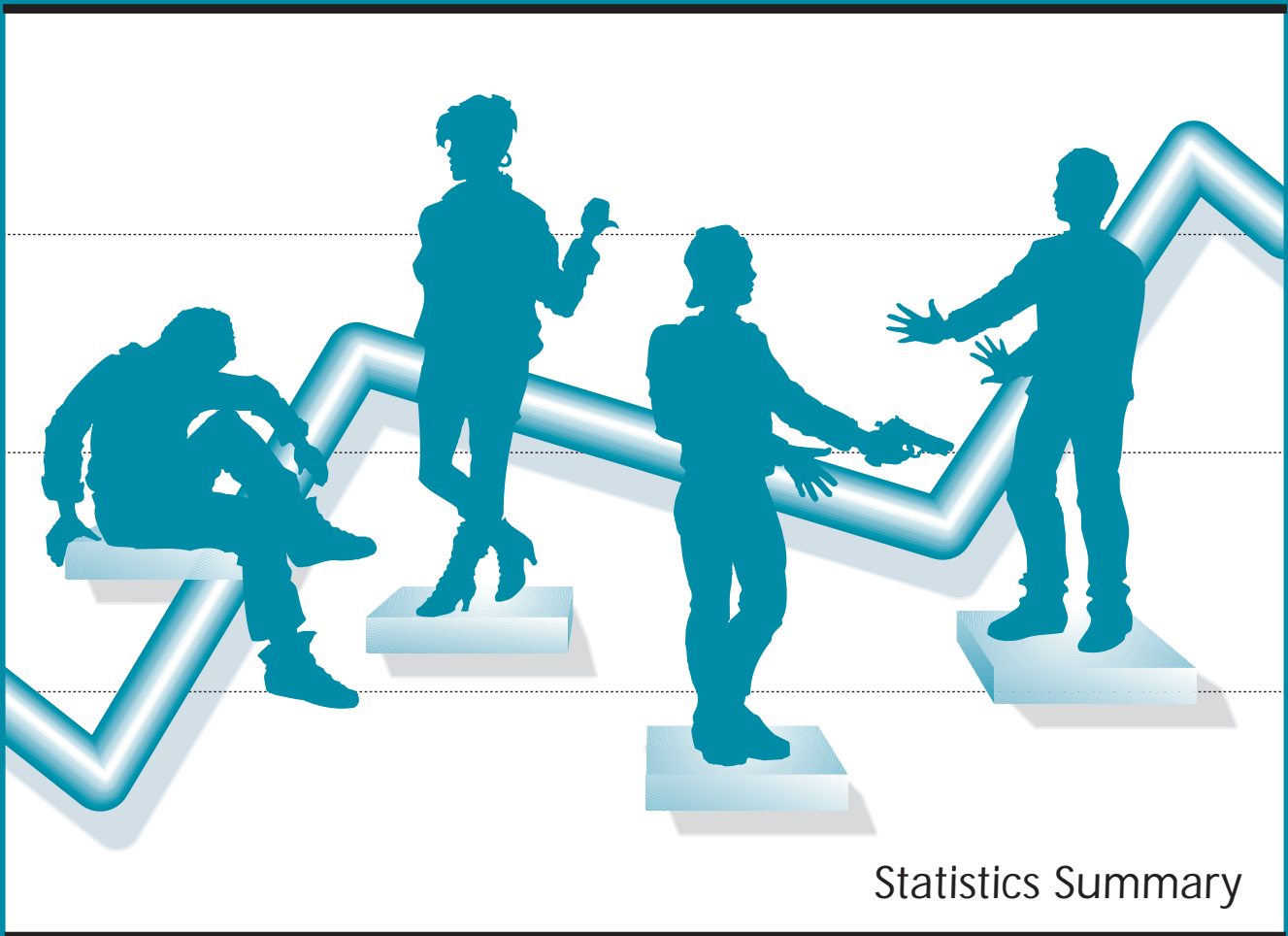




OJJDP *Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention*

Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1997 Update on Violence



Statistics Summary

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established by the President and Congress through the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, Public Law 93–415, as amended. Located within the Office of Justice Programs of the U.S. Department of Justice, OJJDP’s goal is to provide national leadership in addressing the issues of juvenile delinquency and improving juvenile justice.

OJJDP sponsors a broad array of research, program, and training initiatives to improve the juvenile justice system as a whole, as well as to benefit individual youth-serving agencies. These initiatives are carried out by seven components within OJJDP, described below.

Research and Program Development Division develops knowledge on national trends in juvenile delinquency; supports a program for data collection and information sharing that incorporates elements of statistical and systems development; identifies how delinquency develops and the best methods for its prevention, intervention, and treatment; and analyzes practices and trends in the juvenile justice system.

Training and Technical Assistance Division provides juvenile justice training and technical assistance to Federal, State, and local governments; law enforcement, judiciary, and corrections personnel; and private agencies, educational institutions, and community organizations.

Special Emphasis Division provides discretionary funds to public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals to replicate tested approaches to delinquency prevention, treatment, and control in such pertinent areas as chronic juvenile offenders, community-based sanctions, and the disproportionate representation of minorities in the juvenile justice system.

State Relations and Assistance Division supports collaborative efforts by States to carry out the mandates of the JJDP Act by providing formula grant funds to States; furnishing technical assistance to States, local governments, and private agencies; and monitoring State compliance with the JJDP Act.

Information Dissemination Unit informs individuals and organizations of OJJDP initiatives; disseminates information on juvenile justice, delinquency prevention, and missing children; and coordinates program planning efforts within OJJDP. The unit’s activities include publishing research and statistical reports, bulletins, and other documents, as well as overseeing the operations of the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

Concentration of Federal Efforts Program promotes interagency cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies with responsibilities in the area of juvenile justice. The program primarily carries out this responsibility through the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an independent body within the executive branch that was established by Congress through the JJDP Act.

Missing and Exploited Children’s Program seeks to promote effective policies and procedures for addressing the problem of missing and exploited children. Established by the Missing Children’s Assistance Act of 1984, the program provides funds for a variety of activities to support and coordinate a network of resources such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children; training and technical assistance to a network of 47 State clearinghouses, nonprofit organizations, law enforcement personnel, and attorneys; and research and demonstration programs.

The mission of OJJDP is to provide national leadership, coordination, and resources to prevent juvenile victimization and respond appropriately to juvenile delinquency. This is accomplished through developing and implementing prevention programs and a juvenile justice system that protects the public safety, holds juvenile offenders accountable, and provides treatment and rehabilitative services based on the needs of each individual juvenile.

Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1997 Update on Violence

Statistics Summary

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August 1997

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This document was prepared by the National Center for Juvenile Justice, the research division of the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, and was supported by cooperative agreement #95-JN-FX-K008 with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice.

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Suggested citation: Sickmund, Melissa, Snyder, Howard N., and Poe-Yamagata, Eileen. (1997). *Juvenile offenders and victims: 1997 update on violence*. Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, and the Office for Victims of Crime.

Foreword

The juvenile justice system is facing unprecedented challenges. In response, the system is changing. The architects of this change, the policy-makers at the Federal and State levels and the practitioners in the field, need the most current and reliable information on juvenile crime and violence as they work to improve and adapt policies and programs.

Three years ago, in response to this need for quality information, OJJDP funded the National Center for Juvenile Justice to produce the first comprehensive report on juvenile justice statistics. This report, *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report*, has become a landmark in the field. It is found in the offices of Federal and State legislators, in the offices of State and local juvenile justice agency administrators, in the recommended readings for university courses, and on the bookshelves of print and electronic journalists. This report and its *1996 Update on Violence* have given a face to juvenile crime and the juvenile justice system in the United States.

This latest report in the series provides readers with convincing information that the wave of violence by

juveniles that the United States has experienced in the last ten years may be subsiding. The most recent victimization data, for example, find that serious violent crimes by juveniles dropped 25% between 1994 and 1995. The most recent FBI data also report substantial declines in juvenile arrests for violent crimes. Most encouraging is the nearly 20% decline in murders by juveniles between 1993 and 1995.

This is not to say that we have solved the problem of juvenile crime. The current levels, though below those of recent years, are not acceptable. Further, the statistics continue to show high rates of victimization of juveniles. These and other forces that drove the decade-long increases in juvenile violence are still with us, even though we may be more able to counteract them.

This report contains the raw information needed to address the problems of juvenile crime and victimization. I hope all those concerned about meeting the needs of youth in this Nation will find the time to read and study this report and incorporate its findings into their deliberations.

Shay Bilchik
Administrator

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Between 1985 and 1995 nearly 25,000 juveniles were murdered in the United States — 2,600 in 1995

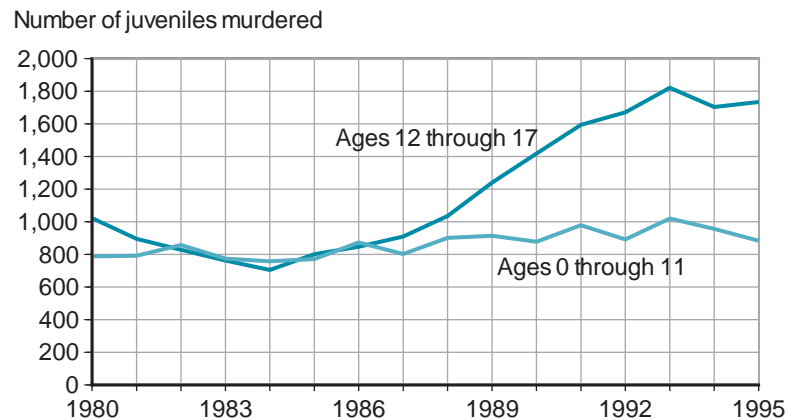
Murder is most common among the oldest and the youngest juveniles

In 1995 an estimated 2,600 persons below the age of 18 were murdered in the United States. This is nearly four (3.8) murdered juveniles for every 100,000 juveniles in the U.S. population. Youth with the highest murder rates in 1995 were those ages 17 (18.3), 16 (13.4), and 15 (7.7). The next highest murder rate was for those children under the age of one (7.0), followed by those age one (4.5).

In 1995, 72% of murdered juveniles were male, 49% were black, and 47% were white. Twenty-two percent of juvenile murder victims were murdered by family members, 37% by acquaintances, and 13% by strangers; in 28% of juvenile murders in 1995, the offender was unknown. Sixty-one percent of all juveniles murdered in 1995 were killed with a firearm.

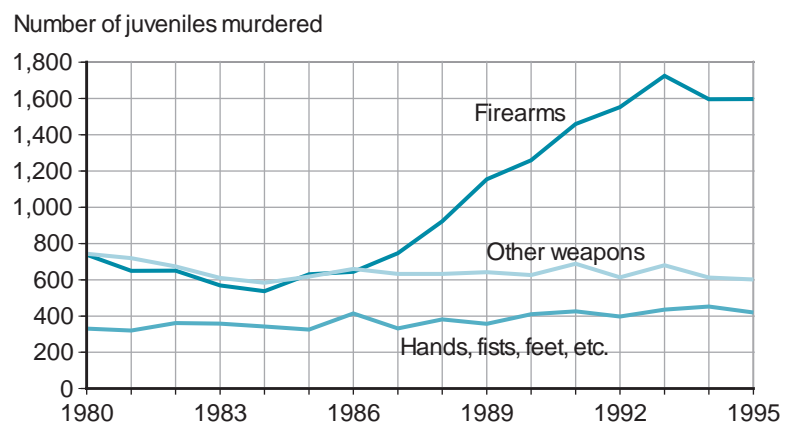
The murders of younger and older juveniles have different characteristics. Compared to youth under age 12, older juvenile murder victims in 1995 were more likely to be male (80% vs. 55%) and black (54% vs. 40%). A substantially larger proportion of younger victims were killed by family members (57% vs. 5%), while in a larger proportion of the murders of older juveniles the offender was unknown (36% vs. 12%). Another major difference between the murder of older and younger juveniles was the relative involvement of firearms. In 1995, 83% of older murdered juveniles were killed with a firearm, while firearms were used in only 17% of the murders of younger juveniles.

Murders of juveniles increased 66% between 1985 and 1995 — with nearly all of the increase in the older age group



■ Between 1985 and 1995 murders of juveniles ages 12 through 17 increased 116%, while murders of younger juveniles increased 15%.

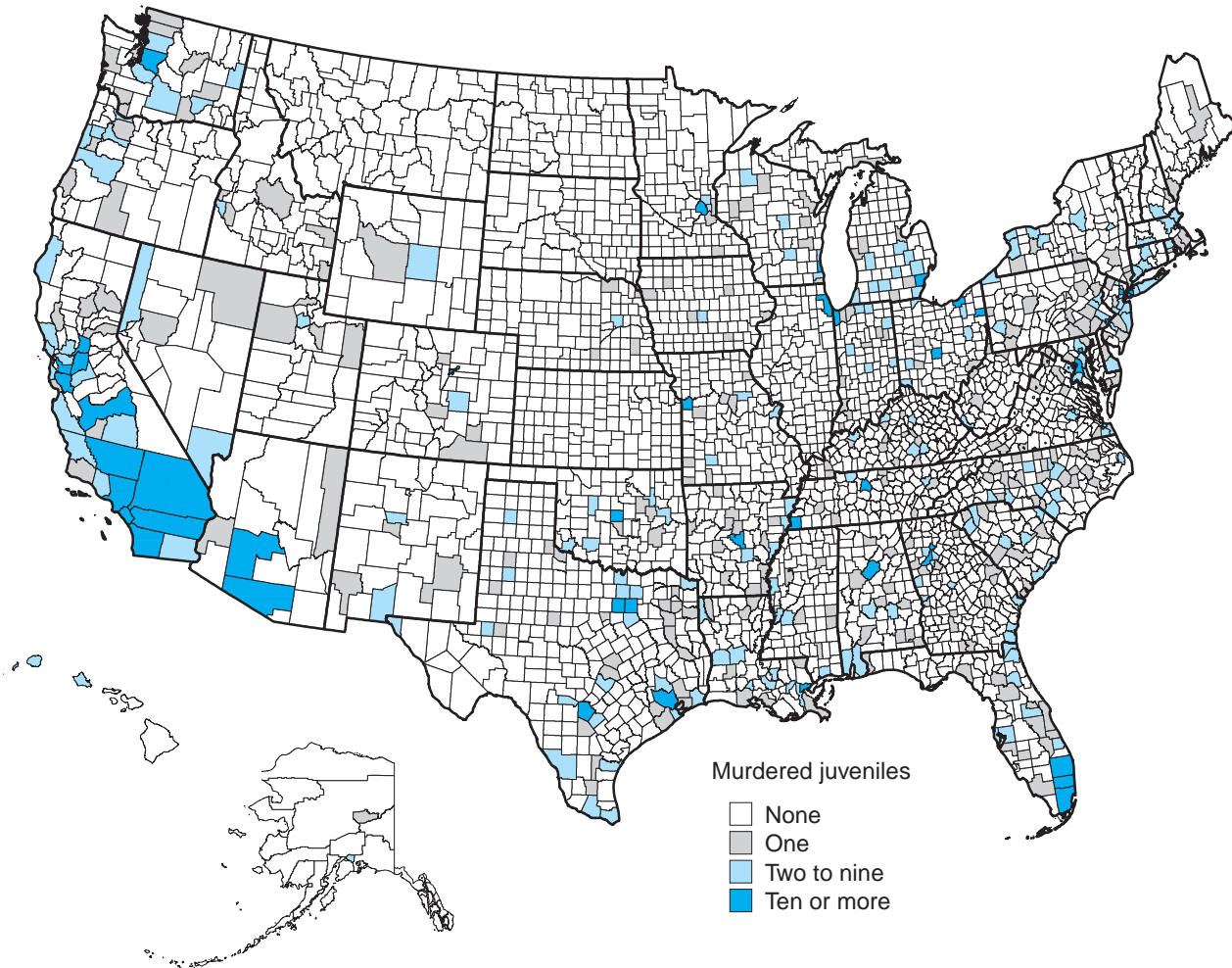
Nearly all of the increase in the murder of juveniles over the past decade was firearm-related



■ Between 1985 and 1995, while nonfirearm murders of juveniles increased 9%, the number of juveniles murdered with firearms increased 153%.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary homicide reports 1980–1995* [machine-readable data files].

One-third of all murders of juveniles in the United States in 1995 occurred in 10 counties



Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary homicide reports 1980–1995* [machine-readable data files].

In 1995 the FBI collected a detailed Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR) on 93% of all murder victims in the U.S. The map above presents an analysis of these data. Consequently, as many as 200 of the 2,600 murdered juveniles may not be represented on the map.

Based on reported SHR data, no juveniles were murdered in 84% of the

more than 3,000 U.S. counties in 1995. In 9% of U.S. counties, one juvenile was murdered. More than one-third of all murdered juveniles were killed in 10 counties. The major cities in these 10 counties (beginning with the city in the county with the most murdered juveniles) are Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Detroit, Dallas, Houston, Phoenix, San Bernardino, Philadelphia, and St. Louis.

States with the highest juvenile murder rates were Illinois, Maryland, Louisiana, California, and Oklahoma. Oklahoma's high rate is the result of the bombing of the Federal Building in April 1995.

For every two youth (ages 0–19) murdered in 1994, one youth committed suicide

7% of all suicides in 1994 involved youth age 19 or younger

FBI data indicate that in 1994 about 4,500 youth age 19 or younger were murdered in the U.S. The magnitude of this problem has captured the public's attention. However, much less attention has been given to the fact that for every two youth murdered, one youth commits suicide.

The National Center for Health Statistics reported that 31,142 persons committed suicide in the United States in 1994. Seven percent (2,271) of these were youth age 19 or younger. Overall, suicides increased 14% between 1979 and 1994. For youth younger than age 15, the increase was 112%. Despite this large increase, these youngest suicide victims accounted for just 1% of all suicides.

Young suicide victims are disproportionately male and white

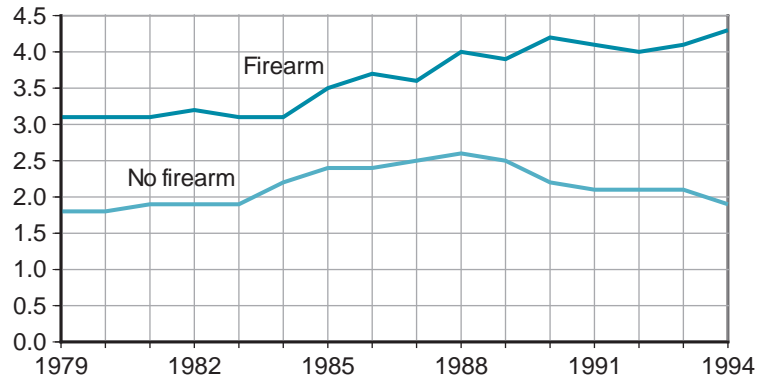
Males accounted for 8 in 10 youth suicides; 8 in 10 suicides involved white youth.

	Number of suicides		Suicides per 100,000 youth	
	10–14	15–19	10–14	15–19
Total	318	1,949	1.7	11.1
Male	230	1,650	2.4	18.2
Female	88	299	1.0	3.5
White	269	1,589	1.8	11.3
Male	194	1,348	2.5	18.7
Female	75	241	1.0	3.5
Nonwhite	49	361	1.3	10.1
Male	36	303	1.9	16.6
Female	13	58	*	3.3

* Too few cases to obtain a reliable rate.

Youth suicides involving a firearm increased 38% between 1979 and 1994, while nonfirearm suicides remained relatively stable

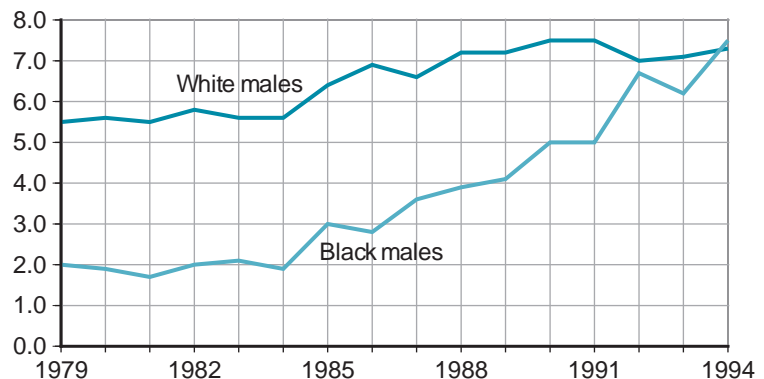
Suicides per 100,000 youth ages 10 to 19



Source: Authors' analysis of the National Center for Health Statistics' 1979–1994 data from the compressed mortality file [unpublished data].

Between 1979 and 1994 the growth in firearm-related suicide rates for male youth was greater among blacks than whites

Firearm-related suicides per 100,000 youth ages 10 to 19



- Suicide rates involving a firearm increased by one-third among white males while almost tripling among black males.
- For the first time, in 1994 the rate of youth suicides involving firearms was greater for black males than for white males.
- Growth patterns in firearm-related suicide rates among black males were similar to homicide patterns among black males between 1979 and 1994.

Source: Authors' analysis of the National Center for Health Statistics' 1979–1994 data from the compressed mortality file [unpublished data].

In 1994 the rate of violent victimization of juveniles ages 12 through 17 was nearly 3 times that of adults

Except for murder, information on juvenile victims of violence is limited to those age 12 or older

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) interviews a nationally representative sample of households every 6 months and asks residents age 12 or older about the violence they experienced since the last interview. This effort collects information on the range of violent crimes (excluding murder for obvious reasons): rape/sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault.

Juveniles are more likely than adults to be the victims of violent crime and be injured as a result

An analysis by Hashima and Finkelhor of 1994 NCVS data found:

- Juveniles ages 12–17 were nearly three times as likely as adults to be victims of violent crimes in 1994.
- Juveniles were almost three times as likely as adults to experience a crime-related injury; however, the rates of injury that required hospitalization were similar.
- The violent victimization rate for juvenile males was about 50% greater than for juvenile females.
- The violent victimization rate for younger juveniles (ages 12 to 14) was comparable to that of older juveniles (ages 15 to 17).
- The overall violent victimization rate for white juveniles was similar to that of black juveniles.
- More than two-thirds of juvenile violent victimizations were not reported to law enforcement.

In 1994 juveniles ages 12 through 17 experienced sexual assaults at twice the rate of adults and robberies at nearly three times the adult rate

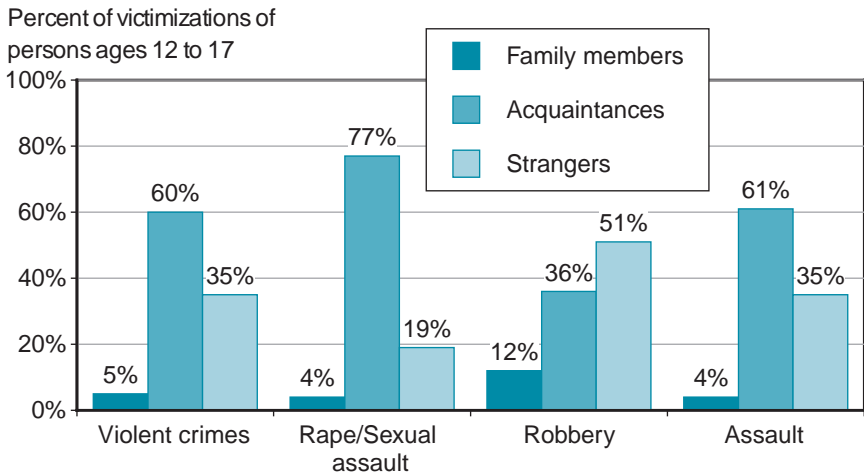
Type of crime	Number of victimizations		Rate of victimizations (per 1,000)		Ratio of juvenile rate to adult rate
	Juveniles age 12–17	Adults	Juveniles age 12–17	Adults	
Violent crimes	2,625,600	8,235,100	116.3	43.1	2.7
Rape/sexual assault	76,500	356,300	3.4	1.9	1.8
Rape/attempted rape	43,300	248,700	1.9	1.3	1.5
Sexual assault	19,300*	54,200	0.9*	0.3	3.0
Verbal threat	6,900*	35,800	0.3*	0.2	1.6
Unwanted sexual contact without force	7,000*	17,600*	0.3*	0.1*	3.4
Robbery	263,900	1,034,900	11.7	5.4	2.2
Completed	160,900	634,200	7.1	3.3	2.1
With injury	50,300	237,400	2.2	1.2	1.8
Without injury	110,600	396,900	4.9	2.1	2.4
Attempted	103,000	400,600	4.6	2.1	2.2
With injury	12,000*	109,800	0.5*	0.6	0.9
Without injury	91,000	290,900	4.0	1.5	2.6
Assault	2,285,200	6,843,900	101.2	35.8	2.8
Aggravated	594,600	1,883,600	26.3	9.9	2.7
Completed w/injury	165,800	512,700	7.3	2.7	2.7
Attempted w/weapon	184,200	538,400	8.2	2.8	2.9
Threatened w/weapon	244,500	832,500	10.8	4.4	2.5
Simple	1,690,600	4,960,300	74.9	25.9	2.9
With injury	418,100	1,047,900	18.5	5.5	3.4
Without injury	667,700	1,678,700	29.6	8.8	3.4
Verbal threat of assault	604,700	2,233,700	26.8	11.7	2.3

* Estimate is based on fewer than 10 cases.

Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding. This table excludes series crimes (i.e., six or more individual crimes of a similar nature that occurred within a six-month period for which the victim was unable to distinguish details separately) and crimes occurring outside the U.S.

Source: Authors' analysis of data presented in Hashima and Finkelhor's *Violent victimization of youth versus adults in the National Crime Victimization Survey*.

Strangers were the perpetrators in 35% of all violent victimizations of juveniles ages 12 through 17 in 1994

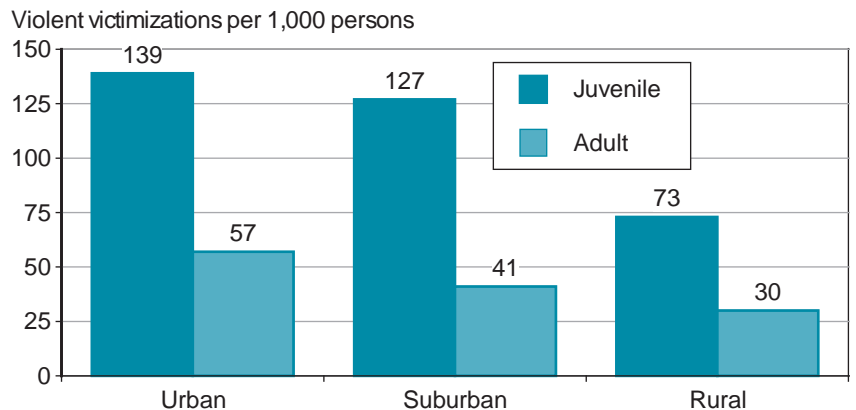


- Almost one-third (29%) of all violent victimizations against juveniles ages 12 or above were committed by schoolmates.

Notes: Graph excludes multiple offender cases. Detail in each category may not total 100% because of rounding.

Source: Authors' analysis of data presented in Hashima and Finkelhor's *Violent victimization of youth versus adults in the National Crime Victimization Survey*.

Juveniles had higher violent victimization rates than adults in all types of communities in 1994



- The violent crime victimization rate for juveniles ages 12 through 17 living in rural areas was as high as the rate for adults living in urban areas.
- The violent crime victimization rate for juveniles ages 12 through 17 living in urban areas was nearly twice as great as the rate for those living in rural areas.

Source: Authors' analysis of data presented in Hashima and Finkelhor's *Violent victimization of youth versus adults in the National Crime Victimization Survey*.

1 in 5 violent offenders serving time in State prison reported having victimized a child

Based on interviews in 1991 with a representative sample of State prison inmates, the Bureau of Justice Statistics found:

- 7 in 10 of the 61,000 offenders with child victims (under age 18) reported that they were imprisoned for rape or sexual assault. These offenders accounted for two-thirds of all prisoners convicted of rape or sexual assault.
- More than half of the violent crimes committed against under-18 victims involved children age 12 or younger.
- 75% of child victims were female; 97% of child victimizers were male.
- 86% of child victimizers had a prior relationship with their victim and 32% victimized their own child or stepchild.
- 3 in 10 child-victimizers reported victimizing more than one child.
- Although most inmates did not report a history of child abuse, those who had violently victimized a child were substantially more likely than other inmates to say they had been physically or sexually abused when they were children (31% vs. 14%).
- Inmates with a history of physical or sexual abuse were more likely than other inmates to have victimized a child. Nearly half of all violent offenders who reported having been sexually abused had child victims; nearly one third of those reporting physical abuse had child victims. In comparison, 16% of those with no history of such abuse had child victims.

The number of children identified as abused or neglected almost doubled between 1986 and 1993

An estimated 2,815,600 children were identified as maltreated in 1993

The third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (NIS-3) reports information on children harmed or believed to be harmed by maltreatment in 1993. Child maltreatment includes physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, as well as physical, emotional, and educational neglect by a caretaker. Victims of maltreatment may die as the result of abuse or neglect or may experience serious or moderate harm. A child may also be in danger of harm as the result of maltreatment, or harm may be inferred when maltreatment is sufficiently severe.

NIS-3 includes maltreatment reported to researchers not only by child protective services agencies, but by other investigatory agencies (e.g., police, courts, public health departments) and community institutions (e.g., hospitals, schools, day care centers, and social service agencies). It does not include cases known only to family members or neighbors.

Most maltreated children were neglected in 1993

NIS-3 counts each incident of abuse or neglect that occurs. A single child may experience many types of abuse or neglect. In 1993, 70% of maltreated children were victims of neglect and 43% were victims of abuse. More specifically:

- 47% were physically neglected.
- Almost equal proportions of maltreated children were physically abused (22%), emotionally neglected (21%), and emotionally abused (19%).
- 11% were sexually abused; 14% were educationally neglected.

Over half of all victims (55%) experienced serious or moderate harm as a result of maltreatment in 1993

Type of harm	Percent of victims
All	100.0%
Fatal	0.1
Serious	20.2
Moderate	35.0
Inferred	8.0
Endangered	36.7

Types of maltreatment are related to the characteristics of the child

The incidence of maltreatment varied by sex and age but not by race or ethnicity:

- The incidence of sexual abuse was almost three times greater among females than males in 1993. In contrast, emotional neglect was more common among males than females.
- The incidence of maltreatment increased more among males than among females between 1986 and 1993 (102% vs. 68%).
- Between 1986 and 1993 the incidence of maltreatment grew among all children except those ages 15–17.
- Moderate injuries were more frequent among older than younger children. Age differences were not found for other levels of injury.
- Younger children (ages 0–11) were perceived to be endangered more frequently than older children (ages 15–17).
- Children ages 0–2 and 15–17 had the lowest incidence of maltreatment in 1993.

There are several different types of child maltreatment

Child maltreatment occurs when a caretaker (a parent or parent substitute, such as a daycare provider) is responsible for, or permits, the abuse or neglect of a child. The maltreatment can result in actual physical or emotional harm, or it can place the child in danger of physical or emotional harm. The following types of maltreatment were included in NIS-3:

Physical abuse includes physical acts that caused or could have caused physical injury to the child.

Sexual abuse is involvement of the child in sexual activity to provide sexual gratification or financial benefit to the perpetrator, including contacts for sexual purposes, prostitution, pornography, or other sexually exploitative activities.

Emotional abuse is defined as acts (including verbal or emotional assault) or omissions that caused or could have caused conduct, cognitive, affective, or other mental disorders.

Physical neglect includes abandonment, expulsion from the home, delay or failure to seek remedial health care, inadequate supervision, disregard for hazards in the home, or inadequate food, clothing, or shelter.

Emotional neglect includes inadequate nurturance or affection, permitting maladaptive behavior, and other inattention to emotional/developmental needs.

Educational neglect includes permitting the child to be chronically truant or other inattention to educational needs.

More maltreatment was reported among lower income families in 1993

Children from families with an annual income of less than \$15,000 were found to have substantially more maltreatment of all types than children from families of greater incomes. The abuse rate in these lowest income families was two times the rate of families with higher incomes. Similarly, the neglect rate was more than three times higher in these families. Compared with those from families with incomes above \$15,000, children in lower income families had a higher injury rate in every injury category except fatalities.

Children of single parents were at higher risk of maltreatment in 1993

The risk of maltreatment was twice as great for children of single parents than children living with both parents. Compared with children living with both parents, children living with single parents were twice as likely to be neglected and were marginally more likely to be abused. Children living with a single parent of either sex experienced a higher incidence of physical and educational neglect than those living with both parents and were marginally more likely to experience emotional neglect. Children from single parent homes were at higher risk of injury and of being endangered by maltreatment than those living with both parents in 1993.

Maltreatment is related to family size

- Children living in larger families with four or more children were physically neglected almost three times more often than those living in one-child families and more than twice as often as those living in families with two or three children.
- Serious injuries were equally likely in families of all sizes.
- Moderate injury was more frequently experienced by maltreated children in larger families than in those with either two or three children. Children in these largest families also experienced higher rates of endangerment.

The majority of maltreated children were victimized by their birth parents

Birth parents accounted for the largest proportion of maltreatment victimizations in 1993 (78%), followed by other types of parents (14%) and other perpetrators (9%). Children victimized by their birth parents were twice as likely to experience neglect than abuse in 1993. More specifically, among children victimized by their birth parents:

- The most common forms of maltreatment involved educational neglect (29%), physical neglect (27%), and physical abuse (23%).
- 16% were victims of emotional neglect and 14% were victims of emotional abuse.
- 5% were sexually abused.

Victims of emotional abuse and neglect increased more than victims of other forms of maltreatment between 1986 and 1993

Maltreatment type	Number of victims of maltreatment		
	1986	1993	Percent change
Total	1,424,400	2,815,600	98%
Abuse	590,800	1,221,800	107
Physical	311,500	614,100	97
Sexual	133,600	300,200	125
Emotional	188,100	532,200	183
Neglect	917,200	1,961,300	114
Physical	507,700	1,335,100	163
Emotional	203,000	584,100	188
Educational	284,800	397,300	40*

*Indicates that increase did not reach statistical significance.

Note: Victims were counted more than once when more than one type of abuse or neglect had occurred.

Source: Authors' adaptation of data presented in NCCAN's *The third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (NIS-3)*.

In contrast to children victimized by their birth parents, those maltreated by other types of parents were almost twice as likely to be abused than neglected. For example:

- Physical abuse was the most common form of maltreatment (37%).
- One-quarter of these children were victims of sexual abuse.
- One-fifth were victims of educational neglect.
- The least common forms of maltreatment involved physical neglect (9%) and emotional abuse (13%).

Children maltreated by birth parents were twice as likely to suffer a fatal or serious injury than those maltreated by others

	Injury severity			Total
	Fatal or serious	Moderate	Inferred	
All	36%	53%	11%	100%
Birth parents	41	54	5	100
Other parents	20	61	19	100
Others	24	30	46	100

Most maltreatment cases are recognized by schools

Because of the large volume of children attending schools, more maltreated children were identified by schools in 1993 than by other community agencies and institutions combined:

Schools	54%
Police/sheriff	10
Hospitals	6
Social services	6
Daycare centers	5
Mental health	3
Juvenile probation	2
Public health	2
All others	12

One third of alleged child maltreatment cases were investigated by child protective services in 1993

Child protective service agencies investigated 33% of the cases known to community agencies and institutions in 1993. The remaining cases were either not reported or reported but not investigated by child protective services. The highest rates of investigations occurred among cases recognized by police and sheriff departments (52%), hospitals (46%), and mental health agencies (42%). In contrast, the lowest rates of investigations occurred among cases recognized by daycare centers (3%) and public health agencies (4%).

Investigations were more likely among children recognized as abused than neglected in 1993

Children alleged to be physically or sexually abused were investigated by child protective services more frequently than other maltreated children.

Maltreatment type	Percent investigated
Abuse	39%
Physical	45
Sexual	44
Emotional	28
Neglect	28%
Physical	35
Emotional	22
Educational	7

Child protective service agencies received 2 million reports of child maltreatment in 1994

NCANDS monitors the caseloads of child protective services

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) annually collects child maltreatment data from child protective service agencies. The National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS) employs both a summary and case level approach to data collection. Summary data provide national information on a number of key indicators of child abuse and neglect cases in 1994. Case-level data provide descriptive information on cases referred to child protective service agencies in 1993.

About 1.6 million child abuse and neglect investigations were conducted in 1994

Child protective service agencies conducted investigations on 82% of the estimated 2 million reports of child abuse and neglect in 1994. In 37% of these investigations the allegation was either substantiated (i.e., the allegation of maltreatment or risk of maltreatment was supported or founded) or indicated (i.e., the allegation could not be substantiated, but there was reason to suspect the child was maltreated or was at risk of maltreatment). More than half (56%) of all investigations were not substantiated or indicated. The remaining 7% were closed without a finding or were found to be intentionally false reports.

Information contained in reports varied by the source of the report

Ten States provided detailed data on the source of reports received by child protective service agencies during 1993. This information shows that:

- About one-half (52%) of all victims reported by medical professionals were under age 4. Almost

two-thirds (64%) of victims reported by educators were over age 7.

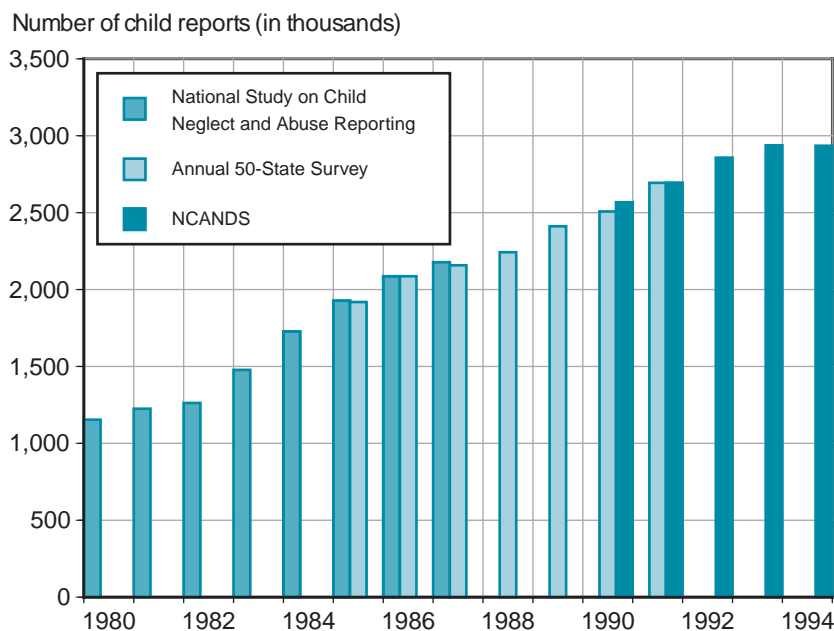
- Reports from professionals were more likely than those from non-professionals to be substantiated or indicated (53% vs. 37%).
- Professionals were more likely than others to report physical abuse (26% vs. 16%) and less likely than others to report neglect (52% vs. 68%).

Physical abuse was linked to 63% of maltreatment deaths

Detailed information from States reporting case-level data on victims of substantiated or indicated maltreatment in 1993 found the following:

- Neglect was the most common form of maltreatment found among all age groups (57%).
- Younger children (under age 8) were more likely than older children (ages 8–17) to have been neglected (65% vs. 46%).

Maltreatment reports may involve more than one child — in 1994 nearly 3 million children were the subjects in 2 million reports



- Reports of alleged maltreatment increased 154% between 1980 and 1994. The increasing trend in child maltreatment reports over the past decade is believed to be the result, at least in part, of a greater willingness to report suspected incidents. Greater public awareness both of child maltreatment as a social problem and the resources available to respond to it are factors that contribute to increased reporting.

Note: Child reports are counts of children who are the subject of reports. Counts are duplicated when an individual child is the subject of more than one report during a year.

Sources: Authors' analyses of NCCAN's *Child maltreatment 1994: Reports from the States to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect* and NCCAN's *National child abuse and neglect data system: Working paper 2, 1991 summary data component*.

- Older victims were more likely than their younger counterparts to have been physically (28% vs. 17%) or sexually abused (18% vs. 9%).
- Female victims were more likely than males to have experienced sexual abuse (19% vs. 6%) and less likely to have experienced neglect (53% vs. 61%).
- 50% of deaths resulting from child maltreatment were linked to neglect; 63% were linked to physical abuse.
- Almost one-half (43%) of all deaths involved children under 1 year and 4 in 5 (81%) were under 4 years.
- More than one-half (56%) of fatalities were male.

Professionals were the most common source of reports of abuse and neglect in 1994

Source of referral	Percent of total
Professionals	52%
Educators	16
Social service	12
Legal justice	13
Medical	11
Family and community	26%
Friends/neighbors	9
Relatives—not parents	10
Parents	7
Other sources	22%
Anonymous	8
Victims	1
Other*	13

* Includes child care providers, perpetrators, and sources not otherwise identified.

Source: Authors' adaptation of data presented in NCCAN's *Child maltreatment 1994: Reports from the States to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect*.

Over 1,000 children died as a result of maltreatment in 1994

The 1994 national summary data on substantiated or indicated maltreatment found the following:

- 53% of victims were female.
- 59% of victims were white, 27% were black, 10% were Hispanic, and 4% were other races.
- 20% of victims were age 2 or younger, 53% were age 7 or younger, and 6% were age 16 or older.
- 4 in 5 perpetrators were parents of the victim.
- A reported 1,111 children died as the result of maltreatment in 1994.
- About 13% of victims in substantiated or indicated cases were removed from their homes.

Most perpetrators were female and under age 40 in 1993

The 1993 case-level data on perpetrators of substantiated or indicated maltreatment were provided by seven States. This information showed that:

- 62% of perpetrators were female.
- Most perpetrators under age 40 were female (65%), while most perpetrators over 40 were male (55%).
- 63% of perpetrators were associated with only one victim, 19% were associated with two victims, 10% with three victims, and 8% with four or more victims.

Neglect was the most common form of maltreatment for both related and nonrelated perpetrators in 1993

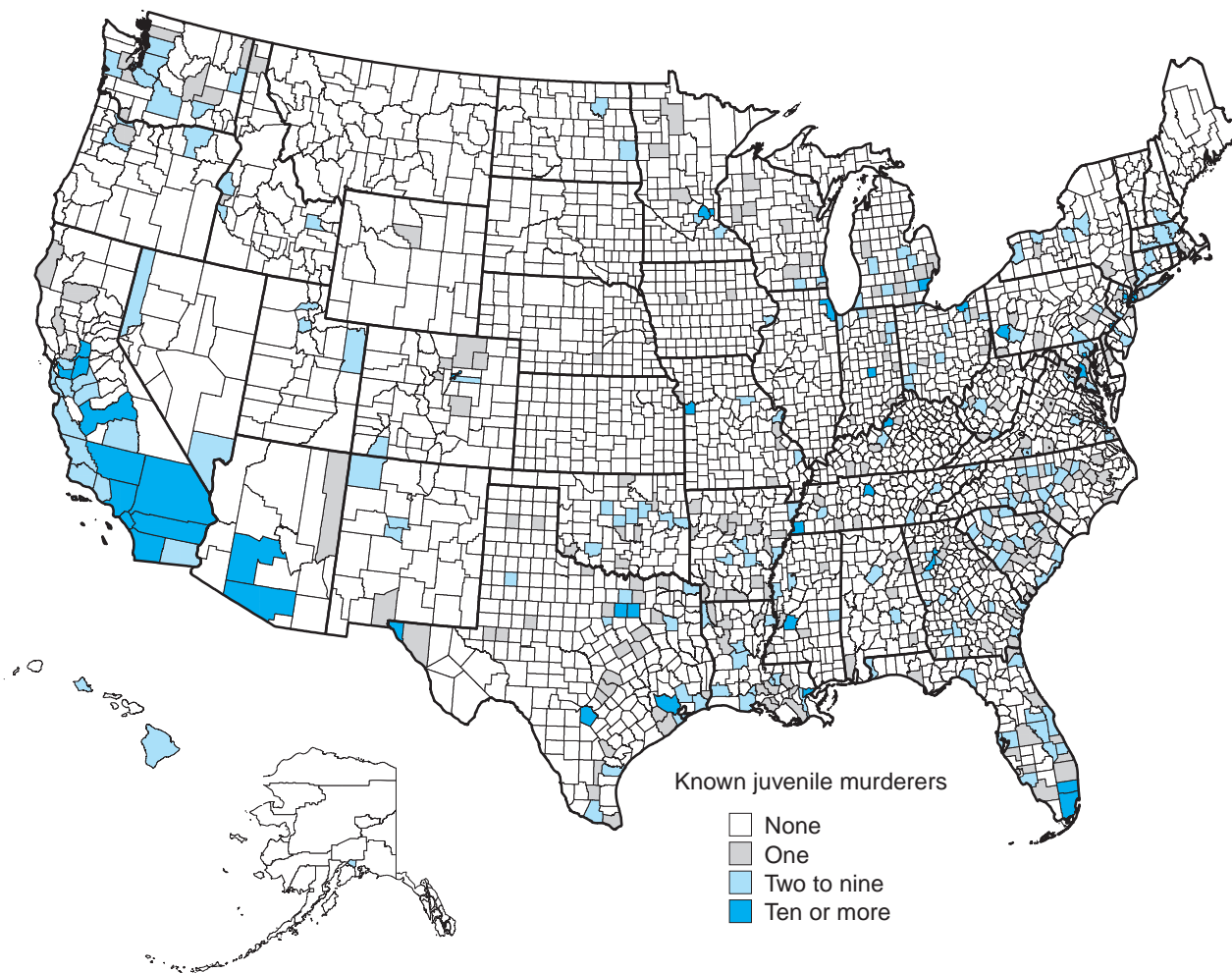
Maltreatment type	Percent of perpetrators		
	All	Related	Nonrelated
Medical neglect	6%	5%	15%
Other neglect	52	57	30
Physical abuse	23	22	26
Sexual abuse	15	13	27
Emotional maltreatment	3	4	3
Other maltreatment	23	24	22

- Sexual abuse was more common for nonrelated perpetrators than for related perpetrators (27% vs. 13%).
- Compared with perpetrators not related to their victims, a greater proportion of related perpetrators were associated with neglect.

Note: Total is greater than 100% because perpetrators are counted for each type of maltreatment associated with a specific victim.

Source: Authors' adaptation of data presented in NCCAN's *Child abuse and neglect case-level data 1993: Working paper 1*.

In 1995 the Nation's estimated 2,300 known juvenile murderers were geographically concentrated



Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports 1980–1995* [machine-readable data files].

Each year the FBI collects from a large sample of law enforcement agencies across the Nation a detailed report on each homicide that occurred in their jurisdictions. In 1995 the FBI estimates that these Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) were submitted on 93% of all homicides in the Nation. The SHR file was analyzed, excluding all negligent manslaughters and justifiable homicides, to produce a count of known offenders under the age of 18 in each U.S. county in 1995.

A small number of counties with no reported juvenile murderers in 1995

were counties that reported incomplete or no data; most were counties that actually had no juvenile homicide offenders. In 38% of murder incidents, offender characteristics were unknown, mostly because no offender was ever identified. These data limitations result in two sources of undercounts of juvenile murderers in the above map: a slight undercount of *known* juvenile offenders (given that 7% of homicides were not reported to the FBI) and a greater undercount of *actual* juvenile homicide offenders, given that a significant portion (38%) of reported mur-

ders were never solved or their solutions never reported to the FBI.

With these limitations in mind, the SHR data show that 84% of the 3,139 counties in the United States reported no juvenile homicide offenders in 1995. Another 10% reported only one juvenile homicide offender. In contrast, 25% of all known juvenile homicide offenders were reported in just five counties. These were the counties that contain the following cities: Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Detroit, and New York City.

Homicides by juveniles peaked in 1994 — in 1995 firearm homicides by black males declined

2,300 juveniles were implicated in 1,900 murders in 1995

The FBI estimates 21,600 persons were murdered in the U.S. in 1995. According to the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Report data, law enforcement agencies were able to identify the offender in two-thirds (62% or about 13,400) of these crimes. In the remaining homicides (38% or about 8,200), no offender was identified. The proportion of homicides in which an offender was not identified has grown from about 30% in the early 1980's, with the levels being relatively constant from 1992 through 1995.

A juvenile was an offender in 14% (or about 1,900) of all homicides for which an offender was identified in 1995 — with 2,300 juvenile offenders implicated in these 1,900 homicides. In nearly one-third (32%) of these juvenile-involved homicides, an adult offender was also implicated.

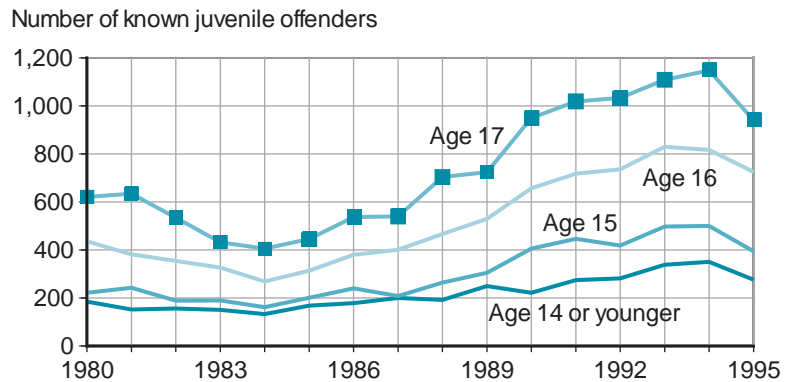
Who did juveniles kill in 1995?

Most victims were male (85%). Slightly more were black (49%) than white (48%). About 3 in 10 victims were below age 18.

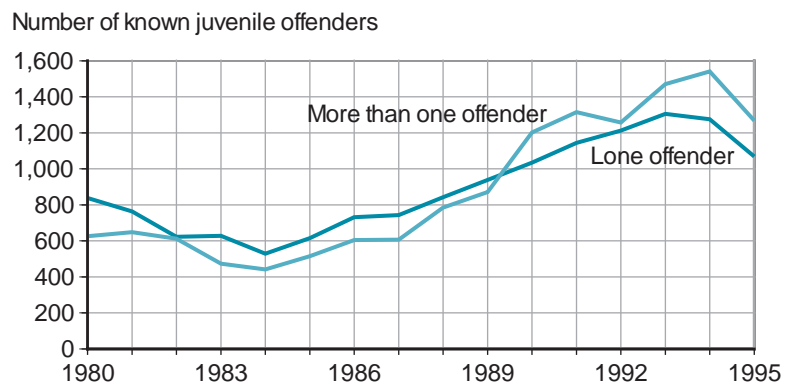
Age of victims	Percent of victims
0-9	3%
10-14	6
15-17	18
18-24	30
25-49	33
50 or older	9

Seventy-nine percent of the victims of juvenile homicide offenders were killed with a firearm. Ten percent of victims were family members, 54% were acquaintances, and 36% were strangers.

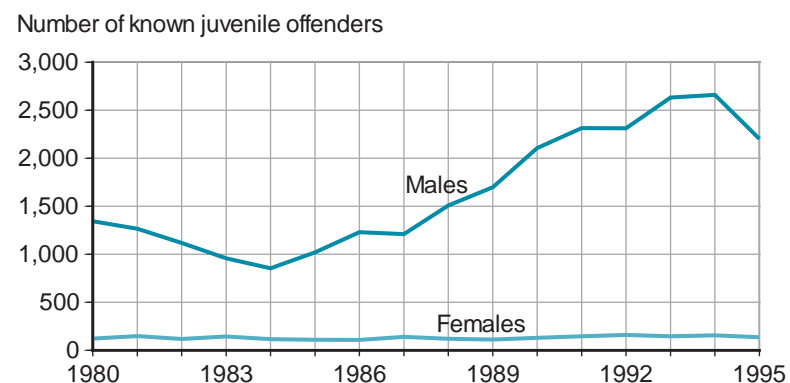
The number of juvenile murderers dropped in all age groups in 1995



Juvenile murderers were more likely to act in groups in the 1990's

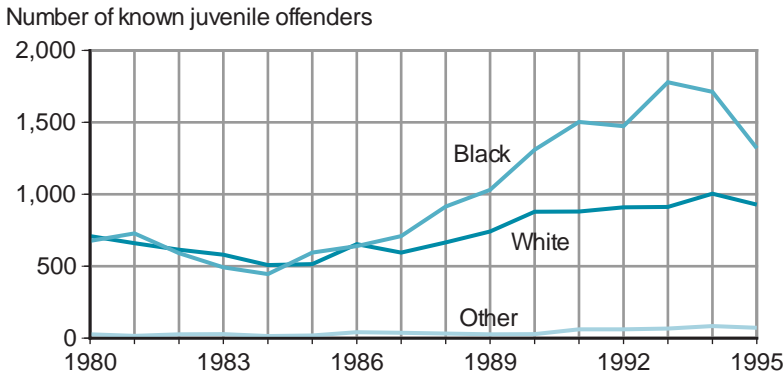


Males were responsible for most of the growth in homicides by juveniles from the mid-1980's through 1994

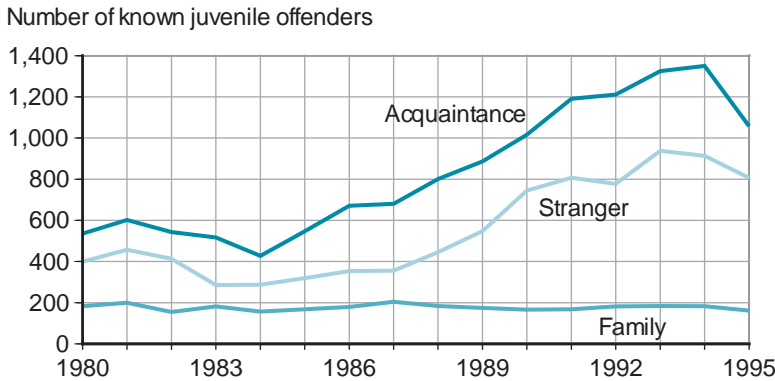


Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary homicide reports 1980-1995* [machine-readable data files].

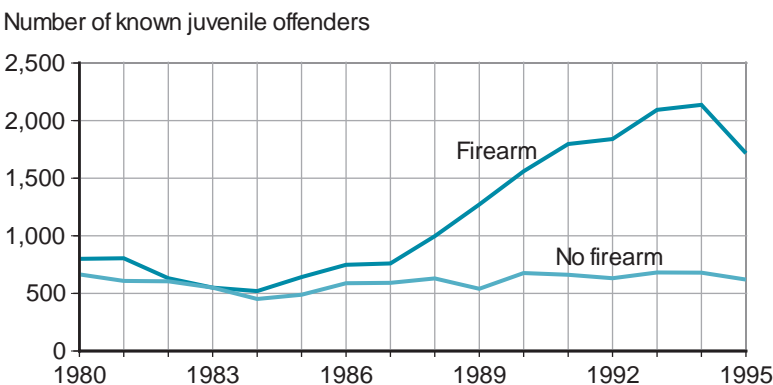
Prior to 1987 there were roughly equal numbers of white and black juvenile homicide offenders



Through the period of growth in homicides by juveniles, homicides of family members did not increase



All the growth in homicides by juveniles between 1987 and 1994 was firearm-related — as was the 1995 decline



Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary homicide reports 1980–1995* [machine-readable data files].

Homicides by juveniles increased from 1984 to 1994

In 1980 juveniles were known to be an offender in 8% of all homicides for which an offender was identified (or about 1,300). These numbers declined through 1984 when there were about 800 homicides in which a juvenile offender was involved, or 5% of all homicides. After 1984 homicides by juveniles grew both in number and in proportion to the whole. The levels peaked in 1994 when juveniles were implicated in 16% of all homicides (or about 2,300).

What happened in 1995?

After more than a decade of increases, homicides by juveniles dropped substantially (17%) in 1995. A comparison of juvenile-involved murders in 1994 to those in 1995 indicates the nature of this decline. The decline was found in all age groups of offenders. Declines were observed in both homicides with lone offenders and in homicides committed by more than one person. The decline was observed in homicides by male juveniles, while homicides by female juveniles remained constant. Nearly all of the decline was in homicides by black juveniles. Between 1994 and 1995, while homicides of family members remained constant, declines were found in homicides of acquaintances and strangers. Finally, compared with 1994, all of the decline in homicides by juveniles in 1995 were firearm-related homicides. Therefore, compared with 1994, 1995 saw a reduction in homicides by black male juveniles of non-family members in which the weapon used was a firearm.

Half of high school students who carried a weapon took that weapon to school

10% of high school students had carried a weapon on school property in the past month

The 1995 Youth Risk Behavior Survey found that 10% of high school students said that in the past 30 days they had carried a weapon (e.g., gun, knife, or club) on school property. This is half the overall proportion of students (20%) who reported carrying a weapon anywhere in the past month. For all grade levels, males were more likely than females to report carrying weapons on school property.

Percent who had carried a weapon on school property in the past 30 days

	Total	Female	Male
Total	10%	6%	14%
9th grade	11	6	15
10th grade	10	6	15
11th grade	10	5	15
12th grade	8	4	12
Race/ethnicity			
White	9	3	14
Black	10	9	12
Hispanic	14	9	19

In a year, 1 in 12 high schoolers were threatened or injured with a weapon at school

In the year prior to the survey, 8% of high school students had been threatened or injured with a weapon on school property. Given that 10% of students reported carrying a weapon to school in a one-month period, it appears that most weapon carrying is not for "threatening or injuring" others on school property. Males were more likely than females to have been threatened or injured with a weapon at school (11% vs. 6%).

Across jurisdictions, the proportion of students who had carried a weapon on school property in the past month ranged from 5% to 15% — from 2% to 17% felt too unsafe to go to school

	Percent reporting they carried a weapon on school property in the past 30 days			Percent reporting they were threatened or injured with a weapon on school property in the past year			Percent reporting they felt too unsafe to go to school at least once in the past 30 days		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
United States total	10%	5%	14%	8%	6%	11%	5%	4%	5%
Alabama	13	6	20	9	6	13	6	4	7
Alaska	12	5	19	9	7	12	4	4	3
Arkansas	11	4	18	9	7	11	5	6	5
California*	9	6	13	9	6	12	7	8	5
Los Angeles	5	2	9	10	7	14	11	11	11
San Diego	8	4	12	10	6	14	7	6	8
Colorado*	12	5	18	10	6	13	4	4	4
Denver	10	5	15	12	8	15	8	7	8
Delaware	10	4	15	8	5	11	5	4	6
D. of Columbia	15	15	15	10	7	14	12	11	12
Florida	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ft. Lauderdale	7	4	10	9	6	12	8	7	8
Miami	8	4	11	9	5	13	9	7	10
Georgia	8	4	12	9	7	11	5	5	5
Hawaii	8	2	14	5	3	8	5	3	6
Idaho	15	6	23	9	6	12	4	4	4
Illinois	9	4	14	9	6	11	6	5	6
Chicago	11	9	13	13	9	18	17	15	19
Louisiana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Orleans	8	8	8	11	10	11	10	10	10
Maine	10	4	1	7	5	8	3	3	3
Massachusetts	9	5	14	8	5	10	6	5	6
Boston	12	8	16	11	8	13	11	9	12
Michigan*	9	3	15	9	5	13	5	3	6
Detroit	10	7	13	12	8	17	14	14	15
Mississippi	8	3	13	8	7	9	5	5	5
Missouri	13	4	22	8	5	11	4	4	5
Montana	12	4	21	6	4	8	3	2	3

Percent who were threatened or injured with a weapon on school property in the past 12 months

	Total	Female	Male
Total	8%	6%	11%
9th grade	10	7	12
10th grade	10	7	12
11th grade	8	5	11
12th grade	7	5	9
Race/ethnicity			
White	7	5	9
Black	11	8	15
Hispanic	12	10	15

Fear of school-related violence kept 5% of high schoolers home at least once in the past month

Nationwide, 5% of students said that they had missed at least one day of school in the past month because they had felt unsafe at school or when traveling to or from school. Non-Hispanic black (8%) and His-

panic students (8%) were more likely to feel unsafe than non-Hispanic white students (3%). The relationship between weapon carrying at school and fear of going to school is unclear. Students may feel unsafe because there are weapons at school or they may carry weapons because they feel unsafe.

	Percent reporting they carried a weapon on school property in the past 30 days			Percent reporting they were threatened or injured with a weapon on school property in the past year			Percent reporting they felt too unsafe to go to school at least once in the past 30 days		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
Nebraska	8%	2%	14%	6%	3%	9%	3%	2%	3%
Nevada	11	6	16	10	9	10	6	6	6
New Hampshire	9	4	15	6	4	8	3	2	3
New Jersey*	10	5	14	9	5	13	5	4	6
Jersey City	15	13	18	12	9	15	13	12	13
North Carolina	9	4	14	8	6	10	5	5	5
North Dakota	10	2	17	6	4	8	—	—	—
Ohio	9	4	15	8	6	9	5	6	4
Pennsylvania	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Philadelphia	11	9	13	10	7	14	10	8	12
Rhode Island	7	3	12	8	5	10	5	4	5
South Carolina	12	5	19	11	7	14	6	5	7
South Dakota	11	3	19	6	3	8	3	3	4
Tennessee	12	5	21	8	5	12	6	6	6
Texas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dallas	9	6	13	11	8	14	9	9	9
Houston	9	4	14	10	5	15	13	11	15
Utah	11	4	18	7	5	9	4	5	4
Vermont	12	4	19	7	4	9	4	4	5
Washington	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Seattle	10	4	16	12	8	17	7	6	8
West Virginia	12	4	21	7	5	10	5	4	5
Wyoming	14	5	23	7	5	10	3	4	3

* Data do not include students from the State's largest city.

— Data not available.

Bold indicates data are unweighted because the overall response rate was less than 60%. Thus, data apply only to respondents.

Source: Authors' adaptation of data presented in Kann, L. et al.'s *Youth risk behavior surveillance — United States, 1995*.

Victims reported a 25% drop in violent crimes by juveniles in 1995 — violence by adults was down 18%

Violence in the U.S. is monitored by victim reports

The Bureau of Justice Statistics' National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) asks a nationally representative sample of persons ages 12 and older about violent crimes in which they were the victim. Since 1973 the NCVS has been a national barometer of crime trends. In 1995 NCVS reported that 3.3 million violent crimes (rape/sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault) occurred in the U.S., while the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR) estimated 1.8 million such crimes were reported to law enforcement. Compared with the UCR, NCVS provides a more complete picture of violence in the U.S., even though it excludes murder and violence against children younger than age 12.

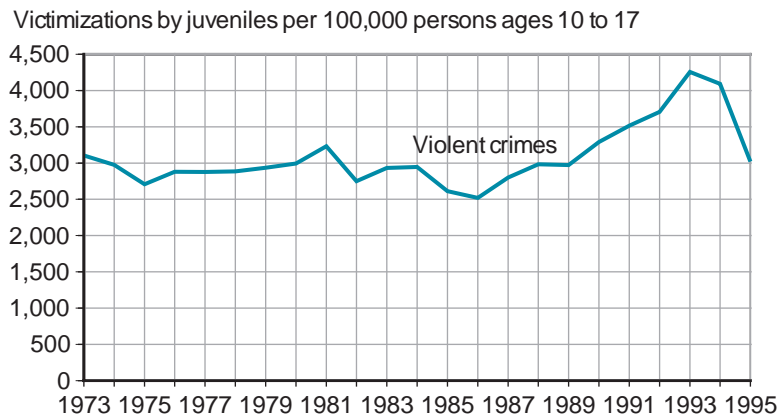
NCVS finds that violence in the U.S. dropped 20% in 1995

From 1994 to 1995 according to the NCVS, the number of violent victimizations dropped 20%, from 4.1 million to 3.3 million, the largest decline observed over the nearly 25-year history of the NCVS. Over this period the U.S. experienced a 26% decline in violent sexual assaults, a 24% drop in aggravated assaults, and a 12% decline in robberies.

The drop in violence was led by reductions in victimizations by juveniles

Between 1994 and 1995 violent victimizations by juveniles declined more than those by adults (25% vs. 18%). Juvenile declines were greater in robberies (15% vs. 10%) and aggravated assaults (32% vs. 20%). However, while violent sexual assaults by adults declined 30%, juvenile violent sexual assaults increased 17%.

While changing little between 1973 and 1989, the rate at which juveniles committed violent crimes increased nearly 43% from 1989 to 1993 — then declined and returned to the 1989 level in 1995



Note: Includes incidents involving rape and other sexual assaults, robbery, and aggravated assault with victims age 12 or older. The data are collected through personal interviews; thus murder is not included, for obvious reasons. Series crimes (i.e., six or more individual crimes of a similar nature that occurred within a six-month period for which the victim was unable to distinguish details separately) and crimes occurring outside the U.S. were excluded from the analysis. Data collected prior to 1992 were adjusted to be consistent with newer data collected using enhanced screening procedures

Source: Authors' analysis of the Bureau of Justice Statistics' 1973–1995 National Crime Victimization Survey data [website data files].

Between 1994 and 1995, violent crimes committed by juveniles in groups declined more than those committed by lone juveniles

Offense	Percent change in victimizations 1994–1995				
	Any offender	Adult offender	Juvenile offender		
			Total	Alone	In groups
Violent crime	-20%	-18%	-25%	-20%	-29%
Rape/sexual assault	-26	-30	17	15	19
Robbery	-12	-10	-15	6	-23
Aggravated assault	-24	-20	-32	-29	-34

- In 1995, 54% of violent victimizations by juveniles were committed in groups, compared to 23% of violent victimizations by adults.
- There were greater proportions of group offending by juveniles than by adults in victimizations involving a violent sexual assault (40% vs. 5%), robbery (66% vs. 35%), and aggravated assault (46% vs. 20%).

Note: All victimizations in which both a juvenile and an adult were identified as the offenders are included in the category "juvenile offender in groups."

Source: Authors' analysis of the Bureau of Justice Statistics' 1973–1995 National Crime Victimization Survey data [website data files].

About 1 in 7 juvenile arrests in 1995 was for a crime involving violence or the threat of violence

In 1995 law enforcement agencies made more than 2.7 million arrests of persons under the age of 18 — in 23% of these arrests the person was age 17 and in 69% the youth was white

Most serious offense charged	Estimated number of juvenile arrests	Percent of total juvenile arrests					
		Age 12 & younger	Age 17	White	Black	Native American	Asian
Total	2,745,000	9%	23%	69%	28%	1%	2%
Crime Index total	885,100	12	20	66	31	1	2
Violent Crime Index	147,700	8	26	48	49	1	1
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	3,300	3	39	39	58	1	2
Forcible rape	5,500	11	24	54	45	1	1
Robbery	55,500	6	26	38	60	1	2
Aggravated assault	83,500	9	25	56	42	1	1
Property Crime Index	737,400	13	19	69	27	1	2
Burglary	135,800	12	20	73	24	1	1
Larceny-theft	510,600	15	18	70	27	1	2
Motor vehicle theft	80,500	4	21	58	38	2	2
Arson	10,500	35	9	79	18	1	1
Nonindex offenses							
Other assaults	215,700	13	20	62	35	1	2
Forgery and counterfeiting	8,800	3	45	79	19	1	2
Fraud	25,100	4	29	55	42	1	3
Embezzlement	1,300	3	56	65	32	1	2
Stolen property buying, receiving, possessing	42,800	6	27	60	37	1	2
Vandalism	139,600	19	17	80	17	1	2
Weapons carrying, possessing, etc.	56,300	8	27	63	34	1	2
Prostitution and commercialized vice	1,300	5	44	64	33	1	2
Sex offense (except forcible rape and prostitution)	16,100	18	15	70	28	1	1
Drug abuse violations	189,800	2	36	64	35	1	1
Gambling	1,600	3	39	21	77	0	2
Offenses against the family and children	6,900	8	24	71	26	1	2
Driving under the influence	14,900	2	66	91	6	2	1
Liquor laws	120,000	1	45	91	5	3	1
Drunkenness	20,600	2	46	87	10	2	1
Disorderly conduct	173,900	9	22	64	35	1	1
Vagrancy	3,500	4	33	64	35	1	1
All other offenses (except traffic)	420,300	7	29	69	28	1	2
Suspicion	2,000	6	28	80	19	0	0
Curfew and loitering law violations	149,800	5	20	76	21	1	2
Runaways	249,500	8	9	77	19	1	3
U.S. population ages 10–17	29,929,000	38	12	79	15	1	4

- About 1 in 8 juvenile arrests in 1995 was for either an alcohol or drug offense, with arrests roughly evenly spread over these two categories.
- While juveniles below age 13 were involved in 9% of all juvenile arrests (i.e., persons below age 18), these young juveniles were involved in greater proportions of arrests for arson (35%), vandalism (19%), nonviolent sex offense (18%), larceny-theft (15%), simple assault (13%), burglary (12%), and forcible rape (11%).
- Black youth were 15% of the juvenile population in 1995 and involved in 28% of all juvenile arrests. Black youth were most disproportionately involved in arrests for murder (58%), forcible rape (45%), robbery (60%), aggravated assault (42%), motor vehicle theft (38%), fraud (42%), and gambling (77%).

Source: Authors' analysis of data presented in the FBI's *Crime in the United States 1995*. National estimates of juvenile arrests were developed using FBI estimates of total arrests and juvenile arrest proportions in reporting sample.

After consistently increasing from 1985 to 1994, the juvenile violent crime arrest rate declined in 1995

For the first time in 8 years the juvenile violent crime arrest rate declined in 1995

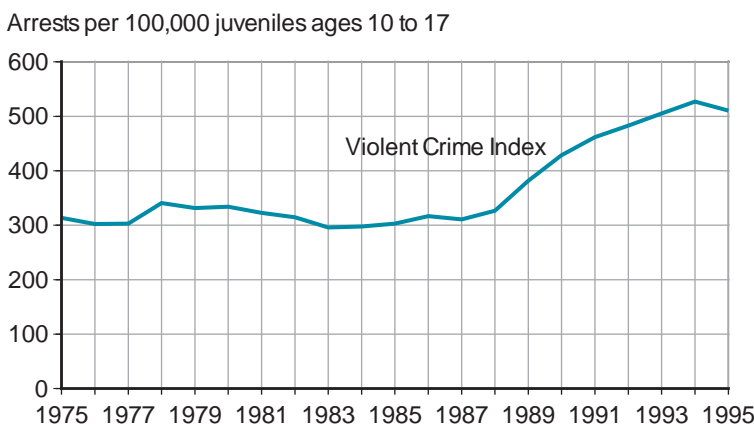
The FBI monitors the level of violent crime and trends in violent crime arrests by aggregating information on four crimes — murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Together, these four offenses are the Violent Crime Index. While each may display its own pattern of change, historically the Violent Crime Index has been the Nation's barometer of violent crime.

In recent years, the large annual increases in the juvenile Violent Crime Index arrest rate have focused the Nation's attention on this problem. Between 1987 and 1994 the rate increased 70%. After years of increases, however, the rate declined slightly in 1995, down 3%. While this decline still leaves the juvenile violent crime arrest rate in 1995 substantially above the levels of the mid-1980's, even a small decline after years of consistently large increases is welcome news.

A greater proportion of violent crimes were attributed to juveniles in 1994 and 1995 than in any of the last 20 years

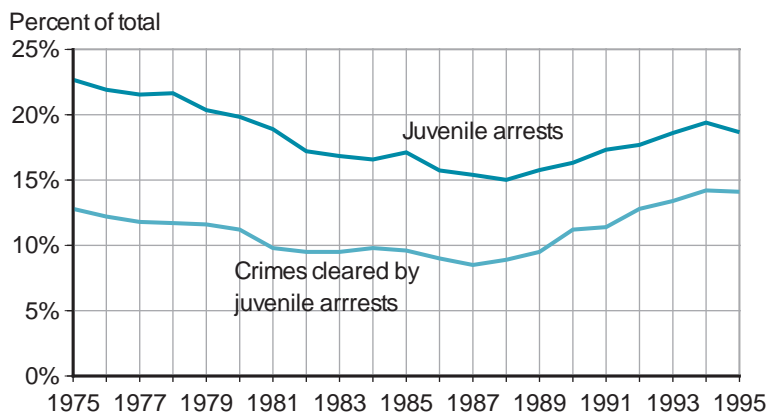
A portion of all violent crimes reported to police are cleared, or solved, by law enforcement. In 1995 the FBI reports that law enforcement agencies cleared 45% of reported Violent Crime Index offenses — more specifically 65% of murders, 51% of forcible rapes, 25% of robberies, and 56% of aggravated assaults. If cleared crimes are representative of all crimes, then the proportion of these crimes cleared by juvenile arrests should provide an indication of

The juvenile violent crime arrest rate dropped in 1995, breaking a multiyear trend of increases



■ The 1995 arrest rate implies that one in every 200 persons between age 10 and 17 was arrested in the U.S. in 1995 for a violent crime.

The juvenile proportion of violent crime arrests in 1995 was slightly above the average for the last 20 years



■ In 1995, 19% of persons entering the justice system via arrest for an alleged violent crime were under age 18.

■ Viewing the juvenile clearance statistics in another way, between 1975 and 1995, adults (persons age 18 and over) were annually responsible for between 86% and 91% of all violent crime in the U.S.

Source: Authors' calculation of arrest rates using unpublished 1975–1995 arrest counts and reporting population data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program and the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates of the 1975–1995 resident population of the U.S. in single years of age [machine-readable data files]. Juvenile arrest proportions were derived from the unpublished 1975–1995 arrest counts. The juvenile clearance proportions were taken from the FBI's *Crime in the United States* series.

Even with the decline in juvenile arrests for violent crimes in 1995, the number of arrests was still two-thirds greater than a decade earlier

Offense	Percent change in juvenile arrests		
	1986–1995	1991–1995	1994–1995
Violent Crime Index	67%	12%	-3%
Murder	90	-9	-14
Forcible Rape	-4	-12	-4
Robbery	63	18	-1
Aggravated assault	78	11	-3
Simple assault	111	36	3
Weapons	75	13	-12
Drug abuse	115	50	18

- Juvenile arrests for forcible rape remained relatively constant over the 10-year period, especially when compared to other offenses in the Violent Crime Index

Source: Authors' adaptation of data presented in the FBI's *Crime in the United States 1995*.

the proportion of violent crimes committed by juveniles.

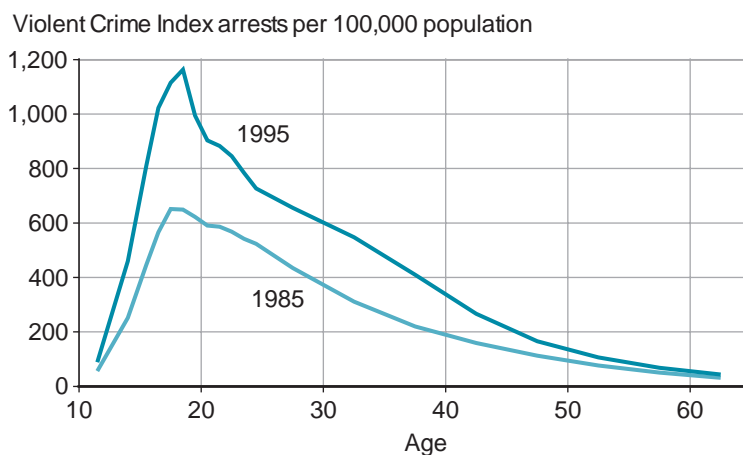
In both 1994 and 1995, 14% of violent crimes cleared by law enforcement were cleared by the arrest of a juvenile. Based on these statistics, juveniles were responsible for a greater proportion of the Nation's violent crime problem in 1994 and 1995 than in any other year in the previous two decades. The juvenile responsibility was nearly as high in 1975 (13%). However, the level gradually declined after 1975 reaching a low point in 1987 (9%), then increasing through 1994.

The story behind the decline in juvenile violent crime arrests gives some hope for the future

In relative terms the decline in juvenile arrests was small, but the nature of the decline gives hope. The decline in violent crime arrests in 1995 was led by declines in the arrests of younger juveniles. Overall, violent crime arrests of juveniles ages 15 to 17 fell by 2% between 1994 and 1995, while arrests of younger juveniles dropped 5%.

If the level of delinquency of young juveniles is correlated with the level of similar behavior as they age, the lower violent crime arrest rate of the younger juveniles in 1995 indicates that their levels of violence at ages 15 to 17 are likely to be below those of 15 to 17-year-olds in 1995. If so, more declines in juvenile violence should be expected in upcoming years. However, there has only been one year of decline — and one point of change does not by itself make a trend.

The increase in violent crime arrests between 1985 and 1995 was not just a juvenile phenomenon — violent crime increased significantly in all age groups

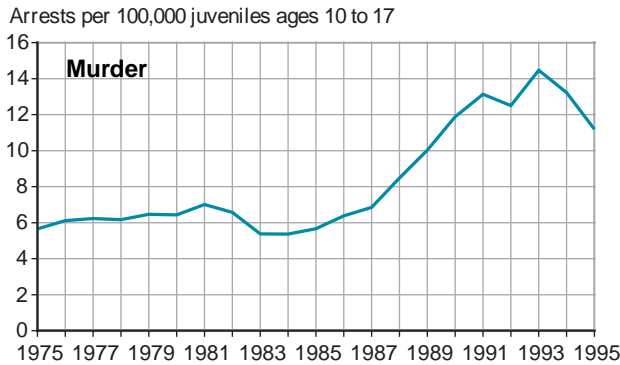


- Between 1985 and 1995 violent crime arrest rates increased between 70% and 90% for persons ages 15–18 and 30–39. Even the violent crime arrest rates for persons between ages 50 and 64 increased 40%.

Source: Authors' calculation of arrest rates using unpublished 1975–1995 arrest counts and reporting population data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program and the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates of the 1975–1995 resident population of the U.S. in single years of age [machine-readable data files].

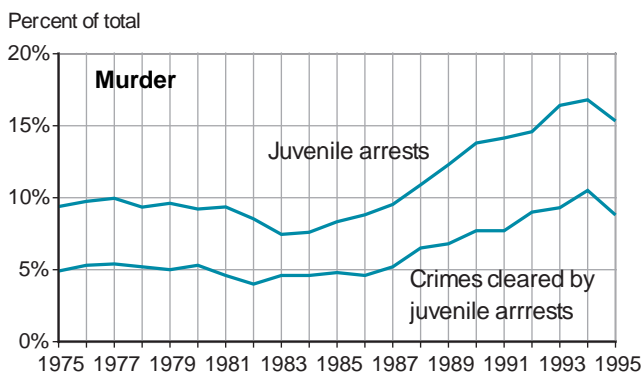
Arrest and clearance trends differed across violent offenses

The juvenile arrest rate for murder peaked in 1993 and declined nearly 25% between 1993 and 1995



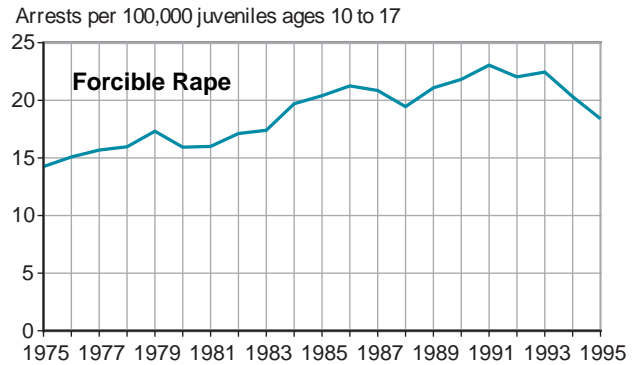
■ Even with the decline, the 1995 juvenile murder arrest rate was still double the 1985 rate.

The juvenile proportion of murder arrests in 1995 was double the proportion of murders attributed to juveniles



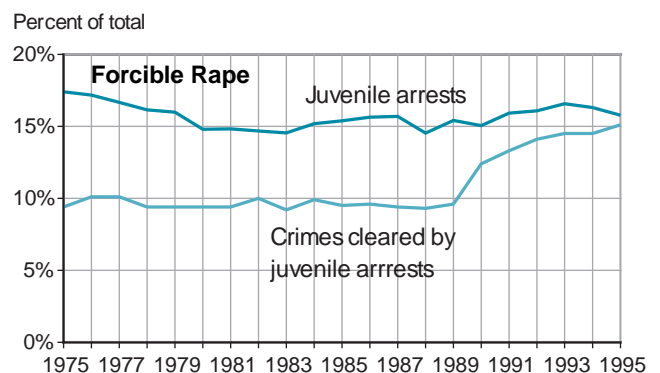
■ The large discrepancy between juvenile arrest and clearance proportions reflects the fact that juveniles are more likely than adults to commit crimes in groups.

The juvenile arrest rate for forcible rape peaked in 1993 and declined nearly 20% between 1993 and 1995



■ Not since 1983 has the juvenile arrest rate for forcible rape been as low as it was in 1995.

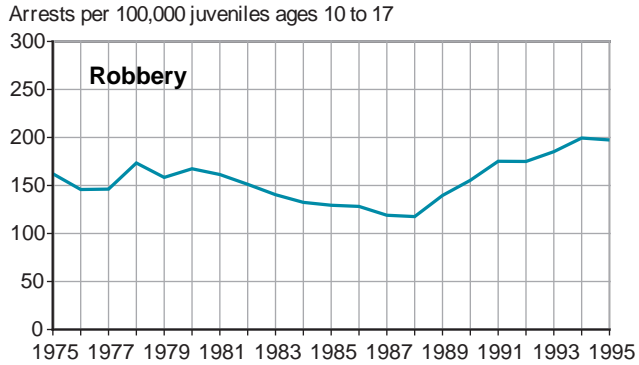
In 1995 juveniles were involved in 15% of all forcible rapes cleared by arrest, the highest level in the past 20 years



■ In stark contrast to the juvenile proportion of forcible rape clearances, the juvenile proportion of forcible rape arrests has changed little in the last 15 years.

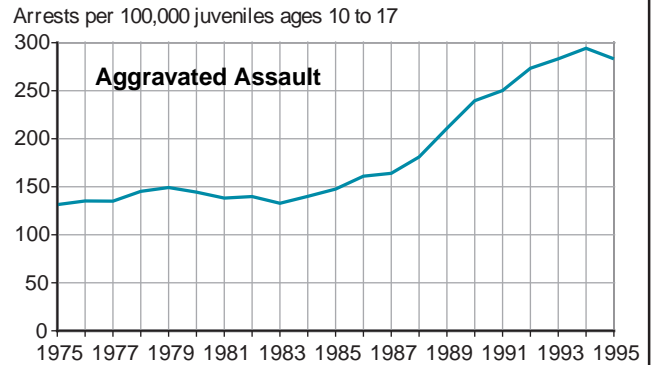
Source: Authors' calculation of arrest rates using unpublished 1975–1995 arrest counts and reporting population data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program and the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates of the 1975–1995 resident population of the U.S. in single years of age [machine-readable data files]. Juvenile arrest proportions were derived from the unpublished 1975–1995 arrest counts. The juvenile clearance proportions were taken from the FBI's *Crime in the United States* series.

The juvenile arrest rate for robbery increased nearly 70% between 1988 and 1994, before leveling off in 1995



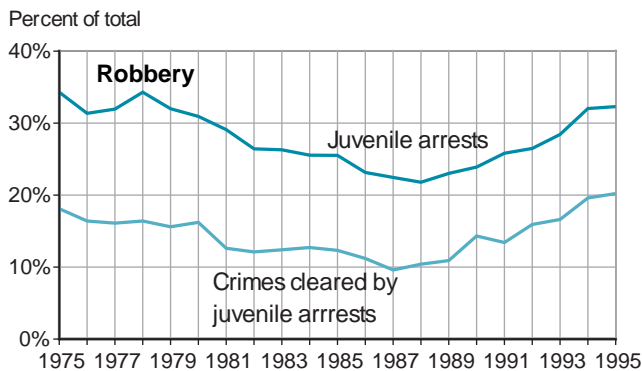
■ The juvenile arrest rate for robbery in 1995 was 22% higher than the rate in 1975.

The juvenile arrest rate for aggravated assault declined in 1995 after increasing each year between 1983 and 1994



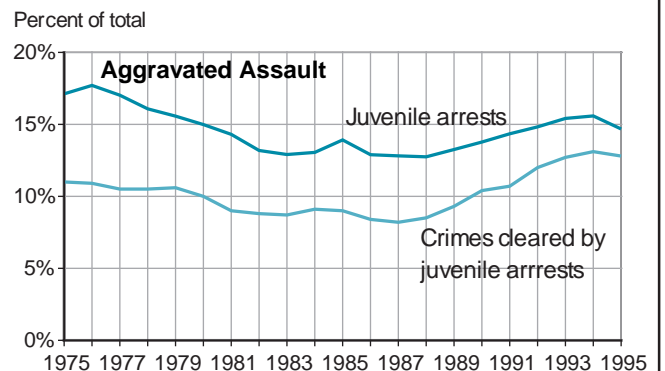
■ The juvenile aggravated assault arrest rate in 1995 was more than double the rate in 1983.

The juvenile proportion of robbery arrests in 1995 has returned to the levels of the late 1970's



■ The juvenile proportion of robbery clearances in 1995 was at its highest level in 20 years.

The juvenile proportion of aggravated assault arrests in 1995 was near the average of the last 20 years



■ Over the past 20 years, the juvenile proportion of aggravated assault arrests was highest in 1976.

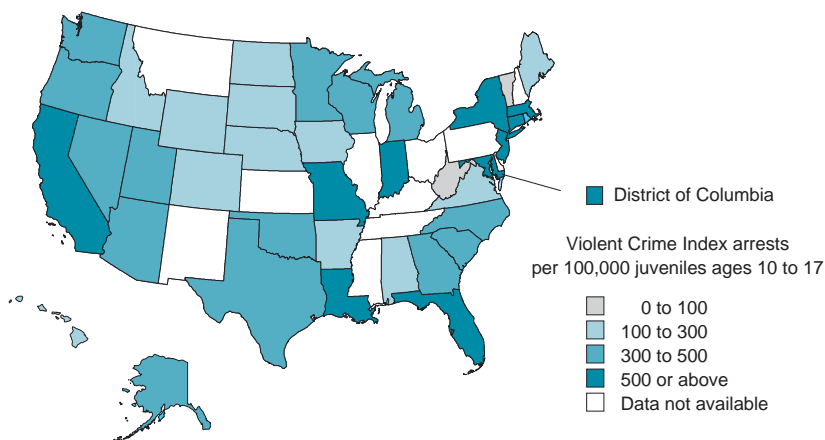
New York and Florida had the highest juvenile violent crime arrest rates of States with sufficient 1995 data

States with high overall juvenile violent crime arrest rates do not necessarily have high arrest rates in all violent crime categories

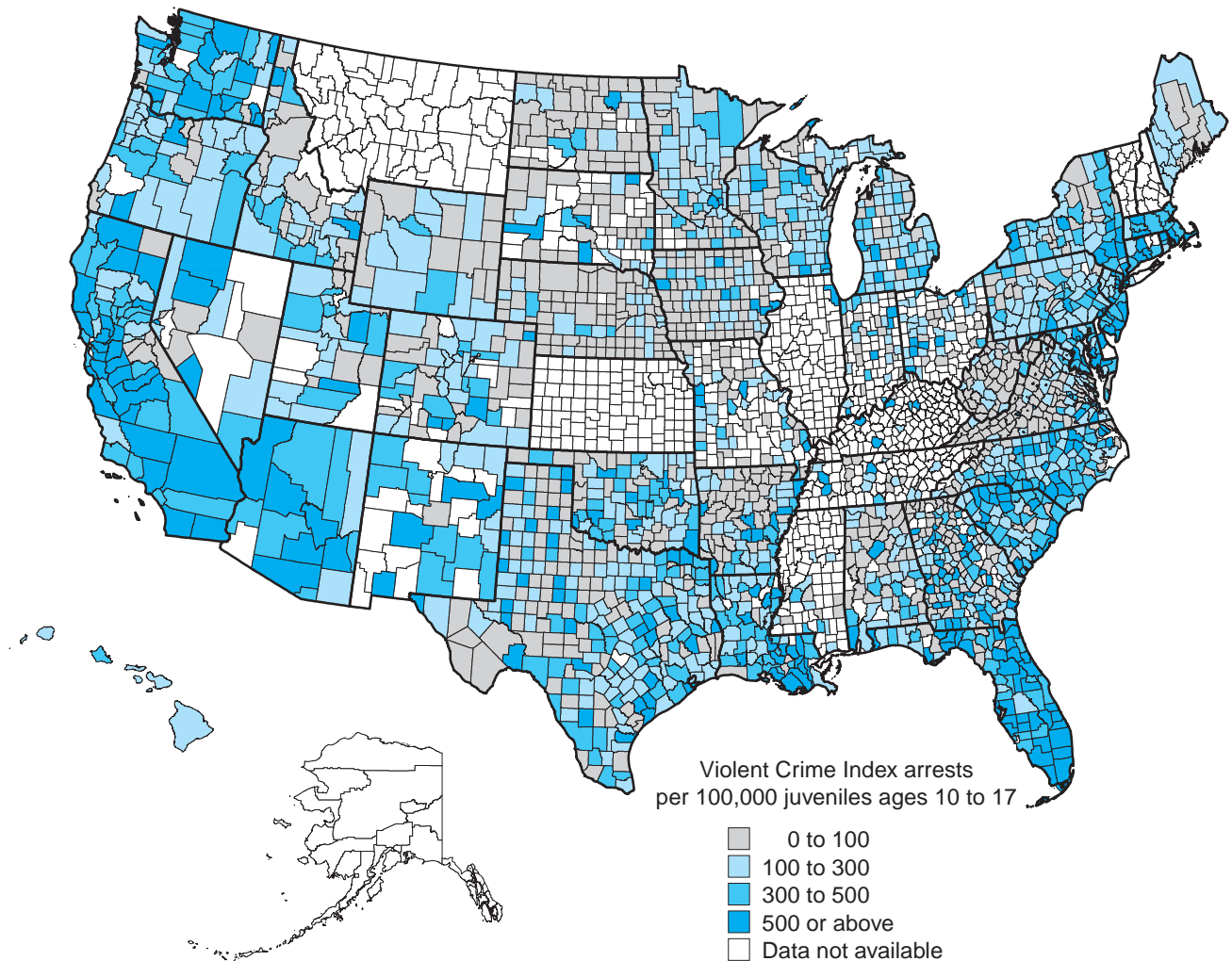
State	Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10–17						State	Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10–17					
	Percent Reporting	Violent Crime Index	Murder	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Agg. Assault		Percent Reporting	Violent Crime Index	Murder	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Agg. Assault
U.S. total	75%	517	11	19	199	288	Missouri	59%	502	24	26	172	279
Alabama	97	253	7	8	109	128	Montana	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Alaska	82	389	3	24	103	259	Nebraska	90	175	5	15	71	84
Arizona	92	490	9	9	119	353	Nevada	92	404	11	22	210	161
Arkansas	100	292	11	19	87	174	New Hampshire	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
California	98	621	15	12	259	335	New Jersey	95	704	8	23	286	387
Colorado	79	286	4	18	56	208	New Mexico	27	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Connecticut	84	562	5	23	190	344	New York	87	996	10	15	651	320
Delaware	4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	N. Carolina	97	424	11	10	119	283
Dist. of Columbia	100	1528	31	17	715	765	N. Dakota	75	153	15	16	20	103
Florida	100	764	13	26	232	494	Ohio	47	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Georgia	63	396	10	17	117	252	Oklahoma	99	371	7	17	102	244
Hawaii	100	287	14	10	171	92	Oregon	68	343	3	16	114	210
Idaho	98	282	4	9	38	231	Pennsylvania	13	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Illinois	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Rhode Island	100	490	1	13	88	389
Indiana	56	514	10	5	65	434	S. Carolina	96	400	10	23	98	269
Iowa	88	266	1	8	36	221	S. Dakota	63	289	0	32	37	220
Kansas	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Tennessee	32	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Kentucky	33	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Texas	96	379	11	22	127	219
Louisiana	68	534	31	21	105	377	Utah	87	313	2	11	71	228
Maine	65	142	0	14	35	92	Vermont	51	29	0	9	0	20
Maryland	99	674	24	26	253	371	Virginia	99	275	7	18	113	138
Massachusetts	80	588	3	15	130	440	Washington	66	411	7	34	113	256
Michigan	84	392	17	31	111	233	West Virginia	100	89	8	6	25	49
Minnesota	96	382	9	38	118	216	Wisconsin	99	408	11	21	151	225
Mississippi	25	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Wyoming	90	103	3	5	21	73

Note: Rate calculations for jurisdictions with less than 100% reporting may not be accurate. Rates were classified as NA, "not available," when reporting agencies represented less than 50% of the State population. Readers are encouraged to consult the technical note at the end of this report. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: State rates were developed by the authors using arrest counts and populations reported in *Crime in the United States 1995* and 10–17 age group population proportions developed using *Resident population of the U.S. and States, by single year of age and sex: July 1, 1995 estimates* from the Population Estimates and Population Distribution Branches of the U.S. Bureau of the Census.



The rate of juvenile violent crime arrests in 1995 varied substantially from community to community



Note: Rates were classified as “Data not available” when reporting agencies represented less than 50% of the county population. As of the date of this publication, the U.S. Bureau of the Census had not prepared county-level, age-group estimates for 1995 in sufficient detail to prepare juvenile arrest rates. The population data used in this map were extrapolated from Census county-level, age group estimates for 1994 and Census State-level, single year of age estimates for 1995. When the U.S. Census Bureau releases their 1995 county-level, age-specific estimates of resident population, it is likely that the arrest rates will change somewhat. In fact, the population estimates for 1995 will continue to change until the Census Bureau has completed the decennial census in the year 2000. Therefore, readers should consider these and all other 1995 arrest rates provisional and subject to change for the next several years.

Source: County rates were developed by the authors using *Uniform Crime Reporting Program data [United States]: County-level detailed arrest and offense data for 1995* [machine-readable data file] prepared by the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research and county-level, 10–17 age group populations developed using the U.S. Bureau of the Census’ *Estimates of the population of counties by age, sex and race/Hispanic origin: 1990–1994* [machine-readable data file] and Census’ *Resident population of the U.S. and States, by single year of age and sex: July 1, 1995 estimates* [machine-readable data file].

Today's juvenile doesn't commit more acts of violence than a generation ago, but more juveniles are violent

New study explores changing nature of juvenile violence

In recent years social commentators have proposed that juveniles have changed, with society facing a new breed of violent predators. Used as evidence for this conclusion is the disturbing growth in juvenile violent crime arrests between the mid-1980's and the mid-1990's. If there is a new breed of violent juvenile offenders, they should be apparent in the official records of the juvenile justice systems, especially in large cities.

To explore this notion, Snyder studied the officially recognized delinquent careers of more than 151,000 juveniles who turned 18 years of age between 1980 and 1995, using the court records from a major urban area in the United States — Maricopa County, Arizona, which contains Phoenix. In this county, policy requires all arrestees under age 18 be referred to juvenile court for processing. Therefore, the court records contain all the officially recognized delinquent behavior of each youth.

If youth are changing, differences should be apparent in the number and types of offenses found in the juvenile court careers of those who graduated (i.e., turned 18) in 1980 and the more recent graduate.

Study finds more juveniles committing violent acts, not juveniles who are more violent

In many ways, the officially recognized law-violating careers were similar across the 16 graduating classes that turned 18 years of age between 1980 and 1995. Across the classes, the average age of first delinquency referral was 15.2 years; 26% of court careers began before age 14. The average age of first violent refer-

ral was 15.8 years and 1% of referred youth had a first violent offense referral before age 14.

On other characteristics, the most recent graduates differed. A greater proportion of the resident youth population was referred to juvenile court for a delinquent offense in the later classes. Compared with the graduating class of 1980, a smaller proportion of court-involved youth who turned 18 in 1995 had only one court referral (56% versus 62%). Youth who turned 18 in the mid-1990's had on average more delinquent referrals in their careers.

A greater proportion of recent court graduates also had a violent offense referral (i.e., between 6% and 8% in the 1980's and 11% in the mid-1990s). However, the number of violent referrals in each career did not change across the graduating classes. Most youth (83%) charged with a violent crime had only one violent referral in their career. That is, across all gradu-

ating classes, 5 in 6 youth charged with a violent offense were never referred again for another violent charge. If juveniles are changing, if they are more violent, the court records should show an increase in the proportion of violent offenders with multiple violent referrals in their careers. This was not found.

While we know that some acts of juvenile violence have become more lethal, as the doubling of the juvenile arrest rate for murder between 1985 and 1995 and the increase in the use of guns by juvenile offenders clearly demonstrates, this study indicates that the frequency of an individual's acts of violence has not increased. Today's violent youth commits the same number of violent acts as his/her predecessor of 15 years ago. What is different is that a greater proportion of juveniles are committing violent acts. The question for policy makers is "Why are some kids committing violent acts today who would not have done so 15 years ago?"

Study finds the proportion of youth in the juvenile justice system whose first referral for a serious or violent act was before age 14 changed little between the graduating classes of 1980 and 1995



Source: Authors' adaptation of H. Snyder's *Serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders: An assessment of the extent of and trends in officially-recognized serious criminal behavior in a delinquent population*.

8% of youth in the graduating classes of 1980 through 1995 who had contact with the juvenile justice system for a criminal law violation were charged with a violent offense by the time they reached age 18 — for most (83%) this was the only violent episode in their official career



- The portion of the large circle not covered by the chronic, serious, and violent offenders' circles represents careers with fewer than four referrals and no referrals for a serious offense. Overlaps represent careers with multiple attributes. The circles and their overlaps are drawn proportional to the number of careers with those attributes.
- **Violent offenses** include murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, kidnaping, violent sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault.
- **Serious-nonviolent offenses** include burglary, serious larceny, motor vehicle theft, arson, weapons offenses, and drug trafficking.
- **Chronic offenders** are those youth with four or more referrals to the juvenile justice system. Chronic offenders were responsible for 45% of all delinquent referrals, 59% of all serious referrals, and 60% of all violent referrals.
- This study shows that a typical 1,000 youth with officially recognized delinquency behavior prior to age 18 have the following delinquency career characteristics: 597 careers have only one referral, 146 careers contain four or more referrals, 336 careers contain a serious or violent referral, 81 careers contain a violent referral, 13 careers contain more than one violent referral, and 43 careers contain at least four referrals with at least one for violence.

Source: Authors' adaptation of H. Snyder's *Serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders: An assessment of the extent of and trends in officially-recognized serious criminal behavior in a delinquent population*.

Today's chronic offenders are similar to those of the 1980's

Juvenile policymakers have been actively concerned since the mid-1970's with the chronic offender, that small portion of system-involved youth who are responsible for the majority of serious crimes committed. Snyder found that 15% of system-involved youth had four or more delinquency referrals before their 18th birthday and were responsible for 59% of the class' serious referrals.

The proportion of each graduating class that was composed of chronic offenders (those with four or more referrals) remained constant throughout the classes of the 1980's, averaging 13% of all graduating class members. The classes of the early 1990's, however, displayed an abrupt increase in their chronic offender proportions, averaging 17% of the careers in the 1992 through 1995 graduating classes. As a result, chronic offenders in the graduating classes of the 1990's were involved in a greater proportion of referrals in all offense categories.

Although the number and proportion of chronic careers grew over the cohorts, it is important to realize that the nature of the individual chronic career remained the same. Over the 16 graduating classes, chronic offenders averaged 6.6 referrals in their juvenile court career, were referred for 4.2 nonserious offenses, 2.0 serious-nonviolent offenses, and 0.4 violent offenses. In all, official records show that the more recent graduating classes contained more chronic offenders (not more active, more serious, or more violent) and that these chronic offenders were generally responsible for a greater proportion of all types of offenses.

Juveniles, even juvenile gang members, are most likely to commit violent crimes after school

Juveniles are more likely to commit violent crimes on school days than on nonschool days

About half of the days in a year are school days. The other days fall in summer months, on weekends, and on holidays. Even though school days are half of all days, 57% of violent crimes committed by juveniles occur on school days. In fact, data from the FBI's National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) show that 1 in 5 violent crimes committed by juveniles occur in the four hours following the end of the school day (i.e., between 2 p.m. and 6 p.m.).

On nonschool days the incidence of juvenile violence increases through the afternoon and early evening hours, peaking between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. Temporal patterns of adult violence do not vary between school and nonschool days. Adult violence increases through the afternoon and evening hours, peaking around 11 p.m.

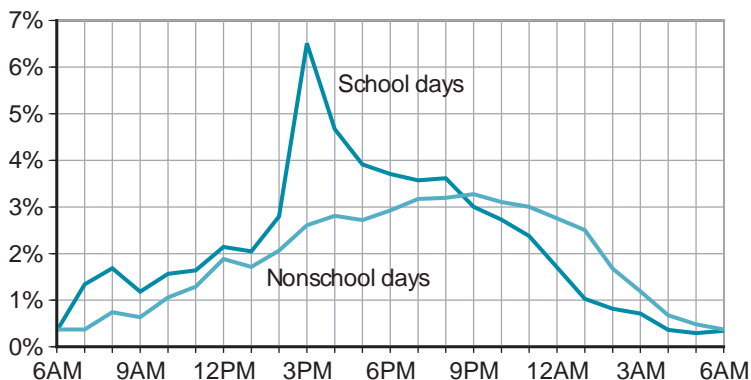
Similar time-of-day trends are found for juvenile gang crime

Intervention programs to reduce juvenile violence often target juveniles in gangs, while after-school programs may be appropriate for the general delinquency population. The temporal patterns of juvenile gang behavior may differ from those of other juvenile offenders.

This notion has been explored by researchers at the University of California-Irvine. In 1994 and 1995 law enforcement agencies across Orange County, California (a county neighboring Los Angeles) reported each incident of gang activity to the University's Focused Research Group on Orange County Street Gangs. A large number of these incidents involve an

Violent Crime Index offending peaks after school for juveniles

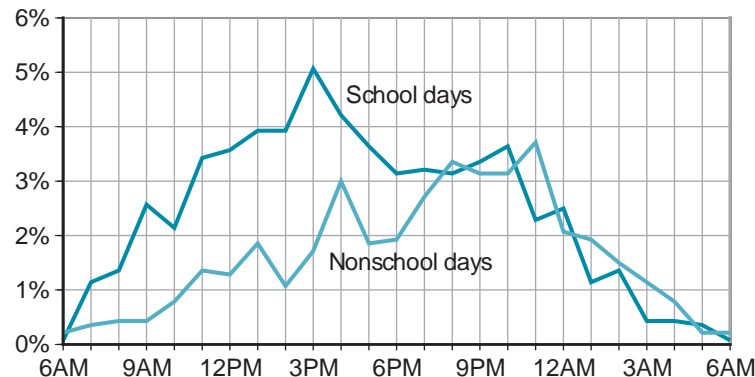
Percent of all juvenile Violent Crime Index offenses



Source: Authors' analysis of the FBI's 1991, 1992, and 1993 National Incident Based Reporting System master file [machine-readable data file] containing data from 8 States (Alabama, Colorado, Iowa, Idaho, Illinois, North Dakota, South Carolina, and Utah).

Gang crimes by juveniles in Orange County, California, are more common on school days, with their incidence peaking at 3 p.m.

Percent of all juvenile gang crimes



Source: Authors' analysis of data reported in Wiebe's *Hourly juvenile and adult arrest incidents in 1994 and 1995*.

arrest and, therefore, can be tagged to a juvenile or an adult.

A study of the gang incidents involving juveniles shows similar temporal patterns to those found in the NIBRS data. In Orange County in 1994 and 1995, gang activity involving juveniles was most prevalent on school

days, with 60% of all juvenile gang incidents occurring on these days. As with the NIBRS data, juvenile gang crime peaked on these days immediately after school. Unlike the general juvenile violence trends found in the NIBRS data, though, the level of juvenile gang violence did not decline as rapidly during evening hours.

Juvenile arrestees are more likely than adult arrestees to have used a gun in committing a crime

Samples of arrestees give insight into gun use and crime

In a recent National Institute of Justice study, arrestees were interviewed to learn about gun acquisition and use. Seven of 11 study sites provided data on juvenile males: District of Columbia, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Denver, Phoenix, San Diego, and Los Angeles. Interviews were conducted on samples of individuals who were arrested and/or detained during the first 6 months of 1995.

Although sites varied, the juvenile males studied largely reflect juveniles entering the justice system nationwide. They were disproportionately black or Hispanic and most were age 15 or older. Because 5 of the 7 sites limited the study to juveniles in detention — and not all juveniles arrested — the offense profile for juveniles studied was skewed to more severe offenses (crimes against persons ranged from 29% to 15%).

The proportion of juveniles who admitted to current membership in a gang ranged from 2% to 41%. Many juveniles studied had a positive drug test (by urinalysis). The proportion of juveniles testing positive for marijuana ranged from 34% to 58% and the proportion testing positive for cocaine ranged from 4% to 12%.

1 in 5 juveniles studied carried a gun all or most of the time

The proportion of respondents who were charged with a weapons offense ranged from 1% to 12%. Among the juvenile males interviewed, however, 20% said they carried a gun all or most of the time. In comparison, the overall proportion of arrestees (adults and juveniles) who carried guns all or most of the time was 14%.

Gun theft and use of guns in committing crime are common

Among all arrestees interviewed, 13% reported stealing a gun. The proportion for juvenile males was 25% — almost twice that of arrestees overall. Gang members and drug sellers were also more likely than other arrestees to have stolen a gun (each about 30%).

Juveniles, drug sellers, and gang members were more likely than arrestees in general to say they had used a gun in committing crime. Overall, 23% of arrestees who owned a gun had used one in a crime. For juveniles the proportion was higher (33%), and higher still for drug sellers (42%) and gang members (50%).

Arrestees were often the victims of gun violence

Juvenile males and gang members were more likely than arrestees overall to have been shot at. Among juvenile males 5 in 10 said they had been

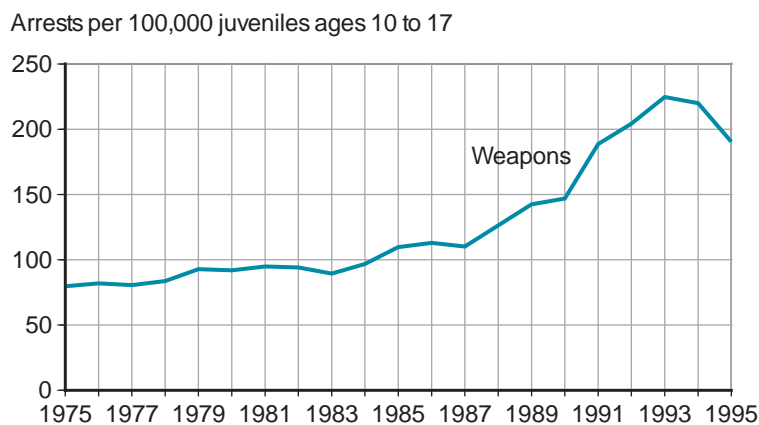
shot at. Among gang members the proportion was nearly 8 in 10. In comparison, the overall proportion for all arrestees was about 4 in 10.

Although juveniles were more likely to be shot at, as a group, they were not more likely to suffer gunshot injury. Overall, 16% of arrestees reported gunshot injuries.

Arrestees report they carry guns for protection and respect

Two-thirds of respondents said they carried a gun for protection/self-defense. Nearly 3 in 10 arrestees agreed that, “Your crowd respects you if you have a gun.” Among drug sellers and gang members the proportion was higher (4 in 10). When asked when using a gun was appropriate, 9% agreed that “It is okay to shoot someone who disrespected you.” Among juveniles the proportion agreeing was double (18%). For drug sellers 21% agreed as did 34% of gang members.

Juvenile arrest rates for weapons offenses doubled between 1987 and 1993, then dropped 15% by 1995 — down to the 1991 level



Source: Authors' calculation of arrest rates using unpublished 1975–1995 arrest counts and reporting population data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program and the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates of the 1975–1995 resident population of the U.S. in single years of age [machine-readable data files].

Study finds a pervasive trend to “crack down on juvenile crime” among State legislatures

Statutes analysis and phone survey used to assess changes in response to juvenile crime

Researchers at the National Center for Juvenile Justice conducted an analysis of State laws enacted from 1992 through 1995 that addressed serious or violent juvenile offenders. The legislative analysis was supplemented with information gleaned from a telephone survey of juvenile justice specialists, juvenile prosecutors, and State juvenile corrections officials in each State. In addition, research and State task force reports were reviewed.

Five areas of change emerged as States passed laws designed to crack down on juvenile crime

The study identified a clear pattern of change in the following five areas:

- Jurisdictional authority — Laws removed an increasing number of serious and violent juvenile offenders from the juvenile justice system in favor of criminal court prosecution (41 States).
- Sentencing authority — Laws gave criminal and juvenile courts new sentencing options (25 States).
- Confidentiality — Laws modified or removed traditional juvenile court confidentiality provisions to make records and proceedings more open (40 States).
- Victims’ rights — Laws increased the role of victims of juvenile crime in the juvenile justice process (22 States).
- Correctional programming — Adult and juvenile correctional administrators felt pressure to develop programs as a result of new transfer and sentencing laws.

From 1992 through 1995, legislatures in 47 States and the District of Columbia enacted laws that toughened their juvenile justice system

State	Changes in law or court rule*			State	Changes in law or court rule*		
	J	S	C		J	S	C
Alabama	J			Missouri	J	S	C
Alaska	J		C	Montana		S	C
Arizona		S	C	Nebraska			
Arkansas	J	S	C	Nevada	J		C
California	J		C	New Hampshire	J	S	C
Colorado	J	S	C	New Jersey		S	C
Connecticut	J	S	C	New Mexico	J	S	
Delaware	J	S	C	New York			
D. of Columbia	J	S		North Carolina	J		C
Florida	J	S	C	North Dakota	J		C
Georgia	J	S	C	Ohio	J	S	C
Hawaii			C	Oklahoma	J		C
Idaho	J	S	C	Oregon	J		C
Illinois	J	S	C	Pennsylvania	J		C
Indiana	J	S	C	Rhode Island	J	S	
Iowa	J		C	South Carolina	J		C
Kansas	J		C	South Dakota	J		
Kentucky	J			Tennessee	J		C
Louisiana	J	S	C	Texas	J	S	C
Maine			C	Utah	J		C
Maryland	J		C	Vermont			
Massachusetts		S		Virginia	J	S	C
Michigan		S	C	Washington	J		C
Minnesota	J	S	C	West Virginia	J		
Mississippi	J		C	Wisconsin	J	S	C
				Wyoming	J		C

* J = Jurisdiction, S = Sentencing, C = Confidentiality

- These laws involve increased eligibility for criminal court processing and adult correctional sanctioning and decreased confidentiality for a subset of juvenile offenders.

Source: Authors’ adaptation of P. Torbet’s *State responses to serious and violent juvenile crime*.

The authors comment that the “dramatic shifts in [these] areas...” have resulted from a “trend toward redefining the purpose of the juvenile justice system [that] represents a fundamental philosophical departure...” The ra-

tionale for the changes is “to punish, hold accountable, and incarcerate for longer periods of time those juveniles who, by history or instant offense, passed a threshold of tolerated juvenile law violating behavior.”

In all States, juveniles can be transferred to criminal court — most have multiple transfer mechanisms

Transferring juveniles to criminal court is not a new phenomenon

In ten States provisions that enabled juveniles to be transferred to criminal court were in place before the 1920's. Another ten States have permitted transfers since at least the 1940's. For many years, all States have had provisions for trying certain youth of juvenile age as adults in criminal court. Transfer provisions fall into three general categories:

- **Judicial waiver:** Juvenile court judge has the authority to waive juvenile court jurisdiction and transfer the case to criminal court.
- **Prosecutor discretion:** Prosecutor has discretion to file in criminal or juvenile court under concurrent jurisdiction provisions.
- **Legislative (statutory) exclusion:** State statute excludes certain juvenile offenders from juvenile court jurisdiction.

Transfer mechanisms are typically limited by age and offense criteria. Judicial waiver provisions are also limited to juveniles who are "no longer amenable to treatment." Such "amenability" criteria are generally not included in exclusion or concurrent jurisdiction provisions.

Many States made changes to the boundaries of juvenile court jurisdiction

Traditionally, judicial waiver was the transfer mechanism on which most States relied. Beginning in the 1970's and continuing through the present, an increasing number of State legislatures have enacted exclusion statutes. Less common, then and now, are concurrent jurisdiction provisions.

From 1992 through 1995, all but 10 States enacted or expanded provisions for transferring juveniles from juvenile court jurisdiction to criminal court for prosecution.

Most States have a combination of transfer provisions

As of year-end 1996, few States relied on just one mechanism for transferring to criminal court those youthful offenders deemed inappropriate for juvenile court processing. In States with a combination of transfer mechanisms, the exclusion and/or concurrent jurisdiction provisions generally target the oldest juveniles or those charged with the most serious offenses, while the relatively less serious or younger juveniles may be eligible for judicial waiver. Judicial waiver combined with legislative exclusion provisions was the most common arrangement (27 States).

Waiver and exclusion

Alabama, Alaska, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin

Judicial waiver only

Arizona, California, Maine, Missouri, New Jersey, South Dakota

Waiver and concurrent jurisdiction

Arkansas, Colorado, District of Columbia, Michigan, New Hampshire, Wyoming

All three mechanisms

Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Vermont, Virginia

Legislative exclusion only

Connecticut, New Mexico, New York

Concurrent jurisdiction only

Nebraska

Source: Authors' adaptation of P. Torbet's *State responses to serious and violent juvenile crime* and L. Szymanski's *Prosecuting juveniles as criminals*.

Juvenile court proceedings and records are more open as provisions reduce confidentiality

Between 1985 and 1995 legislatures made significant changes in how information about juvenile offenders is treated by the justice system — often in tandem with changes in jurisdictional authority. At year-end 1995 —

- 22 States have open hearings for certain cases (10 are new or modified laws).
- 39 States permit release of certain juveniles' names and/or photos (11 are new or modified laws).
- 18 States prohibit sealing or expunging certain juvenile court records (8 are new or modified laws).
- 45 States allow release of juvenile court records to certain types of people — prosecution, law enforcement, social agencies, schools, the victim, or the public (21 are new or modified laws).
- 47 States allow police to fingerprint and 44 States allow them to photograph certain juveniles; 44 States provide for an offense history repository for juvenile arrest/disposition information (26 are new or modified laws).

From 1992 through 1995, 41 States passed laws making it easier for juveniles to be tried as adults

Changes to statutory exclusions were the most common type of jurisdictional change

Of the States that made changes to the boundaries of juvenile court jurisdiction between 1992 and 1995, most made changes to their legislative exclusions:

- 5 States established exclusion provisions.
- 24 States expanded the list of crimes eligible for exclusion.
- 6 States lowered age limits for exclusion.

As a result of these changes, at the end of 1995 legislative exclusion provisions were in place in 34 States.

Few States have concurrent jurisdiction provisions

In a few States, legislatures have given prosecutors the discretion to file certain juvenile cases in either court. The law places such cases under the jurisdiction of both the juvenile and criminal court and the decision of where to file is left to the prosecutor.

From 1992 through 1995, five States enacted or expanded their concurrent jurisdiction provisions. As of the end of 1995, 11 States had concurrent jurisdiction provisions.

All but four States have judicial waiver provisions

Several States changed their judicial waiver provisions from 1992–1995:

- 11 States lowered waiver provision age limits.
- 10 States expanded the list of crimes eligible for waiver.
- 9 States established “presumptive waiver” provisions requiring that certain offenders be transferred unless they can prove they are suitable for juvenile rehabilitation.
- 2 States added prior record provisions making certain repeat offenders eligible for waiver.

For many years, Nebraska and New York were the only States without judicial waiver provisions. Nebraska relied on prosecutor discretion as its transfer mechanism; New York relied on statutory exclusion. As of the end of 1995, two States (Connecticut and New Mexico) had removed their judicial waiver provisions in favor of legislative exclusions.

Other provisions affect juvenile transfers to criminal court

Many States (22) had provisions that allow cases to be transferred from criminal to juvenile court as of year-end 1995. Particularly in States with broad exclusion or concurrent jurisdiction provisions, “reverse” transfer statutes are a safety valve — one last chance for a judge to decide (on a case-by-case basis) that the matter should be handled in juvenile court.

A number of States require that once an offender is waived from juvenile court or is convicted in criminal court, all subsequent cases are under criminal court jurisdiction. In 1995 these “once an adult, always an adult” provisions existed in 18 States.

States with lower upper ages of juvenile court jurisdiction “exclude” entire age groups

Between 1992 and 1995, three States lowered their upper age of original juvenile court jurisdiction. Wyoming lowered its upper age from 18 to 17, which brought it in line with most other States. New Hampshire and Wisconsin dropped their upper ages from 17 to 16. Prior to these changes, State upper ages of jurisdiction had remained unchanged for nearly two decades — since Alabama raised its upper age from 15 to 16 and then to 17 in 1976 and 1977.

As of the end of 1995, legislatures in 13 States have excluded large numbers of offenders under the age of 18 from juvenile court by setting the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction at 15 or 16 rather than 17. Although not typically thought of as transfers, an estimated 180,000 cases involving 16- or 17-year-olds were tried in criminal court in 1994 because they were legally defined as adults under State law.

Oldest age of original juvenile court jurisdiction in delinquency matters, 1995

Age	States
15	Connecticut, New York, North Carolina
16	Georgia, New Hampshire, Illinois, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, South Carolina, Texas, Wisconsin
17	All other States and the District of Columbia

The use of judicial waiver has changed over the past decade

The number of cases judicially waived nationwide increased 71% from 1985 through 1994

Between 1985 and 1994, the number of cases transferred annually to criminal court via judicial waiver rose from 7,200 to 12,300 (71%). Over the same timeframe, the overall number of delinquency cases rose 41%.

Despite their growth, judicial waivers can still be characterized as a relatively rare event in juvenile court. Waived cases represented 1.4% of formally handled delinquency cases in 1994. In other words, for every 1,000 formally processed delinquency cases, 14 were waived to criminal court.

The profile of waived cases has changed

In 1994 as in 1985, the vast majority of waived cases involved youth age 16 or older; however the proportion of younger juveniles (under age 16) has increased (from 6% in 1985 to 12% in 1994). This may be a byproduct of new laws that lower the minimum waiver age or exclude older juveniles charged with certain crimes from juvenile court altogether.

Compared with 1985, cases waived in 1994 involved a greater proportion of person offense cases (44% vs. 33%) and drug cases (11% vs. 5%). This shift may, in part, reflect changes in waiver statutes targeting these offense categories for more automatic or presumptive waiver.

The likelihood of waiver varied by offense and offender race

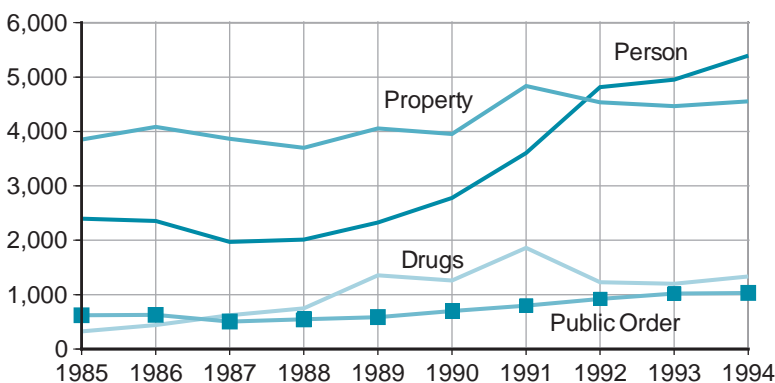
In 1994 person offense cases were more likely to be waived than cases involving other offenses.

Most serious offense	Percent of petitioned cases that were waived
Delinquency	1.4%
Person	2.7
Property	1.1
Drugs	1.8
Public order	0.6

Cases involving black youth were more likely to be waived than were cases involving white youth. In 1994, 1.9% of formal delinquency cases involving black juveniles were waived to criminal court, compared with 1.2% for whites.

Historically, more juveniles were waived for property crimes than for crimes against persons — this changed in 1992

Number of cases waived



■ For many years, there were more property cases waived to criminal court than person offense cases—contrary to popular beliefs. As a result of changes in transfer statutes and the use of waiver, as well as changes in the overall delinquency caseload, there has been a shift in the offense profile of waived cases.

■ In 1994 person offense cases were 44% of waived cases, property cases were 37%, drug cases 11%, and public order cases 8%.

Source: Authors' adaptation of J. Butts' *Juvenile court statistics 1994*.

Among white juveniles, from 1985 through 1994, the cases most likely to be waived were person offense cases. Among black juveniles, from 1989 through 1992, drug cases surpassed person offense cases in terms of the likelihood of waiver.

Percent of petitioned cases involving juveniles judicially waived:

Year	White		Black	
	Person	Drugs	Person	Drugs
1985	2.2%	0.7%	2.9%	2.1%
1986	1.8	0.8	2.9	1.9
1987	1.7	1.0	2.3	2.2
1988	1.5	1.1	2.4	2.0
1989	1.6	1.3	2.6	4.2
1990	1.3	1.0	2.8	4.1
1991	1.8	1.5	2.8	6.0
1992	2.4	1.0	3.1	3.8
1993	2.0	0.9	3.5	3.3
1994	2.2	0.9	3.4	2.8

New laws have had a dramatic impact on sentencing for serious or violent juvenile offenders

A trend away from traditional juvenile dispositions is emerging

Juvenile court dispositions were traditionally based on the offender's individual characteristics and situation. Dispositions were often indeterminate and generally had rehabilitation as a primary goal. As many States have shifted the purpose of juvenile court away from rehabilitation and toward punishment, accountability, and public safety, the emerging trend is one of dispositions based more on the offense. Offense-based dispositions tend to be determinate and proportional to the offense, and retribution and deterrence have replaced rehabilitation as primary goals.



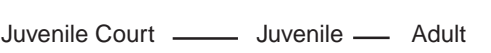
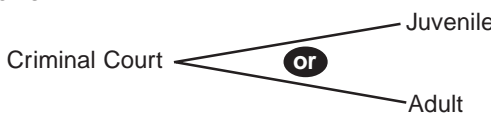

Many State legislatures have made changes to disposition and sentencing options

From 1992 through 1995, statutes requiring mandatory minimum periods of incarceration for certain violent or serious offenders were added or modified in 16 States.

States have also raised the maximum age of the juvenile court's continuing jurisdiction over juvenile offenders. Such laws allow juvenile courts to order dispositions that extend beyond the upper age of original jurisdiction — most often to age 21. From 1992 through 1995, 12 States extended their dispositional age limit.

Perhaps the most dramatic impact on sentencing will be felt by the imposition of "blended sentences" that combine juvenile and adult sentences. Blended sentencing statutes, that allow courts to impose juvenile and/or adult correctional sanctions on certain young offenders, were in place in 16 States at the end of 1995.

Blended sentencing options create a "middle ground" between traditional juvenile and adult sanctions

Blended sentencing option	State
<p>Juvenile-Exclusive Blend: The juvenile court may impose a sanction involving either the juvenile or adult correctional systems.</p> 	New Mexico
<p>Juvenile-Inclusive Blend: The juvenile court may impose both juvenile and adult correctional sanctions. The adult sanction is suspended pending a violation and revocation.</p> 	Connecticut Minnesota Montana
<p>Juvenile-Contiguous Blend: The juvenile court may impose a juvenile correctional sanction that may remain in force beyond the age of its extended jurisdiction, at which point the offender may be transferred to the adult correctional system.</p> 	Colorado ¹ Massachusetts Rhode Island South Carolina Texas
<p>Criminal-Exclusive Blend: The criminal court may impose a sanction involving either the juvenile or adult correctional systems.</p> 	California Colorado ² Florida Idaho Michigan Virginia
<p>Criminal-Inclusive Blend: The criminal court may impose both juvenile and adult correctional sanctions. The adult sanction is suspended pending a violation and revocation.</p> 	Arkansas Missouri

Note: Blends apply to a subset of juveniles specified by State statute.

¹ Applies to those designated as "aggravated juvenile offenders."

² Applies to those designated as "youthful offenders."

Source: Authors' adaptation of P. Torbet's *State responses to serious and violent juvenile crime*.

Juvenile courts handled a growing number of violent cases and were tougher on them than on other cases

Juvenile court caseloads are rising and growing more violent

In 1994 U.S. courts with juvenile jurisdiction handled an estimated 1,555,200 cases in which the juvenile was charged with a delinquency offense — an offense for which an adult could be prosecuted in criminal court. This was a 41% increase over the number of cases handled in 1985.

In addition to handling more cases, the nature of the caseload has changed. Between 1985 and 1994 juvenile courts experienced disproportionate increases in cases involving violent offenses and weapons. Cases involving crimes against persons were up 93%, Violent Crime Index offenses (a subset of person offenses) were up 98%, and weapons law violations were up 156%.

Robbery and aggravated assault cases were more common than cases of other serious violence

Although homicide and forcible rape cases attract a substantial amount of public attention, they account for a small fraction of person offense cases referred to juvenile court in 1994 (2%). Cases involving aggravated assault and robbery were more common (26% and 11% of person offense cases, respectively). Most cases referred for person offenses involved the relatively less serious offense of simple assault (53%).

To get a better sense of how juvenile courts handle violent cases, the case processing of robbery and aggravated assault cases was analyzed. Homicide and forcible rape cases were excluded from this analysis because there were too few cases to obtain reliable results.

Youth were charged with a person offense in 22% of delinquency cases handled in juvenile court in 1994 — the majority were charged with property crimes (52%)

Most serious offense	Number of cases	Percent total cases	Percent change 1985–1994
Total delinquency	1,555,200	100%	41%
Person offenses	336,100	22	93
Criminal homicide	3,000	<1	144
Forcible rape	5,400	<1	25
Robbery	37,000	2	53
Aggravated assault	85,300	5	134
Simple assault	177,700	11	91
Other violent sex offenses	10,000	1	65
Other person offenses	17,800	1	91
Property offenses	803,400	52	22
Burglary	141,600	9	5
Larceny-theft	356,200	23	17
Motor vehicle theft	59,300	4	69
Arson	9,500	1	37
Vandalism	118,600	8	46
Trespassing	61,200	4	21
Stolen property offenses	28,600	2	10
Other property offenses	28,300	2	57
Drug law violations	120,200	8	62
Public order offenses	295,600	19	50
Obstruction of justice	108,400	7	59
Disorderly conduct	80,700	5	77
Weapons offenses	48,400	3	156
Liquor law violations	12,700	1	-34
Nonviolent sex offenses	9,600	1	-24
Other public order offenses	35,500	2	10
Violent Crime Index*	130,600	8	98
Property Crime Index**	566,700	36	17

■ Although a substantial proportion of the growth in court referrals is related to arrests, changes in juvenile court caseloads are also influenced by other forces. The increases in juvenile court cases from 1985 through 1994 were greater than increases in arrests of persons under age 18: Violent Crime Index arrests increased 75%, while cases rose 98%; Property Crime Index arrests increased 11%, while cases rose 17%.

*Violent Crime Index: criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

**Property Crime Index: burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson.

Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding. Percent change calculations are based on unrounded numbers.

Source: Authors' adaptation of J. Butts' *Juvenile court statistics 1994*.

Most robbery and aggravated assault cases were referred to court by law enforcement

Overall, 86% of delinquency cases were referred to juvenile court by law enforcement agencies in 1994. Other sources of referral include schools, parents, probation officers, and victims. The proportion of cases referred by law enforcement was higher for aggravated assault (91%) and robbery (96%) cases.

Offenders in robbery and aggravated assault cases differ

The majority of offenders for both aggravated assault and robbery cases were male, but aggravated assault cases had a larger share of females.

Sex	Robbery	Aggravated assault
Total	100%	100%
Male	91	78
Female	9	22

Aggravated assault cases also had a larger proportion of white offenders than robbery cases.

Race	Robbery	Aggravated assault
Total	100%	100%
White	35	53
Black	61	43
Other race	4	3

Compared with robbery cases, aggravated assault cases were made up of a somewhat greater proportion of youth age 13 or younger. This was offset by a smaller proportion of juveniles ages 14 and 15.

Age	Robbery	Aggravated assault
Total	100%	100%
13 or younger	16	21
14 or 15	43	37
16 or older	41	41

Detention was more likely in robbery and aggravated assault cases than in most other types of delinquency cases

A youth may be securely detained at various points during the processing of a case through the juvenile justice system. When a case is referred to juvenile court, intake staff may decide to hold the youth in a detention facility while the case is being processed. Although detention practices vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, in general, the youth will be detained if there is reason to believe the youth —

- Is a threat to the community.
- May fail to appear at an upcoming hearing.
- Will be at risk if returned to the community.

The youth may also be detained for diagnostic evaluation. In all States, legislation requires that a detention hearing be held within a few days (generally within 24 hours). At that time a judge reviews the detention decision and either orders the youth released or continues the detention.

In 21% of delinquency cases disposed in 1994, the juvenile was held in secure detention at some point between referral to court intake and case disposition. The use of detention varied by offense but was substantially more likely among aggravated assault and robbery cases than other types of delinquency cases:

- 17% for property cases.
- 28% for drug cases.
- 24% for public order cases.
- 24% for person offense cases overall (largely simple assault).
- 38% for aggravated assault cases.
- 53% for robbery cases.

Compared with delinquency cases overall, robbery and aggravated assault cases handled in juvenile court were more likely to be petitioned, adjudicated delinquent, and sanctioned

	Delinquency	Robbery	Aggravated assault
Total cases	1,555,200 100%	37,000 100%	85,300 100%
Was case petitioned?			
No	45%	14%	32%
Yes	55	86	68
Did petition lead to judicial waiver or adjudication?			
No	22%	32%	26%
Judicial waiver	1	5	2
Adjudication	32	49	40
Adjudication led to a disposition of:			
Residential placement	9%	23%	12%
Formal probation	17	20	22
Other sanction	5	5	4
Release	1	1	2

- Robbery and aggravated assault accounted for 94% of all Violent Crime Index cases processed by juvenile courts in 1994.
- 86% of robbery cases referred to juvenile court were handled formally with the filing of a petition; for aggravated assault the proportion was 68%. In comparison, 55% of all delinquency cases were petitioned.
- Robbery cases were more likely than aggravated assault cases to be judicially waived to criminal court (5% vs. 2%) or adjudicated delinquent — analogous to conviction — (49% vs. 40%).
- The juvenile court imposed sanctions following adjudication in 48% of all robbery cases and in 38% of all aggravated assault cases. Formal sanctions were less likely for delinquency cases overall (31%).
- The proportion of robbery cases resulting in court-ordered residential placement (23%) was nearly double the proportion for aggravated assault cases (12%). For delinquency cases, overall, the proportion ordered to residential placement was 9%.

Source: Authors' analysis of data from NCJJ's *National Juvenile Court Data Archive: Juvenile court case records 1994* [machine-readable data file].

Within “aggravated assault” and “robbery” there is a range of offense seriousness

Aggravated assault — Unlawful intentional infliction of serious bodily injury or unlawful threat or attempt to inflict bodily injury or death by means of a deadly or dangerous weapon with or without actual infliction of any injury. Aggravated assault includes the following situations:

- A gang attempts to kill a rival gang member in a drive-by shooting — but he survives the attack.
- A son fights with his father sending him to the hospital.
- A student raises a chair and threatens to throw it at a teacher, but does not.

Robbery — Unlawful taking or attempted taking of property that is in the immediate possession of another person by force or threat of force. Robbery includes the following situations:

- Masked gunmen with automatic weapons demand cash from a bank.
- A gang of young men beat up a tourist and steal his wallet and valuables.
- A school bully says to another student, “Give me your lunch money, or I’ll punch you.”

While the Canadian juvenile violent crime arrest rate is half the U.S. rate, the property crime rate is similar

In 1994 the juvenile arrest rate for violent crime was much higher in the U.S. than in Canada

In 1994 there were 3.2 million persons ages 10 through 17 in Canada, one-ninth the juvenile population of the U.S. Controlling for these population differences, juveniles in the U.S. in 1994 were arrested at twice the Canadian rate for a violent crime. More discrepant, the U.S. juvenile murder arrest rate in 1994 was more than 6 times the Canadian rate.

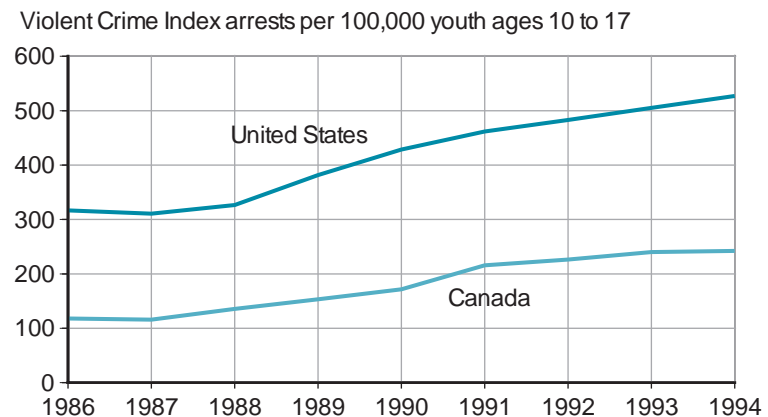
	Arrests per 100,000 youth ages 10–17	
	U.S.	Canada
Violent Crime	527	242
Murder	13	2
Forcible rape	20	3
Robbery	199	95
Agg. assault	292	142
Property Crime	2,548	1,915
Burglary	481	636
Larceny theft	1,721	1,020
Motor vehicle theft	311	238
Arson	34	21

Over the past 10 years the relative difference between the U.S. and Canadian juvenile violent crime arrest rates has been diminishing. In 1986, for example, the U.S. rate was nearly three times the Canadian rate.

In 1994 the U.S. and Canadian juvenile property crime arrest rates were relatively similar

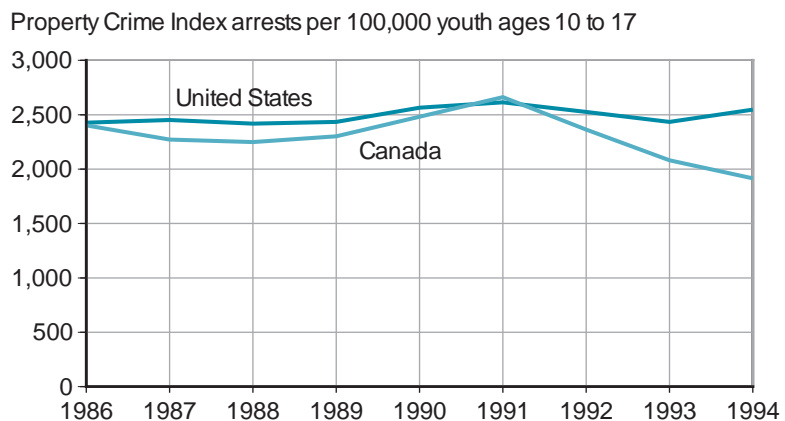
In 1994 the juvenile property crime arrest rate in the U.S. was one-third greater than the Canadian rate, although there were differences within offenses. While the U.S. arrest rate for larceny-theft was 70% above the Canadian rate, Canadian youth were arrested at a 30% higher rate than juveniles in the U.S. for burglary.

Between 1986 and 1994 the juvenile violent crime arrest rate increased more in Canada (105%) than in the U.S. (66%)



- The 1994 Canadian juvenile violent crime arrest rate was close to the U.S. rate in 1986.
- Between 1986 and 1994 juvenile murder arrest rates increased more in the U.S. than in Canada (107% vs. 30%), while robbery arrest rates increased more in Canada (120% vs. 56%).

In contrast to violent crime arrest rates, juvenile property crime arrest rates in the U.S. and Canada were similar between 1986 and 1992



Note: Even though 10- and 11-year-olds cannot be charged with a criminal offense in Canada, arrest rates are based on the population of persons ages 10–17 to make U.S. and Canadian rates comparable.

Sources: United States arrest rates were calculated by the authors using unpublished 1985–1995 arrest counts and reporting population data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program and machine-readable data files of estimates of the 1985–1995 resident population of the U.S. in single years of age from the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Canadian arrest rates were calculated by the authors using unpublished arrest counts from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics and population data from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics' *Annual demographic statistics, 1995*.

Juvenile courts in the U.S. handle a greater proportion of cases informally than in Canada

In both Canada and the U.S. the largest portion of the juvenile court's workload is property offense cases. In 1994 while the juvenile property crime arrest rate in Canada was below the U.S. rate, the Canadian juvenile court formally processed property cases at a greater rate than did U.S. juvenile courts. The pattern reflects greater use of diversion in U.S. juvenile courts.

Differences in the use of diversion are also reflected in the rates of formally processed person offense cases. While the U.S. arrest rate for person offenses was nearly double the Canadian rate in 1994, the courts in each country formally processed about the same number of person cases (709 vs. 662) for every 100,000 juveniles in their resident population.

Canadian and U.S. juvenile courts respond similarly to youth adjudicated for a person offense

In 1994 Canadian juvenile courts adjudicated youth delinquent in 65% of all formally processed person offense cases, compared with 54% in the U.S. Once these cases were adjudicated, however, the courts' responses were comparable in the U.S. and Canada. In both countries, about 3 in 10 adjudicated person offenders were placed out of the home, with most of the remaining youth placed on probation.

Formal handling of person offense cases increased more in Canada than in the U.S.

Between 1986 and 1994 the rate of formally processed person offense cases (formal cases per 100,000 juve-

niles in the resident population) in U.S. juvenile courts increased 80%, while it increased 250% in Canada.

	Formally handled person offense cases per 100,000 youth at risk		
	1986	1994	Percent change
Petitioned			
U.S.	393	709	80%
Canada	189	662	250
Adjudicated delinquent			
U.S.	231	385	67
Canada	134	431	221
Placement			
U.S.	73	120	65
Canada	38	135	257
Probation			
U.S.	131	207	58
Canada	69	249	261

Note: Youth at risk are ages 10–17 in Canada and age 10 to upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction in the U.S. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

U.S. juvenile courts transfer cases to a criminal court at 11 times the Canadian rate

In the U.S., juveniles may be transferred to a criminal court by order of a juvenile court judge, at the discretion of a prosecutor, or by legislative mandate. Canada has only one of these paths to criminal court — transfer by a juvenile court judge.

U.S. juvenile court judges transferred juveniles at 11 times the rate of Canadian judges. While this comparison captures all Canadian transfers to criminal court, it only includes the relatively small number of U.S. transfers that are under the control of a juvenile court judge. Currently, there are no hard data on the volume of juveniles who are transferred to criminal courts in the U.S. through pros-

ecutorial discretion or legislative exclusion. However, if all U.S. transfers of juveniles to criminal court were counted, the discrepancy between the rates of juvenile transfers to criminal court in Canada and in the U.S. would be substantially greater than the 11 to 1 ratio.

	Cases transferred per 100,000 youth at risk		
	1986	1994	Percent change
Delinquency			
U.S.	28.94	44.36	53%
Canada	4.66	3.90	-16
Person			
U.S.	9.07	19.43	114
Canada	1.70	2.54	49
Property			
U.S.	15.74	16.41	4
Canada	2.17	0.95	-56
Drugs			
U.S.	1.70	4.81	182
Canada	0.10	0.03	-68
Public order			
U.S.	2.43	3.72	53
Canada	0.70	0.38	-46

Note: Youth at risk are ages 10–17 in Canada and age 10 to upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction in the U.S. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

In 1994, 65% of youth transferred to criminal court in Canada were charged with a person offense; 24% were charged with a property offense. Less than 1% of all youth transferred in Canada were charged with a drug offense. In contrast, 11% of youth judicially waived in the U.S. in 1994 were charged with a drug offense. Compared to Canada, person offense cases in the U.S. made up a smaller proportion of all judicially transferred cases (44%) and property offense cases a larger proportion (37%).

More than 1 in 4 juveniles in public or private custody facilities were charged with a person offense

Over 108,700 juveniles were in detention, correctional, or shelter facilities on February 15, 1995

Juveniles held for law violations either as accused or adjudicated offenders made up 84% of the overall custody population on February 15, 1995, the reference day for the 1995 Children in Custody census of public and private detention, correctional, and shelter facilities. Those charged with delinquency offenses were 77% of the custody population; those charged with person offenses were 28% of the population. Nonoffenders, youth referred for abuse, neglect, emotional disturbance, or mental retardation, as well as voluntarily admitted youth (generally referred by school officials or parents or as part of a diversion program) were 16% of the custody population.

	Juveniles in public and private custody on February 15, 1995	
	Count	Percent
Total population	108,746	100%
Law violation	91,505	84
Delinquency	84,020	77
Person	30,969	28
Violent Index	18,011	17
Status offense	7,485	7
Nonoffenders	17,241	16

Of the 108,746 juveniles in custody, 69,075 (64%) were held in public facilities. Public facilities held the majority of offenders (74%). The majority of nonoffenders were in private facilities (94%).

Most juveniles in public custody are held for law violations as part of a court-ordered disposition

Virtually 100% of the 69,075 juveniles in public facilities on February 15, 1995 were held as accused or adjudicated

Juveniles charged with crimes against persons made up a greater share of the offender population in public than in private facilities

Most serious offense	Percent of juvenile offenders in custody on February 15, 1995					
	Public facilities			Private facilities		
	Total	Committed	Detained	Total	Committed	Detained
Delinquency	66,236	43,111	23,125	17,784	16,416	1,368
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Person	42	45	37	33	34	30
Violent Index	27	33	13	12	13	10
Other person	11	12	11	21	21	17
Property	32	33	28	43	44	41
Property Index	22	23	19	23	23	23
Other property	10	10	9	20	21	18
Drug	9	9	10	13	13	14
Trafficking	4	4	4	6	5	8
Other drug	5	5	6	7	7	6
Alcohol	1	0	1	2	2	1
Public order	7	6	8	5	5	6
Technical violation	9	6	15	3	3	6
Other delinquency	1	1	2	1	1	2
Status offense	1,785	888	897	5,700	4,870	830
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Running away	27	20	34	25	24	33
Truancy	15	18	12	18	19	16
Incorrigibility	23	27	20	36	35	37
Curfew violation	3	2	3	4	4	1
Underage drinking	2	2	2	4	4	1
Valid court order viol.	25	23	28	8	8	9
Other status offense	5	8	2	5	6	2

■ Juveniles held for Violent Crime Index offenses (a subset of crimes against persons) made up 27% of the overall delinquency population in public facilities — 33% of committed and 13% of detained delinquents.

■ Juveniles held for property offenses accounted for 33% of delinquents committed to public facilities, 28% of detained delinquents, and 32% of the overall delinquency population in public facilities.

Source: Authors' analysis of data from OJJDP's *Children in Custody Census 1994/95* [machine-readable data files].

cated law violators — 96% for delinquency offenses and 3% for status offenses. Nonoffenders made up less than 2% of the public facility custody population. The majority of offenders in public custody were committed

to the facility as part of a court-ordered disposition (65%). The remaining 35% were being detained prior to adjudication or after adjudication while awaiting disposition or placement.

4 in 10 juveniles in private custody are not offenders

Accused or adjudicated delinquents or status offenders account for 59% of the nearly 40,000 juveniles in private custody facilities on February 15, 1995. Those held for delinquency offenses made up 45% of the private custody population and those held for status offenses made up 14%. The vast majority of offenders in private custody were committed to the facility as part of a court-ordered disposition (91%). Juveniles who were detained prior to adjudication or after adjudication while awaiting disposition or placement made up the remaining 9% of offenders in private custody.

The private facility population included a significant number of youth referred for abuse, neglect, emotional disturbance, or mental retardation as well as youth who were voluntarily admitted (referred by parents or school officials or as part of a diversion program). These nonoffenders were 41% of the private facility custody population.

The one-day count of juveniles held in public facilities rose 47% from 1983 to 1995

The number of juveniles held in public facilities increased substantially from 1983 through 1995. The increase was not evenly distributed across all offense categories, however. The number of juveniles held for Violent Crime Index offenses doubled. The broader category of person offenses (that includes such offenses as simple assault and kidnaping in addition to the Violent Crime Index offenses) more than doubled. The categories of drug and public order offenses also saw large increases. In

contrast, there was a drop in juveniles held for property crimes and status offenses.

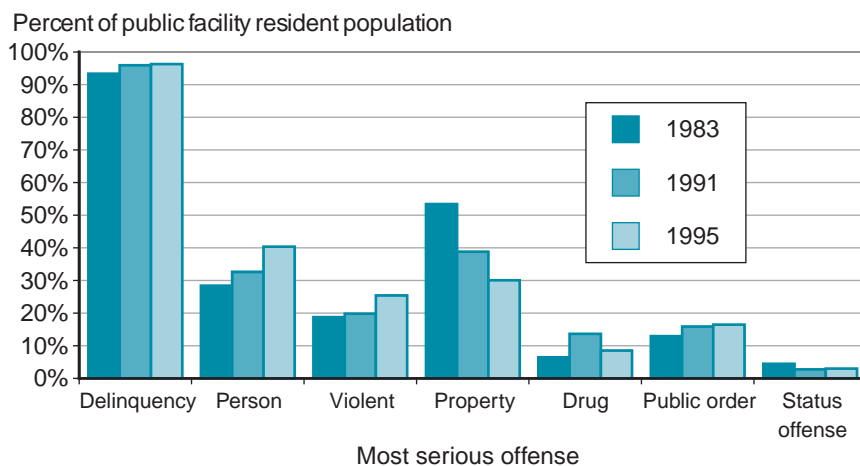
	Percent change in public facility one-day count 1983–1995
Total population	47%
Law violation	48
Delinquency	52
Person	109
Violent Index	99
Property	-17
Drug	95
Public order	87
Status offense	-21

The average length of stay varied by facility type

Juveniles may experience more than one “stay” during the course of their disposition. For public facilities, the average stay per facility for juveniles in detention was 2 weeks and for committed juveniles it was 5 months. Juveniles in private facilities had an average length of stay of 3.5 months.

	Releases in 1994	Average days of stay
Public facilities		
Committed	133,239	147
Detained	588,260	15
Voluntary	2,048	91
Private facilities	148,153	109

Juveniles held for person offenses were a greater proportion of the public facility custody population in 1995 than in 1983



- Juveniles held for Violent Crime Index offenses were a greater share of the public facility population in 1995 (25%) than in 1983 (19%). The same was true for person offenses overall (40% in 1995, 28% in 1983).
- The increase in the proportion of juveniles held for person offenses was offset by a decrease in the proportion held for property crimes.
- The proportion of juveniles held for drug offenses rose from 6% in 1983 to 14% in 1991 and then dropped to 9% in 1995.

Source: Authors' analysis of data from OJJDP's *Children in Custody Census 1994/95* [machine-readable data files].

California, Ohio, and Texas together held nearly 40% of juveniles in public custody facilities

Nationwide, there were 245 juveniles in custody in public facilities on February 15, 1995 for every 100,000 juveniles in the population

State	Public facilities on February 15, 1995				State	Public facilities on February 15, 1995			
	Number of juveniles	Custody rate (per 100,000)				Number of juveniles	Custody rate (per 100,000)		
		Total	Committed	Detained			Total	Committed	Detained
U.S. Total	69,075	245	157	88					
Upper age 17					Upper age 17 (continued)				
Alabama	989	202	148	54	Oklahoma	392	96	61	35
Alaska	223	273	168	105	Oregon	902	247	185	62
Arizona	1,083	216	94	122	Pennsylvania	1,487	114	57	57
Arkansas	275	92	59	33	Rhode Island	155	152	124	27
California	19,562	559	385	174	South Dakota	261	266	236	30
Colorado	776	177	72	105	Tennessee	974	166	127	33
Delaware	164	215	120	94	Utah	465	148	74	74
Dist. of Columbia	251	594	116	478	Vermont	27	40	15	25
Florida	2,674	188	70	118	Virginia	2,211	318	168	146
Hawaii	101	79	50	29	Washington	1,870	294	206	88
Idaho	154	93	73	20	West Virginia	148	72	53	19
Indiana	1,739	258	151	106	Wisconsin	1,447	229	177	52
Iowa	461	133	83	49	Wyoming	164	241	233	7
Kansas	808	253	179	74					
Kentucky	593	131	99	32	Upper age 16				
Maine	395	276	243	33	Georgia	2,337	318	141	177
Maryland	715	134	43	91	Illinois	2,641	224	136	88
Minnesota	803	140	104	36	Louisiana	1,509	303	218	85
Mississippi	641	182	151	31	Massachusetts	331	62	21	40
Montana	140	122	103	19	Michigan	1,752	177	94	83
Nebraska	419	202	124	79	Missouri	1,037	187	125	61
Nevada	660	400	280	121	South Carolina	1,062	290	216	72
New Hampshire	125	96	79	17	Texas	3,505	170	101	69
New Jersey	1,999	244	126	117					
New Mexico	662	293	240	52	Upper age 15				
North Dakota	97	118	110	9	Connecticut	371	145	100	45
Ohio	3,566	276	174	102	New York	2,862	201	167	34
					North Carolina	1,090	187	151	35

- Several States had public custody rates below 100 juveniles in custody per 100,000 juveniles ages 10 through the State upper age of juvenile jurisdiction. Several other States had custody rates above 300 per 100,000.
- Although these custody rate statistics control for upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction, comparisons made among States with different upper ages are problematic. The custody rate for 16- and 17-year-olds is higher than the rates for younger ages. If all other factors were equal, one would expect higher juvenile custody rates in States where these older youth are under juvenile court jurisdiction.
- State variations in the use of private facilities affect public custody rates. About two-thirds of custody facilities included in the Children in Custody Census are privately operated and they hold a little under 40% of the custody population.

Note: The custody rate is the number of juveniles in public custody per 100,000 juveniles ages 10 through the upper age of juvenile jurisdiction in each State. New Hampshire and Wisconsin passed laws in 1995 to lower their upper ages to 16, but the laws did not take effect until 1996.

Source: Authors' analysis of data from OJJDP's *Children in Custody Census 1994/95* [machine-readable data files].

Crowding in juvenile custody facilities affects a substantial proportion of juveniles in custody

Many more juveniles were held in crowded secure public facilities in 1995 than in 1991

Crowding in juvenile facilities has increased as the juvenile custody population has grown. Since the vast majority of juveniles in custody are held in secure public facilities, such as detention centers and training schools, even small increases in crowding in these facilities affect a large number of juveniles.

In 1995 half of all public *detention centers* were operating above their design capacity. These crowded detention centers held nearly three-quarters of public detention center residents. In comparison, one-third of detention centers were crowded in 1991 and they held about half of detention center residents that year. The increased number of over-capacity public detention facilities affected an additional 7,400 residents — a rise of nearly 75%.

The situation was much the same in public *institutional facilities* for long-term placements (such as training schools). Although the proportion of such facilities that were operating above their design capacity stayed constant (about 45% in 1991 and 1995), the number of residents held in crowded facilities increased substantially. Over-capacity public long-term institutional facilities held more than 70% of public long-term institutional residents in 1995 compared with 62% in 1991. There were an additional 10,000 residents in over-capacity training schools and other public long-term institutional facilities in 1995 — an increase of more than 55%.

69% of public facility residents were held in facilities operating above their design capacity on February 15, 1995

Design capacity	All public facilities		Residents	
	Total	Percent operating above design capacity	Total	Percent held in facilities operating above design capacity
All public facilities	1,080	40%	69,929	69%
Fewer than 31 residents	595	21	8,543	29
31–110 residents	324	58	18,506	59
111–200 residents	90	63	13,141	66
201–350 residents	39	82	10,075	82
More than 350 residents	32	88	19,664	91

- 40% of public facilities housed more residents than they were constructed to hold — a greater proportion than in 1991 (36%).
- The larger a facility's design capacity, the more likely it was to be operating over capacity.
- Small facilities (designed for fewer than 31 residents) accounted for the largest number of over-capacity facilities.

Compared with public facilities, a substantially smaller proportion of private facilities were crowded on February 15, 1995

Design capacity	All private facilities		Residents	
	Total	Percent operating above design capacity	Total	Percent held in facilities operating above design capacity
All private facilities	1,989	8%	39,706	15%
Fewer than 31 residents	1,694	7	17,377	10
31–110 residents	259	14	14,078	16
111–200 residents	25	20	3,672	17
201–350 residents	5	20	1,345	19
More than 350 residents	6	33	3,234	32

Note: Design capacity is the number of residents a facility is constructed to hold without double bunking in single rooms and without using areas not designed as sleeping quarters to house residents.

Source: Authors' analysis of data from OJJDP's *Children in Custody Census 1994/95* [machine-readable data files].

Minority youth were overrepresented in custody facilities given their share of the general population

Federal requirements have focused attention on disproportionate confinement of minority youth

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act's provisions regarding "disproportionate minority confinement" require that States determine whether the proportion of minorities in confinement exceeds their proportion in the general population. If such overrepresentation is found, States must implement efforts to reduce it.

Since this requirement went into effect in 1992, numerous States have made assessments of their disproportionate minority confinement and begun to implement reduction efforts.

Minority overrepresentation in custody has increased

In 1995, 32% of the U.S. population ages 10–17 was classified as minorities. Minorities made up 68% of the detention center population on February 15, 1995. Their proportion had risen from 65% of the detention center population on February 15, 1991, and 53% on February 1, 1983. Similarly, the minority proportion of the custody population in public long-term facilities with institutional environments (such as training schools) rose from 56% in 1983 to 69% in 1991. In 1995 the minority proportion in these facilities leveled off at 68%.

There are some limitations to the Children in Custody data

Information on juveniles in custody is drawn from OJJDP's Children in Custody Census of juvenile facilities. Since 1971, facilities have been asked to complete a census questionnaire every other year. The census includes residential detention, correctional, and shelter facilities for juveniles and group homes for three or more juveniles. Excluded are facilities exclusively for drug treatment or for emotionally disturbed or maltreated children, as are Federal facilities. The analysis also excluded facilities with fewer than 1% offenders or fewer than 50% juveniles (except for facilities operated by the California Youth Authority).

The response rate for public facilities has always been virtually 100%, but among private facilities the response rate has never reached the 100% level. For this reason, private facility population counts are believed to be somewhat of an undercount. Because it is not known what impact variations in private facility response rates from year to year have had on the data, private facility trends are not presented.

Facilities report two types of resident data — 1-day counts and annual facility admission and release counts. One-day counts provide a picture of the standing population; admissions and releases provide a measure of the population flow. However, admission/release data do not represent a count of the number of youth entering/exiting custody, as a youth may be admitted to and released from custody more than once during the year.

Minority youth outnumber nonminority white youth in public custody facilities by more than 2 to 1 — in private facilities nonminority white youth slightly outnumber minority youth

Race/ethnicity	Percent of juveniles in custody on February 15, 1995		
	All facilities	Public	Private
Total juveniles in custody	100%	100%	100%
White, non-Hispanic	37	32	53
Minorities	63	68	47
Black	40	43	34
Hispanic	19	21	10
Asian/Pacific islander	2	3	1
Native American	2	1	2

- Minorities were more than two-thirds of all juveniles in custody in public facilities and were just under half of juveniles in private facilities.

Source: Authors' analysis of data from OJJDP's *Children in Custody Census 1994/95* [machine-readable data files].

In 1996 the one-day count of youth under age 18 held in local adult jails was 8,100

The number of youth under 18 in jails rose 20% from 1994 to 1996

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics' Annual Survey of Jails, an estimated 8,100 youth under the age of 18 were held in adult jails on June 29, 1996 — about 2% of the total jail population. The one-day count of under-18 jail inmates in 1996 was 4% greater than the figure a year earlier and over 20% greater than the 1994 figure. The majority of youth under age 18 held in adult jails were held as adults. Although they account for a smaller proportion of under-18 jail

inmates, the number of inmates under 18 who were being held *as juveniles* rose 50% from 1994 to 1996. In comparison, the overall one-day count of jail inmates grew 7% from 1994 to 1996.

Prior to 1994 the Annual Survey of Jails counted the number of jail inmates initially subject to juvenile court authority as juvenile offenders *even if they were tried as adults in criminal court*. In 1985 an estimated 1,630 such juveniles were held in adult jails. By 1992 the estimate had risen to 2,800.

Recent rules change the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act jail removal requirement

Regulations effective December 10, 1996, modify Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act requirements in several ways:

- Clarify the sight and sound separation requirement and provide that brief and inadvertent or accidental contact in nonresidential areas is not a reportable violation.
- Permit time-phased use of program areas in collocated facilities.
- Expand the 6-hour hold exception to include 6 hours before and after court appearances.
- Allow adjudicated delinquents to be transferred to adult institutions once they have reached the State's age of full criminal responsibility where such transfer is expressly authorized or required by State law.

The revised regulations are intended to offer flexibility to States in carrying out the Act's requirements.

7 in 10 youth under age 18 in adult jails in June 1996 were convicted or awaiting trial as adult criminal offenders

	1994	1995	1996
Jail inmates under age 18	6,700	7,800	8,100
Held as adults	5,100	5,900	5,700
Held as juveniles*	1,600	1,800	2,400

* It is not known how many of these juveniles were jailed in violation of the jail and lockup removal requirement and how many were held pursuant to its exceptions.

Note: Estimates are for June 30, 1994 and 1995, and June 29, 1996.

Source: Authors' adaptation of Gilliard and Beck's Prison & jail inmates at midyear 1996, *BJS Bulletin*.

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act limits the placement of juveniles in adult facilities

The Act states that, "...juveniles alleged to be or found to be delinquent and [status offenders and nonoffenders] shall not be detained or confined in any institution in which they have contact with adult[s] incarcerated because they have been convicted of a crime or are awaiting trial on criminal charges..." This part of the Act is commonly referred to as the "jail removal requirement."

Regulations implementing the Act exempt juveniles held in secure adult

facilities if the juvenile is being tried as a criminal for a felony or has been convicted as a criminal felon. In institutions other than adult jails or lockups, confinement is permitted if the juvenile and adult inmates cannot see each other and no conversation between them is possible.

This latter requirement is commonly referred to as "sight and sound separation." There is a 6-hour grace period that allows adult jails and lockups to hold alleged delinquents in secure cus-

tody until other arrangements can be made. Jails and lockups in rural areas may hold delinquents up to 24 hours, exclusive of weekends and holidays, under certain conditions.

Some jurisdictions have established juvenile detention centers that are collocated with adult jail facilities or lockups. A collocated juvenile detention facility must meet specific criteria to establish that it is a separate and distinct facility.

Imposition of the death penalty for crimes committed at age 17 or younger is rare

The current era of death sentences began in 1973

The Supreme Court decision in *Furman v. Georgia* (1972) struck down all existing death penalty statutes. Sentencing under post-*Furman* statutes began in 1973. The constitutionality of these current era statutes was not determined by the Supreme Court until the 1976 decision in *Gregg v. Georgia*. Executions under the current era statutes did not begin until 1977.

Supreme Court decisions prohibit the death penalty for persons younger than 16

The Supreme Court, in *Eddings v. Oklahoma* (1982), reversed the death sentence of a 16-year-old tried as an adult in criminal court. The Court held that a defendant's young age, as well as mental and emotional development, should be considered a mitigating factor of great weight in deciding whether to apply the death penalty. The Court noted that adolescents are less mature, responsible, and self-disciplined than adults and are less able to consider the long-range implications of their actions. The Court, however, did not address the question of whether the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments prohibit the imposition of the death sentence on an offender because he was only 16 years old at the time he committed the offense.

In *Thompson v. Oklahoma* (1988), the issue before the Court was whether imposing the death penalty on an offender who was 15 years old at the time of the murder, violated constitutional protections against cruel and unusual punishment. The Court concluded that the Eighth Amendment prohibited application of the death

penalty to a person who was younger than 16 at the time of the crime. In *Stanford v. Kentucky* (1989) the Court decided that the Eighth Amendment does not prohibit the death penalty for crimes committed at age 16 or 17.

Youth younger than 18 are a small proportion of those receiving the death penalty

From January 1, 1973, through June 30, 1996, 143 death sentences were handed down to 130 persons who were younger than 18 at the time of their crime. Youth under age 18 were approximately 2% of the individuals receiving death sentences since 1973.

Most "juvenile" death sentences are eventually reversed

As with most death sentences, many "juvenile" death sentences imposed are reversed. Since 1973, 60% of these "juvenile" death sentences have been reversed, 6% have resulted in executions, and 34% are still in force.

Some of the youth sentenced to death had their sentences reversed only to have them reinstated. Of the 130 persons sentenced to death for crimes committed at age 17 or younger, 10 had their sentences reversed and then reinstated at least once. One of these youth has had his death sentence reversed 4 times and reinstated 3 times.

Most States that specify a minimum age for the death penalty set the minimum at age 16 or 18

None specified	Age 16 (or less)	Age 17	Age 18	Age 19
Arizona	Alabama	Georgia	California	New York
Idaho	Arkansas(14) ^b	New Hampshire	Colorado	
Montana	Delaware	N. Carolina ^e	Connecticut ^f	
Louisiana	Florida	Texas	Federal system	
Pennsylvania	Indiana		Illinois	
S. Carolina	Kentucky		Kansas	
S. Dakota ^a	Mississippi(13) ^c		Maryland	
Utah	Missouri		Nebraska	
	Nevada		New Jersey	
	Oklahoma		New Mexico	
	Virginia(14) ^d		Ohio	
	Wyoming		Oregon	
			Tennessee	
			Washington	

Note: Minimum ages (at the time of the capital offense) reflect interpretation by State attorney general offices.

^a Juveniles may be transferred to criminal court. Age can be a mitigating factor.

^b See Arkansas Code Ann. 9-27-318(b)(1)(Repl.1991).

^c The minimum age defined by statute is 13, but the effective age is 16 based on interpretation of U.S. Supreme Court decisions by the State attorney general's office.

^d The minimum age for transfer to criminal court is 14 by statute, but the effective age for a capital sentence is 16 based on interpretation of U.S. Supreme Court decisions by the State attorney general's office.

^e The age required is 17 unless the murderer was incarcerated for murder when a subsequent murder occurred; then the age may be 14.

^f See Conn. Gen. Stat. 53a-46a(g)(1).

Source: Authors' adaptation of Snell's Capital punishment 1995, *BJS Bulletin*.

48 death row inmates committed their crimes prior to age 18

Of the 48 inmates on death row at mid-year 1996 for crimes committed at age 17 or younger, 37 were 17 at the time of their offense and the remaining 11 were age 16. More than 40% of these inmates (21 of 48) were not “juveniles” at the time of their offense — they were legally adults because they were older than their

State’s upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction. The majority of these were 17-year-olds from Texas where the upper age is 16 (17 of 21).

The youngest of those on death row at mid-year 1996 for crimes committed prior to age 18 was 17 years old; the oldest was 38, and the average age was 25. As of mid-year 1996, an average of 6 years had passed since the inmate’s initial death sentence.

The victims of these death row inmates tended to be adults

Most of the 64 victims of the 48 inmates on death row for crimes committed prior to age 18 were adult victims (42 of 64). Most of the victims were white (43 of 64).

Offender	Victim	
	Minority	Nonminority
Minority	19	25
Nonminority	2	18

Note: Nonminority includes whites not of Hispanic ethnicity; all else are minority.

The vast majority of offenders were minorities (33 of 48); all were male.

Texas and Florida account for over one-third of offenders sentenced to death for crimes committed before age 18 from 1973 through mid-year 1996

	Offenders
Total	130
Texas	30
Florida	18
Alabama	10
Georgia	7
Mississippi	9
Louisiana	8
Ohio	6
North Carolina	4
Oklahoma	5
Pennsylvania	5
Arizona	4
Missouri	4
South Carolina	4
Indiana	3
Maryland	3
Virginia	2
Arkansas	2
Kentucky	2
Nevada	2
Nebraska	1
New Jersey	1
Washington	1

Source: Authors’ adaptation of Streib’s Present death row inmates under juvenile sentences and executions for juvenile crimes, January 1, 1973 to June 30, 1996, *Juvenile Death Penalty Today*.

Those executed for crimes committed at age 17 or younger were all from States where the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction is 16; therefore, they were legally adults at the time of their crime

Executions of under-18 offenders: January 1, 1973 – June 30, 1996:

Name	State	Age at offense	Race	Age at execution
Jay Pinkerton	TX	17	white	24
James Roach	SC	17	white	25
Ruben Cantu	TX	17	Hispanic	26
Charles Rumbaugh	TX	17	white	28
Johnny Garrett	TX	17	white	28
Frederick Lashley	MO	17	black	29
Dalton Prejean	LA	17	black	30
Curtis Harris	TX	17	black	31
Christopher Burger	GA	17	white	33

- On average, executions took place 12 years after initial death sentences were imposed.
- Seven of these nine inmates had never had their sentences reversed. Their executions took place an average of 10 years following their initial death sentence. For the two who had their sentences reversed and then reinstated, an average of nearly 15 years passed before their execution.

Source: Authors’ adaptation of Streib’s Present death row inmates under juvenile sentences and executions for juvenile crimes, January 1, 1973 to June 30, 1996, *Juvenile Death Penalty Today*.

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Technical Note

While juvenile arrest rates reflect juvenile behavior, many other factors can affect the size of these rates.

Arrest rates are calculated by dividing the number of youth arrests made in the year by the number of youth living in the jurisdiction. Therefore, jurisdictions that arrest a relatively large number of nonresident juveniles would have a higher arrest rate than a jurisdiction whose resident youth behave in an identical manner.

Jurisdictions, especially small jurisdictions, that are vacation destinations or that are centers for economic activity in a region may have arrest rates that reflect more than the behavior of their resident youth.

Other factors that influence the magnitude of arrest rates in a given area include the attitudes of its citizens toward crime, the policies of the jurisdiction's law enforcement agencies, and the policies of other components of the jus-

tice system. Consequently, the comparison of juvenile arrest rates across jurisdictions, while informative, should be done with caution.

In most areas not all law enforcement agencies report their arrest data to the FBI. Rates for these areas are then necessarily based on partial information. Reported rates for jurisdictions with less than complete reporting may not be accurate.

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OJJDP also publishes Fact Sheets, two-page summaries on agency programs and initiatives. Contact JJC for titles and further information.

The *Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Brochure* (1996, NCJ 144527 (23 pp.)) offers more information about the agency.

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