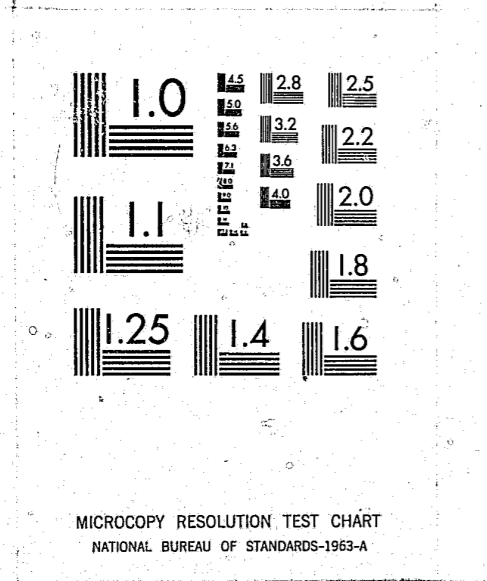


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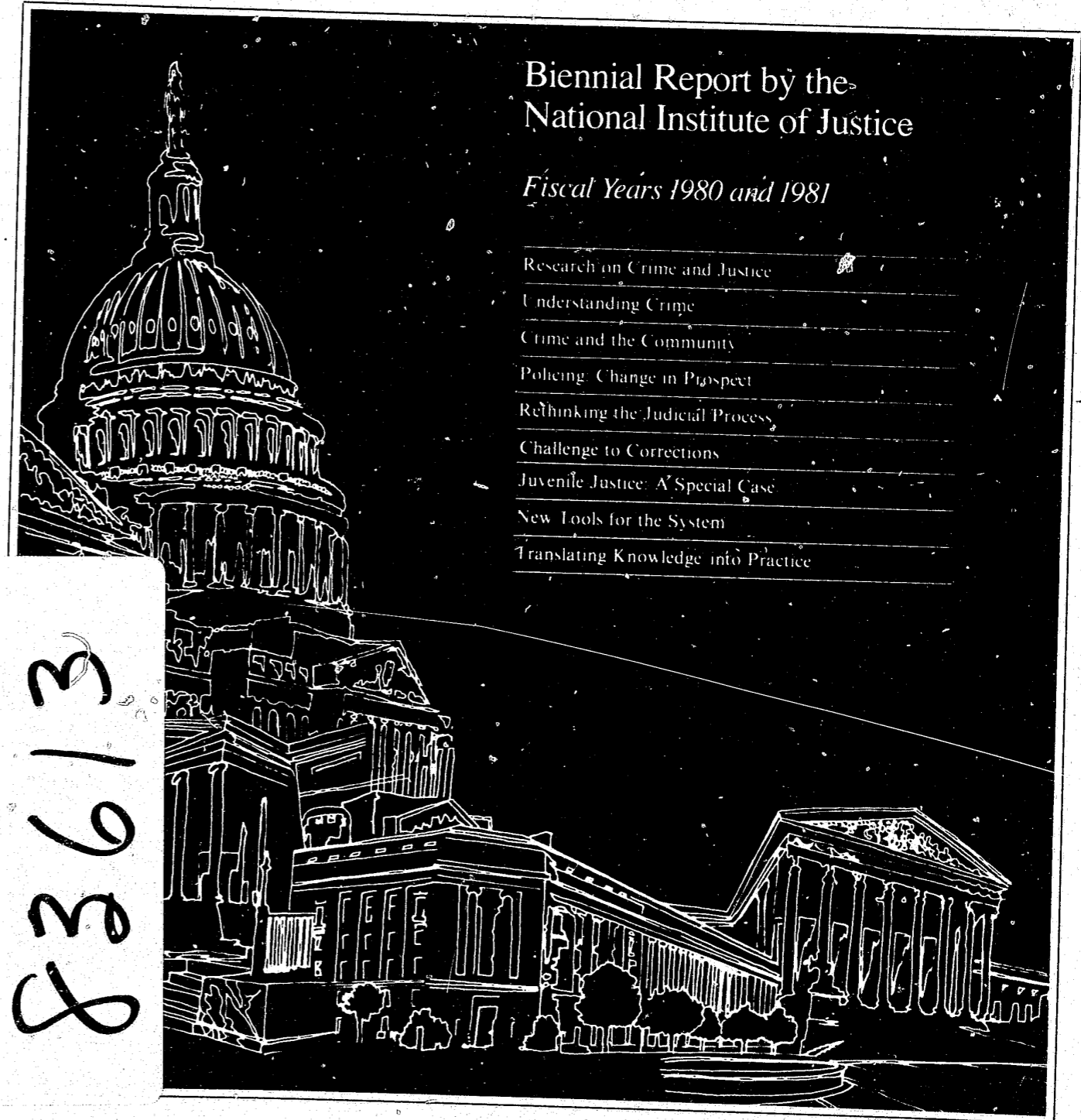
Criminal Justice Research

Biennial Report by the
National Institute of Justice

Fiscal Years 1980 and 1981

- Research on Crime and Justice
- Understanding Crime
- Crime and the Community
- Policing: Change in Prospect
- Rethinking the Judicial Process
- Challenge to Corrections
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- Translating Knowledge into Practice

83613



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U.S. Department of Justice 83613
National Institute of Justice

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April 1982

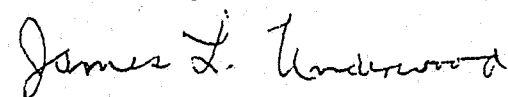
U. S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

To the President and the Congress:

It is my pleasure to submit the biennial report on criminal justice research prepared by the National Institute of Justice, as required under Section 202 (c) (9) of the Justice System Improvement Act of 1979 (P.L. 96-157).

This report covers the work of the National Institute of Justice during fiscal years 1980 and 1981. It also summarizes some of the major justice-related research conducted by other agencies of the Federal Government.

Respectfully submitted,



James L. Underwood
Acting Director
April 1982

Foreword

The criminal justice research sponsored by the Federal Government is hardly a monolithic enterprise. It is conducted by a variety of agencies, using a medley of different research and funding techniques, and covering an impressive range of topics. The decentralized nature of these research efforts, dispersed as they are among several agencies, makes it difficult to identify the major themes of criminal justice research in order to determine whether or not these efforts are responsive to the needs of society. To assist in clarifying some of the major trends of federally sponsored criminal justice research, Congress, in the Justice System Improvement Act of 1979, directed the National Institute of Justice to prepare a biennial report to the President and Congress, summarizing significant criminal justice research activities pursued by agencies throughout the Federal Government. This is the first such report.

The vast array of problems attacked by criminal justice research is difficult to summarize briefly. However, major themes do emerge from the information furnished by the various agencies concerning their criminal justice research. Of these themes, the following would appear to be among the dominant threads woven throughout the fabric of criminal justice research, but the list is far from exhaustive:

1. What are the causes of crime? Is crime caused by economic, social, psychological, or biomedical conditions; the decline of family structure and religion; the existence of "bad people"—or is it caused by all of these factors in combination with other influences too numerous to mention?
2. In light of the knowledge gleaned about the causes of crime from research, what are the most effective sanctions and law enforcement techniques designed to deter crime from occurring, or to curb the growth of crime already under way? How can the forces of the community, ranging from the neighborhood to the largest unit of society, be mobilized to combat crime?
3. Once crime occurs, what are the most successful, cost-effective means to detect and apprehend the perpetrator? What are the best techniques to utilize in allocating police patrols and detective forces in responding to reports of crime? How can the modern instruments of forensic science be most effectively marshalled in reaching the solutions to crimes?
4. After this police work has resulted in the arrest of an accused offender, how should he be treated by the judicial system in the pretrial and trial stages so as to efficiently, equitably, and constitutionally balance the interests of society, the victim, and the defendant? This broad topic embraces a myriad of specific problems. How should the prosecutor select from among his heavy caseload of violent, property, and other crimes those that are entitled to the most lavish share of resources. What is the fairest, most efficient means for society to discharge its constitutional obligation to provide defense counsel to indigent accused? What role should the forgotten man or woman of the justice system—the victim—play in such phases of the adjudication process as plea bargaining, testifying, and sentencing? What should be the status of the juvenile offender before the court as compared to the adult? To what extent should his due process rights, his sentence, and the disposition of the paper record of his offense differ from those of the adult? What is the role of the citizen in the adjudication process as he or she discharges the essential, but sometimes frustrating, role of juror? Interwoven among these specific questions affecting those who participate in the judicial system as prosecutor, defense attorney, victim, accused, or juror, are the major tensions and strains confronting the judicial system itself, such as the devil-and-the-deep-blue-sea dilemma of eliminating court delay while simultaneously preserving the careful deliberative nature of the process.
5. If the trial results in a conviction, the criminal justice system is then confronted with a congeries of problems concerning the appropriate sanction to impose. What degree of severity should the sentence achieve in order to obtain the appropriate deterrent effect and to sufficiently incapacitate the offender from committing future offenses during the term of the sanction. When, if ever, should community service be used in lieu of confinement? If confinement is used, how long should it last and in what variety of prison—minimum, medium, or maximum security?

One of the most controversial issues with which criminal justice researchers have had to contend in recent years has been the need to evaluate the impact of the increasing tempo of attempts to curb the discretion of judges and parole boards in meting out and altering sentences. Some policymakers believed that an excess of judicial discretion resulted in an inequitable disparity in sentencing, with some offenders getting significantly more lenient or harsh sentences than others with comparable records who were convicted of similar crimes. This has led to the formulation of sentencing guidelines in many jurisdictions. Researchers have addressed a variety of facets of the growing practice of using sentencing guidelines. What is the fairest and most efficient method of developing them? Are they too rigid or too flexible in taking into account the infinite variety of fact situations processed by the criminal justice system?

The discretion of the judge and the parole board is also being circumscribed by the growing use of mandatory sentence statutes. Are these laws the effective deterrents they are intended to be? What effect do they have on the level of prison populations? Do they create or solve disciplinary problems among the inmate population? All of these topics have been addressed by intensive research efforts.

Casting a pall over the entire operation of the penology system is the increasingly virulent problem of prison crowding. This multidimensioned problem has been addressed from several research vantage points, including the origins of, and possible solutions to, overcrowding, as well as the disciplinary and management problems confronting the corrections official as a result of overcrowding.

Found in the interstices of criminal justice research for many years has been the implicit question of how will each component of that system perform its part in the overall criminal justice function. That implicit question has now become explicit. In a time of fiscal constraint but rising demands for high-quality service, the need for reliable measures of the performance of the components of the criminal justice system has become more acute. Researchers are just beginning to wrestle with the slippery contours of the problem of how do you design reliable performance measures when the goals of the criminal justice system are the subject of continuing dispute.

The chapters of this report reveal that a great deal of very useful research has been conducted examining the topography of each of the issues discussed above as well as a host of other problems. However, much remains to be done, and careful thought should be given to how that work should be accomplished. Among the issues that we should ponder in appraising the quality and direction of our criminal justice research are the following:

1. Are we giving sufficient attention to the problems that arise when the different levels and components of the system must work in concert to solve a criminal justice problem? We live in a country of fragmented power under a scheme designed to avoid dictatorial concentrations of authority. As lofty as the purpose behind the decentralized nature of the system is, it creates severe difficulties when a problem transcends city, county, and State lines, necessitating several jurisdictions working together. Even within one jurisdiction, various components of the system such as police, courts, and corrections may sometimes operate as independent enclaves that do not take sufficient account of the fact that changes in their mode of operation may create a significant impact on other facets of the system. Although research has not been entirely lacking in the area, we have so far only nibbled tentatively around the edges of the highly practical problem of determining how we can make the various components of the system act more like a system without sacrificing the essential worth of the separation of powers doctrine that, in part, fostered the fragmentation.
2. Much of the research has of necessity been of a long-term nature, assessing problems that do not appear instantly and which are not susceptible to instant understanding or immediate solution. However, several new wrinkles on these long-term problems can arise with annoying speed. Although their effects may linger, many clues to the essential nature of these problems may quickly appear and just as quickly disappear. A prison riot, or an outbreak of violent crime in a particular section of the country, may suddenly arise and the anatomy of its causes just as suddenly evaporate even though the wreckage caused by the disaster remains for a long time. We need to increase our quick response capabilities for conducting research in these unique natural settings as fast as studies can safely and reliably be started.

3. Research into the operation of the criminal justice system has increasingly utilized the growing sophistication of the tools of the behavioral sciences. This emphasis should continue. However, such research should not take place in a constitutional vacuum. Those planning research activities likely to result in innovative proposals for alteration of the structure, procedure, or substantive law of the criminal justice system could consider incorporating in their research design a constitutional impact evaluation assessing the effect of the proposals on such key vantage points in our constitutional system as the separation of powers doctrine, State-Federal relations, and the rights of society, the victim, and the accused.
4. Much time and expense in federally sponsored research projects have been lavished upon the tailor-made development of data sets designed to satisfy the needs of a specific research endeavor. Sometimes, fortuitously, it is discovered that such data compilations can serve the needs of other projects as well as the one for which it was designed. The need for the development of data sets crafted to serve the needs of particular research projects will always remain. However, more consideration should be given to the design of multipurpose data sets that will serve the needs not

only of a variety of projects distinctly in mind at the time of the development of the data set, but a broad range of other projects perhaps only vaguely adumbrated at the time of molding of the data compilation. Such sets, designed on an interdisciplinary basis, would be especially useful in a variety of longitudinal studies. Not only could the utilization of such multipurpose data bases help reduce the waste and duplication that drive up the expense of research, they could also assist in the more visible permanent capture of data that could otherwise be lost to obscurity.

When properly conceived and executed, research addresses the problems of society in an objective manner that makes us reexamine our presuppositions and furnishes us with information and concepts which we can utilize in working toward solutions to those problems. Is criminal justice research successfully progressing toward this goal? It is hoped that these observations and the research synopsis which follows will serve as a useful catalyst in facilitating this appraisal.

James L. Underwood
Acting Director
National Institute of Justice

Table of Contents

Letter of Transmittal	iii
Foreword	v
Chapter 1. Research on Crime and Justice: A Federal Overview	1
Chapter 2: Understanding Crime: Causes and Control	9
Chapter 3: Crime and the Community	19
Chapter 4: Policing: Change in Prospect	29
Chapter 5: Rethinking the Judicial Process	37
Chapter 6: Challenge to Corrections	45
Chapter 7: Juvenile Justice: A Special Case	53
Chapter 8: New Tools for the System	61
Chapter 9: Translating Knowledge into Practice	69
Appendixes	
A List of Federal Agencies Contributing to Report	75
B National Institute of Justice Publications 1980-81	77
C Bureau of Justice Statistics Publications 1980-81	85
D National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Publications 1980-81	89

1. Research on Crime and Justice: A Federal Overview

Research into crime and the criminal justice system is at a relatively early stage in its development. Before 1968, when the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice—the predecessor of the current National Institute of Justice—was created by Congress, a relatively limited amount of criminal justice research was conducted. Since then, crime-related research has grown significantly and is supported by a variety of Federal agencies as well as private institutions.

Our knowledge of crime and justice has expanded greatly in the past 14 years, but perhaps the most significant advance is the realization that much more needs to be done if we are to understand and deal effectively with this complex area of human behavior. Indeed, some of the tasks currently facing criminal justice research were not even articulated when that first decade of major support for research began.

To begin with, there is a critical need to know more about the *nature and patterns of crime*—its impact, dis-

tribution, and changes over time, not to mention the individual and environmental factors that contribute to criminal behavior. In particular, we need to know more about *violent crime*. Not only do crimes of violence have an extraordinary impact upon their victims, but these crimes seem to be increasing at a significant rate: homicides have doubled since 1960, while reported robberies have quadrupled.

The need to identify, understand, and cope with the *persistent, major offender* is equally pressing. Research in recent years has confirmed that a disproportionate volume of serious crime is committed by a relatively small number of highly active offenders. Criminal careers research is therefore a major priority for the 1980's.

Another research task is to focus on *society's responses to crime*, in the form of community crime prevention strategies, law enforcement activities (especially the patrol function), judicial processing of cases, and the effects of criminal sanctions

in general and sentencing in particular. In addition, we need to know more about the impact of crime upon *citizens*, including strategies to ameliorate the effects on victims.

We would do well to explore the *allocation of resources and coordination of activities* among the agencies of criminal justice—police, courts, and corrections. The questions here include the costs and impact of allocating resources in different ways and at different levels; the potential of nongovernmental responses to crime; and the problem of "overloading" in the criminal justice system.

Finally, there is a need also for continual *assessment of the volume and patterns of juvenile delinquency and methods for dealing with juvenile offenders*. In particular, more knowledge is needed about factors associated with the onset of delinquency and the careers of delinquents, particularly the violent juvenile offender.

The Federal Role In Justice Research

This report reviews the work of the National Institute of Justice during fiscal years 1980 and 1981. It also touches on research projects funded in the biennium by other Federal agencies. The report was prepared in response to the Justice System Improvement Act (JSIA) of 1979. That legislation directed NIJ to make a biennial report on "the state of justice research."

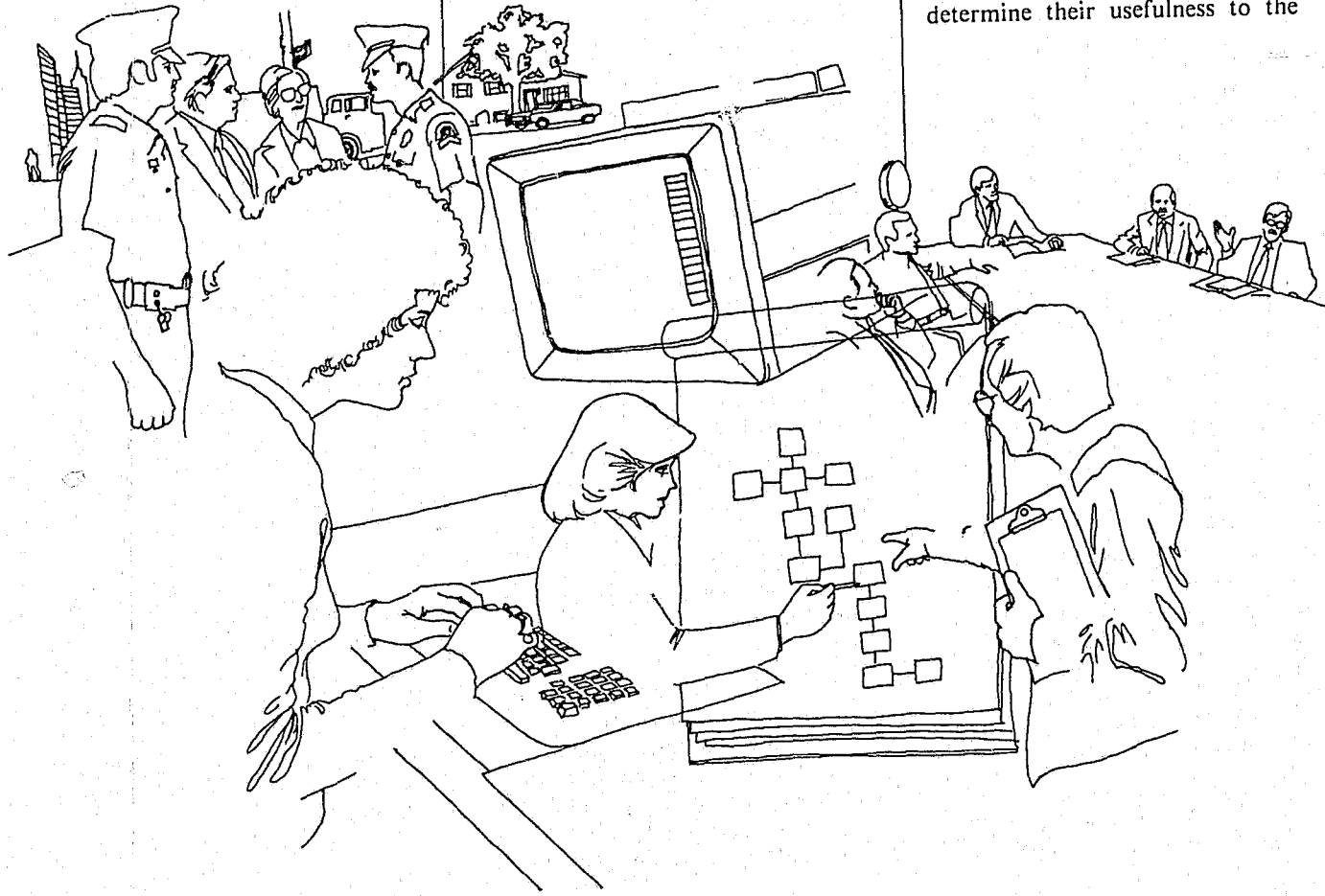
Given the complexities of studying a major social problem such as crime, it is not surprising that a number of Federal agencies support research relating to various aspects of criminal behavior and the operations of the justice system. Each agency has its own mission and its

own legislatively mandated constituencies and, therefore, its own priorities. For example, issues relating to drug abuse are being addressed from several perspectives. Agencies such as the Drug Enforcement Administration and the U.S. Customs Service focus on national responses to the problem of drug abuse and efforts to stem the flow of illicit drugs into the country. The National Institute of Justice and the National Institute on Drug Abuse, on the other hand, concentrate on examining the relationship between drug abuse and crime and on assessing the effectiveness of various State and local programs to deal with drug offenders.

Special efforts are made by the major criminal justice research programs to foster coordination and

avoid duplication. In a number of cases, as this report shows, agencies join forces to support broad-based research on a topic of special significance. Taken together, the diversity of research perspectives and expertise in Federal agencies helps to ensure a comprehensive approach to the study of crime and criminal justice.

Scope of the report. This report summarizes major, federally supported research activities in certain key areas of concern. Necessarily, the document is not an exhaustive review of all federally funded research on crime and justice. In preparing the report, NIJ contacted 35 programs whose mission appeared to include research relating to criminal justice. A total of 21 separate offices reported research programs falling within the scope of research outlined in the JSIA. (Not included here is research related solely to the internal operations of the agency, e.g., evaluations of programs or systems to determine their usefulness to the



agency.) Each of the agencies listed below cooperated fully with NIJ in supplying material for this report. Every effort was made to summarize that material accurately. For detailed information on the scope and results of the various research programs, readers are urged to contact the sponsoring agency directly. (A list of agency addresses appears in the appendix of this report.)

The following pages describe in brief the research programs that provided information for this report. They are listed below under the departments or agencies in which they operate. Highlights of specific research projects are covered in the topical chapters of the report.

Department of Justice

Within the Department of Justice, eight offices support research and development relating to criminal justice. These include three units—the National Institute of Justice, the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and the Bureau of Justice Statistics—located within the Office of Justice Assistance, Research, and Statistics, which was created by the Justice System Improvement Act of 1979.

National Institute of Justice. Established in 1979 by the Justice System Improvement Act, NIJ builds upon the foundation laid by the former National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, the first major program of Federal support for research on crime and justice. NIJ operates under the general authority of the Attorney General. Its enabling legislation provides for a 21-member advisory board, appointed by the President, to recommend policies

and procedures. Carrying out its congressional mandate, the National Institute of Justice supports:

- Basic and applied research and development to build knowledge about crime and improve and strengthen the criminal justice system.
- Evaluations of the effectiveness of crime prevention and control policies and programs, identifying those that promise to be successful if continued or repeated.
- Tests and demonstrations of new and improved approaches to stem criminal activity and strengthen the justice system.
- Training of criminal justice practitioners in research and evaluation findings, and assistance to the research community through fellowships and special seminars.
- Dissemination of information from research, demonstrations, evaluations, and special programs to Federal, State, and local governments, including operation of an international clearinghouse of justice information.

NIJ is organized into four major offices, concerned respectively with criminal justice research, methodological studies, evaluating criminal justice programs, and research applications.

Office of Research Programs. This office supports a broad range of criminal justice research activities, which during the biennium were concentrated in a number of priority areas:

- Understanding crime and criminal behavior
- The special problem of violent crime
- The utilization and deployment of police resources
- The pretrial process—delay reduction, fairness, and consistency
- Sentencing
- Rehabilitation and deterrence
- Community crime prevention

Research topics are identified on the basis of prime criminal justice needs and the potential for continued knowledge development. The results are published in an annual *Program Plan* and in specific research solicitations, which in some instances are quite detailed and in others merely indicate a broad area of concern, allowing researchers to define their own approach to the problem. Grants and contracts are monitored by Institute staff. Research findings are reviewed by NIJ staff and outside specialists before publication.

Office of Research and Evaluation Methods. The methodological and measurement problems facing criminal justice research are addressed by this office, which supports studies intended to improve the tools by which research and evaluation projects are carried out. The Office gives priority to research that advances understanding of how crime control policies work, and the development of performance standards and measures for criminal justice agencies, and indeed for the entire justice system.

Office of Program Evaluation. This office is charged with assessing criminal justice programs and procedures. The aim is to assist in the accumulation of knowledge useful for the criminal justice community. Specifically, the office evaluates programs funded by the Federal Government (including NIJ's field tests) and those originating at the State or local level but having national significance. In the latter category are innovative projects and legislative and administrative reforms.

Office of Development, Testing, and Dissemination. This office is responsible for testing and refining research-based concepts in the field, developing program models, and communicating research and testing results to the criminal justice community—a process that is both continuous and iterative, with each step informing and influencing the next. Regional workshops enable criminal justice

practitioners and policymakers to keep abreast of new techniques; site visits provide "hands on" experience; and reports, research syntheses, executive summaries, legislative briefs, and other publications ensure that findings are made available to the appropriate audiences—researchers, practitioners, policymakers and the public. In addition, ODTD is charged with operating two of the Institute's service programs, the Technology Assessment Program and the National Criminal Justice Reference Service.

In addition to its directed research, the Institute fosters criminal justice research activities through an unsolicited research program, which provides funds for innovative and meritorious projects that might otherwise lack support; through a visiting fellowship program, which brings talented scholars to Washington, D.C., to work on research tasks of their own choosing; and through graduate research fellowships, awarded each year to promising doctoral candidates in areas related to crime and justice. Approximately \$43 million was allocated to NIJ during the biennium.

National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. The National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention was established in 1974 by the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. Its mandate is broad: to conduct, support, and coordinate research and evaluation in all aspects of delinquency. NIJJDP studies encompass trends and patterns in delinquency, causes of delinquent behavior, delinquency prevention, improvement of the juvenile justice system, and alternatives to the juvenile justice system. In addition, in response to 1980 amendments to its enabling legislation, NIJJDP also focuses on serious violent offenders, juvenile gangs, and the role of the family both in causing and in controlling delinquency.

Results from research and program development guide the larger scale discretionary programs sponsored by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention; NIJJDP also funds evaluations of these Special Emphasis programs. The results of research and evaluation are applied to training programs, dissemination, and standards development additional statutory functions of NIJJDP. The unit's budget for the biennium totalled \$22 million, with about two-thirds devoted to research and development projects, which are highlighted in Chapter Seven.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. Although not a research unit per se, BJS is an important source of data and analysis for criminal justice researchers and policymakers. Creation of BJS in 1979 (replacing the former National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service) culminated more than a half century of recommendations for a national center on criminal justice statistics.

BJS collects and analyzes statistical information on crime and the operations of the criminal justice system at the Federal, State, and local levels. Foremost among its national data series is the National Crime Panel, victimization surveys conducted for BJS by the Census Bureau. Improving the collection and analysis of data from local and State jurisdictions is another BJS priority. To this end, the Bureau has funded statistical centers in 40 States which produce data for State governors, legislators, and other State and local policymakers. BJS also supports operation of State uniform crime reporting agencies in 40 States to facilitate the submission and improve the validity of data submitted by local police departments for the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. Another program focuses on the Federal criminal justice system, including areas of emerging concern such as computer crime. The Bureau also identifies issues involved in the collection and use of criminal justice data, including such concerns as the confidential-

ity and security of identifiable information. The BJS budget during the biennium totalled \$26.6 million.

Office of Legal Policy. As a staff office of the Attorney General, the Office of Legal Policy develops and reviews departmental policy and legislative initiatives. In addition, the Office administers the Federal Justice Research Program, which supports empirical research to better define problems and evaluate proposed solutions pertaining to policy or legislation. The research agenda encompasses both civil and criminal justice and emphasizes applied research and policy analyses that promise to have a direct bearing on current policy initiatives. Among the topics of research pursued by the Federal Justice Research Program during the biennium were sentencing policy in the Federal courts, career criminal programs at the Federal level, case processing under the Speedy Trial Act of 1974, allocation of resources to U.S. Attorneys' offices, and habeas corpus review of State court convictions. The budget for the program totalled \$1.84 million during the biennium.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI conducts research and development to support its own investigations and to add to the body of law enforcement knowledge. Research is carried out by several divisions: The Research and Analysis Unit, Uniform Crime Reports Section, analyzes crime trends, conducts special surveys on crime and arrests, and develops statistical methodologies and analytic models. The Identification Division sponsors research and development to improve fingerprint search systems. The National Crime Information Center conducts projects to enhance its computerized index of stolen property and data on fugitives. The FBI Laboratory, one of the largest forensic science laboratories serving law enforcement today, supports a wide range of development projects. Among the research conducted for these divisions during the biennium were studies of factors

associated with homicide rates, laser-aided detection of latent fingerprints, and scientific methods for identifying dried bloodstains, gunpowders, gunshot residues, human hair and semen, petroleum products, and writing inks.

Drug Enforcement Administration. Through its Office of Science and Technology, DEA conducts research directly related to the agency's drug enforcement, intelligence, and regulatory functions. The Research and Engineering Program supports efforts to limit the supply of illicit drugs in the United States. Among the projects conducted during the biennium were development of new surveillance techniques, methods for detecting and tracking vehicles, improved communications systems, and protective equipment for agents. The Forensic Sciences Program administers DEA's laboratory system, which analyzes evidence and develops and improves existing methods of chemical analysis. Some 60 research projects were in progress in the lab system during the biennium, including such efforts as determining the source of illicit drugs, analyzing drug samples, identifying clandestine manufacturing sites, and analyzing drug-related intelligence.

National Institute of Corrections. Located within the Bureau of Prisons, the National Institute of Corrections provides training, technical assistance, information, and research assistance to State and local governments. An interagency agreement with the National Institute of Justice provides that NIC will focus on projects relating to day-to-day operations of correctional systems, while NIJ concentrates on projects with more widespread impact, thus avoiding duplication of effort. NIC's research is carried out by grants to States and localities, by independent contractors, and by its own staff. In addition, a visiting fellowship program was instituted in 1981, with three resident scholars pursuing research at the end of the biennium. During the biennium, funds devoted to research

totalled approximately \$4.6 million. Some significant projects during this period included a multiyear study of a California classification system to house fewer inmates in maximum-security institutions, while relying more heavily on minimum security and community placement; a study of innovative probation mechanisms to cope with budget cutbacks while still delivering services; a handbook for reducing prison populations; guidelines for bail and pretrial custody (cosponsored by NIJ); fiscal impact of sentencing legislation on Connecticut; development of equitable probation revocation practices; a comprehensive approach to probation resource management (in cooperation with NIJ); and classification and workload allocation in probation and parole.

Federal Prison System. Research by the Federal Prison System studies new and more effective methods to help accomplish its mission of protecting the public through the rehabilitation of Federal prisoners. Its Office of Research spent about \$500,000 a year. Among the areas receiving emphasis during the biennium were development and assessment of an internal management and classification system that will enable institutions to systematically assign inmates to living quarters and thus reduce management problems, and an inmate typology system enabling inmates to be matched with staff and programs most appropriate for them. Other significant projects included: an evaluation of the Butner facility, which showed that the program had a positive effect on the randomly selected repetitive and violent offenders concentrated there; a study of veterans released from prisons, which showed that veterans, including those of the Viet Nam era, did not experience more severe employment problems than nonveterans; a study of recidivism in a sample of Federal releasees, which showed that, while the risk of rearrest had declined during the last decade, the seriousness of the commitment offense increased, as did the seriousness of the new arrest.

U.S. Parole Commission. The Commission has a small in-house research program directed at improving parole decisions and otherwise supporting the Commission's day-to-day activities. In fulfilling its objective of making parole decisions fair and equitable, the Commission uses research-based paroling guidelines. Research during the biennium focused on modification of the guidelines. One major effort revised the "salient factor score," an actuarial device to measure the risks posed by an offender's release. The revision sought to increase the reliability of scoring without sacrificing predictive power. As part of its responsibility for monitoring usage and modifying the guidelines where necessary, two revisions to the severity scale—for large-scale opiate cases and manslaughter cases—were adopted to bring the guidelines for these offenses in line with current thinking on their seriousness. Another project analyzed the effects of telling Federal prisoners, relatively early in their terms, the presumptive dates of their release.

Department of Education

National Institute of Education. NIE is the primary Federal agency for educational research and development. In the course of this work, the agency has sponsored several studies of school violence and disruption which are of interest to the criminal justice community. Funds allocated to justice-related research totalled about \$461,000 in the biennium, largely devoted to projects stemming from NIE's Safe Schools Study, completed in January 1978. That study sketched the parameters of crime in American elementary and secondary schools—its frequency, seriousness, distribution, and cost to society—as well as how it can be prevented. Other NIE research in this area includes studies in delinquency and school environments, a reanalysis of data from the Safe Schools Study; information systems in support of

safe schools, a test of a victimization survey; and alternative schools for disruptive secondary students. NIE's research into school violence has already yielded several volumes of findings, including *The Foundations of Student Suspensions*, *Student Fear in Secondary Schools*, and *Disruption in Six Hundred Schools*.

Department of Health and Human Services

National Institute of Mental Health. NIMH is charged with studies of the treatment and prevention of mental and emotional illness. Justice-related research is carried out by its Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency. The Center's research budget totalled approximately \$8.9 million during the biennium. Its program encompasses biomedical, behavioral, social science, and empirical legal research. Studies are conducted in such areas as criminal and delinquent behavior, related law and mental health interactions, and individual violent behavior. Particular attention is given to the larger social contexts in which these behaviors occur. Significant projects included studies of domestic violence, relatives of homicide victims, juror comprehension, testing the competency of defendants to stand trial, the effects of different prison environments on inmates and staff, juvenile delinquency, and treatment of male sex offenders.

National Institute on Drug Abuse. NIDA supports research to develop new knowledge about substance abuse, its effects, and strategies for preventing, diagnosing, and treating it. Funding for justice-related research totalled approximately \$500,000 in FY 1980, and approximately \$400,000 was anticipated in FY 1981. Primary areas of research related to justice concerns are: investigation of the relationship of drug abuse to criminal and delinquent

behavior; studies of substance abusers in the criminal justice system and criminal offenders in the health care system; drug control, scheduling, and import quotas; impact of law and law enforcement strategy on substance abuse; and technology assessment. Projects funded during the biennium included studies of the effect of changing laws and attitudes about marijuana, the impact of drug treatment programs on subsequent criminal behavior of opiate users, and the economic versus criminal behavior of street opiate users in East Harlem.

National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect. The Center sponsors research in areas affecting the welfare of children. Justice-related research is aimed at identifying legal issues affecting children or developing better ways of meeting the needs of children by ensuring that their legal rights are met, particularly in the areas of health and social services. During the biennium, funding for such research amounted to about \$695,000, devoted to such projects as a national incidence study, which showed that there are at least 652,000 reported cases of child abuse and neglect in the U.S. each year, and a longitudinal study of victimized children, which is tracking former victims for periods of up to 23 years to learn how many subsequently became runaways, delinquents, adult criminals, or abusers of their own children. Other justice-related research included an analysis of statutes relating to incest and sexual assault on children, a survey of treatment programs, and studies of pornography, prostitution, and intrafamily sexual assaults involving children.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Office of Policy Development and Research. A major focus of HUD's mission is formulating public policies and programs to revitalize and preserve urban neighborhoods. Through this office, HUD conducted research into practical methods for reducing crime and crime-related problems in public housing projects and other residential neighborhoods. About \$1.9 million was devoted to this research in the 2-year period. In addition, HUD's Office of Housing coordinates a \$41 million anticrime demonstration involving 13 Federal agencies and 39 municipalities. Recent studies include the vulnerability of housing environments, victimization of the elderly, and security problems in public housing.

Department of Labor

Employment and Training Administration. This agency of the Labor Department conducts studies of employment services and financial assistance for individuals released from prison, with a budget of about \$1.3 million for the biennium. The funds supported tests of the impact of: providing a job to offenders upon their release from prison; a 1977 California law that provides financial assistance to persons coming out of prison based on the work or training in which they participated while under incarceration; exposing ex-drug abusers to conditions of work in a company environment, but on a temporary and nonemployed basis, so that subsequently they can get and keep a real job; and a study (with the Department of Justice) identifying employment and training services provided by State and local governments. In addition, the Department's Assistant Secretary for Policy, Evaluation, and Research conducts in-house studies of the problems faced by ex-offenders in finding employment.

Department of Transportation

Urban Mass Transportation Administration. Justice-related research sponsored by UMTA addresses the impact of crime and fear on ridership of public transportation. During the biennium, approximately \$345,000 went to support projects that tested the effects of closed-circuit television and other anticrime technology on mass transit systems in two major cities, and to sponsor a conference on mass transit crime and vandalism.

Department of the Treasury

U.S. Customs Service. As the Nation's principal border enforcement agency, the U.S. Customs Service conducts development programs intended to improve the efficiency of its field officers and investigators. Programs and projects under way during the biennium included a portable hydrogen detector (still in the exploratory stage) that would signal the presence of bulk narcotics or possibly explosives within the metal shells of ships, aircraft, and vehicles; a parcel X-ray—now commercially available to law enforcement agencies—to "search" for narcotics inside packages, furniture, and other possessions of individuals entering the U.S.; smuggling profiles to single out high-risk individuals or situations for closer scrutiny, in a manner similar to the system used to screen potential hijackers; and "Operation Greenback," to develop a methodology for identifying unusual flows of currency into an area, thus attacking the narcotics trade—and organized crime in general—by disrupting its financial base.

Independent Agencies

Federal Emergency Management Agency. FEMA is charged with setting policy and coordinating programs having to do with civil emergencies. It conducts a small research program focusing on such areas as terrorism and crisis relocation. The U.S. Fire Administration, part of the agency, is the focus of Federal arson prevention and control efforts. It conducts research and development and disseminates information on arson prevention and control techniques, data, and training and educational materials. During the biennium, funding for arson research totaled approximately \$2.4 million. Significant projects included a report to the President on progress in implementing the national arson strategy, pilot testing in seven cities of an arson information management system program based on a successful effort to break up a Boston arson ring, and a counseling program for juveniles and children, who are estimated to set as many as 60 percent of the fires in large cities.

Federal Judicial Center. Located within the judicial branch of the Federal Government, the Center has an inhouse research program, budgeted at \$2.4 million for the biennium and charged with studies to improve the administration of justice in U.S. courts. During the biennium, the Center's Research Division evaluated drug-aftercare programs conducted by the judicial branch, refined a risk-prediction model used by Federal probation officers, conducted sentencing workshops for judges and probation officers, and worked with other judicial-branch agencies to develop a Probation Information Management System.

National Science Foundation. As one of the Federal Government's major sponsors of research, the Foundation funds studies touching on virtually every aspect of the justice system. The primary concern of the Founda-

tion is with the excellence and appropriateness of the science involved, although the importance of the subject matter to the legal system is never overlooked. In essence, NSF-supported research is designed to create the strong scientific base necessary for the more directed research of other agencies such as the National Institute of Justice. Special efforts are made to avoid duplication between NIJ and NSF. In general, NSF emphasizes noncriminal law and/or basic legal questions; NIJ supports more problem-oriented criminal justice studies.

The core of NSF justice-related research consists of the programs in Law and Social Sciences and Law and Public Policy. The Law and Social Sciences Program supports fundamental research on the law and legal process, designed to enhance scientific understanding of the impact of law and the nature, sources, and consequences of variations in legal institutions. Efforts to discover and develop appropriate methodology are also supported. The Law and Public Policy Program has been a major funding source for scientific research on the application of law and procedures in the civil justice system. Other NSF programs, sometimes jointly with the two major law programs, also support research bearing on justice issues.

NSF sponsored about \$2.1 million in justice-related research during the biennium. The largest number of grants was made in adjudication, especially projects dealing with the decisionmaking processes of jurors and judges. The validity of eyewitness testimony, the use of hypnosis, and informal community justice were other areas of courts-related research. Projects were also funded dealing with the effect of penal sanctions on long-term trends in imprisonment, organizational misconduct, regulatory enforcement in housing, and procedural safeguards in death penalty statutes.

2. Understanding Crime: Causes and Control

By one observer or another, crime is variously attributed to poverty, drug addiction, inherited traits, racial discrimination, lack of parental discipline, and the glamorization of deviant behavior in films and on television. Virtually every American has a theory to explain why this country, since about 1960, has been increasingly plagued by crime—or perhaps to explain why the plague is more apparent than real. After two decades of research, political debate, and social experimentation, the public perception of crime remains about where it was at the beginning: a highly personal admixture of thought, emotion, and received opinion.

Even among research scientists, the presently available theories seem unable to accommodate the diverse and interacting factors—social, economic, psychological, physiological, and environmental—that may contribute to criminal behavior. Instead, most theories emphasize one or two factors at the expense of the others. Knowledge must be integrated from many fields, and much refining will

have to be done, before researchers can develop models that can withstand the test of empirical verification.

The task is necessarily a long-range one. In the meantime, specific findings can be gleaned on such questions as the relationship of drugs and firearms to criminal activity, and the prevalence of such crimes as robbery, arson, and employee theft. These findings can be immediately useful to policymakers and criminal justice practitioners. At the same time, they may serve as contributing pieces in the larger puzzle of why individuals turn to crime and how public policies can better control criminal behavior.

The Career Criminal

Studies have repeatedly shown that a relatively few offenders account for a large part of the serious crime problem. These “career” or habitual offenders also contribute disproportionately to the cost of criminal justice operations. More-

over, by committing further crimes while on bail, probation, or parole, they add to public disenchantment with the criminal justice system and to skepticism about the government’s ability to ensure public safety. For all these reasons, considerable interest surrounds the growing body of research that suggests that incapacitation and control of career criminals might go a long way toward alleviating the Nation’s crime problem and restoring confidence in the criminal justice system

The National Institute of Justice supports an ongoing program of research that is developing useful knowledge about career criminals, including knowledge about the early identification of these offenders and various incapacitation policies aimed at them. Among the many studies supported under the program, perhaps the most provocative are those conducted for NIJ by the Rand Corporation. Since 1975, these studies have probed basic questions about the amount of crime that is prevented because certain offenders are already in prison. A self-report

survey was conducted among a random sample of California prison inmates, asking about the crimes they had committed prior to incarceration. By analyzing the annual criminal activity reported by these inmates and projecting the results to California's entire prison population, the researchers concluded that—had the State's prisons been emptied that year—auto thefts would have risen about 7 percent, burglaries by about 6 percent, and armed robberies by 22 percent. The researchers emphasized, however, that the bulk of the additional crimes would have been committed by a relatively small number of the inmates.

The most active offenders had several characteristics in common: they began committing serious crimes as juveniles, they regularly used drugs, they had been repeatedly placed on probation, they seemed unconcerned about being caught, and they planned to commit further crimes after leaving prison. The 25 percent of the sample that most consistently exhibited these characteristics reported a disproportionate amount of crime: 58 percent of the armed robberies reported by the entire sample, 65 percent of the burglaries, 60 percent of the auto thefts, and 46 percent of the assaults.

As an offshoot of Rand's work in this area, Joan Petersilia contributed an essay reviewing the research on criminal careers to the second volume of *Crime and Justice*, an annual review of research sponsored by NIJ and published by the University of Chicago Press. Among the findings from recent studies noted by Petersilia:

- **Age of onset.** The majority of criminal careers begin in the early or mid-teens; the earlier the first arrest, the more likely that sustained and serious criminal behavior will result. In one sample of prison inmates, serious criminal activity typically began at age 13 or 14, and the first arrest came at age 15.

- **First offenses.** Most criminal careers begin with minor misconduct such as truancy and incorrigibility. However, there is evidence to suggest that the more serious the individual's first contact with the police, the more likely he or she is to have a second such contact.

- **Progression to serious crimes.** There is little evidence to show that, once a criminal career has been established, the offender undertakes crimes of mounting seriousness. "The tenth crime," Petersilia noted, "is no more likely to be an act of violence or a high-value property crime than is the fifth."

- **Specialization.** Neither is there much evidence to indicate that criminals specialize, even at the later stages of their careers. Most offenders seem to be generalists; the crimes for which they are arrested may be merely a matter of chance, rather than evidence of a career path.

- **Offense rates.** In one Rand study, 49 imprisoned serious offenders in California reported an average of 200 crimes apiece, committed in the course of careers that typically lasted 20 years. However, criminality peaked early in the career. In the typical pattern, criminal activity begins at age 14, increases until the early twenties, and declines thereafter.

- **Arrest rates.** There is no persuasive evidence that the likelihood of arrest decreases with age and experience. In fact, offenders over 30 may actually have a higher probability of arrest per crime. Nor are older criminals more likely to adopt disguises or plan escape routes in advance, even though such behavior, according to accounts by offenders themselves, reduces the likelihood of arrest.

- **Conviction and incarceration rates.** In another Rand study, the likelihood of conviction averaged 40 percent of a sample of adult felony arrests in four California counties. The offender's prior record did not seem to have much effect on the probability of conviction. After sentencing, however, there was a definite correlation: 72 percent of convicted robbers with prison records received a prison sentence, compared to 16 percent of those with minor records. Additionally, incarcerated offenders tended to be older.

- **Career length.** The Uniform Crime Reports show an average adult career length of 10 years, while researchers have variously concluded that criminal careers last 8 to 12 years, again counting only the adult years. Petersilia emphasized that there was a need for more empirical research on this question—research necessary if we are to estimate the impact of changes in sentencing policy on the volume of crime.

Research related to criminal careers is also supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, which sponsored studies of careers of juvenile delinquents and of the self-report method as a means of measuring juvenile delinquency. (See Chapter Seven.) The Federal Justice Research Program, administered by the Justice Department's Office of Legal Policy, is studying the feasibility of establishing Federal prosecution programs targeted at career criminals. The project will develop criteria for specific Federal districts to help them establish guidelines and programs for identifying and prosecuting career criminals.

Race and Crime

Data on crime and criminality have long shown racial differences both in victimization rates and in arrest rates: blacks and Hispanics are more frequently victims of violent crime than whites, and they appear more likely to be arrested than whites by a factor of two or three. Over the years a myriad of theories has been advanced to explain these disparities. At one extreme is the thesis that minority groups in all societies are relatively more predisposed to crime; at the other extreme is the notion that any such differences only demonstrate the effects of a biased criminal justice system.

Less ideological, perhaps, is the research literature that seeks to explain racial disparities in crime and criminal justice involvement in terms of culture (the strength of family ties, for example) or structural factors (such as economic conditions or the relationship between the minority population and the dominant community). However, even the best of this research tends to focus only on interracial differences, ignoring the significant variations that exist within each racial group. Furthermore, most such studies have the additional failing of not addressing variables that are realistically within the control of those who write our laws and those who carry them out.

Accordingly, in 1980 NIJ awarded funds to Cornell University, to establish a Center on Race, Crime, and Social Policy. The Center is examining crime rates and crime production theories with respect to four major American populations: black, white, Hispanic, and Chinese. (For purposes of the study, "crime" is defined as the larcenous and assaultive behavior that is regarded as socially wrong by all these groups.) The project will focus on two communities for each racial group. The researchers hope not only to illuminate differences in official crime and victimization rates, but also discover the variables through which policymakers can exert

the greatest leverage in bringing about solutions to the problem.

Also in 1980, NIJ awarded a grant to Atlanta University to study crime in black communities. The theory being tested here is that community integration is a mediating factor between socioeconomic status and crime, with "integration" defined in terms of:

- The extent to which residents of a community share bonds of solidarity.
- The extent to which they perceive that they exert control over the community.
- The extent to which they feel a part of the larger social, economic, and political systems.

The theory holds that where group bonds are weak—where individuals experience a sense of alienation, isolation, and low self-esteem—these negative forces are likely to influence the community's attitude toward crime and the amount of crime and fear in the community. Data for the study are being collected in Atlanta and the District of Columbia, in neighborhoods varying both in income level and in level of crime.

Economic Factors

A widely held assumption is that much crime is rooted in unemployment—that without jobs, wayward youngsters turn to crime for income or self-esteem.

Under an NIJ grant to the Vera Institute of Justice, the crime-unemployment link has been explored from the perspective of high-risk youths and released offenders in New York City. This research seems to raise doubts about the view that job programs offer a broad solution to the crime problem. Two major reports have been completed: "Employment and Crime: A Review of Theories and Research," and "Linkages Between Employment and Crime: A Qualitative Study of Rikers Island Releases." The second study will be

published in *Crime and Delinquency*, a professional journal, and has been cited in congressional testimony.

According to the Vera studies, the relationship between unemployment and crime is far more complex than one might think. For many youths, the opportunity to earn money from crime comes before the opportunity for legitimate employment. As these youths age, their involvement with crime may be gradually displaced by a growing involvement with legal employment, and the chance for better-paying work, and support from their families for a more conventional lifestyle. In such cases, employment may indeed serve to avert crime by providing economic and social rewards. In other cases, however, a job may contribute to crime by serving as a cover for illegal activities (the numbers racket, for example) or might actually be a necessary component of the crime (as in the case of job-related larceny). In addition, many types of crime are related more to social and psychological factors than to economic need, so that the offender's work experience is little more than a general background influence. Depending on the nature of these relationships, the expected impact of employment will differ radically from one individual to another.

Related questions have been addressed by another NIJ-sponsored research group, the Center for Econometric Studies of the Criminal Justice System, located at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. (Econometrics is the application of statistical methods to the study of economic data and problems.) During the early 1970's, there were notable advances in the ability to apply such techniques to social problems, and the Center was established in an effort to exploit these developments for criminal justice. Over the past 6 years, the Center has studied such problem areas as deterrence, the relationship of unemployment to crime, and the costs of crime. Several papers prepared by the Hoover

researchers have been published in books and professional journals; now in preparation are two new volumes: *Deterrence: An Economic Perspective* and *The Costs of Crime and Crime Control*.

Among the significant findings:

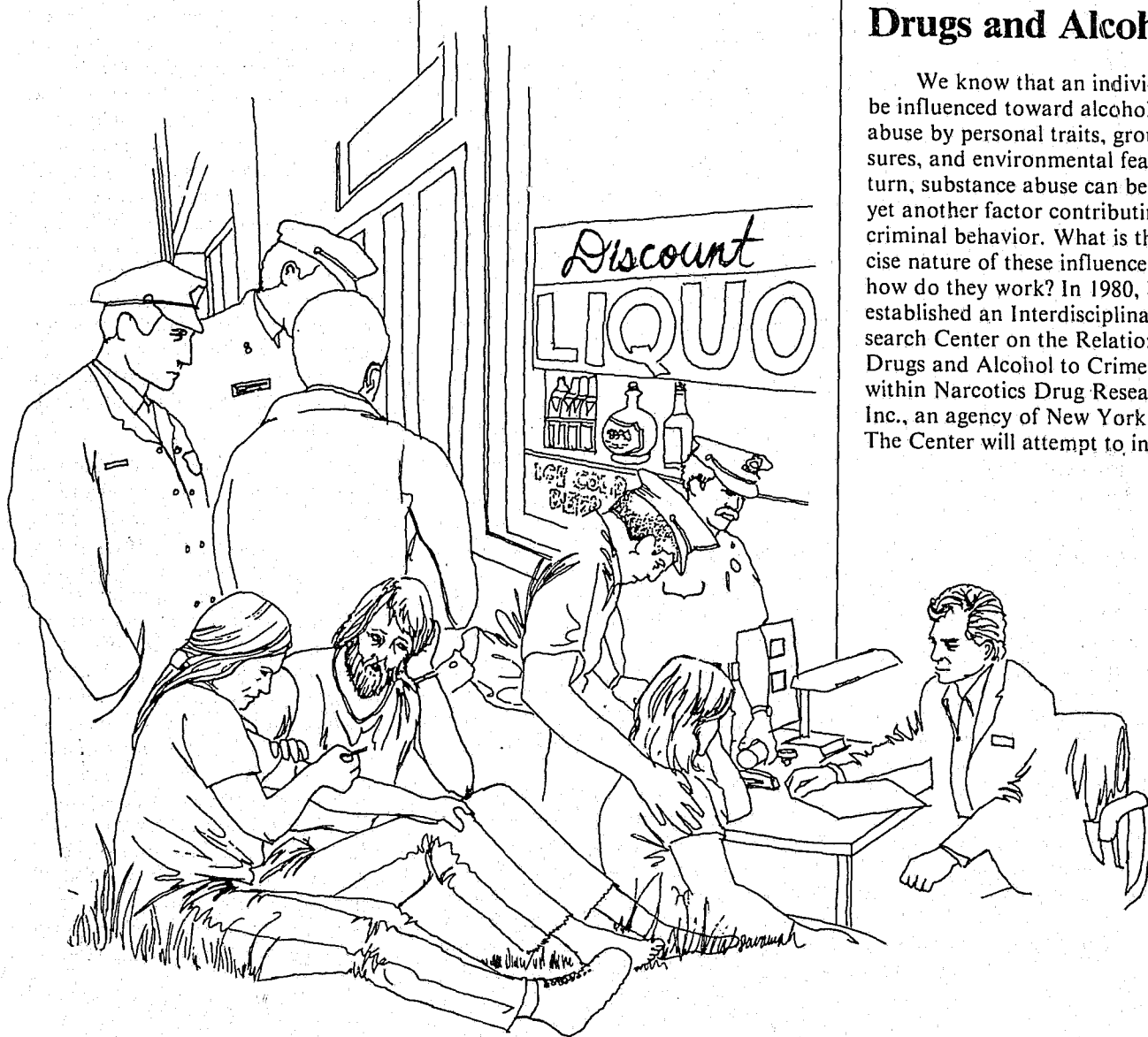
- Burglary rates were found to be responsive to fluctuations in unemployment rates, while other property crimes tended to respond only to changes that were perceived to be permanent. Thus, the researchers concluded, temporary job programs are likely to have only a modest effect on burglary rates and a disappointingly small impact on the overall level of property crimes.

- Several tests of deterrence theory yielded positive results: Increases in capture or punishment rates and the severity of punishment tend to decrease an individual's propensity to commit crime. Moreover, for at least one type of white-collar crime, substantial monetary sanctions proved to be an effective deterrent. The crime studied was price fixing in the bread-baking industry; the researchers found that the threat of class-action suits, along with government enforcement actions, reduced price markups by the industry.

Turning to the cost-effectiveness of crime control, the researchers examined the relationship between drug crime and punishment in New York City. Increasing the number of drug arrests, or increasing the likelihood of punishment for selling or distributing drugs, predictably results in higher prices for heroin. At the same time, any increase in the price of heroin is assumed to be accompanied by an increase in the levels of robbery, burglary, larceny, and automobile theft. But more evidence is needed to answer the question: to what extent do drug enforcement policies impose new costs on society by driving up the rates of property crime?

Drugs and Alcohol

We know that an individual can be influenced toward alcohol or drug abuse by personal traits, group pressures, and environmental features; in turn, substance abuse can become yet another factor contributing to criminal behavior. What is the precise nature of these influences and how do they work? In 1980, NIJ established an Interdisciplinary Research Center on the Relation of Drugs and Alcohol to Crime located within Narcotics Drug Research, Inc., an agency of New York State. The Center will attempt to increase



Other Crimes of Special Concern

Though not as traumatic as physical violence, crimes such as arson and employee theft pose great costs to society. The more we understand about the causes and correlates of specific crimes, the more we can target crime-reduction strategies to reduce their impact. Recent research in this area includes:

Arson. The U.S. Fire Administration of the Federal Emergency Assistance Administration (FEMA/USFA) produced a report to the Congress which surveyed and analyzed existing arson research and recommended steps to prevent and control the crime. In one celebrated case in Boston, an arson ring responsible for \$6 million in fire losses was broken up by police using a profile developed under a grant from FEMA/USFA. Building on the experience of the Boston project, an Arson Information Management Systems program was pilot tested in seven cities.

At the National Institute of Justice, a soon-to-be-completed study will assess conventional approaches to arson control in eight cities of greater than 100,000 population. Another study will look at what goes right—and wrong—in arson adjudication in an effort to learn how such cases can be more successfully prosecuted. Researchers are studying the arson adjudication process in four urban jurisdictions, identifying factors that influence success and techniques for overcoming problems.

our understanding of these complex relationships and to assist in the development of strategies for controlling them. The first products are expected to include studies of high-risk youths and their involvement with drugs and alcohol, analyses of how these substances relate to other forms of deviance and crime, and preliminary models of their cause-and-effect relationships.

The Center's research agenda will complement efforts by the Drug Enforcement Administration and the National Institute on Drug Abuse, two other Federal agencies involved in this area of justice research. (See box on p. 14: "Heroin Addiction and Crime.")

In addition, NIJ and NIDA have joined forces to sponsor two drug/crime studies:

Treatment outcomes. This multiyear project is designed to evaluate how treatment and referral programs affect drug abuse and criminal behavior. Researchers are now following some 14,000 clients of these programs—tracking their entry into the programs, their treatment, and their activities after returning to their home communities. Meanwhile, data on their involvement with the criminal justice system are also being gathered and analyzed. The resulting data bank should be a rich resource for future research into the links between drug abuse and crime.

Drug use by arrestees. This study involved an analysis of the criminal records and drug status of 58,000 individuals arrested in the District of Columbia from 1973 through 1977, representing 90 percent of those detained in the District's Superior Court lockup during that period.

Routine urinalyses for drug use showed that, of nine major drugs, the most frequently found were morphine (including its metabolic byproduct, heroin), quinine, methadone, and phenmetrazine. Drug-positive arrestees comprised 24 percent of the female population of the lockup and 20 percent of the male population; most were between the ages of 21 and 30. These drug-positive individuals were more likely than nonusers to have been charged with property crimes rather than violent offenses. In addition, they were more likely to have prior records (both for drug-related and non-drug offenses) and more likely to be rearrested in the future.

Another example of interagency collaboration is the Center for Alcohol Studies at Rutgers University, cosponsored by NIJ and the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. This long-term interdisciplinary research program will study the social, cultural, psychological, and biological characteristics of various groups of young people. In its first phase, the program is studying several birth cohorts during their early teens. The cohorts will then be followed at 3-year intervals until they reach their mid-twenties—and finally at 6-year intervals—in a longitudinal design covering the significant early adult years. The purpose is to develop predictive models of the factors that may be related to the development of alcohol or drug abuse among young people, and indeed to the development of other delinquent or criminal behaviors.

Heroin Addiction and Crime

According to conventional wisdom, much urban crime is the work of addicts desperately trying to find money for their next fix. There is considerable truth to this stereotype, according to a 1981 summary of recent research by Gloria Weissman for the National Institute on Drug Abuse. "One of the most consistent findings in the research literature on drug abuse," she wrote, "is a strong statistical association between crime and drugs." Studies covering 20 years have shown that between 15 and 40 percent of prisoners used heroin before being convicted, and more recent studies show a close connection between the rates of serious property crime and the rate of heroin use.

The question of causality is more difficult to answer. The same kind of anti-social behavior that disposes individuals to crime may also dispose them to drug use, rather than one type of behavior being the cause of the other. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that heroin use (though not all kinds of drug use) usually begins after criminality does. Thus, one study showed that for active heroin users, first alcohol intoxication came at age 13, first drug use and first criminal act at 15, and first heroin use at 18. However, the onset of addiction results in increased criminality and a shift to income-generating crimes such as robbery, burglary, and larceny.

Estimates of the proportion of heroin addicts who commit serious crimes have ranged from 30 to 80 percent. A recent survey of heroin users in Miami exceeded even the highest of these figures: 99.6 percent of the male addicts and 98.3 percent of the females reported that they had committed at least one crime, most often to support their drug habit, even though most of them also had legitimate sources of income. The volume of crime was equally startling: the 239 males in the Miami survey reported a total of 80,644 criminal acts in the previous year. In Baltimore, a researcher calculated that the average addict committed at least one crime (other than drug use or possession) on 178 days of the year. Again in Baltimore, a researcher found that the typical addict earned about \$670 per week from various forms of theft while on drugs.

Another study, by the Drug Enforcement Administration, found that most heroin-related property crime is committed by one-fourth of the user population. These "large habit" addicts each account for more than 200 property crimes a year, for a 1974 total of approximately \$3 billion in stolen property or cash. The remaining three-quarters of addicts, according to this estimate, cost society less than \$1 million in property crime that year.

Addict arrests are distinctly skewed toward property crime. In one study, 61 percent of the heroin users had been arrested for robbery, burglary, and larceny, but only 6 percent for homicide, rape, and aggravated assault. (Of the nonaddict arrestees in the survey, 36 percent had committed property crimes and 27 percent had committed serious crimes against individuals.) Numerous other studies have confirmed the addicts' predilection for property crime, but

there is also a body of research suggesting that, by the 1970's, heroin users were committing an increasing number of crimes against persons.

Not surprisingly, criminality seems to decrease for most addicts when drug use decreases. In one study, for example, heroin users reported committing at least one crime on 248 days of the year while addicted; the crime-days per year dropped to about 41 while they were off the drug. Another study showed that 72 percent of the subjects stopped criminal activity entirely when they were abstaining from heroin.

It is more difficult to conclude that treatment programs will reduce criminality. (Success rates may be inflated by the fact that many individuals seek treatment precisely because their habit has become so expensive that they can no longer sustain it even by crime; a short-term reduction in criminality is almost inevitable in these cases.) However, it does appear that treatment programs are cost effective. The National Institute on Drug Abuse supported treatment of approximately 46,700 addicts each week, who by conservative estimates might have been expected to steal more than \$32 million; since the crime rate of inactive addicts is about one-sixth that of active users, the clients of these NIDA programs may therefore be expected to steal somewhat more than \$5 million weekly. Thus it may be concluded that, by this very rough calculation, \$1 of treatment for heroin addicts prevents about \$20 of crime in society at large.

Innovative approaches to preventing and controlling arson were reviewed and analyzed in a report published in 1980 by NIJ. Based on case studies of programs in six cities, the report presents a model approach which includes the following four elements:

- An arson task force representing public and private sectors.
- Joint fire/police investigation of arson cases.
- A diagnostic information center.
- A "proactive" strategy of public information and cash rewards.

Racketeering. Two current NIJ projects focus on organized crime. One study examines various forms of organized criminal activity and the strategies used to prevent and control them; the goal is to develop improved legislation and law enforcement procedures. A second study uses an economic/marketing perspective to investigate racketeering in legitimate industries. Meanwhile, the U.S. Customs Service has developed a methodology for identifying unusual flows of currency. The intention is to disrupt the financial base of organized crime, with particular emphasis on the narcotics trade in Florida.

Employee theft. U.S. businesses lose more than \$2 billion per year to their own employees. A recent study sponsored by NIJ looked at 41 organizations in three metropolitan areas: Minneapolis/St. Paul, Cleveland, and Dallas/Fort Worth. Nearly 10,000 employees admitted to abusing their discount privileges, 7 percent to stealing merchandise, and 3 percent to taking cash. In hospitals, 27 percent of the respondents said they took medical supplies from the wards; 8 percent stole medications intended for patients. Employees of manufacturing concerns were more likely to steal raw materials or parts (14 percent) than finished products (3 percent). "Counterproductive behavior"—taking long lunch breaks, reporting sick in order to obtain free time, and reporting to work under

the influence of alcohol or drugs—was also common. More significantly, those who reported high levels of counterproductive behavior also tended to report high levels of outright theft. Most likely to steal from their employers are young workers, those who were never married, those who are dissatisfied with their jobs, and those having the most knowledge about the enterprise (i.e., sales clerks in stores, engineers in plants, and nurses in hospitals). Overall, the researchers concluded that organizational policies can have a significant impact on theft. Indeed, a clearly defined antitheft policy has a greater impact than a sophisticated security force. Inventory control and preemployment screening are also effective strategies.

At the same time, NIJ funded an assessment of nearly 200 existing programs to combat employee theft or shoplifting. Both types of crime are highly correlated with the expectation of going undetected, the evaluators found. The successful programs were those emphasizing target hardening, obvious organizational control, and thorough screening of job applicants.

Theories of Crime Control

Just as it is important to understand why individuals turn to crime, it is also essential to gain a clearer understanding of how public policies work to control criminal behavior. In short, how effective are the powers of the criminal justice system in actually controlling crime?

Crime control policies are continuously undergoing change in an attempt to increase the system's ability to reduce crime. Virtually every such change is based on one of four theories: "General deterrence" holds that individuals will refrain from crime if the punishment seems too certain or too costly. "Specific deterrence" likewise assumes that the applied sanc-

tions must be swift and sure, but goes on to argue that an ex-offender's personal experience with the criminal justice system will serve to discourage further crime. "Incapacitation" reflects the fact that, when a habitual offender is confined to prison, a number of crimes are automatically averted. Finally, "rehabilitation" is thought to be the result of positive change, in which the ex-offender adopts law-abiding behavior after specific treatment programs.

These crime-control effects certainly exist, but their extent is still largely unknown. In 1977, the National Academy of Sciences—at NIJ's request—conducted an independent inquiry into the state of knowledge about deterrence, rehabilitation, and incapacitation. The Academy's reports concluded that: 1) the available evidence favors a proposition supporting deterrence, but the evidence is limited and inconclusive; 2) the available research on incapacitation provides widely divergent estimates of the crime control effects of incarceration; and 3) research on rehabilitation has been unable to establish the value of most treatments or programs.

In 1978, the National Institute of Justice funded a comprehensive program of research into the effects of official sanctions that would exploit recent methodological advances. This program was structured so that the researchers could design their own projects depending on their assessment of the appropriate next steps to be taken. A peer-review panel ensured that each new project would indeed build upon and improve earlier research.

For example, the program has provided continuing support for development of an econometric model of crime-control effects by Dr. Isaac Ehrlich, of the State University of New York at Buffalo. In past research, Dr. Ehrlich consistently found deterrent effects; his ongoing research seeks to combine deterrence, incapacitation, and rehabilitation in a single model. He is working with two kinds of data: a time series

The Problem of Violence

Although violent crime is relatively infrequent—at least compared to the incidence of property crime—it has a dramatic impact on people's perceptions and fears. Violence therefore affects the quality of a community's life to a greater extent than would be apparent from a superficial assessment of its prevalence in that community.

At the University of Pennsylvania, the Center for the Interdisciplinary Study of Violent Crime is attempting to develop a theory to account for the known facts about violence—for example, that males are disproportionately involved, that such crimes are concentrated in urban settings, and that violence appears to have been increasing in recent years. In the first 2 years of this NIJ project, researchers have begun an analysis of birth cohorts, totaling 54,000 individuals, whose careers have been traced over lengthy periods. The preliminary model has sorted the available data into three categories: variables that might incline an individual to violence, variables that might facilitate a violent act, and those that might serve to inhibit violence.

At the same time, the research team has surveyed the scientific literature on violence, and in January 1981 held a workshop at which papers were delivered on such topics as domestic violence, longitudinal studies, racial aspects, violent offenders and the criminal justice system, ways to predict violent behavior, psychological determinants, biological aspects, and the role of firearms.

In future years, researchers will grapple with the difficult question of whether violent offenders can be identified in advance. Given the factors known to distinguish violent from non-violent offenders—and chronic violent offenders from those who commit only one violent crime—can predictability be improved? The researchers will also analyze the likelihood of conviction and incarceration for these offenders, length of sentence, and the effect of incapacitation on repeated violent criminality. The age—and the reason—that most offenders give up their criminal careers are also crucial topics about which little is known. The Philadelphia team will trace the criminal histories of offenders in their thirties—a time of life when, according to NIJ's career criminal research, many offenders "mature out" of crime.

Weapons and crime. During the biennium, NIJ published the results of a 2-year study of weapons and violent crime. The project reviewed the literature and surveyed the amount and quality of data recorded by police and courts on weapons and crime. In much of the existing research it reviewed, the project found flaws that limit the reliability of previously reported findings. Among the conclusions most justified by the present state of knowledge are:

- There were an estimated 100-140 million guns in private ownership in 1978, an increase of 40 million over 1968. Most of the increase could be accounted for by the growth in the number of U.S. households, and by increased purchases by sport shooters, hunters, and police.
- There is no definitive evidence that fear of crime and violence (i.e., self-defense) was a very important factor in the increase in gun ownership. Nor is there reliable scientific evidence that private weapons are an important cause of, or deterrent to, violent crime.
- There are some 20,000 gun laws already "on the books." In general, evaluations show the effects of such laws to be "modest or nonexistent." A possible reason for this lack of success is the wide variation in statutes from jurisdiction to jurisdiction.

A followup study sponsored by NIJ is exploring how firearms are obtained by those who commit crime.

Robbery. Robbery is perhaps the most important element of the urban crime problem. James Q. Wilson, noted criminal justice scholar, calls it "the most costly of all common crimes" because of its high "psychic and communal costs." An NIJ study completed in 1981 described recent trends and patterns in robbery and proposed future research relating to the crime. A few of the principal findings were:

- Robbery rates sagged during 1976 to 1978, but returned to near 1975 levels in 1979 and soared to a new high in 1980.
- Robbery is the quintessential urban crime. The 58 cities with 1979 populations over 250,000 contained only 20 percent of the U.S. population but reported 61 percent of all robberies. The six largest cities, with 8 percent of the population, had 32 percent of the robberies; New York City alone had 18 percent.
- The consequences of robbery for the victim are financial, physical, and psychological. In 1978, financial losses—including property loss, medical expenses, and lost wages—totaled \$330 million. About one-third of all robbery victims are injured, and 2 percent are admitted to hospitals.

- An accurate count of robbery-murders is difficult to obtain because a large percentage of such cases go unsolved. In 1979, more than 2,100 persons were killed in crimes officially classified as robbery-murders, but the true number of deaths may have been as much as twice that large.
- The fastest growing type of robbery is bank robbery. Between 1970 and 1980, the number increased at a compounded rate of 11 percent a year.

- One of the most promising potential deterrents to commercial and bank robbery appears to be installation of hidden cameras in high-risk robbery targets. A recent experiment showed that such cameras increased arrest and conviction rates, and further evaluation of this tactic should be conducted.

Additional research on robbery was in the planning stages at NIJ at the end of the biennium. This project will focus on the violent aspects of robbery—examining both robbery-murders and robberies in which victims are seriously injured.

Other violence research. Other NIJ research into violent crime includes a study of homicide trends and patterns nationwide over a 10- to 11-year period. The study also conducted a detailed investigation of current homicide patterns in eight cities and produced a detailed agenda for future research on homicide. Also completed was a study of collective disorders, which examined the nature and causes of collective violence and various prevention and control strategies.

Family violence. The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) sponsors a wide range of research on violent behavior. One NIMH study provided the first reliable data on intrafamily violence and especially on wife abuse (about 1.8 million American women are battered by their husbands each year). In a related NIMH study, up to 26 percent of the women treated at the surgical emergency room of a large New England hospital were found to be the victims of assault by husbands or male partners, yet the medical staff identified only one-fourth of these victims as instances of battering. The researchers found that long-continued battering increases the risk of mental and emotional disorders, alcoholism and drug abuse, and suicide attempts on the part of the victims.

set involving violent and property crimes from 1933 to 1975, and a cross-sectional set for the single year 1973.

Altogether, 12 projects in this area are using the econometric approach. Employing a much simpler model than Ehrlich's, the Criminal Justice Research Institute is examining the role of sanctions in deterring bank robbery. In the past, much deterrence research has been challenged because reporting variances were thought to have biased the results; bank robbery, however, is thoroughly and consistently reported.

Methodological advances of a different kind have been employed by researchers at Northeastern University. Evaluating the crime-control effects of a Massachusetts law against the unlicensed carrying of firearms, they found that this legislation indeed had a deterrent effect on gun-related robberies, assaults, and homicides—and that this effect has persisted. The finding is particularly interesting because the Massachusetts law does not seem to have increased the likelihood of punishment for gun-related crimes. Rather, the *threat of punishment* (as communi-

cated by an extensive publicity campaign) is credited with dissuading individuals from carrying firearms. Deterrence, we are reminded, is a mechanism that works by successfully communicating a threat, not necessarily by carrying it out.

A related question is how would-be criminals learn about potential sanctions. Most deterrence research has assumed either that this knowledge is common property or that all crime-prone individuals possess the same information about the sanctions for a given crime. Neither assumption is likely to be correct. Research into how individuals form their perceptions of criminal sanctions, and what effect these perceptions actually have upon behavior, is being pursued in separate projects at Northern Illinois University and the University of South Carolina.

Turning to the effect of incapacitation, it is generally believed that the rate at which an offender commits crimes varies according to that

individual's age and the type of crimes he or she commits. These considerations must therefore affect the number of crimes that are averted by imprisoning different individuals. Research at Carnegie-Mellon University is directed at understanding how offenders start, stop, and alter their behavior during a criminal career. (See also the career criminal research cited earlier in this chapter.) Other projects, in Washington State and the District of Columbia, are examining the crime-switching habits of offenders in order to obtain better estimates of the effect of incarceration.

Discovering how crime-control theories operate in the real world is a scientific enterprise of great public interest. The technical sophistication of some recent studies is an important step toward this goal. As the research progresses, and as a consensus of scientific opinion begins to emerge, crime-control theory should make a significant contribution to the continuing public debate about the role of sanctions and their effectiveness in controlling crime.

3.

Crime and the Community

Whether they intend it or not, individual citizens are participants in society's struggle against crime. Citizen crime-prevention activities may be as formal as a security survey conducted with the help of the police department and leading to an array of target-hardening measures, or as passive as an elderly person's decision not to leave the apartment for fear of being mugged in the corridor. (Indeed, research has shown that precautions against crime are apt to take just this pattern. Younger and more affluent citizens tend to adopt active security measures such as intrusion-detection devices or self-defense training; the elderly and the poor are more likely to follow an avoidance strategy, limiting their exposure to danger.) In a larger sense, the community itself can be a mechanism against crime. We are gradually learning more about how our physical surroundings can foster or discourage criminal activity, and how change can be introduced into those surroundings to make them safer.

The Crime-Environment Link

In 1971, Oscar Newman published a book called *Defensible Space*. Its message was that the built environment can affect crime rates and people's perceptions of security—that a well-lighted vestibule, serving a few families, is safer than an open-ended corridor through which any number of individuals can pass without challenge. Newman's work was sponsored by the National Institute of Justice, which has continued to support research and demonstration efforts on the crime-environment relationship and how it influences and is influenced by other factors. The National Science Foundation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development have also supported research and demonstration activities to expand our knowledge of the crime-environment link.

Safety in housing developments. During the biennium, Newman continued his studies of crime and instability in urban housing developments, broadening the research to include socioeconomic factors and the level of police and guard services. Among his conclusions in a report to NIJ:

- Of several design variables, the most important seem to be size and accessibility. Large, open buildings are the most dangerous for their inhabitants.
- Housing developments with large numbers of teenagers, low-income households, or single-parent welfare families seem to have the highest levels of crime, fear, and instability.
- The existence of security services or cooperative ownership arrangements does not seem to have a significant impact on safety.

Several years ago, the Department of Housing and Urban Development began to develop, test, and refine a set of instruments to assess the vulnerability of housing envi-

ronments to crime. Manuals are now available, presenting methods for assessing the security considerations of management services, social services, and resident social relations; describing how such elements as trees, fences, and lighting can affect security; and presenting instruments for measuring the residents' concern about crime.

HUD and the National Association of Housing and Development Officials jointly sponsored a conference of public housing managers, security people, and residents to discuss security problems. The confer-

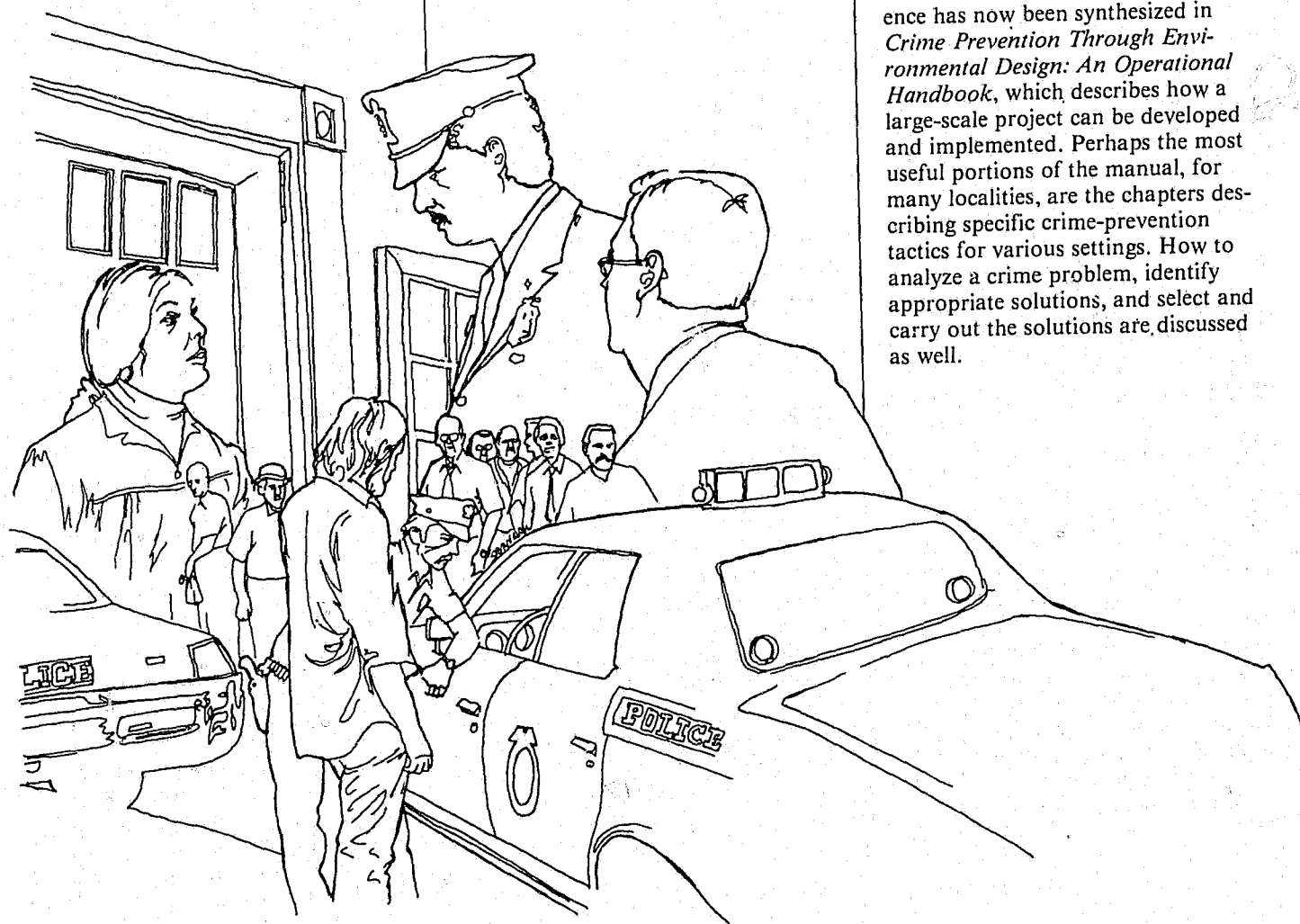
ence was followed by another, attended by nationally known researchers and experts in crime prevention to develop an effective anticrime program for this environment. As a result of these meetings, a two-volume manual, *Crime in Public Housing*, was published, the first volume presenting selected anticrime strategies, the second a bibliography and a review of the two conferences. Seven elements are identified for an effective anticrime program in public housing:

1. Improved crime prevention management and maintenance.
2. Improvements in physical design and security hardware.
3. Increased tenant participation.
4. Increased employment of tenants, especially youths.

5. Improvements in crime-related social services.
6. Support from the local criminal justice system, especially the police.
7. Improvements in the surrounding neighborhood as well as in the public housing project itself.

An interagency demonstration program is now under way to test and refine these procedures. The evaluation will address two pressing needs: how to integrate victimization and anticrime data from a variety of sources, and how to interpret anticrime programs under diverse "real world" conditions.

The CPTED projects. From 1974 to 1978, NIJ funded a demonstration of environmental design concepts in residential, commercial, and secondary-school settings. The program experience has now been synthesized in *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: An Operational Handbook*, which describes how a large-scale project can be developed and implemented. Perhaps the most useful portions of the manual, for many localities, are the chapters describing specific crime-prevention tactics for various settings. How to analyze a crime problem, identify appropriate solutions, and select and carry out the solutions are discussed as well.



Also during the biennium, evaluators reassessed the commercial demonstration in Portland (Oregon) and a residential demonstration in Hartford (Connecticut). In Portland, the evaluators found that environmental design concepts had indeed worked a change for the better along Union Avenue, a previously dilapidated commercial strip. Progress had been made toward a more attractive neighborhood, and Union Avenue businessmen were continuing their target-hardening activities even after the project had been completed. (In residential areas nearby, people had actually increased the level of their security precautions.) These accomplishments were accompanied by a statistically significant drop in commercial burglaries; street crime also decreased in the most-used portion of Union Avenue.

In the Hartford neighborhood of Asylum Hill, environmental changes were coupled with a program of police and citizen crime-prevention activities. An evaluation of the program shortly after all of the changes had been made showed a sharp decline in burglary and robbery rates. The next assessment, several years later, revealed a rise in these crimes, increasing once again to expected levels. In the intervening years, however, police manpower and resources had been cut back severely, which probably accounts for at least some of the crime increase. Nevertheless, Asylum Hill residents continued to look more favorably upon their neighborhood, perceiving crime as less of a problem and expressing less fear for their safety than before the program.

They reported using the neighborhood more, and they were more alert to the presence of strangers in the neighborhood. They were more likely to intervene in suspicious incidents, thought more highly of their neighbors as a resource against crime, and felt that the neighborhood was improving and would continue to improve. The evaluators concluded that making a neighborhood more residential in character ensures a sense of "community" and strengthens informal social controls, which in turn can have a positive effect on the fear of crime—though not necessarily on the actual rate of crime. At the same time, the Hartford experience underscores the importance of the police role, which, when combined with other elements of social control, contributes significantly to deterring crime in a residential neighborhood.

The Baltimore study. In a more theoretical approach, researchers at Johns Hopkins University studied certain environmental design concepts under an NIJ grant, correlating their presence or absence with police calls, fear levels, and crime-related problems. Among their findings:

- Defensible space features—especially the existence of real or symbolic barriers—seem to reduce crime and fear. Fences, for example, are perceived as improving the appearance of an area, encouraging residents to stop intruders and reducing the likelihood that possessions will be stolen from the yard.
- The presence of a "social network" of friends and acquaintances is associated with reductions in crime and fear. Where membership in organizations is high, for example, police calls for crimes of violence tend to be low.

Territorial feelings also are associated with reductions in crime and fear. The correlation is strongest where residents know the name of the neighborhood, have gardens out back, and are able to recognize outsiders.

To a lesser degree, the researchers found an association between the appearance of a neighborhood and fear. Areas that were well kept up and more extensively beautified were deemed to be safer, both by residents and by outsiders. The connection between fear and signs of disorder—vandalism, abandoned buildings, litter—is a finding that emerges in a number of studies.

The state of the art. To determine how far research in environmental design has advanced, NIJ funded a review of the lessons learned to date. In *The Link Between Crime and the Built Environment*, evaluators looked at 52 such studies and singled out 15 as warranting closer investigation. Overall, they found the strongest links between target-hardening tactics and crime reduction: in Seattle, for example, police recorded crime reductions of 37 to 50 percent after new locks, doors, and walls were installed in three public housing developments. Among surveillance tactics, improved street lighting was closely linked to decreases in fear. By itself, brighter street lighting did not affect actual crime rates, but in combination with other anticrime tactics, it appears to reduce the incidence of crime.

Much the same is true of another surveillance tactic, eliminating environmental features that afford opportunities for concealment. As for pedestrian traffic, an interesting relationship seems to exist, with the highest crime levels associated with both high and low volumes of traffic—suggesting that anonymous crowds, no less than lonely streets, are conducive to criminal activity. Finally, there was considerable evidence in the studies that easy access to a site increases its vulnerability to crime.

The community-building approach to crime reduction proved to be the most difficult to document. However, the Baltimore study cited above suggests that this approach—in which planners attempt to foster social cohesion and feelings of territoriality among the legitimate users of an environment—may yet be developed as an effective crime-reduction technique.

Crime and Neighborhood Decline

In an effort to learn more about the role of crime in the deterioration and abandonment of urban neighborhoods, NIJ funded a series of investigations which were completed during the biennium.

In Chicago, the National Opinion Research Center examined eight neighborhoods through telephone interviews, site inspections, and data from public records. The researchers concluded that responses to crime are part of an individual's overall assessment of a neighborhood's desirability: the perceived crime rate is one more factor in the decision to invest in or to move from an area seen as deteriorating, declining in value, or subject to an influx of undesirable neighbors. Thus, a threatened neighborhood may benefit from a more visible police presence, including measures to combat actual crime and to put the fear of crime

into a more realistic perspective. Community crime-prevention activities should stress neighborhood maintenance and development among their goals. Municipal service agencies can help, too, by dealing promptly with abandoned and deteriorated property, dirt, and litter. The researchers also suggest that urban planners reconsider use of parks and open spaces as approaches to neighborhood preservation. Without maintenance, these can become havens for vandalism and crime. Finally, attention should be paid to the real or perceived problems that accompany racial change in a neighborhood.

At the University of Southern California, researchers looked at Los Angeles County trends in land use, crime and delinquency, population, income, employment, and public health over a 26-year period. They concluded that the rate at which a neighborhood moves from a relatively crime-free to a high-crime condition accelerates at the end of the process. Neighborhood decay first precedes the rise in crime, and in later stages is hastened by that increase. Finally, criminal activity tends to stabilize at a high level, by which time the process is irreversible in many cases. Property crimes are the first to increase, followed by increases in personal crime.

Land-use changes associated with increases in crime include a shift from owner-occupied to rental housing, and from single to multiple dwelling units. In the more advanced stages, the neighborhood loses residential, commercial, and industrial properties. The population declines; residential mobility increases; and the neighborhood is marked by greater proportions of broken families, juveniles, unskilled and unemployed workers, and members of ethnic or racial minority groups.

The period of the Los Angeles study was one of rapid growth locally and urban upheaval nationally; the findings therefore cannot be accepted uncritically. However, the study has important implications for the criminal justice system. Should police resources be concentrated in high-crime areas or in those just entering the crime/deterioration process? If the latter strategy is adopted, this study suggests the indicators by which an imperiled neighborhood can be identified at a fairly early stage in the cycle.

A third study addressed the question of why some urban neighborhoods can maintain a low level of crime despite their proximity to similar but higher crime areas. In Atlanta, the Research Triangle Institute examined three pairs of adjacent neighborhoods, with one member of each pair having a lower rate of crime although both were similar in land use, racial composition, and socioeconomic status. The lower crime areas seemed to share two characteristics:

- Land use was more residential, with fewer major traffic arteries and with boundary streets that were less heavily traveled, thus inhibiting the flow of outsiders in these neighborhoods.
- They were closer to areas of higher economic status, and less accessible to would-be criminals from outside the neighborhood.

Jane Jacobs' classic study of urban neighborhoods postulated that diverse land use is a key factor in maintaining safety. In this study, however, low-crime neighborhoods were characterized by homogeneous land use, with the fear of crime tending to increase with the amount of commercial activity. Another interesting finding was that, while residents were able to assess the amount of local crime with reasonable accuracy, this awareness was not translated into protective behavior.

Rather, crime-prevention measures were associated with the amount of information exchanged by neighbors and with the frequency of "neighboring" in the area—a pattern also noted in the Baltimore study cited earlier.

The Atlanta findings suggest that crimes of opportunity, such as burglary, robbery, larceny, and auto theft, might be inhibited by maintaining the residential character of a neighborhood and limiting its access to outsiders. Appropriate tactics might include minimizing the amount of nonresidential land use in residential blocks, limiting the amount of commercial development at neighborhood boundaries, and discouraging the city from widening residential streets.

While these studies have contributed knowledge about the relationship between crime and the residential characteristics of a neighborhood, the particular problems of mixed industrial-residential neighborhoods are the focus of another study. The flight of industry from the urban scene leaves a void as severe as other signs of neighborhood decay. In the aftermath, a source of employment is displaced and the urban tax base is undermined. A study of two neighborhoods in Chicago will explore the impact of neighborhood conditions on industrial flight from the perspective of those who work as well as live there. The problems and advantages of the neighborhood from the standpoint of the workforce as well as from the viewpoint of residents and community leaders will be addressed by the study.

Other Crime Prevention Strategies

Environmental design is one of many approaches to community crime prevention. During the 1970's, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funded ambitious efforts to develop crime-prevention programs in cities throughout the country. The first of these was a 2-year, \$30 million program that involved 150 municipalities; the specific anticrime activities included "block watch" programs, security surveys, and property-marking projects. These activities were to be conducted by existing or newly created community groups. A different approach was taken by a later LEAA program that focused on seven large cities, each receiving about \$500,000 in Federal subsidies.

NIJ has now completed evaluations of these two LEAA efforts. The Community Anti-Crime Program was judged to be successful in enlisting citizen participation and cooperation, with more than half the projects continuing after Federal funding ceased. By contrast, the city-wide approach seemed less effective. The evaluators found evidence of "some success" in meeting each of the program's objectives. However, citizen participation was less pronounced, crime analysis and community resources were not fully utilized, and continued funding did not seem likely after the Federal subsidies ended. The evaluators noted that success is more likely where programs are tailored to fit local conditions, a conclusion borne out by NIJ research in Hartford and elsewhere.

Large-scale, federally funded projects seem unlikely in the 1980's and the emphasis has therefore shifted to crime-prevention activities that can be utilized by individuals, community groups, and municipalities with a minimum of Federal assistance. In cooperation with the Advertising Council, for example, LEAA developed a media campaign

featuring a basset hound named McGruff, which urged viewers to "Take a Bite Out of Crime." The advertisements offered specific anti-crime advice, and information packages were mailed to those who requested more information. The message: much crime can be prevented if the individual takes simple precautions.

A study conducted for NIJ by the University of Denver soon after the campaign was launched indicated that 30 percent of the U.S. population saw these public-service advertisements, usually on television. Individuals who recalled the "spots" tended to be young, male, less affluent, heavy users of the media, and highly concerned about crime (though not necessarily about crime prevention). Well over half of those who saw the advertisements were able to recall the contents, and about 40 percent said their attitudes toward crime had been influenced by the campaign. A later survey showed that nearly half those surveyed recalled the crime-prevention announcements.

Besides providing a better idea of the reach of public service anti-crime campaigns, the surveys revealed attitudes toward crime and crime prevention by a national sample of citizens, what precautions they take, and how their choices are linked to demographic variables. For the benefit of crime prevention planners and researchers, the survey data will be housed at the University of Michigan data archive, supported by the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

To inform and guide local efforts, NIJ developed or documented a number of promising crime-prevention approaches during the biennium. Among them:

- A monograph on *The Midwood Kings Approach*, which explains how block-level organizations and crime-prevention activities helped rebuild a sense of community and reduce at least one of the targeted crimes in a large South Brooklyn neighborhood. Midwood Kings was one of the successful examples in LEAA's Community Anti-Crime Program.
- A strategy for reducing motor vehicle theft through interagency cooperation in all phases of the vehicle's life cycle, from its manufacture, through titling, registration, and insurance procedures, to its eventual demolition for parts or scrap. Recommendations are also made for increasing the citizen's role in preventing motor vehicle theft.
- A field test of a commercial security program designed to reduce burglary, robbery, and larceny in small businesses. The test will pay particular attention to security surveys—a checklist of the adequacy of the business premises against crime losses and a tactic which proved successful in the Portland CPTED demonstration. The project is now under way in Denver, St. Louis, and Long Beach (California), with commercial security surveys and followup visits conducted by the police in the test neighborhoods.
- A policy brief for legislators and other community decisionmakers on preventing consumer fraud, stressing the need to protect consumers while leaving merchants free from undue governmental interference.

- A monograph, *Fraud in Government Benefit Programs*, outlining specific preventive approaches that can help minimize losses due to fraud. The study recommends creation of special prevention units, financed with funds from government benefit programs but independent of program administration. Placing such units at the highest levels of State or local governments would ensure autonomy and authority. Costs would be minimal compared to tax dollars lost through fraud.

Preventing crime and fear on public mass transit systems was a focus of research sponsored by the Urban Mass Transit Administration of the Department of Transportation. Studies supported during the biennium include installation and testing of closed-circuit television in a New York City subway station. Results indicated that the equipment positively influenced the attitudes of women riders—making them feel safer—but made men feel slightly less safe. Another project, scheduled for completion in 1982, will test and evaluate anticrime technology in four stations of Chicago's transit system.

The Citizen as Victim

Crime-prevention activities can reduce but not eliminate the possibility that any given individual will be victimized. What does society owe those who suffer physical, emotional, or financial loss from crime? Certainly the criminal justice system is obligated to provide courteous and humane treatment to crime victims, together with the assurance that the offender will be apprehended and prosecuted if at all possible. Beyond this, a civilized society may have the obligation to provide counseling and even financial assistance to those who have been traumatized by crime.

NIJ conducts an active program of victim-related research. During the biennium, for example, researchers completed a study of 274 New Yorkers who had been victimized by robbery, assault, or burglary. The findings:

- Psychological problems—fear, anxiety, nervousness, self-blame, anger, shame, difficulty sleeping—plagued the majority of the sample—the victims of violent property crimes and burglary alike. Almost all victims reported some type of problem.
- At least one-half of the victims continued to experience some problems 4 months after the incident, although the severity diminished.
- All but two of the victims turned to friends, relatives, and neighbors for help in dealing with their problems. Those who got sufficient help adjusted better, regardless of the number of people aiding them.
- The informal network of friends and neighbors was best able to offer emotional support and least able to provide technical and legal assistance. Financial assistance to the victims imposed the greatest burden on helpers.
- Providing assistance engendered a sort of "indirect" victimization: 80 percent of the helpers suffered similar problems as the victim, particularly increased fear and anxiety.
- Only one in five victims knew of formal agencies that could assist them; thus the overall impact of this source of support was minimal. However, a full three-fourths of the victims who *did* know about the agencies sought their assistance.

NIJ has also conducted an evaluation of 280 existing victim-witness assistance programs in the U.S. The conclusion: these projects "seem to be doing exactly what they promise to do. . . . Clients apparently like the services and so do criminal justice personnel."

On the specific issue of compensating victims of crime, NIJ analyzed the data and experience with compensation programs and outlined policy and program options for jurisdictions interested in adopting this approach. The study found that nearly half the States now offer some kind of financial aid to victims. Unlike restitution (a criminal sanction discussed in Chapter Six), compensation does not depend on society's ability to apprehend the offender, nor on the offender's ability to make good the citizen's loss. Instead, the State itself reimburses the victim for medical and even property losses, and sometimes for crime-related expenses such as training for a new occupation. In existing U.S. compensation programs, the upper limit for benefits ranges from \$10,000 to \$50,000, while very small claims are usually screened out altogether. Some programs exclude crimes committed by relatives of the victim in order to avoid fraudulent claims; all of them require the victim to report the crime to the police and to cooperate with the investigation.

An updated report on victim compensation, focusing on the costs and revenue sources for such programs, is scheduled for completion in 1982.

Another handbook, dealing with the community's response to rape victims, was developed during the biennium in an effort to promote humane and efficient handling of these traumatic cases. The study synthesizes the existing literature on rape and describes the range of community services available to victims, including rape hotlines, counseling, escort services, and third-party reporting. The study also discusses establishing a rape crisis center, costs, legal issues, mobilizing the criminal justice and medical communities, and public education with respect to rape.

The particular plight of elderly victims was the subject of a major federally funded research and demonstration effort in high-crime areas of six major cities. An evaluation of the effort, sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, found that programs integrating victim assistance with crime prevention are more effective than those that provide the two types of services independently. The study resulted in detailed guidelines for reducing the vulnerability of senior citizens and helping older people recover from victimization.

- On all measures, indigent victims who were ethnic minorities, who lived in the inner city, or who had limited education, suffered more than other victims. They experienced more psychological and practical problems, their problems persisted longer, they were less apt to get the necessary help, and the people helping them were especially burdened by providing the assistance.
 - Police play a critical role in a victim's adjustment, the researchers suggested. A helpful police officer has a marked positive effect on victim attitudes.
- In 1980, NIJ conducted a workshop to identify research priorities in what has come to be called "victimology"—the study of the dynamics of an individual's response to physical violence from strangers. For example, some studies have indicated that resistance is an effective response to attempted rape, while other research suggests that it may heighten the risk of injury or death. Clearly, more must be learned about the victim's response and its potential for influencing the assailant. Accordingly, NIJ has designed a new program of research into the dynamics and the situational aspects of stranger-to-stranger violence, with the first study now under way at Northwestern University. National Crime Survey victimization data will be used to describe the responses to specific incidents of assault, together with the consequences for the victims.

How Citizens Cope with Crime

A 5-year study of citizen reactions to crime, conducted at Northwestern University for the National Institute of Justice, has produced a rich harvest of findings on this important topic. Especially significant is the fact that the Northwestern findings support conclusions drawn from empirical research in the field of environmental design. Among the highlights of the four-volume final report:

- Citizen fear of crime is often engendered by indirect experiences—especially by conversations with neighbors. The importance of this sort of information seems to be inversely related to the level of crime in the community. In high-crime areas, threatening incidents are daily occurrences, yet communications among neighbors tend to be less well developed in these areas. Conversely, low-crime areas tend to have higher levels of interaction—and higher levels of fear. "The very structure of the community which may keep victimization low," the researchers noted, "encourages the flow of information about crime."
- Higher levels of fear, while related to lower victimization rates, are also linked to the signs of social "disorganization" or "incivilities" that other studies have cited as well—such things as litter, vandalism, abandoned buildings, and the presence of drunks, prostitutes, and loiterers.
- As a means of obtaining information about crime, newspaper and television reports seem to generate much less fear than conversations with neighbors.
- Women and the elderly exhibit higher levels of fear, despite their apparently lower levels of victimization. Their apprehension is fostered by the fact that both interpersonal communications and media accounts tend to focus on crimes against these two groups. Furthermore, women and the elderly are in fact more vulnerable to crime when it does occur.
- Involvement in a personal crime such as street robbery is more fear provoking than being victimized by burglary.
- The researchers identified four avenues of defense against crime—only one of which seems to be correlated with actual crime rates. Thus, a majority of big-city residents take *personal precautions* against crime to a degree dependent on fear, personal vulnerability, vicarious experience with crime, and condition of the neighborhood. When it comes to *household protective measures*, *organized community action against crime*, and *flight to the suburbs*, however, the researchers found that individuals tended to take these measures independently of local crime conditions.
- Community-based crime-prevention activities can conveniently be divided into those that are meant to prevent victimization and those that attack the presumed causes of crime. Typically, a given community adopts one approach or the other—rarely both.

- People tend to join organizations because they are organization-minded, not because they want to do something about crime. The usual development is that an existing organization adds crime to its agenda of concerns. Membership in such organizations is more likely to be determined by home ownership, family status, and length of residence than by one's attitude toward crime.

The researchers concentrated on 10 diverse neighborhoods in Chicago, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, with additional data from cities that had been studied in earlier NIJ projects. Altogether, their work has yielded 11 book-length documents and 31 shorter articles and monographs. In addition, through NIJ's Research Utilization Program, the Northwestern findings have been disseminated to criminal justice practitioners throughout the country in a series of workshops.

Another Northwestern study focused on the specific question of anticrime measures taken by a sample of citizens in metropolitan Chicago. Among the findings:

- A sizeable proportion—nearly 50 percent—of citizens surveyed report that they limit activities in their own neighborhood in order to avoid being victimized by crime.
- Household protective measures are also common. More than a third of the Chicago households are equipped with alarms, window bars, or special locks; nearly a third have special outdoor lights; nearly one-sixth have hand-guns; 40 percent use timers on lights-or radios when they are away from home, while nearly 60 percent ask neighbors to watch their homes; and about one-third say they have engraved their valuables to aid in recovery after burglary.
- Behavioral restrictions, household target hardening, and group anticrime activities are distinct and often independent responses to crime. As to why an individual chooses one response over another, that seems to result from a complex interplay of personality traits, social and demographic characteristics, and personal or vicarious experience with crime.
- Few adults—less than 10 percent—have ever participated in any form of group anticrime activity. However, a majority report membership in at least one formal voluntary organization. In general, people join organizations to solve a problem, but their activity level thereafter tends to be based on social motives.

In general, the researchers concluded that resource-poor individuals tend to be passive in the face of crime, or at most to limit their own activities. In contrast, resource-rich individuals are likely to take positive steps against victimization, and thus to become the "coproducers" of their own safety. "The special challenge to crime prevention practitioners," the report noted, "is how to increase the safety and security of the resource-poor above some minimum level where their standard of living and fear of crime will no longer interfere with involvement in other anti-crime measures, especially those of a group nature."

4. Policing: Change in Prospect

Major research on policing began less than 15 years ago. Even so, changes in law enforcement operations are discernible. Police departments have been quick to adapt to technological advances—first in computers and communications, and more recently in the forensic sciences. Gradually, too, police have become more open to innovation in other aspects of their operations.

The pace of change is likely to accelerate. Knowledge of the patrol and response function, especially, has advanced significantly over the past 5 years. Changes are in prospect as research findings in this area are replicated, tested, and put into practice.

The National Institute of Justice sponsors the bulk of Federal research projects in policing, focusing on such key concerns as utilization and deployment of resources, administrative efficiency, forensics, and the use of deadly force. The National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Mental Health sponsor studies that bear on police-related issues. Other Government agencies—

notably the Federal Bureau of Investigation—have active research and development programs in law enforcement technology.

Citizen Demand, Police Response

For decades, police operated on the premise that they should respond to all crime-related calls as quickly as possible. It was reasoned that the faster the response to a call, the more likely that patrol officers would apprehend an offender at or near the scene and the greater the citizens' satisfaction. In 1977, however, an NIJ study in Kansas City (Missouri) showed that the time taken by a citizen to report a crime—not the speed of the police response—was the major factor in determining whether or not an on-scene arrest would be made. The Kansas City Response Time Study, which was completed in 1980, examined calls related to both Part I and Part II crimes, as well as non-crime calls for service. The implica-

tions of the Kansas City study were profound, affecting such diverse matters as handling calls for service, citizen satisfaction, and resource allocation.

Still, the results of one study, no matter how provocative, do not mean that long-held practices should be abandoned. A major step in building upon the Kansas City findings was to determine whether they applied generally to other cities. The Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) was therefore asked to replicate the study in Jacksonville (Florida), San Diego (California), Peoria (Illinois), and Rochester (New York). The findings confirmed the Kansas City experience: 86 percent of all calls were placed more than 5 minutes after the incident occurred, even when a phone was readily available to the citizen. In addition, the PERF researchers were able to explore in more detail the reasons why citizens wait before reporting crimes. Delays were classified under three headings:

- The citizen encountered a problem in locating a working telephone or

getting through to the police. Such difficulties were rare.

- The citizen sought advice, went home, or took some other voluntary action before calling the police. Such delays were more significant but generally occurred for reasons the citizen believed valid, such as verifying the fact that a crime did in fact take place.

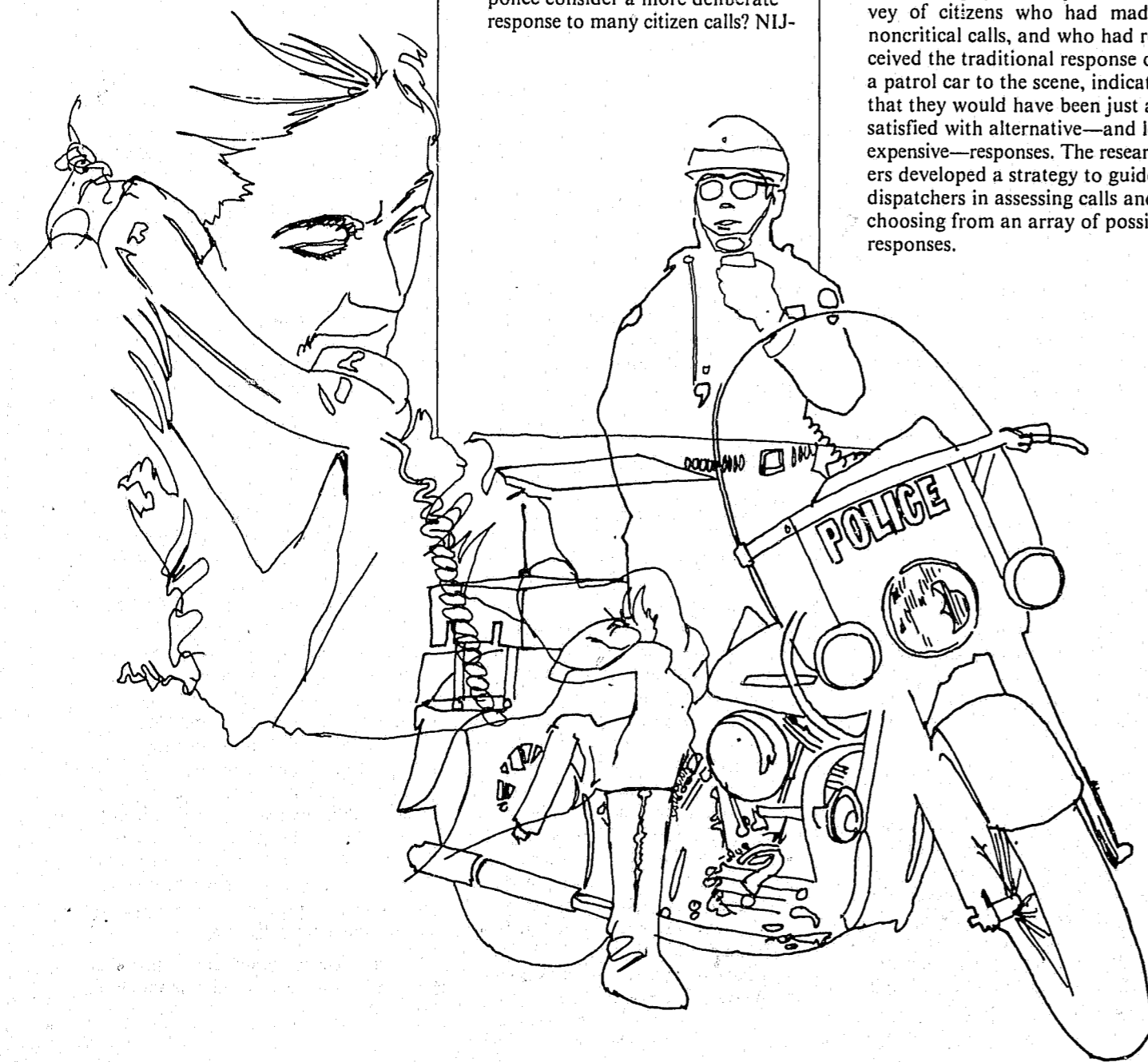
- The call resulted from a discovered crime in which the offender had already left the scene. In such cases—about 75 percent of all reported serious crimes—citizen reporting time averaged about 10 minutes in the four cities studied.

- Arrests that could be attributed to fast police response were made in only 2.9 percent of reported serious crimes in the four cities.

Given these findings, should police consider a more deliberate response to many citizen calls? NIJ-

sponsored studies in Wilmington (Delaware) and Birmingham (Alabama) showed that citizens are willing to accept a delayed response to nonemergency calls, provided they are advised of the delay in advance.

The study by the Birmingham Police Department and the Police Executive Research Forum showed that less than 15 percent of citizens calls are critical in nature, requiring a prompt police response. A survey of citizens who had made noncritical calls, and who had received the traditional response of a patrol car to the scene, indicated that they would have been just as satisfied with alternative—and less expensive—responses. The researchers developed a strategy to guide dispatchers in assessing calls and choosing from an array of possible responses.



Approximately half a patrol officer's time is devoted to answering citizen calls. A systematic program of stacking calls, using civilian personnel, and asking citizens to file reports at a later time has the potential for savings, allowing departments to handle an increased volume of calls without a corresponding increase in the size of its patrol force. To explore this idea, NIJ sponsored a study by police in Wilmington to implement a formal management-of-demand program with four components:

- A system for screening calls for service.
- A call-back system to maintain contact with citizens.
- A battery of alternative responses.
- A patrol force tailored to the level of demand.

Between January and September 1979, Wilmington dispatchers diverted for alternative responses about 20 percent of their calls, generally information calls and those involving past occurrences of larceny, burglary, and malicious mischief. The researchers estimated that a much larger proportion of calls could have been successfully handled in this fashion. They concluded that the Wilmington model allocated police resources more efficiently, improved the quality of complaint-related information, and permitted excess patrol personnel to be assigned to other duties.

A related study, conducted for NIJ at Indiana University, probed the role of communications personnel in determining the police response to a particular call. The researchers found that nearly 50 percent of all calls were handled by dispatchers with-

out any further police involvement, through a referral, transferring the call to another agency, or taking or providing information. (Indeed, information requests accounted for more than 20 percent of all calls—a previously overlooked component of citizen demand.) More important, the researchers noted that the picture of citizen demand is largely determined by the way calls are classified—shifting one type of call into a different category can make a dramatic difference in the apparent pattern of requests for police services, with important implications for prioritizing calls and allocating resources. Since the classification system in the typical police department is unsophisticated at best, dispatchers thus play the dominant role in shaping the interplay of citizen calls and police response.

Knowledge about the demand/response phenomenon should be further advanced by an ongoing field experiment developed by NIJ to test a system of differential response to calls for service (see box in Chapter Nine, page 74.)

Patrol Variations

Closely tied to a police department's method for responding to citizen calls is the whole question of how it deploys its patrol forces. Traditionally, marked police cars have conducted random patrol in preassigned beats, with the twin goals of deterring crime and reassuring the citizens. The first experimental test of preventive patrol was conducted by the Police Foundation in Kansas City, with results that challenged the value of routine patrol in preventing crime or making citizens feel safe.

However, the methodology of the patrol experiment was questioned by other researchers, and efforts to develop a more controlled study are now under way in St. Louis (Missouri) and Minneapolis (Minnesota) under an NIJ grant to Public Systems Evaluations. The study will seek more definitive answers to the effect of police patrol on crime rates, citizen

crime reporting, community feelings of security and satisfaction with police service, and the thorny issues of crime deterrence, deferral, and displacement.

Meanwhile, NIJ has sponsored a field test of a program for improving the management of patrol operations in Sacramento (California), Albuquerque (New Mexico), and Charlotte (North Carolina). The program utilizes some of the techniques developed in the demand/response studies described above. It also involves sophisticated computer programs—developed with support from the National Science Foundation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development—for analyzing and allocating patrol resources. Resources freed by the new approach were devoted to an increase in random patrol, plus new field service activities directed at specific crimes and noncrime activities. A special training component was also included to improve the departments' ability to define patrol objectives and to devise strategies for meeting them.

NIJ has funded an independent evaluation of how the program actually worked in the three test cities. Among the findings:

- New systems for prioritizing and responding to calls can effectively handle 30 to 40 percent of all crime reports—a substantiation of earlier findings in Wilmington.
- Routine calls for service can be delayed for 1 hour before dispatching a vehicle.
- One of the computer programs tested—the Patrol Car Allocation Model—proved to be beneficial in developing patrol allocation plans.
- The three test sites all developed technically sound crime analysis units, but the 12-month implementation period proved too short to affect overall patrol operations significantly.

Scientific Capabilities

U.S. police actually collect physical evidence in relatively few cases—10 percent of Part I crimes, according to one study, and about 8 percent in another. Police departments may not have fully exploited the scientific and analytic capabilities that are now available to them. The National Institute of Justice, for example, has sponsored forensic science research for the past decade, and more recently has supported a long-term effort to raise the quality of forensic science services in the Nation's criminal justice system. Following the development of new methods to identify bloodstains and gunshot residues, NIJ sponsored workshops to train crime-lab examiners in the new techniques. It has also supported studies to improve analytic capabilities for examining human hair, semen, and dried bloodstains. Two of these projects are still in the development stage—an effort to identify human hair from its structural proteins, and a search for genetic markers in human sperm.

Improving the quality of crime laboratories has been an NIJ objective since 1977. The current emphasis is on a proficiency test for toxicologists, complete with "case history" and samples of blood, urine, gastric juices, and tissue to be analyzed for evidence. NIJ is also funding the development of national standards for investigating sudden deaths. This project is conducted by a panel consisting of a medical examiner, a criminalist, and specialists in various branches of forensic sciences. In addition, a state-of-the-art handbook is being prepared for judges, jurors, lawyers, and police delineating the capabilities and limitations of forensic sciences.

At the Federal Bureau of Investigation, research efforts are directed at improving investigatory techniques for use by both Federal and non-Federal agencies. Among the current projects are efforts to:

- Develop a one-step laboratory procedure for individualizing bloodstains.
- Identify and verify the presence of gasoline in arson debris.
- Estimate, from gunshot residues, the distance at which a weapon was fired.
- Improve forensic analysis of grease and oil stains associated with crimes such as hit-and-runs, robberies, or burglaries.
- Differentiate writing inks through use of video techniques.
- Electronically restore blurred or obliterated writing.
- Analyze signatures suspected of being forgeries.

The FBI also provides fingerprint identification services to Federal, State, and local agencies. During the biennium, the agency developed a pilot system for automatic fingerprint searches, with the assistance of the National Bureau of Standards. The system may eventually be used at the State and local levels and has the potential of being adapted to the searching of latent (crime scene) fingerprints as well. Under a contract with the Batelle Memorial Institute, the FBI is funding a study of innovative techniques to detect and develop latent fingerprints, including the use of laser technology. Considerable progress has already been made, and the new techniques have been credited with solving several hundred actual cases.

Forensic sciences research is also conducted by the Drug Enforcement Administration, which during the biennium had projects underway in such areas as determining the origin of drugs, analyzing them for evidence, and detecting clandestine manufacturing sites.

Technology can also be adapted to law enforcement activities ranging from administration to highway patrol. The National Institute of Justice has funded the development of new planning tools to allocate resources for police departments using commercially available microcomputers and pocket calculators. Through its Technology Assessment Program (described in detail in Chapter Nine) NIJ has tested transceivers and helmets, updated vehicle test reports, and issued numerous voluntary standards on various items of equipment. NIJ also pioneered the development and testing of new lightweight body armor made of Kevlar that is now virtually standard issue in police departments across the country. The armor has been credited with preventing serious injury and death to more than 100 officers.

Among other agencies developing technologies for law enforcement is the U.S. Customs Service. During the past 2 years, its projects included a prototype system to detect narcotics and possibly explosives inside vehicles, ships, or aircraft. Another device, which is now commercially available, enables police or customs agents to make an X-ray search for narcotics inside packages or personal possessions, including furniture.

The Use of Deadly Force

"If a policeman needs to defend his life, the use of force is permissible," editorialized the *New York Times* more than a century ago, "but if he is chasing a suspect, he has no right to shoot the man." The debate over the use of deadly force has changed very little since that editorial was published in 1858. Many police officers and administrators believe that, if firearms are to be discharged only in clearcut cases of self-defense, their ability to capture felony suspects will be drastically curtailed. Critics reply that deadly force invests the individual police officer with the power of capital punishment.

In 1979 the National Institute of Justice began a five-part study of this question. Under separate grants, research organizations were asked to investigate specific aspects of deadly force:

Policy issues. Researchers at the University of California's Irvine campus conducted the broadest inquiry, exploring policy issues important to understanding police conduct and creating strategies to control use of deadly force. The researchers visited 14 police departments across the country to gather basic information on how they dealt with the issue of deadly force. More detailed data were collected in four departments—Newark (New Jersey), Miami (Florida), Oakland (California), and Birmingham (Alabama).

The study found that increases in a city's violent crime rate often lead to increased police shootings, and that some of the surges in police shootings are caused by a climate of agitation, fear, or animosity created by violent crime or an officer's perception of danger. The study also found that police officers have dramatically different notions of when deadly force is legitimate.

To counteract these problems, the study recommended that departments implement intensive training on deadly force policies and underlying legal and moral principles. The format of the training should avoid heightening unrealistic perceptions of danger and threat. Some current training, the researchers said, may produce paranoia and may actually increase the likelihood of unnecessary use of deadly force. Other recommendations from the study included specialized training to deal with unarmed opponents, monitoring of officers' shooting behavior, and mandatory psychological interviews following shootings.

The police perspective. A survey of police departments in the 54 largest American cities was conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Information was collected on departmental policies regarding deadly force, firearms training, the existence of tactical or hostage-negotiation units, the use of body armor, and the type of weapons and ammunition used in shooting incidents. Researchers also compiled FBI data on justifiable homicides by police over a 10-year period (1970-79) for the 57 cities. These statistics were compared to reported figures for certain types of crime, resulting in a finding similar to that of the Irvine researchers: use of deadly force appears to be concentrated in an environment of community violence in general. The project produced a series of recommendations and guidelines that departments can use in setting policies to control the use of deadly force without jeopardizing the safety of officers or citizens.

The role of race. A third grant has enabled the National Urban League to examine the relationship of deadly force to such socioeconomic community variables as income level, employment status, educational attainment, and minority-group participation in the social structure. The League surveyed 35 cities and compiled Uniform Crime Report data for a 10-year period in order to compare white and nonwhite deaths caused by police use of deadly force and to develop a better understanding of societal factors that appear to influence differential victimization rates. Results will be reported in 1982.

Deadly force in Hispanic communities. The problem of police use of deadly force in Spanish-speaking neighborhoods is being investigated by the National Council of La Raza. The attitudes and perceptions of Hispanic leaders and selected community members in five communities on the issue of police use of force are being examined. Findings are expected in mid-1982.

The Chicago experience. The fifth project, and the first to be completed, was an effort by the Chicago Law Enforcement Study Group to profile all police shooting incidents in that city from 1974 through 1978. The researchers investigated 610 shooting incidents, noting as many as 380 variables in each instance, in order to develop an exhaustive profile of both the police officer and the civilian involved in the incidents. Their report urged police to use deadly force only when officers are defending their own lives or those of bystanders. This recommendation was accompanied by specific suggestions on training methods and weapons-handling policies—suggestions now under consideration by the Chicago police department. In addition, the report came to two conclusions which are likely to generate further investigation: first, that most Chicago police officers were shot by armed robbers, not in the course of answering domestic disturbance calls as generally assumed; and second, that race seemed to play no part in the use of deadly force by Chicago officers, who were as likely to fire at white suspects as at blacks.

Police Administration and Operations

Police administration is important to the smooth functioning of a department. An NIJ-sponsored review of administration-related research indicated that police management lags behind developments in the private sector, and even developments in other public agencies. American police chiefs tend to stick with traditional ways of conducting business, changing to more innovative practices only after they have been tried successfully in some other department. Another study showed that police chiefs spend an unusually large portion of their time on unscheduled events, "putting-out brushfires" instead of working on long-range problems.

In 1981 NIJ sponsored a set of research projects focusing on police efficiency. These studies are identifying more efficient police operations, focusing particularly on energy savings, using civilian and volunteer labor, and contracting for services. Also in progress is a study of unions, collective bargaining, and the role of binding arbitration in U.S. police departments. Two other studies, now nearing completion, are expected to show how police departments can exploit the burgeoning field of information technology to solve problems and focus their resources on specific crimes.

Building stronger cases. Good management practice also requires that the police department work efficiently with other agencies, both public and private. Thus, NIJ has sponsored studies of how police departments can improve the quality of cases presented for prosecution. These studies have focused on the chain of actions that follow an arrest. Taken together, the research highlights problems in the interconnected work of police and prosecutors in processing criminal cases.

One study, conducted by Georgetown University's Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure, identified two major weaknesses in current practices: First, police, in making an arrest, often do not provide the prosecutor with the amount and kind of information needed to follow through and complete a successful prosecution. The study attributed this to a lack of proper training and incentives in police departments, and to inefficiencies in communication between police and prosecutors offices. Second, prosecutors frequently fail to communicate their information needs to police and fail to tell the police about the final disposition of a case or the reasons for case dismissals.

Based on their research in 16 jurisdictions, the researchers recommended that police administrators reorganize the case transfer process. As early in that process as possible, the police officer with the most knowledge about the case should communicate directly with the prosecutor in charge of making the critical decisions. Police officials also should provide the means by which special knowledge and concern on the part of an officer about an individual case or defendant can be reliably transmitted to the prosecutor in charge of the case.

Another study, conducted by the Institute for Law and Social Research, concluded that police should focus less on the quantity of arrests and more on the quality of those arrests: their "convictability." The study, based on research in eight jurisdictions, reported that the typical police department contains only a few officers who consistently produce quality arrests. Interviews with police officers in Washington and New York revealed that those with high conviction rates tended to exhibit the following characteristics:

- They paid more attention to locating and dealing with witnesses.
- They used a two-pronged approach to interviewing witnesses, combining a factual line of questions with an indirect, "psychological" style.
- They were more interested in followup investigations—persisting with the details of processing evidence, locating witnesses, and maintaining contact with them.

These studies (and other research reviewed in Chapter Five) underscore the need to strengthen communications and coordination between police and prosecutors, and to specify more clearly the evidentiary requirements for obtaining convictions.

More efficient operations. Also in the developmental stage were a variety of studies dealing with key operational issues:

Police resource sharing, detailing how police and other public agencies can economize by sharing such services as communications, data processing, lockup, personnel testing and training, and forensics laboratories.

Measuring the costs of police services, explaining how cost-analysis techniques have been used successfully in four departments.

Police work scheduling, including such innovations as the variable-hour day and the 4-day week.

Citation in lieu of arrest, with attention to the resources that can be saved by this approach to law enforcement.

Coping with stress in policing, outlining ways to head off job-related stress and to deal with it when it does develop.

Patrol resource allocation, based on the findings of a field test on managing patrol operations and on research funded by the National Science Foundation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Also during the biennium, NIJ sponsored a series of workshops on improved police management, which were attended by more than 500 police chiefs and police executives nationwide.

Investigations: A Cross-National Study

In 1980, criminal justice researchers in the United States, Canada, Britain, Holland, Sweden, Germany, and Australia agreed to coordinate a set of studies in the general area of criminal investigations. Their aim: to provide an international perspective that will enable researchers in each country to benefit from what their colleagues are doing elsewhere, while adding to our understanding of whether and how research results can be generalized from one country to another. Each nation is conducting its own projects, with the overall effort coordinated by the U.S.-based Police Foundation under a grant from the National Institute of Justice.

The U.S. contribution to the cross-national effort is a study of investigative information and behavior. What kinds of resources are used in criminal investigations? Can the patrol officer handle some cases as effectively as a trained detective? What kinds of evidence are actually collected at crime scenes, and by whom? And how is this information then shared by law enforcement officials? These and related questions are being addressed by the Police Executive Re-

search Forum and the Forensic Sciences Foundation with NIJ funding. The PERF researchers are concentrating on burglary and robbery cases in Wichita (Kansas), St. Petersburg (Florida), and DeKalb County (Georgia). They are mapping the investigative process—examining information needs, tracking information flows, and exploring investigative behavior, with special attention to the contributions of the individual patrol officer and the crime scene analyst. More important, they are looking for cause-and-effect links in the investigators' behavior, their use of information, and eventual case outcomes.

The PERF researchers—as well as many of their European counterparts—are building on earlier research sponsored by NIJ, which showed that much of a detective's time often is devoted to cases that are unlikely to be solved, while the most important indicator of

whether a given crime will be resolved is the information provided to the patrol officer who first responded to the scene. An NIJ field test of a new approach to managing criminal investigations also found that an expanded role for patrol officers and careful case screening can heighten investigative efficiency.

In addition to the craft of investigation, other nations are focusing on such aspects of the investigative function as management and organization, forensic sciences, external relations, and output measures including case outcome, citizen satisfaction, and victim assistance.

The final report from the Police Foundation should be ready in late 1982. Whether or not the cross-national effort is extended to other areas of police work, it is certain to have a long-range benefit, revealing the findings of other nations now engaged in police research and showing how cooperative studies can multiply the yield of individual national projects.

5. Rethinking the Judicial Process

The major problems confronting the courts today are well known. Excessive delay, to cite just one example, has been criticized by the public and practitioners alike as undermining both the fact and the appearance of justice. Efforts to ameliorate court delay—and other equally serious problems—require the courts to perform a delicate balancing act: administrators must weigh the benefits of speed and efficiency against the time and flexibility required to ensure due process.

Providing objective data policymakers and court officials can use to make such choices is one of the goals of research. With the advent of computerization in many courts, systematic examination of court operations has become possible. At the National Institute of Justice, courts research focuses on the pretrial process, especially pretrial release decisionmaking. Prosecutorial policies, fairness and consistency in sentencing, and appropriate forums for settling disputes are other NIJ research priorities.

While NIJ generally concentrates on issues and problems involved in the administration of justice, the National Science Foundation supports fundamental research on the law and the legal process. NSF's wide-ranging research includes explorations of legal structure within and across cultures and longitudinal analyses of the legal system in relation to social, economic, and cultural conditions. Studies relating to dispute settlement, courtroom perceptions, and juror reasoning and decision-making are also among the efforts supported by NSF.

Other agencies conducting court-related research include the Federal Justice Research Program within the Justice Department's Office of Legal Policy, the Federal Judicial Center, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Institute of Corrections.

Pretrial Release

During the period between arrest and adjudication, the rights of the accused must be balanced against the interests of the community. Ideally, the defendant should retain as much freedom as possible, so that innocent persons are not punished; but at the same time, the community must be assured that suspects do not flee from justice or pose a danger to the community while on pretrial release. In the past 20 years, the pendulum swung first toward use of personal recognizance release for many defendants, based on a promise to return for trial, and, more recently, toward an interest in pretrial detention as a way to reduce crime by persons awaiting trial.

How does pretrial release actually work in the U.S.? During the biennium, NIJ funded an evaluation by the Lazar Institute of release practices and outcomes in Baltimore, the District of Columbia, Miami, Louisville, Tucson, and two California jurisdictions. About 3,500 defendants were included in the study, with 85

percent of them securing release at some point before trial. The evaluation yielded these findings and recommendations:

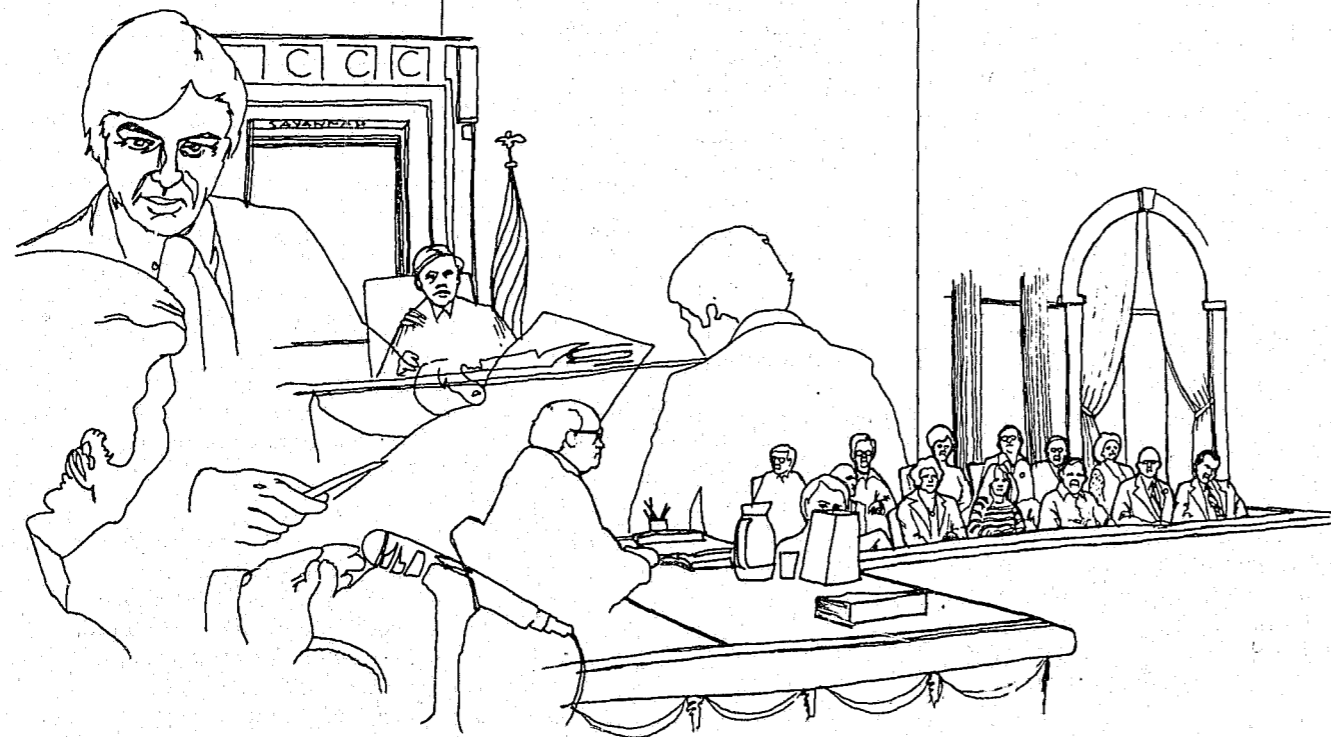
- The overwhelming majority of released defendants made every court appearance required of them. Most who failed to appear did so unintentionally or inadvertently and subsequently appeared in court voluntarily. Actual fugitives made up only about 2 percent of the sample. Courts should implement systematic followup procedures to identify these fugitives, and law enforcement agencies should make special efforts to apprehend them.
- In the study sites, 84 percent of all released defendants had no arrests while free pending trial. Overall, the pretrial arrest rate was 16 percent, with rates for individual jurisdictions ranging from 7.5 percent to 22 percent. About 30 percent of these defendants were rearrested

more than once during the pretrial period—some as many as four times. Courts should improve mechanisms for identifying defendants with pending charges. Possible approaches to reducing pretrial arrests include accelerating trial dates for rearrested defendants, placing defendants under pretrial detention, or imposing consecutive rather than concurrent terms for such offenses.

- Jurisdictions with the highest release rates did not have higher rates of pretrial arrest or failure to appear for trial. Jurisdictions should focus attention on cases that pose greater risks and expand use of release procedures for the remaining defendants. In particular, police should make greater use of field release for minor offenses such as shoplifting and disorderly conduct. Citation release authority might also be extended to pretrial release programs.
- For those individuals where rearrest is a significant possibility, jurisdictions should consider detention alternatives such as halfway houses and part-time confinement.

Such alternatives could relieve jail overcrowding, lower custodial costs, and reserve traditional incarceration for those who are charged with serious crimes, who pose high risks of flight or rearrest, or who have violated the conditions of pretrial release.

NIJ has already funded research projects touching on issues raised in this evaluation. Among them are a study of preindictment decisionmaking (Institute for Social Analysis), an evaluation of pretrial detention recommendations in the District of Columbia (D.C. Pretrial Services Agency), a study of judicial responses to multiple pretrial rearrests (Martin Sorin), an analysis of the role of the bail bondsman (Lazar Institute), and pilot implementation of model bail guidelines (Criminal Justice Research Center). The last study, to be conducted in Philadelphia Municipal Court, is cosponsored by the National Institute of Corrections.



A special problem for any system of pretrial release is how to identify and deal with the dangerous defendant. Under an NIJ grant, Harvard University, working with leading criminal justice researchers from across the country, has developed a tentative research agenda in this area. This project brought together experts from many fields at a conference early in 1982 to consider the technical problems and policy issues involved in identifying violence-prone individuals and devising ways to improve the criminal justice system's response to them, both before and after trial.

NIJ has funded a field test of supervised pretrial release in Miami, Milwaukee, and Portland (Oregon), intended to identify and assess ways of supervising defendants who have been released on conditions designed to assure their eventual appearance in court. A monograph on nonfinancial pretrial release options was also under development in 1981, as were documents describing the D.C. Pretrial Services Agency, which was designated as an "exemplary project" in this area.

From Arrest to Disposition

As information becomes available from jurisdictions served by automated case-processing systems, it becomes ever more apparent that there are problems with the way in which criminal cases are prepared and presented for trial. These problems are serious, and may be found in virtually every big-city justice system.

Felony case attrition. Previous studies have indicated that a sizable number of cases never result in a conviction. Recent research bears out this finding decisively. In a study sponsored by NIJ in Washington, D.C., and later confirmed by a Bureau of Justice Statistics study of 13 jurisdictions, half of all felony arrests were washed out

without a conviction. These studies have stimulated a number of research projects aimed at better understanding case attrition and, where possible, reducing it. Two of the studies focused largely on the police role, recommending improvements in police-prosecutor relations as a means of boosting the "arrest convictability" of cases (see Chapter Four). Another, conducted for NIJ by the University of California at Davis, looked at the same problem from the prosecutor's role and examined the reasons for felony dismissals in two cities. In San Diego, 39 percent of robbery arrestees had their charges dropped by the police department, an option not used in Jacksonville. In the latter jurisdiction, however, the district attorney screened out 30 percent of robbery cases before indictment, and another 17 percent were dismissed later, so that the final attrition rates were roughly equivalent. The study's final report includes a number of suggestions for police administrators and prosecutors—suggestions which bear out the conclusions of the studies cited in Chapter Four. For example, the report offered these recommendations to prosecutors:

- Prosecutors should establish regular, two-way communications with police, at the working level, concerning the specific information and evidence needed to prosecute a case successfully. Problems with cases that have been presented for prosecution and information about disposition should be routinely fed back to police.
- Prosecutors should pay much more attention to cases at an early stage, both in their screening procedures and through their career criminal prosecution units, so that clarification or additional evidence required can be obtained while it is possible to do so.

- Prosecutors should monitor cases that have not been filed, as well as those that have. An annual audit of a sample of unfiled cases might show whether and where good prosecutorial opportunities are being missed.

Prosecutorial decisionmaking. A related study, conducted for NIJ by the Bureau of Social Science Research, looked at how prosecutors actually make the decision to dismiss or prosecute a case. In this project, hypothetical cases were presented to a national sample of prosecutors for responses. The researchers found a remarkable consistency in the decisionmaking process—a consistency that transcended office policy, court systems, and State and local boundaries. Universally, the criteria for prosecution rank in this order: 1) the strength of the evidence, 2) the seriousness of the offense, and 3) the defendant's prior record. However, the specifics of disposition (whether the case results in a plea or a trial, for example, or whether charges will be reduced) depend to a much greater extent upon the policies in effect in a given prosecutor's office. On the whole, the researchers concluded that prosecutorial decisionmaking involves a constant set of factors used in a rational, consistent fashion.

Maximizing defender resources. The cost of providing legal representation to indigent defendants is an increasing concern for many States and localities. NIJ has funded two studies in this area. At the National Defender Institute, researchers are looking at cost-effective ways for jurisdictions to fulfill their sixth amendment obligation to provide legal counsel to those who cannot afford it. Some of the options being analyzed are the traditional method of assignment by the judge, appointment from a roster of experienced criminal lawyers, and the contracting of legal services from competitive bids by law firms. In a related study, researchers at Abt Associates are looking at techniques for maximizing the resources of public defender offices, including the use of paralegal personnel.

NIJ also has funded a field test of early appointment of public defenders. In this model, the public defender enters each felony case within 24 hours of arrest. Such a program is expected to enhance attorney-client relations, speed the disposition of cases, and, it is hoped, save money for the jurisdiction. Also during the biennium, NIJ synthesized the experience of several public defender offices into a program model for jurisdictions interested in expanding their defender services to include a social service component. Direct access to social services staff can enable attorneys to explore all possible options for a case. The approach may be particularly helpful in developing detailed sentencing plans dealing with drug or alcohol treatment or employment counseling that can be presented to the judge. In the case of mandatory prison sentences, such information can be made available to assist prison officials in deciding appropriate treatment for the offender.

Improving the Trial Process

The settlement of issues that arise during the course of a trial depends upon the reasoning and decisionmaking processes of people from a variety of backgrounds. Judges, for example, are called upon to decide not only matters of law but also to weigh arguments involving difficult scientific questions. Jurors must make judgments about evidence and testimony, keeping in mind complex legal terms and definitions. Research that explores the dynamics of decisionmaking in the legal context is supported by several Federal agencies.

Scientific evidence. Advances in forensic science (see Chapter Four) are as important to the judicial process as they are to the investigation of a crime. Court cases increasingly involve scientific arguments and experts. There are several strategies for handling such issues. Research sponsored by the National Science Foundation is

studying one such approach—the use of the court-appointed expert who advises the court directly. This differs from the expert witness hired by one of the parties to testify in court. The study is testing a procedural model for the use of such experts in a State appellate court. The National Center for State Courts, supported by NIJ, also is studying ways to improve the treatment of scientific evidence in the courtroom.

A related NIJ-funded study by the Forensic Sciences Foundation involves a review of the use of mental health assessments by criminal court judges. A new system of assessing competency to stand trial, which grew out of research funded by the National Institute of Mental Health, is the subject of a 2-year demonstration effort in Virginia. Under the program, most evaluations of a criminal defendant's competency to stand trial will be conducted in community mental health centers, using NIMH-developed screening and assessment instruments. The new approach is expected to substantially reduce public forensic costs to the State. At the close of the biennium, a study that will pull together available research and experience with competency assessments was in the planning stages at NIJ.

Eyewitness testimony. "Research . . . has consistently shown that eyewitness testimony can powerfully influence the outcome of a trial." So wrote Elizabeth Loftus in volume three of the NIJ-sponsored research annual, *Crime and Justice*. In her essay, Dr. Loftus reviews psychological research and legal thinking about the use of eyewitness testimony. Research suggests that jurors place too much reliance on such testimony, the article stated. Various safeguards employed include the use of psychologists as expert witnesses in trials, summarizing the relevant scientific facts for a judge or jury.

The article draws in part upon research by Dr. Loftus and other investigators supported by the National Science Foundation. During the biennium, work in progress included experiments designed to refine and extend theories about the reconstructive processes of long-term memory: how new information about an incident, whether true or false, becomes integrated into the original memory of a witness, thus altering the recollection. In practical terms, such knowledge eventually may lead to new ways of obtaining more accurate testimony from witnesses to crimes.

One method used to enhance eyewitness memory is hypnosis. Increasingly used as an investigative tool, hypnosis, when applied in the forensic setting, raises a number of critical issues. These were reviewed by Dr. Martin Orne, also writing in *Crime and Justice*. Dr. Orne's research was supported in part by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. With NIJ support, he is now reviewing the policy implications of research on the use—and misuse—of hypnosis in the courtroom. At the National Science Foundation, research in this area applied experimental techniques for evaluating hypnosis as an investigative tool.

Juror decisionmaking. How well do jurors understand their task, and how well do they remember key aspects of the arguments presented to them? Advances in the exploration of the nature of jury decisionmaking have been made by NSF-sponsored research, which has included experimental simulations and computer-based modeling of juror reasoning and jury deliberation. Another NSF project supported a test of how jurors' sympathy for the victim (or the defendant) affected their judgment in a simulated rape case.

A study funded jointly by the National Institute of Mental Health and NIJ indicates that jurors may understand only about half of the instructions read to them by the judge before they decide a defendant's guilt or innocence. The tests were conducted by researchers at the University of Nebraska. In one instance, 34 test jurors were read instructions from an actual Nevada trial for attempted murder; only one of the "jurors" could explain the difference between the highest and lowest charges against the defendant. The researchers concluded that jurors may often reach a compromise verdict simply because they do not fully understand the judge's instructions.

Instructions can be made easier to understand, however. After two cycles of revision by the researchers, juror comprehension of the same set of instructions rose from 51 percent to 80 percent. The researchers estimated that further revision could have raised the comprehension rate to as high as 90 percent.

Research into juror instructions is also supported by other Federal agencies. The National Science Foundation is funding an effort to devise simpler definitions of such standard concepts as "reasonable doubt" and "proximate cause." The Federal Judicial Center is drafting new instructions covering the credibility of witnesses, drawing inferences from established facts, matters not to be considered by the jury, and the deliberative process.

Also during the biennium, NIJ supported a study of the implications of social science research findings for improving the conduct of criminal trials and a state-of-the-art review of interpreting services in the courts.

The Sentencing Decision

As recently as a decade ago, judges in most States had virtually unrestricted authority to sentence a defendant to anything from probation to 25 or more years of incarceration, depending on the offense. The judge's assessment of the appropriate sentence, together with an upper limit defined by the legislature, was usually the only constraint on judicial decisionmaking. Judges sometimes provided reasons for their sentences—but they were not required to do so—and the rationale could be virtually anything they wished it to be.

Within the past 5 years, however, many State legislatures have revised their sentencing laws so as to structure or restrict judicial discretion. In addition to the traditional maximum sentence, mandatory minimum terms of imprisonment have been legislated for a few crimes, and presumptive incarceration times for those convicted of particular offenses have been established in a number of States. In some cases, sentencing deviations from the norm may be explained by the sentencing judge, may require a separate hearing, and may be subject to appeal. Alternatively voluntary guidelines (developed by the judges themselves and/or based on their previous sentencing patterns) have been established in several States, with the aim of increasing the consistency and fairness of sentences.

NIJ has sponsored assessments of many of these sentencing innovations, with about 20 such studies now in progress or just completed. The first report was not especially encouraging. An evaluation of how voluntary sentencing guidelines were developed and implemented in Denver and Philadelphia, the first two jurisdictions to experiment with this approach, showed that the guidelines failed to produce any change in sentencing practices in these cities.

Furthermore, the periodic review and modifications that were supposed to have been made in the guidelines did not in fact materialize. The researchers therefore recommended that the States rely on legislatively mandated sentencing restrictions—a mechanism that does not depend on voluntary compliance—as a means of improving sentence consistency.

To be sure, this conclusion rests on rather limited evidence and is subject to modification as findings become available from other research, including an NIJ-funded field test of sentencing guidelines in Maryland and Florida. In 1979, NIJ awarded funds to these two States for a test of multijurisdictional guidelines. Four courts in each State—representing urban, suburban, and rural areas—have developed a common set of guidelines based on past sentencing decisions in these courts. Judges are following the guidelines for a 1-year experimental period that began in 1981. Sophisticated modeling tools have been developed to gauge the effect the guidelines may have on sentence consistency. The evaluation results are expected in 1983 and should provide a more systematic assessment of how guidelines operate in different types of jurisdictions.

Under an NIJ grant, a special panel at the National Academy of Science is attempting to synthesize the work that has been done in this area and to recommend an agenda for future research. Other NIJ-sponsored studies of sentencing practices include an investigation of the variations that exist within a State (University of Georgia), California's determinate sentencing law (Stanford University), the use of fines (Vera Institute), and practices in misdemeanor courts (American Judicature Society).

In addition to these studies of practices at the State and local levels, the Justice Department's Office of Legal Policy recently completed a 2-year study of sentencing behavior in the Federal courts. The findings: regional disparities in sentencing exist in the Federal court system; judicial attitudes toward the goals of sentencing vary widely; and sentencing guidelines seem to be a feasible mechanism for the Federal courts.

Another study, conducted for the Federal Judicial Center, confirmed the existence of sentencing disparities at the Federal level. The researchers also noted that diagnostic and evaluative reports—intended to help a judge reach an appropriate decision—often fail to provide useful information. Another Center-sponsored study concluded that sentencing councils, in which judges discuss their intentions in advance of sentencing, can sometimes reduce disparities—but only if their discussions are conducted in a give-and-take fashion, designed to foster the development of a consensus. Otherwise these meetings are unlikely to be productive.

Consistency in sentencing is a desirable goal, but it is only the first step toward a more rational and effective sentencing system. Indeed, it is even possible that the most consistent sentences could also be the least effective in terms of controlling crime. Thanks to computerized data systems, the potential now exists for large-scale studies of defendants' involvement with the criminal justice system—hence for research into the impact of various sentencing options. An ongoing feasibility study by NIJ is examining the potential of future analyses of sanctioning that exploit these rich collections of computerized information.

Sanctions need not be restricted to the traditional American choice between probation and incarceration, however. In most countries, a monetary fine is the minimum penalty imposed after conviction for a criminal offense. The effectiveness of such intermediate sanctions as fines, restitution, and community service is the subject of a study planned for 1982 by NIJ. The Federal Judicial Center also plans continued study of the appropriate use of innovative alternatives to conventional sentences such as restitution, community service, and community release. (Restitution is further discussed in Chapter Six.)

During the biennium, NIJ prepared two documents bearing on what is now known about sentencing:

Mandatory Sentencing, a policy brief intended for legislators and other policymakers, reviews current research findings on mandatory sentencing laws. The brief, scheduled for 1982 publication, is the first of a series dealing with sentencing to be published over the next 2 years as findings become available.

The Principles of Guidelines for Sentencing, a monograph by Leslie T. Wilkins published in 1981, discusses the research that led to the development of some of the first sentencing guidelines.

Federal Justice Research

The Federal justice system has felt many of the same pressures that have affected the State courts: how to improve consistency in sentencing, minimize delay, and use court resources most effectively. Research on issues facing the Federal judicial system was supported during the biennium by the Federal Justice Research Program, administered by the Justice Department's Office of Legal Policy.

In addition to the studies of sentencing practices and dispute resolution mechanisms described elsewhere in this chapter, the Program sponsored a range of research projects and policy analyses. One study explored the ability of Federal courts to comply with time limits established by the Federal Speedy Trial Act. Another analysis assessed the impact and outcome of habeas corpus petitions submitted for Federal review. The most striking feature of court processing of the petitions, the study found, was that 55 percent were never considered on the merits because of procedural defects. Of these petitions, 60 percent were dismissed because of a failure to exhaust State remedies. On the whole, the study said, the existence of the exhaustion requirement appears to do little to deter petitions and may result in a waste of judicial resources since many of the petitions may be reviewed again by the Federal courts after State remedies have been exhausted. Taken individually, actual processing of most petitions did not consume a great deal of judicial time and resources. The combined volume of petitions, however, did have an impact upon the Federal courts.

Alternatives to the Courtroom

In the traditional courtroom setting, two adversaries are pitted against one another, with one party generally emerging victorious. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the adversary model may not be appropriate in all cases, especially in minor property disputes and confrontations between family members, neighbors, or close acquaintances.

Historically, societies use both informal and formal mechanisms for resolving disputes. Research exploring how these mechanisms operate is a priority of the National Science Foundation, which emphasizes studies of how disputes are generated; factors that influence the individual's decisions and strategies to seek resolution; and the types, role, and relationship of alternative forums. Fundamental research by Donald Black of Harvard University promises theoretical breakthrough as well as empirical testing of how the processes of dispute resolution and social control vary across societies. Another NSF-supported study involves a comparison of community-based and court-based mediation programs, which is expected to contribute to our understanding the role of mediation in conflict resolution and to illuminate how and why people press claims in the ways that they do.

A major study that is mapping out dispute resolution patterns in civil cases was funded by the Office of Legal Policy's Federal Justice Research Program. The study, now administered by NIJ, is documenting the incidence of civil disputes, factors affecting the pace of litigation, and the

major costs associated with both litigation and non-court resolution options. NIJ also is sponsoring a study of dispute-resolution mechanisms used in other industrialized countries that may have application here. Findings are expected to be available in 1982.

During the biennium, NIJ completed a field test of three "Neighborhood Justice Centers" in Atlanta, Kansas City, and Los Angeles. Over an 18-month period, an independent evaluation was conducted to learn how successful the centers were in providing an alternative to traditional forms of litigation. The findings were encouraging:

- The Centers seemed to provide an effective mechanism for resolving minor disputes, such as those arising between family members or between tenant and landlord. Agreement was achieved in about half the cases, with a large majority of participants reporting that they were satisfied with the agreement and would use the center again.
- The Centers handled minor interpersonal disputes with less delay than the courts and (in some cases) at no more cost.
- The Centers were able to handle interpersonal criminal cases as well as those that were strictly civil in nature.
- The clients of the Centers included a disproportionate number of low-income individuals, suggesting that this method of resolving disputes is especially attractive to those who cannot afford legal counsel.

In another NIJ-sponsored study, researchers compared a mediation program in Minneapolis with a Hearing Officer Program in Los Angeles as part of a larger investigation of how the courts process "nonstranger" violence cases. Here, too, the re-

searchers found that disputants in the alternative forums tended to come away more satisfied than those who took their disputes to court. "In the majority of cases," the researchers noted of complainants in the Los Angeles program, "they appeared at the session at a scheduled hour, were listened to by the hearing officer, heard the respondent admonished . . . and often received a verbal apology." The researchers speculated that this sort of informal justice, rather than a fine or jail sentence, might well be what citizens want when they make a complaint against a domineering spouse or an abusive neighbor. Clients of the Minneapolis program also showed a high rate of satisfaction, even though this program was markedly different from the one in Los Angeles, relying as it did on conciliation between the disputants rather than arbitration by a third party.

A number of related projects have been funded by the National Science Foundation, including investigations of the outcomes of negotiated child-support awards compared to those resulting from trial; parental attitudes toward alternative methods for deciding child custody cases; and a comparison of mediation vs. adjudication for settling small claims. Under development at NIJ was a review of the use of mediation and arbitration in small claims courts, scheduled for publication in 1982. These studies may eventually contribute to a better understanding of how disputes can be resolved more effectively and economically in a society that seems to be becoming ever more litigious.

The Stubborn Problem of Court Delay

Delay is the most visible problem facing the American courts. The media cite cases that take years to be resolved, victims and witnesses complain that delays enact an unfair penalty on their lives, judges and lawyers feel that the slow pace of justice undermines their professional responsibilities, and reformers use it as justification for changing various aspects of the legal system. Unfortunately, knowledge to date has been sketchy as to which programs will actually expedite the court dockets.

During the 1970's, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funded delay-reduction projects in 25 jurisdictions around the country. How well did these reform efforts actually succeed? Under a grant from the National Institute of Justice, the American Judicature Society evaluated four of the projects and came to these conclusions:

Delay stems from many sources. The dilatory tactics of defense attorneys are often blamed for lengthy proceedings, but in fact the problem is the work of many hands, from police officers who scrimp on preparing cases for adjudication, through prosecutors who fail to screen cases at an early stage, to judges who are too ready to grant continuances. Indeed, when it comes to requesting continuances, it appears that prosecutors exploit the system as readily as defense attorneys.

Case time can be reduced significantly. In the four jurisdictions, the processing time for an average case dropped from 573 to 192 days in Providence, from 170 to 60 days in Detroit, from 142 to 80 days in Las Vegas, and from 104 to 87 days in Dayton.

Different approaches can succeed. The four jurisdictions were quite dissimilar, as were the tactics used to speed the judicial process in each of them. Detroit and Providence used crash programs, both for psychological effect and to rid themselves of case backlogs, whereas other jurisdictions took a more deliberate approach. One court installed a case-tracking system, two courts already had such systems in operation, and the fourth chose to do without one.

While specifics differed, the various approaches taken by each jurisdiction shared some common elements as well. Each jurisdiction set court dates to fit every participant's schedule, reflecting a commitment to hear cases, not postpone them. And each jurisdiction's monitoring or accountability system, although different, fulfilled an identical purpose: it kept the court machinery from bogging down.

Programs should be tailored to local conditions. Each jurisdiction adopted a program compatible with the local political and economic environment. Equally important, the programs generally attempted to take into account what has come to be called the "legal culture"—the norms and expectations developed by generations of courtroom practitioners in a given locality. The importance of this type of accommodation was illustrated by an incident in Las Vegas, where a new court administrator was removed after trial judges felt threatened by efforts to gather statistics on judicial productivity.

Researchers are becoming increasingly aware of the role played by the local legal culture in determining such matters as disposition time. NIJ has funded several studies of the organizational dynamics of the courtroom, seeking a better understanding of how changes are effected in various types of courts. In one such study, the National Center for State

Courts surveyed practitioners in the Bronx, Miami, Pittsburgh, and Detroit. On the specific issue of disposition time, the study found that practitioners in a given jurisdiction—especially prosecutors and defense attorneys—tended to agree on how much time would be needed to resolve a hypothetical case. Their estimates were very close to actual disposition times in the jurisdiction. Between jurisdictions, however, there were substantial differences in their expectations. This finding lends support to the theory that any courtroom, over time, develops a pace of justice that is comfortable for prosecutors, defense attorneys, and judges; newcomers to the jurisdiction are soon made aware of the local norms, and they generally conform to them. Similarly, any effort to speed the pace of justice must begin with an attempt to understand and accommodate the prevailing legal culture, as was done in the LEAA-supported programs evaluated by the American Judicature Society.

Managing the Pace of Justice, an executive summary of the delay-reduction study, may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. Also scheduled for publication in 1982 is a synthesis of research and experience with "Speedy Trial" legislation and efforts to reduce delay. The document will review the policy implications for State and local legislators and officials.

6. Challenge to Corrections

One of the most critical issues facing the corrections system of the 1980's is the escalating numbers of prison inmates and the lack of space in which to house them. As with other problems of contemporary corrections, the crisis in prison resources originated in the previous decade. In 1972, an unanticipated increase in prison commitments began, a trend that continues into the present with far-reaching consequences.

As prisons have become progressively more crowded, living and working environments in institutions have deteriorated, as evidenced by increased tension, violence, racial strife, and staff discontent. Law suits initiated by prisoners alleging inhumane living conditions have made intervention in the management of corrections a fact of life: 39 States are currently in litigation. The courts have ordered (or States have consented to) changes in conditions or practices in at least one prison in 30 States; in 9 of these States, the entire prison system has been found to be in violation of the Constitution.

In the last decade, corrections also began what can be described as a search for purpose. Before 1970, one of the primary goals articulated by most prison systems was rehabilitation of offenders. To further this goal, most States in the first half of the century passed indeterminate sentencing laws—statutes that permitted parole authorities to exercise discretion in releasing inmates from prison. By the mid-seventies, there was a significant movement in corrections to abandon the emphasis on rehabilitation, a movement that gained momentum in 1975 following publication of *The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment*, by Lipton, Martinson, and Wilkes. The "Martinson study," as it came to be called, examined the available literature on the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs in all their various forms. The book was the first comprehensive synthesis of research and evaluation on rehabilitation, and the findings were not encouraging. While a few specific projects might have been successful, the researchers concluded, rehabilitation in general had not been

shown to motivate or equip offenders to discontinue their criminal careers.

Given the lack of empirical evidence to support rehabilitation as a major correctional goal, the latter half of the decade saw a shift toward concern about incapacitation and equity: how to control offenders more effectively and how to minimize either the differences in time served by inmates for similar offenses or the inequities in conditions of release that were inevitable under indeterminate sentencing. By the end of the decade, 21 States had adopted some means of limiting judicial and/or administrative discretion in determining sentencing length. Nine of the States adopted determinate sentencing codes; of these, seven have abolished parole release. If the trend toward determinate sentencing codes continues, the goals and practices of modern corrections, which have emphasized the offender's rehabilitation, will be drastically changed.

Late in the decade, another problem emerged. Inflation, a stagnating economy, taxpayer revolts, and competition for funds among public pro-

grams—all contributed to a decline in the resources available to prison administrators. There is little likelihood of increased resources in the 1980's. A great amount of innovation in policymaking and management will be necessary to cope with budgets that (in purchasing power, at least) are more likely to decline than to increase.

Collectively and individually, these forces have shaped NIJ's research program in corrections. They also have affected research priorities at the Federal Prison System, the National Institute of Corrections, and the other agencies—from the Department of Labor to the National Science Foundation—which fund programs in this field.

Why Do Prison Populations Change?

Research in this area is directed at factors that affect the growth and composition of correctional populations—factors such as sentencing practices, the proportion of high-risk youths in society, and socioeconomic variables such as unemployment rates and population migration.

Determinate sentencing in particular can be expected to have a notable impact on correctional populations because it reduces the discretion exercised by judges and paroling authorities. Taking advantage of Maine's relatively long experience with this practice, NIJ has funded a study of changes in the severity of sentences imposed in that State, possible variations and disparities in sentencing, the effect on plea bargaining and discretionary release, and changes in time actually served in prison. A related study is looking at determinate sentencing as it is evolving in theory and practice around the country, with special attention to recent reforms in California and Oregon. A third grant, to Pennsylvania State University, focuses upon the impact of determinate sentencing on the attitudes and behavior of prison

staff and inmates. This last issue is important because fixed-term sentencing (sometimes accompanied by the abolition of parole) radically changes the incentives and penalties available to prison managers. Using a quasi-experimental design, Penn State researchers are collecting data from prisons in four States. They hope to document changes in inmate attitudes, in the institutional environment, and in administrative practices as the relative number of prisoners serving a fixed term goes up and of those serving indeterminate sentences goes down.

A long-term perspective on how changes in legal codes and sentencing policies affect the size and composition of prison and parole populations will be provided by a study under way at the University of California at Berkeley. Researchers are analyzing a unique data set that describes the use of prison and parole in California over virtually a 100-year period, from 1851 to 1945, an era in which there were many changes in State policies for dealing with criminals. Sponsored initially by the National Institute of Justice and subsequently funded by the National Science Foundation, this longitudinal study is expected to advance understanding of both the intended and latent consequences of differing public policies for punishing offenders, thus helping to inform current public debate about the goals and capabilities of the criminal justice system.

Broader trends such as crime rates, unemployment, population shifts, and the proportion of youths in society also are generally believed to influence incarceration rates—hence prison populations—but evidence to substantiate this belief is inconclusive. Indeed, the authors of the NIJ-sponsored *American Prisons and Jails* found low correlations between imprisonment rates and virtually all of the indicators generally thought to be linked to prison use. (This landmark report is discussed in more detail in the box on page 52.)

Aggregate data can obscure the impact of individual factors, however. NIJ has therefore funded further studies of incarceration at the State and local levels, where the relationship between imprisonment and criminal activity is more likely to be observed. One such study will examine five States to explore how definitions and methods for measuring different "leading indicators" explain differences among the States in incarceration rates and in the size and composition of prison populations. A second study focuses on changes in imprisonment rates in selected California counties over a 10-year period. The question here is what impact population growth, urbanization, and the level of criminal justice resources have had on commitments to prison.

Yet another possible influence on the size and composition of prison population is the public attitude toward mental illness. The past two decades have seen a decrease in the number of patients confined to mental hospitals and an increase in the population of correctional facilities, raising the possibility that individuals who would have been sent to mental health facilities in the past are now increasingly being committed to prisons and jails. Two NIJ grants are examining this possibility. One study will explore the shifts of mental hospital populations to prisons (or the reverse) over time for six States; the other will analyze a comprehensive data set for a large urban county, tracking the experience of patients released from its mental health system and noting any involvement with the criminal justice system.

Who belongs in prison? More precise projections of future inmate populations can help policymakers with such difficult questions as how much new prison construction is warranted. The current crisis in prison space (see box on page 52) focuses attention on another policy issue: which offenders should be placed in scarce and costly confinement units and which can be assigned to other types of facilities or programs?

Screening and classification tools for this decisionmaking process are a research priority at the National Institute of Corrections. Results from NIC studies suggest that many offenders are placed in more restrictive custody than necessary for security and programming, and that probation and parole agencies can better allocate limited resources through carefully developed risk and needs classification devices. Typical of the NIC projects funded in this area is a study of the California Department of Corrections classification system. The multiyear study will assess a system to house fewer inmates in maximum security institutions while relying more heavily on minimum security and community placement.

NIJ and the Bureau of Prisons have supported a study of the U.S. Penitentiary at Alcatraz Island, California, the prototype of the last-resort, maximum security institution for habitual, violent offenders and/or inmates who are severe management problems. A number of States are

currently considering or building this type of institution to house similar types of inmates. The study examines the consequences for staff of working with such inmates, including stress and stress-related conditions. The research is also analyzing the institutional and postrelease experience of inmates, particularly recidivism and related factors. At least 90 percent of the Alcatraz inmates were eventually released, after long incarceration. Preliminary analysis indicates that more than half of those released were not returned to prison.

As part of its career criminal research (covered more fully in Chapter Two), NIJ sponsored a study to examine the effects of "selective incapacitation" of active habitual of-

fenders. Examining data in California, the researchers estimate that increasing sentences of incarcerated robbers to a mandatory 5 years would reduce robbery rates by 20 percent. But the cost of such an approach—in terms of allocation of scarce resources—would be high, boosting prison populations by 40 percent. The same decrease in robbery could be achieved by sentencing the few highly active robbery offenders to 7 years and low-rate offenders to 2 years, the researchers report.



A New Look at Rehabilitation

The popular summation of the 1975 Martinson study was that "nothing works"—that is, the available evidence seemed to show that all treatment programs were equally ineffectual in rehabilitating offenders. In 1981, however, a special panel of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) completed a comprehensive review of rehabilitation theory and related research. The conclusion: it is true that little systematic, consistent evidence can be found in the research literature to support the concept of rehabilitation. Nevertheless, because of the lack of reliable measures, the flaws in methodology, and the limited kinds of interventions that were examined, a final verdict should wait for further research, conducted with greater rigor. The NAS panel also examined current explanations of criminal behavior in an effort to answer the following questions:

- Which treatment programs are most appropriate for specific purposes and populations?
- How should these programs be implemented?
- What legal and ethical issues are involved?
- When, during a criminal career, is treatment most likely to have an effect?
- How can program results be evaluated?

Papers discussing these and other rehabilitation issues were completed in 1981. At the same time, the Martinson study itself was being extended by Louis Genevie of the City University of New York under an NIJ grant. To date, this project has gathered information from 500 studies involving about 1 million offenders. The CUNY researchers have examined the effectiveness (as measured by recidivism rates) of different kinds of treatment, at different stages in the criminal justice process, for different kinds of offenders. A final report from this study is expected in 1982.

Correctional Administration

Along with sheer numbers of inmates, prison administrators must cope with an increasingly active, vocal, and violent inmate population. In an NIJ-sponsored study of five maximum-security prisons, the American Justice Institute found that inmate organizations are beginning to win official recognition and approval, at least for some of their activities. The researchers probed the attitudes of inmates and correctional officers alike. Among their findings:

- Inmates reported substantial involvement in organizations, especially those devoted to ethnic and cultural awareness. In general, membership in ethnic organizations was greater where minority-group inmates represented a relatively small proportion of a prison population. Members of these organizations tended to emphasize racial and ethnic solidarity rather than a collective concern for the entire prisoner community.
- Ethnic organizations were viewed quite unfavorably by correctional officers. The officers expressed strong opposition to changes in prison rules that would increase inmate participation in prison organizations.

In contrast to the traditional inmate social structure described in the literature of the 1950's, racial and ethnic minorities have risen to dominance in prisons today. There is a consequent increase in conflict and hostility across smaller, specialized social units organized according to racial and ethnic backgrounds. This racial stratification may be a key factor in determining the norms and values of the inmates and the problems faced by prison managers and staff.

The report also provided some interesting findings about staff and inmates:

- Prison managers tended to be selected for their performance in line security assignments and for their ability to control the prisoners, a bias that fosters aggressive security procedures, homogeneity of personnel, a reactive management style, and reluctance to accept organizational change.
- The primary organizational concern of correctional officers was their ability to influence correctional policy. In second place came the ability to control the inmates, and ranked third were concerns about personal safety.
- The officers strongly objected to the employment of women in housing, work, and recreation areas. They perceived female correctional officers as unable to control conflict, susceptible to manipulation by male prisoners, and in general as increasing the risk to security.
- The majority of inmates expressed high commitment to the traditional inmate code and social system—rejection of snitches, protection of manhood, and willingness to use force. On the other hand, less than 10 percent scored high on a scale designed to measure commitment to criminal attitudes and values.
- Women inmates were much less likely than males to express concern over the race of the inmates with whom they associated.

The specific problems of women's prisons were the focus of another NIJ study. The research examined the origins of current problems through a national survey and in-depth studies of institutions in New York, Tennessee, and Ohio.

The study collected a wealth of information never before compiled about the ways in which various types of women's institutions developed and the relationship between their evolution and current problems facing administrators of women's correctional institutions.

During the biennium, the Bureau of Prisons also initiated a study of female offenders, analyzing recidivism data on more than 200 women. In addition, researchers will interview 100 inmates of the Federal prison for women in Alderson, West Virginia, about prior criminality and employment, drug use, family and marital history, child care while in prison, release plans, and usefulness of training.

Other NIJ-sponsored studies are addressing the role of women as correctional employees. The first is considering the attitudes of staff and inmates toward the employment of female correctional officers in all-male prisons in California, together with variations by sex in promotions, awards, and the use of sick leave. The second study, just completed, showed that women are seriously underrepresented in corrections. They face barriers in recruitment, job mobility, and placement, and "subtle" discrimination also exists, in the form of more training and encouragement of men over women.

Corrections is a labor-intensive industry, and NIJ research has naturally focused on the use of staff resources. An example is a study of staff assignments in eight maximum-security prisons to determine which work-shift arrangements are most effective, why some prisons are able to employ fewer guards than others, and how staff-inmate ratios affect the overall prison climate. NIJ also developed two handbooks for use by correctional managers and policy and budget officials at the State level. The first, *Measuring Prison Results*, explains a feasible set of procedures that corrections departments

can use to assess how well they accomplish their goals. The second, *Managing Correctional Resources: Economic Analysis Techniques*, is a practical guide to measuring the costs of corrections. In addition, an experimental method of cost analysis was applied to corrections under another NIJ grant (see box in Chapter Eight). During the biennium, NIJ also sponsored a series of workshops on job-related stress, providing prison management with information on such problems as drugs and alcohol abuse and concerns about role ambiguity, racial conflicts, and personal safety. Some 350 State prison officials attended these workshops, and the demand for followup training and printed materials continues to be high.

Returning the Offender to Society

Despite the trend toward mandatory and determinate sentences, the traditional mechanisms of probation and parole continue to affect great numbers of offenders. Research into these mechanisms—and into newer techniques for supervising offenders—continues both at NIJ and at other Federal agencies.

Probation. With about 1.5 million probationers in the population, this remains the sentence most frequently imposed by U.S. courts. An NIJ-sponsored study has resulted in a nine-volume report, *Critical Issues in Adult Probation*, which identifies a number of ways to improve the efficiency of probation management and supervision. These include short-form reports that save time, work-load allocation instead of the traditional caseload method of assigning staff members, and greater reliance on volunteers. Another project ex-

amined intensive supervision of high-risk probationers and found that tighter controls on these selected cases were only slightly more effective than regular supervision. The study concluded that a large number of low-risk cases could be managed at considerably lower cost than present procedures. Complementing this research, NIJ has published a handbook of strategies for supervising probationers.

At the same time, there remains a need for controlled experiments to increase our knowledge of how probation works, and NIJ has funded two new studies in this area. An Ohio experiment focuses on the costs and effectiveness of different levels of supervision, and a project in Maryland will compare probationers assigned to community service work, unsupervised probation, and traditional forms of supervision.

An NIC study has analyzed how California probation agencies have responded to budget cutbacks. Conducted by the University of Southern California, the findings indicate that agencies have developed mechanisms for coping with diminished resources in addition to simply curtailing services. Various innovative mechanisms were developed in the California counties studied, and these will be further applied in a technical assistance phase of the project. Building upon this and other research, NIJ is developing a handbook outlining cutback management options appropriate for the different administrative arrangements of probation agencies, i.e., whether they are at the State, regional, or county levels.

Parole. Traditionally, a period of time on parole has served as a transition for offenders released from prison. According to a survey by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, about 197,000 men and women were on parole at the end of 1979. Under an NIJ grant, researchers at San Jose State University found that U.S. parole boards have changed under pressure from the public and the courts:

the typical parole board now consists of five members (until recently, the customary membership was three) and they are likely to have professional staff assistance. Still, few State boards use objective guidelines to structure their decisions. Most do not allow a parole candidate at the initial hearing to employ legal counsel, call favorable witnesses, cross-examine unfavorable witnesses or otherwise challenge the board's evidence, or even obtain a written transcript of the proceedings. A parolee at a revocation hearing enjoys greater protection, the researchers found, but even here the decision-making process is largely arbitrary.

Revocation of parole for a technical violation is one of the more controversial aspects of the parole system. If the parolee is incarcerated for a violation, the average stay in prison is 15 to 18 months. Moreover, few States have set a minimum time that a parole violator must serve before he is eligible for a rehearing. NIC is supporting a project to develop guidelines for parole boards in establishing fair and appropriate intervals between hearings. An NIJ study is exploring in more detail the variation in policies governing technical violations and revocation of parole. Using data from six earlier studies, the researchers are analyzing differences in "office culture" and how parole officers enforce conditional release rules.

At the U.S. Parole Commission, researchers have refined a two-dimensional matrix for structuring the parole decision—a project which builds upon earlier NIJ-funded research. Most Federal prisoners are now told, early in their terms, how long they can expect to remain in prison if their disciplinary records are adequate. A Parole Commission test of the new policy showed that release-date prisoners, compared to those following the traditional track to a parole hearing, took less advantage of educational programs but tended to be involved in fewer disciplinary incidents.

Community-based corrections. Corrections programs in the community offer an alternative to more expensive confinement for certain types of offenders. A fixture of community-based corrections is the prerelease center, based on the assumption that gradual, structured transition will aid the offender in adjusting successfully to the community. There are, however, wide variations in how prerelease programs operate throughout the country and a need for hard evidence on the costs of such programs and their effects on inmates, the community, and the corrections system.

Under NIJ auspices, Baltimore and New Orleans are testing a county-based prerelease model that combines work-release, social services, and increasing levels of freedom. Participants in the field test program will be compared with control groups given traditional parole or other release options that offer only minimal or no supportive services.

To aid policymakers, planners and administrators, NIJ also prepared two state-of-the-art reports. The first is a practical guide entitled *Community Correctional Centers*, which provides case studies of various models and reviews the issues to be considered in planning or operating a community correctional center. Another document, *Unification of Community Corrections*, focuses on techniques for consolidating services in order to save money.

In a related effort, NIJ's evaluation program has funded an assessment of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act, which provides incentives for counties to deal with offenders locally instead of sending them to State institutions. The findings suggest that, where rates of commitment to prison are low, it is quite difficult for any program to divert offenders from prison to the community. Thus, planning for community corrections must proceed with caution as local coordination of programs is sometimes more costly than centrally controlled statewide efforts.

Restitution. In recent years, a number of U.S. jurisdictions have adopted programs directing the offender to reimburse the victim. A restitution program might serve as an alternative to prison or jail, as a component of a probation sentence, or as a form of work-release from prison. An NIJ-funded study of 10 restitution programs is developing a manual for criminal justice practitioners interested in this approach to corrections. Perhaps the most important decision in any restitution program, the authors point out, is whether the offender or the victim is to be the focus of the program, since rehabilitation and victim compensation often have "competing and conflicting purposes." The study's final report will outline the major issues in restitution and future directions for research.

In 1981, through its National Evaluation Program, NIJ also completed an assessment of restitution programs nationwide. Among the findings:

- Most property offenses involve relatively small sums; the amounts actually paid in restitution are even smaller. The beneficiaries tend to be business firms rather than individuals, and minority-group members tend to be underrepresented in these programs.
- About one-fourth of those ordered to pay restitution fail to do so. The larger the amount, the less likely it is to be paid.
- Community service restitution programs, in which offenders "reimburse" society rather than a specific victim, can handle large numbers of offenders at a relatively low cost, with relatively few failures, while performing a large amount of work for community agencies.
- Restitution programs are endorsed by citizens and criminal justice officials alike. Offenders assigned to community-work restitution also tend to view the programs as useful and fair.

Employment and services. As much as a third of the U.S. workforce has been arrested for something more than a minor traffic offense, according to a study by the Department of Labor. A criminal record is a barrier to employment, the department found, with employers paying more attention to the fact of arrest than to the subsequent disposition of the case. Researchers are now investigating ways to inform prospective employers about the relevance of an offender's record to a particular job.

Another Labor Department study tested the effect of financial aid and job placement services on 4,000 releases from Georgia and Texas prisons. The experiment showed that employment is the greater deterrent to re-arrest. Indeed, cash subsidies can have widely divergent effects, enabling one releasee to search for a better job while encouraging another to avoid work altogether. The data from this and related experiments are being analyzed at the University of Texas in a study sponsored by the National Science Foundation.

A model program of employment services has been designed and is now being tested by NIJ in Boston, Chicago, and San Diego. The community-based program stresses close cooperation between the criminal justice system and a network of social agencies, in order to provide offenders with ready access to what they require in the way of job training, placement, social services, or financial aid. Recidivism rates of the program's clients will be compared to those of a control population. Meanwhile, a study of 75 employment-service programs has been published for the guidance of criminal justice practitioners.

Our Teeming Prisons

Debates about sentencing and about rehabilitation will no doubt continue for some time to come. On one correctional issue, however, there is no argument: the typical American prison is filled virtually to the bursting point.

As of September 20, 1981, State and Federal prison populations exceeded 350,000 according to a report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. During the first 9 months of 1981, the prison population increased at an annual rate of more than 10 percent, substantially more than the increases that occurred in 1979 and 1980 and surpassing the record annual increase in 1975.

During the biennium, NIJ published *American Prisons and Jails*, the most extensive study of U.S. correctional institutions ever undertaken. Carried out in response to a congressional mandate, the project included a study of factors linked to changes in the rate and number of inmates, including projections for the future; a survey of conditions in 559 Federal and State prisons, 3,500 local jails, and 402 halfway houses; and studies of various sentencing reforms and their effect on imprisonment rates. Among the findings:

- Prison and jail populations increased 50 percent from 1972 to 1979, with State prisons registering the greatest increase.
- Nearly 60 percent of Federal and State prisoners, and about 70 percent of local jail inmates, were in shared confinement units. Of these prisoners, about one-third were housed in dormitories containing more than 50 inmates.
- Two-thirds of State and Federal prisoners, and 70 percent of local inmates, were held in confinement units providing less than 60 square feet per person.

- By 1978, a quarter of all State prison systems had been found by courts to be violating constitutional protections against cruel and unusual punishment.
- Neither crime rates nor unemployment rates seemed to determine the size of a State's prison population.
- Recent sentencing reforms have not yet had a clear impact on prison populations.

Noting that the great expense and lengthy time required to build or expand prisons precludes construction as an immediate option for reducing prison crowding, the researchers recommended that State legislatures consider prison space a scarce and costly resource to be used as judiciously as possible. The report suggested three specific mechanisms State legislatures could employ to control use of prison space:

1. They should set minimum standards for living space and prison conditions in State and local institutions, thus implicitly setting capacity limits.
2. They should establish State-level procedures to regulate prison intake and release, rather than, as is common, allowing intake-release policies to emanate from court orders or administrative actions.
3. They should require corrections officials to routinely report to the judiciary on prison capacity and the numbers of inmates being released, thus enabling judges to consider available space when deciding on a sentence.

Another NIJ-funded study of crowding was conducted in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Prisons in six Federal prisons. A research team from the University of Texas examined both the "spatial density" (the physical area allotted to a prisoner) and the "social density" (the number of prisoners sharing a con-

finement unit). After testing inmate moods, blood pressure, tolerance to crowding, feelings of control over the environment, and attitude toward the housing unit, the researchers found a strong correlation between negative responses and increases in spatial density. However, the correlation with social density was even stronger, suggesting that privacy is more important to an inmate than physical space. This appears to be true both from the inmates point of view and from the perspective of lowering rates of illness and disciplinary incidents.

The researchers also reviewed historical data from two State prisons, finding that, when a prison's population increases without a corresponding increase in capacity, there is an increase in suicides, deaths from natural causes, and disciplinary incidents. Conversely, a population decrease in one prison was accompanied by a disproportionate drop in deaths from violence. Violent deaths, suicides, and psychiatric problems were also associated with the size of the institution, with smaller prisons having proportionately fewer problems. The researchers concluded that an ideal prison should contain less than 1,000 inmates—preferably less than 500—housed in single cells or partitioned dormitories.

The Federal Prison System is examining perceptions of crowding for inmates housed at varying densities, as well as the cost of crowding in terms of disciplinary incidents and the number of guards that must be employed. At the National Institute of Corrections, researchers are compiling case studies of States with effective approaches to alleviating overcrowding. The information will be published in a handbook on reducing prison populations which is intended for State officials and correctional administrators.

7.

Juvenile Justice: A Special Case

Many criminal careers begin in adolescence or even earlier. Nevertheless, the criminal justice system has traditionally separated juvenile from adult offenders, both in the courtroom and—if it comes to that—in prison. The logic of distinguishing between juvenile and adult justice is reinforced by the problem of "status offenders," who have broken laws that apply to them only because they are young. (Examples of status offenders are curfew violators, truants, and runaways.) Finally, even more than in the case of adult criminality, juvenile delinquency is impossible to study without attention to society as a whole, and especially to two of its basic institutions, the family and the schools.

Research on juvenile delinquency has been conducted by a number of Federal agencies. To coordinate and focus such efforts, Congress in 1974 established the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (NIJJDP) to conduct research, evaluation, and training programs in this special area. A part of the Justice Department's Office of

Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, NIJJDP works closely with the National Institute of Justice to avoid duplication. In addition, research touching on juvenile delinquency is funded by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) and by the National Institute of Education (NIE).

Young People in Trouble

The scope of the juvenile justice problem is suggested by the following statistics, which show that a significant portion of young Americans simply do not participate in the traditional social structure of family, school, gainful employment, and community service:

- One child out of seven quits school before the age of 15. As a result, the U.S. now has a young-dropout population of more than a million.
- More than 1 million youngsters run away from home each year.

- Suicide now ranks second to accidental death as a killer of U.S. teenagers.
- The United States has 3.3 million problem drinkers under the age of 17, and its population of teenage drug abusers is also in the millions.
- Fifteen percent of American youngsters have significant emotional and mental problems.

At the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the first priority has therefore been to gauge the magnitude of the delinquency problem. Several of these studies were completed during 1980-81, including a national survey of drug use and delinquency among American adolescents (conducted by the Behavioral Research Institute); a preliminary assessment of how many and what kinds of young people are processed through the juvenile justice system (American Justice Institute); and an analysis of national victimization data to measure the extent of serious juvenile crime (Criminal Justice Research Center).

Juvenile Crime: How Much, What Kinds?

The victimization surveys have yielded a wealth of data on the nature and volume of delinquency, the sphere of delinquent activity, and the relationship of factors such as economic conditions to juvenile crime. Based on the samples of victims surveyed between 1973-1978, juveniles accounted for 23 percent of the Nation's violent crimes. By type of violent crime, juveniles committed 8.2 percent of the rapes, 24.2 percent of the robberies, 17.8 percent of the aggravated assaults, and 30.4 percent of the personal larcenies such as purse snatching and pocket picking.

In relation to adult offenses, juvenile criminal activity is similar in some—but not all—respects. Among the differences that distinguish the two groups:

- Juvenile crime is less serious in terms of weapons use, thefts, and financial losses.

- The elderly are half as likely to be victimized by juveniles as by adults, and the offense is likely to be less serious.
- Juveniles are more likely to commit crimes in groups or gangs of three or more members.

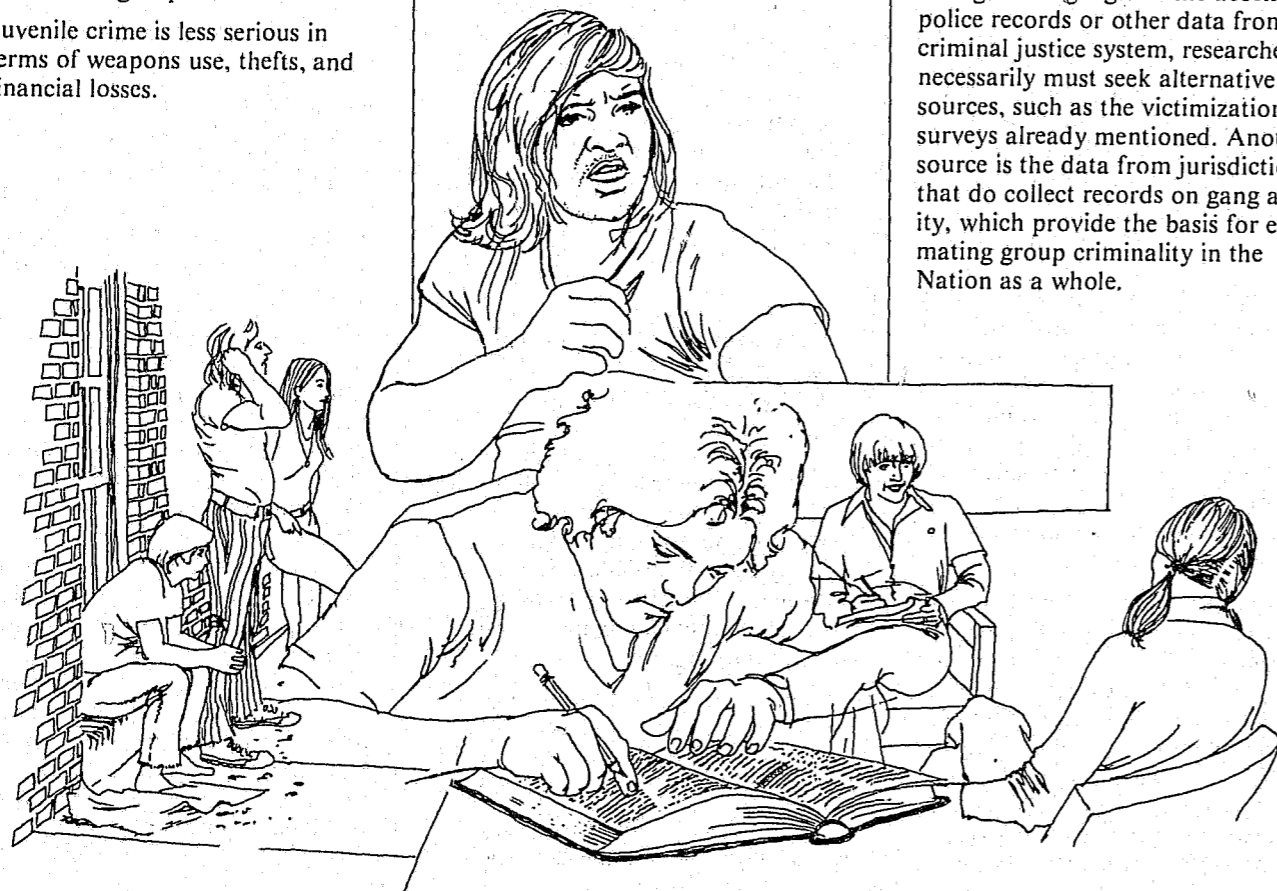
On the other hand, juvenile and adult offenders share these similarities:

- The two groups are roughly comparable in terms of type, rate, and seriousness of injury suffered by their victims.
- Criminal activity is unrelated to economic conditions as measured by unemployment statistics, the consumer price index, and the gross national product.

- Robbery and personal larceny are more common in urban areas whereas assault accounts for a larger proportion of rural crimes.
- A neighborhood's transience or mobility, rather than its unemployment rate, is more closely related to criminal activity.

A unique characteristic of juvenile crime is the high proportion of illegal activity committed by groups of juveniles. Whether violent or not, the specter of roving gangs can be more threatening than almost any other type of lawlessness. For this reason, knowledge of the extent and severity of juvenile group criminality is essential.

Gauging the magnitude of group lawlessness is not an easy matter, however. For one thing, not all jurisdictions distinguish gang offenses in their crime reports. Moreover, virtually no jurisdiction identifies group crimes as distinct from the offenses of organized gangs. In the absence of police records or other data from the criminal justice system, researchers necessarily must seek alternative sources, such as the victimization surveys already mentioned. Another source is the data from jurisdictions that do collect records on gang activity, which provide the basis for estimating group criminality in the Nation as a whole.



Under NIJJDP's sponsorship, a study on collective juvenile violence was completed in 1982. The study estimated that there are approximately 120,000 law-violating youth groups in the 2,100 cities and towns with populations over 10,000. The groups were estimated to comprise 1.5 million members, or roughly one-fifth of the male adolescents in the communities.

Gang members account for a small percentage of the law-violating groups, yet their crimes are far more serious in nature, the researchers found. Representing only about 2 percent of the larger delinquent groups, the gangs account for 15 percent of juvenile homicide arrests and 34 percent of all juvenile arrests in the Nation's three largest cities. "Since gang members comprised about 6 percent of the male adolescent population of these cities, their over-contribution to homicide was substantial," the researchers reported. Moreover, gang-related homicides increased during 1969 to 1979, the period analyzed. Based on the 60 cities that maintained reports on gang crimes, juvenile homicide arrests doubled during the period and gang-related homicide increased at least threefold. Compared to the violations of group offenders, gang members in New York City were arrested in significantly higher proportions for robbery, rape, assault, and weapons violations and in significantly lower proportions for drug violations and disorderly conduct. Robbery arrests ranked first for gang members whereas drug arrests ranked first for nongang members.

Although the amount of violent crime by gangs is disproportionate to their numbers, they are not responsible for most juvenile crimes or even most of the collective youth crime, the study reports. Similar to the findings from the victimization surveys, estimates by this study show that group members are responsible for one-half of the juvenile street crime and almost three-quarters of all juvenile crimes.

Comparing juvenile crime of the 1970's with earlier periods, the study noted continuation of some trends but a departure from others. As in the past, "gang members originate in slum, ghetto, and barrio districts" in inner-city areas and within the lower socioeconomic sector of the society. In contrast to an earlier pattern, however, groups other than gangs "show a wider variation in gender, locality, and social class backgrounds." Female participation in group criminality has increased slightly; some groups now operate in "outer" city areas, suburbs, and smaller communities; and some group members come from working and middle class backgrounds.

Gang members remain predominantly male and range from 10 to 21 years of age, but younger and older members are present in greater numbers than before. The average gang member is now around 14 or 15. Young juveniles are especially common in burglary and robbery rings, possibly because of the milder penalties meted out for the younger delinquents. At the other end of the age scale, some members appear to be continuing their gang affiliation well into adulthood—a departure from earlier periods when participation usually ceased by age 18.

What Influences Delinquent Careers?

How various social and personal factors bear on a youngster's involvement in delinquency is another area of study for NIJJDP. At the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Marvin Wolfgang is conducting longitudinal studies of youngsters, following a population of individuals born in the same year and tracking any involvement they may have with the juvenile justice system. Another social scientist, Lyle Shannon at the University of Iowa, is investigating the relationship of juvenile delinquency to adult criminality. Finally, researchers at the University of Washington are exam-

ining the magnitude of violent and serious juvenile crime as compared to less serious delinquency.

These and other studies have shown a dramatic difference between one-time offenders and those who may be said to be "career delinquents." For example, the likelihood that a once-arrested juvenile will be apprehended for a second felony is about 50 percent. However, if that second contact with the police does occur (and even if it involves a misdemeanor or only suspicious behavior), the youngster's chance for yet another arrest rises to 70 percent, and by the fourth or fifth contact the chances of rearrest have risen to 80 percent. So far, however, there is little to distinguish these highly active juvenile offenders from the 50 percent who will never be charged again.

The National Institute of Justice sponsors studies of criminal careers as part of its research into the causes of crime (see Chapter Two). Similar work was funded by the National Institute of Mental Health. An important source of data for such research is self-reports, in which offenders themselves recount their criminal activity. Although generally regarded as potentially a more complete record than the official reports of arrests or convictions, self-reports are subject to certain limitations—in particular, the reliability and accuracy of the information provided. A major study by NIMH evaluated the self-report method as a means of measuring juvenile delinquency. The researchers found that self-report surveys were best used with adolescents who were white, still in school, and not yet severely delinquent. Black male adolescents with a long official history of offenses were less likely to admit their involvement in delinquency. As long as these differences are accounted for in sampling and in analyzing data, self-reports are useful in measuring delinquency, the study concluded.

Another NIMH study used official arrest records to track the criminal careers of a group of males who in 1964 were high school sophomores living in a nonmetropolitan area. The results to date indicate that 20 percent of such boys are likely to be arrested before their 18th birthday; of those arrested, 50 percent would be arrested again on an adult criminal charge before they turned 29. Generally speaking, the younger a boy when first arrested, the more likely he was to persist in criminality.

The career delinquent is among the areas of inquiry in the longitudinal studies being conducted at the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Dr. Wolfgang. Dr. Wolfgang's seminal work on delinquency was based on a sample of males born in 1945. Under the sponsorship of the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the Philadelphia team is reexamining the group and comparing them to a sample of youngsters born in 1958. Under a grant from NIJ, the University of Pennsylvania researchers are focusing principally on the violent offenders and the characteristics that distinguish them from the nonviolent offenders in the two groups.

Preliminary analysis of the two groups shows a slightly increasing number of chronic offenders in the 1958 sample. These offenders, unlike their older counterparts, are committing an even greater number of offenses in proportion to the group as a whole. Whereas 18 percent of the delinquents accounted for 52 percent of the offenses in the 1945 group, the chronic offenders in the 1958 sample—who represent 22 percent of the group—are responsible for 61 percent of the offenses. Moreover, the chronic offenders in the newer sample are also committing more serious crimes than their older counterparts. Whether the increase in serious criminal activity is unique to the 1958 sample or symptomatic of a trend in greater offense severity has yet to be determined. The answers to this and a host of other

questions are now being addressed by the Philadelphia team in their analysis of the wealth of data collected for the project.

Longitudinal studies are necessarily time consuming, and the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has been in existence only 6 years. Nevertheless, NIJJDP has been able to complete an entire cycle of research and development—from the initial state-of-the-art assessment of existing knowledge, to the research effort, followed by the design and establishment of training programs to promote acceptance of the research results. This effort, involving the link between learning disabilities and juvenile delinquency, is described in the next section.

Among related research and development efforts also underway is a delinquency prevention project based on analyses of the research literature, existing data sources, and the experiences of several hundred programs. This effort led to the present program design, which combines the most promising prevention strategies from the existing programs. Over the next several years, a variety of education programs for fostering a youngster's sense of identity, student-teacher relationships, academic achievement, and family relationships will be tested in the junior high schools of six cities. The actual components of the design include community service, student learning teams, antivandalism projects, and family conflict resolution strategies. A more comprehensive version of the design will be installed in Seattle (Washington), where aspects such as parent training, peer culture assessment, law-related education, school/employment services, and community service projects will be added to the other design components.

Another Federal agency sponsoring research in delinquency prevention is the National Institute of Education. Work in progress during the biennium included an analysis of data from the congressionally mandated Safe Schools Study, completed in 1978. The analysis is being conducted at Johns Hopkins University in an effort to develop a model dealing with delinquency and the schools. Other NIE-sponsored studies include a survey of victimization in Chicago schools (Chicago Board of Education), a study of an "alternative" school intended to improve the behavior of delinquent students (University of Michigan), and a directory of in-school alternatives to the traditional form of suspension (JWK International Corporation).

Delinquency and Learning Disabilities

In 1976, the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention sponsored a national assessment of previous research into the link between learning disabilities and juvenile delinquency. The assessment was followed by a research program to build upon the existing knowledge base. In the third phase of this long-range effort, an educational program was devised and field-tested to see if youngsters who receive help in overcoming their learning disabilities are more likely to give up delinquent behavior.

Phoenix (Arizona), Indianapolis (Indiana), and Baltimore (Maryland) were selected as the test cities. The sample consisted of 984 boys who had been formally adjudicated as delinquent, plus 633 who were officially nondelinquent; all were between the ages of 12 and 15. They were subjected to a battery of diagnostic tests to categorize them as learning disabled (LD) or otherwise. The findings from this phase of the study:

- The learning-disabled boys exhibited higher rates of delinquency than the control group, tending

particularly to engage in violence, substance abuse, and school disruption. The likelihood of arrest and adjudication was also higher for the LD youngsters, even when their offenses were similar to the control group's. This suggests that the LD youngsters had been treated differently than their "normal" peers.

- A 2-year followup study of a sample of the nondelinquent boys suggested that, under certain circumstances (a negative attitude toward school, or coming from a family exhibiting high educational levels or employment in prestigious occupations), learning disabilities may contribute to an increase in delinquent behavior.

An evaluation component then tested the hypothesis that learning disabilities cause school failure, which in turn produces strain and a negative self-concept, which lead to delinquency. For the test, 415 learning-disabled juvenile offenders were randomly assigned to traditional services or to a remediation program based on an academic treatment model. Once a week, a trained specialist met for an hour with each boy in the remediation program. The results:

- The remediation program did indeed increase educational test achievement, especially for two groups: younger boys with low IQ's, and older boys with high IQ's. Youths who spent more than 50 hours in remediation exhibited the greatest gains in academic achievement.
- The program was also effective in reducing self-reported and official delinquency among learning-disabled youths, under certain conditions. The program proved most effective for blacks and for youths of low-to-average ability who received more than 40 hours of instruction.

Improving the Justice System

Forty percent of all arrests for serious crimes involve a juvenile offender. For this reason alone, each branch of criminal justice—from the police through the courts to the correctional system—must be prepared to deal with juveniles. NIJJDP has accordingly funded research projects in each of these areas. The Institute has also supported an analysis of juvenile caseflows, yielding data on how many and what kinds of cases are processed through the justice system. Other projects have focused on the special problems posed by status offenders, female delinquents, minority offenders, and young people who commit violent crimes. This last topic, the violent juvenile offender, is a research priority for NIJJDP. NIJJDP also attempted to develop workable alternatives to the traditional progression of police-courts-corrections in order to reduce the extent to which the less serious offenders penetrate the formal justice system, and at the same time, to free resources for focusing on the serious and violent offender.

Treatment of violent juveniles. Improving the juvenile justice system's capability to deal with serious delinquency is part of NIJJDP's research initiative on the violent juvenile offender. Launched last year, the first phase of the intensive research and development effort focuses on the treatment of violent delinquents. In the second phase, attention will be devoted to prevention of violence by community-based organizations. The initiative is aimed at learning more about patterns of violent behavior and approaches for countering these patterns.

- Most of the effects on delinquency were direct, rather than the result of changes in academic performance, suggesting that the major influence may have been the LD specialist rather than the program content. The evaluators speculated that remediation has a socializing effect, enhancing a boy's attachment to conventional roles and values.

The implications of this research are far-reaching. If learning disabilities contribute to delinquency, then remediation programs should be a part of the educational system. And, if learning-disabled youngsters are more likely to be adjudicated as delinquent than their peers, then juvenile justice personnel should be trained to identify LD youths and refer them to appropriate services.

Meanwhile, the research and development effort has already paid off in several new action programs. For example, the research findings were used in a major program of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention: the replication of Project New Pride, a community-based treatment program for the serious juvenile offender. They also provided background material for six regional training workshops for policymakers and planners. Finally, as a direct result of the 4-year effort, a thoroughly tested remediation technology for juvenile offenders is now available for adaptation by local communities.

In the first phase of the program, a total of \$3.5 million was awarded to projects in Memphis (Tennessee), Newark (New Jersey), Boston (Massachusetts), Denver (Colorado), and Phoenix (Arizona). At each site, 40 to 80 youths will be randomly assigned to a treatment program immediately after adjudication by the juvenile court. Because of the focus on violent crimes such as murder, kidnaping, armed robbery, rape, and arson, the programs may not, according to the terms of the award, exclude youths from treatment on the basis of being "too difficult to handle."

The projects will address factors such as the youths' physical and psychological condition, potential job skills, education status, and problems concerning substance abuse, sex, and learning disabilities. Individual and family counseling, educational services, and job training skills will be provided for the youths. Plans also call for the youngsters to be housed in secure facilities at the beginning of the program and returned to their home communities by the end, where caseworkers will monitor their progress to ensure that the necessary services and treatment are continued. The followup assistance by caseworkers also affords an assessment of the program's impact beyond the youths' time in custody.

Changing populations. In 1974, Congress directed that all status offenders be removed from secure correctional facilities within 5 years. Did the States comply with this mandate? The evidence suggests that they did, since the average daily population of U.S. juvenile facilities dropped significantly during the decade, from more than 58,000 in 1971 to less than 48,000 in 1979. The change may have important consequences for the juvenile corrections system. Status offenders tend to be short-term residents; removing them from the system reduces the rate of turnover and increases the average age of the juveniles still in custody. Thus, for the first time in the decade, there were fewer than 600,000 admissions and discharges in 1979.

As a further consequence of changing populations, American juvenile facilities have been able to avoid the overcrowding that is rampant in adult prisons (see Chapter Six). Only one juvenile facility out of 10 was utilized to 100 percent of capacity in 1979; a third of the facilities were actually underutilized, being occupied to less than 70 percent of capacity. At the same time, the staff/resident ratio became much more favorable, reaching 1:1 by the end of the decade. The cost of juvenile detention rose during the period—from about \$7,000 in 1971 (per resident per year) to about \$16,500 in 1979.

Youths in adult facilities. In another study, conducted for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention by the University of Illinois Community Research Center, investigators found that the suicide rate for children held in adult jails is dramatically higher than in specially designed facilities. Indeed, the rate in the juvenile facilities is lower than in the general population: on an annual basis per 100,000 children, there are 8.6 suicides in adult jails, 2.7 in the general population, and only 1.6 in juvenile facilities. The researchers speculated that, in most localities, incarcerated juveniles are segregated from the adults. While this policy protects them from abuse by older, stronger, and more hardened offenders, it also deprives them of companionship and leaves them more vulnerable to self-destruction.

Ironically, only half of the young suicides had been incarcerated for felony offenses. The others presumably posed little threat to the community, and confining them to a destructive environment was therefore a double tragedy.

Overall, the statistics show, girls are more likely to make suicide attempts, while boys are more likely to be successful in carrying through such an attempt. Minority-group members are less likely than whites to take their own lives.

Alternative programs. NIJJDP-sponsored studies have shown that diversion, deinstitutionalization, and the use of nonsecure community-based facilities are at least as effective as the traditional procedures for handling most juvenile offenders. Indeed, some research suggests that there may be less recidivism among youngsters held in nonsecure settings than among those who are confined in "training schools." At the same time, some of the alternative programs have the additional advantage that they can be provided at a lower cost than the programs they are intended to replace. Taken together, these findings indicate that use of secure confinement facilities should be reserved for the relatively small number of violent juvenile offenders.

Unfortunately, there is also evidence that the very existence of these alternative programs tends to "widen the net" of juvenile justice, bringing additional youths under the supervision of the service agencies. Faced with a recalcitrant youngster who has committed a relatively minor offense, and when a lecture and incarceration are the only alternatives, a judge is likely to settle for the scolding. However, when intermediate sanctions are available, the judge might very well remand the youth to one of them, thus placing another youngster within the confines of a formal system.

Restitution. Whichever form it takes—either direct compensation for losses or performance of a community service—court-ordered restitution is another approach for diverting youthful offenders from the justice system. As part of its initiative to seek workable alternatives to institutional custody, NIJJDP has sponsored evaluations of 85 restitution programs throughout the country. During the 6-month period of the preliminary assessment, the reoffense rate of the youths was no higher than 9 percent. Moreover, the violation which caused the youngster to return to court was no more serious than the offense which compelled the initial court-ordered restitution.

Funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the restitution programs were midway through their funding cycle at the time of the preliminary evaluation. For that reason, a final assessment awaits the results from longer experience with the programs. For the 9,000 youths who averaged a 6-month stay in the programs, the results to date show these additional findings:

- Youngsters with prior offenses are more likely than first offenders to commit another offense within 6 months. For first offenders, the reoffense rate is 6 percent and rises to 13 percent for youngsters with three or more prior offenses.
- Reoffense is *not* related to the severity of the previous offense. Youths who commit a serious crime are not more likely to commit another offense than minor offenders.
- Reoffense was not related to age, race, or sex of the offender and was only slightly related to income—a difference of an 8 to 10 percent reoffense rate for lower income groups versus 7 to 8 percent for higher income groups.

- School attendance was not a significant factor either. Youths in school showed a reoffense rate of 7.5 percent versus a 9 percent rate for those who were not in school.
- Of the 14,882 cases that were closed during the evaluation period, 83 percent resulted from complying with the program and not committing another offense.

Two model programs. As part of its efforts to assess innovations in the field and encourage replication of those with documented success, the National Institute of Justice during the biennium identified a promising program for juveniles. Florida's Project CREST, an acronym for Clinical Regional Support Team, relies on a small professional staff supported by student volunteers from the University of Florida to provide probation services for juveniles. The volunteers play a supporting role, encouraging the youngsters to "open up" and discuss their problems without fear of being judged by an authoritarian figure.

At the same time, the students supplement and often reduce the workloads of the paid probation officers. The CREST program is cost effective, providing counseling for 32 cents per youngster on a daily basis, while traditional probation services in Florida averaged \$1.19 for each youth.

Other jurisdictions have been encouraged to adopt similar programs, with NIJ providing informational materials and the CREST project making itself available for site visits by interested criminal justice personnel.

Another model program has been developed with support from the Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, National Institute of Mental Health: a new type of group home for delinquents—the "teaching family" model—that provides treatment and support designed for small group-living situations. Treatment at the homes is based on behavior-learning theory. By 1980, there were more than 150 group homes using the "teaching family" model in 18 States, stressing the development of social and learning skills, self-care, and responsible decisionmaking.

Help for the Victimized Child

"Juvenile justice" deals with children as offenders. An even greater challenge is posed by children as victims, and especially by those children who are victims of sexual abuse.

Little is known about this crime—why it happens, how often it happens, or how it can be prevented. Estimates of victimization—ranging from 6,000 to 100,000 children each year—vary so widely as to be virtually meaningless. As a practical matter, however, help is increasingly available for children who have been sexually abused. More than 150 programs throughout the Nation now provide medical and counseling services for these young victims and their families. Through such efforts, public attention has been focused on this least understood and most ignored of sexual offenses.

During the biennium, the National Institute of Justice designated two "exemplary projects" in the area of child sexual abuse: the Sexual Assault Center in Seattle, Washington, and the Child Protection Center at Children's Hospital in Washington, D.C. In each case, the project's effectiveness was documented, and descriptive brochures and manuals prepared to enable other communities to benefit from these promising innovations. The Sexual Assault Center in Seattle, Washington, offers both crisis intervention and long-term counseling, medical care and evidence gathering. The Seattle project has been particularly successful in achieving the cooperation of criminal justice and social service agencies, which have been isolated and often worked at cross-purposes in dealing with child sexual abuse cases.

The project has initiated an aggressive public awareness campaign geared to school personnel, parents, and children. It also has provided formal training for personnel in virtually all social service and law enforcement agencies in the Seattle area. In fact, the instruction has been incorporated into the curriculum of the State police academy. On the strength of its training efforts in Seattle and elsewhere, the project was recently

named a Regional Child Sexual Abuse Treatment-Training Institute by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect.

The project's caseload increased nearly 54 percent from 1978 to 1979. Moreover, the number of cases handled by the criminal justice system also increased, rising to 81 cases reaching final disposition during a 5-month period in 1979-1980, compared to 82 cases in all of 1978. The project's philosophy of securing treatment for the offender via criminal prosecution has been adopted by law enforcement officials, prosecutors, and CPS workers and is understood by families served by the project.

The D.C. Children's Hospital program for children who are sexually abused was launched in 1978 to provide crisis intervention and counseling for victims and their families. The project has created a network of referral agencies if additional help is needed. A staff attorney is available to explain the judicial process and, if necessary, to accompany the child during court proceedings. Staff members conduct training programs for police, prosecutors, social service agencies, and medical organizations throughout the District, and sometimes assist similar projects in other jurisdictions. Finally, each case is tracked through the criminal justice system; information is compiled from the caseload records and from original research programs. The staff's findings on child sexual abuse have been widely published in professional journals.

The Special Unit was created because the Child Protection Center itself is limited to the treatment of intrafamily problems, accounting for only 20 percent of the hospital's sexual abuse caseload. In addition, staff members felt that sexual trauma required different treatment approaches than those applied in other forms of abuse and neglect.

The need for specialized treatment is illustrated by the growth of the unit in its first 2 years. In 1979, the unit reported

211 cases of child sexual abuse to District police, an increase of 60 percent from the previous year. Overall, the caseload reached 344, an increase of 76 percent.

The Child Protection Center was supported by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, which during the biennium was the principal Federal sponsor of research on child abuse and neglect. For example, NCCAN recently surveyed a random sample of American women to gauge the extent and severity of intrafamily sexual abuse of children. Among its findings:

- Of the women surveyed, fully 18 percent reported at least one youthful episode of explicit and unwanted sexual contact with a member of her family.
- In cases of "very serious" sexual contact occurring before age 13, 59 percent of the women were extremely traumatized by the experience.
- Women who were sexually abused as children are significantly more likely to become involved with pornographic photography, to be raped in later life, and to be abused by their husbands.

With respect to the specific problem of children who are exploited by pornographers, NCCAN's research indicates that most of the child pornography now circulating is the product of "cottage industry"—that is, individuals rather than commercial studios. Thus it appears that the 1977 legislation providing criminal and civil penalties for purveyors of this material curtailed the commerce in child pornography. (However, the constitutionality of the 1977 act is now in question.)

Who are the producers of child pornography? The NCCAN-sponsored study suggested that men whose occupation put them in regular contact with children, and whom the children know and trust, are more likely to engage in this traffic. As for the victims, boys seem to be more vulnerable than girls, and a large proportion come from broken homes.

8. New Tools for the System

Criminal justice policymaking necessarily involves a considerable amount of guesswork about the probable impact of various approaches. The role of research is to reduce this uncertainty as much as possible. To provide worthwhile guidance for policy decisions, however, researchers and evaluators must have at their disposal an array of reliable techniques for collecting and analyzing data, measuring the effects of various changes in programs or policies, and evaluating the performance of criminal justice agencies.

The important tasks of national data collection and analysis are carried out by two agencies: the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Bureau of Justice Statistics. Methodological studies designed to sharpen the tools available to criminal justice research are supported by the National Institute of Justice; research with the potential for methodological advances is also supported by the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Mental Health (see Chapter Five and Chapter Seven). NIJ also sponsors a major long-range effort to

develop innovative and practical concepts for measuring the costs and benefits of criminal justice operations.

Measuring Crime

Accurate and reliable statistics are a key to understanding the crime problem and improving efforts to deal with it. In the past, knowledge about the extent and nature of crime in America came solely from police reports of crimes that had come to their attention. In the 1970's, techniques for surveying victims of crime were developed that provided another way of looking at crime and its impact. Together, the two methods generate a rich data base invaluable to criminal justice policymakers, practitioners, and the research community.

Reported crime. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has published the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR's) since 1930. Designed in 1928 by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the UCR's are based on reports

submitted to the FBI by local law enforcement agencies. Nearly 15,000 agencies provide data on crime, arrests property stolen and recovered, and other information published annually in the FBI's *Crime in the United States*.

Eight offenses now make up the "Crime Index" of the Uniform Crime Reports: murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. The Crime Index is the total number of these incidents. Year-to-year fluctuations are used to measure trends in the volume of crime.

During the biennium, the FBI's research and analysis unit analyzed reported crime trends in the United States for the period 1968 to 1978. Using demographics, the unit also completed an analysis of historical and future arrest trends. Other activities included analyses of violent crime and the social and demographic factors associated with homicide rates. In 1982, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in cooperation with the FBI, will

fund a comprehensive study of the UCR with the aim of enhancing the program's usefulness to police managers, researchers, and public planners.

Surveying crime victims. Another set of statistics on crime is obtained through interviews with those who have been victimized. The National Crime Survey (NCS), operated by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, collects data through national household surveys in a manner similar to the way unemployment statistics are gathered. During each 6-month period, surveyors from the Census Bureau interview nearly 132,000 members of 60,000 households, a scientifically selected sample.

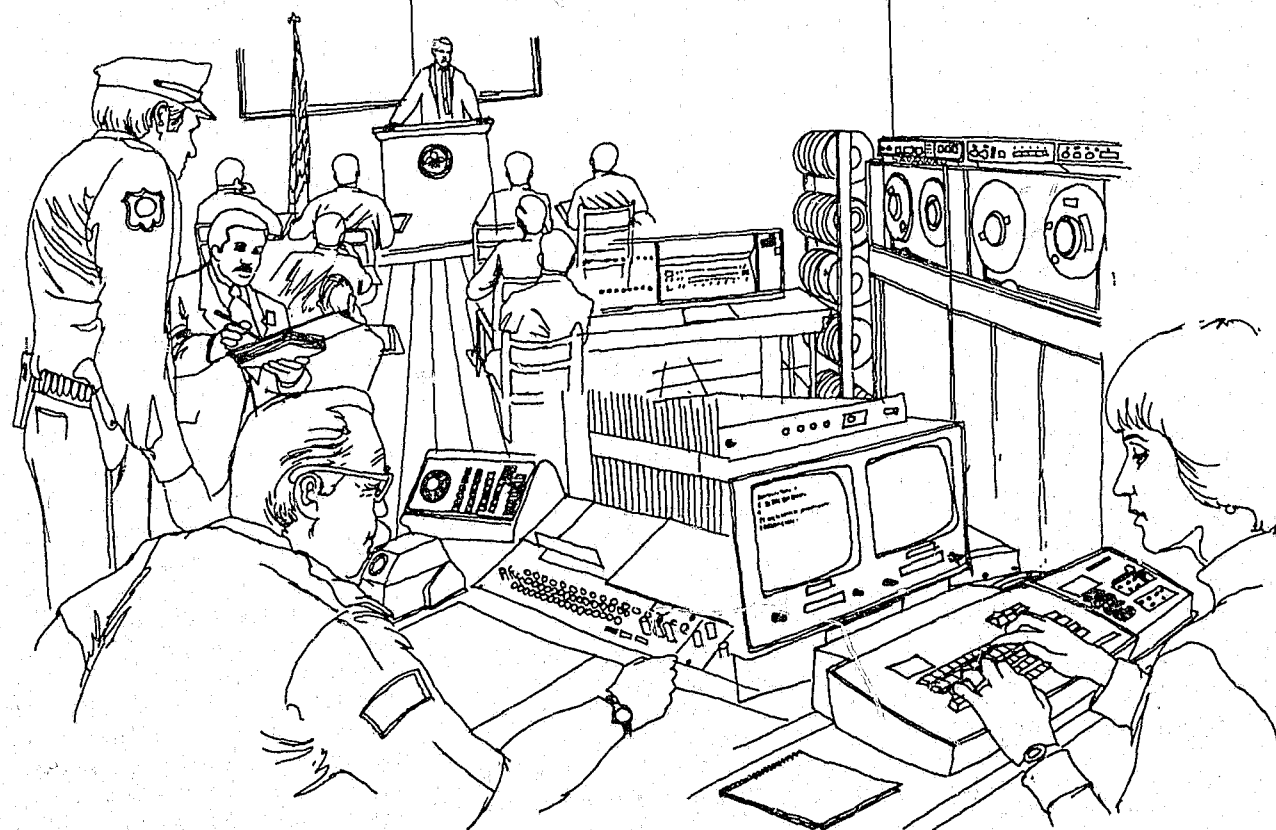
The offenses covered by the National Crime Survey are essentially the same as those in the Uniform Crime Reports, with the necessary exceptions of murder (the victim cannot provide information about the crime, and these crimes are well reported to police) and arson (the ostensible victim, the property owner, may also be the offender in cases where collection of insurance is the motive).

The victimization surveys supplement and complement the Uniform Crime Reports. Obviously, police statistics cannot reflect crimes that are not reported. The National Crime Survey provides data on this so-called "dark figure" of crime. NCS also collects information about the characteristics of victims, and detailed characteristics about the crime—including when and where the crime occurred, extent of economic loss,

protective measures used by the victim, whether the victim was injured and to what extent, and the characteristics of the offender.

The survey also asks why crimes were not reported to police. To develop a better understanding of why some people report crimes to the police and others don't, surveyors recently have begun to ask why crimes were reported.

In 1980, BJS developed a new indicator for the National Crime Survey, involving "households touched by crime." More than 24 million American households—almost a third of the households in the Nation—proved to have been victimized that year. Furthermore, this proportion has remained relatively stable since 1975. Other findings: exposure to crime seems to be determined more by income or place of residence than by racial factors. A rural residence affords some protection, but all Americans are at risk to an extent previously unknown.



Information from the National Crime Survey is the basis for a number of statistical publications of the Bureau of Justice Statistics. (These are available from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service. Please see Appendix C). Survey data are also processed on computer data tapes, which are available to researchers for further analysis.

Because victimization surveys are a recently developed technique, the full potential of the NCS has not yet been realized. Application of more complex analytic techniques is just beginning and is expected to enhance the reliability of the data and advance our understanding of crime. Careful analysis of NCS data in conjunction with data from the Uniform Crime Reports also is producing promising results.

Data on the Criminal Justice System

The Bureau of Justice Statistics also is responsible for collecting, analyzing, and publishing statistics on the operation of the criminal justice system at all levels of government. The Bureau's major criminal justice statistical series include:

Correctional statistics. This program has four components:

- *National Prisoner Statistics* provide data on prison populations, characteristics of prisoners, characteristics of correctional facilities, and persons under death sentences.
- *Special Studies in Correctional Statistics* focus on information not available from regular administrative sources. During the biennium, special reports were published on jail inmates, the female offender, and veterans in prison.

- *Uniform Parole Reports* collect statistics on characteristics of persons on parole, their success or failure on parole, the number of parole agencies, and caseloads. These statistics are published annually in *Parole in the United States* and *Characteristics of the Parole Population*.

- *National Probation Reports* explore ways of collecting probation statistics to ensure their comparability with parole statistics.

Court statistics. The BJS judicial series includes annual reports of nationwide State court statistics as well as the *National Court Organization Survey*, the authoritative reference document on court structure, management, and jurisdiction. BJS also has supported analysis of the prosecutor's data base, known as PROMIS, to explore patterns of case attrition.

Federal statistics. During the biennium, the Bureau of Justice Statistics also began to develop a system for collecting data on the operations of the Federal criminal justice system. Data collection is expected to begin in 1983, with reports to be prepared in such priority areas as violent crime, career criminals, crimes against business, and crimes against government. Innovative techniques must be developed for this task, which was mandated by the Justice System Improvement Act of 1979.

Federal-State cooperation. With Federal aid, Statistical Analysis Centers were established in 40 States during the past decade. Nearly half are now funded entirely by the State governments. These centers produce periodic and special reports on crime and the criminal justice system. For example, a budget analysis conducted by one center led to a new staffing plan for the State's correctional facilities, with savings estimated at \$1 million. Several of the centers have produced analyses used in writing new crime legislation. Cooperation between the State centers and the Bureau of Justice Statistics is continuous, with the

centers conducting research on topics of national interest and BJS making national compilations of State data.

In addition, 40 State centers are currently in operation specifically to improve the quality of Uniform Crime Reports data. In at least 15 States, these UCR centers collect detailed information about each Index crime so that more meaningful analyses can be made. This information is reported to the FBI and is used on the State level for planning, budgeting, and evaluating criminal justice programs.

During the biennium, the National Institute of Justice funded an evaluation of the State Statistical Analysis Centers. The evaluators concluded that the Federal Government should continue its role of fostering this information system by providing technical assistance, establishing minimum levels of competence, and working toward standardization. At the same time, they urged that Federal assistance be targeted in areas identified as important by State personnel.

Access to data. Data collection is one of the most time-consuming and expensive research tasks. To increase the utility of criminal justice data to the research community—and to policymakers and administrators—BJS supports the Criminal Justice Data Archive at the University of Michigan. One of the largest repositories of criminal justice data, the Archive includes data tapes produced by BJS and other Federal agencies, including the National Institute of Justice—which requires its grantees to submit computer-readable copies of data bases acquired with NIJ support. The Archive presently includes more than 50 data sets and has begun to disseminate microfilmed tabulations of the National Crime Survey data.

BJS regularly publicizes the availability of data tapes and analyses. During the biennium, for example, the Bureau published the eighth annual edition of the *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*, which compiles in a single volume data from 100 different sources.

Refining Research Tools

Analyzing crime trends and patterns, assessing the impact of a crime-control policy, evaluating criminal justice programs—these typical research tasks impose formidable problems of measurement and inference. Such analyses must convincingly answer two broad questions: first, how much of the effect of interest (reduction in crime rates or decrease in recidivism, for example) is evident in the situation under study; and second, can the observed effect be attributed unambiguously to a likely set of causes?

Unfortunately, the paradigm of the scientific method, strictly speaking, requires a "laboratory" setting that is very poorly approximated in the world of crime and criminal justice. We cannot, for example, randomly select an "experimental" and a "control" jurisdiction to test the deterrent effect of capital punishment. This means that an analyst can almost never design a study that will isolate the effect of a particular program or policy change from other influences that might contaminate the findings. The situation is further complicated by the fact that real effects (if they exist at all) tend to be relatively small and rather hard to distinguish from normal variations.

Methodology Development

The National Institute of Justice supports a broad range of projects dealing with measurement and design problems. Often, grants are awarded to study the criminal justice implications of recent analytic advances in other areas. During the biennium, NIJ funded a number of innovative studies in this area, including such projects as:

Classification systems. Much of the correctional research of the past 50 years has focused on developing and applying screening techniques for decisions about the most appropriate treatment for specific types of offenders. In practice, however, the validity of existing techniques is open to question. Given the current crisis in prison space, more reliable classification techniques are crucially needed—tools that will aid corrections officials in deciding which offenders require what levels of institutional security.

Such studies are a priority for NIJ's methodological research. One project funded during the biennium reviewed the significant advances that have been made in the field of numerical taxometrics—how to discover the most precise subgroupings of a population, based on the analysis of large amounts of information on each individual. The Behavioral Research Institute is studying the advances from the perspective of classification within the corrections system.

The meaning of arrest. Statistics on arrest reported by law enforcement agencies are often used to evaluate police productivity or the effectiveness of police activities in deterring crime. The assumption is that an arrest in one jurisdiction is the same as an arrest in any other jurisdiction. We know, however, that definitions and reporting practices vary. A study by the Police Foundation will assess the degree to which variations in sanctioning rates can be attributed to variations in the definition of arrest, and to show how the reported rates might be corrected for these differences.

Isolating effects. To isolate the effects of a rehabilitation or treatment program, evaluators must control for differences in group characteristics. A bewildering array of statistical methods has been developed in the past decade. Some are valid only under rigidly controlled conditions which are difficult to maintain in a real-world setting. The California Youth Authority is assessing the strengths and weaknesses of three of the most advanced techniques.

Measuring crime patterns. Applying quantitative methods to the analysis of crime patterns is an area of increasing interest. Here, too, a number of statistical procedures are available that can be adapted to detect patterns in crime rates. Scientists at the University of California (Santa Barbara) are developing a method that will enable criminal justice researchers to select the most appropriate analytical procedure in a given case.

Time-series modeling. The aim of many criminal justice innovations and policy changes is to engineer a reduction in crime rates. For purposes of research and evaluation, therefore, it is vital to have reliable and sensitive methods for measuring such changes. This turns out to be a complicated task. In any jurisdiction, the monthly rate of reported robberies, for example, is likely to vary seasonally over the course of a year. The rate may also contain a long-range trend—probably a rather steady increase. Finally, such rates are everywhere subject to substantial month-to-month fluctuations for no apparent reason. In order to assert that a robbery-reduction program has met with success, one must present credible evidence that the robbery rate would have been higher if the program did not exist.

The Search for Performance Measures

Evaluating the impact of criminal justice practices requires that we define in operational terms the performance that is expected of a given agency, and whether that performance is enhanced—or impaired—by implementing a new approach.

Unfortunately, "performance" in any comprehensive sense turns out to be a slippery concept to measure. Public agencies are expected to strive toward different and often conflicting goals—a police department, for example, is required to stop and interrogate suspicious citizens while at the same time instilling a spirit of public trust and cooperation. To complicate matters, an activity may produce a combination of quantity and quality in outcomes, and there is seldom agreement on which is most appropriate. Should a court system, for example, concentrate on reducing the size of its case backlog, increasing the speed with which it processes a typical case, decreasing the number of cases reversed on appeal, or perhaps on providing some abstract standard of equity? The public is the ultimate evaluator, of course, but standing between an agency and the public are a number of intermediate evaluators: the attorney who measures compliance with the law, the accountant interested in costs, the social engineer who looks at outcomes, and the elected official who is concerned about the public reaction.

In 1978, the National Institute of Justice launched a program of research into criminal justice system performance measurement. For the first phase of the program, research teams were selected in the areas of law enforcement (University of North Carolina and Indiana University), prosecution and public defense (Bureau of Social Science Research), courts (Research Triangle Institute),

In a series of studies at the Georgia Institute of Technology, a systematic investigation is under way into the application of time-series modeling to monthly rates of reported crime. As in several other studies funded through NIJ's methodology development program, the technique had its origins in a different field—in this case, the monitoring and control of product quality in industrial processes. In principle, the method is quite straightforward. From the crime data for 3 or 4 years before the intervention of interest, a stable statistical model is developed that captures the essential structure of the data series—seasonality, long-range trends, random fluctuations, and the like. If the intervention is successful, one would expect to see a change in this structure. A drop in the expected crime rate would be fairly strong evidence of a causal link with the intervention program, at least in the absence of plausible arguments to the contrary.

Research under these grants was first directed at demonstrating that such models could be constructed and given a nontrivial interpretation. Conceivably, random fluctuations might be so large as to swamp the model's ability to "predict" crime rates with the necessary sensitivity and reliability. This proved not to be the case, and further work was directed at developing standardized methods for early detection and measurement of intervention effects, and at producing computer software to make these methods available to evaluators who are not experts at analyzing time-series models. Now, attention is being devoted to the considerably more complex problem of modeling effects in a set of interacting jurisdictions. The problem here is that a program implemented in one police precinct, for example, might well have an impact in other precincts of a city.

The Georgia Tech research has produced a substantial number of technical papers and has contributed significantly to a forthcoming textbook on the subject of time-series, or stochastic, modeling.

adult corrections (Osprey Company), and general measurement issues (Georgia Institute of Technology). The grantees have operated as a loose consortium during the past 2 years. Among their appraisals of current knowledge and practices:

- The technology of social service delivery is not yet understood very well. With the advent of better information retrieval systems, we can now track an offender through the criminal justice system, but we cannot explain (with sufficient clarity for policymaking purposes) how manpower levels, management policy, and specific activities combine to produce the level of results we observe. Given this, it is understandable that few agencies can articulate a definition of their own performance, relating their daily activities to higher agency goals. Even quantitatively oriented agencies focus upon indicators of staff workload rather than productivity or service quality.
- Agency managers are aware that diverse communities are interested in their performance, yet the statistics they can readily produce tend to be related more to workload (crimes reported, cases prosecuted) than to performance.
- It would be productive, for accountability purposes, to divide performance measures into those that are directly within the agency's control versus those that are external to it. Currently, police agencies are in large part held responsible for the crime rate, and prison systems for the activities of released offenders. While it seems clear that some relationship exists here, we have at present only a very indistinct understanding of how much the variation in crime and recidivism rates can be ascribed to police and correctional policies. Until these linkages are considerably more firmly established, it seems desirable to adopt an approach that would help distinguish managerial competence

from realization of social goals, and questions of efficiency from questions of effectiveness.

During the program's first 2 years, the consortium researchers moved from a comprehensive assessment of agency practices and performance issues to research on specific topics. In the police area, researchers are trying to define and analyze the concept of service capacity, while in prosecution and public defense the research task is to quantify "adequacy" of service. In the courts area, researchers are trying to measure judicial efficiency with composite indicators—the size of the case backlog, for example, together with the percentage of cases reversed on appeal. In corrections, the question is whether it is possible to satisfy the information needs of various constituencies within a single workable and economical system for collecting and reporting data.

These efforts are part of a general endeavor by NIJ to develop empirically supported guidance to administrators on ways to improve productivity in the delivery of criminal justice services. Broader research on measuring the outcomes of urban resources and institutions—including law enforcement—was funded during the biennium by the National Science Foundation.

Building the Justice Research Community

When the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice was established in 1968, only a handful of the Nation's distinguished social scientists were engaged in justice research. Since its inception, therefore, NIJ has placed a high priority on building the size and the quality of this research community. One way to accomplish this task is through NIJ's Unsolicited Research Program, in which scholars may propose their own topics for possible funding. (NIJ's program in Crime Control Theory is also designed to encourage researcher-initiated projects.) Another approach is to support promising scholars as individuals. The Graduate Research Fellowship Program provides stipends for students engaged in criminal justice research at the doctoral level. The Visiting Fellowship Program brings researchers and criminal justice practitioners to Washington for a period of time to pursue studies of their own choosing and to work directly with NIJ facilities and staff members.

Visiting Fellows during the biennium included:

Paul Paulus (University of Texas): a study of the effects of crowding and confinement on the moods, attitudes, behavior, and health of prison inmates.

Susan B. Long (Syracuse University): analysis of data from two experiments sponsored by the Department of Labor and involving financial support for men released from prison (see Chapter Six).

David Farrington (Cambridge University): analyses of longitudinal data on a group of English males and their involvement in delinquency over a 17-year period.

Neal Shover (University of Tennessee): long-term follow-up of men who were imprisoned in the Baltimore-Washington area during the 1950's, to examine the extent of their later involvement in crime.

Roberta Rovner-Piecznik (Criminal Justice Research, Inc.): a study of the incentives and obstacles posed by the working environment of the public defender, appointed defense counsel, and privately retained attorney.

Leslie Sebba (Hebrew University): a study of the criminal justice system's treatment of the victims of crime and the implications of the "just desserts" model of justice for the victim.

Cost of Corrections

The U.S. public is increasingly concerned about the cost of criminal justice operations, as about the cost of government services in general. Precise figures can be frustratingly difficult to obtain, however. In an exhaustive study, *American Prisons and Jails*, direct expenditures for confining an offender for 1 year ranged all the way from \$2,200 to \$16,000. Other studies have provided equally varied answers to this apparently straightforward question.

Part of the variance can no doubt be attributed to differing assumptions made by analysts when they apply their cost-analysis techniques. A more systematic and standardized method of measuring correctional costs is clearly needed, and researchers at the University of North Carolina have developed such a method under a grant from NIJ's methodology development program. The premise: a thorough understanding of a prison system, modeled as an "industry" complete with cash flow and

balance sheet, can provide valuable insights into the true costs of correctional resources. The result would be useful information on such questions as what size prison is most cost effective, or what are the marginal costs of correctional services. Data came from the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the California Department of Corrections. The researchers developed three econometric models for each prison system:

Short-range costs. This model looks at variables in the cost of confining inmates, under the assumption that the capital investment is fixed.

Long-range costs. From this perspective, both capital expenditures and salaries are treated as variables in the examination of system costs.

Frontier costs. This model is an attempt to design a cost-effective prison, based on a study of the entire correctional "industry."

The research was intended primarily as an experiment in methodology, rather than an attempt to reach factual conclusions. With this caution, the researchers advanced some conclusions from their econometric modeling effort:

- In the short run, costs can be minimized by providing many treatment services . . . or else very few. Roughly speaking, this means that the benefits of treatment services (from the point of view of the prison system) will exceed the program costs only if a substantial fraction of the inmates take part in these programs.
- Providing an inmate with more space or more sanitary facilities will obviously increase prison costs. Considering the costs of illness and disciplinary incidents, however, it may actually be cheaper to house inmates in private cells than in dormitories or two-bunk cells.

The University of North Carolina Press may publish the final report as a book, and part of the study will appear in a forthcoming text on the application of economic theory to the delivery of public services.

9. Translating Knowledge into Practice

Criminal justice research has contributed a growing body of knowledge that is increasingly influential in shaping the day-to-day operations of the system. The process is far from automatic, however. Research, no matter how successful, is likely to have limited impact on practice without intensive efforts to apply and evaluate new ideas and programs under controlled conditions and to communicate research-based knowledge to those who can put it to use.

To bridge the gap between research and action, the National Institute of Justice supports applied research and program evaluation designed to validate new knowledge about crime control, promote its adoption by States and localities, and generate information about issues requiring further study and analysis. The products of this development process have been described in the topical chapters of this report; what has necessarily been omitted are the organizing principles behind it.

Assessing and Refining Knowledge

The results of individual studies are rarely sufficient to warrant major changes in practice. Research by its nature is cumulative, with many studies providing increments of knowledge. Consolidating and assessing this information is the first stage in the research utilization process. If the body of knowledge has important implications for policy and practice, then the next step is to verify and refine the concepts in a real-life setting under controlled conditions.

Testing concepts. NIJ field tests are an applied research program, with each test based on these considerations:

- The concept poses research questions which can best be answered through carefully structured field experimentation in more than one site.
- The concept is amenable to the requirements of an evaluation design.

- The results could have a potentially significant impact on State or local criminal justice practices and will provide new insights into a criminal justice topic of wide concern.

When a field test is indicated, a design team is assembled from NIJ's staff in research, evaluation, program development, and testing. Over a period of several months, this cross-disciplinary team creates an experimental design which identifies the essential elements of the model to be tested, articulates the objectives and assumptions of each of its components, defines the methodology and the issues to be addressed in the evaluation, and specifies the criteria for selecting the test sites. A panel of criminal justice experts reviews and critiques the design and advises on criteria for selecting test sites.

The typical field test involves three medium-sized jurisdictions and an implementation period of 18 to 24 months. The experimental conditions are clearly spelled out, so that the jurisdiction knows the costs and benefits of taking part in the field

test. NIJ provides training and technical assistance to test sites to implement the program and facilitate the rigorous evaluation of the experiment. Each field test is independently evaluated to determine whether the approach is sound. An example of a current field test—on differential police response to calls for service—is described in the box on page 74.

Refining the program. If a concept works successfully in the field and the findings suggest that broader implementation is warranted, the next step is to refine the original experimental model based on the evaluation results. This process specifies the features of the program that demonstrated their value—and eliminates those that did not work in the field. It results in a

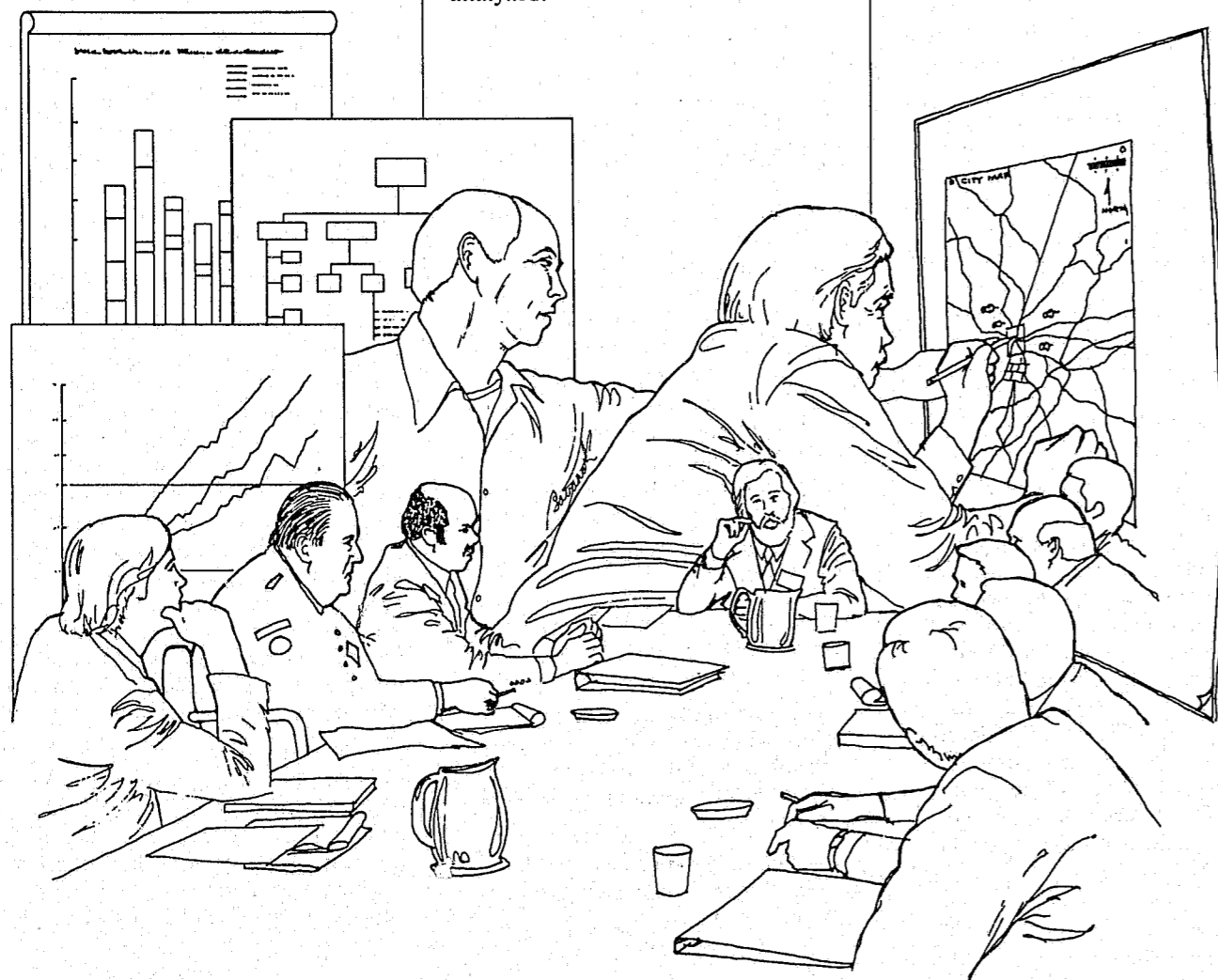
handbook for practitioners and policymakers—called a Program Design—that distinguishes the optional features from those that are essential to the concept. Potential replicators thus will know whether an aspect that does not seem feasible to them is expendable or not. The manual describes the program's objectives, costs, and likely results; the conditions for its successful implementation (such as the demography of the community, or other special characteristics of the criminal justice agency or political entity that took part in the test); and the pitfalls to be avoided in efforts to replicate the program.

Alternatively, if the independent evaluation shows that the concept did not work as expected in the field, the test findings are made available to researchers and practitioners, and the implications for further study are analyzed.

Assessing Innovations

Important lessons for improving practice can also be learned by identifying and assessing innovations implemented by State and local agencies.

Program evaluation. During the 1970's, scores of innovative programs were adopted by Federal, State, and local governments with the goal of reducing crime and improving the operations of the criminal justice system. How effective were these programs? How feasible were the hypotheses that inspired them? Will similar programs work in other localities? Such questions are addressed by NIJ's evaluation



program, which assesses projects with national significance, many of them initiated with Federal funding in a group of communities. During the biennium, a number of national-level evaluations were completed, many of which have been discussed in earlier chapters of this report.

When evaluating State and local criminal justice initiatives, NIJ often focuses on the impact and usefulness for other localities. Frequently, too, NIJ is able to add an evaluation component to the State or local program that might otherwise have omitted this important step. During the biennium, for example, an evaluation was completed on Minnesota's statewide program of community-based corrections. In addition, the environmental design crime prevention program in Portland, Oregon, was reevaluated to determine whether the program's effects had persisted over time.

Exemplary Projects. NIJ also sponsors a systematic program to discover innovations that benefit other communities. The process requires that such programs have formal evaluation data or other conclusive evidence of their effectiveness in reducing crime or improving criminal justice practice.

After an initial screening by NIJ staff, the most promising are subjected to an on-site validation by independent researchers, who submit their findings to a review board of practitioners and researchers. Projects meeting the range of selection criteria are then designated "exemplary," and their operations and results documented and publicized so that other communities can benefit from the lessons that have been learned.

Monographs. In some cases, the assessment process uncovers innovations that appear promising but lack rigorous evaluation data. These programs may be reviewed in NIJ Monographs, which present information on the concept and highlight questions that remain to be answered about feasibility or effects of the innovation.

Synthesizing Research

One obstacle to research utilization is that findings often are presented at conferences or in journals not oriented to policymakers and practitioners. Even if the information reaches these audiences, it may not be presented in a way that aggregates results from a number of studies and relates them to operational experience.

Program Models. At the National Institute of Justice, these research assessments are called Program Models—state-of-the-art syntheses of research and evaluation findings, operational experience, and expert opinion in a topic area. Each study includes a literature review, extensive interviews with practitioners, and on-site assessment of operational projects. An advisory group of researchers and practitioners knowledgeable in the topic area critiques the methodology, advises on site selection, and reviews the final report. Based on their data analysis, the researchers present a range of program options so that local jurisdictions can consider them and review their advantages and disadvantages. In addition, the study may reveal hypotheses suitable for field testing or gaps in knowledge requiring further research.

An annual review of research. Because it deals with a social problem of such complexity, criminal justice research necessarily entails the work of many disciplines. Even for researchers, keeping abreast of developments in the varied fields is a formidable task. One way to bridge the communication gap between disciplines is through periodic syntheses of the field of criminal justice research.

Crime and Justice, an annual review of research sponsored by the National Institute of Justice, presents an interdisciplinary overview of research and knowledge in crime and justice. It describes what is known, how it is known, and the policy and research implications of the knowledge. During the biennium, the second and third volumes of the series were published through the University of Chicago Press. The essays covered a wide range of topics, including youth violence, deterrence, career criminals, trends in violent crime, as well as articles about aspects of police and correctional practice.

The series is edited by Norval Morris, Professor of Law and Criminology, University of Chicago Law School, and Michael Tonry, Professor of Law, University of Maryland Law School. An editorial review board of distinguished scholars and practitioners selects topics and reviews the essays. The members are:

Alfred Blumstein, Carnegie-Mellon University
 Shari Diamond, University of Illinois
 Lloyd Ohlin, Harvard University
 Sheldon Messinger, University of California at Berkeley
 Patrick V. Murphy, The Police Foundation
 Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Yale University
 The Honorable Patricia Wald, U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia
 Nigel Walker, Cambridge University
 Franklin E. Zimring, University of Chicago

Communicating Research Results

The audiences for criminal justice research are varied—administrators and practitioners who operate in the system, legislators and State and local officials who set policy, and researchers who are exploring various aspects of the field. Each has a different perspective and each is likely to obtain and use information in a different way.

To communicate research results to these target groups, NIJ employs an array of dissemination techniques. The field test program described above is itself a vehicle for communicating research findings. Because the test project frequently is permanently adopted by the participating agency after the experiment is over, project staff represent a continuing information resource for communities interested in adopting the approach. The project staff also conducts a formal conference for approximately 100 executives from surrounding States to acquaint them with the field experiment and the results—both positive and negative.

Publications. The research assessment process also results in a number of specific manuals for practitioners and researchers, including the Program Models, Program Designs, and Monographs described above. In addition, NIJ publishes summaries and full reports of its research studies so that findings can be discussed and critiqued by researchers and practitioners. Each report is reviewed by a Research Utilization Committee that considers both future research implications and dissemination to appropriate groups.

An important dissemination function is devising the right vehicle for reaching a key audience. Legislative action has considerable impact on criminal justice practices, but legislators and other policy officials may be only dimly aware of relevant research results. NIJ Policy Briefs

are designed to communicate research findings to these policymakers in a concise and useful format. The publication series summarizes research findings on a specific innovation or emerging trend, and presents sample legislation and references to additional information.

Research Utilization Workshops. National and regional workshops are used to inform practitioners and policymakers about research developments, to train criminal justice personnel in new techniques, and to help them cope with specific problems. During the biennium, for example, NIJ developed a criminal justice "cutback management" training program which will ultimately be held in 21 cities and counties across the country. Intended for mayors, city managers, budget officials, police chiefs, court administrators, and correctional officials, the program deals with the triple squeeze of inflation, revenue cuts, and increasing demand for public services—in short, how to do more with less.

Justice Training Packages. The print and audiovisual materials developed for these training workshops may later be packaged for use on the State and local levels. Each package consists of an instructor's handbook, workbooks for participants, a manual of selected readings, and a videotape featuring experienced practitioners and footage from the field. Justice Training Packages now available include Managing Criminal Investigations, Maintaining Municipal Integrity, Managing Patrol Operations, Developing Sentencing Guidelines, Juror Usage and Management, Operating a Defender Office, Improved Probation Strategies, Prison Grievance Mechanisms, and Health Care in Correctional Institutions.

Host Program. NIJ funding enables interested State and local officials to spend up to a week at selected Exemplary Projects, observing and taking part in daily operations. This experience increases the likelihood that

concepts that have demonstrated effectiveness will be successfully transferred to the visitor's home community.

Information Clearinghouse. Until 1972, the criminal justice field was without a central reference service for its researchers and practitioners. To keep abreast of developments in the field, a criminologist might sift through hundreds of unrelated documents every week; to find the answer to a specific question, a police chief or jurist might make a dozen inquiries or undertake a literature search at the nearest university library.

The National Institute of Justice responded to their needs by creating the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, which provides international information on law enforcement and criminal justice topics to a growing network of users. NCJRS keeps 40,000 registered users abreast of research findings and operating experience in their individual fields of interest—police, courts, corrections, crime prevention, criminology, and planning and evaluation. Specialized services relating to juvenile justice are provided through NCJRS with funding from the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. NCJRS' computerized data base contains more than 60,000 books, reports, periodicals, and audiovisual materials which can be accessed for quick response to a specific query.

NCJRS provides copies of selected publications of the National Institute of Justice, National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and the Bureau of Justice Statistics. These publications are generally sold on a cost-recovery basis; microfiche copies and inter-library loans offer additional availability. Another program enables community groups to review public information materials prepared by other jurisdictions that have coped with crime problems similar to their own.

A Hard Look at Technology

In the 1980's, demands on the criminal justice system will be met in part by sophisticated new technologies. Many police departments have already moved from simple two-way radios to digital transmissions and computer-aided dispatch systems. Courts are turning to computers and electronic archival storage to handle their great mass of records. Well-equipped forensics labs and highly trained scientists are increasingly necessary to the investigation and prosecution of criminal cases. To help agencies fill these and other technological needs, the National Institute of Justice sponsors an applied research program with the following goals:

Establish minimum standards. The complexity and diversity of modern technology makes it difficult for agencies to assess new products. The available standards range from police body armor to airport metal detectors, from night vision devices to burglar-alarm switches. Performance standards provide a basis for matching the available technology to local needs.

Test commercial products. One of the success stories of NIJ's research program in the 1970's was a lightweight, flexible body armor of Dupont Kevlar. Following development and field-testing of prototype vests, dozens of commercial firms entered the market, providing a wide array of protective garments. The New York Police Department was about to spend more than \$1 million on these vests, only to discover that the model tentatively selected had failed to meet the established minimum standards—as did nearly half the 54 brands submitted to the Institute for testing. (Many were later improved by their manufacturers). As a result of the testing program, New York police not only acquired a safer garment but also saved \$35 on each protective vest.

Disseminate findings. Through publications and a toll-free telephone line, the latest information on technology developments and equipment vendors is made available to police departments, courts, and correctional agencies throughout the country. In some cases, not only publications but actual reference collections—including paint samples for any given automobile model year—can be purchased at cost.

The Technology Assessment Program is supported by the National Institute of Justice. Additional funding for certain projects comes from other Federal agencies such as the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. An advisory council establishes priorities for the program; the members include police chiefs, fiscal officers, highway safety directors, researchers, and other criminal justice experts. The actual work of testing is carried out by the Standards Laboratory, located within the National Bureau of Standards, the Nation's oldest and best-known standards lab. Typically, the review process for a new piece of equipment takes 3 years, from the identification of need to the publication of performance standards.

In order to disseminate the laboratory's findings to criminal justice agencies in the field, the Technology Assessment Program also maintains an information center, operated by the International Association of Chiefs of Police. During the past 2 years, the program completed:

- Tests on portable transceivers, 1981 patrol cars, riot and crash helmets, handcuffs, and a preventive maintenance guide for fleet vehicles.
- A study of prison fires and ways to assess the fire hazards in correctional institutions, with a manual now under preparation for use by prison administrators.
- The publication of guidelines for the selection and use of police body armor and photographic equipment.

- The development of performance standards for devices to measure highway speeds; for riot helmets, face shields, and other protective equipment; for secure window units and sliding glass doors; for various communications components; for intrusion alarms, including automatic telephone dialers and metallic window foil; and for handcuffs.
- The development of tests that will enable a forensics lab to distinguish between various kinds of acrylic automobile paints.
- A study of the sources of electromagnetic interference in police cars, and ways to suppress that interference.
- The development of a reliable calibration device for arson detectors used to "sniff" for hydrocarbon vapors at the scene of a fire.

Single copies of standards, reports, guidelines, and reference collections are available. For information about how to order and on prices, write the National Institute of Justice/NCJRS, Box 6000, Rockville, MD 20850.

For technical assistance on equipment sources and test results, criminal justice agencies and State and local officials may call toll-free (800) 638-4080, or request the *Consumer Product Report* from the Technology Assessment Program Information Center, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 11 Firstfield Road, Gaithersburg, MD 20760.

Differential Police Response: Applying Knowledge in the Field

Will citizens accept a less-than-prompt response to some of their calls for police service? Does this approach offer significant economies in the money and manpower that must be allocated to patrol? Should police departments nationwide adopt the new strategy?

As findings accumulate on a concept such as differential response—findings that are both significant and provocative—the National Institute of Justice often sponsors a full-scale test of the new approach. These field tests are designed to generate new information through applied research into the effects of the innovation and the feasibility of applying it in varied settings.

Thus, in 1980, NIJ assembled a group of criminal justice specialists from Federal, State, and private agencies to assess what had been learned from demand/response research in Kansas City (Missouri), Wilmington (Delaware), Birmingham (Alabama), and elsewhere. They then developed a model response system based on a complaint-taker who would answer all citizen calls, classify them as critical or noncritical, and transfer the "hot" calls to a dispatcher for an immediate response. Generally, these were calls involving bodily harm or just-occurred instances of property loss. However, any citizen who requested a quick response was also placed in this category, and a patrol car was dispatched forthwith.

All other noncritical calls were to be handled either traditionally or on an experimental basis, with the calls assigned randomly to one response or the other. In general, the traditional response was a patrol car dispatched to the scene, either immediately or (in the case of a

minor complaint) on a delayed basis. The experimental responses were scaled according to the urgency of the call:

Major property loss (cold). A patrol car was dispatched within a time period—say half an hour.

Minor property loss (cold). The call was referred to an expeditor unit for handling, usually via a complaint form filled out over the telephone.

Minor noncrime cases. The complaint-taker or expeditor unit referred the caller to a social service agency, animal rescue league, fire department, or other appropriate agency.

Three cities—Toledo (Ohio), Greensboro (North Carolina), and Garden Grove (California)—were selected to take part in the field test over an 18-month period. The cooperating police departments agreed to develop written guidelines for classifying calls, to review and if necessary expand the information being taken by complaint operators, to develop standardized questions by which calls could be more readily classified, and to develop standardized explanations for informing citizens of the responses that would be forthcoming. As part of the field test, NIJ also provided technical assistance to help the departments develop new procedures and specialized training for their communications personnel. Altogether, the funds committed to the three sites during 1981 totalled about \$530,000.

For a 6-month period, the cooperating departments handled as many noncritical calls as possible by the traditional/experimental matrix. The two-step procedure served several purposes. First, it gave the departments a clearer idea of what response was most appropriate for a given call; second, it eased the staffing

and organizational changes required by the new system; and third, it provided the data base by which the field test and the differential response system could later be assessed by an independent team of evaluators. Among the questions to be addressed by the evaluation:

- Whether the differential response strategy allowed urgent calls to be given priority treatment and a faster response.
- Whether there was an increase in the rate of non-critical calls handled by delayed or nonmobile response.
- Whether there was an increase in the amount of officer time available for directed patrol activities, as opposed to answering calls for service.
- Whether a police department can satisfactorily handle an increased workload without a corresponding increase in its patrol resources.
- Whether citizen satisfaction was enhanced or at least maintained by the strategy of differential response.

If the concept works as expected, the final step will be the development of a refined Program Design that draws from lessons learned in the field. This document will explain the program's objectives, costs, savings, and likely results; the conditions for successful implementation (the demography of a community, for example); and the pitfalls to be avoided in any effort to replicate it.

Appendix A

List of Federal Agencies Contributing to Report

The following agencies provided information to the National Institute of Justice to aid in the preparation of its first Biennial report to the President and the Congress. The material they submitted has been condensed and highlighted; readers are urged to contact the agencies directly for more detailed information on their justice related research.

National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics
U.S. Department of Justice
 633 Indiana Avenue NW.
 Washington, DC 20531

Bureau of Justice Statistics
Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics
U.S. Department of Justice
 633 Indiana Avenue NW.
 Washington, DC 20531

Office of Legal Policy
U.S. Department of Justice
 Washington, DC 20530

Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
 Washington, DC 20535

Drug Enforcement Administration
U.S. Department of Justice
 1405 I Street NW.
 Washington, DC 20530

National Institute of Corrections
U.S. Department of Justice
 HOLC Building
 320 First Street NW.
 Washington, DC 20534

Federal Prison System
U.S. Department of Justice
 HOLC Building
 320 First Street, NW.
 Washington, DC 20534

U.S. Parole Commission
U.S. Department of Justice
 Park Place
 One North Park Building
 5550 Friendship Boulevard
 Bethesda, MD 20015

National Institute of Education
U.S. Department of Education
 Washington, DC 20208

Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency
National Institute of Mental Health
Department of Health and Human Services
 Rockville, MD 20857

National Institute on Drug Abuse
Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration
Department of Health and Human Services
 Rockville, MD 20857

National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect
Administration for Children, Youth, and Families
Department of Health and Human Services
 Washington, DC 20201

Office of Policy Development and Research
Department of Housing and Urban Development
 Washington, DC 20410

Policy, Evaluation, and Research
Employment and Training Administration
U.S. Department of Labor
 601 D Street NW.
 Washington, DC 20213

Assistant Secretary for Policy, Evaluation, and Research
U.S. Department of Labor
 Washington, DC 20210

Office of Policy Research
Urban Mass Transportation Administration
Department of Transportation
 Washington, DC 20590

U.S. Customs Service
Department of Treasury
 1301 Constitution Avenue NW.
 Washington, DC 20229

Federal Emergency Management Agency
 Washington, DC 20472

U.S. Fire Administration
Federal Emergency Management Agency
 Washington, DC 20472

Federal Judicial Center
 1520 H Street NW.
 Washington, DC 20005

National Science Foundation
 Washington, DC 20550

Appendix B

National Institute of Justice Publications 1980-81

The following documents were published by the National Institute of Justice during 1980 and 1981. The reports are listed in alphabetical order by title. These documents are available through the National Institute of Justice/NCJRS in microfiche or through interlibrary loan.

Administrative Adjudication of Traffic Offenses

NCJ Number: 66410

This policy brief outlines the benefits of using administrative adjudication procedures instead of criminal court actions for settling traffic violations and discusses the actions needed to change the system.

Adult Offender Education Programs

NCJ Number: 75650

This report describes results of a review of the state of the art in correctional education programs for adult offenders and of options for improving administrative, programmatic, and policy-making activities in this area.

Affirmative Action—Equal Employment Opportunity in the Criminal Justice System—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 61834

Part of the NCJRS collection, the documents cited in this bibliography have been compiled to provide information and assistance to criminal justice agencies striving to implement equal opportunity employment programs.

Alaska Bans Plea Bargaining

NCJ Number: 59535

Data on court operations in Alaska's three largest cities were collected for 1 year prior to and 1 year following the State's prohibition of plea bargaining in 1975.

Alcohol Use and Criminal Behavior—An Executive Summary

NCJ Number: 80274

This monograph examines the relationship between the consumption of beverage alcohol and serious criminal behavior. It specifically considers the extent to and way in which alcohol consumption directly, indirectly, or in combination with other factors, increases the likelihood of serious personal and property crime.

Alternative Approach in Police Response—Wilmington Management of Demand Program

NCJ Number: 80490

The Management Of Demand (MOD) program, operating in Wilmington, Del., is described and analyzed in this document. The MOD program tested the effectiveness of handling non-critical calls for police service through methods other than the timely onscene response of a patrol unit. The alternatives included formal, 30-minute delay onscene response, telephone reporting and adjustment, walk-in reporting, and scheduled appointment response.

American Prisons and Jails—Volume 1, Summary and Policy Implications of a National Survey

NCJ Number: 75752

This volume summarizes the major findings of a national survey of American prisons and jails and draws implications for corrections policy.

American Prisons and Jails—Volume 2, Population Trends and Projections

NCJ Number: 75753

As part of a larger study of American prisons and jails, this volume examines trends and projections with respect to the population of Federal, State, and local corrections facilities. Study data were gathered from the National Prisoner Statistics, the National Jail Census, and other sources.

American Prisons and Jails—Volume 3, Conditions and Costs of Confinement

NCJ Number: 75754

Part of a national survey of American prisons and jails, this volume discusses the physical conditions and costs of the institutions surveyed, including an assessment of institutional capacities.

American Prisons and Jails—Volume 4, Case Studies of New Legislation Governing Sentencing and Release

NCJ Number: 75755

As part of a larger study to survey existing and future needs of state correctional facilities, this volume presents five case studies of recently amended laws governing sentencing and release practices. The case studies explore the degree to which the changes in sentencing and release policies have affected the size of prison and jail populations.

American Prisons and Jails—Volume 5, Adult Pre-release Facilities

NCJ Number: 75756

This segment of a nationwide survey of adult correctional facilities examined the conditions and costs of community-based pre-release centers, those correctional facilities that hold their residents for less than 24 hours per day.

Analysis of Drugs and Crime Among Arrestees in the District of Columbia—Executive Summary

NCJ Number: 77834

Longitudinal and cross-sectional data on persons arrested in the District of Columbia were used to construct a large data base that was then used to examine the relationship between arrestee drug use and crime.

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Arson Prevention and Control—Program Model
NCJ Number: 62607

For fire departments, law enforcement agencies, community groups, and Federal and State agencies, this program model offers approaches for the prevention and control of arson.

Assessment of Victim/Witness Assistance Projects—National Evaluation Program—Phase I Report—Executive Summary
NCJ Number: 77490

This summary report presents an overview of the findings of the National Evaluation Program Phase I Assessment of victim/witness assistance projects across the United States and provides conclusions and recommendations and further research.

Bibliographies in Criminal Justice—A Selected Bibliography
NCJ Number: 62014

This annotated bibliography was compiled to identify reference sources for criminal justice scholars and practitioners.

Calls for Service—Citizen Demand and Initial Police Response
NCJ Number: 78362

Using data from studies of police referral and patrol practices in 24 police departments in 3 metropolitan areas, this report examines patterns of citizen demand for police services and police telephone responses to those demands.

Career Criminal Program National Evaluation—Final Report
NCJ Number: 77265

This national evaluation of the career criminal program defines and examines the effects of targeted prosecution of habitual offenders through an intensive analysis of program processes in four jurisdictions.

Career Criminal Program National Evaluation—Summary Report
NCJ Number: 78546

This paper is a summary report of a national evaluation of the Career Criminal Program (CCP), an LEAA-funded effort which provides resources to local prosecutors' offices to identify and rigorously prosecute serious, repeat offenders.

Career Criminal Programs
NCJ Number: 70870

This publication summarizes the objectives and operation of Career Criminal Programs (CCP) and discusses California's actions to design and fund a State CCP.

Child Abuse and Neglect—A Literature Review and Selected Bibliography
NCJ Number: 62013

This overview of the status of child abuse and neglect literature reviews the major historical, legal, social, and medical issues, discusses treatment and prevention, and presents a bibliography with abstracts.

Citizen Crime Prevention Tactics—A Literature Review and Selected Bibliography
NCJ Number: 65156

A literature review on individual and collective crime prevention initiatives and on the concept and history of crime prevention precedes a selected and annotated bibliography on prevention containing 113 entries.

Colloquium on Stress and Crime—Summary and Proceedings, Volume 1
NCJ Number: 67799

These colloquia on stress and crime were conducted in order to help formulate an agenda for a program of basic research into the correlates and determinants of crime.

Community Correctional Centers
NCJ Number: 73480

For correctional practitioners and criminal justice program developers, this report suggests three basic program models on community correctional centers and describes generally how the correctional center should be operated, regardless of program model type.

Correctional Staff Development and Training—A Selected Bibliography
NCJ Number: 66147

For researchers interested in personnel training in adult corrections, this comprehensive bibliography with abstracts cites reports, books, manuals, and articles published mainly between 1970 and 1980.

Crime Analysis—A Selected Bibliography
NCJ Number: 66146

This bibliography clarifies the role of crime analysis and presents operational and administrative police with references describing its application at several levels: resource deployment, investigation, and apprehension.

**Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
The Commercial Demonstration in Portland, Oregon—Executive Summary**
NCJ Number: 78340

A Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) demonstration program was conducted in Portland, Oregon, to reduce crime and fear of crime in urban commercial and adjacent residential areas by reducing the opportunity for crime while simultaneously fostering positive community relations.

**Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
An Operational Handbook**
NCJ Number: 77608

This handbook guides community planners through the stages common to most Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) programs: initiation, analysis, planning, implementation, and evaluation.

**Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
The School Demonstration in Broward County, Florida—Executive Summary**
NCJ Number: 77610

Four high schools in Broward County, Fla., located in areas of differing racial composition and income levels, were selected as demonstration sites for the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) program, which was planned to reduce crime and fear of crime.

Crime Victim Compensation
NCJ Number: 63250

Based on the experiences of operating programs, the opinions of experts, and available research, this report examines the current status of victim compensation in the United States.

Crime Victim Compensation
NCJ Number: 70989

This policy brief describes the experience of several States over the past 15 years (1965-1980) in providing monetary compensation to victims of a criminal incident.

Criminal Justice Information Systems—A Selected Bibliography
NCJ Number: 68818

For those interested in criminal justice information, this annotated bibliography provides highlights of information system programs at all levels of government.

Criminal Justice Research—Annual Report
NCJ Number: 75957

This document is the sixth and final annual report on criminal justice research, development, and evaluation, written in compliance with the amended Crime Control Act of 1973.

Data Sources on White-Collar Law-breaking
NCJ Number: 72651

This report assesses the current status of Federal statistical information systems on white-collar lawbreaking from a perspective of the social organization of information systems; the report concludes that problems in conceptualization, classification, and counting prevent the merging of information into statistical series.

Describing and Analyzing Case Processing Time in Criminal Cases—Suggestions for Administrators
NCJ Number: 79087

This guide assists court administrative personnel in assessing case processing times. It explains how individual courts can assemble information both on their case flow and on delay factors so that these data can be compared with those from other courts.

Differential Police Response to Calls for Service—Test Design
NCJ Number: 74094

This field-test design will be used in developing and assessing the utility of a comprehensive differential response system for managing the calls for service function of police departments.

Directory of Criminal Justice Information Sources—Fourth Edition
NCJ Number: 79847

This directory is an updated listing of agencies in the criminal justice field which act as information sources. It is based on a 1981 survey of approximately 260 criminal justice agencies.

Diversion of Felony Arrests—An Experiment in Pretrial Intervention—An Evaluation of the Court Employment Project—Summary Report
NCJ Number: 77609

This summary report presents the findings of a 1977-79 evaluation of the Court Employment Project (CEP) in New York City, the Nation's first pretrial diversion program, designed to divert young offenders from the stigma of conviction.

Doing Crime—A Survey of California Prison Inmates
NCJ Number: 66552

Information based on an inmate survey is provided about the characteristics of certain criminal offenders and the differences between highly active and less active offenders.

Drugs and Crime—A Survey and Analysis of the Literature
NCJ Number: 65247

This literature review is a comprehensive survey of English-language literature on the relationships between drug use and crime, with special focus on the relationships between heroin and crime.

Early Representation in Public Defender Programs—Test Design
NCJ Number: 77642

This document outlines specific program requirements, site selection criteria, and an evaluation design for a field test of early representation by defense counsel.

Effect of Prison Crowding on Inmate Behavior
NCJ Number: 67444

Data from over 1,400 prison inmates together with archival data were used to evaluate psychological and physiological effects of crowding and various housing arrangements on inmates.

Emergency Vehicle Warning Systems
NCJ Number: 77262

Information on the effectiveness, physical configurations, and available types of emergency vehicle warning signals (lights and sirens) is provided, along with discussion on the preparation of a national standard for these signals.

Employment Services for Ex-offenders
NCJ Number: 75388

Over 75 community-based ex-offender employment programs operating across the country were surveyed, and 9 onsite visits were made to individual programs in order to determine the effectiveness of these services in seeking and maintaining stable employment among their clients.

Employment Services for Ex-offenders
NCJ Number: 66868

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) has designed a set of program components for assisting new releases from prisons and jails in obtaining and retaining employment.

Exemplary Projects
NCJ Number: 75243

The Exemplary Projects Program of the National Institute of Justice is described in this handbook which outlines program requirements, the application procedure, areas of special interest, closing dates, and the 1980 exemplary projects.

Factors Influencing Crime and Instability in Urban Housing Developments—Complete Report
NCJ Number: 71094

This report describes a study which examined the impact of building and resident characteristics on crime victimization, fear of crime, and residential instability in federally assisted housing developments in order to test some major hypotheses of 'defensible space' theory.

Factors Influencing Crime and Instability in Urban Housing Developments—Executive Summary

NCJ Number: 71093

This summary report describes a study which examined the impact of building and resident characteristics on crime victimization, fear of crime, and residential instability in federally assisted housing developments in order to test some major hypotheses of "defensible space" theory.

Factors Related to Citizen Involvement in Personal, Household, and Neighborhood Anticrime Measures—An Executive Summary

NCJ Number: 81056

This executive summary reports the research undertaken to investigate the scope of citizen anticrime measures and motivational factors associated with these preventive responses.

Fraud—Background Materials—Simulated Investigation With Teacher's Guide

NCJ Number: 75625

Supplemented by case studies and a simulated investigation with a teacher's guide, this book analyzes incidents of fraud against the government, business, and individuals and discusses detection, investigation, and prosecution of fraud cases.

Fees for Correctional Services—A Survey

NCJ Number: 63291

This report provides a nationwide assessment of the growing practice of charging correctional supervision fees; it includes summary descriptions of charging fees for room and board and for special services.

Guide—Scheduled Preventive Maintenance

NCJ Number: 78765

This guide for scheduled Preventive Maintenance (PM) for police vehicles is a basic reference tool for departments with the average small fleet which would normally rely on the manufacturer's owner's manual.

Internal Revenue Service—Measuring Tax Offenses and Enforcement Response

NCJ Number: 70276

Using Federal income tax violations as an illustration of the strengths and limitations of current white-collar offense data sources, the data currently available are compared with the data desired.

International Summaries—A Collection of Selected Translations in Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, V 4

NCJ Number: 59507

A wide range of international opinion and discussion on white-collar crime, sentencing, corrections, and law enforcement is covered in this volume of 31 summaries originating in 12 countries.

Link Between Crime and the Built Environment—The Current State of Knowledge, Volume 1

NCJ Number: 77056

This study, designed to assess the state of knowledge on the link between crime and the built environment at the end of the 1970's, focuses on two topics: what has been established about this link, and what are the key outstanding issues.

Major Violator Unit—San Diego, California

NCJ Number: 72472

This manual is intended to aid planners and decisionmakers in understanding how the Major Violator Unit (MVU) works in San Diego, Calif., and how the concepts and procedures may be adapted to their own jurisdictions.

Managing the Pace of Justice—An Evaluation of LEAA'S Court Delay-Reduction Programs

NCJ Number: 78838

This study uses time-series data from case files and data from site visits and interviews to evaluate four programs for reducing delay in criminal courts. The purpose is to advance the state of the art in delay studies and in court management techniques.

Managing the Pace of Justice—An Evaluation of LEAA'S Court Delay-Reduction Programs—Executive Summary

NCJ Number: 79086

Methods, findings, and policy implications of an evaluation of four court delay-reduction programs are presented in this executive summary of the final program report.

Managing Patrol Operations—A Trainer's Handbook

NCJ Number: 76632

Intended for the staff of police departments, the handbook supplements the other materials of the Managing Patrol Operations (MPO) training workshops focusing on the management of the patrol function in municipal police departments.

Managing the Pressures of Inflation in Criminal Justice—Participant's Handbook

NCJ Number: 59247

A handbook for participants in workshops for criminal justice executives on management responses to the pressures of inflation is presented.

Measuring Prison Results—Ways to Monitor and Evaluate Corrections Performance

NCJ Number: 74077

The manual presents a set of procedures to help corrections departments assess the achievement of their goals and to monitor the effectiveness of State prison and parole services by measuring outcomes.

Misdemeanor Courts—Designs for Change

NCJ Number: 77378

The first of two volumes on misdemeanor courts and their management problems, this report describes experiments to develop the Community Resources Program (CRP) located in Tacoma, Wash., and Austin, Tex., and to implement the manual Case Management Information System (CMIS) in Mankato, Minn., and Corpus Christi, Tex.

Misdemeanor Courts—Policy Concerns and Research Perspectives

NCJ Number: 77379

The second of two volumes on misdemeanor courts, this report presents research results of innovative programs conducted in misdemeanor courts, policy concerns about misdemeanor probation services and caseload management, and other related issues.

National Criminal Justice Thesaurus—Descriptors for Indexing Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Information

NCJ Number: 76329

The thesaurus contains listings of descriptors or terms used to index the literature in the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS) document data base and to retrieve information about the literature for users of the service.

National Criminal Justice Thesaurus—Descriptors for Indexing Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Information, January 1980 Edition

NCJ Number: 68712

The 1980 National Criminal Justice Thesaurus contains listings of descriptors or terms used to index the literature in the NCJRS document data base and to retrieve information for users of the service.

Neighborhood Justice Centers Field Test—Final Evaluation Report—Executive Summary

NCJ Number: 65514

Findings of the national evaluation of the Neighborhood Justice Centers (NJC's) are presented. The study assessed the effect of three centers in Atlanta, Ga., Kansas City, Mo., and Los Angeles, Calif.

Neighborhood Justice Centers Field Test—Final Evaluation Report

NCJ Number: 65513

Based on a 24-month evaluation of NIJ's Neighborhood Justice Centers Field Test, this report describes and assesses the process and impact of three Neighborhood Justice Centers (NJC's).

Neighborhood Justice Centers

NCJ Number: 69075

This policy brief describes programs for resolving minor disputes without arrest or formal court action using conciliation, mediation, or arbitration techniques to deal with interpersonal conflicts.

National Institute of Justice Standard for Ballistic Helmets

NCJ Number: 77182

This standard establishes performance requirements and test methods for helmets that protect the wearer against gunfire. Requirements for face shields are not included in this standard.

National Institute of Justice Standard for Ballistic Resistant Protective Materials

NCJ Number: 77183

This document describes the equipment standard developed by the Law Enforcement Standards Laboratory of the National Bureau of Standards to establish minimum performance requirements and test methods for ballistic-resistant protective materials.

National Institute of Justice Standard for Color Test Reagents/Kits for Preliminary Identification of Drugs of Abuse

NCJ Number: 77264

This standard establishes minimum requirements for color test reagent/kits used for identifying drugs that are commonly abused, and it provides test methods to determine reagents' compliance with these requirements.

National Institute of Justice Standard for Control Heads and Cable Assemblies for Mobile FM (Frequency Modulation) Transceivers

NCJ Number: 77184

This standard establishes requirements and test methods for control heads and cable assemblies for mobile FM transceivers; it is compatible with other NIJ standards for mobile FM transceiver equipment.

National Institute of Justice Standard for Emergency Vehicle Sirens

NCJ Number: 77185

This standard establishes performance requirements and test methods for electronic and electromechanical sirens used on law enforcement vehicles to warn pedestrians and motorists of the passage of an emergency vehicle.

National Institute of Justice Standard for Fixed and Base Station Antennas

NCJ Number: 77186

This document establishes minimum performance requirements and test methods for antennas that are used at base stations or other fixed sites by law enforcement agencies.

Patterns of Police-Referral Agency Interaction

NCJ Number: 78341

Police referral practices and agency characteristics are described from both agency and patrol officer perspectives. Data were drawn from a 1977 study of police referral practices in three metropolitan areas: Rochester, N.Y., St. Louis, Mo., and Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.

Plea Negotiation—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 66559

This bibliography, compiled from the NCJRS collection, focuses on the issues surrounding plea negotiation and includes 130 publications of the 1970's. Citations include abstracts.

Police Consolidation—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 67142

This bibliography is designed to give police management insight into the advantages and disadvantages of various approaches to police consolidation. It contains 219 citations, of which 169 are annotated.

Police Manpower Management—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 68514

This annotated bibliography presents information about innovative methods for managing police manpower and is designed to help police instructors, supervisors, and students of police administration.

Police Referral in Metropolitan Areas—Summary Report

NCJ Number: 77317

This report catalogs the characteristics of social service agencies that accept referrals from the police, assesses patrol officers' referral activities, and examines patterns of police interaction with referral agencies.

Police Training—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 62012

This bibliography was compiled to highlight the literature on police training for police managers who are interested in expanding and improving their training programs.

Policy and Prosecution

NCJ Number: 79228

A conceptual model for analyzing prosecutive decisionmaking policy is presented, and the findings of comparative examination of policies of 10 prosecutors' offices are summarized. Information is also presented from a nationwide survey of 80 urban prosecutors.

Pretrial Release—A National Evaluation of Practices and Outcomes

NCJ Number: 80794

This report summarizes the major findings, conclusions, and recommendations of a national evaluation project of pretrial release. The evaluation focused on four broad topics: the release process and release outcomes; court appearances; pretrial criminality, as reflected in pretrial arrests and convictions for those arrests; and the impact of pretrial release programs.

Principles of Guidelines for Sentencing—Methodological and Philosophical Issues in Their Development

NCJ Number: 76216

This National Institute of Justice report discusses the methodological and philosophical issues addressed in the development of sentencing guidelines. The monograph presents the overall logic involved in developing the guidelines rather than descriptions of specific statistical techniques.

Prison Experience of Career Criminals

NCJ Number: 71103

The treatment needs and custodial problems associated with career criminals are explored, along with the question of whether these inmates are treated selectively.

Programs Meeting Effectiveness Criteria of Section 401 (A) Justice Systems Improvement Act, 1979

NCJ Number: 66670

This report is intended to assist States and localities in responding to the requirements of the Justice System Improvements Act of 1979 (Section 401 (A)).

Project CREST (Clinical Regional Support Teams)—Counseling for Juveniles on Probation—Gainesville, Florida

NCJ Number: 74261

This brochure describes the purpose, organization, volunteer training, impact, and cost of project CREST, an exemplary project of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ).

Project CREST (Clinical Regional Support Teams)—Gainesville, Florida

NCJ Number: 70868

This manual is intended to help universities, agencies, and individuals develop programs similar to the Gainesville, Fla., Project CREST, which provides professional counseling to delinquent youth in three Florida counties.

Prosecutorial Decisionmaking—A National Study

NCJ Number: 79227

Prosecutorial policy, its transfer and levels of uniformity and consistency both within and between offices, and the factors used by prosecutors in making discretionary decisions are examined, based on the testing of 855 prosecutors in 15 jurisdictions throughout the United States.

Rape—Guidelines for a Community Response

NCJ Number: 59807

Based on two information sources—LEAA-sponsored rape research and a survey of 31 rape crisis programs, this community response program model describes the components and activities of an effective community response to rape.

Rape—Guidelines for a Community Response—An Executive Summary

NCJ Number: 66818

This report summarizes the components of an effective community response to rape, defines the activities and approaches which seem to be most effective, and provides guidance on issues and pitfalls.

Recreation and Leisure Time Activities in the Correctional Setting—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 69083

Designed for the prison administrator and prison correctional program planner, this bibliography provides sources that identify, define, justify, and structure recreational programs in the correctional setting.

Response Time Analysis—Synopsis

NCJ Number: 71108

This report provides a synopsis of a study which focused on assumptions regarding rapid police response as an effective operational strategy and on the identification of problems which account for citizen delays in requesting police service.

Response Time Analysis, Volume 3—Part 2 Crime Analysis

NCJ Number: 71109

Effectiveness of rapid police response as a law enforcement strategy, and reasons for citizen delay in reporting crimes, were studied using 359 part two crimes committed in one city during 1975 and 1976.

Response Time Analysis, Volume 4—Noncrime Call Analysis

NCJ Number: 71110

This report identifies problems and patterns in reporting non-crime incidents to the police and considers citizen satisfaction with police response time.

Retail Security—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 67519

Retail security is the subject of this bibliography with abstracts. The bibliography is a reference for retailers, private security personnel, police, and prosecutors. It contains 108 citations.

Rural Crime and Criminal Justice—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 69221

This annotated bibliography lists publications for criminal justice researchers on crime and administration of criminal justice in rural America, as well as on problems with the justice system in rural areas.

Saving Energy Dollars in Prisons and Jails

NCJ Number: 76516

This booklet outlines steps that correctional administrators can take to determine their institution's energy-saving potential and details futuristic ways of providing and managing energy that new prisons and jails are already using.

Selection and Application Guide to Police Body Armor

NCJ Number: 80217

This law enforcement guide to lightweight body armor discusses the factors accounted for in developing body armor, the threat levels that officers should be protected against, and the types of armor commercially available. Performance standards are reviewed, and results of tests on various kinds of armor are presented.

Selection and Application Guide to Police Photographic Equipment

NCJ Number: 72213

This guide is designed to assist those law enforcement and procurement officials who are not technically trained in photography to select and use photographic equipment which will meet their needs.

SNI (Selective Notification of Information) Documents 1972-1978—A Comprehensive Bibliography

NCJ Number: 64230

This annotated bibliography presents citations for the 1,823 publications chosen for the Selective Notification of Information (SNI) bulletin from 1972 to 1978.

SNI (Selective Notification of Information) Documents 1979—A Comprehensive Bibliography

NCJ Number: 66148

This bibliography of documents announced in SNI during 1979 and a similar compilation announced from 1972 to 1978 were prepared as a user's guide to significant criminal justice publications in the NCJRS collection.

Special National Workshop—Criminal Justice Program Evaluation—Selected Workshop Papers—Criminal Justice Research Utilization Program

NCJ Number: 75712

This publication contains selected papers from a Special National Workshop on Criminal Justice Program Evaluation held March 17-19, 1980, that focused on major criminal justice program evaluation efforts.

Special National Workshop—State Legislative Strategies for Correctional Reform—Workshop Proceedings—Criminal Justice Research Utilization Program, May 19-20, 1980

NCJ Number: 77110

Proceedings from the 1980 Special National Workshop on State Legislative Strategies for Correctional Reform are presented; the workshop was held to examine the major correctional reform issues currently facing State legislators around the country.

Standard Case Set—A Tool for Criminal Justice Decisionmaking

NCJ Number: 79226

This report explains how a set of standard cases can be used to test consistency and uniformity in decisionmaking among professional personnel within a criminal justice agency and then presents the 30 criminal cases that compose the set along with evaluation forms.

Standards of Care in Adult and Juvenile Correctional Institutions—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 61443

This annotated bibliography presents 60 citations selected from the collection of the National Criminal Justice Reference Service on standards of care in adult and juvenile institutions.

Strategies for Reintegrating the Ex-offender—A Selected Bibliography

NCJ Number: 61571

The entries in this bibliography were selected from the NCJRS data base to focus attention on postrelease problems of ex-offenders and to make literature on the subject accessible to criminal justice practitioners.

Supervised Pretrial Release

NCJ Number: 65782

This report describes an experimental test to identify and assess approaches for supervising defendants released from pretrial custody on conditions designed to assure their appearance in court.

Technology Assessment Program—Findings From a Decade of Technological Research

NCJ Number: 78155

This brochure describes the Technology Assessment Program of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) which sets minimum performance standards for specific technological devices, tests commercially available equipment against these standards, and disseminates the results.

Unification of Community Corrections

NCJ Number: 71091

A conceptual framework for analyzing correctional reorganization options at local levels is presented with emphasis on consolidation and unification of related functions.

Urban Public Sector and Urban Crime—A Simultaneous System Approach

NCJ Number: 71095

This study uses a simultaneous system approach to describe the complex interactions between the urban public sector and urban crime.

Variations on Juvenile Probation—A Selected Bibliography
NCJ Number: 62010

The selections in this bibliography with abstracts are drawn from the NCJRS collection and represent some of the most relevant and useful studies about innovative nonresidential treatment of juveniles.

Victims of Crime—A Review of Research Issues and Methods
NCJ Number: 80216

This report presents eight papers on victim-related research that were commissioned as part of a project to develop a research agenda in victimology for the National Institute of Justice Office of Research Programs. The report is introduced by a summary and analysis of these papers and the proceedings of a victimology workshop held on March 10-11, 1980.

Volunteers in the Criminal Justice System—A Literature Review and Selected Bibliography
NCJ Number: 65157

This literature review and selected bibliography examines the history of volunteerism and its present status within three major segments of the criminal justice system: police, courts, and corrections.

Weapons, Crime, and Violence in America—An Annotated Bibliography
NCJ Number: 80421

This annotated bibliography on weapons, crime, and violence in America contains over 200 citations dating mainly from the late 1960's to 1980.

Weapons, Crime, and Violence in America—Executive Summary
NCJ Number: 79975

This summary highlights key findings, results, and recommendations from a 2-year research study on weapons and violent crime.

Weapons, Crime, and Violence in America—A Literature Review and Research Agenda
NCJ Number: 80455

This literature review presents a comprehensive summary and analysis of the literature related to a broad range of issues covering firearms ownership and use and the relationship of weapons to crime and violence in the United States.

White-Collar Crime—A Selected Bibliography
NCJ Number: 69331

The bibliography highlights the literature on white collar crime; 250 annotated citations treat such topics as official corruption, abuse of government programs, marketplace crime, and computer abuse.

Witness Information Service—Peoria, Illinois
NCJ Number: 70867

The development of the Witness Information Service (WIS) of Peoria, Ill. is detailed; staff organization and responsibilities are examined; and the critical factors of funding and costs are discussed.

Appendix C

Bureau of Justice Statistics Publications 1980-81

The following documents, published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics during the biennium, are available through the National Institute of Justice/NCJRS.

Capital Punishment 1979

NCJ Number: 70945

This report provides information on prisoners under sentence of death in 1979, on executions carried out during the 1930-79 period, and on recent developments in capital punishment laws.

Capital Punishment 1979—Advance Report

NCJ Number: 67705

A total of 567 individuals were held under sentence of death in State correctional facilities at the end of 1979, 25 States imposed the death penalty, and 29 held 1 or more prisoners on death row at year-end.

Capital Punishment 1980

NCJ Number: 77750

This bulletin presents statistics on executions, social demographic characteristics of death-row prisoners, methods of removal from death row, and developments in capital punishment law.

Capital Punishment 1980—Final Report

NCJ Number: 78600

This report is one in a series published under the National Prisoner Statistics (NPS) program. It summarizes data on prisoners under sentence of death in 1980, on prisoners executed since 1930, and on recent trends in capital punishment legislation.

Census of Jails, 1978, Volume 1—Data for Individual Jails in the Northeast

NCJ Number: 72279

Volume 1 of this report presents data from the 1978 Census of Jails and its companion Survey of Jail Inmates for the 207 jails in the northeast region; it is part of a series of reports on 3,493 county and city jails covered by the 1978 census.

Census of Jails, 1978, Volume 2—Data for Individual Jails in the North Central Region

NCJ Number: 72280

In volume 2 of this report, data are presented from the 1978 Census of Jails and its companion Survey of Jail Inmates for the 1,042 jails in the north-central region; it is part of a series of reports on 3,493 county and city jails covered by the 1978 census.

Census of Jails, 1978, Volume 3—Data for Individual Jails in the South

NCJ Number: 72281

Data in volume 3 of this report are taken from the 1978 Census of Jails and its companion Survey of Jail Inmates for the 1,678 jails in the south; it is part of a series of reports on 3,493 county and city jails covered by the 1978 census.

Census of Jails, 1978, Volume 4—Data for Individual Jails in the West

NCJ Number: 72282

Volume 4 presents data from the 1978 Census of Jails and its companion Survey of Jail Inmates for the 566 jails in the west; it is part of a series of reports on 3,493 county and city jails covered by the 1978 census.

Characteristics of the Parole Population—1978—Draft

NCJ Number: 66479

Part of the Uniform Parole Reports series, this report contains discussion and statistics on the characteristics of the adult parole population in the United States as of December 1978.

Computer Crime—Expert Witness Manual

NCJ Number: 77927

This manual is an aid for assessing the need for expert assistance in computer-related crime cases and for identifying, selecting, managing, and using expert witnesses. It is intended for public and private sector personnel involved in the investigation and prosecution of computer-related crime, criminal justice system personnel, and those in government and business.

Computer Crime—Legislative Resource Manual

NCJ Number: 78890

A background document for investigators and prosecutors involved in computer-related crime cases, this manual discusses existing and proposed State and Federal statutes applying to such crime, procedural issues, and privacy and security matters.

Conceptual Design of Computerized Criminal History (CCH) Systems Support Program—Final Subtask Report (From Technical Assistance for Automated Criminal Justice Information Systems—Final Report

NCJ Number: 77831

Based on an inventory and analysis of the status of the intrastate Computerized Criminal History (CCH) system in the United States, this report discusses characteristics of the environment within which the systems are being developed and suggests a new program to meet the criminal justice system's needs in this area.

Correctional Data Analysis Systems

NCJ Number: 76940

The purpose of the Correctional Data Analysis System (CDAS) project was to identify current and future demand information requests and to identify analytic technologies which would assist correctional agencies in satisfying these requests.

Crime Against the Elderly in 26 Cities

NCJ Number: 76709

This report uses National Crime Survey data from 26 cities to investigate personal victimization of the elderly (persons 65 years of age and older).

Crime and the Elderly

NCJ Number: 79614

Based on data from the National Crime Survey over the past 8 years (1973-80), this report highlights the relative incidence of selected lesser and more serious crime against the Nation's 24 million elderly.

Crime and Seasonality—A National Crime Survey Report

NCJ Number: 64818

This exploratory study describes seasonal variations in selected crimes based on data from the large-scale National Crime Survey for the period 1973-77.

Criminal Justice Information Policy—Privacy and the Private Employer

NCJ Number: 79651

This document discusses the legal and policy issues associated with the release of criminal history information to private employers for use in connection with employment decision-making.

Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1978

NCJ Number: 66480

Sixth in a series of annual reports from the National Crime Survey, this report presents comprehensive data on selected crimes of violence and theft for calendar year 1978.

Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1979

NCJ Number: 76710

Seventh in a series of annual reports from the National Crime Survey, this edition presents comprehensive data on selected crimes of violence and theft for calendar year 1979.

Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1973-79 Trends

NCJ Number: 77639

This report examines 7-year trends and year-to-date change in National Crime Survey data on crimes of rape, robbery, assault, and larceny against persons and household burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. Data for the report were collected and analyzed by the U.S. Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Criminal Victimization in the United States—A Description of 1973-78 Trends

NCJ Number: 66716

This report examines 6-year trends as well as year-to-year change in National Crime Survey data on selected crimes of violence and theft.

Criminal Victimization in the U.S.—Summary Findings of 1978-79 Changes in Crime and of Trends Since 1973

NCJ Number: 69223

This National Crime Survey (NCS) report summarizes the 1978-79 changes in crime, noting the occurrence of 1.3 million more residential larcenies and 630,000 fewer noncontact personal larcenies. Crime trends since 1973 are reported.

Criminal Victimization of California Residents

NCJ Number: 70944

The second in a series of reports based on State data from the National Crime Survey (NCS), this publication presents information on selected crimes of violence and theft experienced by California residents during a 4-year period.

Criminal Victimization of New York State Residents, 1974-77

NCJ Number: 66481

One of a series of reports of State data from the National Crime Survey (NCS), this publication presents information on selected crimes of violence and theft experienced by New York State residents during 1974-77. Charts and a glossary are included.

Design and Costing of 911 Systems—A Technical Manual—Final Report

NCJ Number: 72934

This technical manual for Federal, State, and local officials provides comprehensive step-by-step instructions for designing a 911 telephone system, including 911 system alternatives, personnel and equipment requirements, system implementation procedures, and cost estimate guidelines.

Dictionary of Criminal Justice Data Terminology—Second Edition, 1981

NCJ Number: 76939

This reference work contains a large selection of proposed standard terms and definitions and model data structures, continuing the effort to develop a uniform national terminology for collecting and exchanging justice information and statistics. It incorporates material from and supersedes the 'Dictionary of Criminal Justice Data Terminology, First Edition (1976).'

Directory of Automated Criminal Justice Information Systems, 1980

NCJ Number: 72563

The principal purpose of this directory is to serve as a ready reference for criminal justice planners in developing new information systems or in enhancing existing ones.

Expenditure and Employment Data for the Criminal Justice System, 1978

NCJ Number: 66482

This is the 12th in a series of annual reports on public justice expenditure and employment in the United States.

Expenditure and Employment Data for the Criminal Justice System—Summary Report, 1978

NCJ Number: 66483

This summary report precedes publication of the Full Annual Report of Expenditure and Employment Data for the Criminal Justice System, announced separately.

Functional Requirements Analysis of State Identification Bureaus

NCJ Number: 76020

Designed for identification bureau managers and technical staff, this report, one of a series of three, describes fingerprint bureau management and administrative requirements and discusses the operational functions of a typical State identification bureau.

Functional Requirements and Systems Development Plan for State Identification Bureaus—Executive Summary of Findings and Recommendations

NCJ Number: 76022

The results of a study of the needs and operational requirements of State identification bureaus are summarized in three areas: organization and administration, functional requirements, and systems development.

Hispanic Victim—Advance Report, 1980

NCJ Number: 68819

The rate of crime victimization among Hispanics in the United States, compared to the rate for non-Hispanics, is discussed, especially in terms of variations in crime reporting and in sociodemographic variables.

Hispanic Victim—A National Crime Survey Report (Final Report)

NCJ Number: 69261

Based on data from the National Crime Survey, this report focuses on the nature of crime against Hispanics, comparing and contrasting selected characteristics of Hispanic and non-Hispanic victims, as well as of the crimes themselves. Data are based on annual averages for the period 1973-78.

La Victima Hispana—Advance Report (Spanish Version)

NCJ Number: 67706

This advance survey contains the general findings of a forthcoming National Crime Survey (NCS) report concerning Hispanic victims.

Households Touched by Crime

NCJ Number: 75905

This bulletin explores a new way of looking at persons affected by crimes by using a measure of how many Americans—victims and people living with them—are touched each year by crime.

Issues in the Measurement of Victimization

NCJ Number: 74682

This volume summarizes 15 years of research on methodological issues in the measurement of criminal victimization by means of population surveys.

Justice Agencies in the United States—Summary Report, 1980

NCJ Number: 65560

The National Justice Agency List is a master name and address listing of civil and criminal justice agencies in the Nation. This report presents summary statistics on agency characteristics such as employment, workload, and jurisdiction, and provides information on how to obtain the actual agency lists.

Justice Expenditure and Employment in the United States, 1971-78

NCJ Number: 77640

This is the sixth in a series of annual reports containing summary data on public justice expenditure, employment, and payrolls in the United States since the series began in 1971.

Justice Expenditure and Employment in the US, 1979

NCJ Number: 73288

This preliminary report of fiscal year 1979 documents increases in civil and criminal justice expenditures at all levels of government for all major justice functions. The total expenditure, \$26 billion, rose by 7.4 percent over 1978; over half went for police protection. Data were derived from filed compilation and mail canvass of Federal, State, and county governments.

Measuring Crime

NCJ Number: 75710

This Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin outlines the crimes that are measured and the methodologies that are used for the two major crime measurement programs: the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) program and the National Crime Survey (NCS).

National Crime Survey—Working Papers, Volume 1—Current and Historical Perspectives

NCJ Number: 75374

Selections are presented pertaining to the objectives and design of the National Crime Survey (NCS), accounts of the early methodological and organizational steps establishing the design, and a discussion of conceptual issues associated with measuring victimization. Examples of problems and prospects for using NCS data are also presented.

National Directory of 911 Systems—Final Report

NCJ Number: 72936

This directory is a compilation of information on operating 911 emergency telephone number systems; the directory is intended for community planners considering establishing such systems.

Parole Guidelines—Suggested Research Questions

NCJ Number: 77201

This paper brings into focus major research questions that should be addressed as the implementation of parole guidelines continues.

Parole in the United States, 1979

NCJ Number: 69562

This report contains summary statistics about parole and mandatory release in the U.S. as of December 31, 1979.

Parole-Related Legislation, 1977-80

NCJ Number: 76218

Part of the Uniform Parole Reports series prepared by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center for the Bureau of Justice Statistics, this report summarizes parole-related laws passed by State legislatures during the 4 years from 1977 through 1980.

Prevalence of Crime

NCJ Number: 76515

This Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin explores a new way of looking at persons affected by crime and, ultimately, the pervasiveness of crime through the use of a new statistical indicator, households touched by crime.

Prisoners at Midyear 1981

NCJ Number: 78756

This Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin presents midyear statistics (through June 30, 1981), on the Nation's prison population. Data were gathered from the Departments of Corrections in the 50 States and the District of Columbia.

Prisoners in 1980

NCJ Number: 76803

This Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin presents statistics from the National Prisoner Statistics (NPS) program, including 1980 data on the prison population, overcrowded facilities, and changes in state legislation related to increased inmate populations.

Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions on December 31, 1978—Final Report

NCJ Number: 64671

A total of 306,602 inmates were held under the jurisdiction of State and Federal correctional authorities on December 31, 1978, a 2-percent increase over the 1977 year-end count.

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1 OF 2

Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions on December 31, 1979—Final Report

NCJ Number: 73719

This report, one in an annual series under the National Prisoner Statistics program, contains information on the number and movement of prisoners in Federal and State correctional systems.

Probation in the United States, 1979

NCJ Number: 78837

Based on data gathered through a feasibility study to explore the availability of aggregate probation information, this report provides statistics on the U.S. probation population and their movements for 1977-79, comparisons with other criminal justice indicators, and agency workload figures.

Profile of Jail Inmates—Sociodemographic Findings from the 1978 Survey of Inmates of Local Jails

NCJ Number: 65412

An estimated 158,000 persons were being held in the country's 3,500 jails at the time of a nationwide survey conducted in February 1978 by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Restitution to Victims of Personal and Household Crimes

NCJ Number: 72770

This report assesses the potential scope, structure, cost, feasibility, and effectiveness of programs in which convicted criminals make restitution to the victims of their crimes.

Review of Osiris 4, Part 1

NCJ Number: 68009

The benefits and difficulties of Osiris 4, a computerized system of structured files that can aid in social research, are described.

Sealing and Purging of Criminal History Record Information

NCJ Number: 79012

This report highlights the policy interests and conflicts raised by standards for sealing and purging criminal records and proposes a set of model sealing and purging standards for criminal history record information held by criminal justice agencies.

Standardized Crime Reporting System, Volume 2, SCRS Training Guide

NCJ Number: 66963

This training guide for a Standardized Crime Reporting System (SCRS) provides an approach for planning, conducting, and evaluating SCRS training sessions and includes samples of reproducible training aids.

Standardized Crime Reporting System, Volume 3, Information for Decisionmaking—A Guide to the Utilization of SCRS Data

NCJ Number: 66964

This guide to the use of a Standardized Crime Reporting System (SCRS) data demonstrates potential crime information applications by showing how SCRS data elements can be used for crime-related reports.

State Court Caseload Statistics—Annual Report, 1976

NCJ Number: 56599

This annual report from the National Court Statistics Project is the second in a series containing statistical data from annual reports of each State court along with other available published and unpublished data.

State Court Organization 1980

NCJ Number: 76711

This reference document provides court organization, jurisdiction, personnel, and other management information.

Status and Prospects of the Jails Accounting Microcomputer System (JAMS) (From Technical Assistance for Automated Criminal Justice Information Systems—Final Report)

NCJ Number: 77832

This report assesses the current status and prospects of the Jail Accounting Microcomputer System (JAMS) being developed under LEAA sponsorship for use in small- to medium-sized jails.

Style Manual for Machine-Readable Data Files and Their Documentation

NCJ Number: 62766

This manual presents a detailed description of standards and techniques for formatting and documenting machine-readable data files.

Systems Development Plan for State Identification Bureaus

NCJ Number: 76021

One of three publications assessing State identification bureaus, this report discusses the needs of identification bureaus and suggests system development approaches.

Technical Assistance for Automated Criminal Justice Information Systems—Final Report

NCJ Number: 77830

This report describes the technical assistance projects developed for State and local government agencies for activities involving evaluation, planning, design, implementation, and operation of automated criminal justice information systems. Project objectives, plans, and activities, along with recommendations for future work, are discussed.

Veterans in Prison

NCJ Number: 79232

This Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin presents data from the Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities and its companion Census of State Correctional Facilities conducted in November 1979.

Victims of Crime

NCJ Number: 79615

This Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin presents findings from the National Crime Survey (NCS) on the characteristics of victims of crime.

Violent Crime in the United States

NCJ Number: 79741

The briefing book on violent crime, prepared as part of the National Indicators System for informing the White House of social and economic trends, presents graphs, tables, charts, and narrative describing the kinds of violent crimes, their likely victims and locations, and the offenders.

Appendix D

National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Publications 1980-81

The following documents on juvenile justice were published by the National Institute of Justice during the biennium, and are available through the National Institute of Justice/NCJRS.

Achievement Place—The Teaching-Family Treatment Model in a Group Home Setting

NCJ Number: 78276

This report describes the teaching family model used at Achievement Place, a group home for juvenile delinquents in Lawrence, Kans., and then summarizes some evaluations of the program which focused on direct effects of treatment, longer range outcomes, and costs.

Alternative Education—Exploring the Delinquency Prevention Potential

NCJ Number: 66332

This paper investigates alternative education for disruptive students as an approach to delinquency prevention because school-related factors have been found to affect delinquent behavior.

Analysis of National Crime Victimization Survey Data to Study Serious Delinquent Behavior, Monograph One—Juvenile Criminal Behavior in the United States—Its Trends and Patterns

NCJ Number: 74079

This monograph provides a descriptive analysis of serious crimes committed by juvenile offenders and the extent to which characteristics of these crimes and offenders change over time. The analysis involved assessment of the patterns of offending between 1973 and 1977.

Analysis of National Crime Victimization Survey Data to Study Serious Delinquent Behavior, Monograph Two—Juvenile Criminal Behavior—Analysis of Rates and Victim Characteristics

NCJ Number: 74080

Data from the National Crime Survey (NCS) for 1973-1977 are used to address major questions regarding crimes of rape, robbery, assault, and personal larceny committed by juveniles under age 18, youthful offenders ages 18-20, and adults age 21 or older.

Analysis of National Crime Victimization Survey Data to Study Serious Delinquent Behavior, Monograph Three—Juvenile Criminal Behavior in Urban, Suburban, and Rural Areas

NCJ Number: 75127

This report uses the 1973 to 1977 National Crime Survey victimization data to address three major questions concerning personal crimes committed by juveniles, youthful offenders, and adults across urban, suburban, and rural areas.

Analysis of National Crime Victimization Survey Data to Study Serious Delinquent Behavior, Monograph Four—Juvenile Criminal Behavior and its Relation to Economic Conditions

NCJ Number: 76217

This study used quarterly offending data to examine the effect of economic conditions on criminal behavior over time. The offending data rates were derived from interviews with victims as reported in the National Crime Survey (1973 to 1978). The findings did not demonstrate an important relationship between the economic indicators and the rate of offending indicators used.

Analysis of National Crime Victimization Survey Data to Study Serious Delinquent Behavior, Monograph Five—Juvenile Criminal Behavior and its Relation to Neighborhood Characteristics

NCJ Number: 77156

Using 1973-1978 National Crime Survey victimization data and neighborhood characteristics data from the Bureau of the Census, this report addressed three major questions regarding personal crimes inflicted upon and committed by juveniles (under age 18), young adults (age 18 to 20), and adults (age 21 and over).

Assessment of Evaluations of Drug Abuse Prevention Programs

NCJ Number: 66334

A total of 52 evaluations of drug abuse prevention programs were analyzed for program strategy, type of drug addressed, target population, and the evaluations' design and outcome measures.

Comparative Analysis of Juvenile Justice Standards and the JJDP (Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention) Act, Volume 1—Delinquency Prevention and Diversion

NCJ Number: 76581

This is the first of four volumes which analyze recently promulgated national standards for juvenile justice in relation to the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, as amended through 1977. This volume focuses on two major policies contained in the act: delinquency prevention and diversion from the juvenile justice system.

Comparative Analysis of Juvenile Justice Standards and the JJDP (Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention) Act, Volume 2—Deinstitutionalization of Status Offenders and Nonoffenders—Separation of Juveniles from Incarcerated Adults

NCJ Number: 76582

The second of four volumes which analyze recently promulgated national standards for juvenile justice in relation to the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, as amended through 1977. This volume focuses on two major policies contained in the act: the deinstitutionalization of status and non-offenders and the separation of juveniles from incarcerated adults.

Comparative Analysis of Juvenile Justice Standards and the JJDP (Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention) Act, Volume 3—Reducing Detention and Commitments and Community-based Alternatives to Incarceration

NCJ Number: 76583

This is the third of four volumes which analyze recently promulgated national standards for juvenile justice in relation to the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, as amended through 1977. This volume focuses on two major policies contained in the act: reducing detention and commitments and community-based alternatives to incarceration.

Implementation Issues

NCJ Number: 77239

Developed at the National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and its Prevention (NCADBIP), this monograph addresses both the immediate problem of implementing a known decision and the problem of raising an organization's capability to implement unknown future decisions.

Jurisdiction and the Elusive Status Offender—A Comparison of Involvement in Delinquent Behavior and Status Offenses

NCJ Number: 66333

This paper compares involvement in delinquent behavior and status offenses and suggests that courts should restrict or abandon jurisdiction over both status offenders and less serious delinquents.

Juvenile Justice—Before and After the Onset of Delinquency—United States Discussion Paper for the Sixth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders

NCJ Number: 73449

This paper assesses current practices in the juvenile justice field against the backdrop of priorities the U.S. Congress set forth in the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974.

Juvenile Justice Standards Symposium

NCJ Number: 76912

This final report by the National District Attorneys Association describes the 1978-79 Juvenile Justice Standards Symposium Project in which representatives from national professional organizations discussed 16 critical issues in juvenile justice standards.

Juvenile Justice Standards Symposium—A Summary

NCJ Number: 76911

In addition to providing brief summaries of the 16 position papers presented at a 3-day symposium on juvenile justice standards, this document tells how to order both microfiche and paper copies of the abstracts, summaries, position papers, and discussion transcripts of this 1978 symposium.

Juveniles in Detention Centers and Jails—an Analysis of State Variations During the Mid-1970's

NCJ Number: 66330

States' use of secure detention centers and jails for juvenile offenders during the mid-1970's is described and differences among States are explained.

Major Issues in Juvenile Justice Information and Training—Services to Children in Juvenile Courts—The Judicial-Executive Controversy

NCJ Number: 76345

Reported here is a study of public policy questions associated with the organization and delivery of juvenile court services. Judicially operated services for children in juvenile courts are examined from a constitutional and legal perspective, summarized in a national overview, and illustrated by in-depth case studies of six States.

Major Issues in Juvenile Justice Information and Training—Grants in Aid of Local Delinquency Prevention and Control Services

NCJ Number: 78547

This report, one of a series of juvenile justice monographs, presents an examination of State and Federal programs designed to aid local agencies serving delinquent and pre-delinquent youths. It is intended for public officials, operators of private youth services, and others interested in financial aid to local communities.

National Assessment of Case Disposition and Classification in the Juvenile Justice System: Inconsistent Labeling, Volume I—Process Description and Summary

NCJ Number: 65150

The National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center assesses case processing decisions made by juvenile justice agencies.

National Assessment of Case Disposition and Classification in the Juvenile Justice System: Inconsistent Labeling, Volume II—Results of a Literature Search

NCJ Number: 65151

A comprehensive literature review was conducted of empirical research on the factors which determine processing decisions for juveniles as they enter and maintain contact with the juvenile justice system.

National Assessment of Case Disposition and Classification in the Juvenile Justice System: Inconsistent Labeling, Volume III—Results of a Survey

NCJ Number: 65152

Based on a survey of seven juvenile justice systems, this report outlines factors that influence case disposition and classification to provide policymakers, planners, and program administrators with needed data.

National Assessment of Serious Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System: The Need for a Rational Response, V 1—Summary

NCJ Number: 65398

A series of assessment reports on the impact of serious juvenile crime on American society, as well as the juvenile justice system's response to juvenile delinquency, are summarized in this report.

National Assessment of Serious Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System: The Need for a Rational Response, V 2—Definition, Characteristics of Incidents and Individuals, and Relationship to Substance Abuse

NCJ Number: 65399

This assessment report on serious juvenile crime and the juvenile justice system presents relevant definitions and reviews existing information, particularly in the area of substance abuse and serious crime among juveniles.

National Assessment of Serious Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System: The Need for a Rational Response, V 3—Legislation, Jurisdiction, Program Interventions and Confidentiality of Juvenile Records

NCJ Number: 65400

To illustrate current legislative trends and depict the Nation's response to serious juvenile crime, this report reviews statutory procedures to handle the serious juvenile offender.

National Assessment of Serious Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System: The Need for a Rational Response, V 4—Economic Impact

NCJ Number: 65401

Economic implications associated with serious juvenile crime in the U.S. are developed using an economic model that recognizes direct and indirect costs of crime and input, output, and outcome measurement relationships.

Preliminary National Assessment of Child Abuse and Neglect and the Juvenile Justice System: The Shadows of Distress

NCJ Number: 64969

The relationship between child abuse and neglect and the juvenile justice system is reviewed by the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Center.

Preliminary National Assessment of the Numbers and Characteristics of Juveniles Processed in the Juvenile Justice System

NCJ Number: 77157

This report assesses nationally reported aggregate statistics on the number and characteristics of juvenile delinquents and status offenders under age 18 processed nationally by the official juvenile justice system.

Preliminary National Assessment of the Status Offender and the Juvenile Justice System: Role Conflicts, Constraints, and Information Gaps

NCJ Number: 64968

This preliminary assessment attempts to determine the major problems, issues, and needs in regard to juvenile justice system handling of the status offender.

Preventing Delinquency

NCJ Number: 80810

This report examines the incidence of juvenile delinquency and presents a history of juvenile delinquency prevention efforts, focusing on various theories regarding the causes of delinquency. An experimental test of a comprehensive prevention model is developed and a research design offered for evaluating selected juvenile delinquency prevention programs.

Prevention of Serious Delinquency—What To Do?

NCJ Number: 79691

This report focuses on youths involved in serious or violent criminal activity, reviewing causation theories and exploring the characteristics of juvenile offenders and their crimes. From this base, a set of theoretically grounded intervention strategies is developed in the report.

Report of NIJJDP (National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention), Fiscal Year 1980

NCJ Number: 79346

This report summarizes the activities of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (NIJJDP) since its establishment in June 1975 through fiscal year 1980. It also includes a section summarizing the activities and recommendations of the Institute's advisory committee.

Review of Selected Research and Program Evaluations on Police Diversion Programs

NCJ Number: 82024

This report summarizes knowledge about police diversion programs regarding program goals and objectives, differences between formal and informal diversion, the auspices under which police diversion programs are operated, intake criteria, due process issues, and effectiveness.

Typology of Cause-focused Strategies of Delinquency Prevention

NCJ Number: 66331

This paper presents a cause-focused typology of 12 delinquency prevention strategies to serve as a system for organizing, conceptualizing, and policy formulation in the field.

Use of Secure Detention for Juveniles and Alternatives to Its Use

NCJ Number: 73751

The use of residential and nonresidential programs as alternatives to secure detention for juveniles awaiting adjudicatory hearings in juvenile courts is analyzed through a literature review of empirical studies done in the 1970's.