

CHAPTER 6

Juveniles in Jeopardy

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Adolescence is defined as a transitional period (Hurlock, 1980) where what happened during childhood leaves a significant mark on one's life and future. This includes emotional and physical difficulties and pressures, and involvement in anti-social activities including crime (Newburn, 1997). Criminal behaviour is perceived to be one of "a larger syndrome of anti-social behaviour" arising in childhood and at times persisting in adulthood (Farrington, 1997, p. 363). For most juveniles, according to Moffitt (1993, p. 674) activities tend to be temporary and situational whilst for a small minority this is "stable and persistent". Moffitt (1993, p. 682) claims that if a child "steps off on the wrong foot" and remains on this unconventional path, the consequences may be perpetuated by persistent offending. In such a situation, it is difficult to make up for lost opportunities in acquiring conventional skills such as academic skills.

The underlying risk factors that render one susceptible to antisocial behaviour when young are carried into adulthood. Together with the accumulating problems, the options for change and the possibility of resorting to conventional methods are limited (Moffitt, 1993). The consequences following one's antisocial behaviour may narrow opportunities for change. This can be compounded by the resulting labelling that could play a significant role as once a bad reputation is gained the opportunities for conventional behaviour is narrowed further. On the other hand, youths who manifest early onset conduct problems could follow two paths; their conduct problems could be restricted to their childhood years or else these conduct problems persist (Barker and Maughan, 2009; Moffitt, Areseneault, Jaffee, Kim-Cohen, Koenen, Odgers et al. 2008).

Unrevealing juvenile crime

Researchers have been interested in studying the prevalence of offending among juveniles. In Malta, juvenile crime is relatively small amounting to 0.7% (of all crimes committed) in 1986 and increasing to 1.4% in 1994 (Central Office of Statistics, 1986; 1994).

The number of juveniles brought before the Juvenile Court increased from 14 in 1986¹

1 Malta has one juvenile court which was set up in 1986. Maltese juveniles are subject to the same laws and

to 122 in 1999 (Formosa Pace, 2003) and to 412 between July 2008 and March 2012 (Testa, 2012). Also, 49.8% of the 412 adjudicated juveniles were 15 year olds, followed by a 26.5% representing crimes committed by 14 year olds whilst 0.5 of adjudicated juvenile crimes were committed by 10 year olds (Testa, 2012).

A risk factor approach

A series of studies adopting the criminal career genre as well as desistance research are more inclined towards the studying risk factors (Bottoms, 2006). Giddens (1990) emphasises the concept of *risk society* and the criminological work of Kemshall (2003) highlights the increased societal interest in risks along with a penal policy with a welfare orientation thanks to the restructuring of rehabilitation and the increase of punitive sanctions, which concepts are at heart to politicians. This has contributed to the increase of risk assessments on samples of offenders (Bottoms & Shapland, 2010). However, research does attest that hardened offenders do desist (Bottoms & Shapland, 2010; Ezell & Cohen, 2005; Laub & Sampson, 2003) but it's very difficult to predict the potential desisters on an individual level.

The underlying risk factors pertaining to persistent offending of male youths are investigated in this Malta study adopting a risk-factor approach focusing primarily on the individual, family and social/peer factors. These are analysed in further detail in the following sections.

Individual risk factors

Individual risk factors such as academic achievement and self-control are analysed in the light of delinquency tendencies as well as one's probability of following conventional paths. Various longitudinal studies have observed an association between delinquency and schooling failure (Farrington, 1996; Polk, Alder, Bazemore, Blake, Cordray, Coventry, Galvin & Temple, 1981; Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1972). Factors associated with criminal behaviour include an inability to delay gratification, low frustration tolerance, adventure/risk taking, inability to sustain long term relationships, impulsivity and unconcern about the feelings of others (Brownfield & Sorenson, 1999). The need for excitement and antisocial behaviour is crucial to delinquent peer groups (Coleman & Hendry, 1990) where studies show that sensation seeking activities have been linked with delinquency (Farell & Sewell, 1976; White, Labouvie & Bates, 1985). Delinquency is perceived as an exciting activity relieving one from boredom and providing personal satisfaction. However, findings in this area have been laden by two main problems. The offender population has been assumed

sanctions as adult offenders. Offenders less than 16 years are prosecuted before the Juvenile Court where they are treated differently, guaranteed special protection with hearings closed to the public (Juvenile Court Act: Chapter 287 of the Laws of Malta, 1980).

to be homogenous whereas the locus of control may vary across races. Moreover, impulse control is vaguely defined, a concept “loosely tied to observable behaviour” (Blackburn, 1993, p. 191).

On the other hand, Pratt & Cullen’s meta-analysis (2010) which tested the empirical validity of Gottfredson and Hirschi’s (1990) general theory of crime shows that results provide significant and robust empirical support for the general theory of crime proposed by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) with low self-control being a solid predictor and could be classified as the “strongest correlate” of crime and that low-self control predisposes engagement in criminal activities and subsequent analogous activities (Pratt and Cullen, 2000, p. 952).

Family Risk Factors

A long standing hypothesis is that offenders are more likely to come from a broken home environment where one or both of the natural parents is/are absent (Blackburn, 1993), as attested by earlier studies carried out by Chilton & Markle (1972) in Florida. These studies have been criticised since the broken home concept is ambiguous and misleading (Wells & Rankin, 1986), as this phenomenon is not the major criminogenic factor. Research has also focused on discipline (Bandura & Walters, 1959; Hoffman, 1977), supervision (Hirschi, 1969), and warmth of relationships between parents and children (Bandura & Walters, 1959; Glueck & Glueck, 1950) and psychological presence of parents’ vis-a-vis juvenile delinquency (Chilton & Markle, 1972). Delinquents’ parents have each been observed to adopt erratic disciplinary techniques and manifest inconsistency in the application of such techniques (Hetherington & Martin, 1979). Families of delinquent juveniles tend to be harsh, punitive, lax, and erratic and show “poor mothering ability”, however such claims are criticised as they tend to be value-laden failing to distinguish the “parameters of rearing techniques” contributing to delinquency (Blackburn, 1993, p. 161).

Another important factor is the amount of time parents dedicate to their children and their involvement in leisure activities. Delinquents’ families seem to share less recreational activities (Bandura & Walters, 1959; Cortes & Giatti, 1972; Currie, 2000). Parental conflict, cruelty, passivity, neglect/aggression and harsh discipline are amongst the factors which have been identified as predictors of later delinquency and convictions. The Cambridge study highlights that later juvenile delinquency is predisposed by “harsh/erratic discipline, cruel, passive or neglecting parents, poor parental supervision and parental conflict with all factors being measured at age eight (Farrington, 1996, p.32-33). However, studies in this area have been burdened by a “profusion of loose terminology” (Blackburn, 1993, p.161), terms like lax, harsh and punitive are rather subjective descriptions. Also, these factors have most often been studied in isolation. Also, since crime is a complex behavioural activity such findings do not provide a complete explanation of criminal behaviour.

The Cambridge study sample originally designed as a longitudinal criminal career study was also used to adopt an intergenerational approach featuring research in the cycle of disadvantages and studies primarily concerned to study to what extent lives are linked across generations and decades. A series of studies carried out in the UK, US, Netherlands and Scandinavia highlight that crime runs in families claiming that offending concentrates in families and tends to be transmitted across generations. However, the nature vs. nurture debate is still much alive.

Social/Peer Risk Factors

Humans, other than biological beings, are social beings who live in a social environment within which they interact. Peer groups are highly significant for adolescents (Jackson & Rodrigues-Tome, 1993) as serve as fertile grounds for experimentation (Sherif & Sherif, 1964). Peer conformity could result into anti-social tendencies including, drug use and misuse of alcohol (Coleman & Hendry, 1990). Hanging around with delinquent peers increases one's frequency of delinquency, such as taking joy rides) Hirschi, 1969; Agnew & Petersen, 1989). Delinquent peers in turn approve one's conforming behaviour to group norms making one feel accepted (Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce & Radesovich, 1979). Glueck & Glueck (1950) describe the association of delinquents with delinquent peers as "birds of a feather flock together". Parker & Asher (1987) claim that peer rejection in childhood predicts later delinquency. "Rejected" juveniles are unpopular with conforming peers whilst popular and accepted in delinquent peer groups. This scenario is shared in Malta as revealed by a study investigating the criminal careers amongst male Maltese inmates (Clark, 1999).

Studies indicate that most juveniles do not commit crime on their own (Aultman, 1980) where co-offending is more common with younger adolescents (Farrington & West, 1990). However, a cause and effect relationship has not been clearly established as there seems to be disagreement about the peer group effects and one's criminal acts (Blackburn, 1993). Peer influence is an important factor, but peer pressure is not the only driving force pushing juveniles towards crime (Hollin, 1992). Research studies have observed a relationship between drugs and crime (Tonry & Wilson, 1990) which activities could represent sensation seeking activities. Empirical data suggests that drug use has both a direct and indirect effect on crime (Hser, Longshore & Anglin, 1994). Lack of local data does not allow one to distinguish between offender and non-offender samples; however drug use is part of this anti-social syndrome (Clark, 1999). Also, drug users engage in property crimes in order to sustain their costly habit (De La Rosa, Lambert & Gropper, 1990) and criminal behaviour increases as their drug habit escalates (Chaiken, 1986; Chaiken & Chaiken, 1982; Collins, Hubbard & Rachal, 1985; Speckart & Anglin, 1986a; 1986b). Failing access to legitimate income, juveniles have to resort to illegitimate means

to acquire money (Greenwood, 1992; Johnson, Williams, Dei & Sanabria, 1990).

This retrospective study adopts a risk factor approach in studying the “career” of Maltese male juveniles whose offending behavioural patterns persisted towards adulthood as attested by the incarceration records at Corradino Correctional Facility (CCF). The focus is one three categories of risk factors in this case study:

- Individual risk factors: education and conduct behaviour;
- Family risk factors: home conditions and relationship with parents, child rearing practices & bonding and parental deviation;
- Social/peer risk factors: peer influence, misuse of substances, socio-economic conditions, employment and street/community life.

Methodology

In this retrospective study, male participants who had criminal records at the Juvenile Court and at the local prisons were identified. The multiple case-study approach² was adopted based on a sample of six case studies³. Data analysis was carried out qualitatively through the use of archived documents and interviews. All participants of Maltese origin were referred by the police to the Socio-Legal Unit. All subjects were criminally charged for offences committed before the age of sixteen between 1986 and 1999 and subsequently had criminal records as adults (16+) at CCF.

Data was collected from official documents archived in the Socio-legal Unit, Criminal Records (CCF database) as well as through interviews with social workers and probation officers. Official documents covered a wide range of recorded materials that included family case history, academic records, police records, indictment bills, case conference/s reports, reports provided by court appointed experts⁴, reports provided by other agencies such as drug rehabilitation agencies, Magistrate Court sittings⁵, newspaper reports and digital data of CCF records. As the case studies were identified, analysis of documented information followed. Archived Juvenile Court documents and personal files of subjects were used to identify the risk factors outlined above. Other documents such as data archived at the Education Welfare Unit were used to consolidate information related to educational background, truancy, school-drop outs and behaviour at school. This was followed by analysis of incarceration records per case based on a GIS exercise carried out by Formosa (2007) as part of a PhD dissertation.

2 This technique involves selecting samples from previously-selected samples carried out in a series of progressive stages.

3 Purposive sampling was used so as to complement with the case-study approach and analysis of data.

4 Probation Officers, Social Workers, Doctors, Psychologists, Psychiatrists

5 Sittings in which a minor is prosecuted as a co-offender with an adult (16+)

Results

A meta-matrix ordered by cases (Table 1) summarises the risk factors and group instances of individual activity occurrences by type indicating where an occurrence is found across the case studies. The mind maps (Figure 1 & 2) give a graphic description of the identified indicators.

Education (Figure 1)

Figure 3 shows that the main risk conditions with regards to education, shared by the majority of persistent juvenile offenders are that juveniles' behaviour is rather poor at school. Also their academic performance tends to be poor. As a result, the majority lacked academic skills having absented themselves from school and quitting schooling early. In this study, however illiteracy, truancy, aggressive behaviour and education contraventions regarding court charges related to absenteeism were not shared by the majority. This may be attributed to the fact that a small pool of juveniles were analysed where larger studies could show otherwise. The mind map illustrates visually that school attendance wasn't regular; however charges for absenteeism did not follow similar patterns.

Ability to delay gratification; Ability to foresee the consequences of one's behaviour; concern for others; sensation seeking activities (Figure 2)

Figure 2 illustrates the risk factors related to conduct behaviour. The Mind Map illustrates that lack of concern for the feelings of others particularly victims are common to all cases indicating a major risk condition related to locus of control. Similarly the majority manifest inability to delay gratification and inability to outweigh the consequences following their actions that is illegal in nature. This could be explained in the light of the fact, which all cases engaged in illegal activities and gave importance to street life. However, lack of self-control, low frustration tolerance and impulsivity were identified in a minority.

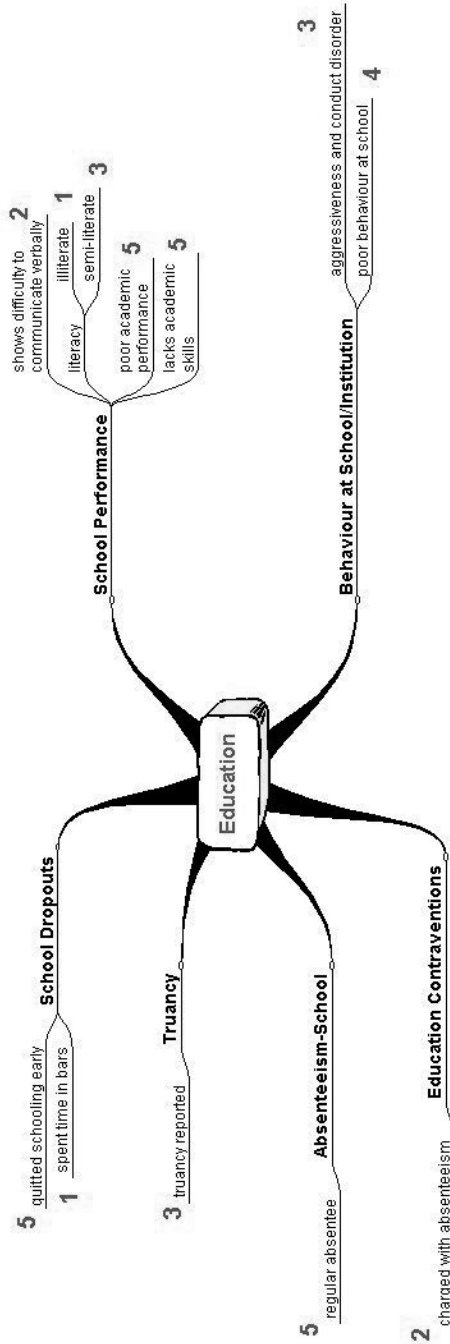


Figure 1: Education

The numbers signify factor occurrences manifested by individuals.

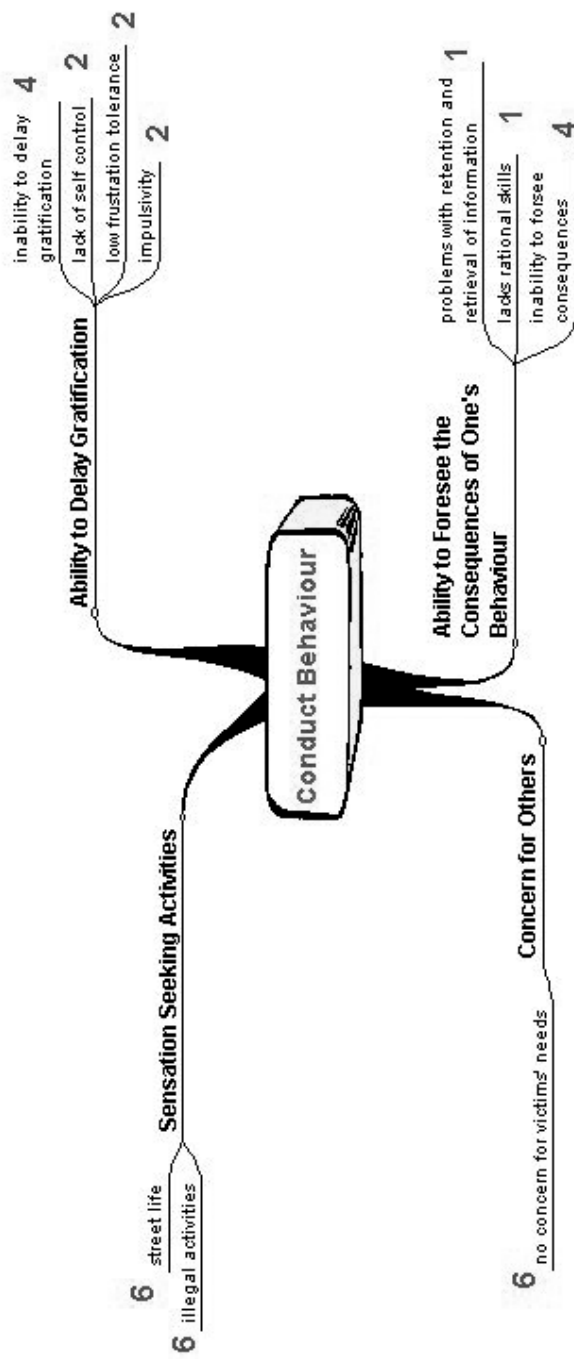


Figure 2: Conduct Behaviour

Family Risk Factors (Figure 3)

This analysis looks at family risk factors that have been identified from the case by case study. This is based on the analysis of the Mind Map (Figure 3) and a meta-matrix ordered by cases (Table 2).

The phenomenon of a single parenthood either by separation, desertion or natural death posits to be a risk factor. However, this could have been worsened by another risk factor conditions presented in Figure 3 including lax parenting style, lack of parenting skills and a laissez-faire attitude towards discipline. Whilst the majority abdicated from their parental responsibilities, institutionalisation was deemed necessary as a temporary alternative in 4 cases. Another risk factor directs one's direction to potential crime continuity through belonging to a family with a criminogenic background particularly through parental offending.

The Mind Map (Figure 3) illustrates that family dysfunctions resulting due to problems within the household are a major risk condition. Also, poor relationships with parents were shared by the majority and all cases did not consider their parents as role models. Also, Figure 3 illustrates that parents dedicated minimal time to their children. This is linked to the fact that the majority of cases opted to partake to street life rather than staying with their parents.

Social/Peer risk factors (Figure 4)

The final group of indicators in this study covered the issue of social/peer risk factors. This is depicted through a Mind Map (Figure 4) and a meta-matrix ordered by cases (Table 3).

The Mind Map (Figure 4) illustrates that substance misuse particularly hard drugs are risk indicators, however, personal involvement in drug trafficking is not an indicator. Figure 4 indicates that involvement in delinquent circles and having peers involved in criminal activity including substance misuse and drug trafficking are major indicators. Also, co-offending particularly theft-related was common to all subjects as indicated in the map. Another important indicator is the issue of street life as evidenced across all cases.

As regards to neighbourhood, interestingly, the map illustrates that the majority of cases resided in areas renowned for criminal activities. Such areas are frequently burdened with other social problems. This could be explained in the light of evidence indicating that all cases faced socio-economic difficulties and had to resort to welfare benefits provided by the state as an income. The Mind Map also shows that all subjects faced unemployment and had family unemployment history. Thus peer related activities particularly theft and misuse of drugs, together with undesired neighbourhoods and the related socio-economic constraints are major risk indicators.

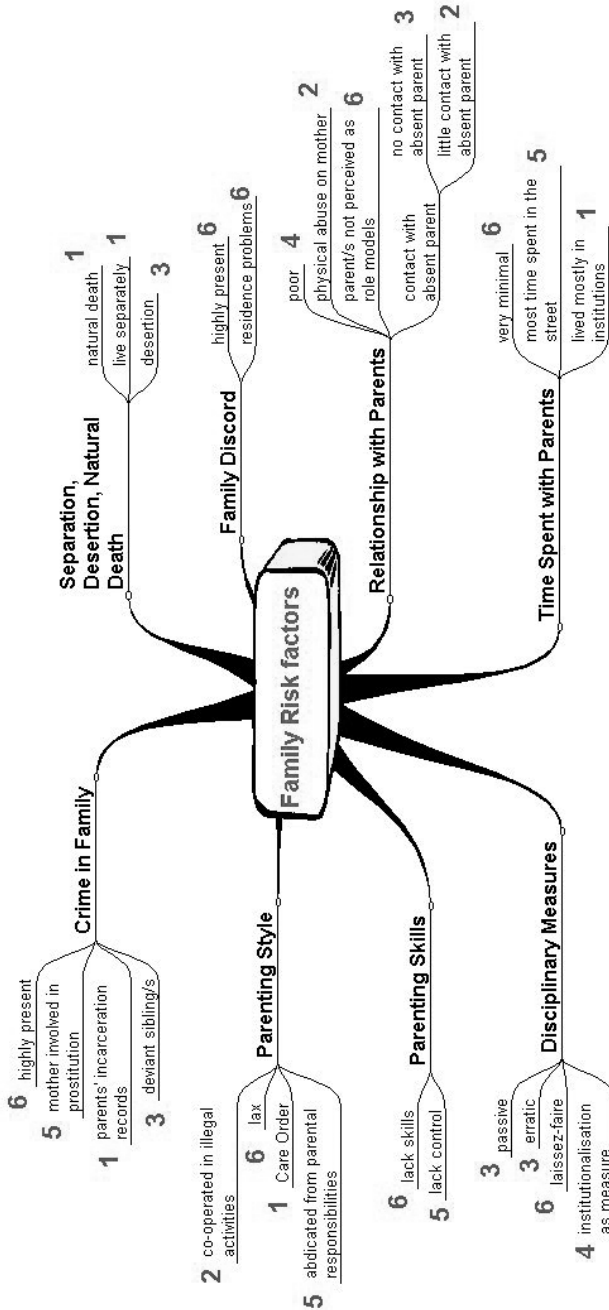


Figure 3: Family Risk Factors

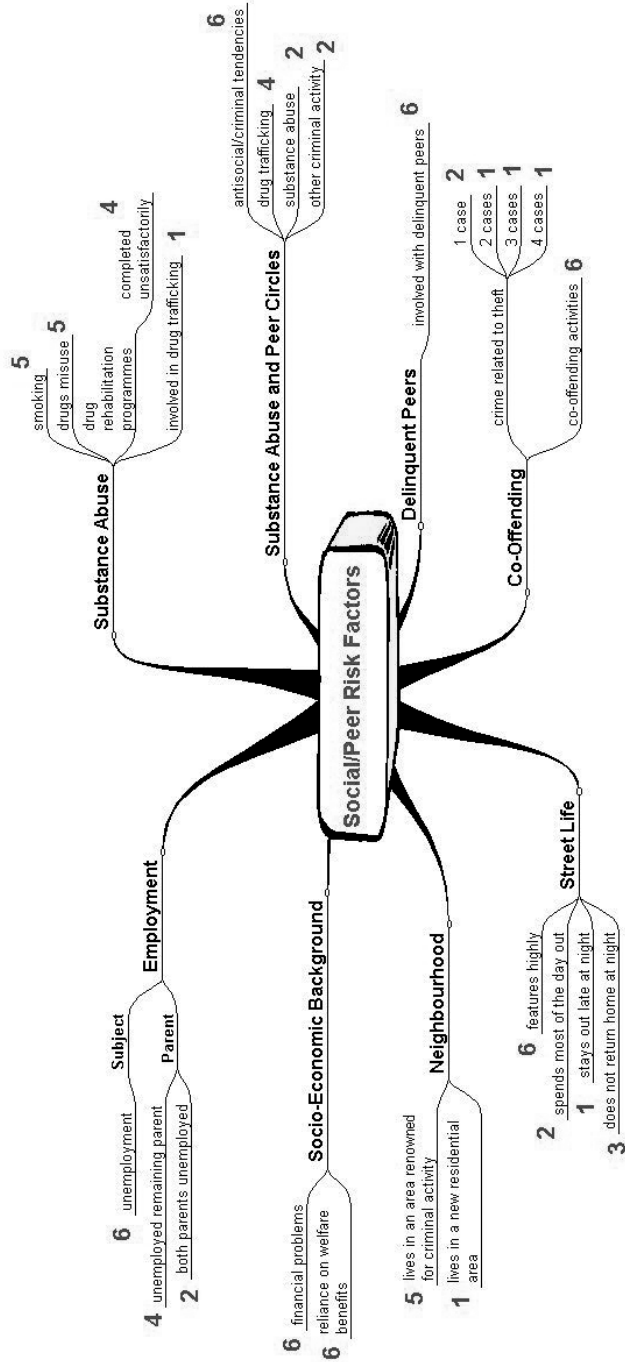


Figure 4: Social/Peer Risk Factors:

Conclusion

Subjects investigated in this Malta research developed what Farrington (1997) defined as criminal careers since criminal behaviour persisted from adolescence to adulthood. Also, their criminal career escalated as they approached adulthood leading them to adult prisons. As Moffitt (1993) explained if one remains on the wrong footpath the consequences may be maintained by persistent offending. Also, the risk factors that got them into trouble at a young age together with the accumulating consequences narrowed their opportunities for change (Moffitt, 1993).

Subjects failed to acquire the necessary skills such as academic skills that could guarantee employment (Moffitt, 1993). Their experience of school failure (Blackburn, 1993) has hindered acquisition of academic skills and could also explain the value given to street life. Also, deficiencies related to locus of control explain their inability to outweigh the consequences of their actions and redirect their lifestyle (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Mischel, Shoda and Rodriguez, 1989; Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985). Since unconcern for others and exciting street life (Coleman and Hendry, 1990; Patrick, 1973) prevailed their criminal career escalated. Also their later misuse of drugs and involvement with drug circles limited their opportunities for change. These risk factors and the resulting consequences have had a lasting impact on their deviant lifestyle.

Families failed to provide guidance towards conventional behaviour. Also, their lack of parenting skills, their laissez faire attitude, lax parenting, parental conflict, and their criminal background have significantly exerted their constraints on the sons' lifestyle. This could be explained in the light of the socio-economic constraints they faced as according to Sampson and Laub (1994) these indirectly influence crime through their effect on parental skills. Also, theft-related crime being the most frequent illegal activity could have been triggered by financial constraints (Farrington and West, 1990; Patterson, 1982). The broken home situation laden by lack of parenting skills and disciplinary measures adopted have influenced juveniles' delinquency. In addition, due to lack of funds parents were constrained to reside in affordable neighbourhoods where according to Sultana (1994), crime and drugs were commonplace.

Consequently, befriending delinquent peers and drug use were also found. Also, as studies indicate, co-offending (Aultman, 1980; Farrington and West, 1990) is particular to juvenile delinquents. They resort to street life when the relationships with parents is poor, where subsequently their involvement in delinquent peer group activities persists. This accounts for their persistence in criminal behaviour towards adulthood, as avoidance of delinquent peers according to Farrington et al. (1975) and Robins et al. (1975) stimulates reform. Also, as Medinnus (1965) claimed juveniles' delinquent behaviour could result since parents were not perceived as role models. This was deteriorated by the minimal amount of time spent with their parents. In addition, incarceration could worsen

one's possibility to change due to labelling, where once a bad reputation is achieved, reintegration in the social context is significantly threatened.

Limitations of the Study

Documentary-content archival analyses are “unobtrusive measures” or “indirect observations”. However, since the raw data exists in a permanent documented structure it caters for replication to validate reliability. Such a study is “a low cost” and less time consuming type of a retrospective design (Robson, 2000, p.280).

Such techniques do not fall short of criticisms since they are limited, discontinuous or episodic, partial at times or experience data unavailability (Shaughnessy and Zechmeister, 1990). Also, the archived documents used were compiled for a purpose other than that for this investigation (Robson, 2000). Consequently, inconsistent recording of data was inevitable.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research should aim at addressing what causes onset, persistence and escalation of offending as well as the role played by institutions such as welfare, education and probation services. In addition, the factors that foster desistance are worth future investigation, since as attested by the findings herein only a small percentage of juvenile offenders persist in offending and have to serve incarceration as adults. Other studies may include related issues such as maternal prostitution, its ‘dark figure’ scenario, as well as the relationship of juvenile crime and the relationship to parent prostitutes.

Another issue relates to the way the Maltese Court system imposes fines, probation-orders and even prison sentences amongst other sanctions to juveniles. Prison sentences are served in the National Adult Prison and specialised rehabilitation programmes for juvenile offenders such as institutional/residential and community programmes are not comprehensive. Future research should aim at addressing ‘what works’ with juveniles whose criminal behaviour reaches a peak in adolescence. Are these sanctions effective in terms of reducing recidivism? ‘What works and for whom’? Since local research in the forensic field is still in its embryonic stage, future research studies should target and evaluate the current sentencing approach. The nature and quality of service juvenile offenders receive needs to be examined and evaluated as well as the move towards effective policy making and recording processes.

Table 1 - Individual Risk Factors

Condition	Case-1	Case-2	Case-3	Case-4	Case-5	Case-6
School performance		Poor	Poor	Poor	Poor	Poor
<i>Academic Skills</i>		Lacking	Lacking	Lacking	Lacking	Lacking
<i>Literacy</i>	Semi-literate	Difficultly	Semi-literate	Semi-literate	Lacking	Illiterate
<i>Verbal-communication</i>		Difficultly		Difficultly		
<i>Wechsler</i>			IQ:98			Verbal:IQ:72 Non- verbal:IQ:71 Global:IQ:70
Behaviour:school/ institutions	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pilfering • Fights • Befriends troublesome boys	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bullying -Trafficked ecstasy -Vandalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Trouble maker -Attempted- theft -Expelled 	N/A	Misbehaviour
<i>Diagnosis: aggressiveness/conduct- disorder</i>		Diagnosed	Diagnosed	Diagnosed	Absentee	Absentee since primary
Absenteeism School Attendance	N/A	Absentee	Absentee	Absentee	Absentee	Absentee since primary
School drop outs	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Bar-hopping			(Exemption)		
Education contraventions	N/A	N/A	Charged	Charged	N/A	N/A

Condition	Case-1	Case-2	Case-3	Case-4	Case-5	Case-6
Truancy	N/A	Reported	Reported	Reported	N/A	Left rehabilitation-rehabilitation-centre
Ability to delay gratification	Inability				Inability	
Diagnosis		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •low frustration tolerance •difficulty: controlling actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -inability -symptoms of over activity/ impulsivity -inability - low frustration tolerance 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -symptoms impulsivity/ conduct disorder
<i>MMPI:Scores</i>						
Condition	Case-1 Aldo	Case-2 Carl	Case-3 Mark	Case-4 Simon	Case-5 Ralph	Case-6 Thomas
Ability to foresee the consequences of one's behaviour	Unable	Unable	Lacks rational skills	Unable	Unable	Retention/retrieval information problems
Concern for others (victim)	No	No	No	No	No	No
Sensation-seeking activities	Illegal activity	Antisocial behaviour	Illegal activity/ peer-activities/ theft	Thefts: cars/ joy-rides	Property theft	Shoplifting
Street life	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 2 - Family Risk Factors

Condition	Case-1	Case-2	Case-3	Case-4	Case-5	Case-6
Separation; desertion; natural death	Mother: desertion	Never met biological-father	Father: deserted	Absent	Parents live separately	Father: deceased
Family discord	Features	Features	Features	Between parents; parents and siblings	Between mother/sibling	Between subject/ mother and subject/ grandparents
	Father: thrown out	Unwanted: at home	Rejects: mother's partner		Parents:good contacts	
Relationships with parents	Poor	Poor: Mother calls him "bastard"	Poor:mother			Poor:mother
		- Neglect/ Rejection				
<i>Role-models</i>	No	No	No	No	No	No
<i>Physical abuse</i>	Towards mother		Towards mother			
<i>Contacts with father</i>			None		Few	

Condition	Case-1	Case-2	Case-3	Case-4	Case-5	Case-6
Parenting skills	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
Guidance/Support	No	No	No	No	No	No
Control	Lacking		Mother: lacking	Lacking	Lacking	Grandparents- Mother:lacking
Disciplinary measures	Passive	Passive	Erratic	Erratic	Mother – erratic	Passive
	Laissez-faire	Laissez-faire	Laissez-faire	Laissez-faire	Laissez-faire	Laissez-faire (mother)
Institutionalisation	Yes	Yes/homeless	Yes	Yes		
Other			Physical-punishment	Held stolen property		
Time spent with parents	Minimal	Minimal	Minimal	Minimal	Minimal	Minimal
Condition	Case-1	Case-2	Case-3	Case-4	Case-5	Case-6
Parenting style	Lax	Lax	Lax	Lax	Lax	Lax
Abdicated roles- to authorities grandparents	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes
Other		3-year Care- Order		Allowed subject to drive car	Mother: provided urine for son's drug- tests	
Crime in family	Yes	Legal father (pimp)	Yes	Incarcerated parents		
Mother prostitution	Yes	Yes	Yes	Deviant	Yes	Yes
Sibling behaviour	Deviant			Deviant	Deviant	

Table 3 - Social/Peer Risk Factors

Condition	Case-1	Case-2	Case-3	Case-4	Case-5	Case-6
Smoking	Smoker	N/A	Heavy smoker	Heavy smoker	Smoker	Smoker
Alcohol consumption	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Drug misuse	Abuser	Drug trafficking	Abuser/ Overdose	Abuser	Abuser	Abuser
Drug-rehabilitation programmes completion	Unsatisfactorily	N/A	Unsatisfactorily	N/A	Unsatisfactorily/ Recommended-2002	Unsatisfactorily
Delinquent peers	Involved	Involved	Involved/older peers	Involved	Involved	Involved
Substance abuse/peer circles	Criminal activity Yes	Gang member Yes - drug trafficking	Yes - drug trafficking	Criminal activity	Yes - drug trafficking	Yes - drug trafficking
Street Life <i>day</i> <i>night</i>	Evident Bar-hopping	Evident Out-late	Evident Out-late	Evident Roaming	Evident	Evident
Condition	Case-1 1	Case-2 2	Case-3 1	Case-4 4	Case-5 3	Case-6 2
Co-offending: cases	Features	Features	Features	Features	Features	Features
Unemployment: Subject	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed
Father	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Employed	Employed
Mother	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed
Financial problems	Evident	Evident	Evident	Evident	Evident	Evident
Reliance on welfare/benefits	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Neighbourhood: high crime	Evident	Evident	New area	Evident	Evident	Evident

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