

**Youth and Crime Project**

# **AGE AND CRIME**

**Satyanshu K. Mukherjee**



AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

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## **Part I**

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## PREFACE

In recent years 'rising' serious crimes by juveniles have been given considerable attention by scholars, administrators, and the media. Significant changes in the laws pertaining to juveniles have been made, some of which prescribe severe punishments for juveniles who indulge in serious law violations. The late 1960s saw the granting of certain rights, which were available only to adults, to juveniles. It is clear from available records that these changes were neither based on nor accompanied by systematic studies of the problem of juvenile misbehaviour. Is serious criminal behaviour among juveniles increasing? This is the question which this study attempts to answer.

In this monograph arrest data from Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America are used to examine trends in juvenile and adult criminal behaviour. Persons arrested for violent crimes, for example, homicide and serious assault, and property crimes, for example, robbery, burglary, motor vehicle theft, larceny, and fraud and forgery in these countries during approximately two decades are analysed. As will be described in the text, this is the first part of a large study on youth and crime.

The *Youth and Crime* project began as a minor research project at the Australian Institute of Criminology. But it soon became apparent that the problem of serious criminal behaviour among juveniles could not be dealt with adequately by such a study, as such the scope of the study was significantly expanded. A large volume of unpublished statistics were collected to examine the problem. In this respect most generous help was given by each of the police departments in Australia. I am indebted to the officers of these departments for their support.

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## Section I – INTRODUCTION

It is now considered a well-established fact that young males commit a disproportionately large number of serious offences. This view is current in almost every society. No one, however, is sure as to what factors lead to high rates of crime among the youths. Some blame the current permissiveness in society, others put the blame on law enforcement, and still others charge that courts are lenient. A common suggestion is that youths of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s are very different from those of earlier times so far as their behaviour and responses to life styles are concerned; a lot of their actions, therefore, which may be termed as violations of laws, are manifestations of changing behavioural patterns. All of these views, however, lack evidence.

The view that young males are disproportionately represented in the criminal population can also be questioned on the grounds of evidence. What gives this view any credence? The main evidence which indicates that, proportionate to their population, youths are committing more crimes than adults, is from statistics on arrests. Considering the clearance rates of offences, it is well known that those arrested form only a portion of perpetrators in all known crimes. Also, if the victim survey data are taken seriously, this proportion reduces further. Arrests depend on the workload of the law enforcement agencies. Arrests also depend on the volume of known crimes and the volume of crimes cleared. If the clearance rate falls, or if there is a need to boost the clearance rate, extra arrests can be made and juveniles may be the easy targets.

### The Present Study

Most countries nowadays have two separate systems for coping with criminal misconduct – one for young persons and one for adults. These systems are different in various aspects – philosophy, law, procedures, and operation. The only factor which places an individual in either of the systems is age. This age varies between jurisdictions – an alleged offender under the age of 17 or 18 is dealt with by the juvenile justice system and one older than that is handled by the adult system. These two systems functioned unchallenged for decades and only during the last 15 years have these systems, and particularly the juvenile systems, been subject to serious scrutiny. The scrutiny of the system has come at the heel of an 'ever increasing' crime rate of young offenders in most industrialised nations.

There has been very little significant research in this area in Australia, hence one must look for evidence elsewhere. But before presenting evidence from other countries let me state the purpose of the present study. The idea of a project on Youth and Crime was conceived during my fellowship at the University of Chicago Law School last year. American literature in criminology currently includes a large volume of work on the criminality of

young persons. The recent recommendations of the report of the United States Attorney-General's Task Force on Violent Crime<sup>1</sup> have increased the sensitivity even further. My previous work in Australia<sup>2</sup> did not directly deal with young offenders and contains little information on crimes by young persons. The *Source Book*,<sup>3</sup> however, did provide some statistics on offenders by age. Data on burglary and motor vehicle theft in Australia seemed to indicate that young persons, proportionate to their population, tend to commit these crimes more often than adults.

Thus, a combination of interests prompted the Institute to investigate youth crime in Australia. Once the research commenced, it was soon realised that enquiring only into individuals arrested for crime will not present much information which will be new. For instance, if burglaries are committed predominantly by young persons do the offence attributes differ in any significant way from those committed by adults? A more fundamental question is does youth predominance in burglary arrests demonstrate predominance in the number of crimes committed? What sort of court dispositions are attached to similar offences by young persons and adults? Considering these and other relevant issues, it was thought necessary to enlarge the scope of the study. Consistent with this approach it was decided to divide the *Youth and Crime* project into the following three parts:

- I Age and Crime
- II Internal differences in offence and offenders attributes: Study of a youth dominated offence
- III Age and Sanction

The present report relates to Part I only.

A juvenile, for the Australian part of the study, is a person who is under the age of 17 years. This is not an age used in every Australian jurisdiction; the dichotomy used in this research was dictated by practical considerations. Data for Australia as a whole and those for the eight States and Territories were collected from different sources<sup>4</sup> and hence the Australian totals for an offence will not be the same as the totals for eight jurisdictions. Furthermore, the Australian series covers a much longer period than the State series. Offences selected for analysis are: Homicide; Serious/Aggravated Assault; Robbery; Burglary; Larceny; Motor Vehicle Theft; Fraud, Forgery, etcetera.

After a brief survey of current perspectives, predictions and predilections, youth crime in Australia will be analysed. National patterns for selected offences will be compared with patterns in the United States and England and Wales. This will be followed by a description of trends in the eight Australian jurisdictions. In the concluding section, besides summarising the main findings, some tentative hypotheses will be offered and the following two parts of the research will be described.

### Survey of Literature and Views

The literature touching on our subject is voluminous. I do not intend therefore to present an exhaustive literature review.

*Delinquency in a Birth Cohort.*<sup>5</sup> This work remains as one of the most significant in delinquency research. Without attempting to present a complete review of the book, I shall list some of the major findings. Those interested in detailed methods and conclusions should read the book. The cohort studied by Wolfgang *et al.*, included all males born in Philadelphia in 1945 and resident in this city at least from their tenth until their eighteenth birthday. There are 9,945 boys and almost two-thirds of them have had no contacts with the police until their eighteenth birthday. Of the 3,475 for whom records of police contact were established, 1,613 did not commit a second crime which would have made them recidivists. Of the 1,862 boys who committed more than one offence during their juvenile career, 650 had two police records each, 344 had three records, 241 had four records and 627 boys committed five or more offences each.

These 3,475 boys committed 10,214 offences and over half of these (52 per cent) were perpetrated by 627 boys, who were labelled as 'chronic offenders'. Therefore, slightly over six per cent of the entire cohort and 18 per cent of the boys who had at least one police record, committed 5,305 offences.

Wolfgang's chronic offenders have received considerable notoriety over the years and with convincing reasons. Consider the data in Table 1. An index offence was one which involved injury to a person or theft of property or damage to property or combination of these. A non-index offence was a relatively minor one which involved none of the characteristics of an index offence. It is quite clear that 627 chronic offenders on an average committed 3.6 index offences and 4.9 non-index offences each until they were 18 years old. Non-chronic offenders, on the other hand, committed on an average only 0.5 index offences and 1.2 non-index offences each before they were 18 years of age.

Table 1 - Chronic and Non-chronic Offenders  
by Type of Offence

Offender	Type of Offence		Total
	Index	Non-index	
Chronic	2254	3051	5305
Non-chronic	1559	3350	4909
Total	3813	6401	10214



Although chronic offenders committed far too many offences, the authors found no evidence of offence specialisation. In this context the following two paragraphs are noteworthy:

We found that the offense transition matrices did not vary significantly over offense number. We also discovered that the choice of the type of the next offense is only very slightly related to the type of the prior offense or offenses. This finding leads us to the conclusion that the type of the next offense – be it injury, theft, damage, combination, or nonindex – cannot well be predicted by examination of the prior offense history, at least when that history is represented by our typology. There is practically no evidence to support a hypothesis of the existence of offense specialization among juvenile delinquents.

We are able to assert, however, that once an offense has been committed, the probability of a repeat of the same type of violation is somewhat greater than the likelihood of the initial offense. But as we earlier pointed out, these increased probabilities of repeats of the same type of offense can be explained, under the assumption of a stationary transition process, as the product of the accumulation of a large number of offenses rather than as the product of any special proclivity toward offense specialization. Thus in order to prevent the occurrence of serious crimes in a delinquent boy's future, efforts should be made to prevent all forms of recidivism.<sup>6</sup>

Wolfgang has not recommended a specific intervention program beyond suggesting that such a program may be considered at a point 'beyond which the natural loss rate, or probability of desistance, begins to level off.'<sup>7</sup> This point is beyond the third offence.

Report on a follow-up of a 10 per cent sample of the original cohort is not yet available in printed form, nor is the study of a second cohort, including both boys and girls born in Philadelphia, complete. However, some material on the follow-up of the first cohort is available. Relationship between juvenile and adult offender status of the 975 boys born in 1945 revealed that over 59 per cent of the cohort had no record of arrest. Of these 41 per cent who had arrest records, 22 per cent had a record only as juveniles; 14 per cent before and after age 18; and only five per cent had an arrest record only as adults, or after age 18.<sup>8</sup>

In 1975, a prominent American thinker and prolific writer, Professor Wilson, published the book *Thinking About Crime*.<sup>9</sup> His work is important not necessarily because his views are right, but because he leads a school of thought which has a considerable following. He used the cohort study extensively to support his ideas. Clearly referring to the chronic offenders Wilson writes:

Because most serious crime is committed by repeaters, most criminals get eventually arrested. The Wolfgang findings and other studies suggest that the chances of a persistent burglar or robber<sup>10</sup> living out his life, or even going a year with no arrest are quite small.

Wolfgang's study has not proved that most serious crime is committed by repeaters. Second, in Wolfgang's study no conclusive evidence was found with regard to 'persistent burglars or robbers'. The two paragraphs quoted above throw ample doubt on this issue.

Wilson's position, which has attracted serious criticism,<sup>12</sup> is that confining criminals prevents a crime. He does not present any evidence. Actually the research on which he depends largely for support tells otherwise. Consider,

Finally, we may briefly note that the effect of disposition on the offense histories of the cohort members is unclear. It appears that the juvenile justice system has been able to isolate the hard core offender fairly well. Unfortunately, the product of this encounter with sanctioning authorities is far from desirable. Not only do a greater number of those who receive punitive treatment (institutionalization, fine or probation) continue to violate the law, but they also commit more serious crimes with greater rapidity than those who experience a less constraining contact with the judicial and correctional systems. Thus, we must conclude that the juvenile justice system, at its best, has no effect on the subsequent behavior of adolescent boys and, at its worst, has a deleterious effect on future behavior. For it is clear that, if a selection process is operating which routes hard core delinquents into the courts and correctional institutions, no benefit is derived from this encounter, for the subsequent offense rates and seriousness scores show no reduction in volume and intensity.<sup>13</sup>

This does not, however, deal with the issue of length of confinement. Although exceedingly persuasive in recommending three to five years incapacitation for serious repeat offenders, Wilson lacks evidence. There is not yet available enough information to take Wilson seriously. A more pertinent of Wilson's works deals with age and crime. In a paper published in 1978, Boland and Wilson commence their description of juvenile crime thus:

Persons under the age of 18 constitute about one fifth of the total population, but they account for one quarter of all persons arrested and nearly one half of all those arrested for one of the seven 'index' crimes. Many of these index crimes, though serious, are nonviolent -- burglary, auto theft, and larceny. Unfortunately, however, the rate at which juveniles are arrested for violent crimes -- homicide, rape, robbery, and assault -- has been growing faster than the rate at which they are arrested for nonviolent crimes, and faster even than the rate at which adults are arrested for violent crimes. Assuming, as seems likely, that changes in arrest rates bear a reasonably close relationship to changes in actual crime rates, we can conclude that juvenile violence has been increasing faster than crime generally.<sup>14</sup>

I shall test the hypothesis of increase in juvenile crime in a subsequent section, with the help of data. I must, however, take issue with Boland and Wilson's assumption that juvenile arrest rates bear close relationship with actual crime. This assumption is not of recent origin but no one has been able to prove the existence of such a relationship. In the absence of empirical evidence, I submit that arrest data are biased against juveniles and as such

these cannot serve as indicators of actual juvenile crime rate. The reasons are as follows:

- (i) Juveniles are often arrested for less serious crimes than adults.
- (ii) Juveniles tend to commit burglary, robbery and auto theft in groups and therefore several juveniles may be arrested for one offence.
- (iii) Juveniles are neither accomplished criminals nor are they armed with deadly weapons; they are likely to be arrested easily.
- (iv) Juveniles tend to commit crime within a reasonable distance from where they live, therefore victims can recognise them and report to police.

If Boland and Wilson could muster evidence it would indeed be hard to challenge their arguments, but it seems that more often than not when they produce evidence, it is inappropriate. For example, in order to support their argument on **increasing juvenile crime rate** as evidenced by increasing juvenile arrest rates they draw from a study of homicides by Block and Zimring.<sup>15</sup> Boland and Wilson refute the assertion that 'arrest figures may exaggerate the increase in juvenile crime, perhaps because the police today are arresting juveniles for conduct they once would have ignored'.<sup>16</sup> They then present findings of the Block and Zimring study:

But consider a crime such as homicide, which the police would never ignore and for which the guilty party is arrested in the great majority of cases. Richard Block and Franklin E. Zimring found that in Chicago the rate at which young (aged 15 to 24) black males committed homicides nearly tripled from 1965 to 1970 from 108 crimes per 100,000 population to 298 per 100,000.

Perhaps most disturbing, the number of homicides committed by young males where the motive was robbery (rather than a personal quarrel) increased the fastest — from 11 per 100,000 population during 1965 to 90 per 100,000 in 1970.<sup>17</sup>

Boland and Wilson consistently overlook empirical evidence and mislead their readers. First, persons under the age of 18 (juveniles) cannot be considered to possess similar attributes to those in the 15-24 year age group. Second, homicide is not an offence which is usually committed by juveniles. Homicide arrest rates for juveniles in general and those for 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 year olds in particular are much lower than the rates of 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 year olds. The peak arrest age for homicide is currently 19. Boland and Wilson further assert that 'Far from overstating the amount of juvenile crime, arrest data actually understate it by a considerable margin.'<sup>18</sup>

On this issue, let me quote the conclusions of recent Rand Corporation research:

At the most aggregate level, including all index crimes, youths from 16 to 21 are disproportionately overrepresented in arrests. However, as soon as we begin restricting our attention to more serious offenses (homicide or rape) or serious offenders (individual armed predators), we find that the proportion of youths involved drops substantially. To sort out which types of offenses are predominantly youth crimes, and thus possibly responsive to youth-related sentencing policies, we need to know more about the relative severity of offenses attributed to different age groups.<sup>19</sup>

Recent data from California also indicate the juvenile arrest rate is on a downward trend.<sup>20</sup>

## Section II – NATIONAL DATA

### Current Statistical Evidence

Is it true that juveniles are disproportionately overrepresented in arrests for serious crimes? Before I present evidence, I would like to clarify the data used.

- (i) Wherever possible the evidence for this part consists of statistics collected from Australia, England and Wales, and the United States.
- (ii) Terminologies used in these countries differ. For Australia, the data relate to **persons involved in crimes cleared**; for England and Wales they relate to **persons proceeded against**; and for the United States these are **persons arrested**.
- (iii) A juvenile in Australia and in England and Wales is a person under the age of 17; in the United States a person under the age of 18 is a juvenile. These are not necessarily the age limits of juveniles in these countries; the selection was dictated by the availability of data.
- (iv) Because there are very few persons under the age of 10 involved in serious crimes, in computing age and sex specific arrest rates I have excluded population under the age of 10.
- (v) Definitions of offences included in this study may vary across jurisdictions. I have collected data from these countries with a view to identifying trends within each country and not necessarily for between-country comparisons.
- (vi) Usually, analysis of crime and criminal justice statistics by criminologists and researchers does not provide a sex distribution of arrest data. In this study, I have attempted to provide such data.

The disproportionately large representation of young persons in arrests for violent offences is an allegation which simply is not true. Also, the suggestion that an increase in the proportion of young persons in the population would automatically lead to a higher crime rate is questionable indeed. It follows, therefore, that if this proportion declines crime rate should also decline. Consider the data in Table 2. In Australia the proportion of juveniles, both male and female, remained virtually static between 1964 and 1974, and thereafter started a slow declining trend. Currently boys aged 10 to 16 make 15 per cent of the male population aged 10 years and over; girls account for

14 per cent of the corresponding female population. Data for England and Wales, although including the same age groups as in Australia, show the proportion of juveniles in the population to be quite small. In 1964, boys in England and Wales constituted four percentage points less than their counterparts in Australia and girls were almost five percentage points less. This gap has reduced significantly in recent years. The American data include 17 year old juveniles as well and hence the proportions are higher than in the other two countries. However, the trend in this proportion is again at variance with those of Australia and England and Wales. Therefore, the three countries present three distinct trends of the composition of the population, and this should facilitate a better assessment of the allegation.

Table 2

JUVENILES AS PROPORTION OF POPULATION  
AGED 10 YEARS AND OVER

Year	<u>AUSTRALIA</u> <sup>a</sup>		<u>ENGLAND &amp; WALES</u> <sup>a</sup>		<u>UNITED STATES</u> <sup>b</sup>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1960					.1855	.1733
1961					.1877	.1748
1962					.1915	.1778
1963					.1961	.1814
1964	.1668	.1607	.1285	.1135	.2013	.1857
1965	.1657	.1597	.1242	.1098	.1999	.1838
1966	.1661	.1597	.1219	.1080	.2006	.1840
1967	.1657	.1590	.1210	.1072	.2021	.1847
1968	.1653	.1585	.1223	.1080	.2037	.1856
1969	.1652	.1587	.1238	.1092	.2044	.1858
1970	.1654	.1583	.1253	.1107	.2043	.1853
1971	.1650	.1591	.1302	.1137	.2038	.1846
1972	.1651	.1583	.1326	.1164	.2022	.1830
1973	.1650	.1576	.1351	.1189	.2000	.1804
1974	.1644	.1561	.1375	.1212	.1973	.1781
1975	.1626	.1536	.1392	.1230	.1930	.1741
1976	.1598	.1505	.1402	.1241	.1877	.1692
1977	.1572	.1477	.1410	.1249	.1821	.1638
1978	.1546	.1452	.1404	.1245	.1763	.1585
1979	.1517	.1425	.1394	.1238	.1705	.1531
1980	.1499	.1406			.1705	.1531

a. A juvenile is a person aged 10 years or over but under the age of 17.

b. A juvenile is a person aged 10 years or over but under the age of 18.

### Arrest Proportions

Tables 3.1 to 3.3 present the proportion of juveniles in the arrested population in the three countries. In order to prove his point that the youths of America have let themselves loose and are on a rampage, Professor Wilson uses homicide data. It is not difficult to counter his conclusions. First, across countries and over time I find not a trace of overrepresentation of youths in homicide arrests. The data clearly demonstrate that juvenile boys and girls account for far less a proportion of homicide arrests than their proportion in the population. Second, I consider it entirely unfair to show increases in arrests of young adults to mean increases in arrests of juveniles. Obviously, the increase which Professor Wilson observed was in the age group 18-24; and if their rate is calculated separately it would be higher than that which concerned him.

Arrests for aggravated assault also show that boys, proportionate to their population, are underrepresented in all the three countries. Here again the patterns seem to indicate that Wilson is inaccurate. Furthermore, the trends in recent years in each of the three countries very clearly show that among arrested population the proportion of boys is on the decline. The interesting part of arrest data for aggravated assault is the representation of girls — they are not necessarily underrepresented. Although the number of girls arrested for violent offences is small compared to the number of boys, the patterns are indicative of change. In the United States, girls constitute a consistently higher proportion of the arrests for aggravated assault than in the total population since 1971; in Australia and England and Wales, these trends are erratic. It is also interesting to note that girls constitute a higher proportion of all female arrests than boys of all male arrests.

Americans are a violent people, and America is a violent society. So goes the cliché. Professor Wilson and those who hold similar views, have certainly exacerbated such fears. Wilson is quite specific, however, and he suggests that it is the American youth who is violent. Unfortunately, the definitions of a youth considered in various studies are not uniform. Boland and Wilson while describing juvenile crime obviously refer to youth as a person in the age group 15 to 24; others have used age group 16 to 21 to mean youth. I have, in this study, used the dichotomy juvenile and adult taking 17 or 18 as the cut-off point. Thus 'youth' in this study will mean a juvenile.

Information on juveniles as proportion of population and as proportion of arrests for violent offences are provided in Figure 1. The curves for all the three countries are clear and it is evident that juvenile boys proportionate to their population are underrepresented among those arrested for aggravated assault and homicide. Conversely, therefore, adult males must constitute a higher proportion among arrestees than their representation in the population. In the United States the trends in juvenile arrests for violent offences have followed roughly the population trend. The relatively sharp increases in

Table 3.1

AUSTRALIA

BOYS AND GIRLS UNDER 17 YEARS OF AGE AS PROPORTION OF ALL MALES  
AND ALL FEMALES RESPECTIVELY INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED  
FOR SELECTED OFFENCES, 1964-1980

Year	<u>Homicide</u>		<u>Aggravated Assault</u>		<u>Robbery</u>	
	Boys < 17	Girls < 17	Boys < 17	Girls < 17	Boys < 17	Girls < 17
1964	3.7	2.0	8.0	6.6	15.9	13.8
1965	8.1	2.3	8.0	4.3	9.3	7.1
1966	6.0	2.4	7.1	1.8	15.8	14.3
1967	3.2	2.2	5.4	9.4	16.0	3.8
1968	4.9	2.3	7.2	4.7	12.7	7.9
1969	5.2	0.0	7.4	3.6	16.4	20.7
1970	7.4	0.0	8.9	9.2	15.6	13.6
1971	2.8	9.3	10.0	7.1	17.3	28.0
1972	4.5	4.1	11.8	16.9	16.7	20.0
1973	2.8	3.7	8.5	12.2	19.7	16.0
1974	2.4	5.9	10.1	11.0	17.4	30.1
1975	4.6	5.2	10.0	6.0	18.9	32.9
1976	2.1	5.4	8.2	11.9	17.9	42.0
1977	3.3	4.1	7.7	12.1	16.0	32.3
1978	1.9	0.0	8.0	16.8	15.9	18.6
1979	4.7	4.9	8.2	16.0	14.1	23.2
1980	3.5	4.4	8.8	17.1	16.0	21.8

Year	<u>Burglary</u>		<u>Motor Vehicle Theft</u>		<u>Fraud Forgery</u>	
	Boys < 17	Girls < 17	Boys < 17	Girls < 17	Boys < 17	Girls < 17
1964	48.1	53.0	37.6	36.6	3.0	4.6
1965	46.3	70.7	37.2	61.2	2.9	7.5
1966	44.2	64.9	39.4	49.1	3.8	7.4
1967	42.4	42.6	41.2	53.5	2.8	4.0
1968	45.2	61.5	40.9	22.9	2.1	4.3
1969	49.6	54.4	43.7	40.4	3.9	5.4
1970	49.4	71.2	45.9	50.6	4.9	3.1
1971	52.0	63.0	46.9	61.0	3.2	4.5
1972	54.2	56.6	47.3	57.3	3.4	6.9
1973	56.6	62.0	49.2	57.5	4.0	4.2
1974	55.9	66.6	47.7	62.6	7.3	8.2
1975	56.4	70.6	46.3	59.3	7.1	13.7
1976	58.8	67.2	44.8	59.2	7.8	12.2
1977	57.1	63.5	44.9	58.2	7.1	11.2
1978	56.2	63.6	46.0	53.2	7.0	9.7
1979	53.2	60.0	44.1	55.0	7.6	9.4
1980	55.5	59.7	42.7	55.5	8.9	9.0



Table 3.2

ENGLAND & WALES

BOYS AND GIRLS UNDER 17 YEARS OF AGE AS PROPORTION OF ALL MALES  
AND ALL FEMALES RESPECTIVELY PROCEEDED AGAINST FOR SELECTED  
OFFENCES, 1964-1979

Year	<u>Homicide</u>		<u>Aggravated Assault</u>		<u>Robbery</u>		<u>Burglary</u>	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	< 17	< 17	< 17	< 17	< 17	< 17	< 17	< 17
1964	4.2	0.0	6.7	3.3	17.9	27.1	43.5	51.1
1965	1.5	0.0	7.9	5.3	22.8	38.9	41.0	52.6
1966	2.9	2.3	6.3	4.8	19.1	28.4	39.7	50.9
1967	2.1	2.4	6.0	5.7	18.2	29.1	38.9	50.9
1968	2.3	6.4	5.5	7.1	19.0	27.1	38.3	47.8
1969	4.6	1.5	6.3	4.4	16.5	43.8	37.4	46.5
1970	3.3	3.5	7.0	4.0	26.0	32.8	37.1	43.4
1971	3.3	1.2	9.1	10.8	27.9	29.4	36.4	40.6
1972	6.9	1.3	9.5	6.1	33.2	41.3	38.4	40.2
1973	6.0	1.1	8.4	4.5	39.6	52.4	41.9	46.1
1974	1.7	6.2	6.2	5.3	32.6	46.1	44.8	46.2
1975	4.7	2.1	5.9	11.7	28.1	34.3	41.4	45.6
1976	2.2	1.3	4.8	5.6	26.1	42.7	40.1	44.7
1977	3.8	1.7	4.6	10.6	23.0	37.5	39.6	43.0
1978	5.8	0.0	4.6	5.9	24.2	36.7	40.4	43.8
1979	3.2	2.9	4.6	5.4	23.1	34.6	36.6	38.7

Year	<u>Larceny</u>		<u>Motor Vehicle Theft</u>		<u>Fraud Forgery</u>	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	< 17	< 17	< 17	< 17	< 17	< 17
1964	31.0	25.0	27.9	29.6	3.6	5.0
1965	28.7	24.1	25.6	28.1	5.6	9.2
1966	25.4	23.4	25.6	23.1	5.6	8.9
1967	24.9	20.7	23.2	15.2	5.4	8.4
1968	23.8	19.5	24.8	15.0	6.5	11.1
1969	21.8	15.0	27.3	34.1	3.8	5.3
1970	20.4	14.9	28.2	34.0	3.9	5.1
1971	18.3	13.7	26.3	29.9	4.0	6.3
1972	18.7	13.0	28.2	30.1	3.6	5.7
1973	16.6	12.2	29.5	30.9	4.1	6.6
1974	18.0	13.1	27.9	29.1	4.5	6.7
1975	16.5	12.1	25.3	26.9	4.4	6.0
1976	16.4	11.5	25.5	27.2	4.2	5.6
1977	17.0	11.9	26.4	28.3	4.4	4.6
1978	17.2	12.4	27.1	30.3	4.8	5.3
1979	16.8	11.8	28.4	28.8	4.3	5.9

Table 3.3

## UNITED STATES

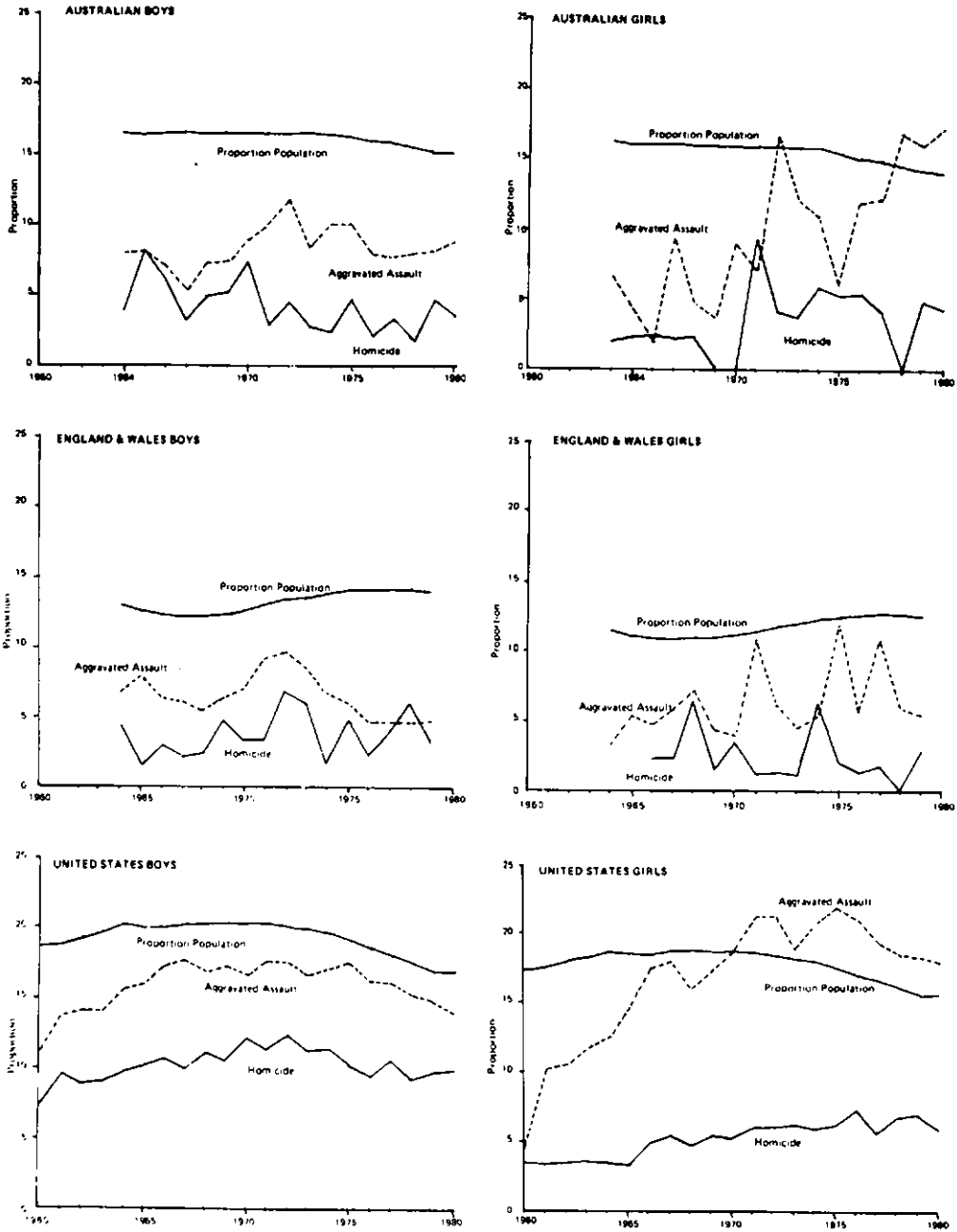
BOYS AND GIRLS UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE AS PROPORTION OF ALL MALES  
AND ALL FEMALES RESPECTIVELY ARRESTED FOR SELECTED OFFENCES,  
1960-1980

Year	Homicide		Aggravated Assault		Robbery		Burglary	
	Boys < 18	Girls < 18	Boys < 18	Girls < 18	Boys < 18	Girls < 18	Boys < 18	Girls < 18
1960	7.2	3.4	11.2	4.5	26.0	27.5	52.6	51.7
1961	9.4	3.4	13.6	10.1	23.2	21.2	48.5	45.0
1962	8.7	3.3	14.1	10.5	25.3	23.5	50.2	43.5
1963	9.0	3.5	14.2	11.5	28.2	25.2	52.0	50.6
1964	9.7	3.4	15.5	12.3	28.3	26.5	51.6	50.8
1965	10.1	3.3	16.1	14.5	31.3	26.7	52.2	48.4
1966	10.5	4.8	17.3	17.4	31.6	28.6	54.5	54.9
1967	9.9	5.3	17.6	17.7	31.9	30.8	53.7	50.8
1968	11.0	4.7	17.0	15.9	33.5	32.0	55.0	51.5
1969	10.5	5.3	17.2	17.2	35.0	38.2	55.2	55.4
1970	12.0	5.1	16.7	18.5	33.5	38.8	52.1	50.2
1971	11.3	6.0	17.6	20.9	32.2	37.3	50.9	48.8
1972	12.3	6.1	17.6	21.0	29.8	38.2	51.8	48.7
1973	11.2	6.1	16.8	18.8	34.0	35.0	54.4	51.3
1974	11.3	5.9	17.2	20.6	33.2	34.1	53.8	51.4
1975	10.2	6.2	17.6	21.7	34.9	37.2	52.8	50.9
1976	9.6	7.2	16.4	20.9	31.6	31.2	52.6	51.8
1977	10.6	5.7	16.2	19.1	32.4	31.2	51.7	50.8
1978	9.4	6.7	15.3	18.4	30.7	28.7	52.8	52.3
1979	9.8	6.9	15.0	18.2	31.7	29.3	48.7	50.2
1980	9.9	5.9	14.2	17.9	30.3	29.0	44.9	46.4

Year	Larceny		Motor Vehicle Theft		Fraud Forgery	
	Boys < 18	Girls < 18	Boys < 18	Girls < 18	Boys < 18	Girls < 18
1960	52.0	43.1	63.5	65.8	4.4	6.1
1961	51.5	41.9	60.8	61.5	3.7	5.8
1962	54.8	43.7	62.8	66.1	4.2	5.6
1963	53.8	43.1	63.7	65.2	4.6	4.3
1964	56.1	45.2	64.8	65.8	5.4	5.4
1965	57.2	48.2	62.8	65.2	5.9	8.3
1966	58.8	50.0	63.2	65.6	6.1	5.6
1967	59.7	47.6	61.6	64.4	7.3	5.9
1968	56.8	46.4	60.6	63.1	7.5	6.1
1969	56.0	48.4	59.2	62.2	7.5	7.8
1970	52.5	46.8	55.8	58.5	6.6	6.4
1971	52.3	46.6	53.2	49.6	5.9	5.4
1972	51.9	46.2	53.9	56.3	6.0	5.0
1973	50.2	44.3	56.8	59.2	6.6	5.6
1974	50.9	45.3	55.1	57.4	8.9	7.0
1975	47.8	41.5	54.3	58.3	6.8	5.5
1976	45.7	38.9	53.9	59.0	5.7	4.5
1977	45.2	38.2	52.5	59.1	8.3	7.9
1978	44.8	37.7	52.1	60.7	6.0	4.3
1979	42.5	36.0	48.7	56.4	7.1	4.4
1980	39.2	33.8	44.4	52.7	6.0	3.9

**FIGURE 1**  
**Juveniles as Proportion of Population and as Arrests for Violent Offences**



arrests during the late 1960s to early 1970s both in Australia and in England and Wales are difficult to explain, but it is known that in both the countries major changes in the recording procedures were introduced about that time. During approximately the last two decades, therefore, male youths who constitute over 80 per cent of all youth arrestees for violent offences have not been murdering and maiming people in increasing proportions. Girls, however, present a slightly different picture. The change in their ratio of participation in violent offences needs to be examined carefully because this could have significant implications for research in the area of women and crime. If indeed girls engage in violent crimes in proportions higher than their representation in the population, the hypotheses that boys and girls of the 1970s and the 1980s have been acting in a less sex-differentiated behaviour pattern holds promise. Also the claim that women's movements have led to an increase in violent crimes by women must be re-examined.

Offences in which property constitutes the primary element present an altogether different pattern. Although youth participation in offences such as robbery, burglary, larceny, and automobile theft has been higher than their proportion in the population, the extent of participation varies according to type of offence. Data in Tables 3.1 to 3.3 seem to indicate that there exists an inverse relationship between youth participation and the seriousness of the property offence, so that robbery being the most serious property offence attracts a lower proportion of youths than other property offences. Another general observation with regard to arrest data for property offences is that youths, as a proportion of all arrests, do not show any set pattern of stability or fluctuation.

Australia shows a lower representation of boys and girls in robbery arrests than in the other two countries; also compared to England and Wales and the United States, boys as proportion of all male arrests for robbery in Australia have remained remarkably stable. The recent levels of youth involvement in robbery in the three countries are not the highest; the late 1960s and the early 1970s encountered higher proportions of boys and girls than at present. It is also interesting to note that by and large the proportion of boys and girls shows similar movements at a given point in time. Furthermore girls form a higher proportion among all females arrested for robbery than boys among all males arrested for the same offence.

Arrests for burglary present an interesting situation — the patterns of adult-juvenile composition of the arrested population vary between countries. The highest proportion of juvenile involvement is obtained in arrests for burglary in Australia and England and Wales, in the United States this is so in the case of automobile theft. It is important to remind the reader however, that in this study the juvenile status continues to age 17 in the United States and only to age 16 in the other two countries. This difference in involvement,

therefore, could be ascribed to higher age limits in the United States. Again, as in the case of robbery arrests, girls are represented in higher proportions than boys in arrests for burglary in Australia and the United Kingdom; in the United States the participation of boys and girls is at the same level. And finally, while proportion of juveniles in burglary arrests has increased gradually in Australia, in England and Wales this has declined slightly and in the United States this proportion of juveniles has remained fairly stable until 1978.

There has been appreciable decline in the participation of juveniles in larceny in the United Kingdom and currently girls, proportionate to their population, are underrepresented in larceny arrests. Although the proportions are declining in the United States as well, juveniles still constitute over twice as high a proportion among larceny arrestees as in the general population. In arrests for automobile thefts the trends in the three countries are at variance — in Australia juveniles as proportion to all arrests are increasing, in England and Wales they maintain a stable 25 to 30 per cent and in the United States they demonstrate a slight decline. In all the three countries however, girls form a higher proportion of all female arrests than boys of all male arrests.

Among arrestees for property offences juveniles are least represented in arrests for fraud and forgery. Juveniles arrested for this offence not only constitute lower than their proportion in the population but lower than their proportion in arrests for any other offence except homicide; in the United States their participation is even lower than those for homicide. Logically, this is what one would expect the situation to be. The kinds of violations that are included in the category of 'fraud and forgery' and reported in the official crime statistics are those which are not only minor in nature but also those which can be perpetrated mainly by adults. Cheque fraud, passing valueless cheques and credit card frauds constitute a large majority of reported cases of fraud and forgery; misappropriation and embezzlement constitute approximately one-fourth of these offences.

In sum, therefore, the above analysis of representation of juveniles among those arrested for selected offences tend to show that adults dominate the violent crime scene and in property related offences, excluding fraud and forgery, juveniles figure in a much larger proportion than their component in the general population. Among the seven offences examined, juveniles constitute higher proportions in arrests for burglary and automobile theft than for any other offence. It was also found that fluctuations in the proportions of girls have been more pronounced than those of boys.

#### **Arrest rates**

An analysis of ratio of juvenile to adult participation, described above, does not provide any clues on the extent of involvement in arrest. This is based on absolute number of arrests and the proportions of juveniles may

alter without any change in total arrests. Furthermore, when the number of arrests is really small, a minor change in the juvenile/adult composition would result in a higher proportional change.

As stated in the introduction, the inference that crime problem in many industrialised nations is primarily a problem posed by the youth is based on arrest figures published by official agencies. It is well known that these arrest figures relate only to a portion of the known crimes. Therefore, whether a segment of the population is involved in criminal activity in increasing numbers is not known. Arrest figures could be biased against certain groups. Furthermore, official statistics which are the bases for assertions and speculations, do not offer information on the severity of offences. Again, it is possible that certain sections of the population may commit relatively less serious offences (within an offence category) and hence their criminality could be exaggerated by arrest data. And finally, while it is difficult to disprove the assertion that youths are overrepresented in arrests for serious offences, this may not be true for every specific offence.

**Violent Offences:** Tables 4.1 to 4.3 present arrest rates for the two violent offences in the study. Note that while the juvenile arrest rates are based on the population aged 10 to 17 in the United States and 10 to 16 in the other two countries the adult crime rate is based on the population 18 and over or 17 and over as the case may be. Thus, the true arrest rates for the age group, young adults, which commits overwhelming majority of all offences committed by adults is minimised. I am thinking of the age group 18 to 25. Since this study examines juvenile crimes only, it is necessary to concentrate on the adult-juvenile dichotomy.

With regard to homicide, data in the tables show that arrest rates for juveniles, boys or girls, have never surpassed those for adults in any of the countries under study. In fact, the highest arrest rate for juveniles is about half that of adult rate (in the United States only). The general trend that is obtained from the figures is that arrest rates for boys and men have increased over the years, rates for women have remained remarkably constant and the rates for girls show slight increases. In this analysis data from England and Wales cannot be used because of very low rates.

Since this study is concerned primarily with youth crime it would be interesting to know whether juvenile arrest rates for homicide have been increasing faster than the adult rate. Having established that arrest rates for men, boys, and girls have increased over the years in Australia and the United States, one way to assess the rate of increase for each of these sub-populations would be to examine ratios. The ratio of juvenile to adult male arrest rates was 1:2.9 in the United States in 1960, this ratio increased to approximately 1:2 in 1980. That is to say that in 1960 for every boy arrested for homicide, there were three men arrested for the same offence, in 1980

Table 4.1

AUSTRALIA

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 16 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile
<u>Homicide</u>				
1964	6.35	1.21	1.35	.14
1965	5.68	2.53	1.14	.14
1966	6.86	2.20	1.03	.14
1967	6.07	1.02	1.13	.13
1968	6.77	1.75	1.06	.13
1969	5.33	1.47	1.30	0.00
1970	6.88	2.75	1.20	0.00
1971	7.13	1.04	.89	.48
1972	8.07	1.93	1.05	.24
1973	8.55	1.23	1.14	.23
1974	12.24	1.54	1.03	.35
1975	12.19	3.06	1.15	.35
1976	11.71	1.32	1.07	.35
1977	12.14	2.20	1.42	.35
1978	10.35	1.10	1.21	0.00
1979	11.70	3.20	1.52	.47
1980	11.88	2.42	1.26	.35
<u>Aggravated Assault</u>				
1964	48.81	21.32	2.30	.85
1965	43.82	19.15	1.77	.42
1966	48.15	18.39	2.88	.27
1967	45.47	13.12	1.94	1.07
1968	48.03	18.90	2.49	.66
1969	51.90	21.05	2.56	.51
1970	62.38	30.74	2.55	1.38
1971	72.01	40.63	3.57	1.44
1972	76.79	51.81	1.43	1.54
1973	59.55	27.87	2.84	2.10
1974	40.22	23.05	2.59	1.73
1975	37.28	21.33	2.29	.81
1976	46.97	22.09	2.74	2.09
1977	46.59	20.81	2.93	2.33
1978	53.80	25.44	3.03	3.62
1979	58.05	29.06	3.77	4.33
1980	73.50	40.44	5.18	6.52

Table 4.2

ENGLAND & WALES

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 16 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile
<u>Homicide</u>				
1964	1.50	.45	.20	0.00
1965	1.89	.21	.21	0.00
1966	2.17	.47	.23	.04
1967	2.18	.34	.22	.04
1968	2.47	.42	.31	.18
1969	2.67	.91	.35	.04
1970	3.03	.73	.29	.09
1971	3.28	.74	.44	.04
1972	2.84	1.37	.40	.04
1973	3.27	1.34	.49	.04
1974	3.41	.36	.40	.19
1975	3.41	1.03	.50	.07
1976	3.07	.42	.41	.04
1977	2.04	.49	.30	.04
1978	2.48	.94	.38	0.00
1979	2.73	.56	.35	.07
<u>Aggravated Assault</u>				
1964	6.69	3.28	.32	.09
1965	6.82	4.13	.29	.13
1966	7.16	3.47	.32	.13
1967	7.91	3.69	.35	.18
1968	8.66	3.60	.35	.22
1969	9.18	4.37	.46	.17
1970	10.98	5.80	.51	.17
1971	11.34	7.62	.48	.46
1972	12.20	8.38	.65	.32
1973	13.63	7.98	.89	.31
1974	13.90	5.73	.85	.34
1975	14.78	5.76	.99	.94
1976	15.62	4.81	.88	.37
1977	15.20	4.42	1.01	.84
1978	15.83	4.73	1.00	.48
1979	16.31	4.84	1.08	.44



Table 4.3

UNITED STATES

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 17 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Juvenile</u>	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Juvenile</u>
<u>Homicide</u>				
1960	11.30	3.84	2.66	.45
1961	13.57	6.08	2.97	.49
1962	12.43	5.00	2.95	.47
1963	11.07	4.46	2.28	.37
1964	12.76	5.45	2.86	.45
1965	13.51	6.05	2.96	.44
1966	13.82	6.49	2.77	.62
1967	15.33	6.66	2.94	.72
1968	17.21	8.28	3.27	.71
1969	19.05	8.73	3.33	.82
1970	20.52	10.84	3.68	.88
1971	22.83	11.34	4.26	1.19
1972	22.56	12.47	4.11	1.19
1973	21.82	10.99	3.73	1.10
1974	24.91	12.87	4.14	1.19
1975	22.52	10.75	3.96	1.25
1976	16.94	7.83	2.93	1.12
1977	19.77	10.57	3.24	1.00
1978	19.02	9.18	3.13	1.19
1979	19.71	10.40	2.99	1.22
1980	20.46	10.90	2.84	.99
<u>Aggravated Assault</u>				
1960	123.12	68.40	24.32	5.46
1961	158.32	108.00	28.17	14.91
1962	151.70	105.40	26.15	14.21
1963	124.98	85.18	19.69	11.56
1964	154.64	112.30	24.76	15.22
1965	155.75	119.46	23.78	17.89
1966	167.17	139.02	24.07	22.44
1967	172.14	144.85	24.17	22.99
1968	170.14	136.35	23.07	19.09
1969	173.91	140.99	23.29	21.16
1970	192.60	150.39	25.77	25.66
1971	206.01	172.08	28.02	32.63
1972	222.71	187.61	30.37	35.98
1973	220.25	177.89	29.95	31.47
1974	255.13	215.22	35.39	42.31
1975	253.78	225.97	33.70	44.24
1976	218.67	185.06	28.95	37.53
1977	243.57	211.17	31.80	38.35
1978	240.29	202.82	30.67	36.84
1979	272.09	233.64	34.02	42.03
1980	274.45	220.77	34.05	41.12

only two men were arrested for each boy. This ratio decreased in England and Wales, that is, the number of men arrested for each boy increased in recent years. In Australia there was practically no change in the ratio, meaning that the rate of increase for both boys and men has been similar.

A much more noticeable change occurred in the ratio of girls to women arrest rates. Since the arrest rates for adult women did not demonstrate any significant change, the above ratio increased. That is, for every girl arrested for homicide in the United States in 1960 there were about six women, this ratio rose to 1:3 in 1980. In Australia, the figures were even more striking; these ratios in 1964 and 1980 were 1:10 and 1:4 respectively. Obviously, arrest rates for homicide in Australia are generally lower than those in the United States. But whereas the girls to women arrest ratio in the United States halved between 1960 and 1980, in Australia the ratio in 1980 reduced to about 40 per cent of that existed in 1964.

Another interesting change, which is of passing interest in this study, is the ratio of adult female to male arrests. In the United States this ratio increased from 1:4 in 1960 to 1:7 in 1980, the corresponding figures for Australia in 1964 and 1980 were 1:5 and 1:9 respectively. Again, this finding is important where allegations are made with regard to increasing violent crimes by females. One must distinguish between persons belonging to different age groups.

The last ratio I would like to mention is the one that is obtained in the arrest rates of juvenile girls and boys. The data seem to indicate that although the homicide arrest rate for girls in the United States has been increasing, the rate of increase is slower than that for boys and as such the girls to boys arrest ratio has increased.

The homicide arrest data, while indicating that arrest rates among juveniles have been increasing, still suggest that homicide is predominantly an adult offence. If the arrest rates of young adults are separated from all adults, these rates will be much higher than those of juveniles. However, the most hopeful signs are that during the 1970s homicide arrest rates per 100,000 relevant population have remained virtually constant in the three countries. This, it would seem, refutes the claim of sharp increases in violent crimes.

The general trend of arrest data for aggravated assault is similar to that exhibited by arrest data for homicide; the difference lies mainly in the magnitude of rates. Certain facts, however, need to be highlighted. Arrest rates of juvenile females have shown the sharpest increases over the period across countries, and in recent years these rates have surpassed those of adult females in Australia and the United States. At the beginning of the 1960s for every juvenile girl arrested for aggravated assault there were three arrests of adult women in Australia and four in the United States, corresponding figure for 1980 in both the countries is 1:0.8. Similarly, the girls to boys

arrest ratios in the early 1960s were 1:25 in Australia and 1:13 in the United States; in 1980 these were 1:6 and 1:5 respectively.

These findings, and others, emerging from the data clearly indicate increasing involvement of juveniles in violent offences. One must, however, take caution in drawing such conclusions. Unlike homicides the offences of aggravated assault vary enormously in severity. Two offences, say one involving a blow on the person and the other involving an injury which resulted in serious and permanent physical disability, could both be classified under aggravated assault. Although no systematic evidence is yet available, it is possible to speculate that most offences of juveniles will fall at the less serious end of the spectrum. Also, as I have pointed out in the previous section, if separated from all adults, arrest rates of young adults would be much higher than juveniles. The age and sex specific arrest rates for violent offences confirm at least one hunch, that boys and girls are found in higher proportions in these rates in recent than in earlier years. But a much more significant aspect of the data is that the involvement of young girls in arrest have been producing the highest rate of increase in violent offences among the four groups examined. This situation is obtained only in case of arrests for aggravated assaults, which numerically are the largest among all violent offences. This is quite consistent with my suggestion that the youth cultures of the 1960s onward have significantly minimised sex differentiation in roles, behaviours and attitudes.

**Property Offences:** trends in arrest rates for property offences tell a different story. Generally, these rates for youngsters, both boys and girls, have (at least during the study period) always been higher than for adults. The magnitude of arrest rates however, vary from offence to offence. Tables 5.1 to 5.3 provide arrest rates of adults and juveniles for robbery and burglary.

Few studies on robberies have been carried out in these countries and usually these are area specific. McClintock and Gibson<sup>21</sup> studied robbery incidents in London the major focus of which was on the location of the victim, offender/victim relationship, and place of occurrence of the incident. They were able to place the robbery incidents in five groups which were later used by Normandeau in his study in Philadelphia.<sup>22</sup> In both the studies the largest proportion of robberies (over one-third in London and more than half of the robberies in Philadelphia) were found to occur in the open, following sudden attack on the individual. Robberies occurring in private premises were few. Conklin,<sup>23</sup> in his study of convicted robbers in Massachusetts, classified offenders in five categories on the basis of motive of theft, *modus operandi*, and criminal career. Conklin based his study on interviews with 67 offenders and 90 victims. None of these studies provide sufficient information on the age of the offenders. Similarly, in a study of armed hold-ups in New South Wales and Victoria,<sup>24</sup> no information is given on the age of the robbers. Dunn, in his study of patterns of robbery characteristics<sup>25</sup> in

Westchester County, provides limited information on juvenile/adult distribution of offenders and victims. According to this study juveniles constitute about half of robbery offenders and over 30 per cent of robbery victims. Potentially an important work, this study misses out some of the vital pieces of information which could have made significant improvement on the earlier studies. Dunn provides another interesting piece of information and that is that almost 60 per cent of the robberies in Westchester County involved two or more offenders. In the context of the present study, details on the adult/juvenile composition of group robberies and the relationship between single/multiple offender, robbery and type of target would have been highly valuable. Equally interesting would have been the knowledge on age and use of weapon.

Data in Tables 5.1 to 5.3 seem to support Dunn's findings. In all the three countries the robbery arrest rate for boys has been generally higher than that for men and the rate for girls has been higher than that for women. There are a few other observations that are difficult to ignore. First, for some reason robbery rates in all the three countries increased almost simultaneously in the early 1970s; this pattern is apparent in all the four age and sex categories. Second, whereas the robbery arrest rates in Australia and the United Kingdom are relatively low, those in the United States are several times higher than in these two countries. Currently, Australia-United States and United Kingdom-United States ratio of arrest rates of boys to men are 1:15 and 1:9 respectively. Third, the robbery arrest rates of adults, males and females, in the United Kingdom have been lower than in Australia and the United States. Fourth, in all the three countries, it is the gap between the arrest rates of boys and girls which has reduced the maximum. Thus, at the beginning of the study period, in Australia for every girl arrested for robbery there were 19 arrests of boys; at the end of the study period this ratio changed to 1:7. Declines of lesser magnitude are obtained in the other two countries. And finally, the trends of robbery arrests in the three countries are very similar.

Burglary arrest rates, although presenting patterns similar to those obtained for robbery, are many times higher in each age and sex categories as compared to robbery arrest rates. In my earlier work,<sup>26</sup> I found burglary to be one of the fastest growing serious offences in post second world war years. Data from the three countries show that juveniles constitute approximately half of those arrested for burglaries. It is also evident from these statistics, statistics from several other Western countries and victim survey findings in various countries, that the incidence of burglary is substantially higher than homicide, rape, aggravated assault, robbery, motor vehicle theft, etcetera. The economic cost of losses from burglaries runs into hundreds of millions of dollars each year. These costs will be substantially higher if burglaries, which are not reported to police are also included. According to

Table 5.1

AUSTRALIA

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 16 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	Male		Female	
	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile
<u>Robbery</u>				
1964	11.02	10.39	.68	.56
1965	13.97	7.18	.34	.14
1966	14.43	13.60	.77	.68
1967	14.25	13.63	.63	.13
1968	17.35	12.77	.86	.39
1969	21.00	20.81	1.11	1.53
1970	24.92	23.21	.90	.75
1971	25.91	27.43	.82	1.68
1972	29.72	30.05	1.16	1.54
1973	26.50	32.89	1.38	1.40
1974	17.62	18.88	1.09	2.54
1975	20.95	25.16	1.20	3.24
1976	17.29	19.78	.82	3.37
1977	16.43	16.85	1.27	3.50
1978	17.95	18.61	1.57	2.10
1979	19.25	17.68	1.03	1.87
1980	19.20	20.77	1.85	3.14
<u>Burglary</u>				
1964	267.48	1238.87	9.48	55.71
1965	297.23	1291.22	3.91	49.58
1966	323.48	1287.82	4.04	39.30
1967	301.19	1115.41	8.65	34.00
1968	324.24	1347.68	5.75	48.75
1969	342.24	1699.02	8.13	51.41
1970	365.53	1797.85	4.88	64.12
1971	375.26	2058.33	8.88	80.02
1972	386.97	2314.06	10.12	70.26
1973	329.59	2174.58	9.18	80.14
1974	155.79	1004.72	4.73	50.87
1975	159.83	1066.41	5.37	71.10
1976	145.65	1092.86	5.19	60.12
1977	150.31	1074.34	5.54	55.66
1978	157.20	1101.32	7.55	77.71
1979	175.29	1112.71	8.11	73.22
1980	177.78	1259.67	8.74	79.05

Table 5.2

ENGLAND & WALES

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 16 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	Male		Female	
	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile
<u>Robbery</u>				
1964	7.23	10.73	.23	.68
1965	8.43	17.59	.30	1.53
1966	9.78	16.62	.34	1.11
1967	11.06	17.88	.33	1.11
1968	12.03	20.32	.46	1.41
1969	14.29	19.94	.50	3.21
1970	13.69	33.64	.63	2.47
1971	16.06	41.56	.60	1.95
1972	16.92	55.03	.78	4.18
1973	12.69	53.36	.62	5.09
1974	13.33	40.41	.66	4.09
1975	18.34	44.40	.93	3.45
1976	17.72	38.43	.92	4.85
1977	18.48	33.55	.86	3.63
1978	18.91	36.91	1.03	4.21
1979	16.00	29.69	.90	3.37
<u>Burglary</u>				
1964	147.25	768.10	3.11	25.34
1965	160.55	785.79	2.93	26.30
1966	177.67	841.33	3.34	28.56
1967	176.65	816.91	3.30	28.44
1968	192.45	858.48	3.65	27.57
1969	252.48	1070.00	5.82	41.20
1970	260.11	1069.84	6.60	40.55
1971	256.29	980.57	6.68	35.61
1972	230.07	938.95	6.37	32.46
1973	191.76	885.04	5.49	34.77
1974	214.22	1092.20	6.74	41.87
1975	245.40	1074.35	8.07	48.22
1976	245.54	1005.90	8.12	46.34
1977	259.72	1035.43	8.31	43.99
1978	245.96	1019.95	8.68	47.48
1979	226.38	806.27	8.15	36.43

Table 5.3

UNITED STATES

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 17 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile
<u>Robbery</u>				
1960	66.52	102.62	3.01	5.46
1961	99.26	129.95	4.96	6.31
1962	86.65	123.76	4.71	6.70
1963	59.64	96.19	2.98	4.53
1964	73.11	114.41	3.92	6.20
1965	77.29	140.72	4.22	6.83
1966	74.55	137.49	3.93	6.99
1967	89.69	165.92	4.68	9.17
1968	98.70	194.17	5.57	11.49
1969	101.84	213.84	5.83	15.83
1970	120.44	235.84	6.69	18.63
1971	139.76	259.02	8.07	21.21
1972	149.51	249.90	8.40	23.21
1973	127.05	262.18	8.29	20.31
1974	165.26	334.78	10.98	26.22
1975	146.70	328.63	9.78	27.43
1976	102.09	204.58	7.32	16.35
1977	117.82	253.30	8.80	20.31
1978	101.20	209.11	7.40	15.84
1979	117.47	264.98	8.91	20.43
1980	127.35	269.90	9.22	20.86
<u>Burglary</u>				
1960	206.33	1007.19	5.58	28.51
1961	243.10	991.73	8.07	31.13
1962	225.12	957.33	9.22	32.84
1963	193.51	860.93	6.10	28.21
1964	227.24	961.53	8.27	37.50
1965	225.99	986.35	8.88	36.99
1966	203.54	972.24	7.60	41.09
1967	237.95	1090.27	10.03	45.76
1968	244.92	1172.63	10.71	49.83
1969	239.86	1150.00	9.76	53.16
1970	275.30	1164.54	13.20	58.48
1971	302.04	1225.75	14.90	62.73
1972	287.18	1218.36	15.11	63.97
1973	271.15	1294.38	15.12	72.30
1974	347.94	1650.42	19.09	92.97
1975	355.75	1663.93	19.04	93.75
1976	295.73	1420.18	15.57	82.16
1977	308.22	1481.38	18.31	96.62
1978	291.96	1526.64	17.89	104.27
1979	319.38	1477.77	19.28	107.41
1980	349.60	1385.21	20.54	98.21

victim survey data the burglary rate is two and a half times that reported in official statistics. In spite of these dimensions, the offence of burglary has been researched relatively rarely.

Among the few works on burglary, two bear some relevance to the present investigation (i) research undertaken by the Santa Clara Criminal Justice Pilot Program;<sup>27</sup> and (ii) Crime Specific Analysis by Pope.<sup>28</sup> According to the Santa Clara study, 58 per cent of the offenders were adults, 38 per cent were juveniles, and four per cent were adults and juveniles involved in the same incidents. This study also revealed that 54 per cent of the burglaries involved two or more offenders.

Pope's inquiry, which covered the state of California, found that 51 per cent of the apprehended burglary offenders were juveniles. Also, 70 per cent of the burglaries involved two or more offenders (group), and only 30 per cent of the apprehended offenders committed burglaries without accomplices. Pope also makes available data on single versus multiple offenders by age and shows 80 per cent of the juvenile offenders as against 60 per cent of adult offenders acted in company. Another important finding relates to the distance which an offender travels to commit burglary. Pope found that about two-thirds of the juvenile offenders in California travelled less than a mile from their residence; approximately two-thirds of the adult offenders travelled more than a mile from their residence to commit burglary. This is not an unusual finding. Adults have legitimate as well as illegitimate access to automobiles and they can afford to be more selective in target areas and the type of items to be burglarised.

I have shown in Tables 3.1 to 3.3 that between 40 and 60 per cent of the offenders apprehended for burglary across countries and over time have been juveniles. Data in Tables 5.1 to 5.3 further demonstrate the dominance of juveniles in burglary incidents. Data from all the three countries very clearly indicate that boys are involved in a disproportionately large volume of burglary incidents. Although increases in the rates have generally been higher for the other three age and sex categories, burglary arrest rates for boys have been so high to begin with that even a small increase in these rates literally neutralises the increases in the rates of other groups. (The Australian data differ from those of the United Kingdom and the United States primarily because a major change in counting rules took place in 1973). In both, the United Kingdom and the United States, burglary arrest rates for adult males increased by approximately 50 per cent during the study period, yet these rates are about one-fourth of those of boys. And, although the arrest rate of girls in the United States increased by 250 per cent between 1960 and 1980, the ratio of this rate to that of boys is still 1:14.

More systematic research on burglary incidents and offenders are needed, without which most of what can be said is speculation. If indeed it could be established that juveniles tend to commit these crimes in company, then their



incident-related arrest rate is exaggerated. That is to say that although burglary arrest rate of boys is more than three times higher than that of men, the number of burglary incidents cleared by arrests of men may be the same as those cleared by arrests of boys. Furthermore, it is also probable that proportionately more offences committed by juveniles than by adults are reported to the police and proportionately more of these reported offences are cleared by arrest because as current literature (albeit limited) indicates, juveniles tend to travel shorter distances from their residence than adults. This means that juveniles could be identified easily and that arrest becomes highly likely.

As in burglary, male juveniles are overrepresented in motor vehicle theft and girls outnumber adult females by seven to one in Australia and the United States and three to one in England and Wales. However, as shown in Tables 6.1 to 6.3, the volume of motor vehicle theft by juveniles and adults is substantially lower than that of burglary. And again as observed earlier on several occasions, girls exhibit the fastest rate of increase in motor vehicle theft. It is difficult to come across research studies in this criminal activity and therefore at this stage one can only speculate on the pattern of automobile theft. First, the lower rates of adults as compared to those of juveniles are in line with rates in other property offences. Second, whereas juveniles may steal an automobile for joy-riding, an adult may use the stolen vehicle for some other serious offence so that if caught, the charge is usually an offence, like robbery or burglary, considered more serious than an automobile theft. If this is the case, then automobile theft by adults is masked. Third, automobile theft has a high reportability rate, this is evident from the relative similarity of victim survey findings with official crime statistics. In the arrest figures juveniles are likely to be overrepresented because they can be caught relatively easily. Law enforcement officials may notice cars driven by young persons and find out in the course of routine investigation that the car was stolen. Not being a qualified driver the youth may get involved with accidents and thus draw attention of the police. Again, auto thefts by juveniles are generally for joy-riding and the culprits may be spotted while deserting the car. If the stolen car is brought to the neighbourhood where the juveniles live, it may be spotted by neighbours and reported to the authorities. Finally, juveniles could be used by adults and once the adults accomplish their objectives, they may desert the young persons with the stolen car.

Among all the offences selected in this study, larceny provides the most frequent arrests. Larceny includes some of the most trivial offences and shoplifting constitutes a substantial part of all larcenies reported to the police. Studies have shown that women indulge in shoplifting more often than in other offences. This phenomenon is strongly evidenced by arrest rates for larceny for England and Wales and the United States. Data in Tables 6.2 and 6.3 show that larceny arrest rate for girls is four times their combined

Table 6.1

AUSTRALIA

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 16 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	Male		Female	
	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile
<u>Motor Vehicle Theft</u>				
1964	155.29	467.61	2.49	7.48
1965	152.17	453.59	1.64	13.61
1966	140.28	457.90	2.14	10.84
1967	136.13	480.76	1.49	9.07
1968	134.00	468.96	4.74	7.47
1969	142.60	559.49	3.06	11.00
1970	158.04	677.27	2.71	14.81
1971	200.48	897.45	3.92	32.37
1972	221.87	1007.82	5.13	36.61
1973	186.03	912.82	3.96	28.62
1974	113.51	525.58	2.54	23.01
1975	127.89	567.07	2.81	22.54
1976	121.84	520.66	2.74	22.44
1977	121.75	531.72	3.14	25.20
1978	127.92	596.26	3.51	23.45
1979	117.00	515.36	3.56	26.20
1980	122.34	517.47	3.90	29.80
<u>Fraud &amp; Forgery</u>				
1964	285.79	43.45	69.02	17.49
1965	316.77	48.27	62.17	26.53
1966	277.65	54.27	51.75	21.68
1967	248.89	36.43	78.44	17.07
1968	335.34	36.42	57.23	13.76
1969	342.67	71.11	74.08	22.38
1970	327.45	85.89	124.94	20.95
1971	360.78	60.53	84.61	21.06
1972	415.83	72.79	113.86	45.02
1973	342.21	71.91	117.71	27.69
1974	119.58	48.08	29.06	13.99
1975	132.42	51.86	29.44	25.66
1976	129.24	57.80	31.73	24.77
1977	133.69	54.63	32.34	23.57
1978	134.58	55.07	40.13	25.44
1979	130.88	60.44	40.44	25.38
1980	145.14	80.00	49.53	29.80

Table 6.2

ENGLAND & WALES

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 16 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile
<u>Motor Vehicle Theft</u>				
1964	11.28	29.55	.10	.34
1965	12.29	29.85	.12	.39
1966	13.84	34.22	.16	.40
1967	14.85	32.54	.21	.31
1968	14.45	34.10	.18	.26
1969	113.11	301.07	2.03	8.58
1970	121.74	333.68	2.33	9.66
1971	130.56	312.04	2.80	9.32
1972	128.98	332.13	2.84	9.29
1973	139.99	375.31	3.14	10.42
1974	149.47	363.55	3.65	10.86
1975	167.72	351.51	4.32	11.32
1976	169.62	355.74	4.40	11.58
1977	170.65	373.64	4.70	13.04
1978	179.01	406.81	5.07	15.47
1979	156.49	382.81	4.71	13.47
<u>Larceny</u>				
1964	451.39	1374.09	108.86	283.29
1965	498.62	1415.34	118.88	305.51
1966	556.73	1367.60	119.75	301.37
1967	584.05	1404.07	132.09	286.60
1968	646.76	1449.27	142.55	284.56
1969	634.68	1249.61	187.47	269.93
1970	686.12	1229.35	201.63	284.00
1971	673.74	1010.01	183.64	226.87
1972	641.04	966.62	184.71	208.77
1973	719.64	917.08	196.64	201.76
1974	808.45	1109.76	234.29	255.22
1975	850.90	1038.35	263.19	257.29
1976	877.48	1055.36	281.83	257.44
1977	921.88	1150.97	296.13	279.45
1978	891.91	1137.23	290.67	288.92
1979	842.40	1052.21	268.19	253.09

Table 6.3

UNITED STATES

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 17 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Juvenile</u>	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Juvenile</u>
<u>Motor Vehicle Theft</u>				
1960	74.15	566.07	2.47	22.71
1961	87.08	584.35	3.06	23.13
1962	85.43	608.02	3.07	27.72
1963	75.90	546.73	2.61	22.07
1964	86.55	632.94	3.49	29.50
1965	92.09	622.83	3.50	29.20
1966	90.40	618.08	3.40	28.69
1967	98.16	622.69	3.78	30.18
1968	104.67	630.44	4.73	35.53
1969	103.85	587.78	4.87	35.11
1970	114.22	562.16	5.34	33.03
1971	120.93	536.18	7.61	33.17
1972	107.98	497.61	5.69	32.75
1973	96.24	506.05	5.26	34.68
1974	104.84	522.72	6.24	38.83
1975	92.53	458.92	5.71	37.91
1976	74.57	377.34	4.75	33.63
1977	89.14	442.91	6.20	45.65
1978	84.64	430.31	6.16	50.51
1979	95.69	442.24	7.32	52.36
1980	92.44	359.36	6.83	42.08
<u>Larceny</u>				
1960	344.78	1639.69	77.54	279.82
1961	343.90	1578.63	87.33	297.43
1962	322.68	1654.47	91.43	327.68
1963	304.91	1452.80	84.19	287.66
1964	324.44	1645.73	98.90	358.54
1965	320.54	1718.96	105.69	436.15
1966	303.61	1728.52	104.71	464.22
1967	299.88	1752.57	120.53	482.73
1968	337.16	1731.69	126.29	479.64
1969	373.74	1855.79	147.15	603.91
1970	446.16	1922.40	180.35	697.64
1971	479.60	2057.73	194.36	750.01
1972	462.11	1968.86	201.97	775.12
1973	436.65	1763.60	206.30	745.52
1974	583.17	2459.76	266.53	1017.03
1975	613.62	2344.57	293.91	988.41
1976	582.05	2116.87	277.74	866.99
1977	566.90	2104.07	273.86	862.96
1978	576.34	2188.44	280.28	899.83
1979	628.06	2261.67	279.00	869.00
1980	683.54	2140.46	278.40	785.00

arrest rates for robbery, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and fraud and forgery. Likewise, adult women arrested for larceny produce a rate per 100,000 adult women which is much higher than the rates for the remaining four property offences put together. This is indicative of the fact that girls and adult women seem to specialise in larceny which probably is the most trivial of all the seven offences examined in this study. This has been the trend during the entire study period.<sup>29</sup>

Among males, the larceny arrest rates for adult men exhibit patterns and trends similar to those exhibited by adult women. Although juvenile males arrested for larceny also produce a higher rate than those arrested for any other offence, they are also arrested for burglary at a high rate.

The high rate of larceny arrests for girls, and adult women can be described in another way. Girls and adult women arrested for each of the five offences examined other than larceny have constituted only a small portion of arrest and their arrest rates have always been much lower than those of boys and men. Larceny data, especially of the United States, present some remarkable shifts in this relationship. The rate of girls arrested for larceny has always been higher than the arrest rate of adult women. But what is striking is the fact that since 1964 the larceny arrest rate for girls has also been higher than those for adult males, 785 and 684 respectively in 1980. The current suggestion that crimes by women are increasing rapidly can, therefore, be explained by the increase in the arrest rate of juvenile girls.

That juveniles make up a higher proportion of arrests for property offences cannot be disputed. The male juveniles' arrest rate for robbery, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and larceny combined was 4,154 per 100,000 boys in 1980 in the United States; more than half (2,140) of that was for larceny alone. This combined arrest rate was more than three times the arrest rate for adult males. Similarly, girls were arrested for these property offences at a rate of 946 per 100,000 girls, over three-fourths of which (785) was for larceny alone. And again, juvenile girls were arrested for these offences at a rate three times that of adult females.

The situation in the United Kingdom is somewhat different. Actually, there appears a declining trend in the larceny arrest rates for boys and girls and a reverse trend for adult males and females. Thus, the arrest rate for boys was thrice that of men in 1964, and in 1979 this ratio dropped to 1.25:1. The adult male arrest rate almost doubled between 1964 and 1979 and the boys' arrest rate declined by about 25 per cent during the same period. Similarly, the adult women's arrest rate for larceny doubled during the study period, while the arrest rate of juvenile girls declined. Furthermore, the girls' arrest rate was more than two and a half times that of adult women in 1964, while currently girls are arrested less often than women.

This brings me to the last set of tables showing arrest rates for fraud and forgery offences. The limitations of statistics on these offences have been

noted by various researchers. This category of offences does not necessarily contain a large majority of employee fraud as we are made to believe. A large majority of these offences consist of cheque fraud, passing valueless cheques, credit card fraud, false pretences, misappropriation, etcetera. As the data in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 indicate, arrests for these offences are on the increase both in England and Wales and in the United States. (The Australian data, because of a series of changes in counting rules, do not offer a clear picture of trend. However, the arrest rate for this offence category has been shown in Table 6.1). In England and Wales, it appears that all the four age and sex groups show similar increases, of approximately 200 per cent, in their arrest rates between 1964 and 1979. In the United States, adult women have shown the sharpest increases in arrest rates for fraud and forgery. Whereas, in 1960 this arrest rate was only 31 per 100,000 adult women, in 1980 this rate increased by over 430 per cent to 166.7 per 100,000 adult women. Compared to this, increases in the arrest rates for adult men were minimal. Aside from larceny, fraud and forgery is the most frequent offence for which adult women get arrested. Among juveniles, boys and girls, this is not a frequent illegal activity.

Although the arrest rates of adult women for fraud and forgery have been increasing, it is difficult to say who commits these offences: the housewife, unemployed women, women in particular occupations, etcetera. It is, therefore, not particularly relevant to examine the relationship between women in particular occupations and women arrested for fraud and forgery. Nevertheless, an attempt in this regard will be made in the next chapter.

#### **Peak arrest age and the burning-out process in crime**

So far I have described arrest statistics in terms of a juvenile/adult dichotomy. This description has been most useful in verifying the claims made by various researchers. No matter how one looks at the data, it is eminently clear that juvenile boys and girls, proportionate to their population, are not overrepresented in arrests for violent offences, for example, homicide and aggravated assault. In all three countries the overwhelming majority of persons arrested for homicide and aggravated assault come from the adult population. It is a remarkable finding because it explodes the myth created by certain researchers and the media that youths commit disproportionately large numbers of violent offences.

While useful in this regard, my description of youth crime is not particularly helpful in specifying such issues as age of onset of crime, peak age of crime, growing out of crime, etcetera. A study based on annual statistics cannot adequately address these issues. However brief explanations can be offered from other works. Wolfgang found that the largest number of cohort subjects established their first police contact when they were 16 years old.<sup>30</sup>

Table 7.1

ENGLAND & WALES

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 16 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Juvenile</u>	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Juvenile</u>
<u>Fraud &amp; Forgery</u>				
1964	37.97	9.76	8.35	3.44
1965	38.12	15.92	8.03	6.56
1966	40.91	17.34	8.60	6.96
1967	46.11	18.98	9.24	7.08
1968	27.99	14.03	6.23	6.42
1969	73.36	20.35	13.58	6.24
1970	77.10	21.81	15.55	6.68
1971	79.97	22.17	14.94	7.87
1972	87.09	21.49	19.05	8.81
1973	77.36	21.02	16.60	8.65
1974	84.25	24.95	19.34	10.10
1975	93.60	26.33	21.29	9.64
1976	100.69	27.26	24.08	10.18
1977	98.79	27.36	24.14	8.24
1978	93.32	28.75	23.43	9.29
1979	98.12	27.50	24.52	10.91

As will be shown shortly, the importance of this age in criminal activity needs to be considered seriously. As regards peak age of crime, Greenwood observed that the peak arrest age varies according to offence; it is highest for the most serious offence of homicide and lowest for vandalism.<sup>31</sup> On the issue of growing out of crime, some earlier studies indicate that very few individuals initiate criminal activity after the age of 30.<sup>32</sup>

The age of onset of delinquency and crime is an important guide post for police options and one can examine this with the help of data on peak arrest age of alleged offenders. As I have shown in the previous section, in high frequency serious crimes such as burglary, motor vehicle theft and larceny where approximately half of the perpetrators are juveniles, it would be interesting to find out at what age peak involvement in these crimes is reached and when this involvement begins to recede. Data in Table 8 enable us to examine this issue for the United States for 1980 only. It is abundantly clear

Table 7.2

UNITED STATES

ARREST RATES FOR ADULTS AND JUVENILES PER 100,000  
ADULT POPULATION AND PER 100,000 POPULATION  
AGED 10 TO 17 RESPECTIVELY BY SEX

Year	Male		Female	
	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile
<u>Fraud &amp; Forgery</u>				
1960	179.73	35.90	31.45	9.70
1961	171.40	28.24	32.38	9.50
1962	165.87	30.84	33.58	9.28
1963	170.51	33.86	35.03	7.11
1964	168.25	37.72	36.20	9.04
1965	164.12	41.33	36.27	14.55
1966	155.28	40.36	38.69	10.23
1967	153.23	47.47	41.29	11.44
1968	152.15	48.11	43.09	12.38
1969	161.48	50.86	40.63	15.16
1970	181.14	49.79	58.87	17.62
1971	203.89	50.08	70.19	17.85
1972	202.61	50.77	73.98	17.31
1973	171.50	48.79	66.27	18.00
1974	186.27	73.97	76.40	26.51
1975	220.33	67.71	99.65	27.73
1976	229.96	60.48	114.72	26.29
1977	241.18	98.62	118.98	52.07
1978	261.67	78.58	148.71	35.17
1979	262.76	97.12	150.54	38.54
1980	278.80	85.97	166.70	37.20

that although peak arrest age varies, this variation is determined only in relation to the main element of an offence. That is to say that peak ages of arrest for violent offences are different from those for property offences. For pure property offences, namely, burglary, automobile theft and larceny, the peak arrest age is the same, for example, 16 years. What is striking is the fact that from age 17 upward the arrest rate for these property offences decline systematically and without a single incidence of irregularity. Thus the highest arrest rate of 1,267.4 per 100,000 relevant population for burglary, which relates to age 16, declined uniformly to only 361.4 at age 24. Similar trends are obtained for larceny and motor vehicle theft. Robbery, which undoubtedly has property as the primary motive, also presents a



Table 8

ARREST RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION BY AGE  
AND TYPE OF OFFENCE, UNITED STATES 1980

Age	Homicide	Aggravated Assault	Robbery	Burglary	Larceny	Auto Theft
15	7.0	181.2	225.5	1135.6	1997.5	369.3
16	12.9	245.9	286.6	<u>1267.4</u>	<u>2259.4</u>	<u>411.3</u>
17	19.6	294.4	<u>312.3</u>	1242.4	2244.9	359.6
18	22.6	308.5	294.5	1046.0	1921.2	261.2
19	<u>25.2</u>	325.2	267.5	835.6	1607.4	211.4
20	23.0	316.5	224.1	647.8	1311.5	166.8
21	24.5	<u>335.3</u>	210.1	551.5	1142.0	143.8
22	23.4	323.6	180.9	472.8	1038.2	126.1
23	24.6	324.4	174.1	432.3	975.2	116.0
24	24.3	303.4	153.1	361.4	870.2	94.3

similar trend with the only variation being that the peak age of arrest is 17. The two pure violent offences not only present different patterns they also indicate that there exists not one peak age of arrest but rather similar arrest rates for young adults between the ages of 18 and 24. For homicide the highest arrest rate of 25.2 per 100,000 relevant population is obtained at age 19 but the arrest rate of each subsequent age is only marginally low; there is no uniform decline in rate however. In the case of aggravated assault, the peak arrest rate is obtained at age 21 and there was no steady increase in rate before this age nor was there steady decline in rate after age 21. It is clear, therefore, that whereas adults of 18 to 24 age group dominate violent offences, juveniles of 15 to 17 prevail in arrests for property offences.

The figures presented in Table 8 must not however be considered as indicators of true offence rates for each age, especially juveniles. All the offences examined in this study incorporate a wide range of behaviours and it is highly likely that juveniles are arrested for behaviours that are less serious than adults. Also, as stated earlier, juveniles tend to operate in groups, at least in property offences and as such several juveniles may be arrested to clear only one offence. It is difficult with the help of annual statistics to prove the point that juvenile illegal behaviour tends to fall at the less serious

end of the seriousness scale. Thus, although I maintain that among those arrested for burglary the 15-year olds probably committed the least serious offence in terms of property loss or damage, I cannot prove this. This is precisely the issue that I want to address in the second part of this study. I may, however, point out that where it concerns an extremely serious offence, for example, homicide, the number of juvenile arrests is relatively small. The arrest rates for aggravated assault are relatively high but I must point out that this offence category involves behaviour which may range between inflicting an injury resulting in a black eye to one which permanently handicaps a person, and juveniles may be arrested for inflicting minor injuries.

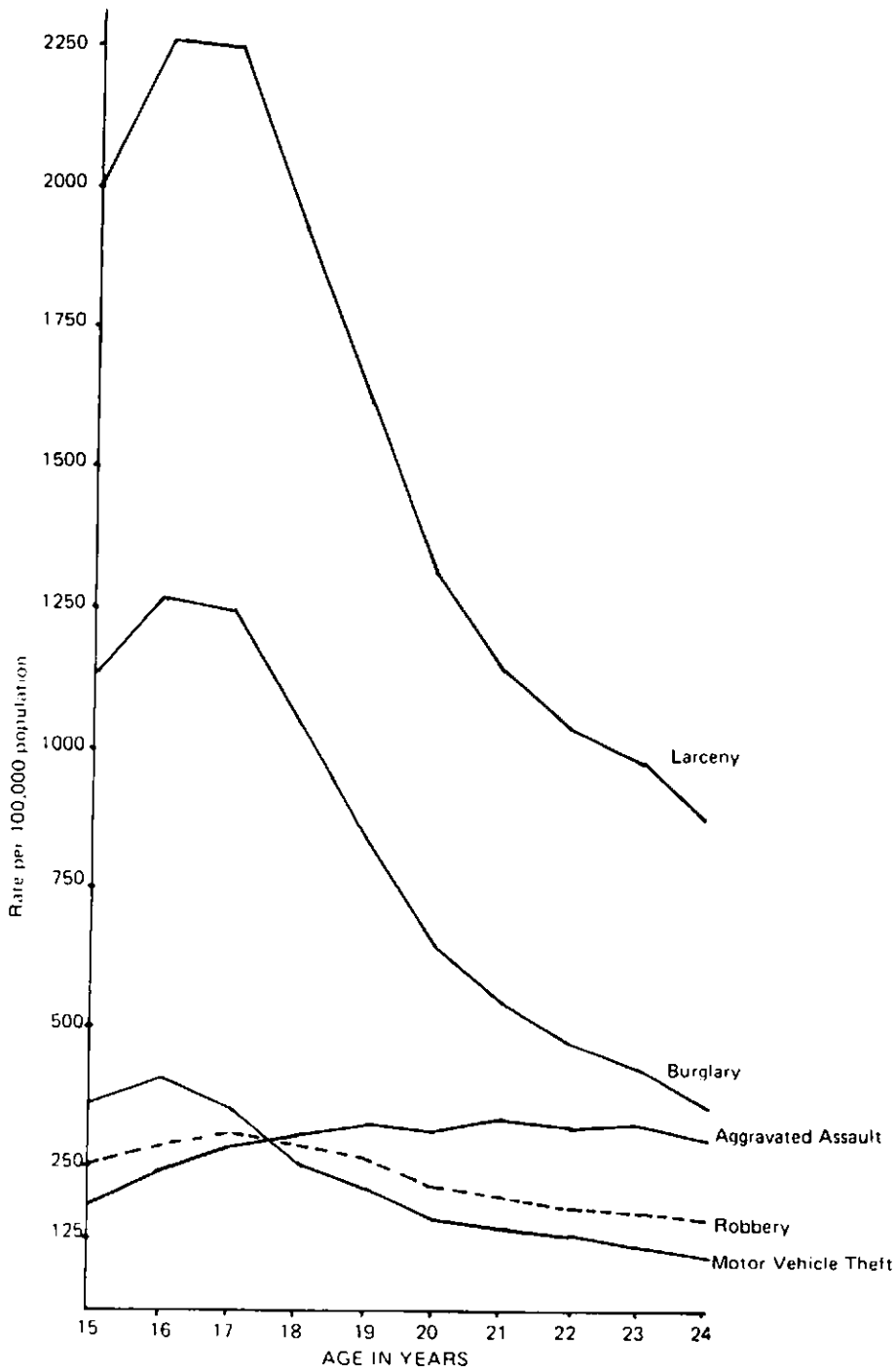
The high arrest rates of persons under the age of 18 in property offences may not overestimate the delinquency of juveniles but it most certainly overestimates the risks of being a victim of juvenile property crime. In other words, because juveniles tend to commit serious property offences in groups, the official arrest rates for juveniles need not necessarily be an exaggeration. But because several juveniles may be arrested for one offence, and this fact is never disclosed in official statistics, members of the community are likely to feel threatened by the misinformed notion of increasing youth crime.

Let me approach the subject of peak arrest age and the decline of arrest age. When talking of reforming criminal offenders, there is an expression often used by workers in the criminal justice services to describe the phenomenon of criminals growing out of their crime. This process is often called the 'burning-out' process. Across the spectrum of rehabilitative and reformatory measures, there is none more effective in reducing crime than simply growing up. In fact if maturity be something independent of age, it may have an effect in restoring offenders to good citizenship which is quite disproportionate to the aging process. The follow up of Wolfgang's cohort study indicates that not many of the cohort subjects continued on the delinquency path much beyond their eighteenth birthday.

The significance of this 'burning-out' process is quite clear from Figure 2. The consistent and regular decline in arrest rates for robbery, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and larceny shown in Table 8 appears dramatic when presented graphically. Statistics on arrests do not provide figures for individual years after age 24. The trends in arrest for the four pure property or property dominated offences shown in Figure 2 suggest the continuing sharp declines beyond age 24. Arrests for violent offences are quite different. At least up to age 24, shown in the Figure, there is no convincing sign of decline. Violence, therefore, is an adult preoccupation: to be categorical, it is an adult male problem. All that is made of increasing youth violence, therefore, is an exaggeration beyond proportions. That violence is an adult pastime is receiving strong support from recent literature on domestic violence. The frequency of violence within the family, including wife bashing and physical

FIGURE 2

Arrest rate per 100,000 population by age and type of offence. United States 1980



and sexual assault on children, most of which do not ever come to the attention of official agencies, is claimed to be several times higher than the violent offences reported to the police. Violence in the family is almost exclusively perpetrated by adults.

### Section III – AGE AND CRIME IN AUSTRALIAN JURISDICTIONS

Comparison of how one stands vis-a-vis others is almost instinctive in human beings. This is as true for children in schools as for adults in every walk of life. Therefore, a comparison of how a country stands against another in social, economic, political, technological, and other spheres, is merely an extension of the wishes of its people. In a federal setting like Australia there is also an increasing interest on the part of authorities in various political units to compare their successes and shortfalls with each other. This study deals with only one aspect of our society, that is, involvement of individuals in selected illegal activity. In the preceding section I have attempted to compare Australia with the United Kingdom and the United States. In this section my aim is to present statistics on the persons arrested for selected crimes in the eight Australian jurisdictions. This will be done with the help of two sets of tables: (1) showing the number and percentage of persons involved in crimes cleared by age (adult/juvenile), sex and type of offence; and (2) rates of persons involved in crimes cleared per 100,000 relevant population. The second set of tables will relate only to offences in which the number of individuals involved is large enough for meaningful interpretation.

Before looking at the tables, let me mention that statistics presented in this section do not add up to the Australian totals analysed in the preceding section. Data in the earlier section were collected from the annual reports of the Australian Bureau of Statistics. The Australia wide statistics produced by the Bureau are based on submissions from the police departments of each jurisdiction on the basis of rules set by the Bureau. Statistics in the present section have been collected directly from the police departments and in most cases these statistics are not available in published form. In describing the data, however, I shall rely on the analysis in the preceding section and highlight similarities or differences in trends.

#### Proportion arrested

Tables 9.1 to 9.8 present frequency of persons involved in crimes cleared in the eight Australian jurisdictions of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, Northern Territory, and the Australian Capital Territory, respectively.

Looking first at the data for violent offences, for example, homicide and serious assault, it is quite apparent that juveniles are not involved in numbers disproportionate to their population nor is their number escalating at an unprecedented rate. In this regard the patterns exhibited in various Australian jurisdictions follow closely those observed in the national data. Interpreting the data any further would involve repeating what has already been said earlier. Actually, the number of persons, especially juveniles and females,

arrested for these two violent offences is such that only in the three largest jurisdictions (New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland) can the data be adequately examined. Before I describe trends in property offences, I must note two minor points:

- (i) disregarding their number, girls account for a higher proportion of female arrests than their share in the population. This again is what was observed in relation to national data; and
- (ii) in only one jurisdiction, that is, South Australia, the proportion of juveniles arrested was high but here too between 1972 and 1980 this proportion has reduced by half.

As we move from pure violent to the mixed offence of robbery one sees immediately the changes in patterns of juvenile participation. Although the number of persons arrested for robbery in all the eight jurisdictions is lower than those arrested for serious assault, juvenile representation in arrests for robbery is relatively high. In three states, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia, boys and girls are present in arrest data in a slightly higher proportion than in the general population. In the pure property offences, except fraud and forgery, juvenile representation increases sharply. By and large, they constitute from a low of about 40 per cent to a high of over 80 per cent of all arrests for property offences. However, some differences are observed when arrest data are examined separately for each property offence. Proportionately, boys and girls are arrested more often for burglary than for motor vehicle theft or larceny. This is in spite of the fact that larceny is by far the most frequent serious offence for which individuals are arrested. What is more interesting is that this proportionate distribution is obtained over time and across all the eight jurisdictions. There is no doubt that this is characteristic of youth of today and I shall attempt to present my explanation in Section IV of this monograph.

Next to arrests for burglary, juveniles constitute a higher proportion of arrests for motor vehicle theft than for larceny. In fraud and forgery, as observed in the previous section, boys and girls are underrepresented. This would suggest that children do not indulge in trickery, deceit and the like. But there are also limitations which an underage person encounters. By virtue of the fact that he/she is a minor, a juvenile is not permitted to sign legal contracts, not many can obtain credit cards, not many have bank accounts, not many acquire driving licences, and so on.

The above description must be accepted with caution mainly because examination of proportions does not provide any clues as to the extent of juvenile participation in crimes. These proportions may remain stable over a number of years, yet the number of arrests may indeed have increased or decreased substantially. In Tables 9.1 to 9.8 actual number of arrests has

Table 9.1

PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED BY SEX AND OFFENCE  
POLICE DATA, NEW SOUTH WALES

Year	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles N	%	Total	Juveniles N	%	Total	Juveniles N	%
Homicide									
1974	125	18	14.4	114	7	6.1	11	-	-
1975	173	14	8.1	146	14	9.6	27	-	-
1976	128	4	3.1	115	3	2.6	13	1	7.7
1977	153	8	5.2	126	8	6.3	27	-	-
1978	149	2	1.3	128	2	1.6	21	-	-
1979	159	9	5.7	133	7	5.3	26	2	7.7
1980	184	11	6.0	164	10	6.1	20	1	5.0
1981	164	11	6.7	137	10	7.3	27	1	3.7
-----									
Serious Assault									
1974	631	52	8.2	573	50	8.7	58	2	3.5
1975	701	51	7.3	650	49	7.5	51	2	3.9
1976	637	46	7.2	593	43	7.3	44	3	6.8
1977	741	48	6.5	698	42	6.0	43	6	13.9
1978	850	58	6.8	782	54	6.9	68	4	5.9
1979	889	72	8.1	824	64	7.8	65	8	12.3
1980	1094	87	7.9	1017	73	7.2	77	14	18.2
1981	1150	109	9.5	1069	65	6.1	81	5	6.2
-----									
Robbery									
1974	574	98	17.1	541	85	15.7	33	13	39.4
1975	481	61	12.7	447	50	11.2	34	11	32.3
1976	406	74	18.2	381	68	17.8	25	6	24.0
1977	442	60	13.6	404	48	11.9	38	12	31.6
1978	558	60	10.9	505	56	11.1	46	4	8.7
1979	541	66	12.2	491	54	11.0	50	12	24.0
1980	665	101	15.2	610	91	14.9	55	10	18.2
1981	651	82	12.6	610	71	11.6	41	11	26.8

Year	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Burglary									
1974	5003	2468	49.3	4778	2339	48.9	225	129	57.3
1975	4759	2555	53.7	4568	2430	53.2	191	125	65.4
1976	4798	2554	53.2	4629	2462	53.2	169	92	54.4
1977	4468	2344	52.5	4232	2220	52.5	236	124	52.5
1978	4505	2178	48.3	4292	2063	48.1	213	115	53.9
1979	4797	2308	48.1	4538	2173	47.9	259	135	52.1
1980	4920	2438	49.6	4671	2308	49.4	249	130	52.2
1981	5778	2849	49.3	5401	2690	49.8	377	159	42.2
-----									
Motor Vehicle Theft									
1974	3435	1598	46.5	3331	1530	45.9	104	68	65.4
1975	3324	1417	42.6	3217	1343	41.7	107	74	69.2
1976	3460	1515	43.8	3357	1453	43.3	103	62	60.2
1977	3351	1469	43.8	3239	1415	43.7	112	54	48.2
1978	3476	1403	40.4	3352	1354	40.4	124	49	39.5
1979	3335	1373	41.2	3207	1323	41.2	128	50	39.1
1980	3862	1713	44.4	3657	1604	43.9	205	109	53.2
1981	4271	1938	45.4	4027	1799	44.7	244	139	57.0
-----									
Fraud									
1974	2491	127	5.1	2092	98	4.7	399	29	7.3
1975	2596	166	6.4	1109	124	11.2	487	42	8.6
1976	2696	175	6.5	2182	128	5.9	514	47	9.1
1977	2796	156	5.6	2172	94	4.3	624	62	9.9
1978	2825	155	5.5	2142	109	5.1	683	46	6.7
1979	2938	165	5.6	2215	116	5.2	723	49	6.8
1980	3373	206	6.1	2488	135	5.4	885	71	8.0
1981	3341	116	3.5	2491	136	5.5	850	80	9.4

Note: A juvenile is a person under 17 years of age.



Table 9.2

PERSONS PROCEEDED AGAINST BY SEX AND OFFENCE  
POLICE DATA, VICTORIA

Year	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles N	%	Total	Juveniles N	%	Total	Juveniles N	%
Homicide									
1972	141	8	5.7	131	8	6.1	10	-	-
1973	101	-	-	90	-	-	11	-	-
1974	99	6	6.1	88	6	6.8	11	-	-
1975	74	2	2.7	67	2	3.0	7	-	-
1976	86	4	4.6	69	3	4.4	17	1	5.9
1977	76	5	6.6	61	5	8.2	15	-	-
1978	86	2	2.3	74	2	2.7	12	-	-
1979	124	9	7.3	103	9	8.7	21	-	-
1980	113	-	-	101	-	-	12	-	-
-----									
Serious Assault									
1972	2849	299	10.5	2741	281	10.2	108	18	16.7
1973	904	118	13.0	866	107	12.4	38	11	29.0
1974	730	80	11.0	698	78	11.2	32	2	6.2
1975	893	89	10.0	852	85	10.0	41	4	9.8
1976	930	91	9.8	879	84	9.6	51	7	13.7
1977	860	87	10.1	803	76	9.5	57	11	19.3
1978	1048	107	10.2	981	92	9.4	67	15	22.4
1979	1146	149	13.0	1073	129	12.0	73	20	27.4
1980	1062	153	14.4	985	128	13.0	77	25	32.5
-----									
Robbery									
1972	274	45	16.4	260	45	17.3	14	-	-
1973	289	70	24.2	274	67	24.4	15	3	20.0
1974	258	74	28.7	241	70	29.0	17	4	23.5
1975	274	64	23.4	255	60	23.5	19	4	21.0
1976	296	62	21.0	268	58	21.6	28	4	14.3
1977	259	54	20.8	242	53	21.9	17	1	5.9
1978	275	53	19.3	256	50	19.5	19	3	15.8
1979	269	51	19.0	256	51	19.9	13	-	-
1980	362	84	23.2	326	73	22.4	36	11	30.6
-----									
Burglary									
1972	4477	2703	60.4	4315	2583	59.9	162	120	74.1
1973	3872	2453	63.4	3711	2340	63.1	161	113	70.2
1974	4020	2665	66.3	3802	2502	65.8	218	163	74.8
1975	3967	2550	64.3	3757	2403	64.0	210	147	70.0
1976	4264	2757	64.7	4040	2602	64.4	224	155	69.2
1977	3782	2204	58.3	3583	2095	58.5	199	109	54.8
1978	4579	2767	60.4	4346	2635	60.6	233	132	56.6
1979	4821	2769	57.4	4552	2626	57.7	269	143	53.2
1980	5498	3075	55.9	5149	2877	55.9	349	198	56.7

Year	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Theft									
1972	10630	3824	36.0	7104	2726	38.4	3526	1098	31.1
1973	10477	3942	37.6	7014	2908	41.5	3463	1034	29.9
1974	10703	4438	41.5	6911	3184	46.1	3792	1254	33.1
1975	11187	4522	40.4	6715	3027	45.1	4472	1495	33.4
1976	11974	5162	43.1	7306	3579	49.0	4668	1583	33.9
1977	11201	4313	38.5	6910	3162	45.8	4291	1151	26.8
1978	13232	5402	40.8	8316	3745	45.0	4916	1657	33.7
1979	14610	5882	40.3	8921	4059	45.5	5689	1823	32.0
1980	14721	5605	38.1	10286	3842	37.4	4435	1763	39.8
-----									
Fraud									
1972	895	69	7.7	735	51	6.9	160	18	11.2
1973	714	65	9.1	569	52	9.1	145	13	9.0
1974	1816	277	15.2	1460	193	13.2	356	84	23.6
1975	1678	235	14.0	1347	165	12.8	331	70	21.2
1976	1859	243	13.1	1488	189	12.7	371	54	14.6
1977	1832	195	10.6	1393	149	10.7	439	46	10.5
1978	1961	211	10.8	1481	144	9.7	480	67	14.0
1979	2167	224	10.3	1636	165	10.1	531	59	11.1
1980	2105	249	11.8	1548	176	11.4	557	73	13.1
-----									
Motor Vehicle Theft									
1972	2871	1348	47.0	2801	1313	46.9	70	35	50.0
1973	2254	1119	49.6	2207	1097	49.7	47	22	46.8
1974	2198	1029	46.8	2145	998	46.5	53	31	58.5
1975	2282	1053	46.1	2227	1025	46.0	55	28	50.9
1976	2529	1161	45.9	2483	1139	45.9	46	22	47.8
1977	2576	1221	47.4	2524	1194	47.3	52	27	51.9
1978	2808	1374	48.9	2745	1345	49.0	63	29	46.0
1979	2549	1167	45.8	2477	1124	45.4	72	43	59.7
1980	2972	1382	46.5	2858	1322	46.3	114	60	52.6

Note: A juvenile is a person under 17 years of age.

Table 9.3

PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED BY SEX AND OFFENCE  
POLICE DATA, QUEENSLAND

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Homicide									
1972	41	-	-	36	-	-	5	-	-
1973	56	1	1.8	53	1	1.9	3	-	-
1974	88	3	3.4	78	3	3.9	10	-	-
1975	79	2	2.5	71	2	2.8	8	-	-
1976	57	2	3.5	49	2	4.1	8	-	-
1977	79	1	1.3	67	-	-	12	1	8.3
1978	67	-	-	55	-	-	12	-	-
1979	90	4	4.4	76	4	5.3	14	-	-
1980	66	7	10.6	53	6	11.3	13	1	7.7
1981	75	3	4.0	65	3	4.6	10	-	-
-----									
Serious Assault									
1972	162	11	6.8	153	11	7.2	9	-	-
1973	189	6	3.2	175	5	2.9	14	1	7.1
1974	251	10	4.0	246	10	4.1	5	-	-
1975	224	23	10.3	213	21	9.9	11	2	18.2
1976	421	27	6.4	409	25	6.1	12	2	16.7
1977	418	30	7.2	393	28	7.1	25	2	8.0
1978	622	37	5.9	601	34	5.7	21	3	14.3
1979	792	47	5.9	749	42	5.6	43	5	11.6
1980	973	79	8.1	902	72	8.0	71	7	9.9
1981	1103	79	7.2	1032	66	6.4	71	13	18.2
-----									
Robbery									
1972	116	12	10.3	109	12	11.0	7	-	-
1973	114	9	7.9	110	9	8.2	4	-	-
1974	123	11	8.9	115	10	8.7	8	1	12.5
1975	145	23	15.9	137	23	16.8	8	-	-
1976	153	18	11.8	146	14	9.6	7	4	57.1
1977	162	28	17.3	144	23	16.0	18	5	27.8
1978	132	17	12.9	121	14	11.6	11	3	27.3
1979	136	22	16.2	126	16	12.7	10	6	60.0
1980	132	22	16.7	123	20	16.3	9	2	22.2
1981	140	23	16.4	128	14	10.9	12	9	75.0
-----									
Burglary									
1972	2577	938	36.4	2519	898	35.7	58	40	69.0
1973	2698	1116	41.4	2602	1054	40.5	96	62	64.6
1974	2591	1270	49.0	2517	1240	49.3	74	30	40.5
1975	2814	1399	49.7	2727	1348	49.4	87	51	58.6
1976	2820	1633	57.9	2762	1588	57.5	58	45	77.6
1977	3017	1516	50.2	2920	1452	49.7	97	64	66.0
1978	3352	1787	53.4	3201	1700	53.1	151	87	57.6
1979	3479	1925	55.3	3301	1814	55.0	178	111	62.4
1980	3401	2049	60.2	3191	1909	59.8	210	140	66.7
1981	3942	2482	63.0	3695	2273	61.5	247	209	84.6

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Theft									
1972	5631	911	16.2	NA	775	-	NA	136	-
1973	5852	1210	20.7	NA	993	-	NA	217	-
1974	5853	1181	20.2	NA	944	-	NA	237	-
1975	6241	1814	29.1	NA	1449	-	NA	365	-
1976	6474	1620	25.0	4959	1311	26.4	1515	311	20.4
1977	7044	2276	32.3	5679	1630	28.7	1365	646	47.3
1978	9022	3700	41.0	6715	2476	36.9	2307	1224	53.1
1979	10187	4175	41.0	7543	2958	39.2	2644	1217	46.0
1980	10945	4963	45.3	7631	3313	43.4	3314	1650	49.8
1981	11493	5254	45.7	7683	3409	44.4	3810	1845	48.4
-----									
Fraud									
1972	1152	33	2.9	NA	23	-	NA	10	-
1973	1048	24	2.3	NA	18	-	NA	6	-
1974	972	27	2.8	761	22	2.9	211	5	2.4
1975	1316	77	5.8	1130	60	5.3	186	17	9.1
1976	1271	59	4.6	1101	47	4.3	170	12	7.1
1977	1249	58	4.6	1088	37	4.0	161	21	9.3
1978	1489	101	6.8	1202	74	6.2	287	27	9.4
1979	1415	111	7.8	1115	80	7.2	300	31	10.3
1980	1391	173	12.4	1061	141	13.3	330	32	9.7
1981	1490	178	11.9	1027	127	12.4	463	51	11.0
-----									
Motor Vehicle Theft									
1972	1412	432	30.6	1343	404	30.1	69	28	40.6
1973	1655	588	35.5	1622	573	35.3	33	15	45.5
1974	1592	732	46.0	1556	713	45.8	36	19	52.8
1975	1905	773	40.6	1855	757	40.8	50	16	32.0
1976	1610	603	37.5	1568	591	37.7	42	12	28.6
1977	1747	638	36.5	1704	620	36.4	43	18	41.9
1978	1912	738	38.6	1848	699	37.8	64	39	60.9
1979	1712	644	37.6	1649	611	37.1	63	33	52.4
1980	1545	587	38.0	1462	535	36.6	83	52	62.7
1981	1562	540	34.6	1492	512	34.3	70	28	40.0

Note: A juvenile is a person under 17 years of age.

Table 9.4

PERSONS PROCEEDED AGAINST BY SEX AND OFFENCE  
POLICE DATA, SOUTH AUSTRALIA

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Homicide									
1972	18	1	5.6	18	1	5.6	-	-	-
1973	21	1	4.8	18	1	5.6	3	-	-
1974	27	1	3.7	25	1	4.0	2	-	-
1975	24	2	8.3	20	2	10.0	4	-	-
1976	29	2	6.9	23	1	4.3	6	1	16.6
1977	24	1	4.2	22	1	4.5	2	-	-
1978	25	2	8.0	23	2	8.7	2	-	-
1979	22	-	-	20	-	-	2	-	-
1980	37	-	-	30	-	-	7	-	-
-----									
Serious Assault									
1972	66	21	31.8	64	21	32.8	2	-	-
1973	80	20	25.0	74	18	24.3	6	2	33.3
1974	96	22	22.9	74	21	28.4	22	1	4.5
1975	114	25	21.9	106	25	23.6	8	-	-
1976	129	40	31.0	125	37	29.6	4	3	75.0
1977	110	30	27.3	102	26	25.5	8	4	50.0
1978	135	21	15.6	125	20	16.0	10	1	10.0
1979	196	34	17.4	190	33	17.4	6	1	16.6
1980	280	46	16.4	250	42	16.8	30	4	13.3
-----									
Robbery									
1972	88	22	25.0	82	21	25.6	6	1	16.6
1973	85	27	31.8	78	22	28.2	7	5	71.4
1974	94	30	31.9	82	23	28.0	12	7	28.0
1975	128	40	31.2	115	28	24.3	13	12	92.3
1976	132	57	43.2	122	48	39.3	10	9	90.0
1977	86	25	29.1	75	19	25.3	11	6	54.5
1978	93	31	33.3	92	30	32.6	1	1	100.0
1979	126	29	23.0	113	24	21.2	13	5	38.5
1980	135	36	26.7	126	34	27.0	9	2	22.2

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Burglary									
1972	1715	1189	69.3	1673	1162	69.5	42	27	64.3
1973	1625	1146	70.5	1531	1072	70.0	94	74	78.7
1974	1516	1104	72.8	1472	1069	72.6	44	35	79.5
1975	1691	1244	73.6	1630	1196	73.4	61	48	78.7
1976	1522	1041	68.4	1471	1007	68.5	51	34	66.7
1977	1763	1144	64.9	1685	1085	64.4	78	59	75.6
1978	1803	1292	71.7	1720	1226	71.3	83	66	79.5
1979	2539	1804	71.0	2377	1669	70.2	162	135	83.3
1980	2271	1422	62.6	2137	1329	62.2	134	93	69.4
-----									
Theft									
1972	4225	2170	51.4	3339	1787	53.5	886	383	43.2
1973	4381	2278	52.0	2981	1639	55.0	1400	639	45.6
1974	4367	2183	50.0	2983	1562	52.4	1384	621	44.9
1975	6072	3140	51.7	3599	1988	55.2	2473	1152	46.6
1976	4930	2702	54.8	3099	1693	54.6	1831	1009	55.1
1977	5873	3473	59.1	3679	2165	58.8	2194	1308	59.6
1978	5949	3159	53.1	4052	2246	55.4	1897	913	48.1
1979	7011	3686	52.6	4792	2616	54.6	2219	1070	48.2
1980	7552	3612	47.8	4693	2377	50.6	2859	1235	43.2
-----									
Fraud									
1972	612	107	17.5	495	77	15.6	117	30	25.6
1973	580	95	16.4	461	65	14.1	119	30	25.2
1974	541	111	20.5	426	68	16.0	115	43	37.4
1975	522	130	24.9	390	84	21.5	132	46	34.8
1976	416	89	21.4	320	65	20.3	96	24	25.0
1977	474	121	25.5	364	77	21.2	110	44	40.0
1978	514	112	21.8	404	87	21.5	110	25	22.7
1979	671	185	27.6	504	143	28.4	167	42	25.1
1980	992	227	22.9	679	150	22.1	313	77	24.6

Table 9.5

PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED BY SEX AND OFFENCE  
POLICE DATA, WESTERN AUSTRALIA

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Homicide									
1971	16	1	6.2	14	1	7.1	2	-	-
1972	35	1	2.9	30	-	-	5	1	20.0
1973	29	1	3.4	25	-	-	4	1	25.0
1974	30	1	3.3	27	1	3.7	3	-	-
1975	61	3	4.9	56	3	5.4	5	-	-
1976	50	-	-	47	-	-	3	-	-
1977	52	1	1.9	49	1	2.0	3	-	-
1978	30	-	-	26	-	-	4	-	-
1979	38	3	7.9	36	2	5.6	2	1	50.0
1980	31	-	-	29	-	-	2	-	-
1981	33	3	9.1	30	2	6.7	3	1	33.3
-----									
Serious Assault									
1971	79	6	7.6	75	6	8.0	4	-	-
1972	103	7	6.8	91	7	7.7	12	-	-
1973	97	3	3.1	85	2	2.4	12	1	8.3
1974	151	5	3.3	140	5	3.6	11	-	-
1975	200	21	10.5	193	21	10.9	7	-	-
1976	276	21	7.6	242	16	6.6	34	5	14.7
1977	305	20	6.6	279	20	7.2	26	-	-
1978	318	25	7.9	296	23	7.8	22	2	9.1
1979	262	22	8.4	243	21	8.6	19	1	5.3
1980	395	15	3.8	360	10	2.8	35	5	14.3
1981	392	29	7.4	364	28	7.7	28	1	2.8
-----									
Robbery									
1971	64	9	14.1	62	7	11.3	2	2	100.0
1972	77	6	7.8	75	6	8.0	2	-	-
1973	69	26	37.7	61	21	34.4	8	5	62.5
1974	69	6	8.7	69	6	8.7	-	-	-
1975	72	16	22.2	62	13	21.0	10	3	30.0
1976	87	17	19.5	81	15	18.5	6	2	33.3
1977	84	18	21.4	75	15	20.0	9	3	33.3
1978	100	19	19.0	86	16	18.6	14	3	21.4
1979	91	16	17.6	86	15	17.4	5	1	20.0
1980	98	9	9.2	82	8	9.8	16	1	6.3
1981	91	17	18.7	85	15	17.6	6	2	33.3

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Burglary									
1971	3589	2267	63.2	3422	2117	61.9	167	150	89.8
1972	3695	2045	55.4	3550	1930	54.4	145	115	79.3
1973	3995	2320	58.1	3832	2205	57.5	163	115	70.6
1974	2253	1238	55.0	2158	1164	53.9	95	74	77.9
1975	2869	1670	58.2	2670	1518	56.9	199	152	76.4
1976	3100	1930	62.3	2907	1779	61.2	193	151	78.2
1977	3093	1847	59.7	2951	1748	59.2	142	99	69.7
1978	3492	2099	60.1	3262	1921	58.9	230	178	77.4
1979	3009	1622	53.9	2842	1492	52.5	167	130	77.9
1980	3529	2090	59.2	3330	1945	58.4	199	145	72.9
1981	3495	2144	61.3	3237	1940	59.9	258	204	79.1
-----									
Motor Vehicle Theft									
1971	2054	1291	62.8	1935	1202	62.1	119	89	74.8
1972	2336	1289	55.2	2192	1188	54.2	144	101	70.1
1973	2381	1226	51.5	2270	1154	50.8	111	72	64.7
1974	1341	717	53.5	1283	679	52.9	58	38	65.5
1975	1241	596	48.0	1195	568	47.5	46	28	60.9
1976	1480	722	48.8	1411	685	48.5	69	37	53.6
1977	1478	742	50.2	1392	688	49.4	86	54	62.8
1978	1588	782	49.2	1518	740	48.7	70	42	60.0
1979	1198	615	51.3	1141	573	50.2	57	42	73.7
1980	1340	667	49.8	1282	621	48.4	58	46	79.3
1981	1174	623	53.1	1100	549	49.9	74	56	75.7
-----									
Fraud									
1971	1735	89	5.1	1594	59	3.7	141	30	21.3
1972	1635	37	2.3	1428	20	1.4	207	17	8.2
1973	1653	39	2.4	1499	33	2.2	154	6	3.9
1974	519	28	5.4	453	25	5.5	66	3	4.5
1975	552	49	8.9	484	27	5.6	68	22	32.4
1976	540	31	5.7	448	27	6.0	92	4	4.3
1977	541	23	4.2	466	16	3.4	75	7	9.3
1978	568	44	7.8	463	30	6.5	105	14	14.7
1979	676	62	9.2	531	45	8.5	145	17	11.7
1980	782	73	9.3	607	51	8.4	175	22	12.6
1981	855	84	9.8	638	59	9.2	217	25	11.5

Note: A juvenile is a person under 17 years of age.



Table 9.6

PERSONS PROCEEDED AGAINST BY SEX AND OFFENCE  
POLICE DATA, TASMANIA

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
<b>Homicide</b>									
1972	26	-	-	22	-	-	4	-	-
1973	19	-	-	17	-	-	2	-	-
1974	8	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-
1975	14	3	21.4	10	-	-	4	2	50.0
1976	12	-	-	11	-	-	1	-	-
1977	14	1	7.1	12	1	9.3	2	-	-
1978	11	1	9.1	11	1	9.1	-	-	-
1979	14	1	7.1	11	-	-	3	1	33.3
1980	10	1	10.0	9	1	11.1	1	-	-
<b>Serious Assault</b>									
1972	12	-	-	9	-	-	3	-	-
1973	14	2	14.3	12	2	16.7	2	-	-
1974	34	-	-	32	-	-	2	-	-
1975	20	1	5.0	20	1	5.0	-	-	-
1976	36	2	5.6	35	2	5.7	1	-	-
1977	14	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-
1978	21	2	9.5	18	2	11.1	3	-	-
1979	23	2	8.7	23	2	8.7	-	-	-
1980	31	3	9.7	31	3	9.7	-	-	-
<b>Robbery</b>									
1972	30	4	13.3	30	4	13.3	-	-	-
1973	28	4	14.3	28	4	14.3	-	-	-
1974	27	-	-	27	-	-	-	-	-
1975	38	3	7.9	36	3	8.3	2	-	-
1976	12	3	25.0	12	3	25.0	-	-	-
1977	21	1	4.8	19	1	5.3	2	-	-
1978	16	3	18.8	14	3	21.4	2	-	-
1979	20	3	15.0	19	3	15.8	1	-	-
1980	23	3	13.0	23	3	13.4	-	-	-
<b>Burglary</b>									
1972	1653	936	56.6	1594	916	57.5	59	20	33.9
1973	1324	752	56.8	1283	726	56.6	41	26	63.4
1974	1012	-	-	978	-	-	34	-	-
1975	875	448	51.2	834	424	50.8	41	24	58.5
1976	728	365	50.1	683	329	48.1	45	36	80.0
1977	675	351	52.0	646	352	51.3	29	19	65.5
1978	749	422	56.3	728	406	55.8	21	16	76.2
1979	896	436	48.7	852	403	47.3	44	33	75.0
1980	876	435	49.7	838	418	49.9	38	17	44.7

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Theft									
1972	3634	1627	44.8	3156	1483	47.0	478	144	30.1
1973	3458	1661	48.0	2880	1366	47.4	578	295	51.0
1974	1279	-	-	978	-	-	301	-	-
1975	1140	396	34.7	867	298	34.4	273	98	35.9
1976	1142	384	33.6	782	267	34.1	360	117	32.5
1977	1073	335	31.2	773	245	31.7	300	90	30.0
1978	1020	375	36.8	743	270	36.3	277	105	37.9
1979	1161	350	30.2	787	246	31.3	374	104	27.8
1980	1493	418	28.9	860	236	27.4	633	182	28.8
-----									
Fraud									
1972	473	30	6.3	341	24	7.0	132	6	4.6
1973	831	61	7.3	717	56	7.8	114	5	4.4
1974	200	-	-	184	-	-	16	-	-
1975	149	8	5.4	125	2	1.6	24	6	25.0
1976	132	19	14.4	104	14	13.5	28	5	17.9
1977	123	13	10.6	100	11	11.0	23	2	8.7
1978	124	11	8.9	93	6	6.5	31	5	16.1
1979	97	7	7.2	72	3	4.2	25	4	16.0
1980	121	9	7.4	91	4	4.4	30	5	16.6
-----									
Motor Vehicle Theft									
1972	625	373	59.7	612	368	60.1	13	5	38.5
1973	624	369	59.1	597	353	59.1	27	16	49.3
1974	404	-	-	390	-	-	14	-	-
1975	293	117	39.9	288	115	39.9	5	2	40.0
1976	260	122	46.9	258	122	47.3	2	-	-
1977	296	156	52.7	290	154	53.1	6	2	33.3
1978	241	103	42.7	232	98	42.2	9	5	55.6
1979	231	105	45.5	217	93	42.9	14	12	85.7
1980	207	77	37.2	199	75	37.7	8	2	25.0

Table 9.7

PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED BY SEX AND OFFENCE  
POLICE DATA, NORTHERN TERRITORY

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Homicide									
1973	9	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-
1974	14	-	-	13	-	-	1	-	-
1975	24	-	-	19	-	-	5	-	-
1976	25	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-
1977	27	1	3.7	25	1	4.0	2	-	-
1978	21	1	4.8	20	1	5.0	1	-	-
1979	11	1	9.1	11	1	9.1	-	-	-
1980	32	5	15.6	28	4	14.3	4	1	25.0
-----									
Serious Assault									
1973	66	-	-	65	-	-	1	-	-
1974	61	2	3.3	58	1	1.7	3	1	33.3
1975	35	-	-	35	-	-	-	-	-
1976	31	1	3.2	30	1	3.3	1	-	-
1977	45	1	2.2	43	1	2.3	2	-	-
1978	35	3	8.6	33	3	9.1	2	-	-
1979	47	4	8.5	46	4	8.7	1	-	-
1980	362	23	6.4	346	22	6.4	16	1	6.2
-----									
Robbery									
1973	6	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-
1974	12	1	8.3	12	1	8.3	-	-	-
1975	12	1	8.3	12	1	8.3	-	-	-
1976	19	4	21.0	19	4	21.0	-	-	-
1977	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
1978	16	1	6.2	14	1	7.1	2	-	-
1979	10	3	30.0	10	3	30.0	-	-	-
1980	15	4	26.7	15	4	26.7	-	-	-

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Burglary									
1973	465	262	56.3	445	248	55.7	20	14	70.0
1974	628	434	69.1	585	400	68.4	43	34	79.1
1975	487	242	49.7	463	220	47.5	24	22	91.7
1976	452	266	58.8	440	257	58.4	12	9	75.0
1977	710	394	55.5	681	371	54.5	29	23	79.3
1978	646	297	46.0	607	280	46.1	39	17	43.6
1979	629	290	46.1	598	280	46.8	31	10	32.3
1980	993	468	47.1	984	463	47.0	9	5	55.6
-----									
Motor Vehicle Theft									
1973	240	93	38.8	230	93	40.4	10	-	-
1974	422	226	53.6	418	225	53.8	4	1	25.0
1975	362	141	39.0	361	141	39.1	1	-	-
1976	214	78	36.4	214	78	36.4	-	-	-
1977	345	131	38.0	335	126	37.6	10	5	50.0
1978	433	203	46.9	430	202	47.0	3	1	33.3
1979	535	231	43.2	534	230	43.1	1	1	100.0
1980	606	208	34.3	602	207	34.4	4	1	25.0
-----									
Fraud									
1973	183	-	-	181	-	-	2	-	-
1974	149	2	1.3	127	2	1.6	22	-	-
1975	131	4	3.0	99	-	-	32	4	12.5
1976	100	2	2.0	94	1	1.1	6	1	16.7
1977	172	2	1.2	159	2	1.3	13	-	-
1978	63	4	6.4	59	4	6.8	4	-	-
1979	123	3	2.4	95	3	3.2	28	-	-
1980	344	5	1.4	305	4	1.3	39	1	2.6

Note: A juvenile is a person under 17 years of age.

Table 9.8

PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED BY SEX AND OFFENCE  
POLICE DATA, AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Homicide									
1973	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
1974	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1975	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
1976	1	1	100.0	-	-	-	1	1	100.0
1977	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1978	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
1979	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
1980	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-----									
Serious Assault									
1973	34	2	5.9	32	-	-	2	2	100.0
1974	34	1	2.9	33	-	-	1	1	100.0
1975	28	5	17.9	28	5	17.9	-	-	-
1976	29	1	3.4	26	1	3.8	3	-	-
1977	36	1	2.8	33	1	3.0	3	-	-
1978	40	4	10.0	39	4	10.3	1	-	-
1979	48	3	6.2	46	3	6.5	2	-	-
1980	47	3	6.4	45	3	6.7	2	-	-
-----									
Robbery									
1973	8	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-
1974	11	6	54.5	11	6	54.5	-	-	-
1975	18	7	38.9	18	7	38.9	-	-	-
1976	8	1	12.5	8	1	12.5	-	-	-
1977	13	-	-	12	-	-	1	-	-
1978	6	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-
1979	23	3	13.0	23	3	13.0	-	-	-
1980	10	-	-	8	-	-	2	-	-
-----									
Burglary									
1973	309	211	68.3	302	208	68.9	7	3	42.9
1974	209	108	51.7	201	100	49.8	8	8	100.0
1975	272	154	56.6	252	139	55.2	20	15	75.0
1976	206	121	58.7	197	114	57.9	9	7	77.8
1977	245	121	49.4	236	114	48.7	9	7	77.8
1978	301	142	47.2	285	130	45.6	16	12	75.0
1979	273	122	44.7	262	115	43.9	11	7	63.6
1980	295	165	55.9	291	161	55.3	4	4	100.0

30 June	Persons			Males			Females		
	Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles		Total	Juveniles	
		N	%		N	%		N	%
Theft									
1973	804	302	37.6	479	172	40.1	325	130	40.0
1974	345	113	32.8	243	75	30.9	102	38	37.3
1975	512	201	39.3	313	121	38.7	199	80	40.2
1976	603	321	53.2	373	192	51.5	230	129	50.1
1977	571	230	40.3	410	181	44.1	161	49	30.4
1978	708	241	34.0	450	172	38.2	258	69	26.7
1979	822	311	37.8	567	226	39.9	255	85	33.3
1980	756	309	40.9	530	246	46.6	226	63	27.9
-----									
Motor Vehicle Theft									
1973	93	50	53.7	93	50	53.7	-	-	-
1974	111	55	49.5	111	55	49.5	-	-	-
1975	153	78	51.0	152	77	50.7	1	1	100.0
1976	120	51	42.5	120	51	42.5	-	-	-
1977	141	79	56.0	138	78	56.5	3	1	33.3
1978	122	48	39.3	122	48	39.3	-	-	-
1979	123	47	38.2	122	47	38.5	1	-	-
1980	111	41	36.9	111	41	36.9	-	-	-
-----									
Fraud									
1973	335	8	2.4	263	5	1.9	72	3	4.2
1974	86	6	7.0	75	4	5.3	11	2	18.2
1975	83	4	4.8	67	4	6.0	16	-	-
1976	116	12	10.3	83	6	7.2	33	6	18.2
1977	207	4	1.9	163	3	1.8	44	1	2.3
1978	130	14	10.8	99	8	8.1	31	6	19.4
1979	152	12	7.9	108	11	10.2	44	1	2.3
1980	156	12	7.7	125	10	8.0	31	2	6.5

Note: A juvenile is a person under 17 years of age.

been provided and the reader can examine the data. To respond to the extent of juvenile participation in arrest, I now present an analysis of rate of arrest.

### Arrest rates

Arrest rates per 100,000 relevant population have not been calculated for each offence mainly because numbers were not large enough. For the two largest states, New South Wales and Victoria, data on rates have been provided for four offences, for others rates were calculated for two or three offences. Data in Tables 10.1 to 10.8 show arrest rates in each of the eight jurisdictions by type of offence. One fact which has been highlighted on numerous occasions, stands out most clearly, and that is that juvenile arrest rates for serious assaults are much lower than those for adults. And again, as I have pointed out earlier, juvenile arrest rates for pure property offences in every jurisdiction are several times higher than those for adults. At this point it is important to remember that the rates presented in Tables 10.1 to 10.8 are seriously biased in favour of the adults, much more so in pure violent offences than in pure property offences. Violent offences are perpetrated primarily by adults and as shown in Table 8 and Figure 2, not only the peak arrest age is high but also at least up to age 24 the arrest rate continues to be very close to the peak arrest rate. This does not mean that the high arrest rate continues during the rest of adult life. What is meant is that the 'burning-out' phenomenon takes effect a little later and gradually, so that by age 40 the arrest rate for violent offences will approximate zero. Therefore, if the adult rates are calculated on the basis of a population aged 18 to 40, the arrest rates shown in Tables 10.1 to 10.5 for serious assaults will be substantially higher. For property offences the peak arrest age is usually 16 and thereafter the rate recedes swiftly and consistently. If the trend shown in Figure 2 continues, a negligible arrest rate might arrive well before one reaches the age of 40. However, juvenile arrest rates for property offences may still remain high.

In describing proportion of arrests, differences between jurisdictions were somewhat masked. The rate data presented in Tables 10.1 to 10.8 make the differences very obvious. It is of interest to know who is arrested for what offence in what proportion. But it is much more important to know the relative representation of specific population segments in arrests for particular offences. While legal definitions of offences and enforcement practices across jurisdictions vary, rough comparison of arrest rates between jurisdictions can still provide the situation of one area vis-a-vis others.

I shall now attempt to highlight briefly the differences in arrest rate across jurisdictions for some offences.

### **Serious assault**

It is clear from data in Tables 10.1 to 10.5 that in general the arrest rate for serious assault has been increasing steadily in four states and holding stable in Victoria. When examined by sex and age it becomes apparent that the major part of this increase is due to increase in the arrest rate of males, and, although the arrest rate of boys has been increasing as well, it is the adult male who contributes most to the arrest rate.

### **Burglary**

Information on arrests for theft was available only for South Australia. Therefore, of all the offences in each of the eight jurisdictions burglary was the one for which the largest number of arrests were made. The two largest states, New South Wales and Victoria, show a remarkable degree of stability in arrest rates. This is true for all the sex and age categories. In Queensland, although the general arrest rate for burglary during the nine year period 1972 to 1980 showed only a marginal increasing trend, the arrest rate of juveniles more than doubled. Thus the arrest rate for boys increased from 672 to 1,357 per 100,000 boys and the corresponding increase for girls was from 32 to 105. Girls in South Australia also showed an increase of similar magnitude. Burglary arrests in Western Australia present a general declining trend and this situation is attained as a result of a decline in the arrest rate of males. Nevertheless, excluding Northern Territory, this state produces the highest arrest rate for burglary. On an average one in 50 boys is arrested every year for this offence. Tasmania in spite of a sharp decline between 1972 and 1974, presents a high rate of arrest.

Northern Territory, the smallest jurisdiction in the country in terms of population, is the burglary capital of Australia. Not only is the general burglary arrest rate high, in 1980 one out of every 100 residents aged 10 years old and over was arrested for burglary. When sex and age distributions are examined, the rates produce a frightening picture. Again, in 1980 one out of every 50 male and one out of every 20 boys aged 10-16 were arrested for burglary. Noting that an offence of burglary has a roughly 25 per cent chance of being cleared, to imagine how many more children would have been arrested had all burglaries been cleared makes a depressing scenario. Continuing on this gloomy picture, remember that according to victimisation surveys only about 40 per cent of all burglaries are ever reported. A little adding tells us that if all burglaries are reported and if all are cleared then every other boy would be arrested for burglary in a year. Add arrests for all offences and I doubt if any citizen could escape arrest. Call it fantasy, call it scaremongering, that is what the figures say. If these figures have any credence, they show how absurd is the whole criminal justice system — from legislation to release from correctional institutions. I shall return to this issue in the concluding section of the report.



Table 10.1

RATE OF PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED PER 100,000 RELEVANT  
POPULATION BY SEX AND OFFENCE,  
NEW SOUTH WALES

Year	Persons		Males		Females	
	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles
Serious Assault						
1974	15.8	8.5	28.9	16.0	2.9	0.7
1975	17.4	8.4	32.5	15.7	2.5	0.7
1976	15.7	7.6	29.4	13.8	2.2	1.0
1977	18.1	8.0	34.2	13.6	2.1	2.1
1978	20.5	9.7	37.9	17.5	3.2	1.4
1979	21.0	12.1	39.3	20.9	3.1	2.8
1980	25.5	14.6	47.6	23.8	3.6	4.8
-----						
Robbery						
1974	14.4	16.1	27.2	27.2	1.6	4.4
1975	12.0	10.0	22.3	16.0	1.7	3.7
1976	10.0	12.3	18.9	21.9	1.2	2.1
1977	10.8	10.0	19.8	15.5	1.8	4.1
1978	13.4	10.0	24.5	18.2	2.2	1.4
1979	12.8	11.1	23.4	17.6	2.4	4.2
1980	15.5	16.9	28.6	29.6	2.5	3.5
-----						
Burglary						
1974	125.7	404.6	240.6	748.2	11.3	43.4
1975	118.3	420.4	228.1	776.7	9.4	42.4
1976	118.3	424.3	229.6	792.3	8.3	31.6
1977	109.0	391.4	207.6	717.8	11.4	42.8
1978	108.6	364.8	208.0	669.4	10.2	39.8
1979	113.6	388.1	216.3	708.4	12.2	46.9
1980	114.5	408.8	218.8	751.1	11.5	45.0
-----						
Motor Vehicle Theft						
1974	86.3	262.0	167.8	489.4	5.2	23.9
1975	82.6	233.2	160.6	429.3	5.3	25.1
1976	85.3	251.7	166.5	467.6	5.0	21.3
1977	81.7	245.3	158.9	457.5	5.4	18.6
1978	83.7	235.0	162.4	439.4	5.9	17.0
1979	79.0	230.9	152.9	431.3	6.0	17.4
1980	89.9	287.3	171.3	522.0	9.5	37.7

Table 10.2

RATE OF PERSONS PROCEEDED AGAINST PER 100,000 RELEVANT  
POPULATION BY SEX AND OFFENCE,  
VICTORIA

Year	Persons		Males		Females	
	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles
Serious Assault						
1973	30.8	25.0	59.4	44.2	2.6	4.8
1974	24.5	16.8	47.1	31.8	2.1	0.9
1975	29.5	18.6	56.6	34.4	2.7	1.7
1976	30.3	19.2	57.7	34.4	3.3	3.0
1977	27.7	18.3	52.1	31.1	3.6	4.8
1978	33.2	22.4	62.7	37.5	4.2	6.4
1979	35.8	31.2	67.7	52.6	4.5	8.6
1980	32.7	31.7	61.3	51.9	4.7	10.6
Robbery						
1972	9.5	9.7	18.1	18.9	1.0	-
1973	9.9	14.8	18.8	27.7	1.0	1.3
1974	8.7	15.5	16.3	28.5	1.1	1.7
1975	9.0	13.4	16.9	24.3	1.2	1.7
1976	9.6	13.0	17.6	23.7	1.8	1.7
1977	8.3	11.4	15.7	21.7	1.1	0.4
1978	8.7	11.1	16.4	20.4	1.2	1.3
1979	8.4	10.7	16.1	20.8	0.8	-
1980	11.2	17.5	20.3	29.6	2.2	4.7
Burglary						
1972	155.4	579.9	301.0	1086.1	11.2	52.6
1973	132.1	518.9	254.5	967.0	10.9	49.0
1974	134.9	558.2	256.5	1020.1	14.6	70.2
1975	131.0	532.6	249.5	973.8	13.8	63.4
1976	139.0	580.3	265.4	1064.3	14.5	67.2
1977	121.7	463.1	232.4	856.8	12.7	47.1
1978	145.2	579.2	277.9	1074.7	14.7	56.8
1979	150.7	579.2	287.0	1071.5	16.7	61.4
1980	169.5	639.1	320.2	1167.1	21.3	84.4
Motor Vehicle Theft						
1972	99.6	289.2	195.4	552.1	4.8	15.3
1973	76.9	236.7	151.3	453.3	3.2	9.5
1974	77.8	215.5	144.7	406.9	3.5	13.4
1975	75.4	219.9	147.9	415.4	3.6	12.1
1976	82.5	244.4	163.1	465.9	3.0	9.5
1977	82.9	256.6	163.7	488.3	3.3	11.7
1978	89.1	287.6	175.6	548.6	4.0	12.5
1979	79.7	244.1	156.2	458.6	4.5	18.4
1980	91.6	287.2	177.8	536.3	7.0	25.6

Table 10.3

RATE OF PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED PER 100,000 RELEVANT  
POPULATION BY SEX AND OFFENCE,  
QUEENSLAND

Year	Persons		Males		Females	
	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles
Serious Assault						
1972	10.4	4.2	19.6	8.2	1.2	-
1973	11.8	2.2	21.7	3.6	1.7	0.8
1974	15.1	3.6	29.5	7.1	0.6	-
1975	13.2	8.3	25.0	14.8	1.3	1.5
1976	24.5	9.7	47.4	17.6	1.4	1.5
1977	23.8	10.9	44.7	19.9	2.9	1.5
1978	34.7	13.5	66.9	24.3	2.4	2.2
1979	43.4	17.4	82.0	30.2	4.7	3.8
1980	51.8	28.8	96.0	51.2	7.6	5.2
Burglary						
1972	164.9	361.1	322.0	671.7	7.4	31.7
1973	167.7	416.8	322.8	766.6	12.0	47.6
1974	155.7	463.2	301.7	879.9	8.9	22.5
1975	165.9	502.4	320.7	947.3	10.3	37.4
1976	164.0	586.7	320.4	1119.2	6.8	33.0
1977	172.1	551.2	332.4	1033.4	11.1	47.6
1978	186.9	654.0	356.2	1215.6	16.9	65.2
1979	190.6	710.6	361.2	1306.2	19.5	84.1
1980	181.2	748.1	339.5	1357.1	22.4	105.1
Motor Vehicle Theft						
1972	90.3	166.3	171.7	302.2	8.8	22.2
1973	102.8	219.6	201.2	416.7	4.1	11.5
1974	95.7	267.0	186.5	506.0	4.3	14.3
1975	112.3	277.6	218.1	532.0	5.9	11.8
1976	93.6	216.6	181.9	416.5	4.9	8.8
1977	99.7	232.0	194.0	441.3	4.9	13.4
1978	106.6	270.1	205.6	499.8	7.2	29.2
1979	93.8	237.1	180.4	440.0	6.9	25.0
1980	82.3	214.3	155.5	380.3	8.9	39.0

Table 10.4

RATE OF PERSONS PROCEEDED AGAINST PER 100,000 RELEVANT  
POPULATION BY SEX AND OFFENCE,  
SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Year	Persons		Males		Females	
	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles
Serious Assault						
1972	6.7	11.2	13.2	22.2	0.4	-
1973	8.0	10.6	15.0	18.9	1.2	2.2
1974	9.4	11.6	14.6	21.8	4.3	1.1
1975	11.0	13.1	20.7	25.7	1.5	-
1976	12.3	21.1	24.1	38.1	0.8	3.2
1977	10.4	16.0	19.4	26.9	1.5	4.4
1978	12.5	11.2	23.3	20.8	1.8	1.1
1979	18.0	18.5	35.2	34.8	1.1	1.1
1980	25.5	25.3	45.9	44.8	5.4	4.5
Burglary						
1972	174.9	636.3	343.8	1227.4	8.5	29.3
1973	162.8	609.4	309.3	1124.3	18.7	79.8
1974	148.8	582.8	291.2	1109.2	8.6	37.6
1975	163.8	652.9	318.0	1229.4	11.7	51.5
1976	145.5	548.8	283.5	1036.5	9.7	36.8
1977	165.9	608.4	319.7	1123.2	14.6	64.5
1978	166.8	692.1	320.8	1277.2	15.2	72.8
1979	233.3	981.3	440.7	1760.3	29.5	151.6
1980	206.8	781.7	392.0	1416.0	24.2	105.6
Theft						
1972	430.8	1161.3	686.1	1887.6	179.4	415.4
1973	439.0	1211.4	602.2	1719.0	278.4	689.3
1974	428.0	1152.5	590.0	1620.7	269.6	667.5
1975	588.0	1648.0	702.2	2043.5	475.4	1235.4
1976	471.4	1424.6	597.2	1742.6	347.4	1090.6
1977	552.8	1846.9	698.0	2241.8	409.8	1429.9
1978	550.4	1692.3	755.8	2339.8	348.2	1006.9
1979	644.3	2005.0	888.5	2759.1	404.3	1201.9
1980	687.8	1985.5	861.0	2532.6	517.1	1402.5

Table 10.5

RATE OF PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED PER 100,000 RELEVANT  
POPULATION BY SEX AND OFFENCE,  
WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Year	Persons		Males		Females	
	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles
<b>Serious Assault</b>						
1972	12.0	4.8	20.8	9.3	2.9	-
1973	11.1	2.0	19.0	2.6	2.8	1.4
1974	16.8	3.3	30.5	6.4	2.5	-
1975	21.5	13.7	40.8	26.8	1.5	-
1976	29.0	13.7	50.0	20.3	7.3	6.7
1977	31.3	12.9	56.3	25.1	5.4	-
1978	31.7	15.9	58.2	28.4	4.5	2.6
1979	25.7	13.9	46.9	25.8	3.8	1.3
1980	37.8	9.4	68.0	12.2	6.8	6.5
<b>Burglary</b>						
1972	431.8	1389.9	812.7	2552.1	34.6	160.8
1973	456.5	1554.7	858.3	2881.9	38.0	158.2
1974	250.0	814.8	469.7	1491.1	21.5	100.2
1975	309.1	1091.4	565.0	1936.6	43.7	203.7
1976	326.1	1258.3	600.8	2259.9	41.4	202.2
1977	317.3	1190.9	595.6	2190.9	29.6	131.4
1978	348.5	1335.3	641.3	2373.6	46.6	233.4
1979	294.9	1027.3	548.4	1830.9	33.2	170.2
1980	337.8	1312.8	629.2	2370.0	38.6	188.0
<b>Motor Vehicle Theft</b>						
1972	27.30	876.1	501.8	1570.9	34.4	141.2
1973	272.1	821.6	508.4	1508.2	25.9	99.0
1974	148.8	471.9	279.2	869.8	13.1	51.4
1975	133.7	389.5	252.9	724.6	10.1	37.5
1976	155.7	470.7	291.6	870.2	14.8	49.6
1977	151.6	478.4	280.9	862.3	17.9	71.7
1978	158.5	497.5	298.4	914.4	14.2	55.1
1979	117.4	389.5	220.2	703.2	11.4	55.0
1980	128.3	419.0	242.2	756.7	11.2	59.6

Table 10.6

RATE OF PERSONS PROCEEDED AGAINST PER 100,000 RELEVANT  
POPULATION BY SEX AND OFFENCE,  
TASMANIA

Year	Persons		Males		Females	
	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles
Burglary						
1972	528.0	1620.2	1016.2	3119.2	37.8	70.4
1973	416.7	1301.8	806.7	2461.5	25.8	92.0
1974	313.7	-	606.9	-	21.0	-
1975	267.3	776.9	510.5	1435.2	25.0	85.4
1976	219.8	639.4	413.4	1126.2	27.1	129.1
1977	201.3	624.3	386.5	1225.1	17.2	59.1
1978	220.7	760.5	430.9	1432.9	12.3	58.9
1979	260.1	795.9	496.8	1441.2	25.4	123.1
1980	249.4	799.6	481.5	1505.1	21.4	63.8
-----						
Motor Vehicle Theft						
1972	199.6	645.7	390.2	1253.2	8.3	17.6
1973	196.4	638.8	375.4	1196.8	17.0	56.6
1974	125.2	-	242.0	-	8.7	-
1975	89.5	202.9	176.3	389.3	3.0	7.1
1976	78.5	213.7	156.2	417.6	1.2	-
1977	88.3	277.4	173.5	536.0	3.6	7.3
1978	71.0	185.6	137.3	345.9	5.3	18.4
1979	67.1	191.7	126.5	332.6	8.1	44.7
1980	59.0	141.6	114.3	270.1	4.5	7.5

Table 10.7

RATE OF PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED PER 100,000 RELEVANT  
POPULATION BY SEX AND OFFENCE,  
NORTHERN TERRITORY

Year	Persons		Males		Females	
	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles
<b>Burglary</b>						
1973	620.6	2226.2	1022.9	3912.3	63.7	257.8
1974	808.4	3315.0	1308.7	5754.6	130.4	553.7
1975	719.9	2327.8	1153.8	3928.6	87.2	458.7
1976	580.2	2263.6	997.6	4202.8	35.5	159.7
1977	885.6	3050.2	1512.4	5523.3	82.5	371.0
1978	764.0	2061.4	1287.8	3742.8	104.2	245.4
1979	718.5	1828.0	1224.4	3408.0	80.1	130.8
1980	1077.5	2729.2	1957.9	5214.6	21.5	60.5
<b>Motor Vehicle Theft</b>						
1973	320.3	790.2	528.7	1467.1	31.8	-
1974	543.2	1726.2	935.1	3236.9	12.1	16.3
1975	535.1	1356.3	899.6	2517.9	3.6	-
1976	274.7	663.8	485.2	1275.6	-	-
1977	430.3	1014.2	744.0	1875.8	28.4	80.6
1978	512.1	1408.9	912.2	2700.2	8.0	14.4
1979	611.1	1456.1	1093.4	2799.4	2.6	13.1
1980	657.6	1213.0	1197.8	2331.3	9.6	12.1

Table 10.8

RATE OF PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES CLEARED PER 100,000 RELEVANT  
POPULATION BY SEX AND OFFENCE,  
AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

Year	Persons		Males		Females	
	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles	Total	Juveniles
<b>Burglary</b>						
1973	236.7	943.1	455.6	1820.1	10.9	27.4
1974	151.5	442.2	288.1	800.3	11.7	67.1
1975	184.9	602.9	340.3	1061.3	27.4	120.5
1976	129.4	459.1	244.8	847.6	11.4	54.2
1977	150.0	452.6	285.3	831.8	11.2	53.7
1978	177.8	518.6	332.2	925.2	19.2	90.0
1979	155.8	429.4	295.7	784.5	12.7	50.9
1980	164.2	565.4	320.9	1066.6	4.5	28.4
<b>Motor Vehicle Theft</b>						
1973	71.2	223.5	140.3	437.5	-	-
1974	80.5	225.2	159.1	440.2	-	-
1975	104.0	305.4	205.2	587.9	1.4	8.0
1976	75.4	193.5	149.1	379.2	-	-
1977	86.3	295.5	166.8	569.1	3.7	7.7
1978	72.0	175.3	142.2	341.6	-	-
1979	70.2	165.4	137.7	320.6	1.2	-
1980	61.8	140.5	122.4	271.6	-	-

Arrest rates for motor vehicle theft present trends similar to those observed for burglary, the only variation being that the magnitude of rates is about two-thirds that for burglary. In this offence as well, arrests in Northern Territory are highest, followed by Western Australia and the rest.

My final comments in this section relate to the arrest rate for theft in South Australia, see Table 10.4. These rates are high for every sex and age group (although not as high as the burglary arrest rate in Northern Territory) but what makes these rate trends interesting is the arrest trend for girls. During the nine year period the arrest rate for girls has increased from 415 in 1972 to 1,403 in 1980 per 100,000 girls. Similarly, the arrest rate for women has jumped from 179 to 517 per 100,000 women during the same period. These theft rates for girls and women are several times higher than their rates for burglary. What is striking is the magnitude of these rates and it is no exaggeration to say that the arrest rates of girls and women for theft is several times higher than their rates for all other offences combined.



## Section IV – CONCLUSIONS: In Defence of Youth

This report attempted to establish the validity or otherwise of the claim that juveniles have been committing more and more serious violent and property crimes than ever before. Data from the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia and its eight jurisdictions were collected for the past several years and the above claim was examined with the help of arrest proportions and arrest rates. Also these proportions and rates were calculated for four demographic groups, namely, adult male, adult female, juvenile male and juvenile female. The analysis has produced a convincing denial of the above claim with regard to certain offences and raised questions with regard to others. Before I recapitulate major findings of this study and their implications in terms of further research and policy I would briefly comment on the population used by other researchers to examine the issue and the need for a tighter definition of a juvenile.

The usual and the most common ways of defining the status of individuals in societies is in terms of ability to exercise certain rights and obligations to discharge certain responsibilities. These definitions are usually clarified in the constitution of the country. The most important provision in this document relates to the age at which an individual can exercise his/her civic rights, especially voting. As we know until the mid 1960s this age was 21 in all countries. After the Vietnam war and widespread protests by young people in North America, Europe, some parts of Asia and Australia and New Zealand, this was lowered to 18 in the late 1960s. The higher age of 21 was an anomaly which existed for an unusually long time, because whereas an individual under this age had no say in the running of the affairs of his/her country, persons of 18, 19 and 20 (and older) were compelled to register for military duties and fight in wars if the government of the day so decided.

The historical reasons for prescribing 21 as the age at which one could exercise civic responsibilities are not clear except on the assumption that individuals become 'mature' at that age and are able to make rational choices. Admittedly, no test for this transition was ever used and this cut-off age was seemingly an arbitrary one. Since this anomaly has now been removed in most countries (a person aged 18 years and over can now be expected to defend his/her nation, exercise discretion in selecting representatives to legislatures, and enter into contracts), why do some authorities, when thinking of criminality, continue to aggregate persons between the ages of 16 to 24 or 16 to 21 and describe them as 'youths'? The constitution of the country and other laws have created two distinct demographic entities and there seems no persuasive reason to combine portions of these two entities to form a special group to explain crime. This is artificial and stigmatises the 'youth'. Once we separate a group of people howsoever irrational that

separation may be, we have effected a classification. Therefore, if we deal with persons aged 18 or over differently from those under this age in all legitimate activities we must deal with them differently in illegitimate activities as well. Considering that propensity and proclivity to crime decline with age, there is no objection to explaining criminality of 'young adults' separately from other adults. Such a separation may actually prove to be quite useful.

Long-term arrest data distributed by age and offence are difficult to assemble. The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation in its annual report 'Crime in the United States' does provide a table entitled 'Total Arrests, Distribution by Age'. For ages 15 to 24, number of persons arrested for individual age years is shown in this table. Total population covered and the number of agencies reporting in each year are also given. Sex distribution of arrestees is not provided in this table (since 1981 such information is available) nor is there any information on the general population by age and for the agencies reporting. Considering time required for collecting such data I have concentrated on data for 1980 only. With the help of arrest data for 1980 I wish to examine arrest rates per 100,000 population of juveniles, young adults and adults. As the data will soon indicate, if population data for reporting agencies broken down by age and sex can be obtained the issue of increasing youth crime can be examined more fully.

In Table 11, I have presented arrest rates of three age groups for six major offences. The definition of young adult, especially in terms of maximum age, is an arbitrary one. I have deliberately chosen age limits higher than usually used. In the Table, I have defined juveniles as those between the ages of 10 and 17 and their arrest rates have been calculated on the basis of general population of 10 to 17 year olds. Young adults have been defined in two ways — those 18 to 29 and 18 to 34; and consequently an adult is one aged 30 years and over and 35 years and over respectively.

Data in Table 11 totally dispel the notion that arrest rates of juveniles for violent offences, for example, homicide and aggravated assaults, is unusually high. Whether we define young adults as between the ages of 18 and 29 or between 18 and 34 their arrest rate for homicide is more than three times that of juveniles. In fact, the arrest rate of adults aged 30 years and over is also marginally higher than that of juveniles. Similarly, young adult arrest rates for aggravated assaults are more than twice that of juveniles. At this point I must refer back to Table 4.3 which describes arrest rates for homicide and aggravated assaults for the United States. This table, which also offers data by sex, clearly demonstrates that males outnumber females by at least 8:1. Extrapolating this information in Table 11 offers some very interesting results. Juvenile arrest rate for homicide in 1980 is slightly over six per 100,000 juveniles. When this rate is calculated on the basis of juvenile population distributed by sex the male juvenile arrest rate for homicide is

Table 11

Arrest rate per 100,000 relevant population  
by age groups and offence,  
United States, 1980

Offence	AGE GROUPS				
	Juvenile Age 10-17	Young Adult Age 18-29	Adult Age 30 and over	Young Adult Age 18-34	Adult Age 35 and over
Homicide	6.03	21.93	6.74	20.21	5.14
Aggravated Assault	130.37	291.40	84.41	264.47	65.20
Robbery	145.08	173.02	17.69	143.63	9.79
Burglary	727.51	478.9	43.59	389.79	26.28
Larceny	1405.87	1040.19	201.15	890.91	151.78
Motor Vehicle Theft	203.75	124.49	13.55	102.43	8.67

10.90 (see Table 4.3). Therefore, if this male attribute is used to calculate young male adult (18 to 29) arrest rate for homicide, it will jump from approximately 22 (Table 11) to about 40 per 100,000 young male adults. Similarly, the young male adult arrest rate for aggravated assault will be much higher than the rate of 291 of young adults. From these data the major conclusion to be drawn is that homicide and aggravated assault are offences committed primarily by males in the age bracket 18 to 29.

Before I highlight the pattern in arrests for robbery and for all the property offences I may point out an important fact which in recent years has emerged as a disturbing phenomenon in modern societies. I wish to draw attention to increasing incidents of child bashing. Examination of this fact falls outside the scope of this study but its relevance to the present study can hardly be ignored. Statistics on the subject of juveniles as victims of violence are hard to come by. Statistics Canada, however, publishes an annual volume entitled *Homicide Statistics*. According to these statistics, between 1976 and 1981, on an average there were 650 victims of homicides per year of which about 11 per cent were children under the age of 16 years. Again, on an average there were 615 suspects each year of which only three per cent were

under the age of 16. Therefore, chances of children becoming victims are about four times that of becoming suspects in homicide incidents. Statistics Canada publication also shows that between two-thirds and three-fourths of all child victims die in homicides involving relatives. When only victims and suspects in domestic relationship are examined, some frightening results are obtained. Children under 16 constitute about 24 per cent of all victims of domestic homicides, but they form only two per cent of suspects in such homicides.<sup>33</sup> The conclusion is inescapable. That children are likely to be victims of homicide much more frequently at home than elsewhere, to be killed by his/her own relatives more often than by strangers, is the ultimate form of cruelty and does not speak well of our society. The above description relates only to the most extreme form of violence. If data were available on the number of children not killed but maimed or severely beaten they could further corroborate the fact that violence against children is a much more common phenomenon than violence by children. This leads us to ponder if violence by children is indeed a reflection of violence against them. It is an area worth investigation.

It is the robbery arrest data which, however, demonstrate clearly the mistaken notion of increasing violent crimes by juveniles (in the United States robbery is considered to be a violent offence). From Table 5.3 we learn that in 1980 the male juvenile arrest rate for robbery was more than twice that for adults aged 18 years and over. Data in Table 11, however, show that when the adult population is broken down into young adult (18 to 29) and adult (30 and over), the robbery arrest rate of young adults is about 20 per cent higher than that of juveniles. Data in Table 5.3 also show the female arrest rate for robbery is less than 10 per cent of the male arrest rate. Therefore, if we can separate the data in Table 11 by sex it will show that the robbery arrest rate of young male adults will be well over 300 per 100,000 corresponding population.

I have categorised robbery as a primarily property motivated offence. Although data in Table 11 show that the juvenile arrest rate for robbery is not the highest among all age groups, this rate is substantial. For burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft, there is no doubt that juvenile arrest rates are higher than those of other population groups. However, when juveniles are compared with young adults the arrest rates differences reduce significantly. Thus another major conclusion is that juvenile participation rate is higher than adult rate for relatively less serious offences.

Data in Table 11 also highlight low participation rates of adults (those 30 years and over and 35 years and over). Especially, for robbery, burglary, and motor vehicle theft arrest rates of persons aged 35 and over are indeed very low. Besides indicating the burning-out phenomenon, the data suggest that present method of dichotomising arrest data into juvenile and adult is not only biased against juveniles but also against middle-aged and the elderly.

### Major findings

The findings of this study must be considered with caution. It is an undeniable fact that there exists widespread selectivity in arrest data. I shall summarise the major findings in terms of arrest for violent offences (homicide and aggravated assault), mixed offences (robbery), and pure property offences (burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and fraud and forgery).

With this prior word of caution this study reveals at least two fundamental and significant facts:

- (i) there is absolutely no evidence to indicate that juveniles, proportionate to their population, are overrepresented in the total arrest for violent offences. The juvenile propensity for violent crime, that is, of those under 18 is not greater than the adult propensity. Therefore, certain scholars, some journalists, and some law enforcement officials, counting only those actually arrested without reference to their total number in the community have presented a misleading account of juvenile crime; and
- (ii) if statistics from different sources are added together, perhaps there will hardly be a juvenile without an arrest record. Both are serious indictments on our societies. To elaborate:

1. Perhaps the most significant finding of this study is that the involvement of juveniles in arrest for violent offences, for example, homicide and aggravated assault, is less than their share in the general population. This finding is strongly supported by data over time and across countries. Analysis on the basis of age and sex specific arrest rates also show that rates for juvenile males are much lower than those for adult males. The only change that has occurred during the last two decades is in the proportion and rate of juvenile girls; in some instances arrest rates of girls are higher than those of adult women. One must not, however, forget that women and girls in violent offences constitute a small part of all arrests.

When data for homicide and aggravated assault are analysed separately, one immediately notices the low representation of juveniles in homicide. It is of interest to point out that the arrest rate of adult males and females calculated for this study and for others is evidently under-estimated. Whereas rates for juveniles are calculated on the basis of population aged 10 to 17, rates for adults are calculated on the basis of total population aged 18 and over. It is known and shown in Figure 2 and Tables 8 and 11, that young adults are arrested much more frequently than adults in the higher age bracket. In other words, whereas adults arrested for violent offences include a very high proportion of those in the age group 18 to 24, in calculating rate the denominator is the total adult population.

Finally, a large portion of violent offences in which death or injury occur,

involves the use of a lethal weapon such as a gun or knife. There is evidence to suggest that juveniles tend to be less lethally armed than adults<sup>34</sup> and so inflict less serious injuries.

2. Analysing arrest data and the burglaries estimated in victimisation studies from Australian jurisdictions one can observe that if all burglaries are reported and if all are cleared by arrest, one in every two juveniles would be arrested each year. This could be an exaggeration. But before submitting an alternative scenario, it is necessary to present the situation in the United Kingdom and the United States. When one adds arrest figures for burglary, larceny and motor vehicle theft in these two countries it emerges that one in 44 male juveniles in the former and one in 26 in the latter is arrested for one of the three offences each year. Assuming that only 25 per cent of these offences are ever cleared, it would seem that one in 11 and one in seven juveniles respectively would be arrested had all reported offences been cleared. And finally, if only 40 per cent of the total of these three offences are reported, it seems one in four juveniles in the United Kingdom and one in three juveniles in the United States would be arrested if all offences were reported and cleared. Admittedly, the figures are less frightening than those from the Northern Territory in Australia, but these lower figures are nonetheless discomfoting.

Even if this is an exaggeration, the alternative scenario does not bring much comfort. Suppose that the figures collected here indicate that some juveniles are arrested more than once during the year. What conclusions may be drawn from this? Does it mean that their offences were not serious enough to warrant institutionalisation? Some such assumption follows if the juvenile offender is released. But this being so the suggestion already made above that juveniles tend to commit rather less serious offences would appear to be supported. Yet if we accept that juveniles commit less serious offences, and keep in mind the low overall clearance rate of property offences, two alarming possibilities present themselves: (i) that many serious property offenders are on the loose; and (ii) juveniles are arrested unnecessarily. Because if as seems to be the case, not many adults are arrested for comparable offences, then the higher juvenile arrest could be a device intended to bolster the clearance rate. This can be adequately verified. Part II of this research project will try to match offences of adults and juveniles and examine possible biases.

In a mixed type of offence, for example, robbery, in which property is an important element, the proportion of arrestees who are juveniles begins to increase. Also, the arrest rates of juveniles for robbery has in recent years surpassed those of adults. Criminal victimisation surveys have shown that juveniles tend to commit robberies in groups more often than adults.

In most Western countries robbery is considered to be a violent offence. Thus, the inclusion of this offence in broad category of 'violent offence', adds another complication. Data from the three countries under investigation

indicate that, in terms of number of offences reported or becoming known to police, robbery and aggravated assault constitute over 90 per cent of all violent offences. In terms of arrest data over 80 per cent of those arrested for violent offences are for these two offences only. Thus, the more serious of violent offences, for example, homicide and rape, account for only a minor portion of offences reported as well as persons arrested, and the involvement of juveniles in these offences is indeed infrequent. I am deliberately emphasising this point to stress that juveniles participate in relatively less serious offences. The two violent offences in which juvenile participation is measurable, for example, aggravated assault and robbery, are also the ones which offer law enforcement the opportunity to define seriousness. Furthermore, these two offences present an enormous number of possible variations in seriousness. Research in violent offences indicate that persons under the age of 18 commit relatively less serious robberies and aggravated assaults.<sup>35</sup>

The evidence presented in Section II and III is direct and it challenges the notion of increasing violent crimes by juveniles if juveniles be defined (as they should be) as those under 18. All the data from each of the countries in Section II were collected from published sources. Why then do certain scholars and the media tend to exaggerate crimes by juveniles? One can only speculate as follows:

1. **Juveniles as pawns of the society.** Historically adults have always used juveniles to their (adults') advantage. The control which parents exercised over their children all through the ages began to be shared by institutions such as the school, the church, and the state. Thus the control over children was formalised and currently the state has taken over almost all the controlling role. It is now possible to blame juveniles for all kinds of social ailments and the state can legislate to control 'misbehaviour'. Thus, the state compels children up to a certain age to continue in school, it prescribes the age at which one can drive an automobile, buy liquor, etcetera. Therefore, juveniles are easier to control or to be confronted with their misdemeanors and they live under the ever watchful eyes of adults.

2. **Juveniles are easy targets and used successfully to cover-up adult misdeeds.** In spite of the fact that violent crimes by juveniles are relatively infrequent, certain scholars, the media, and the criminal justice agencies continue to make headlines on increasing youth violence. This may be deliberately to hide extensive violence perpetrated by adults. Violence in the family has just begun to surface as one of the most tragic indictments on our societies and all of it is committed by adults, quite frequently against children. Violence by organised crime is committed solely by adults. Current research seems to indicate that whereas family-related homicides are declining, drug-related homicides are increasing. By artificially inflating juvenile violence, adults shift attention from themselves.

Nowhere does this emerge more clearly than in relation to property offences committed by juveniles. As already shown if all the burglaries are reported and cleared the total amount of property loss from theft and damage will be several times more than the figures provided by various law enforcement agencies. The important point is however, that property loss as a result of all property offences by juveniles examined in this report would be only a fraction of those losses attributable to offences committed by adults but seldom prosecuted. Organised crime alone probably costs a nation the equivalent of its annual national budget. Illicit traffic in narcotic drugs, consumer fraud, medical fraud, illegal gambling all result in losses amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars and all of these are perpetrated solely by adults. Yet, the amount of publicity given by insurance companies, and security and protective agencies to burglary by juveniles is out of all proportions to the losses incurred by such juvenile burglaries.

**3. Juvenile crime is adult instigated.** A clear example of adult instigated juvenile crime is drug abuse among school children. Extensive use of narcotic drugs, observed by various studies since the late 1960s, could not have been possible without the deliberate and active efforts by dealers, pushers, traffickers and sellers of narcotic drugs, who all happen to be adults.

**4. It is in the best interests of the adult 'illegal world' to create the myth of increasing youth crime, and stigmatise youth.** Once a juvenile is arrested, convicted and institutionalised, he/she becomes an unwelcome person in the society. In his/her desire to survive one is drawn to influences which provide support. The 'illegal world' of the adults requires workers, and individuals who have been processed through the criminal justice system are easily attracted because they are not wanted in the 'legal' world.

**5. The society's efforts have been inadequate in preparing individuals for the transition from juvenile to adulthood.** Data from different streams indicate that crime rate is highest among the 18 to 20 year old youths.<sup>36</sup> Some studies have also shown that the largest number of individuals begin their delinquent careers at age 16.<sup>37</sup> Numerous social, psychological and economic factors, all interlinked, come to play a major role in an individual's life between the time he/she is 16 and the next few years. In many Western societies, individuals can legally quit school at age 16. Families in the Western world have become almost obsessed with the idea that young persons should be on their own at the earliest. This leads to a different emotional adjustment and economic independence. The main agency which is expected by the society to prepare individuals for this transition is the school. Questions have been raised with regard to the capacity of schools to fulfil this role by providing a suitable environment for growing up.<sup>38</sup> It is not yet apparent that systematic preparation for this transition is underway in any country.



### Future Research

This report has presented some very convincing evidence on the criminality of various segments of population in three countries. However, much work is still to be carried out to identify options and recommend action. The issue which data in the present study seem to strongly dispute is the one dealing with positive relationship between juveniles and increasing violent crimes. Not only the arrest rates of juveniles for homicide and aggravated assault were much lower than those of adults, but when the adult population is separated into young adult (18 to 29) and adult (30 and over), the arrest rates of young adults were found to be several times the rates of juveniles. This finding alone suggests that further research be directed in the following areas:

- (i) Examination of trends in age and violent crimes. With the help of data for the past two decades from several countries, an attempt should be made to firmly establish the link between age and violent crimes, to identify the age at which these crimes escalate and the age at which they start declining. This will be a statistical analysis.
- (ii) Identification of juvenile violence continuing to adulthood. Although available evidence points to the contrary, there is a growing concern among knowledgeable circles that today's adult criminals are yesterday's juvenile delinquents. What proportion of juvenile delinquents continue their illegal activities to adulthood? Does violent behaviour usually have traceable antecedents? Current knowledge through systematic research seems to indicate that only a small proportion of delinquents continue to commit crimes as adults and that there exists no specialisation in offensive behaviour. The type of research which would effectively respond to such issues is the one known as 'cohort study'. By studying individuals born during the same period, their life experiences, their responses to contemporary socio-economic, political, and technological environment, and their involvement in criminal activity, would provide persuasive evidence upon which effective counteraction can be mounted.
- (iii) Investigation of the impact of violence at home in general and violence against children in particular on the violent behaviour of children. This is an area which is becoming of paramount concern in many Western countries. Literature in the area indicates that youth violence could be considered as a reflection of violence against children; yet systematic research in this area is still scarce. Much careful thought and planning must be given to develop an appropriate research strategy.

This report has also pointed out that juveniles are arrested for property offences in a much greater proportion than their representation in the general population, and their arrest rates for burglary, motor vehicle theft and larceny are much higher than those of adults. As is well known, the number of arrests does not necessarily reflect the number of offences committed. It has been submitted earlier that the juvenile arrest rate may be high because juveniles tend to commit these crimes in groups, and a number of juveniles may be arrested for one offence. Therefore, while juveniles may participate in property offences in high proportions their offence rate may indeed be lower than that of adults. I have also suggested that juveniles are less likely to be lethally armed than adults, they tend to travel a short distance from their residence to commit crimes and hence likely to be identified by neighbours, shopkeepers, etcetera, they commit less serious offences, and that they are less efficient in avoiding arrest. These hypotheses can be tested with the help of data. This precisely is the objective of Part II of the project *Youth and Crime*.

In Part II, I wish to investigate a major offence, for example, burglary, in which juvenile involvement, in terms of arrest, is disproportionately high. Negotiations are currently underway to obtain a 10 per cent systematic sample of all persons arrested for burglary in a metropolitan city in Australia in one year. Detail information on factors that would enable the testing of the above hypotheses will be collected.

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