, prognosis and father-son relations which explained almost 4% of the variance in the dependent variable. Rapes too were related to a two variable model which included prognosis and extended youth incarceration but explained only a minute amount of the variance, 5.6%.

Interestingly, property and drug offenses after age 15 were equally difficult to predict. Childhood mental illness and maternal deviance were related to property offenses but predicted only about 9% of the variance in the dependent variable. Similarly, the only two variables related to drug offenses, maternal deviance and race, accounted for only 4.5% of the variance.

Childhood and Criminality

The evidence and results presented thus far point to the conclusion that childhood variables were not reliable and efficient predictors of violent, drug or property crime. But to be certain of such a conclusion a further combining procedure must be performed since violent,

drug and property offenses were regressed separately. While the expressed aim of the present research is not to investigate property or drug offenses, it behooves this researcher to follow the logical path laid by the findings. To do this all types of crimes committed by the sample after age 16 were combined into an index which will be referred to as ALLCRIME. This index includes all property, drug and violent offenses and will be the dependent variable in a stepwise regression model containing all childhood variables. Table 3.5 reports on the findings of the regression procedure.

Table 3.5
Regression Model for All Crimes after Age 16

Independent Variable	Contribution to R^2	Dependent Variable
Maternal Deviance	.038[ab]	ALLCRIME
Race	.023[a]	
Childhood Mental Disorder	.024[ab]	
Total R^2	.085[a]	

[a] prob < .05

[b] negative beta

The three variable model presented in Table 3.5 above explains a total of 8.5% of the variance in the dependent variable: ALLCRIME. As noted earlier, the dependent variable in this case consists of all of the criminal offenses committed by the sample after age 16. Property, drug (sale and use), and violent offenses are included, and

are regressed on the childhood independent variables. The presence of alcoholism, sexual deviance, criminality, or mental illness among the mothers of our sample was inversely related to the incidence of all crimes in the sample. That is, the smaller the incidence of maternal deviance the greater the incidence of criminality in the sample after age 16. However, such a relationship, while statistically significant at less than the .05 level, only explains less than 4% of the variance in the dependent variable. Similarly, Table 3.5 shows that mental disturbance (WILDIAG) during childhood is inversely related to greater incidence of crime after 16. Here again, however, WILDIAG explains slightly more than 2% of the variance in the dependent variable. Finally, race is positively related to criminality after age 16. Race accounts for 2.3% of the variance. Non-whites were more likely than whites to be involved in adult criminality.

As with previous findings in the present chapter, the amount of variance accounted for by the independent variables is very small. These last findings support previous conclusions regarding childhood variables. For it appears that childhood variables are not very helpful in explaining specific crimes or criminality in general after age 16.

Such findings leave no alternative but to conclude that: No childhood variable examined by the present study, and as measured herein, identifies one-time adult violent offenders among lower class, urban, male

ex-juvenile delinquents. Further, it is doubtful that, within such a population, the childhood factors as measured in this study are helpful in distinguishing criminals in general during adulthood.

Some alternative explanations for the findings presented thus far in this chapter may include the following:

1. It is possible that the childhood measures employed in the present research were too gross to discern subtle differences among members of the sample. Given the fact that most of the childhood information collected was part of the case files of the individuals studied herein, the problem of gross measures did not appear to be circumvented.
2. The "treatment" effects of the time spent at Wiltwyck may have reduced or eliminated the possible relationships. As will be recalled, Wiltwyck during the time in question was employing milieu therapy as a treatment approach. Such treatment might have, in fact, been successful thereby intervening and reducing the impact of childhood variables on adult criminality.
3. The fact that all of the boys in the sample came from "disordered" backgrounds (else they would have never been at Wiltwyck) could have made them so homogeneous that,

perhaps, subtle differences within the sample were unimportant, while possibly being important among the general population.

4. Finally, it is possible that demographic variables such as urban residence, low SES, and being male had the greatest impact upon the individuals studied herein. The fact that the members of this sample possessed these characteristics in common made them a high risk group. Such a conclusion is supported by an examination of the Uniform Crime Reports regarding almost any historical period. The strong impact of such demographic variables and the fact that they were shared in common by the entire sample can make subtle differences indiscernible.

This research has studied a high risk group of individuals: the urban, lower-class, male ex-delinquent. Such a group is certainly special and, as such, the present findings may not be reliably generalized to the larger, not necessarily "official," criminal population. Yet the value of the present research lies in the close attention paid to a particular high risk group. It may be that the factors which in this study were held constant (i.e., socioeconomic status,

residence, sex and past delinquent involvement) are the best predictors of future criminality. We are unable to state such a finding here with any certainty since no non-officially criminal comparison group was employed. However, neither do we at this point have the evidence to reject such a conclusion given the overrepresentation of lower-class, urban males in juvenile training schools throughout the country.

Borrowing an analogy from a colleague, thus far in this study I am able to say who will come through the main door of the house of delinquency. But I am unable to discern who will enter the rooms where those who will become violent, those who will become drug users or sellers, or those who will become property offenders will reside.

Childhood Variables and Offender Types

I have thus far examined:

1. The impact of childhood factors on various adult age groups and found no dramatic relationships between any of the variables tested and any age group.
2. The impact of these factors on violence occurring after age 16 as a general either/or category and obtained no dramatic relationships. Only 10% of the variance was explained by a three variable model which included a negative prognosis, neglecting/rejecting father-son relations and low intelligence.

3. The impact of childhood variables on specific types of offenses, including drug and property crimes. Here again very little of the variance was accounted for by these variables. However, I did find in Chapter II that the curve of property offenses shares a striking resemblance to that of violent crimes regarding peak ages; both appear to march to the same drummer and to keep step with each other while marching. The inability to discern childhood predictors of violence and property offenses may be due to this fact. In addition, I found that robberies and assaults are strongest in determining the shape of the violence curve, and that rape and murder play a small role due to their infrequent incidence.

4. That of 165, 73 members of the sample (45%) <u>did not</u> have a criminal record after age 16 and the remaining 55% (N=92) had been in trouble with criminal justice at some point between ages 16 and 40. Here, too little of the R^2 was explained by the best regression model. The findings obtained in the present chapter raise other

questions which must be answered before leaving the topic of childhood variables.

I was encouraged by the above findings to give the independent variables employed in the present chapter every opportunity to demonstrate their impact on adult violence. It seemed possible that while the preceding findings were less than dramatic, compartmentalizing the sample into different statistical categories (Bierstedt, 1948) might yield different results. As such the sample was divided according to criminal career patterns measured along a specialization ⟶ diversification continuum in the types of offenses committed. A five-fold typology was created to be measured against all of the independent variables. The following types emerged.

1. Non-criminal. The individuals falling into this type had no official record of adult criminal offenses of any kind. I do not assume here, however, that no unreported offenses were committed by these individuals.
2. Violence specialists. These individuals' criminal record contained nothing but violent offenses.
3. Non-violent specialists. These individuals never committed a reported violent offense between ages 16 and 40, but did in fact commit property and/or drug offenses.

4. Quasi-mixers. Persons of this type were those who were involved in only 2 types of crimes, one of which was always violent (e.g. violence and drugs; violence and property crimes).
5. Mixers. Individuals of this type are highly diversified in the offenses they commit. They engaged in violent, property and drug offenses.

Table 3.6 permits the reader to review the relations between each of the childhood variables and adult criminal types. Each percentage on the table is based on the number falling within the type. The sum of categories in each variable equals 100%, or the total N for the type.

The Effects of Race

The overwhelming effect of race on all of the types is clearly demonstrated across the table. Most of the individuals in all of the criminal types are non-whites. This, however seems to be due to the fact that there are only 39 (23%) whites in this study. As one can see, almost as many whites as non-whites were non-criminals; and most of those who were had records of being either non-violent specialists or quasi-mixers and were Blacks and Hispanics. Violence specialists and mixers, the two extremes of the typology, were mostly Blacks and Hispanics. The distributions of non-criminals, non-violent specialists and quasi-mixers are strikingly similar, while the distribu-

Table 3.6

Offender Types by All Childhood Variables

	Offender Types				
	N=73 Non-criminal	N=13 Violence Specialists	N=33 Quasi-Mixers	N=29 Mixers	N=17 Non-violent Specialists
Race					
White	27 (20)	15 (2)	27 (9)	10 (3)	24 (5)
Non-white	73 (53)	85 (11)	73 (24)	90 (26)	76 (12)
Childhood Mental Disorder					
Psychopathy	21 (15)	30 (4)	30 (10)	34 (10)	29 (5)
Neurosis	53 (39)	55 (7)	46 (15)	45 (13)	65 (11)
Psychosis	19 (14)	15 (2)	15 (5)	7 (2)	6 (1)
None	7 (5)	0 (0)	9 (3)	14 (4)	0 (0)
Juvenile Delinquency					
Status	69 (50)	70 (9)	82 (27)	59 (17)	41 (7)
Serious	31 (23)	30 (4)	18 (6)	41 (12)	59 (10)
I.Q.					
Normal	56 (41)	40 (5)	55 (18)	55 (16)	41 (7)
Below Normal	44 (32)	60 (8)	45 (15)	45 (13)	59 (10)
Family Situation					
Broken	66 (48)	60 (8)	57 (19)	66 (19)	65 (11)
Intact	34 (25)	40 (5)	43 (14)	34 (10)	35 (6)
Childhood Prognosis					
Positive	58 (42)	60 (8)	45 (15)	48 (14)	59 (10)
Negative	42 (31)	40 (5)	55 (18)	52 (15)	41 (7)
Father-Son Relations					
Supportive	22 (16)	40 (5)	30 (10)	25 (7)	23 (4)
Rejecting/ Neglecting	78 (57)	60 (8)	70 (23)	75 (22)	77 (13)
Mother-Son Relations					
Supportive	29 (21)	45 (6)	49 (16)	48 (14)	29 (5)
Rejecting/ Neglecting	71 (52)	55 (7)	51 (17)	52 (15)	71 (12)
Paternal Deviance					
Criminality	4 (10)	16 (2)	6 (2)	7 (2)	12 (2)
Alcoholism	4 (10)	7 (1)	6 (2)	14 (4)	6 (1)
Psychiatric	3 (2)	7 (1)	3 (1)	3 (1)	6 (1)
Other	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
None	69 (51)	70 (9)	85 (28)	76 (22)	76 (13)
Maternal Deviance					
Criminality	4 (3)	0 (0)	3 (1)	3 (1)	0 (0)
Alcoholism	6 (4)	0 (0)	3 (1)	3 (1)	12 (2)
Psychiatric	27 (20)	40 (5)	21 (7)	18 (5)	12 (2)
Other	4 (3)	0 (0)	6 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
None	59 (43)	60 (8)	67 (22)	76 (22)	76 (13)
Disposition After Wiltwyck					
Further Incarceration	16 (12)	15 (2)	24 (8)	14 (4)	12 (2)
Foster Home/ Halfway	18 (13)	0 (0)	12 (4)	20 (6)	17 (3)
Release to Family	66 (48)	85 (11)	64 (21)	66 (19)	71 (12)

tion for violence specialists and mixers is quite similar. Nevertheless, overall, the effects of race are slight: 42% of the non-whites (N=53) had no adult criminal record while 51% of the whites also did not.

Table 3.7
The Effects of Race on Adult Criminal Record

	Race	
Official Record	White	Non-White
Criminal	49%(19)	58%(73)
None	51%(20)	42%(53)
	100% (N=39)	100% (N=126)

Childhood Mental Disorders and Adult Offender Types

Neurosis appears as the predominant childhood mental disorder shared by all types including the non-criminals, followed by psychopathy. The number of psychopaths participating in crimes is almost twice as great as among non-criminals. This is especially true for those involved in violent offenses since, between offenders and non-criminals, there is an almost equal distribution. However, we are not able to distinguish clearly which offender type is most related to given disturbance categories. The psychiatric profiles of the non-criminals follow similar patterns as those of most of the criminal types.

Status Offenders and Adult Offender Types

A distinction was made between those who had been

sent to Wiltwyck for status offenses and those who had been involved in misdemeanors and felonies. Among the offender types the status offender were overrepresented, as they were among the non-criminals. While the non-criminals, violence specialists and the quasi-mixers are overrepresented by status offenders, the mixers are less prominently composed of status offenders. Nevertheless, there is only a 13% difference between status and more serious delinquents regarding their involvement in adult crime. Once again previous findings in this chapter are supported. However, we now know that status delinquency was somewhat important in predicting some offender types with moderate diversification of offenses but specific involvement in violence.

The Effects of Intellectual Functioning and the Family

Intelligence played a minor role in helping to distinguish non-criminals from those who had a criminal record, or even between the types of criminals. Below normal I.Q. does, however, distinguish the non-violent and violence specialists from the other offender types. The slight relationship between intelligence and offender type may be demonstrating that some degree of ingenuity may be necessary in order to have a diversified criminal career. Individuals with low I.Q. most often may be lacking such ingenuity. Family situation similarly does not help to distinguish between either the types or between criminals and non-criminals.

The Impact of Prognosis

At the time when the boys were released from Wiltwyck, the psychiatrist had to make a determination, a prediction, as to whether the child would be able to adjust to the community. And, although the nature of the criteria of success in the community imposed by the evaluators is not known, one may use an adult criminal record as a sign of failure in the prediction. Taking that as a criterion of success, of those who did not go on to any known adult criminality, 58% (N=42) were predicted correctly. Most correct negative predictions were made on the quasi-mixers and the mixers. Most incorrect negative predictions were made on violence specialists and non-violent specialists.

However, there are factors which cannot be discerned from the available data. For example, one might say that in some cases psychiatrists at Wiltwyck were correct, even to a limited degree. On the other hand, one might invoke a labeling argument whereby those who were predicted to be unable to adjust to the community had a record which informed others who, in turn, behaved differentially toward these individuals. This would be plausible except that in some cases, such as in the non-violent specialists and in the violence specialists, this pattern does not apply. In these cases most individuals predicted to have successful adaptation to their communities after Wiltwyck did in fact become involved with criminality as adults. This relation-

ship may simply be explained by the fact that mixers and quasi-mixers are more likely to fail due to their more diversified patterns of criminality, while the behavior of more specialized offender types is much more difficult to predict. This is true of specialized violent or non-violent offenders. Again, the nature of the prognosis made at Wiltwyck helps very little in distinguishing those with a criminal record and those without one, as well as between offender types.

Parent-Son Relations

Father-son relations play a minor role in distinguishing between offender types. It appears that most of the sample was neglected or rejected by the father. Even the non-criminals were overrepresented among those who were neglected or rejected. The story is somewhat different regarding mother-son relations. In this case neglect or rejection by the mother permits me to distinguish only the non-violent specialists. Neglect and rejection make little difference among quasi-mixers and mixers. However, I do find that violence specialists experienced relatively more supportive relationships with their fathers than any other offender type. Noting that a proportionately higher percentage of their fathers were criminals one might guess that identification plays some role here. An exact distribution was shared by non-violent specialists and non-criminals. If one accepts as a definition of dangerousness the presence of violent criminality, then those two

types qualify as non-dangerous. And with such individuals, maternal rejection and neglect is comparatively lesser than with the violent types. The reader is reminded, however, that such relationships are not dramatic and obviously cannot serve as conclusive empirical evidence.

A paternal and/or maternal history of no recorded deviance was shared by violence specialists and by non-criminals. The most common incidents of paternal deviance were criminal while the most common for maternal deviance were psychiatric. It should be noted, however, that a substantially higher proportion of violent specialists had mothers with serious psychiatric records. Paternal deviance, it is clear, cannot be used to distinguish between offender types and offenders compared to non-criminals.

Eighty-five percent of the violence specialists had been sent back home after being released from Wiltwyck. This fact distinguishes this offender type from the others. Factors existing in the broken homes and the neglecting/rejecting parents to which they returned may have had a great deal to do with activating already existing violent tendencies.

The findings regarding the effect of childhood variables on offender types may be summarized as follows:

1. Race was not an important variable in distinguishing offenders from non-offenders. Being non-white, however, was important in distinguishing

two extremes of the specialization continuum: the violence specialists and the mixers.

2. Childhood neurosis was the most common diagnosis among all of the types. However, the non-criminals and non-violent specialists had the greatest proportions of childhood neurotics. Childhood psychopathy was more commonly found among the adults who had a record of violent offenses, especially the mixers.
3. A record of status offenses helps little in distinguishing between individuals involved in any adult criminality and non-criminals. However, I did find that non-violent specialists were most likely to have been non-status offenders during childhood, and that status offenders were relatively more frequent in the mixer type than in any other type. The difference between the percentage of status offenders in the mixer type compared to the other types, including the non-criminals, is slight.
4. Intellectual functioning was also of some importance for distinguishing between types of offender or between offenders and non-

offenders. Those with low I.Q. were relatively more likely to become violence or non-violent specialists. This, I infer, may be due to the greater ingenuity and flexibility necessary to become simultaneously involved in different types of offenses. The differences in intelligence between these and other offender types are relatively small.

5. A positive or negative prognosis helped somewhat in distinguishing between some offender types. A negative prognosis was found most often among those whose criminal careers were most diversified. A labeling argument was invoked to explain the slightly greater criminal involvement of the negatively labeled in some of the offender types and the lesser involvement in any crime of those receiving a positive prognosis. However, such slight differences prove very little. This issue of labeling may be better explored when we address the issue of violent recidivism.
6. Violent specialists were more likely to have experienced supportive relations with their fathers than any other type,

including the non-criminals. The non-criminals experienced high rejection and neglect from their fathers, while all other types were similarly rejected and neglected. Those engaging in any type of violent offenses (specialists, mixers and quasi-mixers) experienced relatively less maternal rejection and neglect than the non-criminals and non-violent specialists. However, paternal neglect and rejection was not extremely helpful in distinguishing between offender types.

7. A record of family deviance also could not be used to distinguish between offender types. In fact among all offender types, as well as non-criminals, no family deviance was present in most cases.
8. Being released to the family after Wiltwyck permitted distinguishing one offender type from all others including the non-criminals: the violent specialists. This type of individual may have returned to a home which exacerbated already existing tendencies toward violence.

Violent Recidivism and Childhood Variables

Another way of distinguishing between the members of the sample is according to the frequency of violent offenses in their criminal histories. That is, one could ask the question: What distinguishes one-time violent offenders from two-, three-, four-, and five-time repeaters? Here one begins to touch more specifically on the issue of the dangerous offender. The use of the term dangerous may be applied to individuals who have been involved in one violent crime, although this usage would not be the most popular. More common is the tendency to perceive repeat violent offenders as dangerous people. The Model Sentencing Act of 1972 defined someone as dangerous who: "1) has committed a serious crime against a person and shows a pattern of persistent assaultiveness based on serious mental disturbances, and 2) the offender deeply involved in organized crime" (Council of Judges, NCCD, 1972). One might want to argue with this definition of dangerousness on the grounds that there need not be present any mental illness nor membership in organized crime for someone to act in repetitive assaultive patterns. The wording of this definition reflects the common tendency to identify violence with mental illness when no such relationship has been established by empirical evidence. Thus, the person is perceived as violent because he is mentally ill, and he must be mentally ill because he is violent. This typical

tautology persists because of a lack of good research which tests the relationship between mental disorder and violent behavior. This may in fact be due more to problems in measurement than to lack of interest. Both the concepts of violence and mental illness are still problematic and controversial, as dangerousness is, within the social and behavioral sciences. Lack of consensus regarding terms often leads to much theoretical controversy. The present study should not be seen as an exception regarding such matters.

The Impact of Race

Table 3.8 depicts the relationship between the childhood variables employed in this study and the frequency of violent offenses committed. This table shows once again that race accounts for some of the recidivism. The sample is made up of 23% (N=39) whites and 77% (N=126) non-whites. Those whites participating in at least one violent offense (N=14) represent 23% of the total number of individuals who did (N=75). Their participation proportional to non-whites begins to decline, however, after the first offense. After this point, non-whites overrepresent the ranks of violent offenders.

Psychological Disorder and Violent Recidivism

Childhood psychopathy is represented by a plurality of individuals who have engaged in more than three violent offenses, while those diagnosed as neurotic and psychotic

Table 3.8
Violent Recidivism by All Childhood Variables

	Frequency of Violence Crimes				
	1	2	3	4	5
	(N=75)	(N=41)	(N=31)	(N=22)	(N=7)
Race	%N	%N	%N	%N	%N
White	19 (14)	10 (4)	13 (4)	5 (1)	14 (1)
Non-white	81 (61)	90 (37)	87 (27)	95 (21)	86 (6)
Childhood Mental Disorder					
Psychopathy	32 (24)	32 (13)	32 (10)	45 (10)	43 (3)
Neurosis	47 (35)	39 (16)	42 (13)	36 (8)	29 (2)
Psychosis	12 (9)	17 (7)	19 (6)	14 (3)	14 (1)
None	9 (7)	12 (5)	7 (2)	5 (1)	14 (1)
Juvenile Delinquency					
Status	71 (53)	66 (27)	65 (20)	59 (13)	44 (3)
Criminal	29 (22)	34 (14)	35 (11)	41 (9)	56 (4)
I.Q.					
Normal	52 (39)	49 (20)	42 (13)	36 (8)	21 (2)
Below Normal	48 (36)	51 (21)	58 (18)	64 (14)	9 (5)
Family Situation					
Broken	61 (46)	71 (29)	68 (21)	77 (17)	86 (6)
Intact	39 (29)	29 (12)	32 (10)	23 (5)	14 (1)
Youth Prognosis					
Positive	49 (37)	37 (15)	35 (11)	36 (8)	29 (2)
Negative	51 (38)	63 (26)	65 (20)	64 (14)	71 (5)
Father-Son Relations					
Supportive	29 (22)	37 (15)	35 (11)	32 (7)	14 (1)
Rejecting/ Neglecting	71 (53)	63 (26)	65 (20)	68 (15)	86 (6)
Mother-Son Relations					
Supportive	48 (36)	41 (17)	42 (13)	45 (10)	43 (3)
Rejecting/ Neglecting	52 (39)	59 (24)	58 (18)	55 (12)	57 (4)
Paternal Deviance					
Criminality	8 (6)	12 (5)	16 (5)	13 (3)	29 (2)
Alcoholism	9 (7)	12 (5)	6 (2)	5 (1)	14 (1)
Psychiatric	4 (3)	3 (1)	3 (1)	5 (1)	0 (0)
Other	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
None	79 (59)	73 (30)	75 (23)	77 (17)	56 (4)
Maternal Deviance					
Criminality	3 (2)	5 (2)	6 (2)	9 (2)	29 (2)
Alcoholism	3 (2)	5 (2)	3 (1)	5 (1)	0 (0)
Psychiatric	23 (17)	22 (9)	19 (6)	13 (3)	0 (0)
Other	2 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
None	69 (52)	68 (28)	72 (22)	73 (16)	71 (5)
Disposition After Wiltwyck					
Further Incarceration	19 (14)	20 (8)	19 (6)	18 (4)	29 (2)
Halfway/ Foster Home	14 (10)	12 (5)	13 (4)	18 (4)	14 (1)
Release to Family	67 (51)	68 (28)	68 (21)	64 (14)	56 (4)

were more likely to commit less than four violent crimes. Having no clear-cut evidence on hand that milieu therapy did, in fact, provide long-term rehabilitation to psychopaths at Wiltwyck (McCord and Sanchez, 1983; McCord, 1982), it must be assumed that the psychopath's inability to learn from experience (Cleckley, 1976) makes recidivism likely and deterrence efforts less than effective.

Status Offenders and Recidivism

Kelley (1983) examines the criminal careers of status offenders and compares this group with those who were adjudicated delinquent as a result of a misdemeanor or felony. His work addresses, among other things, the fact that status offenders are a different type of delinquent with different career patterns than those of more serious delinquents. The former tend to engage in less serious subsequent delinquency than the latter. The findings reported in Table 3.8 support his conclusions, but this time for the repetitiveness of later adult violent criminality. As one moves away from one-time violent offenders to five-time recidivists, the proportion of those classified as status offenders during childhood decreases as the proportion of those who were adjudicated delinquent for more serious offenses increases steadily. Kelley, invoking a labeling argument, concludes that juvenile court and official labeling may be having a deleterious effect on many status offenders, thereby channeling these individuals toward more

serious subsequent delinquency (1983:378). He proposes that "status offender statutes should be revised or that most such offenders should be removed from juvenile court jurisdiction.... Contact should occur only after allegation of a criminal offense" (p. 379). The findings reported in the present discussion tend to support such a conclusion, and take it one step further into adulthood. However, the non-dramatic percentage differences and the size of the sample make this supporting evidence very limited.

Intellectual Functioning and Violent Recidivism

The percentage differences between levels of frequency and intelligence present a somewhat clearer pattern than previous variables. Here the greater the recidivism, the more intelligence plays a role in distinguishing between one-time and multiple offenders. This, however, is true only for three-, four-, and five-time offenders, especially for the latter two. We note a proportional decline of those scoring within "normal" ranges and a proportional increase in those scoring below normal with increasing recidivism. This may be interpreted as demonstrating a clear-cut relationship between intelligence and violence, or as a relation between I.Q. and the likelihood of being arrested. I am unable to disentangle these two simultaneous effects here as they may be intricately connected in actuality. It may be that those who score low in I.Q. may not only possess less ability to verbalize their frustration and to take non-violent alternate lines of action, but they

may also be the ones who lack the intellectual capacity to evade the authorities.

The Broken Family and Violent Recidivism

Individuals coming from a broken family show a steadily increasing participation in violent crime, as those coming from intact households as children show a steady decline in violent recidivism. An interesting point here is the strength of the impact of this variable through time. As James Q. Wilson notes,

> families that are broken by divorce or desertion are more likely to affect the child's behavior adversely than those broken by the death of one parent. Homes that are broken because of parental discord are unhappy places in which the child experiences not only the stresses associated with separation but those produced by the discord that led to the separation. (1983:56)

Certainly in the present sample many of the fathers deserted their families. Surely this was an important influence to the childhood delinquency of the men in this sample but, according to Table 3.8, it is also of importance to their adult violent recidivism.

The Power of Prognosis

The argument is made by labelists that official processing and the labeling that occurs thereby has deleterious effects on individuals who are so labeled. A gradual process of acceptance of a "deviant" identity leads the labeled to secondary deviations. Knowledge about an individual's negative label by others may influence how they treat him. The differential treatment received by those

labeled, labelists contend, ultimately pushes the person into behavior considered deviant, and the cycle continues. Upon release from Wiltwyck each boy was evaluated by a psychiatrist who prognosticated the boy's potential adjustment to his community. Known to others in the community, a negative prognosis may predispose an individual to enter a deviant life-style, or in this case, to recidivate.

Table 3.8 presents a steady increase in the proportion of recidivists who were given a negative prognosis, the greatest difference being between the extremes of one-time and five-time offenders. Add to this the findings that: 1) the majority of the violent offenders were neglected by both parents who in most cases were apart; 2) this factor, especially paternal neglect, appeared to make a difference in the number of offenses; and 3) in most cases the child was released to the family in spite of a negative prognosis. One might conclude from this that boys who received negative prognoses at Wiltwyck were twice labeled by juvenile justice, once at adjudication, and again upon release. They went into broken homes in which they were either rejected, neglected, or both, especially by the father, but a home where most likely there was no known parental deviance (criminal, psychiatric, alcoholic, or sexual). When examined according to frequency of violent offenses, the broken home presents itself as important in predicting adult repetitive violence. Thus, these boys who had been

labeled delinquent and as unlikely to be able to adjust to their community would have such a record follow them to their school and community agencies where differential treatment may have been experienced. The status assigned by peers to having been in "trouble" may bring further encouragement for the boy to continue along similar lines of behavior. Ultimate identification with a given label and life-style may serve to propel a repetitive pattern of violent behavior, as other alternatives to action become less available.

An alternate explanation here would be that the evaluator was correct, had his criteria of failure been violent recidivism. However, we do not possess clear-cut criteria by which success or failure could be measured since in no case did the mental health professional making the prognosis provide one. Thus, to reach this latter conclusion would require much speculation regarding the meaning of "adjustment to the community." Given the findings of this study, it would be safer to invoke the labeling argument to explain them.

The findings regarding violent recidivism may be summarized as follows:

1. Race was an important variable in predicting who would become the most serious recidivists in this sample. The hard-core violent recidivists were primarily non-white individuals.

2. Those who were diagnosed as psychopathic during their stay at Wiltwyck were more likely to become the most serious recidivists in this sample. It was concluded that the psychopath's inability to learn from experience was a factor in their continued violent criminality.
3. Status offenders were <u>least</u> likely to become the most serious recidivists while those who had been committed to Wiltwyck either for felonies or misdemeanors were most likely to recidivate more frequently. This supports most of the available evidence which states that status offenders tend to commit less serious subsequent crimes than their counterparts who have engaged in more serious delinquency.
4. Those individuals scoring below normal (below 90) on intelligence tests were most likely to be the most serious violent recidivists. However, the connection between these variables is not clear. It may be that either the less intelligent members of the sample were more likely to be arrested or that these individuals lacked the capacity to verbalize aggressiveness or to find alternate means of

expressing it. These two effects may be so intricately connected that researchers are unable to disentangle the impact of one from the other.

5. Prognosis of improper adjustment to the community upon release from Wiltwyck had a positive impact on violent recidivism. Those receiving negative prognoses were most likely to become the more serious violent offenders. Two conclusions may be derived from this finding: a) the mental health professional who made the prediction was correct, or b) the labeling and the differential treatment by others experienced by the labeled individuals helped to shape their future behavior. It remains unclear, however, to this researcher as to why in most cases the boys were sent back to neglecting/rejecting/broken homes in spite of a negative prognosis. In addition, no clear-cut criteria of success were ever provided by the prognosticator in the boys' case file. Thus, the most plausible explanation, given the available data, was one which invokes the labeling process.

Earlier in this chapter I found that childhood variables were of no particular importance in distinguishing

violent offenders from other members of the sample. However, some childhood factors did have an impact on violent recidivism during adulthood. In order to discern the relative influence of these variables on adult violence a stepwise regression procedure was performed. The results of this procedure are reported in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9
Regression Model for Childhood
Variables and Violent Recidivism

Independent Variables	Contribution to R^2	Dependent Variable
Youth Prognosis	.10[a]	Violent Crime 2
Race	.09[a]	
Juvenile Delinquency Seriousness	.01[c]	
Total R^2	.20[a]	
I.Q.	.06[bd]	Violent Crime 3
Mother-Son Relations	.06[bd]	
Juvenile Delinquency Seriousness	.06[c]	
Family Situation	.03[c]	
Total R^2	.21[c]	
Juvenile Delinquency Seriousness	.10[c]	Violent Crime 4[e]
Total R^2	.10	

[a] prob < .01
[b] prob = .01
[c] prob < .05
[d] negative beta
[e] Violent Crime 5 had an N of 7 which was considered too small for a regression procedure. It was, therefore, omitted from this analysis.

None of the models presented in Table 3.9 above accounts for more than 21% of the variance in the dependent variable. A negative prognosis at Wiltwyck accounts for 10% of the variance in the incidence of a second violent offense, race accounts for 9%, and a record of serious delinquency accounts for the remaining 1% explained by the model. Non-whites who experienced negative labeling at Wiltwyck and were detained there for serious delinquency, were more likely to go on to commit two violent offenses as adults.

The relative impact of the labeling process, however, is superseded in the third violent crime by the effects of below normal intelligence, decreased maternal support, a record of serious juvenile delinquency, and a broken family, the total accounting for 21% of the variance. Finally, by the fourth and fifth violent offenses, only a record of serious delinquency remains in the model, and it explains 10% of the variance in the incidence of four or more violent crimes.

The resulting scenario is the traditional profile of delinquents-turned-criminal depicted by current criminology: non-white boys of low intelligence, who have been adjudicated juvenile delinquents as a result of a property or violent offense, who have been labeled as unlikely to adjust to their community, and who have a record of one adult violent offense.

However, this traditional image represents only a small part of the total picture. While the results obtained here might be perceived as supporting traditional knowledge in the criminology of violent behavior, they also point to the

fact that there is much work to be done. At least 79% of the variance in the models presented above remains unexplained. Thus, explanations or predictions of violent criminality relying solely on the childhood variables yielded by this study stand on a very weak foundation. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the base rate of violent crime among our sample is approximately 50%. This study has not attempted to explain a rare phenomenon; violence was a frequent event in the sample's adult lives. Yet even within such a sample where individuals had an equal opportunity to be or not to be violent, only a small portion of the variation can be explained.

Again, it must be inferred from the findings reported herein that while some of the childhood variables employed in this study shed some light on adult violence - especially on violent recidivism - it may be the demographic constants shared by this sample that are affecting the variance. It is also possible that the effects of milieu therapy received by these individuals at Wiltwyck may have for some reduced the impact of the pre-Wiltwyck experiences as these relate to adult violence. Moreover, these individuals' contacts with criminal justice as adults may have had important effects in propelling their violent careers, as could have their experiences with criminal violence and maturational processes. These questions will be addressed in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

Previous Violence, Age, and Criminal Justice Response as Predictors of Violent Criminality

In Chapter III the effect of childhood variables on adult criminality was assessed. Overall, the findings reported in that chapter suggest that the variables examined are of little help in predicting who in the sample would become a violent offender during adulthood or in distinguishing between generalist and specialist offender types. It was found, however, that some childhood variables were important in distinguishing serious violent recidivists from the less repetitive offenders.

For the present part of the analysis those individuals who were not involved in adult violent crimes were deleted, and a subsample of the violent offenders was created. Thus, in the present chapter we retain for analysis 75 out of the original 165 subjects. That is to say, approximately 45% of the total sample is known to have been involved in one or more acts of violent criminality as adults. This fact in itself is important since it asserts that violent behavior is not a rare phenomenon among the individuals studied herein. As such, this study does not face the difficulty of attempting to explain an infrequently occurring behavior.

With the present subsample I am interested in assessing the impact of previous violent criminality, age and matura-

tion, the effects of incarceration, offense seriousness, perceived severity of punishment, the perceived certainty that such punishment will occur, and the total effects of punishment on future violent criminality.

Effects of Imprisonment

The variable "INSIDE" refers to the length of actual time spent inside prison for a particular violent offense. It was constructed by subtracting the actual date of release from prison (whether this signified the beginning of parole or of actual release) from the date of incarceration measured in years. This measure was preferred to sentence, since the latter carries with it many unmeasured degrees of judicial discretion and plea bargaining. The interest of this study in using the time spent in prison is related to the literature on criminalization, prisonization and the negative effects of prison on individuals. This literature depicts the prison as a total institution where the self suffers deprivations and assaults, and where the novice criminal learns some of the skills of a trade he may need once outside. Prison is also seen as a place where unimaginable frustrations develop into an anger that is taken out into civil society and inflicted upon it in the form of crime and violence. Logically, then, the longer the amount of time spent in such places the greater the effects of the place upon the person and the more difficult it will be for the person to adjust to the outside world. Thus,

> they "wise up," as the inmates say...by association they become prisonized...every man is subject to certain influences which we may call the universal factors of prisonization...the influences of these universal factors are sufficient to make a man characteristic of the penal community and probably so disrupt his personality that a happy adjustment in any community becomes next to impossible (Clemmer, 1958:300).

However, Clemmer is quick to point out that the prisonization process may vary according to various factors such as the inmate's personality, outside relationships, placement in a work-gang and membership in prison primary groups. Nevertheless, Clemmer agrees that short stays in prison lessen the impact of prisonization while long stays increase its effects (p. 301). As such the variable "INSIDE" tests an important proposition in Clemmer's classic work.

Similar classical statements to those of Clemmer have been made by Sykes (1958) regarding the "pains of imprisonment." He states, "Imprisonment, then, is painful. The pains of imprisonment, however, cannot be viewed as being limited to the loss of physical liberty. The significant hurts lie in the frustrations or deprivations...they carry a more profound hurt as a set of threats or attacks which are directed against the very foundation of the prisoner's being" (p. 79).

The pains of imprisonment are attenuated by the patterns of interaction and the social relationships that arise as a result of these. The pains, however, are only mitigated but not eliminated. And although the work of

Sykes describes life in a maximum security prison, one might take license to extend these effects to other less "secure" restraining environments. One who has done classic work in the formal sociology of such places is Erving Goffman who in Asylums (1961) captures vividly the characteristics shared by all institutions whose job it is to administer the round of life of individuals who reside there. Prisons are just one type of total institution: "...a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life" (p. xiii).

These places demoralize and attack the presenting culture of the inmate as well as the self that presents it. The inmate "begins a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations, and profanations of self. His self is systematically, if often unintentionally, mortified. He begins some radical shifts in his moral career, a career composed of the progressive changes that occur in the beliefs that he has concerning himself and significant others" (p. 14).

This progressive contamination of the territories of the self is seen by Goffman, as by others previous to and after him, as leading to a difficult re-entry into civil society. This is especially true of those total institutions admission to which is not voluntary but compulsory.

Pain is not the only effect of imprisonment. As the prisoner faces pain he will indeed seek out buffers by which

to block the direct effects of his experience. If he is fortunate, fellow inmates will accept him as a member of existing cliques and groups. And while for this acceptance he may have to pay by permitting himself to be subjected to certain initiation ceremonies, his pains are lessened by the fact that he shares these in common with his fellows; he is bonded to these "brothers in pain." While he may escape the pains by such means, he places himself in the iron cage of a new culture which, if he is to belong, he must at least imitate or ultimately internalize.

The convict enters the inmate value system. The distrust of guards and the administration of the prison in a very important way signifies a distrust for values that are held by outside society; the prison culture thus arises as a perspective by incongruity. Sykes and Messinger (1977) denote the focal concerns of this culture. They demonstrate the functions served by the inmate code for the prisoner, and the coherence of this code as an ideological and behavioral rejection of straight society. Stanton Wheeler (1969) stresses the socialization aspects of correctional institutions, and notes a "trend toward greater nonconformity to staff values with increase in length of time in prison. And the trend was much stronger for those inmates who had made many friends in the institutions than for those who were relatively isolated" (p. 1005).

Thus, the deprivations of total institutions not only

lead to frustrations and pains but also facilitate the emergence of a culture into which the convict is socialized or must act as if he is.

Effects of Perceived Severity of Punishment

How long an individual is incarcerated indicates the degree to which that person has been subjected to the pains of imprisonment and to the inmate culture, his overt (though not always covert) acceptance of the rules set forth by the institution's administration regarding inmate demeanor, and to the length of time he is kept off the street. But this does not tell us very much about the inmate's perception of the severity of the punishment imposed upon him by the courts. The same is true of sentence meted out as a legal response to a given offense. While an inmate may receive a severe sentence he might only serve a short time of it either because of his earnest attempt to reduce it through good behavior or due to his knowledge of "the ropes." In either case, the inmate possesses the ability to control his fate if only in a limited way, and will possess some notion of how much control he has over his predicament should he ever find himself apprehended again.

Sentence and length of prison term, which alone cannot tell us much about the perceived severity of punishment, when combined provide the researcher with an index by which the perceived severity phenomenon may be measured.

It is assumed in this research that when an individual

receives a sentence for having committed a crime but only serves a small portion of it, the commonsense view of a "revolving door" criminal justice system may be reinforced. The criminal begins, or continues, to perceive that he will not be punished severely for his crimes. Later, when again confronted with an opportunity to commit an offense, the perceived costs of engaging in it may be somewhat reduced since prior experience has shown this to be the case. Conversely, when an individual is sentenced to, for example, five years and serves all or most of it a perception of severe punishment may occur. The offender will come to understand that the criminal justice system is a serious impasse to his freedom, and as such incarceration will be perceived as severe punishment. Should he in the future have the opportunity to violate its codes few "ways out" can be anticipated, and more thought would have to be given to committing another offense. We can summarize our perceived severity of punishment index in the following form:

$$\text{PERCEIVED SEVERITY} = \frac{\text{Actual time spent in prison}}{\text{Length of sentence imposed}}$$

The quotient obtained from this formula will be an indicator of how much severity is perceived by the criminal. The closer the index approximates 1.0, the higher the perceived severity of the punishment. Conversely, the closer the index is to zero, the lower the severity.

Effects of Perceived Certainty of Punishment

Another important issue in deterrence is that of certainty that apprehension and punishment will take place. Due to inherent limitations in the data of the present study, the certainty of apprehension by the police after an individual has committed an offense could not be measured, since only official records of arrests were available. From these data one does not know how often and how quickly the criminal justice system responded to the criminal act. However, an indicator of how certain punishment will be perceived for a violent offense can be constructed after an arrest has taken place. We can tap into the data by asking the question: After having committed a violent offense, what is the probability that an individual will be punished for that particular offense? Put differently: What is the probability that an individual arrested for a violent crime will be punished for a lesser crime or not punished at all? Answers to such questions provide the researcher with another measure of perception. It is assumed here that when an individual is able to get his arrest charges reduced to lesser ones, the legitimacy of the criminal justice system may be perceived with doubt. In other words, the criminal's perceived power over his involvement with the criminal justice system may be exaggerated. This sense of power, it is assumed, will serve to reduce the deterrent effects of correctional and judicial reactions.

The above measure can be further refined. From the

data collected for the present study, the disposition for each violent crime arrest is available. Some possibilities were: acquittal, dismissal of charges, suspended sentence, declined prosecution, fine, probation, reduction of charge with guilty plea, and incarceration for the actual offense.

Clearly the first six can easily be viewed as mild punishment when compared to incarceration. This is especially true for a group of individuals who have all been arrested for the violent crimes of robbery, assault, murder, manslaughter or rape. There is also the question of whether probation or fines will be viewed as punishment at all. One can answer this query only in the context of the type of offense, and what may be a commonsense belief of what it deserves. "Conventional morality" may require that a violent criminal "should" receive harsher punishment than a property or drug offender. This, however, may be somewhat tempered by the intentionality of the violator as well as by how serious others perceive the offense to be. That is, someone who commits burglary may be seen as committing a less serious offense than someone who commits aggravated assault; and, he who acted as he did because he was "out of his mind" will more likely be seen as deserving treatment rather than punishment (Goffman, 1971).

What is important here, however, is that if an individual participates in the commonsense knowledge described above, he is more likely to perceive incarceration not only as harsher punishment, but as the only punishment that

legitimately expresses the nature of his offense. Any lesser punishment might be viewed as "getting away" or "practically getting away" with the violation. This rationale leads me to construct an index of perceived certainty of punishment which, as has been said, measures a limited aspect of the more general concept of certainty as used in most deterrence studies. The product derived from the interaction between the perceived likelihood of being punished for the violent crime committed and the disposition made by the court provides an index by which perceived certainty of punishment will be measured in this study. Thus,

$$\text{PERCEIVED CERTAINTY OF PUNISHMENT} = (\text{Crime tried for}) \times (\text{Disposition})$$

In order to carry out the above multiplication each of the variables was dichotomized and cross-tabulated with the other. Four possible permutations of the interaction of these two variables are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1
Offense Tried for by Disposition

	Offense Tried For	
Disposition	Reduced Charge	Original Violent Crime
No Incarceration	(I)	(II)
Incarceration	(III)	(IV)

The table above yields four possible types of responses by criminal justice and a typology of perceived certainty. The categories below represent a typology of individuals experiencing different situations.

I - those who were arrested for a violent crime, and upon appearance in court got that charge reduced and were then not incarcerated.

II - those who were arrested for a violent crime, did not get that charge reduced and were not incarcerated.

III - those who were arrested for a violent crime, got that charge reduced and were then incarcerated.

IV - those who were arrested for a violent crime, did not get this charge reduced and were incarcerated.

It can be expected that those who are being tried for a lesser crime and, as such, evade punishment (Type I) will be less deterred since they will perceive punishment to be less certain. Those whose offense is not reduced but escape punishment (Type II) will similarly be little deterred. One difference between Types I and II in terms of perceived certainty is the perception that the criminal justice system can be "beat" with its own techniques of negotiation. Put differently, when I am arrested for a given offense there is always a strong possibility that I will not even be tried for it. In Type II the arrested person may be more likely to

attribute the effects of his trial to chance, that is, although he got charged and tried for the same offense, he was fortuante not to be punished for it. Type III who is able to negotiate the offense to a lesser change, as did Type I, was not as fortunate in evading incarceration. Such punishment would then, appear to be less certain to Type III than to Type IV, who has been tried for the violent offense committed and subsequently incarcerated for it.

In order to permit the inclusion of the interaction between the offense tried for and the disposition, it was necessary to assign numerical values to each possible alternative in each variable. The categorical nature of these factors requires that we create "dummy" variables out of offense tried for and disposition. Thus, according to Table 4.1, two possibilities exist in the former, one is either tried for the original violent crime or for a lesser offense. The latter may be assigned a value of two while the former equals one. Similarly, two possibilities exist in disposition, one is either incarcerated or he is not.

Having received no incarceration may be assigned a value of one while incarceration equals three. Such values assure that no two cells will, when multiplied with each other, be identical numerically. Cell I will, then, equal one, Cell II will equal two, Cell III

will be equal to three and Cell IV will equal six. Those individuals who score six will have perceived punishment as very certain while those who score one will see punishment as very unlikely to occur. It should be noted that these products are numerical equivalents of the typology presented in Table 4.1.

The Interactive Effects of Perceived Severity and Certainty

Deterrence studies emphasize three main variables: severity, certainty and celerity. Of these we have examined two. Celerity is not amenable to measurement with these data, and it is thus excluded from this study. With this in mind, we move on to examine the interactive effects of those variables which are available. For the sake of brevity, I will refer to the interaction of perceived certainty and perceived severity as expected punishment. In this case I take the lead provided by Stigler (1970). He argues that expected punishment is equal to the product of "the probability of punishment times the punishment." Ernest van den Haag (1975) agrees with this view and states that "increasing the probability of conviction would seem to increase the deterrence of punishment" (p. 116).

Expected punishment will allow us to distinguish between the independent effects of certainty and severity and their combined effects. The findings of such comparisons

are of value to deterrence theory and theories of social control, and of value as well to policymakers who must often choose between certainty and severity as a way of reform. Thus,

$$\text{EXPECTED PUNISHMENT} = (\text{Perceived Certainty of Punishment}) \times (\text{Perceived Severity of Punishment})$$

At one extreme, there is low perceived certainty and severity in punishment, at the other high perceived certainty and severity of punishment. There are many gradations that fall between these extreme cases. After dichotomizing each of these, eight possible permutations emerge as shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2
Severity by Certainty

	Perceived Certainty (types)			
Perceived Severity	I	II	III	IV
Low	I/Low	II/Low	III/Low	IV/Low
High	I/High*	II/High*	III/High	IV/High

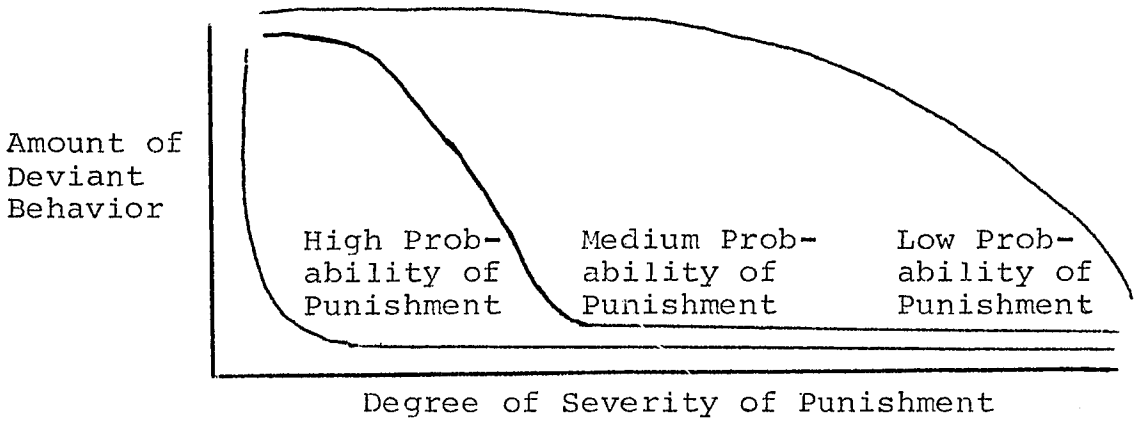
*Given the measures of perceived severity used in this study which are based on incarceration time, types I/High and II/High are not logically possible types.

The interaction between severity and certainty permits us to examine which combination has the strongest impact on reducing recidivism. van den Haag writes:

> Severity and certainty can be varied independently. Hence, legislators often must decide whether to change one or the other. The costs differ and so do the returns. The marginal substitutability of certainty and severity still must be considered as an open question. The deterrent effect of punishment is maximized when the two ingredients are optimally proportioned; otherwise the mixture may be more costly and yield less deterrence. But the optimal combination can be determined only by empirical observation...the situation is isomorphic to a lottery. Purchasers may be attracted by increasing the size of prizes, or their number, or the frequency of distribution. The managers will have to find the optimum combination. (1975:116)

The deterrent effects of severity may depend on many factors such as the personality of the offender, underlying psychiatric disorders for which punishment may be defined as positive, the higher relative gains of law-violation, etc. Studies of the effects of severe punishment on deterring future criminality have provided various findings. Severe punishment has been viewed as both a strong deterrent and as insufficient without certainty. Morris Silver (1975) states that "(t)he results for length of sentence point in the same direction as those for probability of punishment, but not as convincingly" (p. 166). Employing econometric techniques, Silver gives priority to certainty. In the same volume, an article by Barry F. Singer reviews the literature on the interactive effects of severity and certainty. He concludes the review by noting the scarce treatment of this issue in the literature and provides the following curves to summarize the findings.

Figure 4.1: Interaction of Certainty and Severity*



*Adapted from: van den Haag and Martinson, op. cit.

Thus it appears from the above simplification scheme that high certainty begins to interact with severity very quickly to reduce deviant behavior. One may also draw the conclusion that punishments of low degrees of severity may be quite effective if combined with high probability that these will be administered at all. Martinson and ven den Haag (1975) conclude that "(i)f it is assumed that modern industrialized societies are operating on a very low probability of punishment curve, then it is understandable why variations in severity have so little effect" (van den Haag and Martinson, 1975:xvi).

Previous Violence and Present Violence

What proportion of the subsample (N=75) who committed at least one violent offense went on to commit more? Table 4.3 addresses this question.

The probability that a second violent crime will occur is .56 after one violent crime, and .76 that a third will

Table 4.3

Proportion of First Time Offenders who Continued Their Violent Careers by Number of Violent Offenses

Subsequent Violent Crimes	Prior Violent Crimes 1	2	3	4
1	X			
2	.56	X		
3	.41	.76	X	
4	.29	.54	.71	X
5	.13	.24	.32	.45

occur after a second. At this point the probability begins to curve slightly to .71 that a fourth violent crime will occur after a third, and then a dramatic decline to .45 that a fifth will occur after a fourth. Why does the present pattern occur?

Another prevailing pattern that may be drawn from the matrix above is that as one moves away from the immediately preceding violent offense, the predictive power of knowledge regarding previous violence decreases. Thus, knowing that someone has committed one violent offense is not very helpful in predicting whether that person will commit four or more violent offenses. The utility of such information begins to decline immediately after the second offense. Similarly, knowing that an individual has been involved in two violent incidents is extremely helpful in predicting whether a third will occur but its predictive utility begins to decline immediately following the subsequent

violent crime. This pattern is also present regarding a third violent offense; the predictive value of such information also quickly declines after the subsequent offense.

This pattern may tell us that violence prediction may be somewhat similar to weather forecasting in that the best predictors of today's weather are the weather patterns which are closest in time.

Age and Violent Crime

One plausible explanation is age. Criminologists have repeatedly claimed that age is an important variable for predicting the onset of criminal careers as well as their termination (Boland and Wilson, 1978; Silberman, 1980). It is possible that here, too, age plays a role in shaping the findings. Table 4.4 depicts the median and modal age for each incidence category of violent crimes.

Table 4.4

Median and Modal Age of Each Indidence Category of Violent Crime

Violent Crime	Modal Ages	Median Age	Age Range/Years
1	16-19	20.5	16-39/23
2	25-29	27.0	18-35/17
3	30-34	28.0	19-38/19
4	30-34	28.8	23-39/16
5	30-34	32.5	25-36/11

The wide range of years of some of the earlier categories does not permit employing the mean as a good measure; as such the mode and median had to be used as more valid measures of central tendency.

Table 4.4 shows that the group with the highest probability of violent recidivism is under age 30. The median age of violent crimes 3 and 4 are very close while crime 5 occurs after age 30. The modal ages, however, for the third, fourth and fifth violent crimes are identical and occur after age 30. When comparing Table 4.4 with 4.3 we note that it is at the third violent offense that the probability of recidivism begins to decline and continues to do so with every violent crime thereafter. There appears to be a maturational effect at work here. Age 30 is a "burn out" age for many individuals in the sample. This, however, represents only one interpretation of the data; only one possible explanation for violent recidivism which may be disconfirmed by a look at the impact of other independent variables.

Before reaching any conclusions from Table 4.3, I will examine the effect of independent variables other than age and previous violence. This will permit me to discern whether other variables form a bridge between the various violence incidence categories.

Criminal Justice Responses and Violent Crime

What impact did the seriousness of the offense, time

spent in prison, perceived severity and certainty of punishment, and the interactive effects of the latter two have on the probability of subsequent violent offenses?

In order to discern the specific contribution of the independent variables and the interactive effects of certainty and severity to the variance of the dependent variables, a stepwise regression procedure was performed. These factors were consequences of previous violent crimes and were used as independent variables which had a historically and biographically prior occurrence to the dependent variables. Thus, regression models were constructed for second, third, fourth, and fifth violent crimes. Seriousness of the previous violent offense, length of incapacitation for a prior violent crime, severity of previous punishment, certainty that such punishment would be administered, and the interactive effect of perceived certainty by severity (expected punishment) were included in the models above.

Having already assessed the impact of childhood variables on adult violent crimes in Chapter III and having limited the sample to those who were involved in at least one violent offense, the analysis in this chapter begins where Chapter III leaves off; Namely, the effects of the above variables on the second violent crime. The results from the regression procedures performed appear in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5

Regression Procedure Results for Levels of Violent Recidivism

Independent Variables	Contribution to R^{2*}	Dependent Variable
Seriousness of First Violent Crime	.04[a]	Second Violent Crime
Length of Incarceration for First Violent Crime	.05[ab]	
Interactive Effects of Certainty and Severity	.09[a]	
Total R^2	.18[a]	
Second Violent Crime	.58[a]	Third Violent Crime
Total R^2	.58[a]	
Third Violent Crime	.59[a]	Fourth Violent Crime
Total R^2	.59[a]	

[a] prob < .001

[b] negative beta

According to Table 4.5 the degree of seriousness of the first violent crime, measured by the length of sentence received, accounts for 4% of the variance in the dependent variable. Here the more serious the first violent offense, the more likely that a second violent crime will occur. In addition to this, the greater the length of time spent in prison the lower the likelihood that a second violent crime would occur, and vice versa. Length of incarceration

accounts for an additional 5% of the variance in the dependent variable. It should be noted again that the incapacitative effects of imprisonment are not directly responsible for this relationship since here we are examining sequences of violence and not the time frame in which the sequences occur. However, it is certainly possible that age is having a mediating effect between length of incarceration and subsequent violence. And, as can be noted, every other regression model that was significant in accounting for third, fourth and fifth violent recidivists contained only one variable: immediately previous violence. Thus age and previous violence are having the most important effects on the sample's subsequent violent criminality after the second offense.

Finally, the interactive effects of perceived severity and certainty of punishment contributed 9% to the R^2. High severity and certainty indicated higher likelihood of violent recidivism. At first glance, this finding tends to contradict the evidence from econometric studies on deterrence. However, it must be remembered that seriousness of offense plays a role in predicting the occurrence of a second violent crime. We may be encountering individuals who, because of their serious offenses, will receive prison sentences and will be less likely to have their charge reduced by the court. But they too are the individuals who will, according to the regression model, experience the shorter actual prison terms for their violent offenses. Table 4.6 below shows the mean number of free days violent

offenders enjoyed in any five year (1825 day) period. These figures include prison stays for other types of offenses as well.

The longest average stay in prison by violent individuals in the sample is somewhat more than one and one-half years out of a possible five between ages 20 and 24. Between 30 and 34 the average number of days incarcerated is a few days more than one year. The remaining time periods show length of incarceration to be less than one year.

Table 4.6

Mean Number of Days Free and Days Incarcerated for Violent Offenders

Age Groups	Days Free	Days Incarcerated
15 to 19	1563	272
20 to 24	1239	596
15 to 29	1487	338
30 to 34	1435	390
35 to 40	1728	97

Short sentences, sentences averaging under two years, meted out for serious offenses may be creating in some a revolving door perception of criminal justice. Although the system kept up with its promise regarding sentence length, the sentence was a short one and, thus, the price one pays for violent crime is small in an absolute sense. Socialization into prison culture, the further economic impoverishment experienced by those who became

inmates because of their violence, prisonization, demoralization and frustration are all possible effects of these short prison stays. Prison terms were too short to be able to deter but long enough to propel, in part, these individuals to a second violent offense.

The complexities of the prison lie in the many functions and dysfunctions it simultaneously serves for the social order and for individuals under its control. As Martinson notes, the task of distinguishing the effects of any single function of the prison is very difficult, if not often impossible, and has an impact on criminological research and public policy alike.

> This institution has such a variety of purposes that every important idea in penology is implicated. Retribution is as much a function of the prison as are deterrence (both individual and general), rehabilitation, criminalization, recidivism, punishment, and incapacitation. The confusion of functions makes it difficult to think about or plan for crime control (Martinson, 1975:173). (Emphases added.)

One can translate Martinson's statement into terms relevant to the present study and to the problem of measurement being considered herein. The prison cannot be considered an institution with a single function -- I doubt if, in fact, there is any element or establishment in society which does not have more than one function, manifest or latent. In order to distinguish between one function and another, one must rely on selectively disattending some functions while examining the consequences of others, but never totally isolating one function from the others. One might blame the infant state of our discipline for such a

shortcoming -- or the nature of the data employed or available in criminology.

First Time Violent Offenders

Let us examine a cross-tabulation of perceptions of severity and certainty in order to explore the typical criminal justice reactions to first time violent offenders. Tables 4.7 and 4.8 depict these relationships.

Table 4.7

Second Offense by Perception of Certainty Created by Legal Consequences of First Violent Offense

	Perceived Certainty Typology			
Second Violent Offense	I %(N)	II %(N)	III %(N)	IV %(N)
No	58(14)	60(9)	33(4)	29(7)
Yes	42(10)	40(6)	67(8)	71(17)
	100% (N=24)	100% (N=15)	100% (N=12)	100% (N=24)

$x^2 = 6.167$ prob $>$ .05 df = 3 r = .27

Table 4.8

Second Offense by Perception of Severity Created by Legal Consequences of First Violent Offense

	Perceived Severity	
Second Violent Offense	Low	High
No	20(2)	35(9)
Yes	80(8)	65(17)
	100% (N=10)	100% (N=26)

$x^2 = 1.845$ df = 1 prob $>$ .05 r = -.15

Both perceived certainty and severity have a positive, albeit slight, impact on the likelihood that a second violent offense would occur. According to Table 4.7 individuals who either had their charge reduced or did not but were not incarcerated were less likely to become involved in further violence than those who served any time at all. There is a slight difference among types I and II. Those who got their original charge reduced were slightly more likely to be deterred from going on to a second violent crime than those who did not. It appears that getting one's charge reduced promotes a sense of power over one's dealings with criminal justice. But, of those who were incarcerated, individuals who were charged and punished for their original violent crime were more likely to recidivate than those who got their charge reduced. The most important difference that emerges between those who went on to commit a second violent offense and those who did not was whether or not they had been incarcerated. Incarceration emerges as a complication to deterrence. For, according to Table 4.7 arrest and trial and non-institutional dispositions for the original violence produced better results in deterring subsequent criminal violence.

The effects of perceived severity on the incidence of a second violent offense were less dramatic than the influence of perceived severity. Table 4.8 shows that among those who were sentenced to incarceration (N=36), those who served the greatest proportions of their sentences were most

likely to be deterred from committing a second violent offense. One can infer from these findings that while incarceration will increase the likelihood of recidivism, if it is perceived as low by one-time offenders the probability of a second violent offense will be further increased.

Table 4.9 refines the results of Tables 4.7 and 4.8. This table divides the violent subsample according to severity and certainty responses. The reader is referred to an earlier page in this chapter (p. 140) for a description of the typology of perceived certainty. Again, the sentencing policies which produced the best results in terms of deterrence were those that did not punish the first time violent offender with incarceration. Among those who fall into type III (i.e. those who were arrested for a violent crime, had that charge reduced and were then incarcerated) the level of perceived severity made little difference. It was among type IV individuals (i.e. those who were arrested, charged and punished for incarceration for the original violent offense) that perceived severity had its strongest impact. Low perceived severity among type IV offenders increased the likelihood of subsequent criminal violence. This suggests that to achieve the best deterrent effects with incarceration in this sample most of an offender's sentence would have to be served. Such findings have implications for early release and parole, as these seem to work against whatever deterrent effects

prison had on the members of this sample. Nevertheless, measures other than incarceration remained the best deterrence response against the incidence of a second violent offense.

Table 4.9
Second Violent Offense by Punishment Effects Incurred by First Violent Offense

	Certainty Type/Level of Severity			
Second Violent Offense	I/Low %(N)	I/High* %(N)	II/Low %(N)	II/High* %(N)
No	58(14)	-0-	60(9)	-0-
Yes	42(10)	-0-	40(6)	-0-
	100% (24)	0 (0)	100% (15)	0 (0)

Second Violent Offense	III/Low %(N)	III/High %(N)	IV/Low %(N)	IV/High %(N)
No	33(1)	33(3)	14(1)	35(6)
Yes	67(2)	67(6)	86(6)	65(11)
	100% (3)	100% (9)	100% (7)	100% (17)

*Given the measures of severity in this study which are based on time spent incarcerated, types I/High and II/High are not possible permutations.

Summary and Conclusions

Looking back, the regression coefficients point out two characteristics: 1) a feeling in the individual that punishment received is less than he deserved; and, 2) a record of incarceration. These two characteristics, where combined, point to the deleterious effects of incarceration

when individuals come to see it as "light punishment," yet experience it. The first effect is the delegitimation of official authority and the second is the socialization and prisonization of these individuals. Such an interpretation is consistent with the view that criminal justice is like a revolving door, teaching something and adding frustration with every revolution in which the individual finds himself caught. Overloaded court calendars, overworked criminal justice personnel and the overall bulging conditions of criminal justice are clear indicators of the nature of processing practices that occur within this enterprise. I am not focusing in this research on how to "fix" the administrative difficulties of criminal justice, but rather, on studying the effects of this badly working machine, entrusted by a great many of society's members with a socialization function (among several other functions). In its attempt to control crime in society, criminal justice takes its place in the socialization of adults and youths. The nature of the contacts of individuals with this enterprise will play a role in the nature of future acts. It is, then, just as valid to ask how well criminal justice controls crime as to ask how well it serves to produce criminality.

I have found in the present chapter that previous violent behavior was helpful in predicting future violence. This was limited by the impact of age, the "burn out" effect, and by the criminal justice response to previous violence;

the effect of the latter being important only regarding the second offense. It appears from the findings that after the commission of a second violent offense, individuals reach a "critical point" in their careers in criminal violence. Their chances of becoming involved in future violence increase. After reaching such a point, knowledge regarding the criminal justice response to the violent acts of the subjects is no longer helpful in predicting subsequent violence -- only previous violent behavior and age remain as possible predictors. High severity and high certainty of punishment received for the first violent offense served to increase the likelihood of a second offense, and I was led to speculate by these findings that a prisonization effect was at work here, complicated by a perceived delegitimation among the sample regarding the responses of criminal justice to violent crime. The findings demonstrate a need for a better understanding of the nature of the interaction between first offenders and criminal justice.

The present study provides support, though somewhat limited, for the position that every effort should be made to find alternatives other than incarceration to deal with first time violent offenders. And, if this is not possible or unattractive and incarceration must be employed as a criminal justice response, the inmate must be made to serve his entire sentence (i.e. to "max-out"). Stronger support is also provided for keeping such individuals

incapacitated until after age 30. Criminal justice, however, must keep in mind the deleterious effects of incarceration and should attempt to undermine the socialization effects of the inmate culture of prisons while being careful not to violate the civil liberties of inmates. More attention should be paid by criminologists to how criminal justice treats first time offenders. For, if the findings of this study are any indication, non-incarceration alternatives with close community supervision until after the thirty-first birthday may be a more effective way of dealing with one-time violent criminals. This approach represents an incapacitative response without the negative effects of imprisonment. Empirical findings such as the present may not appear attractive to individuals who take a retributive stance against violent offenders. This is one instance where societal calls for "tough" punitive justice, while viable vehicles for social hostility, are in contradiction with the recommendations of scientific criminology. The present study points to the urgency of preventing a person from committing a second violent crime since this marks a turning point of increased subsequent violence that only age will reduce.

CHAPTER V

Childhood and Adulthood Factors in the Predictionof Dangerousness

In this exploratory study I set out to answer several questions. I wanted to know whether it was possible to discover childhood variables in troubled, delinquent, confined boys, which would accurately identify individuals who would become violent criminals as adults, their level of specialization in various offense types and the frequency of their violent behavior. I also sought to discover the deterrent effects of criminal justice responses to the violent crimes of the sample, and the extent to which previous violence and maturation affected the levels of criminal violence. In addition, I wanted to discern the relative importance of childhood and adult variables in predicting future violence, and whether the findings of this research support or reject current available knowledge regarding the ability to predict dangerousness. And, finally, this study was interested in discovering the identifying characteristics of the most dangerous offenders within a group of individuals who run a high risk of entering a life of crime.

The Sample as a High Risk Group

An obvious weakness of this study is the lack of generalizability of its results to the general population. I have studied a nearly homogeneous group of individuals. All

were poor, urban males who, early in their lives, were adjudicated juvenile delinquents and spent a variable length of time in the same training school. Such a profile certainly depicts the group who, according to official statistics and current research, most often finds itself in trouble with the law. Add to these characteristics the fact that more than 76% of the sample was non-white and one has a set of individuals who run a relatively high risk of continued involvement in general criminality and criminal violence (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1969).

This alone possibly accounts for the high base-rate of criminality among this sample (.57); 92 out of 165 were known to be involved in some type of criminality after age 16. However, within this high risk group there was a number of individuals (N=73) who had no criminal record in New York State; an additional group that only engaged in property or drug offenses (N=17); and a further group of those who were violent offenders only once (N=34). The criminal careers of such individuals are clearly different from those of others whose careers were not only more diversified but also more violent. A crucial question, then, is whether I can locate any factors that will differentiate the latter from the former. Put differently: Are there any adulthood or childhood factors that will help criminologists and social scientists, as well as those interested in violence prediction, to identify the most dangerous individuals within a high risk group?

The importance of the present study of a criminally high risk group is summarized in the following points:

1. A method is formulated that permits following the careers of delinquents as they become, or do not become, violent criminals. The factors which account for the different career patterns would "fine-tune" much of the current criminological knowledge regarding this high risk group.
2. Psychiatry currently enjoys a relatively close working relationship with criminal and civil law. Civil commitments and recommendations for extended detention of criminal offenders on the basis of predictions of dangerousness are much the province of psychiatry and just one element of its relationship with law. The current inability of psychiatrists to predict violent behavior is the source of much controversy. The high degree of power, authority and influence enjoyed by the psychiatrist in American society is not consistent with the level to which he understands those whom he decides to commit (Steadman and Cocozza,

1978). Certainly more knowledge is needed in this area, and this knowledge has to be about individuals who are most likely to come to the attention of those who predict dangerousness. The high risk group sampled in this study represents individuals who are most likely to come into contact with these professionals. It is about this high risk group that mental health professionals must learn.

3. Policymakers and criminal justice professionals should gain much by distinguishing those offenders who are most dangerous in the constant battle against the bulging conditions of prisons, court calendars, jails, and budgets. Less expensive alternatives than prison may be found to deal with the least dangerous/non-violent offender; thereby leaving much room for storing those likely to become violent, as well as much in the way of resources with which to fund these endeavors.

4. "Ideally the "best" population on which to apply clinical predictions of violence is one with a base-rate of 50%, [as the base-rate deviates from this point] clinical prediction becomes progressively more difficult" (Monahan, 1981:60).

The population that Monahan recommends would always have to be a high risk group when compared to the general population. This sample lends itself to a natural quasi-experiment as violent and non-violent subsamples emerge naturally from a nearly homogeneous population. As such it represents a set of ideal conditions for the study of criminal violence.

The Dangerous Offender

The present study adopted a definition of a dangerous or a violent person as a person who has committed more than one violent act. This definition is partly in agreement with that proposed by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (Council of Judges, 1972); that is, someone who has committed a serious crime against a person and shows a pattern of persistent assaultiveness" (p. 349). Although the Sentencing Act has included in the definition of dangerous the elements of mental illness and membership in organized crime, I avoided citing causes of criminal violence as part of the referents that define it. Mental disturbance may be a cause of violent behavior, as involvement in a criminal subculture may also be.

The key factors, found in the present study, which distinguish the dangerous individuals are:

1. A record of serious juvenile delinquency
2. Negative prognosis upon release
3. Low intelligence
4. Having had rejecting/neglecting relationship with the mother as a boy
5. Living in a broken home as a boy
6. Being non-white
7. Perceiving that for the first offense punishment in the form of incarceration was certain
8. Being under age 24 and having been involved in at least one previous act of criminal violence

Childhood Variables and Adult Violence

These factors distinguish between the most seriously violent members of this high risk group and those who are not. Childhood variables, as will be shown in this chapter, were more powerful predictors than criminal justice responses to criminal record or a mixed record of offenses. I was able to distinguish between the criminals with the most diversified careers and the violent specialists on the basis of I.Q. The more intelligent offenders, it appears, either were able to avoid getting arrested or they ventured into more diversified offense patterns.

I also found that the more serious delinquents in the sample (as distinct from status offenders) were most likely to become non-violent specialists and a greater proportion of quasi-mixers were status offenders as boys. Since all quasi-mixers were violent as well as property or drug offenders, the argument that status offenders do not represent a dangerous group of individuals is put into question. When looking at recidivism, status offenders are overrepresented in all categories except for five-time recidivists. The proportion declines, however, with increasing incidence of recidivism. The question of labeling is important as a possible explanation of the effects of a negative prognosis upon being released from Wiltwyck. I found that the mixers and quasi-mixers were most likely to be those that had experienced negative labeling. The impact of a negative label was made clearer when I examined the effects of youth prognosis on violent recidivism. Those who were negatively labeled at Wiltwyck were overrepresented in the categories with the greatest number of violent offenses.

Less paternal neglect and rejection was experienced by violent specialists than by any other offender type, including the non-offenders. But increasing proportions of neglected/rejected boys were to be found among categories of greater recidivism. The latter relationship, however, was weak. A paternal record of criminality distinguished not only the violent specialists in the sample but also the

most serious recidivists. Among all offender types and at all levels of recidivism, maternal and paternal deviance was usually absent. Among those who were further incarcerated immediately upon leaving Wiltwyck, the quasi-mixers and the most serious recidivists were proportionately more represented. Similarly, relatively more violent specialists were returned to their families after release from Wiltwyck.

The above represents the results from the stepwise regression procedures performed on childhood variables. A profile of a recidivist offender that is traditional in criminology was derived. However, this profile of delinquent-turned-criminal represents a meager portion of the total picture of violent criminality. Between 73% and 90% of the variance in violent recidivism remained unexplained by the variables used in Chapter III.

Adult Variables and Adult Violence

Chapter IV examined the impact of age and maturation, previous violence and criminal justice responses on subsequent violent criminality. By far the most important adulthood variables for predicting future violence were age and immediately previous violence. The position that individuals with a history of violent behavior are likely to engage in subsequent violence has been supported by the evidence in this study. According to Monahan (1981:72), "the same factors (e.g. a history of past violence) appear to influence the occurrence of future violence regardless of

age. Age is relevant to the extent that the earlier one begins a career of violence the longer and more extensive that history may be, and as one enters the 30's, maturation processes become salient."

The present study supports the currently popular position depicted by Monahan's quotation. Most of the post-Wiltwyck adult violent careers in the sample began early in life (between 16 and 18). Serious delinquents were most often serious adult violent recidivists. Age clearly takes its toll on recidivism at age 30 and forces it to decline in spite of a history of previous violence. The modal age period for a third violent crime was 30, and it is at this point that the predictive value of knowledge regarding previous violent offenses decreases. Only age remained as an important predictor during adulthood after a second violent offense had occurred.

It was also found that knowledge that an individual has committed any of the four index offenses against the person on one occasion says very little about how many he will commit in the future. That is, immediately preceding violence is the best predictor, but its impact is modified by age.

The search for intervening variables which bridge offenses to each other yielded the finding that individuals who were involved in the most serious first offenses, and served most of their prison sentences but remained in prison for periods of less than one year, were most likely to go on

to a second violent offense. In predicting the second offense, these variables accounted for only 18% of the variance in the dependent variable. It was concluded that while criminal justice meted out sure and severe punishment (as measured herein), the incarceration experiences of some individuals may not have been commensurate with the perceived seriousness of their crimes, thereby fostering a delegitimated impression of criminal justice. Further, time spent incarcerated (though short) may have served to socialize first offenders into the inmate subculture or, at least, to frustrate them enough that a second offense could not be deterred. It would appear, however, that these processes are a small part of the total explanation, and we can assume that being under age 30 plays an important role in itself in predicting subsequent violence by working against the deterrent effects of criminal justice responses. As seen earlier, the influence of age becomes more powerful after a second offense has occurred -- here youth and previous violence combine to propel the violent careers of the sample, and no criminal justice response appears to be powerful enough to contain its course.

The conclusions call for greater attention to the processing of first offenders and urge the creation of new programs to prevent violent crime by working with the natural processes of maturation. It is clear, however, that efforts to employ an individual's biological processes against him must be handled with great care lest we should

violate his human rights. It is possible that innovative developments combining institutional programs and intensive long-term community supervision may have interesting results in delimiting the prisonization effects of institutions by maintaining, or creating, community bonds for the first-time violent offender. Methods such as "shock probation," combining some very short prison experience with long-term incapacitative consequences for those who violate the trust even once, may prove very effective. While it yet remains to be demonstrated empirically, long-term intensive non-institutional supervision until age 30 may result in decreased violent recidivism.

The late Robert Martinson (1975) describes this alternative method of incapacitation:

> Indeed, any interference with the free movement of the supervised offender may increase the difficulty of committing crime, and result in partial incapacitation effects (p. 200).... Field supervision has a profound superiority over the "total institution," largely unrecognized by its theorists (p. 201).... At minimum, field supervision should be cut into three parts: 1) policing, 2) restraining, and 3) helping. If [restrainees] offend again they receive the normal punishment for having betrayed the trust of the community by committing this crime while [occupying this status]. The aim should be to maximize the deterrent effects and minimize any other interference in the life of the probationer (p. 203).... This would be a kind of "prison" in the community but with infinitely more flexibility than a prison. The aim is not to change the offender, but to prevent him from committing crimes. All of this would cost far less than [the] rigid bundle of cement and steel [of the prison] . It could be relaxed or expanded from moment to moment, and abandoned altogether when the restrainee provided clues that it was unnecessary (p. 204).... It is an unfamiliar idea but in no way utopian or incapable of being tried today. It

> would damage the offender less, interfere with his movements less, and could adjust quickly to his moods and change of intentions (p. 205).

The findings of this study support Martinson's view indirectly. The likelihood of incarceration as punishment increases the likelihood of recidivism among those in the sample who committed one violent offense. Thereafter, age and previous violent behavior took their course as the most important predictors of future violence. For criminal justice, these results combine with the current problems of overcrowding in prisons and holding facilities, large probation and parole caseloads, backed-up court calendars and high costs of incarceration, point to the need for re-thinking current policy. For criminologists the findings of this study indicate that any theory of crime must take the age factor into account (Boland and Wilson, 1978). The effect of traditional dispositional variables is modified by maturational processes with which these interact, and which have not only a biological impact on individuals but social and psychological effects as well. According to Ross (1982), age poses a very powerful rival explanation to deterrence variables. Regarding the drinking driver,

> (m)aturation...raises the possibility that the change was due to long-range trends in fatal crashes rather than to discrete events.... Perhaps the proportion of young men [a group with high crash rates] in the driving population is diminishing over the years due to demographic changes. If factors like these produce steeply declining trends in casualties, they would possibly explain the observed decline of...deaths in [a given place] (p. 14).

Deterrence and social control theorists who seek to explain criminal violence must be cognizant of the interaction between traditional variables and maturation, since the effects of these will vary according to age.

Childhood vs. Adulthood Variables in Predicting Violent Criminality

A very important question in the present study concerns the relative import of childhood and adult variables as predictors of subsequent criminal violence. Chapters III and IV examined each set of variables in turn. Childhood variables and adult variables accounted for nearly similar proportions of the variance of a second violent offense when each was taken separately. Childhood variables, however, entered the regression models beyond the second violent offense while adult factors did not. Age and previous violence were left out of the regression equations in order to discern the effects of variables other than these.

What would happen if these different sets of variables were permitted, in a stepwise regression procedure, to compete with each other in accounting for the variance? The answer to this question will reveal the relative importance of each set of variables in distinguishing the violent men in our sample. Such a stepwise regression procedure was performed and the results are reported in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Stepwise Regression Results for Childhood and Adult Variables

Independent Variable	Contribution to R^2	Dependent Variable
Youth Prognosis	.10[a]	Second Violent Crime
Race	.09[a]	
Perceived Certainty of Punishment for First Offense	.08[a]	
Total R^2	.27[a]	
I.Q.	.06[cd]	Third Violent Crime
Mother-Son Relations	.06[cd]	
Seriousness of Delinquency	.06[c]	
Family Situation	.03[c]	
Total R^2	.21[c]	
Seriousness of Delinquency	.10[c]	Fourth Violent Crime
Total R^2	.10[c]	

[a] < .01

[b] < .05

[c] > .05

[d] negative beta

The models yielded by the regression analyses performed in Chapter III and reported on Table 3.9 are duplicated in Table 5.1. In identifying three- and four-time violent recidivists the same childhood variables were important: low intelligence, decreased maternal support and a history of serious childhood delinquency. And, similarly, there is an absence of adult factors in regression models beyond the second violent offense.

Two-Time Violent Recidivists

The two-time offender represents the critical/labeling theory prototype who 1) belongs to an ethnic or racial minority; 2) as a child was adjudicated, and thus labeled, a delinquent; 3) received a negative label when released from his juvenile internment at Wiltwyck; 4) as a young adult, went on to commit a violent crime; 5) for which he received what he perceived to be "sure" punishment by criminal justice in form of incarceration during a time in history when ethnic and racial awareness was high; and 6) who went on to commit a second violent offense.

Frank Tannenbaum (1938) discusses the making of a criminal through "tagging," "a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasizing, and evoking the very traits that are complained of. The person becomes the thing he is described as being" (pp. 19-20). Edwin Lemert in Social Pathology (1951) extends the position of Tannenbaum (which was in essence a combination of the learning and conflict approaches) into labeling theory. The findings of this study support Lemert's position on "secondary deviation."

When primary deviations occur frequently, the community and the authorities are likely to respond to the individual's behavior with formal sanctions. His chances of receiving these negative sanctions are, of course, enhanced by the frequency of his law-breaking acts. One likely outcome of official response to his behavior is secondary deviation.

"When a person begins to employ his deviant behavior or a role based upon it as a means of defense, attack or adjustment to the problems created by the consequent societal reaction to him, his deviation is secondary" (Lemert, 1951: 76).

Despite the many logical and empirical problems surrounding the labeling perspective (see Sagarin, 1975:129-154), the position is supported by the findings of this present research regarding two-time violent recidivists.

Three-time Violent Recidivists

Three-time violent offenders present a somewhat different picture which supports a psychological viewpoint rather than the sociological perspective of labeling theory. Three-time recidivists were more likely to be individuals with below average intelligence, rejecting/neglecting relations with their mothers and who come from a broken home as children. The degree of failure at school that may have been precipitated by low intelligence, and the boy's detached relations with his mother while living in a broken home, serve to create a childhood environment where attachment to family and relatives as well as self-respect were likely to be lacking. Equally important to three-time violent recidivists was a record of serious delinquency which may have resulted in rejection of the boy by the community, thereby making matters worse for him. Thus, rejection and neglect by the mother, a broken home, failure at school, and internment at Wiltwyck together create a

situation for the child where defense maneuvers become necessary. One such defense entails the distancing of oneself from others in order to reduce the impact of their rejection of the self.

> This individual will employ every psychological and behavioral maneuver he can to ensure that this deeply tenuous sense of self is not utterly shattered. A major interpersonal weapon at his disposal is to distance others, even society as a whole, through as noxious a repertoire of behaviors as is required to ensure that his closed-system is not pried open (e.g. that his construction of his world cannot be even remotely questioned) (Juda, 1984:8).

The individual being described by Juda is the chronic recidivist. The three-time violent recidivist, is unlike the two-time violent offender in this sample, is responding to dispositional variables which are a part of his psychology and childhood rather than of societal responses occurring during childhood or adulthood. An interesting explanation proposed by Juda (1984) regarding the effects of poor family object-relations on recidivism seems appropriate here.

Juda perceives the prison as an isomorphism of a pathogenic family. In addition to the inability to "treat" individuals in such a setting, the prison becomes identified as a place for the inmate to recreate his infantile environment of rejection and neglect. Juda (1984:10) writes, "He provokes rejection and punishment; the severity of his disorder can be determined by the degree to which this self-punitive quality is manifested. He creates a personal hell on earth deserved only by the totally evil."

The individual engages in repetition compulsion, trying to recreate childhood interpersonal scenarios. Simultaneously, he employs defenses in order "to ward off re-experiencing openly the disconfirming experiences of his early life" (p. 7); such defenses result in detached relations with others and further aggression against them. The three-time violent recidivist in this sample fits into the profile provided by Juda. Juda's findings support our position regarding the effects of incarceration and, of course, Martinson's cry for community restraint rather than institutionalization. Repetitive violent criminality according to Juda's view and my findings presents itself as being motivated by personality factors which respond to punishment in ways not anticipated by deterrence and social control theories.

Four-time Violent Recidivists

Finally, the findings regarding four-time violent offenders support the view that a record of early serious offenses results in repetitive violence. Serious criminal careers which begin early in life extend over a long period.

Frank Schmalleger (1979:52) writes, "Criminality is an attitude toward life that, more often than not, begins in the preteens or early teen years. Many of the inmates I have met have been in trouble all of their lives.... As the delinquent becomes adult, childhood theft is replaced by armed robbery and burglary" (see also Petersilia, 1980).

In a 30-year follow up study of deviant children, Robins (1966:11) notes that "there does seem [to be] at least considerable evidence that problem behavior as a child strongly predicts problem behavior as an adult." In her study, those individuals who were categorized as "antisocial" as children were more likely to become involved in serious juvenile delinquency, and as adults 94% had records of multiple arrests for serious and violent offenses. In addition these repetitive offenders experienced greater detachment from their family and neighbors (pp. 88-89).

Thus, childhood variables, as measured in this study, played a role of greater importance in predicting adult repetitive criminal violence than adult variables other than age and a record of previous violence. The conclusion reached by Monahan (1981:72) that "the distinction between 'childhood' and 'adulthood' is not a particularly meaningful one in terms of violence prediction" is not supported by our findings. I would add that <u>the continuity between childhood and adulthood variables is not additive but interactive</u>. Violence prediction, it would appear from this study, requires that criminologists, sociologists and other students of violence begin to learn more about how existing individual profiles interact with subsequent situations, events and newly acquired characteristics. Chapters III and IV make it clear that it is risky to base one's predictions of violence or dangerousness on either childhood or adult

variables exclusively. Rather, longitudinal research such as the present which extends across these stages in the life cycle depicts more realistically the interaction between events occurring at different phases of development. An Hispanic or Black who was negatively labeled by official authorities as a child may perceive certainty in punishment as an attack against his race, ethnicity and social background. This obviously changes the nature of certainty of punishment as a means of deterrence. Similarly a person who has experienced rejection from his family, school and community may have had to develop defense maneuvers which are actualized in terms of aggression against his world. Deterrence must deal with such forces and, according to my findings, it does not fare well against them. These facts, no doubt, exacerbate the difficulties and the complexities involved in predicting violent behavior.

The Predictive Efficiency of the Variables Derived

This study attempted to excise certain factors which demonstrated predictive validity from an initial pool of what were thought to be likely predictors of violent criminality. It was hoped that by examining a high risk group, a group with a high base-rate of violence, it would be possible to fine-tune criminological knowledge regarding such individuals. It is assumed, I believe rightly, that it is from the ranks of such a social category that our

most dangerous violent recidivists emanate.

The prediction problem is to reduce the number of errors, false-positives and false-negatives, and increase the number of correct predictions, the valid positives and valid negatives. False positives are individuals who have been predicted to become violent and do not; false negatives are those who have been predicted not to become violent and have done so. Valid positives are those who have been predicted to become violent and have; valid negatives are those who have been predicted not to become violent and have not. To what extent are the findings of the present study useful in identifying these four types of persons? A related question is: Just how much better will the set of predictors yielded by the present research be over chance alone? This question emerges naturally from a series of findings which explain such a meager portion of the variance in the dependent variables examined. A predictive scheme can only be of value if it is capable of improving predictions that can be made on chance alone.

In order to answer these questions I have adopted from Loeber and Dishion (1983) a method to assess the predictive efficiency of the final set of predictors presented in Table 5.1. Their method permits me to assess the improvement over chance obtained by using the key independent predictors yielded by this research. Loeber and Dishion set out, among other things, to assess the predictive efficiency of a series of delinquency studies. They found,

after surveying and assessing a number of studies, that the principal predictors of delinquency included early conduct problems (e.g., previous delinquency or aggressiveness), parental criminality, family supervision and support, and poor academic records.

Table 5.2 summarizes the results of an assessment of the predictive efficiency of the variables which accounted for the variance at various levels of criminal violence in this study. The table lists the valid positives and valid negatives, or those who could have been predicted correctly had the particular predictors been used to prognosticate who would become violent in the sample, as well as the errors, the false positives and false negatives. In addition, the criterion and the base and selection rates have been included. Base rate refers to the percentage rate of violence in the sample, and selection rate refers to the number of individuals that would have been selected as likely to be violent by employing a given predictor. The combined OCV (observed correct values) consists of the sum of valid positives and valid negatives; the combined RCV (random correct values) is the sum of the correct predictions that would have been expected by chance alone.

In order to illustrate the method by which the above values were obtained, I will use the example provided by Loeber and Dishion (1983:69-73), with one exception. While they were assessing variables over a series of different studies, Loeber and Dishion found it necessary to create a

measure of relative improvement by multiplying the improvement over chance figure by a constant. In this study only the absolute improvement over chance will be necessary as a measure of the predictive efficiency of the variables employed.

Loeber and Dishion (1983) used the findings of a study by Robins and Hill (1966) which tested the relationship between low employment background as a predictor of future delinquency. Robins and Hill studied 296 non-whites, evenly divided into low and high employment. Each subgroup consisted of 148 individuals. They found that one-third of the low group became delinquents as opposed to only one-fifth of the high group. The study supported the hypothesis of economic stress and delinquency. Robins and Hill's study provided information regarding the statistical distribution of these individuals. The results of this study are depicted as follows.

Figure 5.1: Illustration of Predictive Efficiency

	Delinquent	Nondelinquent		
Guardian's Low Employment Status	Valid Positives 46 (15.5%)	False Positives 102 (34.5%)	148 (50%)	Selection Rate
Guardian's High Employment Status	False Negatives 30 (10.1%)	Valid Negatives 118 (39.9%)	148	
Base Rate	76 (25.7%)	220	296	100%

Adapted from L. N. Robins and S. Y. Hill (1966).

It is first necessary to compute the RCV (random correct value) for the valid positives (VP) and valid negatives (VN).

$$\text{RCV (VP)} = \frac{\text{N/Delinquents}}{\text{Total N}} \times \frac{\text{N/Low Employment}}{\text{Total N}}$$

$$\text{RCV (VP)} = \frac{76}{296} \times \frac{148}{296}$$

$$= .128$$

$$\text{RCV (VP)} = 12.8\%$$

$$\text{RCV (VN)} = \frac{\text{N/Non-delinquents}}{\text{Total N}} \times \frac{\text{N/Low Employment}}{\text{Total N}}$$

$$\text{RCV (VN)} = \frac{220}{296} \times \frac{148}{296}$$

$$= .372$$

$$\text{RCV (VN)} = 37.2\%$$

The random correct values of the valid positives and valid negatives are then combined.

$$\begin{array}{rr} & 37.2\% \\ + & 12.8 \\ \text{Combined RCV} = & \overline{50.0\%} \end{array}$$

That is, 50% (N=148) of the delinquents could have been predicted by chance alone. Looking back at Figure 5.1, 16% were observed as valid positives and 40% as valid negatives. By adding these together the combined OCV is obtained.

$$\begin{array}{rl} 16\% & \text{- Observed Valid Positives} \\ 40\% & \text{- Observed Valid Negatives} \\ \overline{56\%} & \text{- Combined Observed Correct Values (OCV)} \end{array}$$

In order to compute the improvement over chance (IOC) the combined RCV is subtracted from the combined OCV. Thus

OCV = 56%
-RCV = 50%
IOC = 6%

Using low employment as a predictor of delinquency has a predictive efficiency of 6% over chance alone.

The above procedure was followed for each variable found to be important in predicting future violence in this study.

It is interesting to note in Table 5.2 the lack of predictive efficiency of family variables among this sample. This is clearly due to the extremely high selection rates of these predictors. Similarly, race was not an efficient predictor of future violence in this sample. In the case of race the selection rate is high as is for family variables, and seems to be having a negative effect on IOC.

The most efficient predictors are noted in Table 5.3. A record of serious juvenile delinquency is better than chance by 36% and 28% in four- and three-time recidivists respectively. Serious delinquency is related to the most serious violent recidivism. Similarly negative labeling was better than chance 12.9% and 9.0% among two-time and one-time violent offenders. Low intelligence was a more efficient predictor among three-time violent criminals (11.0% above chance). Incarceration for a first offense was 16% better than chance in predicting who would become a two-time violent recidivist.

The findings of this study demonstrate that poverty,

Table 5.2

Outcome Statistics for Predictors of Future Criminal Violence

PREDICTORS	Valid Positive		Valid Negative		False Positive		False Negative		Total N	Criterion	Base Rate	Selection Rate	Combined OCV*	Combined RCV**	IOC***
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N					%	%	%
Negative Prognosis	23	38	32	52	23	38	22	37	165	1 Violent Crime	.45	.46	55	46.0	9.0
Rejecting Father	13	22	43	70	12	20	32	53	165		.45	.75	44	75.1	-19.1
Low Intelligence	22	36	29	48	25	42	24	39	165		.45	.47	51	47.1	3.9
Negative Prognosis	35	26	29	22	16	12	20	15	75	2 Violent Crimes	.55	.51	64	51.1	12.9
Race (Non-white)	49	37	32	10	32	24	5	4	75		.55	.81	63	81.1	-18.1
High Perceived Certainty	33	25	31	23	15	11	21	16	75		.55	.48	64	48.0	16.0
Low Intelligence	24	18	35	26	24	18	17	13	75	3 Violent Crimes	.42	.48	59	48.0	11.0
Rejecting Mother	24	18	15	11	44	33	17	13	75		.42	.68	39	68.0	-29.0
Serious Delinquency	15	11	43	33	15	11	27	20	75		.42	.30	58	30.0	28.0
Broken Family	29	21	25	19	33	25	13	10	75		.42	.62	54	67.8	-13.8
Serious Delinquency	12	9	53	40	17	13	17	13	75	4 Violent Crimes	.29	.29	65	29.0	36.0

*Combined observed correct values of valid positives and valid negatives.

**Combined random correct values expected by chance alone.

***Improvement over chance. OCV minus RCV = IOC.

Table 5.3

Best Predictors of Violent Recidivism

Predictor	Criterion	% IOC*
Negative Labeling	1 Violent Crime	9.0
Low Intelligence	1 Violent Crime	3.9
Negative Labeling	2 Violent Crimes	12.9
Perceived High Certainty of Punishment for First Offense	2 Violent Crimes	16.0
Low Intelligence	3 Violent Crimes	11.0
Serious Juvenile Delinquency	3 Violent Crimes	28.0
Serious Juvenile Delinquency	4 Violent Crimes	36.0

*Percentage improvement over chance.

urban residence and being male place such individuals into a group among which the probability of becoming a violent offender is very high, almost 50%. The study found that, to some extent, negative labeling as a youth and low intelligence were characteristics which distinguished those who engaged in any violence at all as adult and those who did not. It is possible that among such individuals low intelligence realized itself in limitations in their ability to express their anger in acceptable ways, their ability to verbalize their frustration, and in their cognitive capacity to evaluate and assess the meaning of particular situations. Negative labeling took place, first, upon adjudication of the boy as a juvenile delinquent and, secondly, on being

predicted to be unable to make a successful adjustment to his environment. Once in his community, teachers and others can become privy to his previous history and judgments made by professionals about him. Differential treatment of such individuals by others further limits the courses of actions available to them, as they may behave in accordance to the negative expectations that others have of them and/or the nature of self-concept they come to accept as a result.

The negative label has, as shown in Table 5.3 a continuing effect on subsequent violent recidivism when combined with a record of one violent crime for which incarceration time was served. Those with low intelligence who had a record of serious juvenile delinquency and two adult violent offenses were most likely to become three-time recidivists. Three-time violent offenders were more likely to come from broken, rejecting homes, were probably low-achievers in school, and were rejected by their community and school because of a record of serious delinquency. From the findings of this study, low intelligence may have had an impact both during childhood and during adulthood. As children, low intelligence may have taken its toll on their ability to compete and achieve in school; as adults, their low intelligence made them an "easy catch" to the long arm of the law. Their persistence in violence may have been motivated by processes such as those described above by Juda (1984). Low intelligence may have been acting as insulation against the "curative insight" which is necessary

to stop the course of repetition compulsions which are translated into recidivism. Certainly by limiting the acceptable alternatives available for expressing anger and frustration, low intelligence makes violence even more likely among these persons. Ultimately, those who were serious juvenile delinquents (non-status offenders) remained as the most serious recidivists, committing four or more violent offenses. The antisocial behavior of the past, even the distant past, in this case, is an efficient predictor of adult criminal violence.

While the success of differentiating between those who would and would not commit a violent criminal act as adults was extremely limited, the study was more successful at distinguishing between the most dangerous offenders and the rest. A dangerous offender in this study is an individual who has been arrested for at least two index crimes against persons. The dispositional variables which, according to the present research, have been found to be most efficient as predictors of dangerousness are presented in Figure 5.1.

Thus, among a high risk population (one in which most individuals are non-white and where all are poor, male, and urban dwelling ex-delinquents), those who also have low I.Q.s, a record of at least one violent offense and serious juvenile delinquency, are under age 30 and have experienced prison, are most likely to become the most dangerous persons in that population. The reader should note that an important finding in this study is that not all deviant children grow up alike,

Figure 5.2: Best Predictors of Dangerousness* In a High Risk Group

1) Record of at least one prior adult violent crime for which the individual was convicted and punished with incarceration.

2) Being under age 30.

3) Record of serious juvenile delinquency.

4) Negative labeling as a youth.

5) I.Q. below 90.

*Members of the sample involved in two or more violent offenses.

and that with enough knowledge social science may be able to change the course of a life in danger of going astray. Knowledge is needed about the ways in which deviant children are not alike, and about which factors will help us to identify those who are most in need at an early age.

There are many dangers involved in early intervention, as there are benefits. Thus, knowing which characteristics identify the potentially violent person is not as important as the ways in which he is identified, treated and reintegrated into his community. Careful forethought and circumspection must be part of all interventions, lest preventive efforts themselves become causes of the very behavior being prevented.

Limitations of the Present Study and Other Areas for Further Investigation

This study has mostly concerned itself with disposi-

tional variables as possible predictors of future violence. In doing this the research has followed established lines of action within the criminological enterprise. Simultaneously it has disattented the more existential, immediate and situational springs of violent criminality. This author has not only discovered that certain childhood variables have an effect on adult criminal violence, but also that these are clearly not enough to thoroughly understand the phenomenon under investigation. There is a temptation to throw up one's hands in the face of this frustrating realization. Yet, this frustration must not be permitted to cloud one's perception regarding the value of one's own findings.

I have attempted in this research to be as cautious as possible regarding the treatment of the results. I have rejected the temptation to exaggerate the value of my findings. Similarly, I have been careful not to judge my findings too severely - always framing these within the realization that social science remains "soft" and to expect much more as the measure of acceptability would lead me to reject it all. Yet, to a certain extent, I am not impressed by a set of variables that, at best, account for one-fourth of the variance in the dependent variable. Certainly one should demand or, at least, strive for more.

The study was limited by the nature of the data employed. When one engages in a retrospective study the use of already existing records represents both an asset and a liability.

The data were collected by others who were not interested in the outcome of the present research, nor had any idea at the time that a study would ever be done. On the other hand, the researcher acting in the present must accord these individuals' perceptions a legitimacy that may or may not be warranted. The question of trust is raised, and the social scientist must decide whether or not it will be extended. This, of course, must not be equated with naive acceptance of the data as totally accurate, for a certain amount of doubt and uncertainty is forever present.

In addition to the childhood training school records employed in this research, official criminal justice data were collected. This type of data has been the subject of criminological controversy for a long time. Many criticisms have been aimed at the procedural, political and economic sources of its biases. The data employed in the present research does not evade these biases. In fact, I would doubt whether any study in criminology could claim to have been able to do so entirely. The inability to check the arrest records of the remaining jurisdictions nationwide also limits the findings of this study. Those individuals who had no official arrest records could have been truly non-criminal, criminally violent but not apprehended, or criminally violent and apprehended in a jurisdiction other than New York State. Finally, the study has been further limited by its focus on dispositional variables.

Further Directions in the Research of Criminal Violence

Criminology, and the social sciences, still do not possess a complete theory of human behavior that can be fully supported by currently available empirical research. The study of the dangerous offender still gropes to distinguish him from others in the crowds in which he walks. Currently, Monahan (1981) claims, we can predict one-third of those who will become violent or dangerous even in a population with a high base-rate of violence. While these are certainly not impressive limits, and while the present study's findings fall within these, they may be signaling more to us than just our ineptitude at identifying the violent. Instead the inability may be due to the terms which we attend. The fact that the emphasis is on the dangerous offender leads criminologists to explore the dispositional characteristics of our samples at the expense of not studying the situational context in which criminal violence will occur, the ways in which violent behavior is an accomplishment of a set of interactants and not just the offender, and the fact that a violent encounter is facilitated, compelled or discouraged by the situation within which it is framed.

By focusing on these interests new questions come to the fore which open up new areas of research or which focus new interest on old ones.

1) What is the relationship of biography to action?
2) What is the relationship of immediate situation to biography?
    a) What types of actors will respond to specific types of situations and in what ways?
3) What are the types of situations that discourage, facilitate or compel violent behavior from specific types of actors?
4) What is the likelihood that such individuals will ever enter these situations?

At levels of greater scope other questions arise.

5) What is the nature of the lifestyles according to which individuals who enter these situations organize their lives?
    a) What are the subcultural grounds of these lifestyles?
6) What is the role of societal and historical factors in determining the meaning of specific situations, social actors and the interactions of these?

Of these six, the present study attempts to answer only the first general question. This, however, makes clear that other avenues must be found by which to extend our knowledge regarding criminal violence.

Monahan (1981) writes

> It can be argued that the inclusion of situational variables is the most pressing need in the field of violence prediction (p. 130).... With situational predictors, however, one must establish both a statistical relationship between a given situation and violent behavior, and the probability that an individual will, in fact, encounter that situation (p. 129)...situational variables are being proposed for use in addition to, rather than instead of, dispositional variables.... It is the interaction of dispositional and situational variables that holds the greatest promise for improved predictive accuracy (p. 132).

Monahan's views represent an extension of current practices in criminological research. It calls for the union of biological, psychological and sociological criminology, the study of violent behavior, architectural criminology and environmental psychology. Individuals are not only affected by past experiences but by future expectations and immediate situations. The work of Moos (1973) demonstrates the use of scales which can be employed to determine the specific attributes of given situations. This work, combined with the findings of studies such as the present, makes it possible to examine the interactions between types of individual biographies and types of situations. Ideally, if much research on the effect of these "interactions" on criminal violence is forthcoming, social scientists should begin to understand how specific types of indifiduals affect, and are affected by, certain situations.

Childhood variables are, according to our findings, important in identifying repetitive violent offenders in this sample. This demonstrates the degree of influence that

childhood had on adulthood. In many cases, events that took place in the lives of individuals at the age of 10 or 12 had impact on their lives at ages 30 to 40. Life has continuity. Much of the explained variance was due to factors which individuals encountered as they grew older, and to the fact of growing older itself. And, while this research has to some extent supported the position that past performance is the best indicator of future performance, it has also been shown that it is very risky to rely solely on biographical continuity in predicting who will become violent. Criminology may have reached the empirical limits of dispositional variables when the bulk of the research along similar lines produces no better results than one-third correct assessments of future violence.

There is a need for further exploration into how biography, situation, history and behavior are related to each other. The lack of more extensive research along these and other lines, the present paucity of conclusive evidence regarding the etiology and prediction of criminal violence and dangerousness, and the findings of the present study support the position that violence prediction cannot yet be justified empirically. Our present lack of conclusive findings in this area raises many moral and ethical questions regarding the civil liberties of those whose behavior is being predicted, and accentuates the anxiety of a society whose members are both frightened and angry.

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