

SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER/DRUG INVOLVED PROGRAM

SHO/DI

VOLUME I

Informational Commentaries -- Phase I

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**SHO/DI Informational Commentaries\***

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**ACQUISITIONS**

\* Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved program (SHO/DI). The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.

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## Introduction

The problem of chronic, serious juvenile crime is one of growing concern to communities everywhere. Similarly, drug/alcohol use by juveniles has increased and there are questions concerning the relationship between drug/alcohol use and serious crime among juveniles. In response to these issues, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) initiated the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI) in December, 1982.

SHO/DI is designed as a law enforcement response to a very small group of juveniles that may represent only 5-7 percent of all juveniles involved in crime. As such, the program requires that police utilize their resources more effectively to better interdict and suppress serious, repetitive juvenile crime. In addressing these juveniles, the program also addresses the linkages between these serious recidivists and their drug connection.

One of the difficulties in implementing a program such as SHO/DI is that there is very little actual data available on serious juvenile offenders and juvenile offender drug involvement. The true extent of the problem is not known and, in the past, little has been done to deal with the issue. Thus, the SHO/DI project was designed as a research, test and demonstration program. During the first phase of SHO/DI there has been a strong emphasis on research. One result of this emphasis is that a series of informational commentaries was developed by the SHO/DI National Field Manager. The commentaries accomplish several objectives. Early commentaries provided SHO/DI sites with recent, selected research on serious juvenile crime. They provided background material on the problem of juvenile offenders.

Commentaries were also written to highlight accomplishments in the program. For example, one commentary explains the cooperative effort established in one city between police and the schools.

The commentaries provide technical assistance as well. A number of them address specific issues raised during Phase I of SHO/DI. Others explain the roles of various agencies or departments in the SHO/DI program.

Finally, we have included papers relating to SHO/DI that were presented at various national conferences. They provide yet another perspective on the program.

We have also included in the Appendices several examples of how the cities have worked to implement SHO/DI.

Appendix A summarizes the criminal history of a serious habitual juvenile offender. This case illustrates how these juveniles have traditionally been handled within the system.

Appendix B is an actual Link Analysis that was developed in one SHO/DI city. The Crime Analysis Unit linked several juveniles in a series of offenses and in drug use.

Appendix C illustrates the effect in one city when several chronic juvenile offenders were taken off the street as a result of the SHO/DI program.

Finally, Appendix D illustrates the effect of the "systems" approach being developed by the SHO/DI sites.

These materials are for informational purposes only. They do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.

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Informational Commentary\*  
Number 1

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We hope that you will make us aware of any additional items that should be included in the bibliography. We are particularly interested in any research conducted in the SHO/DI demonstration sites.

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Informational Commentary\*  
Number 2

BACKGROUND RESEARCH ON THE SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI Program.

BACKGROUND RESEARCH ON THE SERIOUS  
HABITUAL JUVENILE OFFENDER

Juvenile crime has been the focus of a great deal of attention for at least a century. In recent years, public concern has been growing and juvenile crime has come under increasing scrutiny. Just what is juvenile crime and how is it different from other criminal activity?

In reality, juvenile crime is not a species of behavior restricted to a particular age group. It is not etiologically different from all other forms of crime. Rather, juvenile crime is the invention of the legislature in the 51 jurisdictions in the United States that create boundary<sup>1</sup> ages between juvenile and adult courts.

In his recent address to the National Advisory Committee, Alfred Regnery, Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, stated that "the primary goals of OJJDP will be to protect society from crime, apprehend and punish criminals and seek ways to turn young people away from crime as a way of life . . . it is imperative to note that we are not a social service agency . . ." These statements reflect a significant change taking place within the criminal justice system at the federal level.

Juvenile Courts

When juvenile courts were first established in the United States in 1899, it was under the doctrine of *parens patriae*--hence juvenile court was not designed to be a criminal court, but rather a civil court in which children were viewed in a supportive and protective manner. The new courts were established on the belief that children could be steered away<sup>2</sup> from criminal activity. The major purpose was not to punish the child

but rather to provide help and guidance--an individualized treatment of  
the child.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the offender assumed the greatest importance, not the  
offense. Under this concept of the system as a sort of social service for  
children, "the procedures of the court have been intentionally non-  
adversarial, the terminology intentionally non-criminal, and its powers  
intentionally vast."<sup>4</sup>

The problem is that the juvenile court system hasn't worked. A  
number of authors have recognized the inherent conflict in the responsi-  
bilities of the court.<sup>5</sup> On the one hand, the juvenile courts are expected  
to protect and rehabilitate the nation's children, on the other hand, it  
is the traditional purpose of a court to preserve the social order.

Historically, ours has been a society which has adopted a benevolent  
attitude toward adolescent crime. For the most part, these crimes are not  
serious, the adolescents do not develop into career criminals and many  
adults can remember their own adolescent actions which may not have been  
within the boundaries of the law. Thus, adolescent criminal behavior is  
tolerated because it is not violent and because "children are not mature  
enough to be responsible for their own actions."

But what happens to this permissive attitude when the crimes are  
serious and, rather than "outgrowing" it, the juvenile becomes a chronic  
offender? It is the apparent inability of the juvenile justice system to  
deal with these serious juvenile offenders that has produced the strongest  
criticism against present policy. "Public concern has focused on violent  
juvenile crime as a problem that stands out clearly, even if a solution  
does not."<sup>6</sup>

Popular opinion has been shifting from support of the concept of  
rehabilitation to active interest in the philosophy of responsibility for  
one's own actions and the consequences of those actions. The public has



moved away from concern with the offender to concern with the victim, from the belief that the courts are a social service agency to the belief that the courts should protect society from these juveniles who are serious offenders.

It is, then, the purpose of this paper, through a review of recent literature, to examine the problem of the juvenile who is a chronic, serious offender.

### The Problem of Serious Juvenile Crime

Just how extensive is the problem of serious juvenile crime? According to a study conducted by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, between the years 1973 and 1977, 23 percent of the violent crimes against persons were committed by juveniles. These juveniles were responsible for 8.2 percent of the rapes, 30.4 percent of personal larcenies, 24.2 percent of the robberies and 17.8 percent of the aggravated assaults. Yet at this time, persons under the age of 18 accounted for only 14.6 percent of the total population. More recently, in 1976, juvenile arrests accounted for 46.1 percent of serious property crime (burglary, larceny, theft, and auto theft) and 22 percent of the violent crime (murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault).<sup>7</sup> In raw numbers, the impact is even greater. Of the 9.7 million arrests which occurred nationally in 1980, 2.1 million of those arrested were juveniles under 17.<sup>8</sup>

However, although juveniles account for a large percentage of the serious, violent crimes in America, in reality, most of these crimes are committed by a small fraction of repeat offenders. In their landmark cohort study of juvenile offenders, Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin demonstrated that chronic offenders (5 or more offenses) were responsible for

51.9 percent of the offenses. Stated differently, only 6.3 percent of the<sup>9</sup> birth cohort was responsible for 52 percent of the reported offenses.

The results of other studies have supported this argument that the majority of serious juvenile crimes are committed by a small number of juveniles who are serious habitual offenders. For example, according to statistics provided by Senator Birch Bayh, only 4 percent of all juvenile<sup>10</sup> arrests in 1975 were for violent crimes.

Columbus, Ohio was the site of another cohort study which included all juveniles born between 1956-1960 who had been arrested at least once for a violent offense. Thirty-one percent of the cohort were defined as chronic recidivists (5 or more offenses). These habitual offenders accounted for 44.8 percent of the crimes against persons committed by the<sup>11</sup> cohort.

There are a number of difficulties which arise in trying to determine the true extent of serious juvenile delinquency. Very often, statistics are based on arrest rates. Although the validity of the practice has been questioned, a number of studies have found that, rather than magnifying the problem of serious juvenile delinquency, arrest rates may do just the opposite. The likelihood of being arrested for an offense "are lower for a juvenile than for an adult, and especially low for chronic juvenile<sup>12</sup> offenders." In a discussion of sources of data in the measurement of criminality, Sellin and Wolfgang noted that historically the data was gathered from court records. However, during the last 50 years, there has been a growing trend toward the use of police statistics as a data source. "Those who believed that there was no way of identifying and counting criminal offenses until a judicial agency had officially recognized them had, of course, little or no confidence in the information possessed by<sup>13</sup> the police authorities.

## Serious Offenses and Serious Offenders

No matter what criteria (arrests, arraignments, convictions) is used to identify these habitual offenders, there is still the problem of identifying exactly what constitutes a serious offense, and what exactly is a serious offender.

It has been suggested that a serious offender category should include anyone who has committed at least one serious offense. Yet, there are numerous examples of juveniles who commit a single violent act with no previous record of criminal activity and no future acts of violence in the follow-up period of the study. <sup>14</sup> Should such juveniles be included in the

group of serious offenders? Perhaps the distinction must be made between single-arrest offenders and first offenders. Although single-arrest offenders do not have a future in the criminal justice system, their only offense may be violent enough that it cannot be ignored. In their cohort study, Hamparian and others found that a much greater percentage of serious offenses were committed by single offenders than by first

<sup>15</sup> offenders. Also, nothing about the single offenders "signals their future disengagement from the criminal justice apparatus." Thus, at the time of the offense, it is impossible to distinguish the first offender from the single offender.

Then there is the question of what constitutes a serious offense. Zimring, in his discussion of the serious juvenile offender, suggests that there are three broad categories of definitions. <sup>16</sup> The first is totally subjective, that is, a crime is serious if the individual victim perceives it to be serious. Under this definition, an act of vandalism could be serious if the victim feels that his sense of security has been destroyed.

A second definition of a serious crime is based on what society as a

whole views as "serious". This definition employs a collective judgment of the crime rather than the sole judgment of the victim. A number of authors have developed seriousness scales to define the seriousness of a particular crime.<sup>17</sup> While this type of definition is more objective than victim perception, it is still dependent upon the given cultural norms. For example, the Sellin-Wolfgang scale was developed during a period when the public perceived the threat posed by marijuana to be greater than the threat posed by heroin.

Finally, serious crime can be measured by "value-informed" choices based on the severity of a crime relative to other crimes. This definition requires the one who is examining the crime to make a judgment call (e.g., forcible rape is more serious than burglary). Like the first definition, use of the value-informed approach to serious crime will produce many different measurements according to who is judging the severity of the act.

This lack of a precise standard of seriousness has led to a great deal of confusion in the examination of juvenile criminal activity. Isralowitz and Mayo suggest that the serious offender category include not only those who commit violent offenses, but also habitual offenders who "have the potential for causing injury to other individuals."<sup>18</sup> According to a study conducted by the Vera Institute, a serious offense would be any of the seven major offenses described in the Uniform Crime Report (UCR), that is: homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, theft, and auto theft.<sup>19</sup>

A number of authors argue that the term serious offender is really too nebulous. Instead, it has been suggested that "dangerous" or "violent" would be a more appropriate term. In this context, a violent offender would be one who uses physical violence against another. While

such classification would still include a large number of offenses, it would narrow the scope considerably and provide a less abstract definition of this type of juvenile offender.

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Although the literature on violent delinquents is growing, there are a few studies which focus specifically on the violent delinquents within an entire juvenile population. One such study was conducted on the Columbus birth cohort. Violent offenses were defined as murder, manslaughter, armed and unarmed robbery, aggravated and simple assault, rape, sexual imposition and molesting. Violent juveniles were identified as those who had had at least one police contact for a violent crime. However, the researcher found that a large percentage of these youths identified as violent offenders were often not violent. Rather, they had been arrested for a violent offense. In reality these arrests were for such things as neighborhood fist fights. Thus, not all those juveniles arrested for a violent offense should be labelled violent offenders. To clarify this point, "it must be recognized that while youths who commit violent offenses may be classified as serious juvenile offenders, a youth may be placed in this category even though no violent offense has been committed ..."

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Because different researchers and programs employ different definitions when analyzing serious juvenile crime, it is difficult to accurately assess the actual number of serious juvenile offenders. With all the attention that has been focused on such crime, why then are no standard definitions for the terms "violent crime", "serious crime", "violent offender", "habitual offender" and so on? "In part, at least, this is a function of the different research purposes of the studies as well as the jurisdictional variations in legislation concerning the juvenile offender."

23

## The Juvenile Offender-Operational Definitions

The definitions used by different programs or studies vary not only in terms of the offenses included, but in the ages of the juveniles, the numbers of offenses, and the criteria used to target the population (i.e., arrest, charge, arraignment, conviction).

A recent Illinois law targets habitual juvenile offenders as "juveniles who have been three times adjudicated delinquent for such serious offenses as murder, manslaughter, rape, aggravated assault, burglary, arson, robbery, and armed robbery."<sup>24</sup> A recent program experiment in Maryland produced yet another operational definition of a repeat offender. According to the Maryland Repeat Offender Task Force, a repeat juvenile offender was identified as any juvenile between the ages<sup>25</sup> of 15 and 17 who met the following criteria.

1. Whose present offense is any violent delinquent act using a dangerous weapon, or any property delinquent act, either of which was committed against a stranger and whose
- 2.a. Prior unrelated petitions total two or more, the latest prior formal contact with the juvenile justice system in this regard having occurred within the last year, and whose
  - b. One or more prior petitions involved a violent or property delinquent act.

The present delinquent act (instant offense) must be for a serious crime. The crimes included are those believed to create the most fear in citizens because those crimes have the most chance to end in death or injury.

The delinquent act must be committed against someone not related to or having close ties with the perpetrator, with the exception of murder. This attribute would eliminate from the definition domestic violence or delinquent acts committed against persons with whom the perpetrator may have a casual acquaintance.

The offender's prior juvenile justice involvement shows recent and frequent delinquent activity. The offender is older and has a tendency to commit more serious types of delinquent acts.

These examples illustrate the wide variety of definitions used in different programs and by various authors. The Career Delinquent Program, previously used in Racine, Wisconsin was based on a point system aimed at early identification of serious, habitual juvenile offenders. Such juveniles were selected according to points awarded to various offenses. Each juvenile who accumulated a minimum of 12 points was selected for inclusion in the program.

While the Racine Career Delinquent Program was designed to systematically and uniformly identify all juveniles who were serious, recidivists, other programs and studies specify minimum ages of targeted juveniles. These ages often relate to State statutes which limit criminal justice actions in dealing with juveniles.

One such study was completed by the Minnesota Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control. According to the Commission, Serious Offenders included all juveniles 14 years or older:

With a sustained petition for homicide, kidnapping, aggravated arson or criminal sexual conduct of the first or third degree.

With a sustained petition for manslaughter, aggravated assault or aggravated robbery with a prior record in the preceding 24 months of a sustained felony.

With at least two separate adjudications for such major property offenses as burglary, arson, theft over \$100, aggravated criminal damage to property, motor vehicle theft or receiving stolen property over \$100.

From these few examples it is readily apparent that the lack of standardized definitions hinders any attempt at precisely identifying the number of such juveniles on a national scale. Any such standardized definition should, in our opinion, include at least the following:

1. a minimum age for children who could be so identified.
2. inclusion criteria - i.e., will identification be based on charges, arrests, arraignments or convictions.
3. the specific offenses to be included. Will only crimes against persons be included, for example. Another approach would be to include only the Part I crimes listed in the FBI's Uniform Classification of Offenses.
4. the total number of offenses. Will only those with five or more offenses be identified? Can juveniles who have two or more offenses be included?
5. drug/alcohol involvement. There is growing concern about juvenile abuse of drugs and alcohol. Should identification of such use be included?

If standardized definitions of the serious habitual juvenile offender could be developed, it would accomplish several objectives. First, it would enable researchers to more accurately define the population. Such definitions would also aid in policy-making and in the development of programs targeting this population of juveniles. However, at present, this research is done in a rather piecemeal manner. Standard terminology would greatly enhance a national perspective on the problem.

#### How Do We Begin?

In order to fully examine the juvenile offender problem, the various combinations of juvenile offender types must be identified. Figure 1-1 illustrates a matrix covering the range of delinquent behavior. For the most part, literature discusses serious (or violent) offenders and habitual (or chronic) offenders. We have added drug involved (including alcohol) offenders for several reasons. First there is little research



FIGURE 1

JUVENILE OFFENDER MATRIX

SERIOUS OFFENDER

NOT SERIOUS OFFENDER

HABITUAL

NOT HABITUAL

HABITUAL

NOT HABITUAL

DRUG  
INVOLVED

NOT DRUG  
INVOLVED

DRUG  
INVOLVED

NOT DRUG  
INVOLVED

DRUG  
INVOLVED

NOT DRUG  
INVOLVED

DRUG  
INVOLVED

NOT DRUG  
INVOLVED

1. Serious, habitual, drug involved
2. Serious, habitual, not drug involved
3. Serious, not habitual, drug involved
4. Serious, not habitual, not drug involved

5. Not serious, habitual, drug involved
6. Not serious, habitual, not drug involved
7. Not serious, not habitual, drug involved
8. Not serious, not habitual, not drug involved

currently available on drug involved juvenile delinquents. This is due, in part, to a lack of documentation within the criminal justice system. Currently, few police departments in the country gather and analyze data on juvenile offender drug involvement. Because it is not included with other case file information it is not picked up by the court system. Hence, overall, there are few records of such use.

However, numerous studies of adult career criminals have shown that approximately one-third of all such criminals are drug users. A recent Rand Corporation study examined the histories of 2,190 career criminals in three states (California, Michigan, and Texas). The researchers found that those criminals who are heavily involved with drugs also commit a much higher percentage of crimes. For example, among the California offenders, those who were heroin addicts committed an average of 68 burglaries each year compared with three burglaries per year for non-users. Similarly, the addicts were responsible for an average of 34 robberies per year compared with two robberies annually for non-users. 28

How does this relate to juvenile drug involvement? Chaiken and Chaiken also found that the majority of these career criminals began their careers before the age of 16, often spending a good deal of time in juveniles facilities. According to a recent article in Justice Assistance News, "the link between substance abuse and delinquency is evident, but the nature of the interaction is not clearly understood." 29

Finally, now that this interaction has been recognized, the emphasis on it is growing. This is being translated into federal funds supporting programs which will examine the importance of drug use by juvenile offenders.

By arranging the three groups of juvenile offenders (serious, habitual, and drug involved) into various combinations, we have

categorized eight classes of juvenile offenders. We would suggest that these classes cover the range of delinquent types. The matrix could be used as a basis for the development of standard definitions of each class of juvenile offenders. This would aid practitioners, researchers and theorists in a logical examination of the problem.

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Informational Commentary\*  
Number 3

THE JUVENILE SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER AND FAMILY COMPOSITION

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.

## THE JUVENILE SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER AND FAMILY COMPOSITION

It has often been argued that family structure and history can be used as predictors of juvenile violence, and one of the most frequent family variables examined is the broken home. This research reviews some of the studies on the impact of family situation on serious juvenile crime.

One study, conducted in California, was concerned with 31 juveniles who had been charged with homicide or attempted homicide. Of these 31, only eight were living in intact homes when they were charged with the offense.<sup>1</sup> Isralowitz and Mayo also note that serious juvenile offenders are not likely to have both parents in the home.<sup>2</sup> However, other authors question whether there is in fact a relationship between broken homes and juvenile violence.

In the Columbus violent juvenile cohort study, the authors found that just over half of the subjects (50.4 percent) were living in two-parent homes. Perhaps more important, they noted that the probability of two-parent homes increases as socioeconomic status increases; thus, 61.7 percent of the moderate income juveniles lived in two-parent homes as compared with only 45.9 percent of the very poor juveniles.<sup>3</sup>

Analysis of the Vera Institute data suggests that, "the presence of two parents may reduce a child's chances of becoming delinquent and may play some role in limiting the number of offenses committed if the child does become delinquent. But it has little impact on whether the child will become violent."<sup>4</sup>

A number of researchers have also studied the relationship between serious juvenile delinquency and family size. Research has indicated that delinquents come more often from large rather than small families. Andrew



suggests several possible reasons for this. First, children from larger families usually have a lower intelligence quotient than children from small families. Another possibility is that the value systems of large families may not place as much emphasis on the worth of the individual. Finally, the density of the large family may place added stress on a juvenile and this could contribute to delinquent behavior.<sup>5</sup>

### Parental Criminality and Sibling Delinquency

Clinical studies, case studies and cohort studies together have produced volumes of information on the family structure and history of juvenile offenders. One result of this examination is the apparent relationship between parent criminality and delinquency. "If the parents or a youth's friends have criminally-oriented norms and values, it is likely that the youth too will adopt such attitudes."<sup>6</sup>

This relationship between parental criminality and abnormal behavior in their children has been studied extensively by Lewis, Shanok and Balla.<sup>7</sup> They argue that one reason for this relationship is the physical abuse and neglect which delinquent children suffer at the hands of their criminally-oriented parents. The trauma these children suffer "impedes a child's ability to perceive accurately, make sound judgments, and control impulses" thus affecting deviant behavior.<sup>8</sup>

Sorrells also noted the relationship between parental violence and serious juvenile crimes. In his examination of kids who kill, Sorrells found that "the families of the assailants were characterized as violent and chaotic, and many of the parents had histories of crime, alcohol abuse, and violence."<sup>9</sup>

One area that merits further study is sibling delinquency. In the

Columbus cohort, Hamparian et al were surprised to find that 12.7 percent<sup>10</sup> of their subjects had siblings also involved in violent crime. If violent home situations do, in fact, contribute to serious juvenile delinquency, then how often does serious sibling delinquency occur?

#### Physical and Psychological Factors

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) is, more and more, focusing its concern on the family and family dynamics as the "root" of juvenile criminal activity. In 1977, an important longitudinal study, Growing Up to Be Violent, was published. The subjects were 400 delinquents in Columbia County, New York. Through analysis of the data, the authors found that the best predictor of aggressive behavior in late adolescence is aggression at an early age.<sup>11</sup>

Wenk, Robison and Smith also examined the prediction of violent behavior in approximately 4,000 juveniles in California. The authors examined a number of variables which might predict serious delinquent behavior, however, no one characteristic was found to provide consistent prediction of violent behavior.<sup>12</sup>

#### Parental Abuse

There is growing concern about the high incidence of child abuse. According to Collins, "a new portrait of violent children and adolescents is emerging from recent research that has linked their behavior to physical and psychological abnormalities and to the effects of abuse and violence in their families.<sup>13</sup> Researchers are focusing not only on the effect of child abuse on the child, but also on the abused child's effect on society. In his examination of juveniles charged with homicide, Sorrells found that the most consistent finding concerning these kids is

that they are products of "violent, chaotic families."<sup>14</sup>

Another study which examined self-reported versus court identified violent offenders included 536 subjects in Pennsylvania. As in Sorrells' study, results indicated that the violent juvenile is strongly related to "disturbed and turbulent family relationships."<sup>15</sup>

The implications of this relationship are ominous when one considers the fact that the incidence of reported child abuse is growing according to a survey conducted by the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse. The child abuse survey concluded that there was a ten percent increase in reported child abuse in 1982.<sup>16</sup>

The Surgeon General of the United States has also recognized this problem and the relationship between abuse and violent children. In a recent address to the American Academy of Pediatrics, he also emphasized the fact that acts of family violence (especially child abuse by fathers) increase in times of "economic stress" (e.g., unemployment, evictions, lay-offs, etc.).<sup>17</sup> The result of this stress is often battered children.

If child abuse is truly on the increase, does this mean that the ultimate effects of this abuse on society will be felt in the future?

#### Triads as Predictors

Although researchers have spent years examining physical and psychological characteristics which might be used to predict dangerousness in individuals, no one predictor has ever proved reliable enough to consistently identify potential violent behavior. Paradoxically, the law enforcement system often relies on such prediction when dealing with criminal offenders. Because jails, courts, parole boards and others within the system do attempt to determine an individual's violence potential,

research in this area is especially important.

Recently, authors have been examining various combinations of characteristics which could predict future offenders with greater accuracy.

Hellman and Blackman initially discussed the enuresis, firesetting, 18  
cruelty to animals triad and its predictive ability in adult criminals.

In a 1974 study, researchers examined this triad in relation to male juvenile serious offenders. The authors reported on six case studies of juveniles committed to the California Youth Authority. All had committed serious offenses and all had a documented history of animal cruelty, enuresis and firesetting. The researchers suggest that the "presence of the triad in adolescence must be viewed as a warning signalling vulnerability 19  
to seriously explosive impulse expression."

A second triad which has received attention in serious juvenile offenders is the combination of perinatal difficulties, child abuse and head and face trauma. Lewis, Shanok and Balla conducted a study which included 84 incarcerated juvenile delinquents in a Connecticut correctional school and an equal number of nonincarcerated delinquents. After an extensive review 20  
of their medical and family histories, the authors concluded:

there would seem to be identifiable biopsychosocial factors that together contribute to violent delinquent behavior. The combination of trauma to the central nervous system, parent psychopathology (often expressed through incredible physical and psychological abuse), and social deprivation (particularly as manifested by the failure of physicians to recognize and appropriately treat psychiatric illness and/or central nervous system dysfunction in lower socioeconomic group children) creates the kind of serious, often violent, delinquent acts so prevalent in our society today...We would suggest that a single factor (e.g., brain damage, social deprivation, vulnerability to psychosis) is insufficient to engender violent delinquency. Unfortunately often the combination of familial vulnerability (e.g., indexed by the presence of a schizophrenic parent), trauma to the central nervous system (e.g., perinatal trauma, head injury) physical and psychological abuse from a parent,

and social deprivation...is sufficient to create the violent young offender, and this combination occurs frequently.

In summary, family composition has an effect on the juvenile serious habitual drug involved offender. The effect is direct and clear, although  
21  
a causal relationship cannot be established.

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Informational Commentary\*  
Number 4

ALCOHOL/DRUGS AND THE SHO/DI

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.



## ALCOHOL/DRUGS AND THE SHO/DI

There has been extensive documentation of the relationship between adult serious, habitual offenders and alcohol/drug abuse. However, there is an on-going argument as to whether alcohol/drug abuse causes criminal activity (i.e., offenders commit crimes to support their drug/alcohol use) or whether drug abuse simply stems from the same type of personality which breeds criminal activity.

Several ecological studies establish that some relationship exists between addiction and crime. The general findings are clear and consistent: high rates of addiction or drug use are associated with high rates of crime and delinquency . . . Disagreement begins when an attempt is made to explain the association, and particularly when a causal connection is postulated.<sup>1</sup>

A number of researchers through the years have examined drug use among inmates of correctional institutions. Their findings have differed widely. For example, in 1966, the President's Commission Task Force Report on Narcotics and Drug Abuse found that only approximately eight percent of the prisoners in federal institutions had a history of drug use. This figure contrasts with other studies which report a higher percentage of drug use. Results of a Washington, DC jail study, for example, indicated that 47 percent of the inmates sampled were heroin users.<sup>2</sup>

While some researchers focus on the amount of drug involvement among the correctional institution populations, others have examined in detail the criminal involvement of these individuals.

Traditionally, the belief has been that drug users commit crimes primarily to support their drug investment. It stands to reason that, if this is the case, these individuals would most likely commit larger

numbers of crimes and specific types of crimes. As part of a study of unreported criminal involvement by narcotic addicts, Inciardi and Chambers<sup>3</sup> analyzed the data collected on 38 male addicts.

Analysis of the data relative to self-reported crime suggests not only that the male addicts interviewed were extensively involved in criminal activities, but furthermore, such individuals were rarely apprehended for the offenses committed . . . The ranking of offenses by frequency readily stresses the relative predominance of direct acquisitive property crime as characteristic of the respondents' criminal behavior patterns. Ninety-three percent of the total fell into this category with only 7 percent of the offenses impinging upon the area of violent personal crime . . . Burglary was the crime most often committed, accounting for 37 percent of the property offenses and 35 percent of all offenses. Furthermore, three-fourths of the sample had engaged in such behavior, reflecting a participation rate almost double that of any other crime.

A study of four cohorts of male addicts in New York also included an examination of the types of crimes committed by drug users. Results of the analysis indicate that "most addict crime is either directly linked to addiction (e.g., drug arrests) or else appears to be economically motivated." More specifically, in terms of type of arrest, drug arrests were<sup>4</sup> the most frequent followed by arrests for property crimes.

Just as drug-involved offenders seem to concentrate more on property crimes, the incidence of criminal activity appears to rise dramatically with drug involvement. Voss and Stephens examined the criminal activity of over 1,000 hospitalized addicts and found that "almost all of [the] criminal activity follows drug use. With the exception of gambling and some kinds of theft the addicts admitted only limited criminal activity before drug use. Marked increases are found in these activities following the use of drug."<sup>5</sup>

Interesting results were obtained during a restricted study of heroin users. Interviews with the subjects indicated a high incidence of

criminal activity among them, usually beginning before age 16. However, the researcher also examined the use of alcohol and the use of other drugs separately. They found that the average age for first criminal activity was 15.1 for males and 15.9 for females. Yet criminal activity was preceded by much earlier use of alcohol. The average age of first intoxication was 13.3 for males and 13.9 for females. On the other hand, the average age for the first drug abuse (15.2 years) was very close to the average age for first criminal activity.

This study appears to contradict the results of a study of youth offenders in Pennsylvania correctional facilities. The juveniles completed a questionnaire concerning delinquent behavior, drug use and drug sale. Analysis of the data indicate that, on the average, drug use (and/or sale) did not take place until 3 years after the first criminal act.

A more recent survey also focused on the relationship between alcoholic intake and criminal activity. The Bureau of Justice Statistics analyzed the interviews conducted with 12,000 inmates incarcerated in state prisons during 1979. The study showed surprising and ominous results. Approximately one-third of the inmates surveyed reported they had been drinking quite heavily immediately prior to committing the offense for which they were now serving sentence. In addition, one-fourth of the sample said they were daily heavy drinkers for the year prior to their arrest.

In 1979, a national sample of 1,532 juveniles aged 14 through 20 were interviewed to determine the rate of delinquency and levels of drug/alcohol use. According to the authors, the results are especially important to criminal justice agencies. Analysis of the data show that

"serious drug involvement is an important contributor to and indicator of (when combined with evidence of serious delinquent behavior) the highest rates of most forms of criminality."<sup>9</sup>

While a number of authors have suggested that narcotics use causes crime or that criminal activity encourages the use of drugs, other researchers suggest that there is no cause-and-effect relationship but rather that criminal activity related to drugs is just one specific type of criminal activity.

Lombardo analyzed the criminal histories of 508 individuals who had been arrested for narcotic law violations. These offenders were responsible for a total of 5,053 crimes. In his analysis of the data, Lombardo suggests that "narcotic use itself is a manifestation of criminality and not the cause of crime."<sup>10</sup>

Thus, while much has been written about the relationship between drugs and crime, there are few definitive answers. We do not yet know, for example, the pattern of events which lead to this relationship. Nor are we sure of all of the variables involved in the relationship and their interaction with one another. What we do know is that a number of studies have indicated that this relationship often begins at an early age. Thus, although we should be focusing more on juvenile drug involvement and criminal activity, at present the juvenile data base is fairly limited.

There are some studies of juvenile offenders who are involved with alcohol/drugs. In the examination of 31 California juveniles charged with murder (or attempted murder), it was found that over 25 percent were "under the influence of drugs at the time of the homicide."<sup>11</sup> Murray and Cox reported that 18.2 percent of the juveniles in their Illinois Department of Corrections study had a "noteworthy" alcohol/drug problem.<sup>12</sup>

It has been suggested that juvenile violent crimes may be on the rise

due to the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. In Montgomery County (Maryland) for example, the youth services coordinator, Richard Ferrara, has suggested that the increase in violent juvenile crime may be directly related to the fact that the state lowered its drinking age from 21 to 18. In 1971, juveniles in that county committed 292 violent crimes. The new drinking age went into effect in 1973 and by 1975 violent crimes had increased to 440--a 51 percent increase.

More recently, the Justice Assistance News reported the results of a national sample involving 1,700 juveniles. The youths who reported the greatest use of alcohol/drugs were also the juveniles who had committed four or five serious offenses and thus could be classified as habitual offenders.

While such isolated studies support the drug involvement/criminal activity relationship among juveniles, there is still a great deal to be learned. Inciardi notes:

[Drug] Users' initiation into substance abuse and criminal activity occurs at a relatively early age. But there are several things that are not clear . . . Do adolescent predatory criminals alter the nature and extent of their criminal involvement at various stages of drug abuse? Does drug abuse involve a shifting from primarily predatory crime to victimless crime? Does drug taking result in an increase or decrease in criminal activity? And finally, does a drug taking career fix the criminal careers of adolescents who might otherwise shift into more law-abiding pursuits as they approach young adulthood?

As the use of alcohol/drugs increases among today's juveniles, these questions increase in importance. If in fact there is, as there appears to be, a strong relationship between juvenile drug involvement and serious offenses, then we must learn more than we currently know.

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Informational Commentary\*  
Number 5

SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS - ARE THEY STARTING YOUNGER?

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.



## SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS--ARE THEY STARTING YOUNGER?

It is a well-documented fact that the majority of violent crimes are committed by older juveniles.<sup>1</sup> However, violent acts are not usually the first crimes committed by juvenile offenders. In fact, in 1979, only about 4 percent of juvenile arrests were for a violent offense.<sup>2</sup> Juvenile delinquents, especially those who are habitual offenders, tend to begin their criminal activity at an early age.

In their examination of the Columbus cohort, Hamparian and others found that 6.8 percent of the juveniles began their delinquent career at age 9 or younger. Approximately one quarter of the youths began their criminal activity at ages 10, 11 and 12, while 38 percent began their careers at age 13 or 14. Only 18.3 percent started their criminal activity at age 16 or 17.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, Murray and Cox examined a sample of 317 Chicago juveniles who had been committed to juvenile institutions in the Illinois Department of Corrections. Within this group the average age for a first arrest was 12. This was followed by an average of 13 arrests before being committed to the Department of Corrections.<sup>4</sup>

Data compiled on the Philadelphia cohort illustrates that the relative probability of beginning a delinquent career increases slightly from age 7 to age 11, and then increases more rapidly between the ages of 11 and 16. The probability peaks out at 16, then begins to decrease. Overall, the average age of onset is 14.4 years.<sup>5</sup>

Logically, the earlier a juvenile begins his delinquent career, the more time he will have to commit offenses. "Criminological research has frequently shown the age of onset of delinquent behavior to be strongly related to the level of subsequent delinquent activity. The younger a

child is when first arrested, the more seriously delinquent he or she is likely to be." <sup>6</sup>

While most researchers agree on the general age of onset of criminal activity, there is some disagreement as to whether the age of the first offense varies with race. In their examination of the Philadelphia cohort Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin found that "nonwhites generally incur their first police contact at an earlier age than whites." For whites, the average age of initial contact was 14.3 while for nonwhites it was 13.7. <sup>7</sup> In contrast, Hamparian and others in their examination of the Columbus cohort, found no difference in the average age of onset between whites and nonwhites. <sup>8</sup>

#### Pattern of Offenses from Bad to Worse? .

There is growing interest in the criminal justice community in the relationship between a juvenile's criminal history and adult offenses. Similarly, researchers are examining the kinds of crimes committed during juvenile careers. It has long been assumed that a typical juvenile offender begins his career at an early age by committing status offenses or perhaps, misdemeanors. As his criminal career progresses, so does the seriousness of each offense as well as the frequency of offenses.

At the other end of the spectrum, a number of theorists have put forth the argument that, rather than becoming involved in more serious crimes, juveniles will eventually mature out of delinquent behavior. <sup>9</sup>

Maturation is widely accepted as an explanation of delinquent behavior. The popular argument is that delinquency is largely a developmental phenomenon, increasing in the early phases of adolescence and falling off thereafter. 'The best cure for delinquency is growing up,' is one catch-phrase in use. The major function of the juvenile justice system, say proponents of maturation explanations, should be to give the

youngster a chance to grow up with as little damage as possible being inflicted from outside.

In actuality, there is little in the literature to support the maturation argument. It has been suggested that this argument may apply more to the non-serious, non-habitual juvenile than to the serious, chronic offender. In contrast, there does appear to be some evidence to support the theory of the progression from bad to worse among serious, habitual juvenile offenders.

One of the earliest examinations of offense patterns was the Philadelphia cohort study. Just over half (54 percent) of the delinquents were repeat offenders; however, no patterns of progression were clearly established. Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin did find a strong positive relationship among nonwhites between the number of injury offenses and the severity of the offense. They also found that once an offense has been committed, if it is repeated, it is likely to be more serious. Yet, overall they were unable to establish a relationship between the number of offenses committed and the seriousness scores of the offenses.

Hamparian and others found that in the Columbus cohort, in only 10 percent of the juvenile offenders cases they studied had the career begun with a status offense. They argue then that status offenders are not likely to become violent juvenile delinquents. The researchers also looked at whether the age of onset was directly related to the severity of a juvenile's career. Again they found that over half of the early delinquents (those who committed their first offense prior to age 14) were no longer being arrested at age 17. Finally, in the Columbus cohort, only 42 percent of the delinquents that were arrested at least 3 times showed any progression toward violent offenses.

It is also important to note that there appears to exist, a group of

delinquents who are habitual offenders but are non-violent in nature. According to Taylor, "such children, over time, appear to grow committed to a delinquent life-style, and prove to need more in supervision than the community can provide..."<sup>12</sup>

While it is difficult to establish a clear pattern of progressive seriousness of offenses, there is little doubt that recidivists and chronic offenders are responsible for the greatest majority of serious offenses.

In the Philadelphia cohort, chronic offenders (those with five or more offenses) comprised only 6 percent of the birth cohort yet were responsible for the majority of offenses against persons.<sup>13</sup> In the Columbus cohort, chronic offenders included one-third of the delinquents in the cohort and were responsible for 44.8 percent of the violent offenses.<sup>14</sup> The Vera sample findings were similar. In the New York metropolitan region, the recidivists and chronic offenders were responsible for 82 percent of all violent offenses. In addition, recidivists accounted for four times as many violent crimes as single offenders.<sup>15</sup>

#### Length and Intensity of the Juvenile Career

It has been documented in several studies that chronic, serious criminal activity among juveniles "peaks" between the ages of 16 and 17. Prior to this age, these juveniles have a criminal career which usually begins before age 13 and may begin as early as age 6.<sup>16</sup> According to a RAND report, Criminal Careers of Habitual Felons, published in 1977, truly serious, habitual criminals usually commit more serious crimes prior to age 13 and establish more "intensive" careers than other criminals whose criminal activity is more intermittent.<sup>17</sup> This early, intensive career may provide one way to identify early on, those who are likely to develop into career criminals.

While this examination of the problem is focusing on recent literature, in 1934, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck published One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, a landmark study which examined the criminal careers of juveniles who had been involved in the Boston Juvenile Court. The average age of these youths was just over 13. This early study was followed in 1940 by Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up in which the Gluecks followed the careers of those targeted juveniles. Of the 962 boys who originally came under scrutiny, 91 were identified 16 years later as still being a major threat to society. Thus, even in the 1930's, researchers were finding that children age 13 and younger were developing criminal patterns which would identify them as serious, career criminals.

In a study of the 317 Chicago juveniles who had been committed to the juvenile unit of the Illinois Department of Corrections, Murray and Cox found that the average age of commitment for these juveniles was 15.8. However, these youths averaged 13.6 arrests prior to commitment and, on the average were kept in custodial care for only 10.8 months.

Strasburg examined the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) data to shed light on the length and intensity of the career of the violent juvenile. He notes that, according to UCR figures, arrest rates for violent crimes (homicide, rape, aggravated assault and robbery) climb steadily until age 18, then the rates begin to decline. While 18 is the "peak age" for violent criminal activity, arrests for violent offenses are growing at a faster rate for juveniles than for adults. Juveniles ages 15 to 17 years old have shown the greatest increase in arrest rates for robbery and aggravated assault; this is followed by the second greatest increase in juveniles ages 11 to 14 years. Generally, the incidence of violent crimes among juveniles tend to increase with age.

In reality, very little is known about the length of the juvenile  
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criminal career or its intensity. According to Zimring:

The questions are clear: When do adolescents turn to violent crime? Is there any pattern of specialization associated with a violent young offender or is there frequent crime "switching"? What is the frequency of commission of violent crime for those young offenders who commit such acts? How long do violent young offenders persist in committing offenses? A combination of self-report and cohort studies is needed to begin to answer these questions. One of the most important contributions of these studies will be a shift in focus from "the violent young offender" to the variety of different types of violent offender who may have importantly different criminal careers.

#### Cessation of Criminal Activity

What, then, causes juvenile offenders to cease their criminal activity, if in fact they do? Glueck and Glueck were among the strongest proponents of the maturation theory. In their argument for such a theory, the Gluecks suggested that maturation allows the individual, through psychological changes, to develop the self-control and foresight to meet the rigors of life inside the society as opposed to life outside the  
23  
general society.

In fact, maturation is accepted by many researchers as the reason for cessation of a criminal career. This explanation also fits in well with the goals of the juvenile justice system. Under the original theory of juvenile justice, children are not responsible for their own actions until they have sufficiently matured to such a point at which they can assume this responsibility.

In fact, there is very little scientific evidence to support the theory of maturation for serious habitual offenders. Murray and Cox conducted a regression analysis of arrests with age in their Chicago

study. The results of their analysis indicate that chronic delinquents do not appear to "grow out" of delinquency during the ages when they are within the jurisdiction of the juvenile justice system.<sup>24</sup>

Hamparian and others also studied this issue with the Columbus cohort. They suggest that the maturation explanation is not valid for chronic offenders although it might explain the cessation of intermittent, non-violent juvenile careers.<sup>25</sup>

In summary, there is a great deal of theory and relatively little data about the relationship between age and criminal activity. It seems clear, however, that juveniles who start their criminal activity at an early age have a greater opportunity to become serious habitual offenders.

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Informational Commentary\*  
Number 6

RACE, SOCIODEMOGRAPHICS AND THE SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.

## RACE, SOCIODEMOGRAPHICS AND THE SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER

A number of theorists have tried to develop models which would aid in the prediction or identification of future serious habitual offenders. A number of these models have focused on sociodemographic factors which relate to the juvenile offender.

There is overwhelming agreement on the higher incidence of crimes committed by non-whites. In 1975 for example, black juveniles represented only 14 percent of the population yet they were responsible for 22 percent of the juvenile arrests and 52 percent of juvenile arrests for violent offenses.<sup>1</sup> In the Columbus cohort of violent juveniles, blacks comprised 54.8 percent of the cohort, yet only 12.5 percent of the total Franklin County population and 18.5 percent of the Columbus population was black.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in the Philadelphia cohort, 50.2 percent of the non-white subjects were delinquent as compared with 23.6 percent of the white population. The authors noted: "The higher proportion of non-white delinquents, whether in the lower or the higher SES level, constitutes one of the major statistical dichotomies running throughout the analysis of the cohort . . . no other variables emerged quite so clearly as did race as a determinant of contrast."<sup>3</sup>

While blacks are currently over-represented in juvenile criminal statistics, the numbers of Latinos and Asian juveniles being arrested is also increasing rapidly.<sup>4</sup> According to Zimring:

available statistics indicate that urban minority youth are disproportionately involved in violent crime, although official statistics probably overstate the difference between the races . . . How much of the racial differences noted with respect to violent offenses can be attributed to selective enforcement, differences in socio-economic class, and other unaccounted variables has not been adequately investigated.<sup>5</sup>

## Sex

Serious, habitual juvenile offenders also tend to be overwhelmingly male. One study, conducted over an 18 month period in Alameda County, California, focused on 31 juveniles who had been arrested for homicide or attempted homicide. Only two of the 31 juvenile subjects were female. One of the females was a prostitute who had beaten her client, the other was an adolescent suffering from a mental disorder who had stabbed a classmate. According to the author, this study indicates that female juveniles may not be as easily moved to kill as male juveniles.<sup>6</sup>

The Vera Institute study on violent delinquents also notes the high incidence of male delinquency. The report notes that female juveniles are responsible for only 22 percent of juvenile arrests and only 8 percent of juvenile arrests for violent crimes. Males, on the other hand, commit 9 times as many homicides, 12 times as many robberies, and 5 times as many assaults as females.<sup>7</sup>

Arrest statistics for violent offenses also differ between male and female juveniles. Zimring suggests that the higher percentage of males in these statistics may be due in part to the unwillingness of law enforcement officers to arrest females for violent offenses.<sup>8</sup>

Female offenders usually have shorter careers than their male counterparts and their first violent offense occurs, on the average, less than a year (0.38 years) after their initial arrest. Consequently, female careers are usually brief with the violent offense occurring shortly after the age of onset. In fact, the career often ends with the violent offense.<sup>9</sup> One final study presents interesting statistics concerning male and female juvenile offenders. The purpose of the study was to illustrate the distinction between delinquent behavior and "Official Delinquency"

(those delinquents who have a police record). Earlier it was noted that police officers may be somewhat reluctant to arrest a female juvenile for a violent offense. This is supported by the results of this study which was based on a national self-report survey indicating that 13 percent of the males were apprehended as opposed to 3 percent of the females. Yet, once apprehended, police put 19 percent of the males and 17 percent of the females on record.<sup>10</sup>

### Socioeconomic Status

According to Wolfgang, crime among members of the poorest class, whether black or white, is many times higher than the working- or middle-class rate.<sup>11</sup> Analysis of the cohort data supports this statement. In the Columbus study, only 14.3 percent of the violent juveniles lived in areas where the median income was higher than the median income for Franklin County, thus 85.7 percent of the cohort were in the lower socioeconomic status.<sup>12</sup> The results of the Philadelphia cohort study were similar. In that study, the greatest number of offenders were non-white juveniles from the lower socioeconomic status.

The authors note:

Although non whites and lower socioeconomic status boys have significantly higher crude rates and weighted rates based on the seriousness of their offenses, the difference between one-time offenders and recidivists are among the most striking of any of the multiple ways of analyzing the data. If a question about social intervention is posed in terms of . . . the greatest amount of offense reduction registered among groups, it is clear that preventing the group of non-white lower SES boys from continuing delinquency after their first offense would indeed produce the maximum delinquency reduction. If resources and attention were to be focused on the lower SES non-white subset of the cohort who have a first delinquency, not only could the general rate of delinquency be affected; the most serious acts--those involving physical violence or assault on others--could also be drastically decreased.<sup>13</sup>

Results of a study in Upsilon, Michigan, further support this view. Researchers examined the arrest records of juveniles for several years between 1942 and 1965. The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between race, social status and criminal arrest. Analysis of the data indicated "disproportionately high arrest rates for males, youths age 17 to 24, persons in low income occupations (semi-skilled and unskilled workers), the unemployed and persons not native to the state." In addition, the researchers found that there was a higher rate of crime for blacks, especially those of lower social class.

### Academic History

The relationship between crime and academic history has been studied extensively in recent years. Most recently, studies have shown that learning disabilities are frequently associated with juvenile delinquency. Other research has concentrated on poor school performance and its impact on juvenile offenders. In the Chicago study on chronic offenders, 48.5 percent of the subjects had below average academic performance as well as frequent truancy and/or behavioral problems. In this same study, an additional 25.8 percent of the sample were failing school and/or were chronic truants. Thus, almost 75 percent of the juvenile delinquents in the study had unacceptable scholastic performance. In the Philadelphia cohort study, researchers found that only 9.2 percent of the chronic offenders graduated from high school compared to 74 percent of the non-offenders.

In summary, the relationship between various sociodemographic factors and juvenile serious crime is clear although the data does not suggest a causal relationship. Interventions attempting to deal with serious crime problems must take these factors into account if they are to succeed.

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Informational Commentary\*  
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SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME: A LAW ENFORCEMENT APPROACH

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An eleven year old child with 16 misdemeanor charges and three felony convictions; a fifteen year old juvenile convicted of 13 separate burglaries; a thirteen year old with 10 shoplifting charges and 3 assault charges. These are but three examples of juvenile offenders that can be found in almost any metropolitan area. Nearly a century ago, the juvenile courts were established on the belief that juveniles are not mature and thus cannot be held accountable for their own actions. Similarly, the system was based on the assumption that children could be rehabilitated and steered away from further criminal activity. Unlike criminal courts, juvenile courts were more concerned with the offender than the offense or the victim. Under this concept, the offender assumed the greater importance.

In reality, juvenile crime is not different from other types of crime. A burglary, larceny, felonious assault or robbery has the same consequences for the victim or the community regardless of the age of the offender. Juvenile crime is the invention of legislatures in the United States that have created boundary ages between juvenile and adult courts.

For the majority of youthful offenders, the juvenile justice system may be the appropriate response. However, numerous studies have shown that a disproportionate amount of serious crime is committed by a small number of very active juveniles. Research has also indicated that these habitual juvenile offenders most often conduct their illegal activity in their own neighborhoods.

In the case of these repeat offenders, the juvenile justice system obviously is not working. These youths have usually had numerous contacts with law enforcement agencies and have learned the

system well. The usual pattern with juvenile offenders is to treat first offenses, even very serious first offenses, rather lightly. Aside from the fact that this does nothing to deter future criminal activity, it also indicates to the juvenile delinquent that the system is ineffective - that, in fact, he has nothing to fear if caught in criminal behavior. What then, does the juvenile stand to lose by committing crimes? Very little. After all, even his record is wiped clean once he becomes an adult.

Current practices in the juvenile justice system fail to deal effectively with the offender and also fail to recognize the legitimate needs of the victim and the community. When these juvenile offenders are not handled effectively, not only does the victim not feel any sense of justice, he may, in fact, be subjected to further abuse by the delinquent.

### Public Concern

In recent years, public concern has been growing and serious juvenile crime has come under increasing scrutiny. Popular opinion has been shifting from support of the concept of rehabilitation to active interest in the philosophy of responsibility for one's own actions and the consequences of those actions. The public no longer sees juvenile courts as a social service agency. Instead, there is strong belief that the courts should protect society from those juveniles who are serious offenders.

Although serious juvenile offenders are responsible for a large percentage of crimes, we are, in fact, talking about a very small number of kids. Research indicates that between two and five percent

of all juveniles would be classified as serious, repeat offenders. But, because they are often responsible for up to 50 percent of juvenile crime, they represent a very significant problem for law enforcement agencies.

In addition, public attention has turned toward juvenile drug/alcohol use and its relationship to criminal activity. There is little research currently available on drug-involved juvenile delinquents. This is due, in part, to a lack of documentation within the criminal justice system. However, studies of adult career criminals have shown that approximately one-third of these offenders are drug users. How does this relate to juvenile drug involvement? Research shows that the majority of career criminals begin their criminal activity before age sixteen. Many of these individuals are involved in criminal activity to support a drug habit. A response to this serious problem is clearly necessary.

#### Law Enforcement Concern

Local law enforcement also has a deep sense of frustration with the juvenile justice system. Many tell of instances where juveniles are "released before the paperwork is finished." They arrest the same juveniles time and time again, only to see them released without any appropriate punishment. Many officers strongly believe that crime could be substantially reduced if a handful of juveniles could be removed from the community.

Uniformed patrol officers and detectives have become very cynical about their ability to deal with juvenile offenders. They point out that the juvenile justice system does not work. They feel

that social work agencies, aftercare agencies and judges simply do not understand the problems caused by juveniles in the community.

The cynicism of police officers frequently leads to an informal response to juvenile crime. Many officers handle even serious juvenile incidents in an "informal" manner. Juveniles are often warned and sent home to the custody of their parents. This does very little to deter the juvenile from future criminal activity.

### The Federal Response

The growing dissatisfaction with present juvenile policy is reflected in the policy shift now taking place at the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). In his 1983 address to the National Advisory Committee, Alfred Regnery, Administrator of the OJJDP, noted, "government must demonstrate a renewed concern with victims of crime. When the juvenile justice system decides whether to return juvenile delinquents to the street for another 'chance', we must take extremely seriously the risks that doing so may be at the expense of future victims whose rights and welfare are critical to our sense of value as a society."

In response to these needs, the OJJDP has undertaken a number of programs designed to aid the juvenile justice system in dealing more effectively with serious juvenile crime.

One such initiative, the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/ Drug Involved program (SHO/DI) has been funded as a research, test and demonstration project in five police departments across the country. Portsmouth, Virginia, funded in May, 1983, was the lead SHO/DI site followed by Colorado Springs, Colorado; Jacksonville, Florida; Oxnard, California; and San Jose, California. The five cities involved in the

program, like many other cities across the United States, have not had an effective systems approach for dealing with the SHO/DI problem. The various components of the juvenile justice system seldom act in concert.

Far too often in the past, police related programs were developed without first obtaining insight into the range of possible alternative solutions to a particular problem. In the rush to be innovative, many programs were developed that were competitive rather than compatible and poorly thought out instead of well conceived. Thus, developmental efforts in the police area have dwelt on solutions, while backing into the analysis and decision processes that should logically occur before solutions are developed.

The SHO/DI program, on the other hand, is based on the hypothesis that the application of a more systematic approach to data gathering, analysis, planning and integration of police activities will increase the effectiveness of the police, prosecutor and juvenile authorities to deal with and reduce juvenile criminal activities and drug use.

The eighteen-month program is designed to provide a structured law enforcement focus on serious crimes perpetrated by juveniles. Additionally, the program seeks to reduce the crime frequency and patterns of juvenile drug users and to increase the identification, arrest, conviction and incarceration of drug pushers whose clients are juveniles. Finally, it is the aim of the SHO/DI program to establish a closer working relationship between police officials, prosecutors, judges, aftercare agencies and community groups concerned with juvenile serious habitual offenders and drug problems.

## Implementation of SHO/DI

The first step in the project was for each city to identify its SHO/DI juveniles. Because the program is being conducted in five jurisdictions in four states, identification criteria vary from site to site. Realistically, standards had to be developed which were in agreement with state laws and were also agreeable to both the police department and the prosecutor's office.

Concurrent with the identification process, the police departments involved community groups in the program not only to keep them informed, but also to enlist their help and support. In Portsmouth (VA), in addition to community groups, the police department is working actively with a city-wide Youth Advisory Committee. Public reaction to the program has been very positive which, of course, reflects public concern about the problem of serious juvenile crime.

Once the serious habitual offenders are identified, the police department must work closely with the prosecutors, courts and aftercare agencies to determine the most appropriate handling of the case. The program is based on the idea that these law enforcement components must work closely together to focus on two major areas of community concern - serious crime and drugs.

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THE INJUSTICE IN JUVENILE JUSTICE

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## THE PHILOSOPHY OF JUVENILE JUSTICE

Historically, our society has adopted a benevolent attitude toward adolescent crime. This benevolent attitude is reflected in the philosophy behind the juvenile justice system. The juvenile courts were established under the doctrine of *parens patriae* - hence juvenile court was not designed to be a criminal court but rather, a civil court in which children were viewed in a supportive and protective manner. The system was established on the belief that children could be steered away from criminal activity.<sup>1</sup> Its purpose was not to punish but rather to provide guidance. Under this concept, the offender (not the offense) assumes the greater importance. Thus, the system is, in the minds of many, another social service agency with no real concern for the victims of juvenile crime.

The problem is that the system hasn't worked. A number of researchers have recognized the inherent conflict in the responsibilities of the court.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, the juvenile courts are expected to protect and rehabilitate the nation's children. On the other hand, it is the traditional purpose of a court to preserve the social order. The issue is further confused because, although the juvenile may commit a serious crime, the court proceedings are not criminal but rather civil in nature.

While the current juvenile justice system may be equipped to effectively handle status offenders (some even doubt this) or single offense juveniles, the juvenile who is continually active in criminal activity has no place in the system because the theory behind the institution does not recognize that such a juvenile can exist. Thus, the question we should be examining is not the legitimacy of the term "juvenile repeat offender" in the current system. The real issue is that the philosophy behind the

juvenile justice system is in direct conflict with the reality of the juvenile repeat offender.

### The Incidence of Serious Habitual Juvenile Crime

Very few things in life are absolute. We spend much of our time engaged in informal situational ethics. It is not very often that our choices are laid out in simplistic black and white with no gray areas in between. And so it is with juvenile criminal activity. The rationale behind the juvenile justice system suggests that all juveniles can be effectively rehabilitated within the system. Yet the reality of the situation disputes this.

There are, in fact, a small number of individuals who habitually commit crimes and who may repeatedly come into contact with the justice system. Such an offender who is an adult has been recognized and targeted in programs such as the Career Criminal Program in a number of jurisdictions throughout the country. These programs, aimed at the preservation of social order seek to protect society, not the offender.

But such programs have traditionally been aimed only at adults. In fact, by the time such a criminal is an adult, the program may be too late. Numerous studies have shown that there is a small percentage of juveniles who are committing serious crimes over and over with total disregard for the system which is supposed to be effectively rehabilitating them. RAND's study of career criminals showed that these careers usually begin at about age 14. By the time an individual has reached his early twenties his criminal activity has peaked and begins to decline until approximately age 30. By this time, the majority of the careers have been terminated. The RAND study also indicated that juvenile serious offenders' self-report offense rates average 20 to 40 crimes per year. By

the time these criminals are 26 to 30 years of age, their yearly crime rate has decreased to seven crimes.<sup>3</sup>

Similar findings were reported by Hamparian and her colleagues in their study of the Franklin County (Ohio) delinquent cohort. They found that approximately 70% of the cohort had experienced their first arrest by age 14. They also noted that 31% had accumulated five or more crimes by age 18.<sup>4</sup> And, of course, in the Philadelphia cohort, 18% of the identified delinquents were classified as chronic offenders.<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, these juveniles were responsible for over half of the offenses committed by the cohort.

Indeed, even though repeat juvenile offenders represent a very small percentage of the juvenile population, they are responsible for far more than their share of the criminal activity. One must seriously question the ability of the current juvenile justice system in dealing with these offenders. Just because the system is not equipped to handle with these kids, I don't think it's wise to pretend they don't exist--to question their validity in the justice system. They are out there and they are committing crimes while we sit here contemplating the legitimacy of labeling them.

The juvenile justice system is designed to protect the youth, to redirect his activities away from criminal behavior, to provide treatment for the difficulties which presumably led him to conduct criminal activity. But what about the protection of society from the actions of these juveniles who are, in reality, experienced criminals? We also need to look at the "treatments" currently available to see whether they work. Finally we must realistically assess whether or not every offender can be successfully redirected from criminal behavior.

The usual pattern in the juvenile justice system is to treat first

offenses, even very serious first offenses, rather lightly. Aside from the fact that this does nothing to deter future criminal activity, it also indicates to the juvenile delinquent that the system is ineffective--that, in fact, he has nothing to fear if caught in criminal behavior. What then, does the juvenile stand to lose by committing crimes? Very little! Even his record is wiped clean upon attaining adulthood.<sup>6</sup>

What is even more difficult to swallow is that this philosophy of the juvenile justice system negatively affects not only the offender but also the victim and the community. Boland and Wilson note that juvenile criminals often commit their crimes in their own neighborhoods thus they are able to intimidate their victims. If their offenses are treated lightly in the system, not only does the victim not feel any sense of justice, he may also be subject to further abuse by the delinquent. And, of course, there is little to deter future criminal activity.

Naturally, traditionalists argue that the focus should be on treatment of the juvenile rather than concern with the offense. This approach is certainly appropriate for the overwhelming majority of juveniles who become involved in a small number of offenses. Yet, recent literature seems to suggest that very little works. As Barry Feld noted "on the one hand we're asking judges to tell us if a kid is going to get better when in fact, we can't really say if anyone will with any degree of certainty."<sup>7</sup>

Finally, the philosophy of the juvenile justice system is based on the premise that juveniles can be rehabilitated and redirected away from criminal behavior. While this is true for the vast majority of juveniles, is it true for all of them? As James Q. Wilson said:<sup>8</sup>

Some persons will shun crime even if we do nothing to deter them, while others will seek it out even if we do everything to reform them. Wicked people exist.

Nothing avails except to set them apart from innocent people. And many people, neither wicked nor innocent, but watchful, dissembling and calculating of their opportunities, ponder our reaction to wickedness as a cue to what they might profitably do. We have trifled with the wicked, made sport of the innocent, and encouraged the calculators. Justice suffers, and so do we all.

It seems to us that we should not be focusing on the legitimacy of the term "juvenile repeat offender" in the system. The real issue is to question the legitimacy of the current juvenile justice system given the threat posed by the serious repeat offender.

#### Identifying Juvenile Offender Types

The focus of this paper is on the repeat offender, yet it is somewhat difficult to discuss this type of juvenile in isolation from the other kinds of juvenile delinquents.

In May 1983, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) provided funding for the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) program. SHO/DI is an 18-month research, test and demonstration project being implemented in five cities: Portsmouth, Virginia; San Jose, California; Oxnard, California; Colorado Springs, Colorado; and Jacksonville, Florida. The program is designed to focus on the juvenile who is out there committing serious crimes and doing it repeatedly. Another aspect of the SHO/DI project is to identify juvenile drug-related crime in the cities.

One of the first steps in trying to identify these kids is to examine the entire range of juvenile criminal behavior. A number of researchers in the past have focused, on juvenile repeat offenders. Others identify juvenile serious (or violent) offenders. Recently, emphasis has shifted toward drug-involved juvenile offenders. A good deal of confusion still

surrounds these terms.

In the SHO/DI program we sought to remove some of this confusion by taking an overall look at the various types of juvenile offenders, then identifying those categories which would be targeted in the program.

Figure 1-1 shows the range of juveniles involved in criminal activity. Juvenile offenders are either serious offenders or they are not. Similarly, they are habitual or not and they are drug-involved or not involved in illegal drug activity. By combining and recombining these various factors, the matrix depicts eight basic types of juvenile delinquents. In the SHO/DI program, we are focusing our efforts on Category 1 (serious, habitual and drug-involved) and Category 2 (serious, habitual, but not drug-involved). In addition, juveniles who fall into Categories 3, 4 and 5 will be targeted for review and possible future inclusion. For example, a kid who is drug-involved and habitually committing crimes although they are not serious (Category 5), could at some future point move into Category 1 and thus be included in the program. On the other hand, the program is not concerned with juveniles who fit the descriptions of Categories 6, 7 and 8. Although they are involved in criminal activity, their crimes are not such that they would be targeted by the SHO/DI program.

The next question is, of course, what are the specific definitions for each of the categories? What exactly is a "serious juvenile offender"? How many crimes must one commit before he is habitual? Does the purchase of one joint constitute drug involvement?

The issue is somewhat clouded by the fact that this is a national project being conducted in five jurisdictions in four states. We have run into the same difficulties as other researchers - the problem of different juvenile laws among states, the differences in the procedures of criminal

FIGURE 1

JUVENILE OFFENDER MATRIX

<u>SERIOUS OFFENDER</u>				<u>NOT SERIOUS OFFENDER</u>			
HABITUAL		NOT HABITUAL		HABITUAL		NOT HABITUAL	
DRUG INVOLVED	NOT DRUG INVOLVED	DRUG INVOLVED	NOT DRUG INVOLVED	DRUG INVOLVED	NOT DRUG INVOLVED	DRUG INVOLVED	NOT DRUG INVOLVED
1. Serious, habitual, drug involved							
2. Serious, habitual, not drug involved							
3. Serious, not habitual, drug involved							
4. Serious, not habitual, not drug involved							
				5. Not serious, habitual, drug involved			
				6. Not serious, habitual, not drug involved			
				7. Not serious, not habitual, drug involved			
				8. Not serious, not habitual, not drug involved			

justice agencies, the general lack of uniformity in the juvenile justice system. All of this is coupled with varying levels of interagency cooperation as well as the differing kinds of criminal activity prevalent in each of the cities.

While some researchers might prefer a simple set of criteria or a standardized set of criteria applicable to any city, realistically we must develop standards which are not only in agreement with state laws but which also must be agreeable to the police department and the prosecutor's office.

In Portsmouth, Virginia, the lead site for the SHO/DI program, this was partially accomplished by modeling the criteria after standards developed under the city's Major Offender Program. This program, aimed at adult offenders, has proven to be successful and also has a good deal of support among local law enforcement agencies.

The SHO/DI criteria, like the Major Offender Program, are largely based on the Serious Crime Scale in which points are assigned for specific categories of criminal activity. There are a number of alternative ways to qualify for the program.

If an offender has committed a Class A felony and has amassed 15 points or more on the Serious Crime Scale, he will be selected for the program. Another way a juvenile may be included in the program is if he has committed a Class A or Class B felony in addition to one of the following:

- A. A conviction for a prior Class A felony.
- B. Two or more prior convictions for any felony.
- C. Committed present felony while on probation or aftercare for any prior felony conviction.
- D. Committed present felony while charges are pending for any Class



A or Class B felony.

E. Has no prior felony conviction or has one prior felony conviction for a felony other than a Class A felony and has accumulated sufficient misdemeanor points.

Finally, a juvenile can be targeted for the SHO/DI program when he has accumulated 15 or more points on the Misdemeanor Scale and the present offense is a felony.

The Misdemeanor Point Scale is adapted from a similar scale developed in Racine, Wisconsin.<sup>10</sup> The inclusion of the Misdemeanor Point Scale provides an opportunity to systematically deal with habitual juvenile offenders who repeatedly threaten the security of the community.

In Portsmouth, the SHO/DI criteria were developed by the police department in close concert with the Commonwealth's Attorney's office. When a juvenile offender qualifies for the program, every attempt will be made to eliminate or reduce pre-trial delays, case dismissals, plea bargaining and sentence reductions.

It is hoped that by concentrating law enforcement activities on these serious habitual juvenile offenders, several objectives will be accomplished.

First, juvenile criminal activities in each city will be reduced. Also, if the juvenile offenders begin to feel the effects of this program, it may deter other juveniles who, in the past have had little to fear from the juvenile justice system.

Another aspect of the program is to reduce drug-related crime among juveniles. One of the difficulties in any juvenile crime program is the lack of available data. This is especially true for drug-related information. Although some pieces of data have been collected over time, currently there is no coordination of the information. One of the out-

comes of the SHO/DI program is that we will be providing a means for gathering data and coordinating a juvenile information system.

### The Reality of the Serious Juvenile Offender

I'm sure that some people would argue that programs such as SHO/DI are, in reality, an attack on the juvenile justice system. Certainly, our program is a law enforcement approach to juvenile justice. But when you're dealing with those juveniles whose criminal activity is serious and habitual, the rehabilitative approach has been given a fair chance and has not worked.

I think we need to recognize this fact and develop more strategies to deal effectively with these kinds of kids. A number of states and localities have already moved in this direction. For example, New York has toughened its laws to include juveniles as young as 13 and 14 in criminal court for various offenses. The Illinois legislature passed the Habitual Offender Act which commits habitual serious juvenile offenders to the Illinois Department of Corrections until they are at least 21 years of age. Minnesota's new codes are also aimed at the multiple offender. In New Jersey, until recently, a juvenile had to be 16 in order to be transferred to criminal court. That age has now been lowered to 14.

If the juvenile justice system were working effectively, such laws would not be necessary. If the term "juvenile repeat offender" were not legitimate, then state legislatures would not be passing laws to deal with such kids. As Barry Feld has noted, "the traditional distinction between 'treatment' as a juvenile and 'punishment' as an adult is based on an arbitrarily drawn line that has no criminological significance other than its legal consequences." The total separation of juvenile and adult lives (and records) is not only artificial, it has proven to be harmful.

I am not arguing against the two-track system. In most cases and for most juveniles it is appropriate. But we are not talking about "most" juveniles. Perhaps what would be most effective, as Boland and Wilson have suggested, is a two-track system based, not on age, but rather on the nature of the criminal activity. <sup>13</sup> This would serve to protect the rights of juveniles while at the same time, protecting society.

Some would argue that programs such as SHO/DI are "labeling" these juveniles. It's simply not true. These kids have "labeled" themselves. Their extensive criminal records indicate this. What is probably true is that, until now, we have bent over backwards trying our best not to identify them. How much longer are we going to bury our heads and pretend the problem doesn't exist?

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Informational Commentary\*  
Number 9

SCHOOL-POLICE COOPERATION AS A STRATEGY FOR COMBATING  
SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.

SCHOOL-POLICE COOPERATION AS A STRATEGY FOR COMBATING  
SERIOUS JUVENILE CRIME

When the Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI) was first funded in May, 1983, its purpose was to examine more closely the problem of the juvenile offender who repeatedly threatens the security of the community. Designed as a research, test, and demonstration program, SHO/DI assumes that the application of a more systematic approach to data gathering, analysis, planning and integration of police activities will increase the effectiveness of the police, prosecutor and juvenile authorities to deal with and reduce juvenile criminal activity and drug use.

Obviously, any program aimed at juveniles, must consider the range of juvenile alternatives. A proliferation of police-related programs has been developed, far too often without first obtaining insight into the range of feasible alternative solutions available to apply to a particular problem. In addition, many programs have been developed that were competitive instead of compatible, poorly thought out instead of well-conceived, and peripheral to the police function. Thus, developmental efforts in the police area have dwelt on solutions, while backing into the analysis and decisions processes that should logically occur before solutions are developed.

In order to avoid these difficulties, the SHO/DI program is aimed at developing strategies for dealing with serious, habitual juvenile offenders within the entire framework of the juvenile justice system. Hence, any policies that are developed under SHO/DI must be compatible

with the whole continuum of solutions to juvenile problems. Obviously, for any such program to be effective, it must have the cooperation of appropriate juvenile-related agencies and community groups. Therefore, one of the overall goals of the SHO/DI program is to establish support among appropriate agencies and the public for the project. In Jacksonville, Florida, this is seen as one of the most important objectives of SHO/DI.

Traditionally, the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office has relied heavily on community involvement and understanding of department policies and programs. This strategy has produced strong public support for the department as well as providing citizens with real knowledge of police service delivery.

The central unit in Jacksonville's SHO/DI program is the Crime Analysis Unit (CAU) of the Sheriff's Office. The CAU has established the necessary juvenile files and developed standards to identify SHO/DI juveniles who enter the criminal justice system. However, representatives from patrol, detectives and planning are also heavily involved in the program.

Jacksonville's program implementation strategy involves a carefully developed approach to gain department-wide understanding of the program's goals and objectives. Although top management sets general policy directions, others in the organization are encouraged to develop effective procedures for program implementation. This process builds strong commitment to the program within the entire department.

In working with other agencies, the Sheriff's Office again involves a carefully planned approach to seek support and cooperation. Currently, the Duval County Public School District is taking part in a national pilot program, the School Crime Reduction Project. Because the

overall objective of the project is to enhance the capabilities of school districts to reduce crime and fear of crime in the schools, the program compliments SHO/DI efforts.

In his speech to the National Conference on Juvenile Justice in February 1983, Alfred Regnery, Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, noted the incidence of juvenile violence taking place in the schools. "The numbers for crime in the schools are ... staggering. An estimated 282,000 students are attacked at school in a typical one-month period, and an estimated 5,200 teachers are physically attacked at school each month." According to these figures, juveniles themselves are quite often the victims of juvenile criminal activity.

The School Crime Reduction Project is aimed at reducing such violence by developing a system that tracks the nature and extent of school crime. The system is based on the use of an incident profiling procedure which identifies characteristics and zones of school crime. Once the criminal activity has been tracked and analyzed, the schools will develop a security action plan to reduce school crime. In conjunction with this analysis, the schools will examine strategies for modifying policies and procedures of the schools as well as other juvenile-related agencies. In addition to developing techniques for school crime reduction, the project stresses the implementation of crime prevention techniques within the school system. Thus, increased cooperation between the schools and criminal justice agencies will definitely enhance the success of the School Crime Reduction Project.

In the end, both the SHO/DI program and the School Crime Reduction Project have similar goals. Both seek to reduce juvenile offenses and both are working to increase cooperation between agencies.



Through a series of meetings, the Sheriff's Office and the School District have established a cooperative agreement to work together on these programs and to exchange certain pertinent information. Although this agreement is still in its early stages, several activities have already been implemented. Together the School Administration and the Crime Analysis Unit of the Sheriff's Office have identified ten schools where crime analysis techniques will be instigated according to School Crime Reduction Project guidelines. The schools, on the other hand, will be able to furnish to the Sheriff's Office additional information on juveniles identified as serious habitual offenders.

In the future, additional cooperative strategies will be implemented. For example, as policies and procedures of the two agencies are more closely coordinated, the police will be more aware of the needs of the school administration when responding to a call from a particular school. Similarly, agreements can be reached on what types of offenses committed on school property will be referred to the police with recommendations for counseling and release and those in which the school district would choose to prosecute. These are but a few of the options available which would greatly aid the schools in their push to reduce school-related crime.

The schools can also provide valuable information to the Sheriff's Office in a number of ways. For example, preliminary studies have indicated that juveniles who are learning disabled appear to have a higher arrest rate than the general juvenile population. Obviously, police departments try to handle each juvenile case in the most appropriate manner. If such a juvenile comes into contact with the police, the schools can provide this additional educational information which would aid the Sheriff's Office and the prosecutor in handling the case more

effectively.

Presently, many of the offenses occurring in our nation's schools are never reported to criminal justice agencies. By making such information available to the police, a more complete file can be developed on SHO/DIs and other juvenile offenders who enter the juvenile justice system.

This combined information will aid police departments in recognizing which juveniles pose a threat to the community as a whole. The public gains in other ways. By working to reduce school related crime, these agencies may save the taxpayers the cost such crimes create. Also with the fear of crime reduced in the schools, students will enjoy a more secure learning environment.

This, of course, is not the first time that schools and police departments have worked together. A number of police departments and school districts across the country have established very successful truant programs. However, these programs are usually limited to one activity. One of the most positive aspects of the Jacksonville agreement is that it promotes the concept of continued cooperation between the Sheriff's Office and the schools. Because both agencies are directly involved with juveniles, they are looking to additional ways in which they can benefit each other as well as the community of Jacksonville.

This cooperative agreement was established in large part due to the two federal programs (SHO/DI and the School Crime Reduction Project) currently being implemented in Jacksonville. However, the basic procedures could easily be adopted at very little expense in other cities by other police departments and school systems.

108324

Informational Commentary\*  
Number 10

THE LINK BETWEEN THE INTEGRATED CRIMINAL  
APPREHENSION PROGRAM AND SHO/DI

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## Introduction

Police department budgets have not been spared from the need to cut funding for local government services. Layoffs of police officers are no longer unthinkable and have occurred in both small and large cities. The pressure caused by inflation forced reductions in the police budget. Police chiefs, city managers and mayors have realized that the usual ways of providing police services must be changed.

The federal government has responded to this situation by refocusing its initiatives toward organizational development and away from only upgrading administrative systems or improving the operations of specialized units. This refocusing of developmental efforts has partially been spurred by a growing awareness of the limited capacity of administrative systems and specialized operations to achieve significant crime control gains. It has also been stimulated by increased recognition that patrol elements: (1) constitute the first and often the most critical police response to crime and emergency service incidents; (2) account for the overwhelming majority of arrests for serious crimes; and (3) provide, as the largest single department element, a collective capacity for surveillance, problem identification, and information collection far greater than other units; and (4) provide the most important initial linkage of the victim to the whole criminal justice system.

The emphasis of law enforcement began to shift from acquiring more manpower and equipment systems to that of making better use of existing resources. It was soon realized that better management of the patrol operation and investigative process provides the most productive area for increasing the scope of suppression activities against erupting community crime problems with the existing resources.

Departments also began to recognize that a complete rethinking of the patrol and investigative function is necessary. The establishment and operation of tactically oriented crime analysis units have become largely responsible for increasing the efficiency and flexibility of field forces that have been limited by personnel and fiscal shortfalls.

Law Enforcement initiatives coming from the federal level began to make a reasonable effort to meld or work that initiative into the normal working habit and mission of the Department. The benefits of this are obvious: when the technical assistance and program effort is complete and federal assistance ceases - the city is not left with a special operation activity that may not be looked upon in future years with the same priority. Usefulness and utility are the hallmarks of the assistance.

This shift in federal emphasis is embodied in a program called the Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program (ICAP). ICAP took great pains at being an organizational development process. The ICAP program was a police process for doing better what had and should be done by Law Enforcement Agencies. Preliminary investigations, follow-up investigations, calls for service management, patrol and investigative management, allocation and deployment practices were all part of the process. The center piece of this process was a tactical crime analysis unit (CAU) which was in fact - an Operations Resource Unit (ORU).

This informational commentary begins by discussing traditional police service delivery. Then the Integrated Criminal Apprehension program, with an emphasis on uniformed patrol and crime analysis, is discussed as an organizational base for the Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI). Finally, SHO/DI is viewed as an organizational effort which functions as a component of ICAP.

## Traditional Police Service Delivery

Police departments have generally enjoyed a favored position in local government budgets. Police chiefs would note that crime is rising or that the population has grown and that therefore additional police manpower was needed. Since these requests were seldom denied, little incentive for increasing efficiency and productivity existed.

Supervisory personnel were usually preoccupied with manning all beats, with making sure all equipment was accounted for, and with staving off or quieting citizen complaints about police services. Little or no systematic attention was given to analyzing the tremendous amount of data collected or to defining or pursuing specific objectives in the various neighborhoods patrolled. Watches were routinely "turned out". Officers, provided with little or no information or direction by their organization, hit the street to conduct patrol in their own very highly individualized manner. These officers had little or no knowledge concerning the primary problem areas in their beat. In addition, the actions taken by officers on different watches were often either inconsistent or contradictory to one another. The uniformed patrol division, usually the largest organizational element in a police department and the group most directly responsible for the delivery of services, was delivering low productivity at extremely high costs.

The "random" patrol discussed above had implications for both manpower and fuel costs. Surely no business could survive if it conducted its operations in a random manner. Yet, this is exactly the traditional police patrol style. The fuel costs involved in random patrol are tremendous when one considers, based on LEAA estimates, that 64,000 marked police units are in use each day, driving over eight million miles and consuming 1,152,000 gallons of gasoline. If 40 percent of this driving is random then approximately 460,000 gallons of gasoline per day

could be directed away from random activity toward crime investigations and prevention.

An additional problem of the patrol force was its historically low status in comparison to other police units. Patrol was routinely staffed with the youngest, least experienced people. Since "real" police work was usually performed by specialized units, the driving ambition of patrol officers was to get "promoted" out of patrol. This low status stands in stark contrast to the actual role of patrol and its overall contribution to departmental productivity. Patrol provides the first critical police response to almost all major crime and service incidents. Its personnel usually account for over 85% of all departmental arrests. The on-scene actions of patrol personnel are likely to shape the public's opinion of police services and the quality of the preliminary investigation performed by the first officer on the scene largely determines the success or failure of subsequent follow-up investigation by detectives.

While police managers were stressing the need to make more arrests, research showed that police officers were spending most of their time (perhaps as much as 85 percent) performing crisis intervention and order maintenance functions, leaving little time available for specific crime related activities. A clear conflict arises when one considers that police organizations place crime related activities at the top of their goals hierarchy while most of their time is, by demand, consumed in other non-crime related activities. The net result of this conflict has been confusion about how to best deliver police services and at least some abrogation of the crime related responsibilities of police departments.

The role of detectives was also poorly developed despite the special status enjoyed by members of the detective division. Detectives were told to investigate all crimes, whether or not any leads existed. Detectives were called to investigate incidents which could have been easily handled by the uniformed

officer at the scene of the crime.

The constantly increasing pressures and demand for more police services, on both detectives and uniformed patrol officers, along with police unionization, constricting court decisions and increased political visibility have caused police agencies to assume an almost totally reactive style of operations. This reactive style of policing was reinforced by an adequate supply of manpower and money, the funding priorities of the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency (LEAA), the lack of useful applied research on police organizations, and by the inherent reluctance of police organizations to change.

In summary, traditional police delivery is characterized by the following processes and assumptions.

1. Patrol cars must be seen throughout the city. Random patrol is a successful strategy for coping with crime problems.
2. Crime suppression is of a much higher priority than crime prevention.
3. Every citizen's request must receive an immediate response.
4. A uniformed patrol officer must be sent to the scene to take a report on every incident.
5. Every incident, including vandalism, theft of auto accessories, attempted burglaries and the like, must be investigated.
6. The functions of uniformed patrol and investigators/detectives are distinct and should be kept separated.
7. Crimes will be solved and the crime rate will be reduced if additional police officers are put on the street.
8. Patrol officers should be deployed in equal numbers at all times of the day.
9. The police and the prosecutor will inevitably be at odds with each other and can seldom cooperate.
10. Citizen involvement in the delivery of police services is impossible to achieve.



## Innovations in Police Service Delivery

This discussion of innovations in police service delivery is based on four assumptions. First, innovations in police services have been difficult to bring about due to characteristics inherent in the police function and the manner in which police departments organize to carry out their daily activities. Second, change was brought about through the need to manage more effectively due to the "crisis" created by cutback management. Third, the changes adopted by some police departments as a result of the need to do more with less have resulted in improvements in police service delivery. Fourth, federal programs such as the Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program (ICAP), led to positive and long lasting changes in police departments.

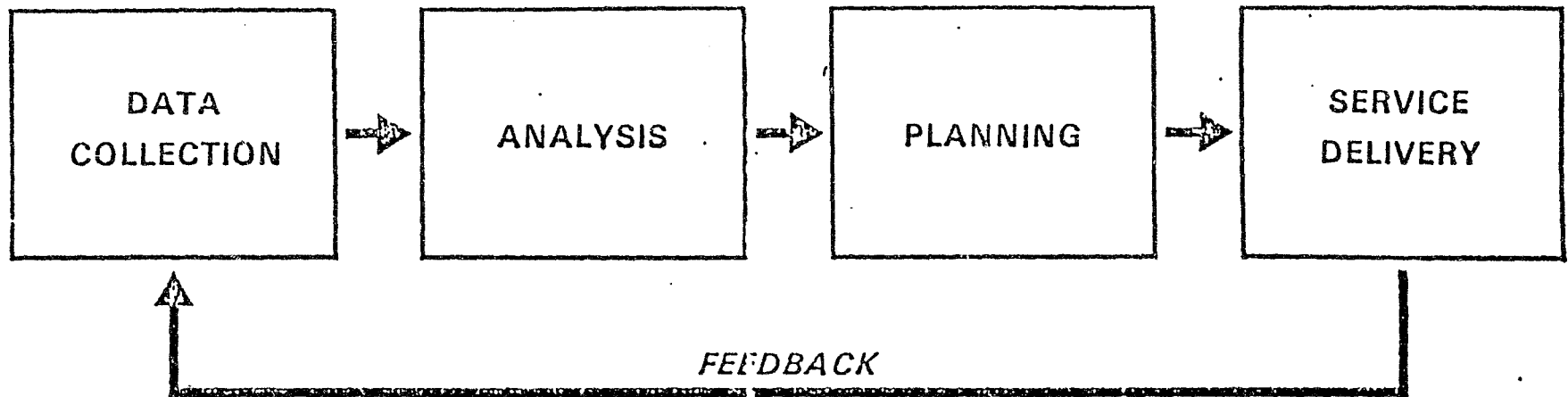
### The Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program (ICAP)

In 1975, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) began to support a law enforcement program known as the Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program (ICAP). The ICAP program was designed to focus on (1) the development of a system of operations management; (2) improved resource allocation; (3) expansion of uniformed patrol capabilities and responsibilities; and (4) the integration of police order maintenance functions with crime prevention, crime repression and apprehension.

ICAP represented a process of police service delivery based on data collection, analysis, planning and service delivery (Figure 1). ICAP represented an improvement over both the historical experience model and the evaluation and feedback model (Figures 2 and 3). Many cities and states adopted various parts of the ICAP process. More communities, both large and small, could benefit by adopting the ICAP model of service delivery.

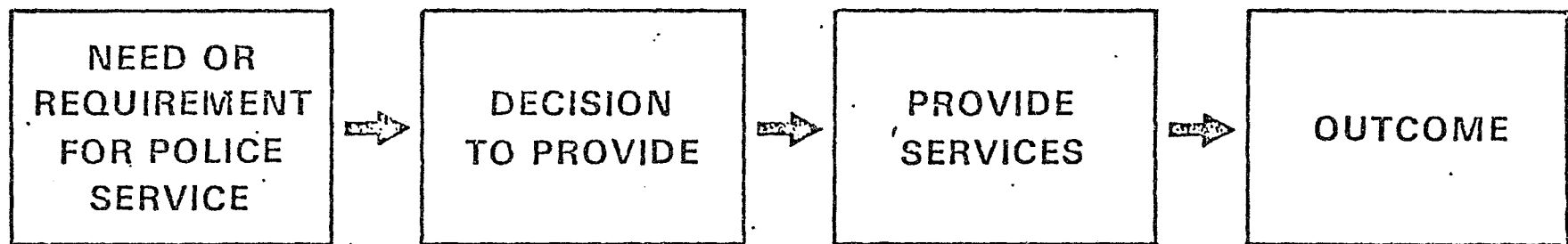
# ICAP MODEL AND LOGIC FLOW

FIGURE 1



# SERVICE DELIVERY BASED ON HISTORICAL/EXPERIENCE MODEL

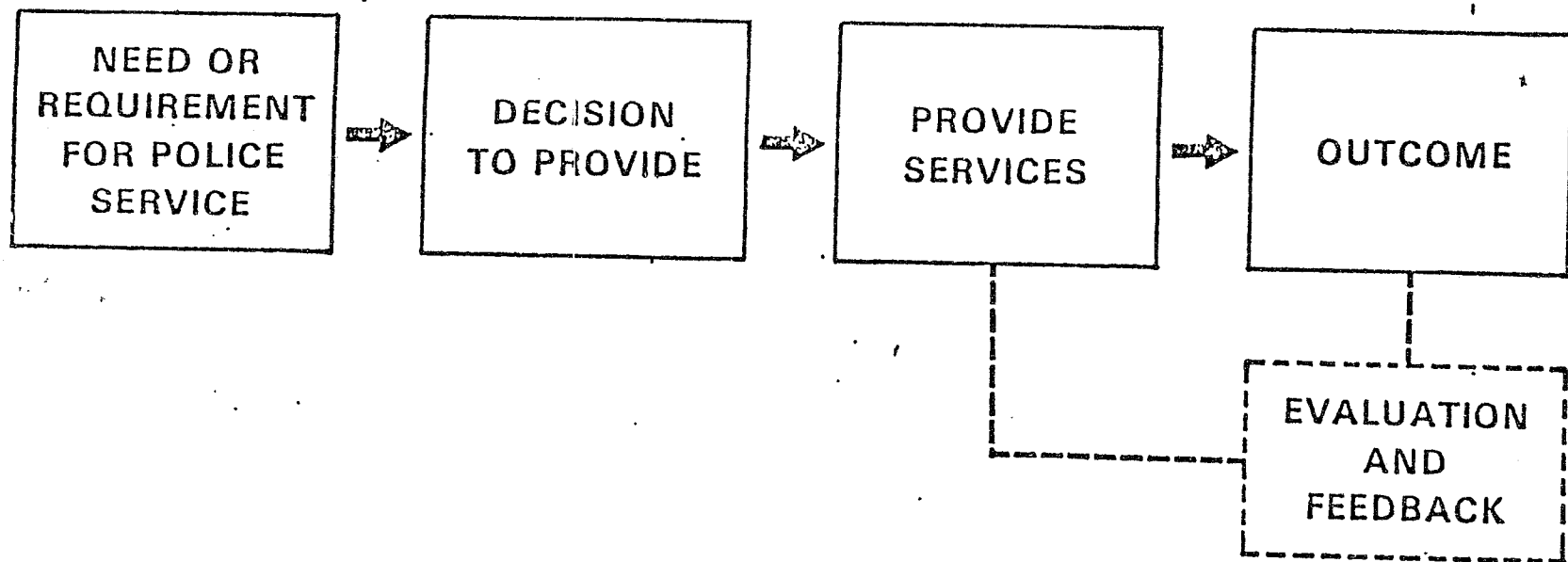
FIGURE 2



- ① INFORMAL PLANNING AND EVALUATION
- ① DECISIONS BASED ON PAST EXPERIENCE AND TIME HONORED TRADITIONS
- ① INCONSISTENCIES CAUSED BY STAFF TURNOVER

# SERVICE DELIVERY BASED ON EVALUATION-FEEDBACK MODEL

FIGURE 3



- INFORMAL PLANNING BY NONOPERATIONAL ELEMENTS OF THE DEPARTMENT
- INFORMAL DECISIONMAKING BASED ON UNSTRUCTURED METHODS
- AN EX POST FACTO OR PASSIVE EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVE
- INCONSISTENCIES CAUSED BY STAFF TURNOVER

## Developmental Activities in Police Agencies

Developmental efforts in police agencies have primarily focused on upgrading administrative systems or improving the functioning of specialized operating units. Surprisingly little attention has been directed toward patrol operations. Indeed, it has only been the past few years that serious study of patrol and efforts to improve its conduct have been attempted.

This refocusing of developmental efforts has partially been spurred by a growing awareness of the limited capacity of administrative systems and specialized operations to achieve significant crime control gains. It has also been stimulated by increased recognition that patrol elements (1) constitute the first and often the most critical police response to crime and emergency service incidents; (2) account for the overwhelming majority of arrests for serious crimes; (3) provide, as the largest single department element, a collective capacity for surveillance, problem identification, and information collection far greater than other units. While patrol's central role in the police crime control response has been recognized, important challenges have been leveled at the traditional methods for conducting patrol. Research in the Kansas City and San Diego Police Departments, for example, has questioned the validity of long standing assumptions regarding random preventive patrol, response time and field interrogation. These studies have not depreciated the importance of police patrol. Rather they have demonstrated that significant time and manpower resources exist within present police systems to develop and implement focused patrol strategies which are more personally satisfying to officers and which are potentially more powerful mechanisms for addressing crime and other police problems. Recent research by the LEAA Rand Study on criminal investigation further supports greater developmental emphasis toward patrol. Rand's findings indicated that the primary determinant of successful criminal investigations was the extent and quality of

information uncovered by the patrol officer during the preliminary investigation. When competent information was developed by patrol, detective action to solve a case involved essentially routine processing. When such information was absent, the case was not likely to be solved.

Little developmental attention was paid to the routine operations of the patrol force. Personnel strength of the basic patrol force, in some police departments, has been depleted to a relatively low level (40 percent) as a result of assignment of individuals to various specialized units or plain-clothes details. That critical manpower situation has been aggravated by a number of other factors. The calls-for-service workload has been increasing. A high turnover rate (14 percent) in past years left some patrol units staffed with relatively young and inexperienced officers. Manpower is not efficiently deployed as the result of a historic reliance upon a platoon system which deploys personnel equally across all three shifts, although it is abundantly clear that neither calls-for-service nor crime are so equally distributed. The patrol force in most departments, during peak hours of crime, are near totally reactive to citizen's calls-for-service. At the same time, excessive manpower may be on the street during the relatively slack periods of the early morning hours.

Some departments recognize that a complete rethinking of the patrol function is necessary. This reexamination and the ensuing developmental efforts are faced with the task of rebuilding and enlarging, within the range of presently available resources, a young and near totally reactive patrol force into an efficient, effective and proactive crime control and community service mechanism. This effort requires a complete reexamination of the present allocations to patrol and the manner in which patrol resources are utilized.

Statement of Objectives for the Integrated Criminal  
Apprehension Program

General Objectives

To improve police patrol resource allocation and deployment tactics and strategies based on systematic data collection and analysis; to decrease crime target vulnerability; to improve patrol force investigation, apprehension and prosecution of career criminals.

Specific Objectives

1. The extension of primary responsibility for preliminary investigations to patrol officers.
2. Revision of the offense reporting system to:
  - a. Improve the quality of the data captured in preliminary investigations.
  - b. To incorporate a solvability factor schedule to the offense report.
  - c. To provide more effective report flows and control of offense reports to the Crime Analysis Unit.
3. As an adjunct to the offense reporting system, establishment of a case review operation which:
  - a. Enforces quality controls on preliminary investigations.
  - b. Accomplishes intake screening to determine if follow-up investigation is appropriate.
  - c. Provides central control on all follow-up investigations.
  - d. Provides quality control checks on all cases forwarded to the prosecuting attorney for prosecution.

In order to accomplish the specific objectives stated above, ICAP stressed the development of in-house task forces to review departmental activities and to recommend revised courses of action. In addition, ICAP was designed to provide training to patrol officers, field training officers and supervisors at all

levels of the police department.

#### Habitual Offender/Career Criminal

An important component of ICAP focused on the habitual offender/career criminal. Through ICAP police agencies were charged to:

- Mount a more concerted attack on serious crimes (homicide, rape, robbery and burglary), and crimes committed by repeat offenders and career criminals; and
- Heighten citizen satisfaction with the department and the service it renders.

The career criminal emphasis was to come about by:

- Improving the case file control system to strengthen prosecution filings so that better charging rates are achieved for serious crimes and for incidents involving designated career criminals.
- Establishing and maintaining, through the Crime Analysis Unit and intelligence coordinator, a mug shot/MO file of career criminals and repeat offenders to facilitate the identification of potential suspects in investigations.
- Training patrol officers to identify and recognize a photograph of 60 percent of the career criminals and know the names of 80 percent of the career criminals.

It was anticipated that the implementation of the above stated objectives would lead to:

- Increased preliminary investigations by patrol force.
- Increased suspect identification from preliminary investigations.
- Increased investigation by patrol force.
- Increased arrests by patrol force.
- Increased number of patrol force arrests accepted for prosecution.



- Increased career criminal arrests by patrol force and prosecution of career criminals.
- Decreased follow-up investigative load for investigative division.
- Increased attempted burglaries/larcenies resulting from target hardening techniques (decreased burglaries/larcenies).
- Increased security surveys conducted by patrol force.
- Increased directed crime prevention target hardening tasks conducted by patrol force.
- Increased tenure and seniority within patrol force.
- Increased patrol force strength in relation to agency strength.
- The patrol upgrading is envisioned as a multi-year development effort.

#### Patrol Operations

The ICAP philosophy had substantial impact on patrol operations. Patrol officers were to increasingly assume directed patrol activities, thereby replacing random patrol time with pre-programmed activities focused toward specific crime, traffic, or neighborhood problems. In addition, as a regular part of the patrol function, patrol officers were trained to conduct security surveys and crime prevention activities to decrease the rates of victimization for targeted individuals and groups. Patrol's role in crime prevention was further enhanced by requiring patrol officers to participate in community meetings to enlist greater citizen cooperation and participation in crime prevention, crime reporting, crime solving and prosecution. Finally, field training officers were expected to field test beat profiling techniques as a means for increasing officer understanding of area problems and for designing directed patrol strategies.

The ICAP philosophy was based on the idea that these new roles for patrol officers would lead to:

- More effective allocation and management of patrol time to permit the accomplishment of better field investigations and goal-directed patrol strategies.
- Improved preliminary investigations and case processing by patrol officers.
- Broadening the scope of responsibilities assumed by patrol officers.
- Improved apprehension and charging rates for the perpetrators of violent crimes (particularly homicide, rape, and robbery and burglary).
- More effective monitoring, apprehension, and charging of career criminals and repeat offenders.
- Increased status for patrol.
- Increased job satisfaction for patrol personnel.
- Expanded crime prevention efforts with greater citizen participation in such programs.
- Increased citizen satisfaction with the general performance of the police department and with the quality of service delivered by its personnel.

The Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program (ICAP) seeks to modernize patrol operations and to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness in controlling serious crime within the present complement of sworn officers. ICAP permits the introduction of several new systems which should substantially enhance the quality focus and productivity of departmental operations. The program's personnel development component should significantly advance the skills of patrol personnel to perform more effectively in the field and to participate more fully in patrol planning.

The increased awareness of different approaches to patrol styles should not only provide input to near-term or tactical planning but, over time, it should also serve to stimulate innovation from within the patrol ranks. The net result of ICAP should be a patrol force more able to identify specific crime or service problems in the community and to effectively develop creative responses to those

changing conditions.

ICAP promises not only a substantial increase in team work between department members but also a substantial enrichment in the job of the patrol officer. Successful implementation should serve to significantly upgrade the status of the patrol assignment and should prove both more challenging and more satisfying to the individual officer.

#### ICAP - General Conclusions

The ICAP model of service delivery described in the preceding pages represented a new way to manage for police departments. The "old" ways of doing things would have to change in order to implement ICAP.

Much of what has been written about planned change and organizational development focuses upon the need to involve all levels of management in the decision-making process. Participation in the change process tends to generate ownership of change. Ownership results in the actual implementation and institutionalization of change within the agency.

Many of the changes can be carried out throughout the country. Uniformed patrol officers can play a more significant role. Information usable for street supervisors can direct police activities to community problem areas. Detectives can focus on those cases most likely to be solved. More can be done with less if police agencies will consider the possibility that innovations can lead to positive results for both the members of the police agencies and the community served.

While it is true that the changes discussed in this paper could be transferred to police agencies throughout the country, the fact is that most agencies are still "doing things the way they used to." This commentary will explain in detail why and how a city can change its police department.

## CRIME ANALYSIS

### Introduction

The patrol operation must be linked to a crime analysis unit (CAU). The CAU function is defined as a set of systematic, analytical processes directed at providing timely and pertinent information relative to crime patterns and trend correlations to assist operational and administrative personnel in planning the deployment of resources for prevention and suppression of criminal activities, aiding the investigative process, and increasing apprehensions and clearance of cases especially against career criminals. Within this context, crime analysis supports a number of department functions, including patrol development, special operations and tactical units, prosecutor/investigator teams, general investigations, planning and research, crime prevention, and administrative services (budgeting and program planning).

Thus, the basic applications of crime analysis are to:

- Identify evolving or existent crime patterns.
- Identify career criminal crime patterns.
- Increase the number of cases cleared by arrest.
- Provide investigative leads for investigators.
- Increase prosecutorial case strength.
- Establish operational data for patrol planning and deployment of special operations unit.
- Furnish support data to crime prevention programs.
- Furnish trend data for overall department planning, targeting, and budgeting.

Although crime analysis can serve the police department in many ways, crime analysis is not a records function. It is primarily oriented towards assisting

the department in meeting the basic objectives of crime prevention and suppression, apprehension, case clearance data, and recovery of stolen property. The efforts of the crime analyst are systematically applied to those offenses that are amenable to analysis and have a high probability of recurrence.

The Offense Report is the primary source of crime element information for the analyst. The Offense Report is the initial report and in some cases, may be the only source of information concerning a crime, because of local practices in field reporting of certain offenses. How that report is prepared becomes most important to each following aspect of an investigation.

- Command emphasis upon accurate records will force line personnel to upgrade the quality of field reports to the point where basic questions of who, what, where, when, why, and how have to be completely answered.
- Since the crime report may eventually be used by the reporting officer to present evidence in court, the review process has concentrated upon making certain that the statutory elements of the crime have been adequately addressed.
- Investigators faced with steadily increasing caseloads have been forced to rely more on the patrol officer's preliminary investigation to provide investigative leads and develop physical evidence for the follow-up investigation. The result has been an increasing dependence by the investigator on the patrol officer's preliminary investigation report.

The crime analysis unit does not have to be automated, therefore, small as well as large police agencies can benefit from the unit being structured to serve the department. A major ingredient required is a department policy that all offense reports, field information reports, special reports, i.e., suspect/missing person description sheets, robbery data collection sheet, and miscellaneous information reports, be immediately forwarded to the crime analysis unit. In addition, the CAU should use the daily journal, officers activity logs, offi-

cers notebooks and crime statistics to assist in placing forward in a timely fashion the most complete descriptors of criminal activity to the field operation. Outside sources are also gleaned by crime analysis units, e.g., court probation reports, prison probation and patrol reports, sheriff's department jail intake and release records, state police criminal event reports. The collection and collation of this information requires persistence and effort, not always a computer. A crime analyst must read every report and extract and code those unique descriptors that mean something to a pattern of the crime and the criminal who perpetrated the attack.

The crime analyst focuses his or her efforts on those offenses that occur in large volumes with discernible patterns and trends, and on those offenses that the police function has demonstrated an ability to prevent or suppress through tactical unit operations.

There are two types of crime patterns that the analyst identifies and brings to the attention of the line supervisors:

- Geographic patterns.
- Similar-offense patterns.

Geographic patterns simply are concentrations of offenses in a specific geographic area. This area can be within a single patrol beat, sector or reporting area, or it can be spread over a number of contiguous areas. The crimes that comprise the pattern may share no identifiable relationship other than geographic proximity. Upon recognition of a geographic pattern (generally through inspection of a spot map), the analyst begins to search for other relationships that may indicate patterns associated with a series of offenses.

Similar-offense patterns are comprised of offenses that appear to have been committed by the same suspect or group of suspects. The analyst discerns the similar-offense pattern by comparing a number of unique descriptors. These descriptors, or variables, include:

- Crime type.
- Object of attack.
- Suspect description.
- Suspect modus operandi.
- Suspect vehicle description.
- Physical evidence.
- Weapon description.

The existence of these crime patterns or problems is communicated to line supervisors and field personnel, both formally and informally. Informal dissemination results from the personal contact of the crime analyst with the users -- the line supervisors. Formal dissemination techniques involve the communication of information through written memoranda or reports. The crime pattern or trend information is generally transmitted in a crime-specific bulletin that identifies the pattern or trend and discusses the relationships or potential relationships among the crimes that comprise the pattern.

Crime analysis information can be used by either patrol or investigative personnel to guide deployment and assist in continued investigations. Thus, crime analysis information can support decision-making in a number of key areas.

- Patrol deployment.
- Patrol investigations.
- Investigator case screening.
- Special operations deployment.
- Strategic crime targeting.

## Diagnostic Assessment Guide

A department interested in the Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program can use the checklist of diagnostic or self-assessment questions provided below. At a minimum, these questions should be geared to an assessment of key department functions and should be framed so as to highlight the major components of the ICAP logic flow -- data collection, analysis, planning, and service delivery. The sample questions that follow are offered as guidance for the assessment process.

### General

1. Has the department managed either Federal or State grants that were aimed at improving departmental operations (i.e., patrol and/or detective activities)?
2. Were these programs or portions of these programs institutionalized?
3. If certain aspects of previous programs to improve department operations were institutionalized, what were the reasons for institutionalization of the operational capacity in the organization?
4. Does the department operate on the basis of clearly established organizational goals and objectives? Are they monitored to determine performance?
5. What are the most pressing problems facing the department, both from a short-term and a long-term perspective?
6. Does the most recent union contract restrict any management decisions concerning allocation and deployment of resources?
7. Has the department promulgated a policies and procedures manual for use in guiding field operations (i.e., crime scene search, collection of evidence)?
8. In terms of field operations, what types of decisions are made on a daily/



weekly/monthly/annual basis?

9. What are the key managerial positions in the department?
10. Is there a hierarchy of decisionmaker roles in the department?
11. Is the department's classification and pay scheme adequate? Is it sufficient to attract and retain qualified personnel, particularly within patrol?
12. Does the department have management groups or task forces? To what extent do patrol officers participate?

#### Data Collection and Processing

1. Has the department issued a field reporting manual containing all department field report forms, together with instructions for preparation?
2. Are field reports screened for accuracy, completeness, and timeliness?
3. Does the design of the department's current reporting form: (a) facilitate collection of critical information at the preliminary investigation; (b) include a solvability schedule; and (c) provide sufficient information for departmental analysis purposes?
4. Are there delays in receipt of field reports caused by field information processing systems (i.e., word processing, call-in reports)?
5. Is there a system established for the auditing and tracking of all reports or information related to an incident? Does this system facilitate later retrieval and use of the information?
6. How are criminal arrest warrants processed by the department (specifically)?
7. Does the current data processing system meet departmental needs in terms of time sharing, programmer and analyst availability, ability to perform studies, turnaround time, cost, ability to store data, etc.?
8. What Automated Data Processing capacities does the department anticipate developing?

### Analysis .

1. What analysis is currently performed in the department (e.g., crime, incident, intelligence, operations)? For what purposes?
2. Have these analysis functions been formalized?
3. Are the analysis functions, organizationally and physically, located within an operational division?
4. What is the extent to which analysis information directs deployment and allocation decisions? (Examine the frequency with which information is generated and the extent to which the information guides the decisions of the user groups.)
5. Does the analysis of crime information assist patrol officers in directing their preventive patrol activities?

### Service Delivery--Communications/Calls-for-Service Management

1. What techniques does the department utilize to manage CFS (blocking, stacking, prioritizing)?
2. What alternatives exist for response to CFS (community service officer, teleserv)?
3. Is the communications process, including the communications center, capable of the flexibility required to support varying service delivery demands and priorities (i.e., does it facilitate workload management)?
4. Do field commanders, managers, and supervisors use the communications system to assist them in balancing workload and carrying out special assignments or tactics?

### Service Delivery--Patrol Operations

1. What type of patrol shift is employed?
2. Is there equal manning per shift?
3. How is the role of the patrol supervisor defined (i.e., define the

responsibilities and the limits of his discretion)?

4. To what extent does the patrol supervisor use crime analysis data in the deployment of resources?
5. What is the role of the patrol officer in preliminary investigation (i.e., crime scene search and interview of witnesses and suspects)?
6. What is the extent of the patrol officers' participation in follow-up investigations (i.e., makes recommendations concerning follow-ups, assists in follow-ups, assumes primary responsibility for routine follow-ups, etc.)?
7. What is the patrol officer's role in crime prevention and community relations activities and programs?

#### Service Delivery--Investigations

1. Does the department have an effective system for the management of criminal investigations (i.e., criteria for case screening, solvability factors, case assignment and monitoring, etc.)?
2. Does the department have a system for complainant or victim notification when case investigation is discontinued?
3. Has the department established methods to ensure continued investigative support to the prosecutor, particularly for serious and habitual offender cases (e.g., special investigative function, assignment of officers to felony trial teams)?
4. Does the prosecutor provide feedback to the department on case investigations and dispositions (i.e., case rejection, reduction of the charges, final disposition, problems in the case investigations, etc.)?

## Establishing Project Objectives

The importance of having well-defined objectives cannot be overstressed. To the extent that objectives are not established or are poorly defined, the project will suffer from incomplete project planning, uncertain execution, and difficulty in evaluating progress.

The following criteria should be used when establishing ICAP project objectives:

- Measurable -- Objectives should be phrased in concrete, measurable terms, so that their achievement at project completion can be demonstrated.
- Related to Time -- Progress towards the achievement of objectives is difficult to assess unless there is an understanding of when the full objective will be reached.
- Related to Cost -- Objectives must clearly relate to relevant project costs.

Departments should rely on previously articulated departmental goals to develop related ICAP project objectives. It is clear that the more compatible those goals are with the general direction of department development, the more likely is institutionalization of capacities developed and associated with the ICAP project.

Project goals and objectives also should be reassessed annually to ensure that they still reflect department priorities. Changes in the political climate, the department's funding picture, or those brought on by internal project assessment may require some adjustment in the focus of the ICAP project. However, regardless of the types of change in focus continuation of the project should always be based upon the ICAP program model and overall ICAP program goals.

To provide the user with a sense of the types of department objectives

that can be established for an ICAP project, the following listing of sample project objectives is presented:

- Field Reporting:

- To design a new offense report form to facilitate field reporting.
- To incorporate a solvability schedule into the new offense report form so that decisions concerning follow-up investigations can be enhanced.
- To develop a field reporting manual and train all officers concerning the new/revised field reporting procedures.

- Teleserv Capacity:

- To reduce the calls-for-service workload of patrol field units by 20%.
- To provide faster and more convenient service to the public for a sizeable portion of information requests and incident reports.

- Patrol Aide Program:

- To reduce the administrative workload of patrol field officers, allowing them more time for directed patrol activities.
- To accomplish routine services provided by the patrol force without diverting sworn personnel from more important activities.

- Patrol Operations Analysis:

- To provide initial documentation of the manner in which patrol operations are conducted, including a definition of resource allocation procedures, supervising and information system requirements, and identification of how patrol time is actually spent.
- To provide periodic review of each of the above items at 6-month intervals.
- To stimulate ideas and alternative solutions for correcting problems identified for upgrading the performance of patrol.

- Resource Allocation:

- To better match personnel resources to calls-for-service demands and crime suppression requirements.

- To provide more productive use of available manpower resources in patrol.
- To provide patrol with the capability to mount an effective system of directed patrol activities and an expanded role for the patrol in investigations.
- Personnel Development:
  - To increase awareness of patrol personnel regarding innovative approaches to patrol.
  - To increase the skills of patrol personnel: (a) to accomplish more effective preliminary investigations and case filings; (b) to conduct crime prevention activities; (c) to use their situational analysis information in planning their patrol actions; and (d) to actively participate in patrol planning activities.
  - To expand the effectiveness of the field training officer program mechanism for introducing new programs and for monitoring the performance of fellow officers.
  - To improve the skills of patrol managers and supervisors to: (a) oversee and facilitate a competent program of directed patrol; (b) facilitate and encourage participative planning; and (c) promote increased patrol officer responsibilities.
  - To inform all department managers of program progress, new developmental directions, and underlying problems and concepts.
  - To establish a work plan for improving performance evaluation.
- Analysis and Intelligence System
  - To establish a crime analysis unit.
  - To establish a resource center that will provide current statistical information on crime, calls-for-service, and other activities performed in various patrol beats.
  - To establish an intelligence system that will monitor and disseminate

information on hard-core criminals.

- To accommodate operational planning, set aside a conference facility within the patrol division.

- Investigative Management

- To further expand the role and skills of patrol officers in executing preliminary investigations.
- To refine and improve the intake screening and case management capabilities of the case review officer to oversee and coordinate investigative follow-up at both the patrol and the investigative bureau levels.
- To establish and test a simple mug shot/modus operandi file system to facilitate the identification of potential suspects among the repeat offender group.
- To improve the solutions and charging rate for serious crimes -- particularly burglary, rape, and homicide -- and for incidents involving designated career criminals.

- Directed Patrol:

- To increasingly replace random patrol time with activities focused toward specific crime, traffic, or neighborhood.
- To increase the apprehension rate for serious crimes -- particularly homicide, burglary, and rape.
- To accomplish crime prevention activities as a regular part of the patrol function.
- To enlist greater citizen cooperation and participation in crime prevention, reporting, and solving, as well as in prosecutorial activities.
- To introduce and field test the preparation of beat profiles by field officers.

## THE SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER/DRUG INVOLVED PROGRAM (SHO/DI)

### Introduction

In February 1983 the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention established a program focusing on juveniles who were serious habitual offenders. The Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI) is an intensive law enforcement intervention program that centers around the successful identification and removal from society of juveniles who display a repetitive pattern of serious delinquent behavior for more intensive law enforcement intervention. The goals of this initiative are to provide a structured, coordinated Law Enforcement focus on serious habitual crime perpetrated by juvenile offenders and to establish acceptable and operable criminal justice system policies, procedures and criteria that involve crime and suspect specific apprehension tactics against juvenile crimes that are associated with drugs and drug traffic to and within the juvenile community.

This program builds upon the organizational development process first created under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program (ICAP). The ICAP program sought to provide a more systematic approach to data gathering, analysis, planning and integration of police activities. Based on the ICAP process, SHO/DI is designed to increase the effectiveness of the police, prosecutor and juvenile authorities to deal with and reduce juvenile criminal activity and drug use.

The SHO/DI program applies the ICAP organizational process to serious habitual juvenile offenders. It is this small group of serious, habitual offenders who repeatedly victimize the community, that require the most intensive resources of the entire justice system in order to protect the



public as well as enhance the likelihood of successful rehabilitation efforts.

The SHO/DI approach is designed to develop an integrated agency process that creates a long term and comprehensive organizational capability for priority utilization of existing resources toward serious habitual juvenile crime and community safety needs. The program is designed using the police department as the central agency for developing and coordinating information among related criminal justice agencies. The program design allows for considerable local discretion in determining how best to enhance the existing juvenile justice system.

#### Research Background

A number of research studies have shown that the majority of juvenile crime is committed by a very small percentage of the juvenile population. In a landmark study of a Philadelphia birth cohort study, researchers (Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin) found that 6.3 percent of the cohort were chronic recidivists with five or more police contacts. This small percentage of juveniles were responsible for over half (51 percent) of all juvenile crime committed. The present technology on prediction is not sufficiently advanced to allow for accurate early identification of individual delinquents who will pursue long-term criminal careers. It is known that certain high risk factors are associated with a youth's continued involvement in crime, with the strongest predictor of future criminal activity being that of past delinquent behavior. Research suggests that those youth who repeatedly come into contact with the juvenile justice system experience inconsistency in the sanctioning and treatment process, which may partially account for the failure of rehabilitative efforts. This program's coordinated approach among criminal justice agencies, continuous

case management and systematic approach to serious habitual juvenile crime is intended to increase the consistency of the juvenile justice system in holding a youth accountable for his actions.

#### Program Strategy

The SHO/DI program focusing on the juvenile serious habitual offenders requires police agencies to work in conjunction with other appropriate criminal justice and community service agencies, to:

1. Establish an accurate and useable data base focusing on the juvenile habitual offender who is drug related.
2. Develop operationally acceptable standards for identifying the drug involved serious habitual offender (SHO/DI). These standards must be acceptable to police officials, juvenile authorities, prosecutors, court administrators, judges and appropriate community groups.
3. Develop procedures for the early identification of the SHO/DI useable to uniformed patrol officers and criminal investigators.
4. Develop and refine through crime analysis, criminal information files that focus on the method of operation (MO) of the SHO/DI and the drug pushers linked to the SHO/DI.
5. Improve the linkage and flow of information between street uniformed patrol officers, crime prevention officers, and criminal investigations officers (organizational development).
6. Develop in concert with the prosecutor, courts and aftercare agencies a process to eliminate or reduce pre-trial delays, case dismissals, plea bargaining, sentence reductions for SHO/DI's.
7. Establish support among the appropriate criminal justice agencies and community groups for the SHO/DI program.

8. Develop a technical assistance cadre to transfer program knowledge, operations and development to other agencies.

#### Organizational Capabilities Required

Law enforcement agencies funded under this program initiative are expected to have the following organizational capabilities.

1. A Crime Analysis Unit which demonstrates the ability to identify evolving or existent crime patterns; provide geographic, time and similar offense patterns; and identify criminal activities of SHO/DI juveniles and their drug pushers.
2. A Link Analysis capability to link drug involvement of SHO/DI juveniles with street pushers.
3. Investigative Case Management procedures which increase case filing acceptance by the prosecutor.
4. Communications and dispatch operations that support directed, tactical and investigative operations in the field.
5. Patrol force deployment, beat management and directed patrol tactics to increase the apprehension rates for SHO/DI juveniles.
6. Organizational development that enables the SHO/DI approach to be institutionalized.

#### Results Sought

1. To provide a structured Law Enforcement focus on serious crimes perpetrated by habitual juvenile offenders and juvenile offenders who are drug/alcohol involved.
2. To reduce the crime frequency and patterns of juvenile serious, habitual offenders.
3. To reduce and suppress drug procurement by juveniles.

4. To increase the identification of, arrest, conviction and incarceration of drug pushers whose clients are juveniles.
5. Expeditious prosecution and treatment of juveniles who are serious habitual offenders and who chronically threaten the community.
6. Increased cooperation and coordination between police, prosecutorial authorities, courts, aftercare agencies, and community groups.
7. Reduction in pre-trial delays, plea bargaining, case dismissals and sentence reductions.

#### Conclusion

There is little doubt that organizational development is the key to police program success. The organizational development efforts of ICAP created an environment that made changes and further organizational development possible. ICAP's organizational development focused on all aspects of police operations and through the career criminal program on the relationship of the police agency to the prosecutor.

The Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program requires ICAP as a base. Once this base has been established the further organizational development required under SHO/DI can take place. SHO/DI requires the development of an approach using the entire criminal justice system and community groups. The initiation of SHO/DI will most certainly influence and broaden the organizational development base established under ICAP.

Informational Commentary\*

Number 11

THE JUVENILE SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER/DRUG INVOLVED PROGRAM - A  
MEANS TO IMPLEMENT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY  
COMMITTEE FOR JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.

## Profile

He is fifteen years old, currently in the ninth grade. Frequently truant, when he is in school, his behavior and academic performance are poor. He is generally rude to teachers, uses foul language and frequently makes obscene gestures in class. During the past four years, he has been arrested 15 times. The charges include attempted burglary (his first arrest), burglary, vehicle theft and assault with a deadly weapon. He is still out on the street - in all likelihood continuing his criminal activity. By most any criteria used, he would be classified as a serious, habitual juvenile offender. Yet these and any other offenses he commits in the next couple of years will be permanently erased from his record on his eighteenth birthday. He is protected by a juvenile justice system established nearly a century ago.

## The Problem

An isolated case? Not likely. In a report to President Reagan just released in March by the National Advisory Committee (NAC) for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the NAC chairman, Charles B. Wilkinson noted, "most serious juvenile crime is committed by a small core of chronic offenders."<sup>1</sup>

The charge is not new. Beginning with the Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin study of a juvenile cohort, researchers have argued that a very small percentage of juvenile offenders are committing a very large percentage of juvenile crime. What is startling about the NAC findings is that they are in direct conflict with past practices in federal juvenile justice.

Established under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)

has directed almost all of its vast resources toward delinquency prevention, diversion and other programs which would serve as alternatives to incarceration. The philosophy behind these actions was, of course, successful prevention or rehabilitation of juvenile criminal activity.

These alternatives have been used extensively since 1974. For example, between 1974 and 1979, the number of juveniles in juvenile facilities declined by 9.5%. In addition, for the same period, the average length of stay declined.<sup>2</sup>

However, these figures do not tell the whole story. Alfred Regnery, Administrator of the OJJDP, noted in his first major policy address:

the recidivism rate, the thing that is supposed to be cured by rehabilitation, the watchword of the juvenile justice system - is higher among juveniles than any other age group. And although many juvenile offenders do "grow out" of their criminal behavior, an alarming number will go on to become the "career criminals" of tomorrow.<sup>3</sup>

In response to the persistent problem of juvenile crime, the president appointed the 15 members of the NAC and charged them with examining the issue and making recommendations concerning the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency. The conclusions reached by the NAC were unanimous. In some minds, they represent a major change in direction for juvenile justice. The central finding of the National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is that "federal policy in the field of delinquency should be reformulated to focus primarily on the serious offender."

In fact, the redirection suggested in the NAC report, is not totally new to the OJJDP. In February 1983, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention announced a test program designed to suppress serious juvenile crime and juvenile drug involvement. This program, the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI) is

designed to provide a law enforcement approach to the problem of serious juvenile offenders. Phase I of the program is funded for 18 months in five cities: Portsmouth, Virginia; Oxnard, California; San Jose, California; Colorado Springs, Colorado; and Jacksonville, Florida. Even though the SHO/DI project was announced 13 months prior to the NAC report on Serious Juvenile Crime, the program closely dovetails with the NAC recommendations.

#### NAC Recommendations and the SHO/DI Program

NAC Recommendation #1: Any federal effort in the area of juvenile delinquency should focus primarily on the serious, violent or chronic offender.

The background material of the Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program was written in December 1982, and addresses this issue directly both in the SHO/DI program description and in the stated objectives. For example, the program description notes that:

This program will provide the arena whereby applied research and practitioner testing and experience can be enlisted to develop an acceptable and resource utilization effective field operations activity against juveniles involved in repeated serious crime and drugs.

Pure research, of course, has its place in criminal justice. But too often in the past, pure research has been funded and conducted with little applied use in the criminal justice community. On the other hand, in the past, police related programs were designed without first examining the full range of approaches to a given problem. Hence, developmental efforts in police programs have focused on a solution while just backing into the analysis and decision processes that logically should occur before the solution is developed.

In order to alleviate these difficulties, the SHO/DI program was



designed on the hypothesis that the application of a more systematic approach to data gathering, analysis, planning and integration of police activities will increase the effectiveness of the criminal justice system in dealing with juvenile criminal activities and drug use.

Several of the SHO/DI program objectives also address (within the framework of a law enforcement agency) the first recommendation made by the National Advisory Committee. These objectives are:

1. To improve the organizational development capability of Law Enforcement Crime Analysis units to link intelligence information with street crime patterns for directed patrol and investigative activity against serious habitual juvenile crimes, drug-related crime and the drug pushers who distribute and feed drugs into the juvenile community.
2. To develop criminal information files which contain method of operation, suspect and known offender information on criminal activities perpetrated by serious juvenile offenders and by drug involved juveniles and their pushers.
3. To adopt a crime-specific coordinated analysis and operations process of identifying and describing both crime trends and patterns of juvenile serious habitual offenders, drug involved juvenile offenders and their pushers.
4. To increase the quality and quantity of descriptive and statistical information pertinent to providing tactical planning, deployment and allocation of Law Enforcement resources to suppress crime related juveniles who are serious habitual offenders and juvenile offenders involved with drugs.

There is a surprising dearth of juvenile offender data in most law enforcement agencies. On the other hand there is much informal information available within police departments on juveniles who repeatedly threaten the safety of the community. However, before an effective response can be formulated, an accurate and useable data base must be established. With the SHO/DI cities, this is being done during Phase I

which is the research, test and demonstration phase of the project. During this 18 month period, operational procedures and models will be developed which can then be used not only in these cities, but also by police departments across the country.

NAC Recommendation #2: There are certain activities in the fight against delinquency that the federal government can perform better than states and localities. A federal initiative is warranted in these areas:

- (a) meaningful research designed to teach us what works best, with what youth and when.
- (b) limited, specific demonstration projects with credible evaluation components.
- (c) dissemination of information.
- (d) training and technical assistance.

The increasing public dissatisfaction with the response to serious juvenile crime has led to a kind of piecemeal approach to dealing with the problem. Some states and/or localities have passed more stringent legislation concerning certain types of juvenile crime. However, this is usually a localized response to the problem, often brought on by one or more recent cases in the juvenile justice system. But they are just that - responses or localized reaction to specific events. The NAC, on the other hand, suggests that the federal government should sponsor carefully designed programs and then disseminate information on them to all the necessary parties. This approach, rather than being haphazard, would allow for the development of well-conceived projects to fight serious juvenile crime.

The background information on the SHO/DI program also considers this important issue of an integrated effort, as well as the need for training, technical assistance and dissemination of program information.

Historically the federal government has left in its wake a collection of Law Enforcement programs, projects and research activities that individually were important but collectively were never given connection or continuity. In too many cases too short of a support and development life span was provided for valuable Law Enforcement projects to mature and evolve into their most proficient form. Too often there was not generated connective activities between research, development and demonstration programs and the development of a Law Enforcement delivery system for technical assistance in the form of implementation, guidance and training.

In fact, this recommendation (#2) made by the NAC lends further support to the research, test and demonstration approach upon which the SHO/DI program was developed. An important aspect of SHO/DI is that the program is being developed in five different jurisdictions who are working closely together to exchange ideas and information. This is more easily accomplished because the project is a federal initiative. Provisions were made in the grant for a national field manager to oversee this coordination and funds were set aside to facilitate information exchange.

In addition, one of the eight major tasks of the grant deals specifically with technical assistance. The SHO/DI program was developed with the understanding that policies and procedures established during the grant period could be transferred nationally to other law enforcement agencies. Thus; the OJJDP sought to include the experience of a wide range of police departments. The five police departments involved in Phase I of SHO/DI reflect this diversity. The city populations range from approximately 100,000 to 650,000 people. The size of the police departments also range from small departments (approximately 200 sworn) to very large departments of about 900 officers. Management styles, too, differ among the five police departments. And state laws, which have a major impact on the juvenile justice system, differ also.

In their diversity, these five departments become representative of many law enforcement agencies throughout the country. With this in mind, the SHO/DI grant was written to include the creation of an on-going technical assistance cadre of police professionals that can readily transfer their program knowledge, operations and development to other law enforcement agencies.

NAC Recommendation #3: The federal government should assist states, local governments, and private and public agencies in dealing with problems of delinquency, not impose its latest beliefs about best practice.

The National Advisory Committee further suggests that any federal initiative should simply support state and local efforts rather than dictating specific guidelines or mandates. As the Committee notes, when federal mandates are set, too often there are exceptions that cause consequences which are neither predicted nor intended.

This recommendation also dovetails with the research, test and demonstration emphasis in the SHO/DI program. Phase I of SHO/DI focuses specifically on the development of policies, procedures and criteria to deal more effectively with juvenile crime associated with serious, habitual juvenile offenders. Just as importantly, one of the objectives of the program is that these policies, procedures and criteria must be operable and acceptable, not just to the police department but to prosecutors, court administrators, judges, and other juvenile authorities. Thus, it is the aim of the SHO/DI program to enhance the opportunity for each site to develop a program which addresses its particular needs.

It has happened in the past, that the federal government has funded research projects in juvenile justice which have little applicability to actual law enforcement operations. The SHO/DI project, on the other hand,

is being conducted within law enforcement agencies by police professionals assisted by the SHO/DI national field manager. Hence, the research is applied and practitioner-generated. Because the SHO/DI grant requires cooperation between various criminal justice agencies, the procedures that are developed will be integrated into all juvenile agencies. This means that the SHO/DI program will be tailor-made for each locality, and it ensures that these procedures will be practically oriented.

The NAC also recommended that any federal program avoid trying to define exactly what constitutes a serious or a chronic offender. They suggest instead that this can best be decided by individual states. Each police department in the SHO/DI program is developing criteria which are used to identify serious habitual juvenile offenders. The criteria vary from site to site for a number of reasons. First, the state laws vary, thus the criteria must be tailored to specific state laws. The crime patterns in the cities also vary and this affects criteria development. Additionally, local policies and procedures for handling juveniles must be taken into account. Finally, because the police departments are working in conjunction with prosecutors, courts and other juvenile-related agencies, the criteria developed must be acceptable to all the agencies involved.

NAC Recommendation #4: The federal initiative should include all offenders identified as juveniles by state law, even if prosecuted in the adult criminal justice system.

In accordance with this recommendation, the NAC suggested that there must be an integrated effort aimed at juveniles handled in the adult system and those handled in the juvenile system.

The SHO/DI project states that its efforts are aimed specifically at juveniles who are serious habitual offenders and those who are serious,

habitual offenders and drug/alcohol involved. However, before the cities could narrow their focus to those two target groups, they did examine the entire range of juvenile criminal activity. Figure I illustrates the matrix of juvenile offenders that was developed early in the SHO/DI program.

Juveniles are either serious offenders or they are not. Similarly, they are habitual or not and they are either drug/alcohol involved or not involved in illegal drug activity. By combining these three factors in various ways, eight basic types of juvenile offenders were identified. The SHO/DI program efforts are focused on those juveniles in Category 1 (serious, habitual, drug-involved) and Category 2 (serious, habitual, not drug-involved). As stated earlier, it is up to each site to operationally define these terms.

#### A Redirected Effort

The National Advisory Committee reported four major findings. One of these was that "very little of the federal money spent since 1974 has been directed at controlling the chronic serious delinquent." Additionally, the committee notes that, of the \$120 million\* spent on discretionary programs between 1975 and 1980, the OJJDP directed less than \$12,000 toward the violent juvenile offender.

However, the tide appears to be turning as the impact of the serious habitual offender is recognized. The SHO/DI program is a beginning. It is an attempt to finally focus both federal and local efforts on a chronic problem which must be handled more effectively than it has been in the past.

One of the most important aspects of the SHO/DI program is that it is building the data base which for so long has been needed. Hopefully, the insights gained through the SHO/DI program will be used to help redirect federal efforts to more accurately reflect this major problem in juvenile justice today.

FIGURE 1

JUVENILE OFFENDER MATRIX

SERIOUS OFFENDER

NOT SERIOUS OFFENDER

HABITUAL

NOT HABITUAL

HABITUAL

NOT HABITUAL

DRUG  
INVOLVED

NOT DRUG  
INVOLVED

DRUG  
INVOLVED

NOT DRUG  
INVOLVED

DRUG  
INVOLVED

NOT DRUG  
INVOLVED

DRUG  
INVOLVED

NOT DRUG  
INVOLVED

1. Serious, habitual, drug involved
2. Serious, habitual, not drug involved
3. Serious, not habitual, drug involved
4. Serious, not habitual, not drug involved

5. Not serious, habitual, drug involved
6. Not serious, habitual, not drug involved
7. Not serious, not habitual, drug involved
8. Not serious, not habitual, not drug involved

#### FOOTNOTES

1. National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Serious Juvenile Crime: A Redirected Federal Effort. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. U.S. Department of Justice, March, 1984.
2. Report to the nation on Crime and Justice: The Data. Bureau of Justice Statistics. U.S. Department of Justice, October, 1983, p. 82.
3. Speech to the Tenth National Conference on Juvenile Justice. February 23, 1983, p. 4.



Informational Commentary\*

Number 12

THE UTILIZATION OF DISCRETIONARY JUSTICE  
IN JUVENILE CASES

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI Program.

THE UTILIZATION OF DISCRETIONARY JUSTICE  
IN JUVENILE CASES

Bill (fictitious name) is a juvenile who was arrested in connection with the stabbing death of an 18 year old male during a fight. At the time of his arrest, Bill had already been involved with the juvenile justice system a number of times yet he had never been adjudicated on any offense. Instead, all of his prior offenses had been resolved at the intake level.

When Bill was just eleven years old, he was charged with petty theft; the next day the offense was settled at intake. Three years later Bill was arrested and charged with burglary and conspiracy and also with possession of a switchblade. Less than a week later the case was settled at intake. Two days after being charged with burglary and conspiracy, Bill was picked up and charged with being drunk in public. The case was handled informally. A month later he was charged with disturbing the peace; again the case was handled informally.

At the age of fifteen, Bill was charged with possession of alcohol, possession of marijuana and possession of a dangerous weapon. Two weeks later, Bill was again charged with those offenses. He was placed on informal supervision which was then dismissed three months later. During the period of supervision, Bill was once charged with violation of the informal supervision. The incident was handled at intake.

Six months after his informal supervision was dismissed, when Bill was sixteen, he was charged with school trespass, possession of a knife and possession of alcohol. Again the

matter was handled at intake. Five months later, Bill was again charged with school trespass. One week later, the matter was settled at intake. Less than three months later, Bill stabbed two young men. One of them died a few hours later.

Bill's case provides an example of some of the difficulties associated with discretionary justice. Bill was apprehended a total of nine times on sixteen charges, yet until he was charged with homicide there was never a sustained petition against him.

### Juvenile Justice

The juvenile justice system which operates today has its roots in the first U.S. juvenile court created in Illinois in 1899. Established under the doctrine of parens patriae, juvenile courts were designed to protect the juvenile and to provide whatever treatment would be necessary to rehabilitate him. The courts were also based on the philosophy that juveniles, as children, cannot ultimately be held responsible for their actions. For these reasons, juvenile courts are civil rather than criminal in nature. Juveniles are not found "guilty" of offenses; in most states they are found "not innocent" or "delinquent". Increasingly, the juvenile justice system is coming under fire for its handling of juveniles who are, like "Bill", serious, repeat offenders. Very often, it is the juvenile court specifically that is charged with mishandling these juveniles. However, long before a juvenile reaches the point of disposition, there are a number of different ways in which his case can be handled.

## Discretionary Justice

The first contact a juvenile has with the law enforcement system is usually through a police officer. This is also the starting point for the discretionary justice system. Policy and procedures guidelines dictate how a juvenile should be handled and these, of course, vary from department to department. For the most part, policies dictate that juveniles be released to their parents or legal guardians unless certain conditions exist such as outstanding warrants, perceived danger to self or community, or an especially serious offense. The officer may decide because of the circumstances surrounding the offense to handle the offender formally and take him into custody. In 1981, almost 1.4 million juveniles were arrested. The Bureau of Justice Statistics states that 34% of these (or about 469,000) juveniles were released without any referral at all. Approximately 58% of the offenders (800,000) were sent to juvenile court. Only 5% were waived to criminal courts.<sup>1</sup>

Officers can also exercise discretion and "deal" charges with juveniles. Thus, the final charge for which a juvenile is arrested may be lesser than the actual crime.

If an officer decides not to arrest the juvenile he may feel there is sufficient cause to complete a field interview card on the incident, thus, even though no arrest is made, the contact is documented.

However, quite often officers choose to handle the juvenile informally -- admonishing him and sending him home. There are no numbers available on how many juveniles are handled this way;

however, informal interviews with police officers in one SHO/DI city suggest that the majority of incidents result in this type of action (or inaction). There are a couple of reasons why juveniles are handled so informally. In some instances, this may be an appropriate response. Interaction with a police officer may be enough of a deterrent to prevent a juvenile from engaging in criminal activity. Additionally, the officer may be aware of extenuating circumstances which might warrant this action.

On the other hand, officers also handle juveniles in this way because an arrest, while very time-consuming, may also be in vain due to the fact that so many cases never reach adjudication. Hence, officers adopt the attitude, "Why should I spend all this extra time on this case when it will never come before the court anyway."

If the juvenile is referred to the courts, the next step is to determine whether or not a petition should be filed. In some states, court intake files the petition, in other states determination of whether to file a petition rests with the prosecuting attorney. Either way, discretionary justice once again comes into play.

The prosecutor (or court intake officer) can decide to drop the charges and the juvenile if held, is released. At this same point, the prosecutor can choose to reduce the charges in an agreement with the offender. The prosecutor can also require psychiatric evaluation and/or counseling. Another option available to the prosecutor/court intake is diversion to another agency or program. Discretion at this point is widely used and many juveniles are diverted out of the court. Diversion programs

vary greatly but include such areas a drug rehabilitation or counseling, work programs, wilderness experiences and schools providing special skills training. According to the National Center for Juvenile Justice, over half of the juvenile offenders referred to court intake are dismissed or diverted.<sup>2</sup>

If a juvenile is not diverted, a petition to court is filed. In most states, juvenile cases are heard by a judge, not a jury. And juvenile judges have a number of options available to them in handling a case. In its proceedings, juvenile court is quite different from criminal court. Although it is prohibited from levying very stiff penalties (death sentences, life imprisonment, etc.) it has more discretion in determining the appropriate treatment/punishment. The court, for example, can remove a juvenile from his home or require attendance in a particular school or program. The judge, of course, also has the option to place a juvenile in a correctional facility, place him on probation, levy a fine or demand restitution. However, approximately 70% of the juveniles whose charges are not dropped and who remain in the juvenile court process are given probation.<sup>3</sup>

#### When a System is Not a System

How do juveniles like Bill slip through the cracks of the system? The answer lies partially in the fact that the system in most instances is not a system at all, but rather very separate parts working toward the same end but working independently of one another. For example, in many jurisdictions, if a juvenile is picked up at 2:00 a.m. for curfew violation, an officer cannot determine whether that juvenile is on probation. Or, a probation

officer working with a juvenile often does not have any information on the number of police contacts a juvenile has had, especially if they are handled informally. Yet if this information were shared on a regular basis, both the police officer and the probation officer would likely handle the juvenile differently and hopefully more effectively.

In most cases this type of information can easily be exchanged. It may simply be a matter of the agencies sitting down together and working out their mutual needs and the procedures for accomplishing them. It would involve no changes in laws, only changes in current practices. Yet, such changes have the potential to make the juvenile justice system more effective.

### The Impact of Discretionary Justice

Under its original intent, the discretion built into the juvenile justice system was meant to be beneficial for the youths involved in it, yet the impact reaches beyond the juveniles.

The nature of diversionary programs is that they involve disposition without adjudication. Services are to be provided outside the justice system without the stigmatizing processes of judicial or even quasi-judicial decisionmaking. Those 'stigmatizing' procedures, however, are also the core of a legal system which seeks to protect innocent people from unwanted intrusions into their lives.

When a serious juvenile offender is diverted out of the system and returned to the community, the victim may feel little sense of justice. In fact, the victim may be subjected to further abuse by the juvenile.

Juveniles are also amazingly quick at learning the system.

It does not take a juvenile long to realize there are really very few sanctions against committing crimes. An experienced juvenile knows that he can often keep from being arrested. Even if a juvenile is arrested, he knows there is a good chance he will be released without a formal referral to juvenile court or any other agency. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 1981 over a third of those juveniles arrested were released without a referral of any kind.<sup>5</sup> This applies to repeat offenders as well as to those who commit a single offense.

The current handling of juvenile offenders also serves as a model for other youths to observe. Perhaps if the system handled serious juvenile offenders more effectively and provided stronger sanctions against repetitive crime, such activity would not look quite as attractive to younger juveniles.

The juvenile justice system has come full circle. The juvenile court, once the informal mechanism of diversion from the stigmatizing and punitive processes of criminal justice, is now the legalistic tribunal from which children are to be diverted. The informal practices of parens patriae justice are being abandoned in juvenile courts only to be re-created in innovative diversion programs. Reformers in the field of juvenile justice do not seem to have learned much from history: They (sic) do not yet recognize the basic incompatibility of informality and justice...<sup>6</sup>



## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Bureau of Justice Statistics. Report to the Nation on Crime and Justice. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 1983. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>4</sup>Bullington, Bruce; Sprowls, James; Katkin, Daniel; Phillips, Mark. "A Critique of Diversionary Juvenile Justice." Crime and Delinquency 24 (January 1978), p. 69.

<sup>5</sup>Report to the Nation on Crime and Justice. p. 50.

<sup>6</sup>Bullington, et al., p. 69.

INFORMATIONAL COMMENTARY

Number 13

"THE ROLE OF CRIME ANALYSIS IN SHO/DI"

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## Introduction

An established Crime Analysis Unit is essential to the development of a juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved program (SHO/DI). The SHO/DI program is based on the fact that a very small percentage of juvenile offenders commit a disproportionate amount of juvenile crime.

Only recently has the law enforcement community begun to focus its efforts on these serious juvenile offenders who repeatedly commit crimes and are allowed to continue doing so. It is the purpose of the SHO/DI program to identify these serious, repeat offenders in the community and to reduce the crime frequency and patterns of the SHO/DI juveniles.

The Crime Analysis Unit provides a systematic approach to data gathering, analysis, planning and integration of police activities. The unit can also provide investigative leads and information for directed patrol activities that can result in the apprehension of serious habitual juvenile offenders.

This commentary provides information on the major role of crime analysis in the SHO/DI program. The paper outlines the information sources used to establish SHO/DI files, an explanation of how the data is analyzed and also a discussion of the utilization of crime analysis information.

Crime Analysis Units and capabilities vary from department to department. This commentary discusses one model, developed in Colorado Springs, Colorado, which could easily be modified to fit other Crime Analysis Units.

## "The Role of Crime Analysis in SHO/DI"

### The Importance of Crime Analysis in SHO/DI

The principles of Crime Analysis underlie all SHO/DI programs and operations and are the key to SHO/DI existence. SHO/DI is a specific application of basic Crime Analysis. Crime Analysis is defined as "a set of systematic, analytical processes directed at providing timely and pertinent information relative to crime patterns and trend correlations to assist operational and administrative personnel in planning the deployment of resources for prevention and suppression of criminal activities, aiding the investigative process and increasing apprehensions and clearances of cases."<sup>1</sup>

Generally, Crime Analysis focuses on those offenses that are amenable to analysis and have a high probability of recurrence. Based on geographic patterns and similar offense patterns (crime type, object of attack, suspect description/MO/vehicle, physical evidence, weapon), the offenses that lend themselves to analysis were determined to be:

1. Sexual Assault
2. Robbery
3. Burglary

A summary of crime analysis procedures is outlined below:

1. Collection -- identification, receipt, and sorting copies of all resource documents in the department that contain information relevant to the crime analysis process.
2. Collation
  - a. Examination and extraction of crime element information from all source documents.
  - b. Arrangement of this information into a set format for subsequent retrieval and analysis.
    - (1) Recaps
3. Analysis
  - a. Identification of crime patterns to provide leads for prevention and suppression of crime.
  - b. Assist in providing leads for identification of the criminal perpetrator.

- c. Early identification of crime trends for the purposes of patrol and administrative planning.
- 4. Dissemination -- Communication of target crime information to user groups, especially the patrol and investigative divisions.
  - a. Directed patrols initiated via crime analysis unit.
  - b. Officer initiated directed patrol.
  - c. Crime Stoppers' directed patrol.
  - d. Robbery/burglary, etc. details with investigations and patrol.
  - e. Narcotics' unit information requests.
  - f. Any other information requests.
    - (1) Crime Prevention
    - (2) Neighborhood Watch
    - (3) Special units
    - (4) Patrol
- 5. Feedback and Evaluation
  - a. Assessment of the crime analysis products and activities from user groups.
  - b. Self-evaluation of the unit's ability to satisfy ongoing user group needs.<sup>2</sup>

The crime analysis unit has the most comprehensive picture of crime patterns in the community as well as individual modus operandi. Consequently SHO/DI's operation/pattern may be evaluated by an analyst to obtain a complete picture of a suspect for dissemination to "line" officers. The SHO/DI project can be successful in a police environment if there are crime analysis capabilities. Examples of these capabilities are presented as follows:

1. In Colorado Springs, CO, 1983 statistics indicated 49 of the burglaries were committed by juveniles. By tracking the SHO/DIs in the community through crime analysis operations, they were able to identify the 1 juvenile population committing the crimes. A majority of these juveniles were SHO/DIs. The geographical pattern was East side Zone/Sectors (4-6, 6-3) and the downtown areas.
2. Research has indicated that SHO/DI juveniles often commit criminal activity in their own neighborhood. Although this is true for about 50 of our SHO/DI juveniles, more and more

often the activities expand into other neighborhoods. They often vary their patterns as a tactic to avoid detection. In Colorado Springs, juvenile SHO/DIs are more mobile (via automobiles and bicycles) and become more sophisticated at earlier ages with MO variations.

3. In Colorado Springs, directed patrols have been initiated for apprehension of SHO/DI juveniles. If a crime pattern has been established, and a directed patrol initiated, juvenile SHO/DI information is provided to other analysts (adult crime) as well as to line officers.
4. SHO/DI profiles are available to analysts, officers, investigators, DA's office/Court, juvenile probation and Department of Institutions. This capability enhances system information to determine the best methods for protecting the community as well as handling these juveniles.

The SHO/DI project would be difficult to accomplish without crime analysis capability. In order to successfully demonstrate these capabilities, a given department must have an established, effective crime analysis unit. This crime analysis capability has created invaluable resources through research and analysis of data. A crime analysis unit provides the focal point of the incoming data to create a viable data base. A SHO/DI juvenile does not live in a vacuum, and does interface with adults and/or adult career criminals. His/her behavior patterns are often prompted by adult associates, other SHO/DIs, or JCOPs (SHO/DI candidates). Consequently, involvement with other criminal constituents appear in crime analysis products via FIRs/suspect information, and link analysis.

#### SHO/DI Files and Information Sources

To create the SHO/DI files, key figures in the police department and the justice system were solicited to identify data sources. The following procedural outline highlights how data sources were identified:

1. Review of Police Policy - juvenile detention and arrest procedures.
2. Workshops with key law enforcement personnel to:
  - a. Introduce program.
  - b. Assess data/resource availability.
  - c. Identify data flow tracking through system.

- d. Key personnel included:
  - (1) Commanders/line management.
  - (2) Records and ID
  - (3) Computer personnel
  - (4) Law Enforcement Officers
    - (a) Patrol
    - (b) Juvenile Unit
    - (c) Investigations
    - (d) Crime Stoppers
    - (e) Crime Prevention
    - (f) Narcotics/Vice Units
    - (g) Intelligence
- 3. Citizens' Goals/Substance Abuse Task Forces
  - a. Data availability on substance abuse.
- 4. Meetings with key justice system/corrections personnel.
  - a. Introduce program.
  - b. Data sharing for prosecution and conviction.
  - c. Probation Department.
  - d. Civil liability and substance abuse data.
- 5. Department of Institutions and profiles/arrest information.
  - a. Intake assessment.
  - b. I-level evaluations.

Workshops with both law enforcement and justice system personnel produced the types of data used to build SHO/DI files. The files listed below are broken down into two categories:

- 1. Manual files
  - a. JCOP -- Juvenile Continuing Offender Program includes:
    - (1) Biographical data.
    - (2) Brief MO.
    - (3) Brief arrest history.
  - b. Juvenile congregation locations includes:
    - (1) City printout liquor license.
    - (2) Arcades.
    - (3) Locations identified by Intelligence information and Crime Stoppers tips.

- c. Drug traffickers/activity includes:
    - (1) Case Reports/arrests.
    - (2) Intelligence sheets.
    - (3) Crime Stoppers tips.
    - (4) Narcotics' Opinion Sheets.
  - d. Juvenile roster from Zebulon Pike Detention Center as well as statistical reports, individual tracking throughout system (state reports).
  - e. Case Reports (also computerized POSSE, CASS/Plus) and crime analysis unit/recaps of target crimes.
  - f. Criminal History Jackets (arrest information in Records and ID).
  - g. Probation P.S.I.R. (Pre-Sentence Investigation Report) and Alcohol-Drug Evaluation data.
  - h. Court Dispositions from DA's office.
  - i. UCCS research data.
2. Computerized Files
- a. Juvenile master name index (POSSE).
    - (1) Juvenile arrests.
      - (a) City Summons/Complaints.
      - (b) Juvenile Complaint and Referrals.
    - (2) Juvenile Suspect/FIR File (POSSE).
  - b. Link analysis and telephone toll analysis files (CASS/Plus).
  - c. Crime analysis files (CASS/Plus).
    - (1) Sex crimes.
    - (2) Robbery.
    - (3) Burglary.

The above information types were compiled for use to create a specific data base for which SHO/DI profiles were derived. The SHO/DI file is a manual system located operationally in the crime analysis unit. SHO/DI files are accessible to all the crime analysts and SHO/DI staff. These files include profile a compilation of the data types: SHO/DI status (level), criminal history, MO, associates, drug/alcohol involvement, social problems, and D.O.I. placement; previous JCOP record; and, relevant case materials that are not target crimes, e.g. larceny, drug/alcohol offenses, computer printout for link analysis.



The SHO/DI crime analysis process created some problems/resistance during initial phases of implementation. Access/availability of data for the SHO/DI staff had to be developed. Key law enforcement personnel had to recognize there were some misconceptions about the laws governing juvenile information release.

Some traditional methods for handling juvenile records had to be restructured. The law enforcement staff and juvenile justice system staff had to develop a process for systematically shaping information and recognizing the need for new ways to optimize data use without violating confidentiality laws.

The strategies for gaining data access consisted of introducing top management to the departmental advantages gained by making a Project commitment. Data exchange methodologies were then developed with Records and ID, Patrol, Juvenile Investigations Unit, and the District Attorney's office. Procedures were established for case enhancement. Information released legal criteria for the Juvenile Investigations Unit, DA's office and other related sources was defined by the juvenile judge. Immediate access procedures to the SHO/DI data base are being developed for the department's patrol officers. Patrol access will be streamlined to provide the officers with real time SHO/DI and crime analysis profiles on suspects under specific crime related investigations.

#### SHO/DI Crime Analysis Operations

When a case report enters the data system, the crime analysis unit assumes responsibility for reducing the data into the specific categories required for pattern detection and suspect correlations. In Colorado Springs, burglary, robbery, and sexual assault crime categories are prioritized for analysis and the development of profiles. If the profile includes a suspect description, a search is made of available data: case recaps, career criminal file, MO file, Suspect/Vehicle file, FIR, AKA, Arrest and Correction, for correlations with previous offenders.

If the suspect is a juvenile or the pattern suggests a juvenile offender, a search is made for juvenile offender data correlations in the Juvenile MNI, JCOP and/or SHO/DI files. Of

the 3 priority crimes analyzed, the SHO/DI is statistically implicated in crimes of burglary and robbery. Conversely, SHO/DIs are frequently victims of sexual assault and robbery.

#### Identification of SHO/DI

To determine if a given suspect is a SHO/DI, the crime category and activity pattern/MO are reviewed. The SHO/DI files are searched for applicable SHO/DI activity/MO pattern correlations. If a correlation is detected, the corresponding SHO/DI profile is updated. Routine SHO/DI profile updates are made by adding information from current arrests and case reports involving the profile subject.

The profile's MO (synopsis) section is updated when the subject's MO changes or information develops to further define the MO. When a juvenile gets classified as a SHO/DI, a profile must be completed.

Field Interview Reports (FIR), computer files, intelligence data, and Crime Stoppers tips are examined for SHO/DI profile related information. The profile FIR data section is then updated with this information.

A separate section is provided for traffic arrest history. Update information is obtained from ID files (manual traffic card files).

The drug and alcohol related section is a key section containing a composite of all the profile subject's known involvement with drugs and alcohol in both his social life and criminal activities.

Colorado Springs Police Department arrest and traffic reports highlight drug and alcohol involvement in criminal activity and accidents. These reports are a major drug and alcohol information source for SHO/DI profiles. Additional information is obtained from the following sources:

1. Juvenile Summons and Complaints or referrals issued to SHO/DI persons for violations where drug/alcohol involvement or suspected involvement exists.
2. Case reports containing evidence that drug/alcohol is involved in the commission of an offense, or are the object or motive for the commission of a crime.
3. Intelligence data and Crime Stoppers tips indicating SHO/DI subjects are drug/alcohol involved.
4. FIRs containing the drug/alcohol checkoff indicated as an observation of the report. This drug/alcohol involvement can

correlate to criminal activity when a SHO/DI subject is arrested for a crime supported by information on the FIR.

The social history section of the SHO/DI profile contains synopsis of the status offenses, propensities for violence in social and criminal behavior, and truancy history from the attended schools (via probation). A key part of the social history section is the family criminal history that outlines criminal activity and convictions of the subject's family members. This often places the SHO/DI subject criminal involvement in unique context and provides a projection of probable criminal development.

### Link Analysis

Associate data is provided in a link analysis chart. "The objective of analysis is to develop the most precise and valid inferences possible from whatever information is available. In addition analysis serves to identify needed data and consequently helps to focus and provide leads for further investigation."<sup>3</sup> "Link analysis is designed to put individual and organizational relationships into a graphic format to provide the clarity not possible from the written work alone. Link analysis produces the best picture possible with available information and points out additional information that is needed."<sup>4</sup> Association matrices from new data can be constructed manually or by computer. Types of link analysis are associates and telephone toll analysis.

Links are provided when a directed patrol is initiated if suspect information is applicable. They are also utilized with profiles. They can be used for crime specific information, "intelligence", or long-term associates.

Associate information is updated on the link diagram when new information is provided via crime analysis.

### SHO/DI Suspect

Once the profiles have been updated and the SHO/DI is a possible suspect in an unsolved crime, probation reports and detention rosters are checked to determine if he/she is at large in the area. If FIRs and other evidence support activity in a target area, a directed patrol is initiated. If an assigned investigator is in charge of the case, the information will be provided on an Information Request Form. Once a SHO/DI is apprehended, the profile is provided to Juvenile Investigations for

filing with the JCR.

#### SHO/DI Crime Analysis Information Output

The Crime analysis information outputs are all related to juveniles previously identified as SHO/DI subjects. Juveniles meeting the established criteria are candidates for inclusion in SHO/DI profiles. These updated profiles are the primary data base used to answer requests for specific crime related information.

The crime analysis workload is primarily compiled manually (approximately 75-80%). The computer files assist as data sources to expedite research time for preparation of crime analysis products.

SHO/DI analysis also provides overviews or crime trends and developing criminal patterns. Trends and patterns generate justification for requests for directed patrols in threatened target areas. Directed patrols include suspect data, pattern description, areas, FIRs, link analysis/ associates and intelligence data.

There are several types of information requests petitioned by patrol, investigations, and special operations that include SHO/DI data: directed patrol enhancement, case recaps for pattern detection, FIRs, associates link analysis, and intelligence data.

Profiles are provided as a tool to aid officers/investigators in detection of offenders, as well as for case filing and prosecution. The DA's office files the case and reviews the profile for assistance in prosecution. Juvenile Probation and the Detention Center (D.O.I.) use the profiles in their evaluation reports. The juvenile judge may get access upon request or case assignment.

#### Crime Analysis Information Utilization

The primary users of SHO/DI data are patrol and investigations (law enforcement). The DA's office and detention depend heavily on SHO/DI profiles for case filing and presentation. Secondary users are support agencies/special operations units such as Crime Stoppers, Crime Prevention, Narcotics/Vice, and Intelligence. The following chart is a synopsis of the crime analysis type of information used and the uses of information (compiled by the SHO/DI staff and evaluators).

## Types and Uses of SHO/DI

### Profile Information

User	Type of Information	Uses of Information
Patrol	General criminal history, targets, MO, vehicle description, home, school, job, hang-outs, associate, traffickers (drugs), detention records, Probation, FIR use, profiles, court dispositions.	Identification of suspects; crime target types or anticipated targets; basis for directed patrol activity, BOLO, drug abuse correlate with activity, associate, delete suspects if in Zeb Pike; feedback to officers, court preparation, officer feedback.
Warrants Unit	General profiles, including residence, school, job (if any), vehicle, hang-outs, associates.	Warrant enhancement and basis for more aggressive and more efficient and effective process service.
Investigations	Same, especially as information relates to suspects in active cases.	To prioritize cases; apprehension of SHO/DI suspect could likely produce multiple clearances as well as reduce future criminal activity.
Crime Prevention Neighborhood Watch Crime Stoppers	Information on SHO/DIs and associates known to be working an area, including favorite targets, MOs, timing of crimes, etc. (directed patrols)	To help citizens protect themselves and their property, as well as to expand the eyes and ears of the department (i.e., community intelligence).
Patrol/ Intake Center	Names of youths who have qualified as SHO/DIs.	To minimize chance that such juveniles will be released rather than adjudicated; perhaps to promote intensified interrogation. To be used by officers on street for immediate distribution.
Juvenile District Attorney	Complete criminal history and profile (link analysis).	To qualify defendant for vertical prosecution, to minimize the opportunity for plea bargaining and to promote for certification decisions.

## Types and Uses of SHO/DI

### Profile Information (Continued)

User	Type of Information	Uses of Information
Juvenile Judge	One-to-two page summary of criminal activity, profile, and all other information, with complete back-up documentation; this information would probably be provided to the judge through juvenile probation.	As a basis for presentence review of defendants found guilty. Review before disposition.
Juvenile Probation	Complete profile information, including criminal history, dispositions, diversion experience, school records, associates, neighborhood assessments, etc. FIRs, call-in profiles on request.	For submission to juvenile court at pre-sentence hearings; as basis for recommended sanctions for parole hearings; to aid P.S.I.R. and probation revocation.
Schools	Patterns that may be relevant to school programs.	Social, criminal and drug/alcohol activity that may promote proper treatment as well as the health and safety of teachers and students.
Parole Board Personnel	Complete profile, possibly including presentations of selected prior victims.	To permit relevant and complete information to be considered during probation hearings.
Victim Assistance	Dates of release from institutionalization and anticipated destination or residence.	To advise neighborhoods and especially past victims of release.
Department of Institutions (Corrections)	Profiles	For intake assessment; for I-Level (determines where juveniles are committed).

## FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. Department of Justice, Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program: Crime Analysis Operations Manual, 1977, Section 1, p. 3.
2. U.S. Department of Justice, Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program: Crime Analysis Operations Manual, 1979, Section 3, p. 3.
3. Anacapa Sciences, Inc., Analytical Investigation Methods, 1982, Session 12, p. 1.
4. Anacapa Sciences, Inc., Analytical Investigation Methods, 1982, Session 13, p. 1.

Informational Commentary\*

Number 14

THE ROLE OF THE PROSECUTOR IN THE JUVENILE SERIOUS HABITUAL  
OFFENDER/DRUG INVOLVED PROGRAM

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## Introduction

It has been said that the juvenile justice system is, in reality, not a system at all but rather a group of agencies working very separately. One of the major goals of the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved program (SHO/DI) is to increase the communication between these juvenile-related agencies in order to enhance the effectiveness of the system. This goal is based on the assumption that when the various agencies work in concert, the juvenile serious habitual offender will not "fall through the cracks" as has often happened in the past. The prosecutor has the unique opportunity to play a major role in this interagency cooperative effort.

The prosecutor is also central to the successful prosecution of juvenile serious habitual offenders. The prosecutor knows what information is necessary for a good case and can provide guidance in successful case enhancement.

In Oxnard, California, the District Attorney's Office has been actively involved in the SHO/DI project since its inception. This commentary provides information on the role of the District Attorney in the Oxnard program. The paper outlines the main issues in prosecuting SHO/DI juveniles, the components of a successful case, and the expected outcomes of a SHO/DI prosecution.

## The Interagency Approach

In most states the components of the juvenile justice system are the police, the prosecutor, probation/parole/social services and the judge. Often one or more of these agencies does not get along with or respect the performance of the other parts of the system, so good communication and consistent and swift resolution of cases do not take place.

The prosecutor, in most jurisdictions, interfaces with all of these agencies on a daily basis. Prosecutors are in a unique position to bridge gaps in the system and to introduce the people in agencies who do not usually work together. The prosecutor can also encourage them to support and cooperate with the SHO/DI project goals: to identify the serious, habitual offenders in the community and to collect as much data as possible about them so that all the components in the system can make better decisions in treating, supervising and incapacitating these juveniles.

In Oxnard, in Ventura County, California, for example, meetings were set up with the SHO/DI team from the Oxnard Police Department, the prosecutor, and the units of the probation department that work with juveniles. (These units include Juvenile Intake, Juvenile Hall, Juvenile Investigation, Field Supervision, Community Resources Management Team/Placements.) At each meeting the SHO/DI program and the criteria for selection as a SHO/DI were explained, and discussions ensued about the minors themselves. The response was overwhelmingly positive. Agency representatives were all well acquainted with every SHO/DI minor as each of the 28 was on probation and had a fat probation file. They were in agreement that the criteria chosen had indeed identified the kids that were most recidivist, took up more of their time and did not seem to benefit from the attention being paid to them by the court. The agencies welcomed the additional background information provided by the Crime Analysis SHO/DI packets and made suggestions about additional things that could be included, such as copies of all FIR cards, more detailed accounts of street officers' knowledge of the minor and his family, and more information about gang affiliations. Even probation officers that worked with adult caseloads asked for this type of information to assist them in better supervising and violating probations of adults.

The SHO/DI team of police and prosecutor also met with the juvenile

judges to discuss the SHO/DI program. In Ventura County, the judges chose not to help develop the criteria, so that they could remain impartial in their future handling of SHO/DIs. This was to be expected as an appropriate response and was not interpreted as a setback by the team. The judges, instead, expressed a general support for the concept that serious juvenile offenders should be identified and dealt with strictly by the juvenile system. They also agreed that the more information they had about the juvenile, the better their decisions would be. They expressed a willingness to receive and consider the input from the SHO/DI program on the identified minors. Judges, like all of us, develop a respect and trust for advice from people who have established their credibility by providing factual, truthful, well-reasoned information over time. When the SHO/DI information identifies the worst of the worst juvenile offenders and chronicles their lengthy careers with all contacts, arrests, community information, and drug involvement, the judges will value the input and rely on it in making decisions about SHO/DI minors.

#### Prosecution of SHO/DIs

Since SHO/DIs are really nothing more nor less than juvenile career criminals, Ventura County District Attorney's Office decided to borrow the successful techniques already being used in adult prosecutions of career criminals. This means that cases are vertically handled by the same prosecutor from beginning to end. That prosecutor reviews, makes the filing decision, and makes all appearances in court on the case. Each time the juvenile comes back to court on other cases, that same prosecutor will have the case. In this way, the prosecutor gets to know the minor, his family, his associates, and his patterns and develops expertise about that particular minor to better handle the case. In addition to vertical prosecution,

the minor must plead to every provable charge. In this way the court has the maximum ability to sentence the minor. The minor too, will soon learn that if he commits four crimes, he will be charged with and plead to four crimes or go to trial on them--"if he does the crime, he does the time". At each stage of the proceeding, the prosecutor tries to keep the SHO/DI detained (because of his danger to the community) and does everything possible to expedite the case through the system. In the two months that the career criminal prosecution techniques have been used in Ventura County, the SHO/DI minors that have had multiple counts have plead to all counts or been convicted of all counts. On each case that detention was requested, detention was ordered by the court.

#### Case Enhancement

Police and probation officers who want a SHO/DI case prosecuted should provide the same kinds of well-investigated and complete crime reports as they do for any other adult or juvenile case. Delays can be prevented by making sure that all the case reports are packaged together when it is presented for review and filing rather than having reports trickle in from various places over a period of time. If the SHO/DI has done several crimes, try to clear them all at once so there can be one prosecution rather than several. Always Mirandize and attempt to interview juvenile suspects. The "blab factor" is much more likely in juvenile cases because many have not usually developed the sophistication to refuse to speak to police. Always photograph injuries and property damage that is likely to be repaired before the trial so that the damage can be shown to the judge during trial.

If the case is set for trial, police and probation witnesses should prepare for testimony by getting a copy of their reports and reading through them carefully to re-familiarize themselves with the facts. Officers should

call the prosecutor if they have questions or concerns about the case, if they note any errors in the reports, or if circumstances have changed in some way that will affect the case. Many times, surprise defenses or other street information will come to their attention and it could make a great difference in the outcome of the trial.

Officers can also come to court to testify in SHO/DI cases in non-trial situations when necessary. A live witness testifying in a detention hearing, at a sentencing hearing, at a restitution hearing, or at a probation progress review hearing can be far more effective than a few written lines in a report. In cases where the issue is a close one, having the officer available to speak to the judge can sometimes make a difference in the ruling.

#### SHO/DI Outcomes

We have all heard the complaint that "nothing ever happens to juveniles, so why should I care." The SHO/DI program is here to tell everyone that this is just not so. Someone does care. A well done job will be the reason that something does happen to SHO/DIs, and the person doing that job will be notified of the results of their hard work and of what did happen to the juvenile.

The prosecutors working with the Oxnard Police Department developed a checklist to make sure that at each stage of the proceedings information is shared (see checklist attached). The attorney and the crime analyst keep in touch daily to let each other know which cases have been referred, filed, tried, or sentenced. The probation officers and crime analyst exchange information as needed for decisions regarding detention, fitness/waiver hearings, or dispositions. In the beginning, the crime analyst in Oxnard initiated all of the contacts, but as the probation officers became more and

more familiar with the program, they began to call the crime analyst for information they needed for SHO/DI cases. For example, FIR cards are very important in determining SHO/DI's behavior patterns and in the past probation officers had not usually gotten them. These are now being furnished in all SHO/DI cases. The prosecutor and the probation officer also exchange information before decisions are made on recommendations to the court. The attorney provides input on investigations done, occurrences in court and gives his or her point of view on what should happen with the SHO/DI. Police officers who know the juvenile and his family can also provide additional information to the probation officer that can be graphically conveyed to the court. Additionally, for those SHO/DIs who remain out of custody on probation or parole, the police officer who has a working relationship with the probation or parole officer supervising the SHO/DI can be aware of the minor's terms and conditions of probation and can help enforce them and immediately violate the SHO/DI when he breaks his conditions.

A valuable by-product of the exchange of information among the agencies, is the growth of a mutual respect and a discovery that we are all working toward the same goal where SHO/DIs are concerned and can help each other get there. If all the players in the system become each other's eyes and ears and share our collective experience and information on these SHO/DIs, we can make sure that all their crimes and violations are dealt with appropriately. The "nothing ever happens to juveniles anyway" syndrome will be a thing of the past because we will all know personally that something significant is happening to every one of our SHO/DIs and that each of us had a part in it.

Informational Commentary\*

Number 15

SHO/DI CLUSTER MEETING TRAVEL POLICY

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI).

Phase I of the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI) has proven that Cluster Meetings are a valuable tool for idea exchange, information sharing and technical assistance among the SHO/DI sites. However, in light of the tight travel budgets under which the cities are operating, Cluster Meeting travel guidelines should be adopted by all SHO/DI cities. Any travel to Cluster Meetings is, of course, subject to review by the National Program Manager and the National Field Manager.

Cluster Meetings are conducted quarterly. The format usually includes a three day meeting, Tuesday through Thursday. Because SHO/DI involves several cities across the country, Monday and Friday are designated travel days.

#### Technology Transfer

The Cluster Meeting agendas have been designed to facilitate technology transfer among the SHO/DI cities. This is accomplished in a number of ways:

- a. During the Cluster Meeting, each SHO/DI city is invited to provide an overview of that site's activities and accomplishments since the previous meeting. Because each police department approaches the grant in an individual manner, this provides an opportunity for other cities to see how each site is addressing the SHO/DI problem. Through these presentations, the cities gain ideas, formats, approaches and direction from each other.
- b. Peer contact is another outgrowth of the Cluster Meeting



approach. Each cluster includes structured break-out sessions during which the participants attack various program stumbling blocks. The collective ideas that result from these break-out sessions provide solutions or alternatives for the sites on difficulties they have encountered in the program. The peer contact also encourages persons in like positions to feel more free to call on each other for assistance during the day-to-day administration of the program.

- c. Interagency cooperation is also enhanced through the Cluster Meeting format. Since the beginning of the SHO/DI program, prosecutors from the first phase cities have been invited to take an active role in the meetings. Their input has been invaluable in building the program. As SHO/DI evolved, representatives from other juvenile-related agencies have also been invited to participate in the Cluster Meetings to share their involvement in the program. This has been an especially effective means of technology transfer for the cities.
- d. The evaluation team participates in each of the Cluster Meetings and their input is provided in a number of ways. Through their frequent site visits, the evaluators gain knowledge of each particular SHO/DI project. Thus, at each Cluster Meeting they are able to provide their assessment of the current status of the program. This aids each city in gaining a general overview of the program. Additionally, the evaluators are developing a program model which describes approaches to the design

and development of SHO/DI programs that are shown to work best in various circumstances. The program model draws collectively from the experiences of the SHO/DI cities and will maximize future replication of the program.

- e. The Grant Manager and the National Field Manager provide a national perspective during each Cluster Meeting. They are extremely familiar with each individual project and this knowledge facilitates technology transfer between sites -- both formally through the program agenda and informally through additional meetings held during the week. The National Grant Manager and the National Field Manager can also provide for the sites, an overview of the present status of the grant, collective concerns which should be addressed and future directions to be examined.
- f. Cluster Meeting agendas are formulated around current issues facing the SHO/DI cities. As these issues are raised, reviewed and discussed, alternatives are developed for handling the concerns. Each city is able to provide their input on each issue, be it a strategy for success, recognition of a failure or just plain frustration. The collective information then aids the cities in how they address these particular SHO/DI issues.
- g. Rotating the site of each Cluster Meeting also aids in technical assistance by giving the sites an opportunity to visit each of the other police departments. Also, because the SHO/DI program builds on an interagency

approach, revolving sites allow more individuals from other agencies in the host city to participate in the Cluster Meeting when it might not otherwise be possible due to schedule and/or budget constraints.

Phase I of the SHO/DI program is somewhat unique in that it is a research, test and demonstration phase. The Cluster Meeting format allows cities to share their research and program development so that valuable time and money is not wasted through duplication of efforts.

At the conclusion of each meeting, the National Field Manager and his assistant review the information gathered during the entire Cluster. This provides direction for further assistance, training, information reports or future meetings. Feedback is then given to each of the cities on their particular identified needs or site visits are scheduled for more intensive assistance.

#### Selection of Participants

Although Cluster Meetings have proven to be useful for information acquisition, travel funds for each site are limited, thus careful selection of participants is necessary. Participation should reflect the Cluster Meeting Agenda. For example, if a large portion of the program is devoted to crime analysis/link analysis, then Crime Analyst participation should be encouraged. If the Cluster Meeting focuses on interagency support, representatives from other juvenile-related agencies would then benefit from participation. Thus, selection of participants should only be made once the

agenda has been set.

In order to provide continuity in the program it is expected that the Project Director (or other designated person) from each city will attend each of the Cluster Meetings. The decision as to which additional people will make the trip is made by each Project Director in conjunction with the National Field Manager. The object is to make sure that the persons attending the Cluster Meeting are those who can best absorb the particular information being disseminated and then apply that knowledge in his/her own city. Because travel funds are tight, SHO/DI cities should generally limit their travel to four (4) participants per Cluster Meeting. Any proposed exceptions to this must be discussed with the National Field Manager.

The SHO/DI program is a law enforcement program being developed by practitioners. Additionally, there is very little prior research in the area of juvenile serious habitual offenders. Consequently, a growing expertise is being developed in the SHO/DI cities. This relevant, timely body of information should be shared. The fact that the knowledge is being gained through law enforcement agencies only makes it more credible. We believe it is less expensive in time and money to bring all five cities, the evaluators and the program managers together to one geographic point and spend three days addressing generic program problems than to tie up program progress for months, working out scheduling problems and traveling to several different cities to try to exchange this information.

Informational Commentary\*

Number 16

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR JUVENILE JUSTICE: THE SERIOUS HABITUAL  
OFFENDER/DRUG INVOLVED PROGRAM

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\*This commentary was originally prepared for the "State of the Art Practitioner's Conference on Juvenile Offenders With Serious Drug, Alcohol and Mental Health Problems." Washington, DC, September 6 and 7, 1984. Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR JUVENILE JUSTICE: THE SERIOUS HABITUAL  
OFFENDER/DRUG INVOLVED PROGRAM

Introduction

Both practitioners and researchers have realized that the juvenile offender is more difficult to deal with than the adult offender. About half of the persons arrested are juveniles. Arrests of juveniles over the last decade have increased at a much faster rate than arrests of adults. Much of the public's increasing concern with crime can be attributed to the actions of juveniles.

Our concern with juvenile criminal activity is reflected in the numerous treatment and intervention programs established during the last decade. The research results regarding these programs present a mixed picture - some programs work, by whatever criteria one wants to establish, while others do not. We do not yet know a great deal about successful interventions and we have yet to agree on what are reasonable and comprehensive indicators of a working program.

One of our most serious problems lies in addressing the needs of practitioners as a group. Police practitioners have substantially different perspectives on juvenile problems than do practitioners who manage, for example, residential or community based treatment programs or correctional programs.

This presentation focuses on the problems addressed by the practitioners conference from a police practitioner's perspective. Police practitioners

must also deal with the young people who are the concern of this conference. They seldom deal with them from a treatment perspective. Usually the police practitioner is concerned with youths who have serious drug, alcohol and mental health problems only when this individual becomes the suspect in a crime.

I am sure that most of us are aware that police officials have little confidence in the effectiveness of our juvenile justice system. In fact, the police approach to juvenile justice is a cynical one. Police practitioners point out that the juvenile justice system gives too much emphasis to the needs of the offender and often ignores the rights of the victim or the issue of community safety.

A similar conclusion was reached by the President's Task Force on the Victims of Crime. The Task Force pointed out that there are essentially two types of youngsters involved in the juvenile justice system. The first group consists of young people who because of a youthful tendency to excess or lack of experience and insight, commit acts that are more harmful than they anticipated or intended. The juvenile justice system was basically established to address these kinds of offenses. The second group consists of juveniles who are committing serious violent crimes. The juvenile justice system has not worked well in these situations. According to the Final Report of the President's Task Force on the Victims of Crime

It must be faced that some juvenile offenders are more sophisticated about crime, the way in which the system operates, and how they can avoid being held culpable than are many adults . . . The current policies of many jurisdictions neither reform nor punish, they only

teach juveniles that they can act with relative impunity  
if they learn how to take advantage of the system.

This presentation focuses on juveniles who are serious habitual offenders. Some of these juveniles have significant alcohol, drug or mental health problems while others do not. The Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved program (SHO/DI), that I will describe shortly, is an intensive law enforcement intervention program that centers around the successful identification and removal from society of juveniles who display a repetitive pattern of serious delinquent behavior. The goals of this initiative are to provide a structured, coordinated Law Enforcement focus on serious habitual crime perpetrated by juvenile offenders and to establish acceptable and operable criminal justice system policies, procedures and criteria against juvenile crimes that are associated with drugs and drug traffic to and within the juvenile community.

This program design builds upon the organizational development process first created under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program (ICAP). The ICAP program sought to provide a more systematic approach to data gathering, analysis, planning and integration of police activities. Based on the ICAP process, SHO/DI is designed to increase the effectiveness of the police, prosecutor and juvenile authorities to deal with and reduce juvenile criminal activity and drug use.

The SHO/DI program applies the ICAP organizational process to serious habitual juvenile offenders. It is this small group of serious, habitual offenders who repeatedly victimize the community, that require the most intensive resources of the entire justice system in order to protect the public as well as enhance the likelihood of successful rehabilitation efforts.



### Researchers and Practitioners

The conclusions reached by participants in the "State of the Art" Researchers' Conference tend to support what practitioners in juvenile justice have known for quite some time. For example, the conferees concluded that:

1. A small group of multiple problem youths account for a disproportionately large number of serious juvenile crimes.
2. The percentage of multiple problem youths in a given birth cohort increases over time. These youths are less likely to mature out of crime or drug use than are their age contemporaries, suggesting that "normal" developmental processes are not working in this subgroup.
3. Law enforcement agencies and juvenile courts generally do not enact legal proceedings against youths for alcohol or drug offenses related to possession of these substances. The legal system generally does not treat juvenile alcohol and drug use violations as behaviors which should be met with legal sanctions.
4. Data currently available within the juvenile justice system on those youths apprehended for first or second offenses are not adequate to allow accurate prediction regarding which of these youths will engage in subsequent chronic serious delinquency. This fact limits the potential of intervention efforts within the juvenile justice system to prevent subsequent chronic serious delinquency.

Most practitioners in juvenile justice would find little fault with these conclusions. In fact, the problem of the juvenile serious habitual offender has become increasingly recognized as a legitimate, growing concern.

In the ten years since the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established, the major focus has been on delinquency prevention, diversion and other programs which would serve as alternatives to

incarceration. The OJJDP recognized the need to focus on the status offender and juveniles at risk and was at times successful in its dealing with this aspect of juvenile delinquency. However, as the serious juvenile offenders have become a major problem in our communities, the OJJDP has begun to redirect some of its resources to deal with this growing concern.

Similarly, the drug/alcohol involvement of American youth continues to be a significant problem with substantial impact on the juvenile justice system. Although much has been learned about offender drug (including alcohol) involvement, there are still a number of unanswered questions, especially concerning juvenile offenders.

#### Juveniles and Drug/Alcohol Involvement

The relationship between drug/alcohol abuse and crime has been extensively documented. Most studies conclude that addiction and high rates of crime are associated. Substantial disagreement exists when one attempts to suggest a causal relationship between addiction and criminal activity. Studies of juvenile offender drug involvement tend to support the drug use/criminal activity relationship.

In 1979, a national sample of 1,532 juveniles aged 14 through 20 were interviewed to determine the rate of delinquency and levels of drug/alcohol use. According to the authors, the results are especially important to criminal justice agencies. Analysis of the data show that "serious drug involvement is an important contributor to and indicator of (when combined with evidence of serious delinquent behavior) the highest rates of most forms of criminality" (Johnson, Wish and Huizinga, 1983).

In the examination of 31 California juveniles charged with murder (or attempted murder), it was found that over 25 percent were "under the influence

of drugs at the time of the homicide" (Sorrells, 1977). Murray and Cox reported that 18.2 percent of the juveniles in their Illinois Department of Corrections study had a "noteworthy" alcohol/drug problem (1979).

It has been suggested that juvenile violent crimes may be on the rise due to the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. In Montgomery County (Maryland) for example, the youth services coordinator, Richard Ferrara, has suggested that the increase in violent juvenile crime may be directly related to the fact that the state lowered its drinking age from 21 to 18. In 1971, juveniles in that county committed 292 violent crimes. The new drinking age went into effect in 1973 and by 1975 violent crimes had increased to 440--a 51 percent increase (1976).

More recently, the Justice Assistance News reported the results of a national sample involving 1,700 juveniles. The youths who reported the greatest use of alcohol/drugs were also the juveniles who had committed four or five serious offenses and thus could be classified as habitual offenders (1982).

As the use of alcohol/drugs continues to be a serious problem among today's juveniles, these questions increase in importance. If in fact there is, as there appears to be, a strong relationship between juvenile drug involvement and serious offenses, then we must learn more than we currently know.

One of the difficulties in developing programs to deal with serious juvenile offenders who are drug involved is that there currently is little data available within the juvenile justice system on this type of juvenile. Further, the data that has been collected is often scattered among various juvenile-related agencies. In most cases, these pieces of information are never shared nor built into a comprehensive file.

Meanwhile, chronic serious juvenile offenders continue to fall through the cracks of the juvenile justice system. Consider the following example:

Bill (fictitious name) is a juvenile who was arrested in connection with the stabbing death of an 18 year old male during a fight. At the time of his arrest, Bill had already been involved with the juvenile justice system a number of times yet he had never been adjudicated on any offense. Instead, all of his prior offenses had been resolved at the intake level.

When Bill was just eleven years old, he was charged with petty theft; the next day the offense was settled at intake. Three years later Bill was arrested and charged with burglary and conspiracy and also with possession of a switchblade. Less than a week later the case was settled at intake. Two days after being charged with burglary and conspiracy, Bill was picked up and charged with being drunk in public. The case was handled informally. A month later he was charged with disturbing the peace; again the case was handled informally.

At the age of fifteen, Bill was charged with possession of alcohol, possession of marijuana and possession of a dangerous weapon. Two weeks later, Bill was again charged with those offenses. He was placed on informal supervision which was then dismissed three months later. During the period of supervision, Bill was once charged with violation of the informal supervision. The incident was handled at intake.

Six months after his informal supervision was dismissed, when Bill was sixteen, he was charged with school trespass, possession of a knife and possession of alcohol. Again the matter was handled at intake. Five months later, Bill was again charged with school trespass. One week later, the matter was

settled at intake. Less than three months later, Bill stabbed two young men. One of them died a few hours later.

The National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Justice  
and Delinquency Prevention

In response to the persistent problem of juvenile crime, President Reagan appointed the fifteen members of the National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (NAC) and charged them with examining the issue and making recommendations concerning the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency. The conclusions reached by the NAC were unanimous (1984). In some minds, they represent a major change in direction for juvenile justice. The central finding of the National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is that "federal policy in the field of delinquency should be reformulated to focus primarily on the serious offender."

The focus on a small group of chronic offenders is consistent with various research studies. Beginning with the Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin study of a juvenile cohort, researchers have argued that a very small percentage of juvenile offenders are committing a very large percentage of juvenile crime. What is startling about the NAC findings is that they are in direct conflict with past practices in juvenile justice.

In fact, the redirection suggested in the NAC report, is not totally new to the OJJDP. Alfred Regnery, Administrator of the OJJDP noted in one of his first major policy addresses that he was very concerned with the high recidivism rate among juveniles and that many juvenile offenders do not "grow out" of their criminal behavior.

One of the first pragmatic responses to this concern was in February 1983, when the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention announced a research test and demonstration program designed to suppress serious juvenile crime and juvenile drug involvement. This program, the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI) is designed to provide a law enforcement approach to the problem of serious juvenile offenders. Phase I of the program is funded for 18 months in five cities: Portsmouth, Virginia; Oxnard, California; San Jose, California; Colorado Springs, Colorado; and Jacksonville, Florida. Even though the SHO/DI project was announced 13 months prior to the NAC report on Serious Juvenile Crime, the program closely dovetails with the NAC recommendations.

#### NAC Recommendations and the SHO/DI Program

NAC Recommendation #1: Any federal effort in the area of juvenile delinquency should focus primarily on the serious, violent or chronic offender.

The background material of the Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program was written in December 1982, and addresses this issue directly both in the SHO/DI program description and in the stated objectives. For example, the program description notes that:

This program will provide the arena whereby applied research and practitioner testing and experience can be enlisted to develop an acceptable and resource utilization effective field operations activity against juveniles involved in repeated serious crime and drugs.

Pure research, of course, has its place in criminal justice. But too often in the past, pure research has been funded and conducted with little applied use

in the criminal justice community. On the other hand, in the past, police related programs were designed without first examining the full range of approaches to a given problem. Hence, developmental efforts in police programs have focused on a solution while just backing into the analysis and decision processes that logically should occur before the solution is developed.

In order to alleviate these difficulties, the SHO/DI program was designed on the hypothesis that the application of a more systematic approach to data gathering, analysis, planning and integration of police activities will increase the effectiveness of the criminal justice system in dealing with juvenile criminal activities and drug use.

Several of the SHO/DI program objectives also address (within the framework of a law enforcement agency) the first recommendation made by the National Advisory Committee. These objectives are:

1. To improve the organizational development capability of Law Enforcement Crime Analysis units to link intelligence information with street crime patterns for directed patrol and investigative activity against serious habitual juvenile crimes, drug-related crime and the drug pushers who distribute and feed drugs into the juvenile community.
2. To develop criminal information files which contain method of operation, suspect and known offender information on criminal activities perpetrated by serious juvenile offenders and by drug involved juveniles and their pushers.
3. To adopt a crime-specific coordinated analysis and operations process of identifying and describing

both crime trends and patterns of juvenile serious habitual offenders, drug involved juvenile offenders and their pushers.

4. To increase the quality and quantity of descriptive and statistical information pertinent to providing tactical planning, deployment and allocation of Law Enforcement resources to suppress crime related to juveniles who are serious habitual offenders and juvenile offenders involved with drugs.

There is little systematically collected juvenile offender data in most law enforcement agencies. On the other hand there is much informal information available within police departments on juveniles who repeatedly threaten the safety of the community. However, before an effective response can be formulated, an accurate and useable data base must be established. With the SHO/DI cities, this is being done during Phase I which is the research, test and demonstration phase of the project. During this 18 month period, operational procedures and models will be developed which can then be used not only in the five test cities, but also by police departments across the country.

NAC Recommendation #2: There are certain activities in the fight against delinquency that the federal government can perform better than states and localities. A federal initiative is warranted in these areas:

- (a) meaningful research designed to teach us what works best, with what youth and when.
- (b) limited, specific demonstration projects with credible evaluation components.



(c) dissemination of information.

(d) training and technical assistance.

The increasing public dissatisfaction with the law enforcement response to serious juvenile crime has led to a piecemeal approach in dealing with juvenile crime. Some states and/or localities have passed more stringent legislation concerning certain types of juvenile crime. However, this is usually a localized response to the problem, often brought on by one or more recent cases in the juvenile justice system. The NAC, on the other hand, suggests that the federal government should sponsor carefully designed programs and then disseminate information on them to all the necessary parties. This approach, rather than being haphazard, would allow for the development of well-conceived projects to fight serious juvenile crime.

Recommendation #2 made by the NAC lends further support to the research, test and demonstration approach of the SHO/DI program. An important aspect of SHO/DI is that the program is being developed in five different jurisdictions who are working closely together to exchange ideas and information. This is more easily accomplished because the project is a federal initiative.

Provisions were made in the grant for a national field manager to oversee this coordination and funds were set aside to facilitate information exchange.

In addition, one of the eight major tasks of the grant deals specifically with technical assistance. The SHO/DI program was developed with the understanding that policies and procedures established during the grant period could be transferred nationally to other law enforcement agencies. Thus, the OJJDP sought to include the experience of a wide range of police departments. The five police departments involved in Phase I of SHO/DI reflect this diversity. The city populations range from approximately 100,000 to 650,000 people. The

size of the police departments also range from small departments (less than 200 sworn) to very large departments of about 900 officers. Management styles, too, differ among the five police departments. And state laws, which have a major impact on the juvenile justice system, differ also.

In their diversity, these five departments become representative of many law enforcement agencies throughout the country. With this in mind, the SHO/DI grant was written to include the creation of an on-going technical assistance cadre of police professionals that can readily transfer their program knowledge, operations and development to other law enforcement agencies.

NAC Recommendation #3: The federal government should assist states, local governments, and private and public agencies in dealing with problems of delinquency, not impose its latest beliefs about best practice.

The National Advisory Committee further suggests that any federal initiative should simply support state and local efforts rather than dictating specific guidelines or mandates. As the Committee notes, when federal mandates are set, there are often exceptions that cause consequences which are neither predicted nor intended.

This recommendation also dovetails with the research, test and demonstration emphasis in the SHO/DI program. Phase I of SHO/DI focuses specifically on the development of policies, procedures and criteria to deal more effectively with juvenile crime associated with serious, habitual juvenile offenders. Just as importantly, one of the objectives of the program is that these policies, procedures and criteria must be operable and acceptable, not just to the police department but to prosecutors, court administrators, judges, and other juvenile authorities. Thus, it is the aim of the SHO/DI program to enhance

the opportunity for each site to develop a program which addresses its particular needs.

It has happened in the past, that the federal government has funded projects in juvenile justice which have little applicability to actual law enforcement operations. The SHO/DI project, on the other hand, is being conducted within law enforcement agencies by police professionals assisted by the SHO/DI national field manager. Hence, the research is applied and practitioner-generated. Because the SHO/DI grant requires cooperation between various criminal justice agencies, the procedures that are developed will be integrated into all juvenile agencies. This means that the SHO/DI program will be tailor-made for each locality, and it ensures that these procedures will be practically oriented.

The NAC also recommended that any federal program avoid trying to define exactly what constitutes a serious or a chronic offender. They suggest instead that this can best be decided by individual states. Each police department in the SHO/DI program is developing criteria which are used to identify serious habitual juvenile offenders and the nature of drug involvement. The criteria vary from site to site for a number of reasons. First, the state laws vary, thus the criteria must be tailored to specific state laws. The crime patterns in the cities also vary and this affects criteria development. Additionally, local policies and procedures for handling juveniles must be taken into account. Finally, because the police departments are working in conjunction with prosecutors, courts and other juvenile-related agencies, the criteria developed must be acceptable to all the agencies involved.

NAC Recommendation #4: The federal initiative should include all offenders identified as juveniles by state law, even if prosecuted in the adult criminal justice system.

In accordance with this recommendation, the NAC suggested that there must be an integrated effort aimed at juveniles handled in the adult system and those handled in the juvenile system.

The SHO/DI project states that its efforts are aimed specifically at juveniles who are serious habitual offenders and those who are serious, habitual offenders and drug/alcohol involved. However, before the cities could narrow their focus to those two groups, they examined the entire range of juvenile criminal activity. Figure I illustrates the matrix of juvenile offenders that was developed early in the SHO/DI program.

The SHO/DI program efforts are focused on those juveniles in Category 1 (serious, habitual, drug-involved) and Category 2 (serious, habitual, not drug-involved). As stated earlier, it is up to each site to operationally define these terms.

#### Program Strategy

The operational procedures for the SHO/DI program are being developed during the research, test and demonstration phase of the project. The initial Phase I cities have made tremendous advances in crime analysis, link analysis and in building system-wide cooperation in handling juveniles.

The process for dealing with juvenile serious habitual offenders can be utilized by various cities across the nation provided the police agencies have effective management information systems, crime analysis units, investigative case management and directed area and tactical patrol capabilities. The

technology transfer aspect of the program increases the likelihood that SHO/DI can be implemented. A series of technical assistance commentaries has been developed to guide program development and implementation. A national field manager is available to assist agencies in all phases of the program. A Technical Assistance (TA) cadre composed of practitioners from Phase I sites will be available to assist the new sites in implementing SHO/DI in a systematic manner without the usual start-up delays. The TA team and the national field manager will also be able to help the new Phase II sites resolve specific problems encountered during the implementation of SHO/DI.

#### The Systems Approach

The systems approach developed during Phase I of the SHO/DI program is based on the realization that too many of the juvenile serious habitual offenders were "falling through the cracks" because juvenile-related agencies were not working in concert to handle these juveniles. Incomplete case files were often built because one agency did not have access to information from another agency. The Phase I police departments have worked toward breaking down these agency barriers by working out cooperative agreements with other agencies to exchange particular types of information. This is beneficial in two ways. First, it provides a more realistic assessment of a juvenile offender. This will enhance his opportunity to be handled appropriately within the juvenile justice system. Also, because the agencies are communicating on a regular basis, a SHO/DI is less likely to "fall through the cracks" of the system.

There are seven major components of the system model:

- Police Department
- Prosecutor
- Schools

- Juvenile Court
- Probation
- Corrections
- Community Groups

1. Police Department: The police department is central to the SHO/DI program. This is the first contact a SHO/DI will have with the system. The police department also houses the bulk of a SHO/DI's case information; however, the department also utilizes information from the other sources.
2. Prosecutor: The prosecutor works closely with the police in building an effective case and in prosecuting the juvenile. Prosecutors involved in SHO/DI have several options including vertical prosecution and making the juvenile plead to every provable charge. The prosecutor can also act as a liaison with the courts.
3. Schools: The schools are in a unique position to provide information which the juvenile justice system otherwise might not have including: attendance information, diagnostic test results, academic records and records of offenses committed in the schools. Similarly, the police can work with the schools in coordinating policies and procedures concerning crimes committed in the schools, in analyzing and combatting school crime and in identifying juvenile serious habitual offenders who are currently in the schools.
4. Juvenile Court: The juvenile judge can provide the police with information on dispositions of SHO/DI cases. He can also allow access to court records which will enhance the building of case files.

5. Probation: The probation officers work with the police in identifying information that is necessary for accurate assessment of SHO/DI juveniles. They can communicate directly with police officers so that the police department input is also considered. The police can provide probation with information on police contacts which do not result in arrests (curfew violations, field interviews, etc.). These allow probation officers to make appropriate recommendations based on a more complete picture of the juvenile's activity. The prosecutor and probation also exchange information before decisions on recommendations are made.
6. Corrections: Historically, corrections and the police department have had little interaction concerning juvenile offenders and yet their interaction is especially important if charges have been reduced or if juveniles have been allowed not to plea to every provable charge. During Phase I of SHO/DI, corrections began exchanging such information with the Police Department concerning juvenile serious habitual offenders. Corrections also provides the Police Department with notices of pending releases.
7. Community Groups: Citizens' Groups took an active part in the developmental phase of SHO/DI. They not only provided feedback on the problem of juvenile serious habitual offenders, they also worked with the police departments in combatting juvenile drug use and drug-related crime.

#### Anticipated Results

The SHO/DI program seeks the following:

- A. A structured law enforcement focus on serious crimes perpetrated by habitual juvenile offenders and juvenile offenders who are drug/alcohol involved.

- B. To reduce the crime frequency and patterns of juvenile serious, habitual offenders and juvenile drug users.
- C. To reduce and suppress drug procurement by juveniles.
- D. To increase the identification of, arrest, conviction and incarceration of drug pushers whose clients are juveniles.
- E. Expeditious prosecution and treatment of juveniles who are serious habitual offenders and who chronically threaten the community.
- F. Increased cooperation and coordination between police, prosecutorial authorities, courts and aftercare agencies.
- G. Reduction in pre-trial delays, plea bargaining, case dismissals and sentence reductions.

#### A Redirected Effort

The National Advisory Committee reported four major findings. One of these was that "very little of the federal money spent since 1974 has been directed at controlling the chronic serious delinquent." Additionally, the committee notes that, of the \$120 million spent on discretionary programs between 1975 and 1980, the OJJDP directed less than \$12,000 toward the violent juvenile offender.

However, the tide appears to be turning as the impact of the serious, habitual offender is recognized. The SHO/DI program is a beginning. It is an attempt to focus at least some federal and local efforts on a chronic problem which must be handled more effectively than it has been in the past.

Although repeat juvenile offenders represent a very small percentage of the juvenile population, they are responsible for far more than their share of the



criminal activity. One must question the ability of the current juvenile justice system in dealing with these offenders.

The juvenile justice system is designed to protect the youth, to redirect his activities away from criminal behavior, to provide treatment for the difficulties which presumably led him to conduct criminal activity. But what about the protection of society from the actions of these juveniles who are, in reality, experienced criminals? We also need to look at the "treatments" currently available to see whether they work. Finally, we must realistically assess whether or not every offender can be successfully redirected from criminal behavior.

The usual pattern in the juvenile justice system is to treat first offenses, even very serious first offenses, rather lightly. Aside from the fact that this does nothing to deter future criminal activity, it also indicates to the juvenile delinquent that the system is ineffective--that in fact, he has nothing to fear if caught in criminal behavior.

The basic philosophy of the juvenile justice system negatively affects not only the offender but also the victim and the community. Researchers and practitioners realize that juveniles generally commit their crimes in their own neighborhoods thus they are able to intimidate their victims. If their offenses are treated lightly in the system, not only does the victim not feel any sense of justice, he/she may also be subject to further abuse by the delinquent.

Traditionalists argue that the focus should be on treatment of the juvenile rather than concern with the offense. This approach is certainly appropriate for the overwhelming majority of juveniles who become involved in a small number of offenses. We need to continue our efforts to treat these juveniles

and redirect them into positive activities. But we must also recognize that for serious habitual juvenile offenders, treatment programs are not sufficient.

It is important to remember that, although these chronic serious offenders represent only a small minority of juveniles, they are responsible for the majority of juvenile crime. Let me provide some examples of the kinds of offenders we're talking about (Figures 2 and 3). All of these juveniles are currently "on the street."

Police officers come into contact with these juveniles again and again, yet most of them do not receive an appropriate response by the juvenile justice system. Quite often these juveniles started out as victims themselves - of child abuse, neglect and so on; however, they have now begun to victimize others. We must recognize that fact and begin to examine it in a realistic manner.

The SHO/DI program is an attempt to do just that - to try to make the various parts of the juvenile justice system work together in order to deal more successfully with juvenile serious, habitual offenders.

FIGURE 1

JUVENILE OFFENDER MATRIX

<u>SERIOUS OFFENDER</u>				<u>NOT SERIOUS OFFENDER</u>			
HABITUAL		NOT HABITUAL		HABITUAL		NOT HABITUAL	
DRUG INVOLVED	NOT DRUG INVOLVED	DRUG INVOLVED	NOT DRUG INVOLVED	DRUG INVOLVED	NOT DRUG INVOLVED	DRUG INVOLVED	NOT DRUG INVOLVED

1. Serious, habitual, drug involved
2. Serious, habitual, not drug involved
3. Serious, not habitual, drug involved
4. Serious, not habitual, not drug involved

5. Not serious, habitual, drug involved
6. Not serious, habitual, not drug involved
7. Not serious, not habitual, drug involved
8. Not serious, not habitual, not drug involved

FIGURE 2--Summary of SHO/DI juveniles criminal history.

<u>CASE NUMBER</u>	<u>DATE OF BIRTH</u>	<u>PART I CRIME ARRESTS</u>	<u>PART II CRIME ARRESTS</u>
1	10/18/68	2 Burglary 4 Petty Theft	1 Glue Sniffing 8 Curfew 1 Habitual Truant 1 Poss. of a Weapon 1 Minor in Possession of Alcohol 1 Poss. of Marijuana
2	10/10/70	1 Burglary 1 Grand Theft 2 Petty Thefts	1 Poss. of Marijuana 2 Habitual Truant
3	09/20/68	3 Assaults 3 Petty Thefts 3 Burglaries 1 Robbery 1 ADW	1 Vandalism 1 Trespassing 1 Habitual Truant 1 Curfew 1 Rec. Stolen Property
4	01/26/67	5 Petty Thefts 3 Rec. Stolen Prop. 2 Burglaries	1 Resisting Arrest
5	10/29/67	1 Robbery 2 Burglaries	1 Drunk 3 Paint Sniffing 1 Poss. of Switchblade 2 Minor in poss. of Alcohol 1 Curfew 1 Resisting Arrest
6	03/26/67	2 Burglaries 1 Assault	1 Rec. Stolen Property 2 Curfews 1 Poss. of Marijuana 1 Minor in poss. of concealed firearm 1 Drunk
7	02/01/67	1 Attempt Burglary 1 Burglary 1 Petty Theft	2 Curfew 1 Extortion 2 Paint Sniffing 2 Drunk 1 Under the influence of a controlled substance 1 Escape
8	01/23/68	8 Assaults 1 Arson 1 ADW 1 Robbery 1 Theft of Vehicle	1 Cruelty to Animals 2 Vandalism 5 Escape

FIGURE 2--Continued.

<u>CASE NUMBER</u>	<u>DATE OF BIRTH</u>	<u>PART I CRIME ARRESTS</u>	<u>PART II CRIME ARRESTS</u>
9	09/04/68	3 Burglary	4 Paint Sniffing 1 Poss. of Marijuana 1 Rec. Stolen Property 2 Curfew 1 Vandalism
10	06/18/68	1 Attempt Burglary 2 Burglaries 2 Theft of Vehicle 2 Petty Theft Assault w/deadly weapon	2 Rec. Stolen Property 2 Escape 2 Habitual Truant 4 Curfew 2 Poss. of Marijuana 1 Marijuana for Sale 1 Refusal to Leave School Grounds

FIGURE 3--SHO/DI profile.

POLICE DEPARTMENT

SHO/DI PROFILE

DATE: March 7, 1984

PERSONAL DATA

NAME: Simon DOB: 06/18/68 AGE: 15 RACE: SEX: M  
ADDRESS: HT: 5-02 WT: 120 HR: BLK EY: Brn  
PHONE: DL#: AKA:  
SS#: YA#: MONIKER:  
CII#: GANG AFFILIATION:  
SCARS:  
TATTOOS:

FAMILY INFORMATION

FATHER: Simon EMPLOYER:  
ADDRESS: Unknown PHONE:  
MOTHER: Consuelo EMPLOYER:  
ADDRESS: PHONE:  
BROTHERS: 5 SISTERS: 0 NUMBER LIVING IN HOME: 5

FAMILY CRIMINAL HISTORY: Brother Arthur, age 20, arrested for minor in possession of alcohol and curfew as a juvenile, and arrested for a traffic warrant as an adult. Brother Nelson, age 22, has been on probation for auto theft. Brother Ruben, age 25, is currently in stage prison for armed robbery.

EDUCATION

SCHOOL: High School GRADE: 9th  
ATTENDANCE: Six trancies in first eight weeks of second semester.  
ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE: Poor, seldom completes assignments in or out of class.  
CONDUCT: Deliberately disturbs classes; is rude and disrespectful to teachers; uses foul language and obscene gestures to teachers, has been found to smoke and has been under the influence of marijuana on campus.

FIGURE 3--Continued.

DRUG/ALCOHOL USE

In October, 1983, minor admitted to probation officer that he drinks beer on holidays only, admitted the use of marijuana (approximately 10 "joints" on a weekend), and admitted sniffing paint. The minor has two arrests for possession of marijuana and one arrest for possession of marijuana for sale.

ARREST RECORD

<u>DATE</u>	<u>AGENCY</u>	<u>CHARGE</u>	<u>DISPOSITION</u>
08/07/80	S.O.	Attempt Robbery	Counseled & released at intake
05/12/82	P.D.	Residential Burglary Poss. of Stolen Prop	Burglary sustained, 36 days Juvenile Hall, \$50 restitution
09/27/82	P.D.	Theft of Vehicle Driving w/o license	
09/28/82	P.D.	Escape Petty Theft	Escape sustained, 80 hrs com- munity work, 30 days Juv. Hall.
11/08/82	P.D.	Habitual Truant	See 9/28/82
11/12/82	P.D.	Receiving Stolen Property, Habitual Truant	See 9/28/82
01/14/83	P.D.	Curfew	See 9/28/82
02/01/83	P.D.	Assault w/Deadly Weapon, Curfew	Rejected by D.A.
05/05/83	P.D.	Petty Theft	See 6/8/83
05/23/83	P.D.	Burglary	See 6/8/83
06/08/83	P.D.	Taking Vehicle w/o Permission, Curfew, Poss. of Marijuana	Placed in Optimist Boys Home
06/26/83	P.D.	Poss. of Marijuana Marijuana for Sale Curfew	See 6/8/83
09/04/83	P.D.	Warrant on Failure to Appear on Above Charges	Returned to Optimist Boys Home
02/03/84		Left Optimist Boys Home w/o Permission	
03/05/84	P.D.	Disruption & Refusal to Leave School Grounds	

FIGURE 3--Continued.

FIELD CONTACTS THAT DID NOT RESULT IN ARREST

<u>DATE</u>	<u>CIRCUMSTANCES</u>
12/06/81	Loitering around apartment complex.
10/19/82	Truant - released to school.
11/04/82	Truant - released to school.
11/08/82	Truant - third offense, arrested.
11/11/82	Walking in residential area acting suspicious.
05/08/83	Active burglar observed walking at ____ Bl. & ____ St.
06/25/83	Known burglary suspect, riding three on a bike.
01/30/84	Walking through residential area, stated he was on leave from Optimist Boys Home in _____.
03/01/84	Truant - attempted to evade officers - taken to school.

TRAFFIC CITATIONS

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VIOLATION</u>
02/02/83	Throwing a substance at a vehicle with the intent to do great bodily injury.



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Informational Commentary\*

Number 17

SHO/DI: A CORRECTIONS PERSPECTIVE

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI). The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.

## SHO/DI: A CORRECTIONS PERSPECTIVE

### Introduction

When the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved program (SHO/DI) was first initiated in December, 1982, it was designed as a police department program - a Law Enforcement response to the problem of chronic, serious juvenile crime. SHO/DI also represented a redirection of focus by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). In the past, little had been done to respond to serious offenders who happened to be juveniles. Thus, the project was first established as a research, test and demonstration program.

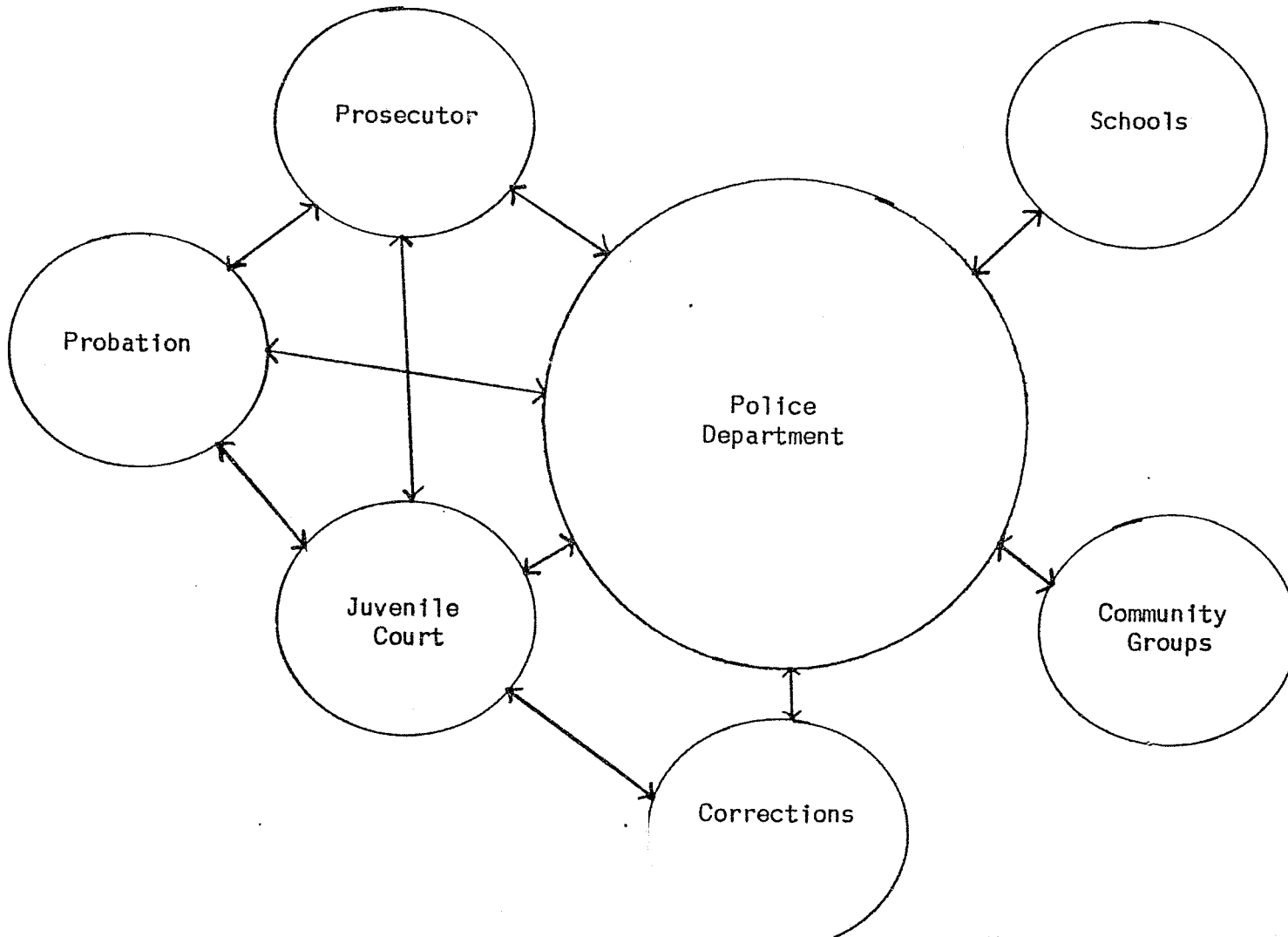
One of the major objectives of the program was to develop a consistent, systemwide response to the problem, thereby actively involving all juvenile-related agencies. Although all of these agencies are part of the juvenile justice system, traditionally there has been little open communication among them. Thus, before the SHO/DI program could be effectively implemented, lines of communication often had to be established. This has become a primary task of the SHO/DI program. Each of the SHO/DI sites is working to develop a "systems" approach to serious juvenile offenders.

### Systems Approach Model (See Figure 1)

The SHO/DI systems approach, developed during Phase I of the SHO/DI program, is based on the realization that too many of the juvenile serious habitual offenders were "falling through the cracks" because juvenile-related agencies were not working in concert to handle these juveniles. Incomplete case files were often built because one agency did not have access to information from another agency. The Phase I police departments have worked toward breaking down these agency barriers by working out cooperative agreements with

Figure 1

SHO/DI Systems Approach Model



other agencies to exchange particular types of information. This is beneficial in two ways. First, it provides a more realistic assessment of a juvenile offender. This will enhance his opportunity to be handled appropriately within the juvenile justice system. Also, because the agencies are communicating on a regular basis, a SHO/DI is less likely to "fall through the cracks" of the system.

There are seven major components of the system model:

- Police Department
- Prosecutor
- Schools
- Juvenile Court
- Probation
- Corrections
- Community Groups

Police Department: The police department is central to the SHO/DI program. This is the first contact a SHO/DI will have with the system. The police department also houses the bulk of a SHO/DI's case information; however, the department also utilizes information from the other sources.

Prosecutor: The prosecutor works closely with the police in building an effective case and in prosecuting the juvenile. Prosecutors involved in SHO/DI have several options including vertical prosecution and making the juvenile plead to every provable charge. The prosecutor can also act as a liaison with the courts.

Schools: The schools are in a unique position to provide information which the juvenile justice system otherwise might not have including: attendance information, diagnostic test results, academic records and records of offenses committed in the schools. Similarly, the police can work with the schools in coordinating policies and procedures concerning crimes committed in

the schools, in analyzing and combatting school crime and in identifying juvenile serious habitual offenders who are currently in the schools.

Juvenile Court: The juvenile judge can provide the police with information on dispositions of SHO/DI cases. He can also allow access to court files which will enhance the building of case files.

Probation: The probation officers work with the police in identifying information that is necessary for accurate assessment of SHO/DI juveniles. They can communicate directly with police officers so that the police department input is also considered. The police can provide probation with information on police contacts which do not result in arrests (curfew violations, field interviews, etc.). These allow probation officers to make more appropriate recommendations based on a more complete picture of the juvenile's activity. The prosecutor and probation also exchange information before decisions on recommendations are made.

Corrections: Historically, corrections and the police department have had little interaction concerning juvenile offenders and yet their interaction is especially important if charges have been reduced or if juveniles have been allowed not to plea to every provable charge. During Phase I of SHO/DI, corrections began exchanging information with the Police Department concerning juvenile serious habitual offenders. Corrections also provides the Police Department with notices of pending releases.

Community Groups: Citizens' Groups took an active part in the developmental phase of SHO/DI. They not only provided feedback on the problem of juvenile serious habitual offenders, they also worked with the police departments in combatting juvenile drug use and drug-related crime.

Colorado Springs provides one example of how the police department has sought active involvement from several agencies, including Corrections.

## The Role of Corrections in the SHO/DI Program

Juvenile justice is realized when the juvenile offender is properly processed through the judicial and correctional systems and as an adult remains at liberty without further criminal violations. This implies that the various components of the justice system, i.e., police, prosecutor, judge, probation, correctional counselor, and parole must function as a unit which will enable the consistent application of the judicial/correctional process. The major failure of the juvenile justice system is the breakdown in communications inherent in each of the components as well as the history of these segments not communicating with one another or collectively to assure swift, fair and sure correction of the serious, habitual juvenile offender. In fact, it is the lack of communication among and between the components that has made the juvenile justice system a "non-system".

The role of corrections to "treat" and return the juvenile to his/her community with the ability and attitude to remain at liberty is no more or less important than the investigation and apprehension by law enforcement that brought the juvenile into the judicial/correctional process. The attitude of law enforcement and the tone of prosecution establishes the foundation for rehabilitation and has as much to do with the "turn-around" of the juvenile delinquent as does the "therapy" of the sentence and the work of the correctional agent. Each juvenile justice professional must realize his responsibility to "serve and protect".

Realizing the interdependence of the juvenile justice system on its various components, the Colorado Springs SHO/DI staff incorporated communications with juvenile corrections officials in their objectives and tasks submitted with their initial SHO/DI application for funding. Their objectives and tasks addressed issues relevant to identification of the SHO/DI; creation of a profile and tracking system; and support of the justice system.

Each objective implies the need for a high degree of communication among and between the components of the system in order to accomplish the tasks.

The involvement of corrections in the SHO/DI program has intensified the communications between the police and the Division of Youth Services as a common goal has been identified and methods agreed upon to accomplish the objectives and realize the goal. There is a category of juvenile offender - SHO/DI that requires intensive/coordinated police work, special prosecution, immediate judicial response and removal from the community to assure its protection and through isolation from the community the offender's best opportunity for rehabilitation. The placement of the SHO/DI in a correctional environment enhances the probability of altering his/her behavior. Early identification and swift, fair, sure, processing through the judicial system is essential to the success of the program and the "rehabilitation" of the offender.

#### Police Department Input to Corrections

In Colorado the juvenile detention facility is administered and operated by the State-Division of Youth Services. The admission of each juvenile is established by statute and criteria approved by the juvenile court.

SHO/DI juveniles by definition and profile meet the statutory requirements and court criteria for admission to detention. The SHO/DI crime analyst has access to Division of Youth Services' detention documents and computer information regarding juveniles detained locally or across the state per agreement with the juvenile court and the Division of Youth Services. The detention screening unit has access to police records and criminal history incorporating this information into its detention hearing report submitted to the District Attorney prior to the detention hearing. (Colorado law provides for a detention hearing within 48 hours of admission.) Information essential at the



time of detention referral is:

A. Current Charge

1. Verify current charge

- a. If charges are reduced or changed, can youth be released prior to detention hearing?
- b. What are known facts of the offense - value? damage? weapon? etc.?

2. Did the youth act alone or were other juveniles/adults involved?

B. Prior delinquent history

1. Prior arrests

- a. What were charges?
- b. Were charges filed with D.A.?
- c. Disposition of charges.
- d. Information on arrests in other jurisdictions.

2. Prior history of failure to appear or escape.

Police and prosecutory officials are encouraged to communicate with detention personnel while youth is detained.

Following adjudication, and at the time of disposition, SHO/DI police and prosecution specialists are encouraged to participate in the staffing that will determine placement in the correctional system and specific treatment objectives. Information relevant to staffing for correctional placement and treatment plans are:

A. Act which resulted in adjudication

1. Details as to involvement
2. Attitude and demeanor at time of arrest
3. Attitude toward victim

B. Prior delinquent history

1. Prior arrest

- a. What were charges?

- b. Were charges filed with D.A.?
- c. Disposition of charges.
- d. Information on arrests, adjudications in other jurisdictions.

C. Family/Profile and History

- 1. Family known to police-criminal activity
  - a. Charges
  - b. Disposition
  - c. Attitude toward authority

What is law enforcement's attitude toward sentence/disposition and are there any stipulations relevant to the corrections program?

- A. Desire communication with correction officials.
  - 1. How often - more than quarterly?
  - 2. Method - other than written?
- B. Notification prior to community visit
- C. Involvement in pre-release planning
- D. Recommendations to be included in conditions of release/parole

Information, both factual and the opinion of the law enforcement community, assist in establishing treatment plans and specific issues that the youth must deal with in the treatment/correctional program. Factors such as: attitude toward authority, ability to handle confrontation, aggressiveness, self-concept, family attitudes and relationship, denial, peer dependence, substance abuse, victim awareness, and others are dealt with in individual and group sessions.

Law enforcement in the community is a reality and the offender must recognize his concepts and responsibilities. The law enforcement officer becomes an extension of the correctional counselor in the community - both should be aware of the same goal and objective.

## Corrections Input for the Police Department

Upon receiving the juvenile, correctional counselors must begin planning for release. As an integral part of the youths transition to community crime free living, correctional personnel must share treatment goals and objectives with community law enforcement authorities. They must communicate the strengths and weaknesses of the youth while in treatment, their achievements and failures, and objectively relate the factors leading to both. The dialogue must include expectations of the community for the offender while in the correctional setting. Treatment/Correctional personnel must honestly reveal their limitations in the rehabilitative process. How each can assist the other and what factors and actions are detrimental must be shared on a periodic basis throughout the period of institutionalization.

The court must be apprised of the value of open communication between police and the corrections community and enhance the relationship through court approved access to all relevant records. The court should remain capable of mediating technical issues raised by either the prosecutor or defense assuring fairness throughout the correctional process. (Colorado Juvenile Courts have jurisdiction of the offender until his/her 21st birthday.)

Home visits should be made a part of the treatment plan and full discussion with local police a vital part of negotiating the community transition/parole of the juvenile. Feedback from local authorities relevant to the youths home visit is most helpful to correctional counselors. It is also helpful for the youth to be aware that his home visit is known to local authorities. No one is asking that the youth be under police surveillance during the visit - in fact, this should not be the case. However, law enforcement officers should not be surprised when they see this youth on the street. Coordination of visits with the community can alleviate the youth's participation or association with youth whom he/she has had previous criminal involvement.

Positive, informal encounters with local police can breakdown barriers established by the offender's delinquent subculture. Correctional counselors can assist local police in methods of relating to the offender and facilitate a new attitude on the part of the youth toward the law enforcement community.

#### Benefits of Interagency Cooperation

Each component of the juvenile justice system has problems and issues unique to their responsibilities. Each has their own language and support system within ranks that often excludes the other components. It is not uncommon for each to blame the other for the failures of the juvenile justice system. The beneficiary of a SHO/DI program that integrates and coordinates these components is the community and the serious, habitual offender.

Only through communication and critical assessment of each youth's movement through apprehension, detention, filing, prosecution, hearing, disposition, correctional program, and release can we better accomplish our task of protecting the community. Learning through our mistakes, as well as a job well done, can only make us more proficient and efficient at what we do.

A youth who is caught and immediately and fairly brought through the judicial/correctional process is more easily rehabilitated than the offender whose movement through the system is delayed and repeated due to "shoddy" police work, inept prosecution, "social work" judges, and "hand slapping" correctional personnel. The offender repeatedly does "beat" the non-system. He/she will benefit from an organized, integrated, coordinated, consistent, functional juvenile justice system where each component knows and acknowledges his responsibilities and shares equally in the task of protecting the community. By providing fair and equal justice, and correcting criminal behavior we will accomplish our goal of community protection and offender rehabilitation. It has been foreign and out of character for the police and

prosecutor to acknowledge their role as a rehabilitator and for the juvenile corrections community, i.e., probation, institutional counselor, and parole, to admit their responsibility of community protection.

At present the community suffers because the serious, habitual offender is not held in check by the non-system. Police not communicating among themselves lead to numerous lectures and releases. Poor investigation and lack of documentation results in release rather than pre-trial detention. Prosecution is often diluted due to the loss of inability to present evidence. The court allows another chance as a result of no or misinformation and the correctional system releases prematurely due to their inability to communicate with local authorities.

SHO/DI offers each component the opportunity for meaningful communication and dialogue that will correct the deficiencies of the contemporary non-system. With each of the components better able to function among themselves and through cooperation and coordination between police, detention, prosecution, court, probation, institutional treatment, and parole a common purpose will be realized that will result in better protection of the community and a real change for the offender to live an adult life free of criminal activity.

Informational Commentary\*

Number 18

PROFILING THE JUVENILE SERIOUS HABITUAL OFFENDER

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\*Informational Commentaries are designed to provide background information on issues related to the Juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved (SHO/DI) Program. The commentaries do not represent an official statement on the part of any individual involved in the SHO/DI program.

## Introduction

Experience has shown that the current juvenile justice system has not been as effective as it could be in handling juveniles who are serious, habitual offenders. Too often these juveniles are allowed to "beat" the system. Although arrested and charged with an offense time and again, they are quite often diverted out of the system before they ever get to juvenile court. It doesn't take long for these juveniles to learn how the system works.

These chronic offenders, who represent a very small percentage of all juvenile offenders, are responsible for the majority of juvenile crimes committed. Thus it is in the best interest of the juvenile and the community to focus efforts on this problem.

One of the major objectives of the juvenile Serious Habitual Offender/Drug Involved Program (SHO/DI) is to enhance cooperation between the various juvenile-related agencies. It is believed that such increased cooperation will produce two positive results. First, it will lessen the likelihood that a chronic juvenile offender will "beat" the system time and again. Also, once all agencies involved have a more complete picture of a juvenile offender's history, it should lead to a more effective response to that juvenile.

In Jacksonville, Florida, the Sheriff's Office has been working with other juvenile-related agencies to build accurate profiles of juvenile serious, chronic offenders. The crime analysis unit coordinates this effort.

## Crime Analysis

The crime analysis unit of a police department is an integral

component of criminal investigations and intelligence gathering duties. As such, it is the repositior of juvenile offender information under the SHO/DI program. Crime analysis by its very existence and purpose is the bridge for information flow between units of a law enforcement agency. By focusing the talents and capabilities of the unit on the task of identifying potential SHO/DI candidates, the job of expanding that information and making it more useable is a natural progression of events assuring the success of the program.

The crime analysis unit of the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office has been in existence for as long as many in the nation and has gained wide acceptance by patrolmen and detectives, not only in Jacksonville, but within other jurisdictions as well. The tools and methods of analysis developed over the years have been modified and tailored to accept the new responsibility of handling the very sensitive juvenile offender information necessary to the SHO/DI program. Effective handling is crucial, especially when dealing with juveniles.

#### Intradepartmental Profiling

The first task, before profiling can begin, is to identify information sources and determine what each can provide. It might be that what one agency may not divulge can be obtained from another. At the same time it is important to take stock of what's available in-house. This in itself can be an enlightening experience. The crime analyst should start at the most obvious place, crime analysis, and examine what's available there. Examples of useful information include previous field contacts, prior reports of runaway or abuse, and prior incidents involving a juvenile that did not result in an arrest. In addition, these are good sources for conducting link analysis later.



The crime analyst should also talk with the individuals who input the data if automated records systems are utilized; there may be computerized juvenile records that are not common knowledge. Next, go to the records room and talk with supervisors and other knowledgeable people. Things to look for include any information that tends to confirm, or add to what has already been found in crime analysis. The analyst should ask for everything available on juveniles and think ahead as to how each bit of information could possibly fit in later. Also, don't neglect individuals -- people who frequently deal with juveniles. Use what's learned to ask questions later when dealing with other agencies. As is often the case, the more you know about something, the easier it is to ask relevant questions. The goal is to obtain as much information as possible about juveniles. Although some of what is learned may prove to be worthless later on, that cannot be determined until all the information is collected and analyzed.

#### Cooperation With Other Agencies

The task of actually acquiring the first bit of outside information or the first source for information is often the most difficult part of the entire process. To get your foot in the door, as the saying goes, takes nothing less than patience, perseverance and support from superiors. An added advantage is the "gift of gab" and the ability to steer a conversation. The best approach is to literally "sell" SHO/DI.

Cooperation is also enhanced when each agency can see additional benefits gained from information-sharing. In Jacksonville, the services and resources of the analyst assigned to SHO/DI, coupled with assurances of increased overall cooperation proved to be the qualities that encouraged the first exchange of information. In one case it was nothing

more than a monthly computer-generated summary of all criminal activity at specific locations. In another, it was the promise of continued and future cooperation.

The systems approach was facilitated through frequent meetings held with key people from other juvenile-related agencies and it was quickly shown exactly how the information from each was to be used and to what extent. Also, at this point, it was easy to show how each individual organization could benefit from what the others had to offer. For example, the schools provided information on a SHO/DI candidate that showed him to be a poor student, but otherwise unremarkable. Police records however, indicated he was active in robberies and assault. This was an indication to school officials that this same juvenile may also be responsible for similar, unreported incidents at school which may warrant closer monitoring of his activities there.

In another example, police field contact information was offered to Health and Rehabilitative Services officials to be used to help track juveniles under their supervision on some sort of probation. By collecting this data, they would know immediately when an condition of probation had been violated. Although they were not previously collecting this information, it provides a more accurate picture of a juvenile's activity.

The most important point to keep in mind when contacting other organizations for information is to start with the one that is most prone to cooperate. Once that's done, go to the next most likely source to share information, and so on, until all potential sources have been tapped. The agencies that are most likely to have information beneficial to the SHO/DI program are any that have contact with juveniles. The most obvious are: the state attorney or prosecutor's office, the juvenile courts, the social service agency that monitors juvenile probation and

dependency cases and, of course, local law enforcement. In situations where multiple police jurisdictions are a factor, it may be helpful to establish a task force to coordinate with the other organizations.

Once information sources have been identified and their cooperation obtained, it's important to know precisely what will be needed from each. Basically, the goal is to collect as much information as possible regarding each SHO/DI, so that when assembled, the completed document reflects all contacts with all agencies. Put simply, everything a juvenile has ever been involved in, when it occurred, the circumstances, and who he was with when he was doing it should be included. If it was a judicial or administrative action, the outcome should also be included. In cases of probation or parole, note how well the juvenile adhered to the conditions. School records should reflect attendance history, some measure of academic standing, indication of involvement in any special education programs, and conduct history.

### Building the Profile

Once gathered, this data should then be assembled into chronological order with particular items of information included in each entry, such as: source, date of occurrence, specific charge, with enough accompanying facts to make it clear, and the eventual outcome or disposition of each entry. When organized in such a fashion, jurisdictional overlaps will become evident. This alone has been a powerful tool in gaining even more cooperation from the other agencies and has done much to secure additional information. It provides for the viewer an image that cannot be found at a single source; it is a compendium of data collected and assembled from a variety of different sources. It can be dissected into its component parts and analyzed or left whole.

The most effective way to display the document is on an overhead projector, with each agency's information on a separate transparency. When displayed simultaneously the entries from the different sources will interlock, forming a chronological history of all incidents involving a particular SHO/DI. It's probable something of this nature will be of value to juvenile court judges at the time of sentencing. It can also be utilized by counselors to evaluate what forms of treatment have and have not worked. For law enforcement and prosecutors it is an up-to-date summary of the SHO/DI's criminal and social history. For all the contributing agencies it is a complete visual recap of the countless man-hours, time, and money expended on just one individual. Overall, it can benefit everyone with the priority task of effectively responding to the serious habitual juvenile offender.

## Appendix A

Bill (fictitious name) is a juvenile who was arrested in connection with the stabbing death of an 18 year old male during a fight. At the time of his arrest, Bill had already been involved with the juvenile justice system a number of times yet he had never been adjudicated on any offense. Instead, all of his prior offenses had been resolved at the intake level.

When Bill was just eleven years old, he was charged with petty theft; the next day the offense was settled at intake. Three years later Bill was arrested and charged with burglary and conspiracy and also with possession of a switch-blade. Less than a week later the case was settled at intake. Two days after being charged with burglary and conspiracy, Bill was picked up and charged with being drunk in public. The case was handled informally. A month later he was charged with disturbing the peace; again the case was handled informally.

At the age of fifteen, Bill was charged with possession of alcohol, possession of marijuana and possession of a dangerous weapon. Two weeks later, Bill was again charged with those offenses. He was placed on informal supervision which was then dismissed three months later. During the period of supervision, Bill was once charged with violation of the informal supervision. The incident was handled at intake.

Six months after his informal supervision was dismissed, when Bill was sixteen, he was charged with school trespass, possession of a knife and possession of alcohol. Again the matter was handled at intake. Five months later, Bill was again charged with school trespass. One week later, the matter was settled at intake. Less than three months later, Bill stabbed two young men. One of them died a few hours later.

## Appendix B

### Link Analysis

Link Analysis can serve several purposes. Most importantly, it is a graphic illustration of individual and organizational relationships. Such analysis provides the best picture possible with available information and points out additional information and leads for further investigation.

This particular analysis established numerous links between a number of juvenile offenders. Also linked to these juveniles is one adult suspected to be involved in drugs. The analysis first centered around one juvenile Richard Jason \_\_\_\_\_. He, in turn, has numerous associations with other juveniles also involved in criminal activities.



## Appendix C

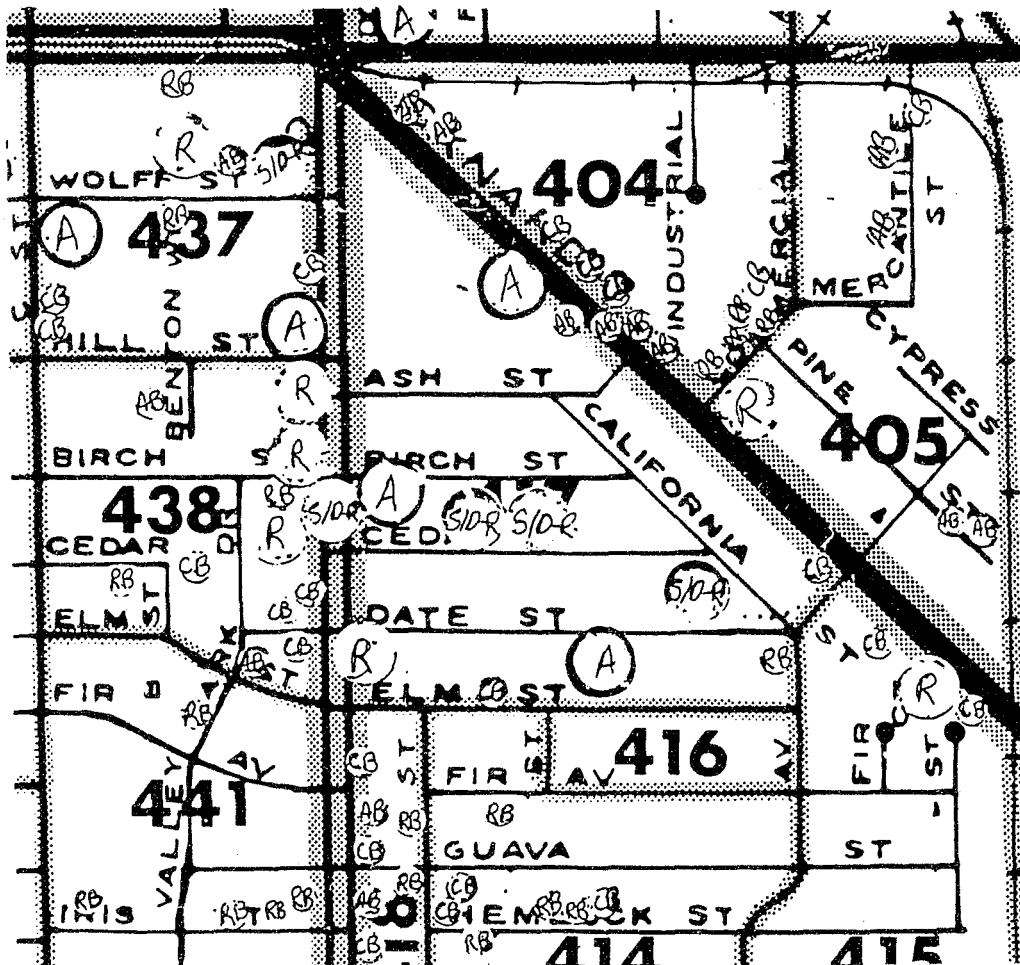
Research indicates that chronic juvenile offenders are responsible for over half of all juvenile crime. Table 1 and the two pin dot maps graphically illustrate what happened in one neighborhood when several chronic juvenile offenders were taken off the street. The table presents criminal activity in a three-month period while the juveniles were still active and the level of activity once the juveniles had been arrested and sentenced.

Table 1  
Neighborhood Offenses

	While juveniles were still active	Once juveniles had been sent to Corrections
Robbery	7	4
Assault	6	2
Residential Burglary	23	5
Commercial Burglary	19	7
Auto Burglary	15	9
Total	70	27



JANUARY 1, 1984 TO MARCH 31, 1984



S/D-R SHO/DI's Residence

R Robbery

A Assault

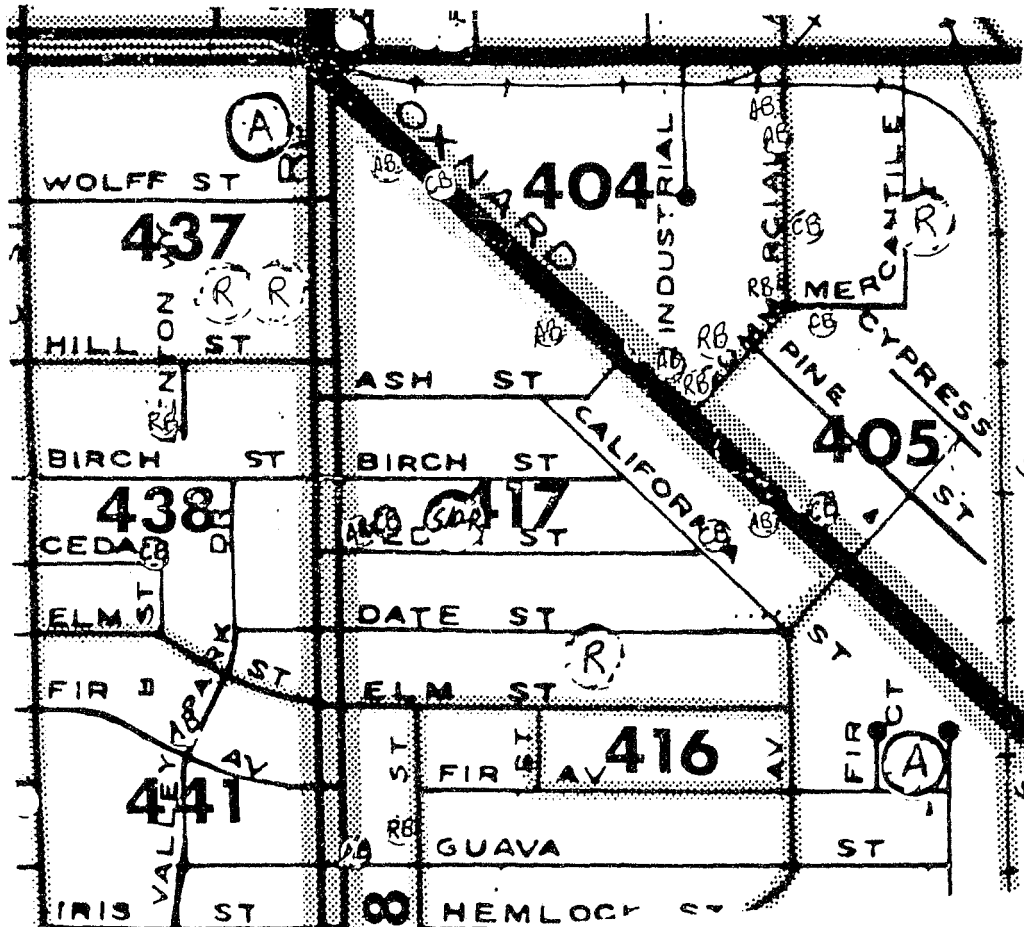
RB Residential Burglary

CB Commercial Burglary

AB Auto Burglary

NOTE: Five SHO/DI's resided in the above neighborhood during the period of January 1, 1984, through March 31, 1984. One was in custody since January 25, 1984, and three others were arrested (and detained) the last week of March, 1984.

APRIL 1, 1984 TO JUNE 30, 1984



S/O-R SHO/DI's Residence

R Robbery

A Assault

RB Residential Burglary

CB Commercial Burglary

AB Auto Burglary

NOTE: Only one SHO/DI still resided in the above neighborhood during the period of April 1, 1984 through June 30, 1984. He was detained on 5/28/84 and all five SHO/DI's were subsequently sentenced, and are now serving time

The pin maps depicting criminal activity in this area show a substantial reduction in Part I crimes from the first quarter of 1984, to the second.