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**CRIMINAL CAREER RESEARCH
IN THE CITY OF OTTAWA**

CHINNIAM AMBIHAPATHY

(1983)

**Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies,
University of OTTAWA, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts**

Table of Contents

	Page
Acknowledgements	i
Summary	iii
Introduction	1
Chapter I: Criminal Career Research	3
Chapter II: Review of Literature	18
Chapter III: Methodology of the Ottawa Study	49
Chapter IV: Findings	60
Chapter V: Case Studies	110
Chapter VI: Conclusions	122
Bibliography	135

	List of Tables and Figures	Page
Table I:	The Scale of Offence Seriousness	58
Table II:	The General Characteristics of Selected Types of Ottawa Offenders Classified According to the 1981 Instant Offence	61
Table III:	Female, Male, Total Arrests for the Ten Classified Criminal Offences and Other Minor Offences	63
Table IV:	Chronicity of Offenders - The Attrition Rate with Increasing Number of Arrests of 187 Cases in Sample	67
Table V:	Female Offender Chronicity	68
Table VI:	The Mean Age of the Ottawa Offenders Classified According to the 1981 Instant Offence	69
Table VII:	The Ages of Arrest for all Offences Committed by Selected Ottawa Offenders	71
Table VIII:	The Ages of Arrest for Serious Offences Against the Person and Property and Other Minor Offences	73
Table IX:	Age of Onset for 187 Cases Studied Classified According to the Nature of 1981 Instant Offences	74
Table X:	Age of Onset for One-Time Offenders Classified According to the Nature of 1981 Instant Offences	76
Table XI:	The Mean and Median Ages of Onset for the Entire Sample, Recidivists and One-Time Offenders Classified According to the Nature of Instant Offence	77
Table XII:	Initial Type of Crime of 187 Cases in Sample	79
Table XIII:	The Nature and Age of the Instant Offences, the First Arrest and Career Length of the Subsample	80
Table XIV:	Distribution of Arrests at Different Age Intervals of the Subsample of Career Criminals	83

Table XV:	The Mean and Median Spacing between Different Arrest Pairs for a Subsample of 20 Offenders Selected on the Basis of the Best 2 Prior Arrests and Age of at least Thirty-two years	84
Table XVI:	The Mean Interval Between Offences at Different Career Stages	86
Table XVII:	The Types of Offences Contained in the Criminal Histories of Selected Ottawa Offenders Classified According to the 1981 Instant Offence	88
Table XVIII:	The Percentage of Arrests for Ten Types of Offences Contained in the Criminal Histories of Selected Ottawa Offenders Classified According to the 1981 Instant Offence	89
Table XIX:	The Types of Offences Contained in the Criminal Histories of Selected Ottawa Offenders Classified According to the Commission of Selected Offences	90
Table XX:	The Percentage of Arrests for the Types of Offences Contained in the Criminal Histories of Selected Ottawa Offenders Classified According to the Commission of Selected Offences	91
Table XXI:	The Types of Offences Contained in the Criminal Histories of Offenders in the Subsample Selected According to the Commission of Selected Offences	93
Table XXII:	The Percentage of Arrests for the Types of Offences Contained in Ten Criminal Histories of Offenders in Subsample Classified According to Commission of Selected Offences	94
Table XXIII:	The Offender Typology of Persons Arrested on Three or more Occasions	96
Table XXIV:	Seriousness of Offences (Including Minor Offences) Across Stages of Criminal Career of 104 Offenders with two or more Arrests	97
Table XXV:	Seriousness of Offences (Excluding Minor Offences) Across Stages of a Criminal Career of 104 Offenders with Three or More Arrests	99

Table XXVI:	Seriousness of Offences (Including Minor Offences) Across Stages of Criminal Career of Twenty Cases in Subsample	100
Table XXVII:	Seriousness of Offences (Excluding Minor Offences) Across Stages of Criminal Career of Twenty Cases in Subsample	101
Table XXVIII:	Criminal Justice Process in 1981	104
Table XXIX:	Incarceration Sentences Passed by Courts for 1981 Offences	106
Table XXX:	Maximum Incarceration Sentences Specified in the Canadian Criminal Code Figures	108
Figure I:	Chronicity of Offending - The Attrition Rate with Increasing Number of Arrests	65

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Chinniah Ambihapathy

SUMMARY

Criminal career research is a novel approach to the problems of crime causation and changes in human behavioural patterns over time. Many criminologists and behavioural scientists are intrigued by the potential of this new approach. Crime is a major concern of most Canadians. Numerous efforts have been made by Canadian authorities to control crime. These efforts could be enhanced by empirical studies which focus on criminal careers.

THE APPROACH

The study focuses its attention on 187 offenders who were arrested within the Ottawa Police jurisdiction during 1981. These offenders were selected on the basis of the nature of their 1981 arrest. There were ten categories of offences which led to their selection: homicide, rape, armed robbery, robbery, assault, break and enter, auto theft, theft over \$200, theft under \$200 and fraud. The selection of cases was made by the random saturated sampling method. The data on arrests were gathered from official criminal records available at the Ottawa Police.

The sample of 187 offenders is a reasonably satisfactory sample by usual standards of quantitative analysis to permit meaningful inferences about the greater population of apprehended offenders. The selection of cases from major types of crime as classified in the police records was

made primarily in order to study a cross section of the criminal population in the City of Ottawa. A subsample of twenty career offenders was selected from the 187 offenders for the purpose of studying career patterns, offence seriousness and desistance in a criminal career.

The quality of information gathered, being confined to official records only represents a small fraction of the total criminal activity that is actually taking place. Moreover, the study provides very limited information on the criminals' social background. The study is confined to the analysis of some of the variables related to crime like sex, chronicity, age, velocity, crime type specialization, seriousness and criminal justice response.

The findings of the research are listed below.

1. **Sex:** The study has found that the females accounted for only twenty percent of all criminal arrests by the police in the sample. Females were not only involved in armed robbery, robbery and break and entries but were capable of brutal assaults. They were, however, mostly involved in property offences and minor offences. Only ten per cent of men and twenty per cent of women were arrested for committing violent offences. In view of the very limited number of females in the sample, one should be wary not to make any hasty generalizations about the growing propensity to violence among women.

2. **Offender Chronicity:** The study found that the chronic offenders tended to be in the age group eighteen to twenty-one. The juveniles in Ottawa, were relatively less active.

3. **Age:** a) Age of Onset. A close association has been found between early onset and long criminal careers. This is similar to the findings of Gluecks (1943) and Robin (1964). The mean age of onset, was nineteen in Ottawa, while in the Ohio study the mean age of onset was only 14.4.

b) Initial Type of Crime. The initial type of crime committed by most offenders in Ottawa was less serious minor offences. This finding is consistent with the findings of Wolfgang (1972), Farrington (1979), and Petersilia (1978).

c) Desistance. The peak age of chronicity in this study was between eighteen and twenty-one. This is similar to the findings of Gluecks (1943, 1950), Healy and Bronner (1926) and Petersilia et al. (1977). They found that the rate of offending increased from adolescence to twenty years and decreased uniformly up to thirty years when there was a likelihood of desistance. Instead of desistance at thirty years we found a stabilisation in criminal activity between thirty and thirty-three years and an increase after thirty-four years..

c) Probability of Arrest. This was high between eighteen and twenty-one years. Peterson and Braiker and Polech (1980) found

the arrest rate high for the juvenile category. The juvenile arrests in Ottawa were relatively low.

4. **Velocity of Offences:** The Ottawa study has found that street time decreased with the increase in the length of criminal careers. These findings were similar to those of Hamparian et al. (1978). The mean street time in Hamparian's study was 9.3, the Ottawa mean street time too was 9.3 months.
5. **Crime Type Specialization:** There was little evidence of offender specialization. This finding is similar to those of Petersilia (1978), Harold Frum (1958) and Farrington et al. (1979). The evidence was that a small proportion of offenders tended to limit themselves to a specific type of offence.
6. **Seriousness of Crimes:** The Ottawa study has found a systematic progression of seriousness with time. Studies by Shannon (1978a, 1978b), Wolfgang et al. (1972), and Collins (1977) did not find a progression in seriousness with age.
7. **Criminal Justice Response:**
 - a) The Police. The study has confirmed that discretion plays an important part in police work. But discretion is not being utilised in preventing crime or diverting the offender away from the criminal justice system. This is especially so with the juveniles.
 - b) The Judiciary. The courts seem to play an important part in educating the criminal in the finer points of the offences committed by them. Further through the judicial proceedings

the criminal justice system exposes its own weaknesses to the offenders. These only make the offender more confident that they can avoid apprehension in the future.

c) The Prisons. They, too, add to the process of educating the criminal in his trade. This is a process of "differential association" of criminals in the prisons. Most offenders in prisons are said to be property offenders in Canada. Hence, the knowhow available in prisons should be best in property offences, thus perpetrating their popularity among offenders.

CONCLUSIONS

These findings may be regarded as hypotheses to guide further efforts in achieving the understanding of criminal careers.

Research is necessary to reflect socio-economic variables of crime. What most studies reveal is just the tip of the iceberg of crime in our society. Criminologists should pursue the efforts of some past researchers who lived among criminals and learned to understand them.

INTRODUCTION

Criminology has long been concerned with the problem of crime causation. Answers to this problem have been from a wide variety of disciplines, including psychiatry, sociology, philosophy, geography, biology and economics. The complexity of theories and their interrelations defies synthesis into a general theory of crime.

Considering the dynamic nature of human behaviour and the array of human activities regarded as criminal, it is not surprising that a neat identification of causes is difficult. Crime is a significant problem confronting the Canadian people. According to a number of public opinion surveys conducted during the last decade, the majority of Canadians rated crime as their major problem next to unemployment and inflation (Canada, Selected Trends, 1981). The Research Division of the Ministry of the Solicitor General has found that property and violent crime in Canada have increased threefold in the last decade (Canada, Traffic and Crime Enforcement Statistics Annual, 1981). Federal expenditures for police, corrections and courts too have increased threefold during this period (Demers, 1979). The cost of incarceration per person per year in Canada is \$38,000 which is two and a half times that of the United States. The rate of incarceration in Canada (half that of The United States) is higher than in most European and Commonwealth Countries (Canada, Selected Trends, 1981).

Efforts have been made by the Canadian authorities to control crime and federal expenditures by improving the effectiveness of the Canadian police, courts and correctional services. (Selected Trends, 1981). It is possible that efforts to control crime may be successful long before causes are fully understood. Recent attempts at close scrutiny of the life histories of offenders from criminal records have enhanced the understanding of criminality as a process. The Ottawa criminal career research was conducted on 187 randomly selected offenders arrested by Ottawa Police in 1981. This study is an effort to understand criminal career patterns of offenders arrested in the City of Ottawa.

The first two chapters establish the theoretical framework for the study. In Chapter I the general characteristics of criminal careers are discussed in light of major findings in the field of criminal career research. The second chapter presents a literature review concerning a number of variables and selected issues in criminal career research.

The third chapter deals with the methodology followed in the Ottawa study. The findings of this study are presented in Chapters IV and V. Chapter VI comprises the conclusions and implications of the study.

CHAPTER I

CRIMINAL CAREER RESEARCH

DEFINITION OF CRIMINAL CAREERS

Gibbons defines crime as an "intentional act or omission in violation of criminal law (statutory and case law) committed without defense or justification and sanctioned by the state as a felony or misdemeanor," (Gibbons, 1968, p. 39). The term criminal would therefore refer to all persons who violate the Criminal Code regardless of whether or not they are convicted or otherwise processed in the criminal justice system.

Gwynn Nettler defines career as "the path one takes, or the course one runs..." (Nettler, 1981, p. 2). The idea of a career comes from the Latin word for a carriage road. The Oxford English Dictionary defines career as "1. the ground on which a race is run, ... 3. by extension a running course (usually implying a swift motion) ... 5. a person's course or progress through life (or a distinct portion of life) ...", (Oxford English Dictionary, 1933, pp. 116-117).

The distinguishing characteristic of criminal career research is its concern with changes in behavioural patterns over time. This type of research is focused on the offender and not on isolated criminal acts that he commits. A primary objective is the determination of the frequency and

seriousness of an individual's criminal activity over time (Petersilia, et al., 1977). Prediction of offender behaviour can be made on the basis of their criminal histories to determine those posing the greatest threat to public safety. These studies can also determine the sanctions received by different types of offenders and could help our understanding of the unique behavioural characteristics of criminals who have been arrested by police, charged in courts and incarcerated, although these studies need not be limited to detected offenders and offences.

The desirability of studying the patterns of criminal behaviour of offenders over time has long been recognized. As early as 1893, Otto Kobner declared that, "Correct statistics of offenders can be developed only by a study of the total life histories of individuals, (Kobner, 1893, p. 670). Later Georg Von Mayr stated that "a deeper insight into the statistics of criminality is made possible by the disclosure of developmental regularities which must be sought through a study of the manner in which criminality develops in the course of a human lifetime," (Mayr, 1917, p. 425). More recently Donald Gibbons has insisted that, "Criminological attention must turn away from the study of crime and criminals to the examination of various types of role careers in criminality," (Gibbons, 1975, p. 13).

FOUR APPROACHES TO CRIMINAL CAREER RESEARCH

Research in criminal careers has taken four different approaches. The first approach adopts the offender's perspective and produces biographies

of case studies. Examples of such studies are, The Professional Thief by E. H. Sutherland, (1937) and The Natural History of Delinquent Careers (1951) and A Delinquent Boys Own Story (1930). These studies revealed the inner strivings of the offenders as well as the personal and social factors that guided them toward certain behaviour patterns. These were life histories of individuals, devoid of a quantitative analysis of the data. No generalizations about the progress of criminal careers can be made on the basis of such a limited number of cases.

A second approach is based mainly on official criminal justice contact data, social records and self-reported information for a specified population. Noteworthy in this respect is the cohort study, a method used by Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin (1972) at the University of Pennsylvania as well as by Shannon (1978a) and Farrington (1979). The cohort studies involve assembling both criminal justice and social records of all youths born in a specified year in a given area and who continued to reside there through a certain defined period. These studies can determine the prevalence and distribution of criminal activity in a given population. It is also a useful way to examine such issues as the age of onset and of desistance from criminality, as well as other offender characteristics.

A third method of criminal career analysis focuses on serious habitual offenders. This analysis may also be based on both official criminal justice contact-data, self-reports, or a combination of the two. The samples frequently comprise incarcerated populations. The use of these self-report

studies has been undertaken at the Rand Corporation by Petersilia et al., (1977), Jan Chaiken and Marcia Chaiken (1981) and Peterson et al., (1980).

This method of research attempts to provide a more complete picture of offenders' criminal activity than is available in police records. Hindelang Hirshi and Weis (1979) contend that, while there are considerable differences between self-reports and official records, there is no systematic bias toward either over-reporting or under-reporting across different types of offences. The primary problem with self-report studies of incarcerated populations lies with the sample bias inevitably introduced by the criminal justice system decisions. Many of the biases in self-report studies are avoided by the analysis of longitudinal criminal justice contact data. (An elaboration of these aspects appears in the final chapter on conclusions.) This form of research has recently been pursued by William (1979) at the Institute of Law and Social Research, Blumstein and Cohen (1980) at Carnegie-Mellon University and Hamparian et al., (1978) in Columbus, Ohio. The use of arrest histories has the advantage of avoiding the expensive data collection required for self-report studies, and avoids the problem of respondent veracity, although criminal justice records have their own reliability problems. Criminal justice data provide information on only a fraction of each individual's offences and usually provide little information on his social background (Petersilia, 1978).

A fourth approach has offered the conceptual and theoretical analysis of deviant and criminal careers. Particularly significant are the works of

7

Clinard and Quinney (1967) and of Gibbons (1965). These writers stress the crucial roles of society's reactions, peer group associations and criminal opportunities in the initiation of criminal careers. Clinard and Quinney (1967) have elucidated a number of common characteristics of career criminals these persons usually engage in crime for gain, and the offender often sees himself as a criminal and associates extensively with other criminals. With increasing isolation from conventional society, the criminal develops a lifetime career in crime, planning his crime and being aware of what he is doing. The emphasis in this study was essentially on property offenders. A number of attempts have been made to develop a systematic typology of property offenders. Gibbons has said that, "Professional heavy criminals who engage in robberies and burglaries of various kinds are distinguished from semi-professional property offenders and 'one time loser' property criminals who also engage in robberies and related offences.... the three vary markedly in terms of criminal expertise demonstrated by the respective role incumbents", (Gibbons, 1965, p. 230). However, "the distinction between professional 'heavy' criminals and semi-professional property offenders is actually one of degree rather than kind. The dividing line between professional and semi-professional property offenders is somewhat arbitrary", (Gibbons, 1965, p. 268).

Among these approaches, cohort studies have, perhaps, provided the most complete picture of criminal career development. However, when funds for data collection are limited, other longitudinal approaches can be used.

BIRTH COHORT STUDIES

Since birth cohort studies have provided perhaps the most complete picture of criminal career development, it is desirable to acknowledge a debt to the already classic work of Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin (1972). The significance of the findings of these investigators and their colleagues is recognised by most researchers in criminology. The power of the methodology they have used is nowhere more evident than in the hard data that they have assembled concerning the chronic recidivist. The Wolfgang et al., (1972) cohort study deserves, therefore, a detailed elaboration. Such an elaboration can illuminate the potential of criminal career studies.

The study conducted in 1963 involved an analysis of all males born in 1945 who lived in Philadelphia at least from their tenth to their eighteenth birthdays. Through the use of school, police and selective service files, the researchers were able to gather data on 9,945 boys. In 1978 they completed a follow-up of a ten percent random sample of the original cohort (to age thirty). The sample consisted of 975 individuals who were representative of white and non-white delinquents (Wolfgang, 1977).

The variables analysed included race, socio-economic status, I.Q., school grades and juvenile delinquency, as well as criminality. The data collected included knowledge about juvenile (under age eighteen) and adult (age eighteen and over) official arrest records and self-reported offenses. The self-reports were obtained from 563 respondents interviewed on a variety of items regarding educational, marital, occupational history, earlier gang

membership and social psychological variables. Questions were also asked about "hidden" offences, those which were committed, but for which the subjects were not arrested. Each person was asked if and how often he had committed any of twenty-four specific crimes before age eighteen and after his eighteenth birthday. The specific crimes ranged from very minor offences to very serious offences (Wolfgang, 1977).

The study attempted to examine the relationships between ages of the onset of crime and the cessation of delinquency. It also studied personal and social characteristics to make comparisons between delinquents and non-delinquents. The investigators also applied weighted seriousness scores for each of the offences committed by the cohort subjects. The offence seriousness scores were derived from the work done by Sellin and Wolfgang (1964) in their measurement of delinquency, a psychological scaling study, the seriousness scores devote relative mathematical weights of the gravity of different crimes. After developing these weights the relationship between age and crime seriousness was examined. In addition the study looked at the likelihood of offenders switching from one crime to another, and at crime commission rates and the relationship between juvenile delinquency and adult crime (Wolfgang, 1977).

The findings of the research suggest that half of the general population (at least in urban America) will experience at least one officially recorded police contact before they reach thirty years of age. Forty-seven percent of the 1945 birth cohort were involved in a non-traffic offence by

1975. Twenty-nine percent of those who had police contacts were found to be white and 50% were non-whites (Wolfgang 1977).

From the socio-economic point of view, it was found that twenty-six percent of the delinquent boys were of high economic status, and 45% from low economic status. The non-whites and boys of lower socio-economic status tended to have more serious and frequent contacts with police throughout their careers. Other factors related to such police contacts included a higher number of residential and school moves, lower school grades and I.Q. level (Wolfgang 1977).

The characteristics of juvenile criminality were found to be the most reliable predictor of an adult criminal career. The juveniles who engaged in serious crime early continued to commit crimes as adults. Further, the likelihood of an arrest record between ages nineteen and twenty-six was .43 for those who were juvenile offenders and .12 for those who were not (Wolfgang, 1977).

With respect to the age of onset of crime or the first arrest it was found that the greatest number of first arrests (ten percent) occurred at the age of seventeen. The percentage of first arrests increases from age eight to seventeen. Two percent occurred at twelve years of age and eight percent at sixteen years. The percentage of arrests decreases from ten percent at seventeen years to two percent at twenty years and one percent at twenty-two years. (Wolfgang 1977).

The vast majority of police arrests involved relatively minor offences. Boys first arrested at age thirteen were arrested more often than others. The second arrests were often those who had first arrests involving bodily or property harm. But the seriousness of offences had no sequence with the number of arrests. High degree of variation was usually observed over the course of a career. The study also did not find any clear cut types of offenders (Wolfgang 1977).

The study considered the aspect of criminal sanctions and found that a higher percentage of those who received criminal sanctions as opposed to non-criminal dispositions continued to violate the law. These persons tended to commit crimes that were more serious and at a higher velocity.

The frequency of arrests was utilized as a principal measure in the Philadelphia birth cohort study to draw inferences about the criminality of various groups. Previous studies in criminal careers based on official records also imply that the seriousness or intensity of an offender's criminal activity is directly related to the number of occasions on which he has been arrested. Wolfgang highlights this aspect in his concluding remarks at the National Symposium on the Serious Juvenile Offender, Department of Minnesota in

1977 by stating, "Perhaps as meaningful as anything to emerge from this longitudinal study thus far... is that with respect to chronicity of offenders, the juvenile/adult statutory dichotomy has little justification. At whatever age the chronic offender begins his fourth or fifth offence with very high probabilities, and, on the average, the next offence will be an index offence nearly half the time.... if the severity of the sanction is proportionate to the gravity of the crime and to the cumulative history of serious crime, the sanction should be similar for chronic serious offenders whatever their age", (Wolfgang, 1977, p. 18).

The Wolfgang et al., (1972) birth cohort study hence identified for the criminal justice system the chronic offender group with which the justice system should deal in its concern with serious, particularly personal injury, offences (Wolfgang, 1977).

GENERAL FINDINGS OF CRIMINAL CAREER RESEARCH

Criminal career research has been intensified within the United States and other countries during the past ten years. The findings of these recent studies are tentative, some being at best a majority view and others reflecting the results of a single investigation. These findings are best regarded as hypotheses to guide further efforts in achieving an understanding of criminal careers (Petersilia et al., 1980).

Criminal careers usually begin early in life, commonly between the ages of fourteen and seventeen years. The earlier that criminal activities begin, the more likely it is that sustained serious criminal conduct will ensue in the adult years (Wolfgang 1977). Nevertheless, relatively few juvenile delinquents become career criminals (Petersilia et al., 1977).

Less than fifteen percent of the general population will be arrested for the commission of a serious crime and of these perhaps 50 percent will never be arrested for another (Wolfgang 1977; Collins, 1977). Only about five percent of the population will be arrested for the commission of three serious crimes. But after three arrests by the police have been recorded, the probability that still another contact will be made is high

(Wolfgang et al., 1972; Petersilia et al., 1977; Shannon, 1978).

Criminal careers sometimes begin early as youthful adventures for thrills and excitement and serve to achieve peer status. They may then be continued for economic and other reasons. Drug and alcohol use play significant roles in a majority of criminal careers (Petersilia et al., 1978) and offenders who are involved with drugs or with both drugs and alcohol generally commit more crimes over the course of their careers than do others (Peterson et al., 1980).

At every stage of his career the offender will commit a variety of offence types rather than specializing in a particular kind. The mixture may shift from one stage to the next, often increasing in seriousness, but this is not a consistent rule (Wolfgang et al., 1972). Crime targets are more likely to be opportunistic than the results of methodical planning (Peterson et al., 1980; Petersilia et al., 1978).

Criminal careers markedly differ in offence rates. Some are characterized by rates as low as one to two crimes committed per year, others by four to five crimes per year, while some criminals are said to commit hundreds of crimes per year. (Shannon, 1978a; Collins, 1977; Peterson et al., 1980).

The offence rates depend very much on the age of the offender, his criminal record and the offence type committed. Self-reported rates for those active in robbery are about five such offences per year, in burglary about 16 per year and in drug sales about 155 per year (Peterson et al., 1980). Cross sectional studies disclose that younger offenders, all other things being

equal, have higher offence rates than do older offenders, not only for crime as a whole but generally for individual offence types (Wolfgang, 1977; Shannon, 1978b).

The probability of being arrested for any criminal act is often no more than .10 but it varies widely over types of offences committed from less than .01 for drug offences to approximately .20 for robberies (Blumstein and Cohen, 1978). Pre-crime planning and preparation, not commonplace among career criminals, lessen the likelihood of arrest (Petersilia et al., 1978). Moreover, arrest, conviction and incarceration rates increase as the criminal career advances, by contrast with self-reported offence rates which tend to decline (Greenwood, 1980).

The prior criminal record has a powerful effect on the probability of incarceration and some effect on the probability of conviction (Petersilia and Greenwood, 1978). Thus, career criminals are more likely to be convicted and imprisoned when arrested as their careers progress. They spend a limited proportion of their time on the streets until their criminal activity abates (Petersilia et al., 1978).

Criminal careers are not necessarily marked by a growth of criminal sophistication, of income or in the geographical range of activities. (Petersilia and Marvin Lavin, 1978; Peterson et al, 1980). Criminal income is generally low, averaging only a few thousand dollars per year (Petersilia et al., 1978). Some evidence, possibly biased by the manner in which offender

samples were selected, indicates that harsh punishment may help to extend criminal careers (Wolfgang et al., 1972). Although a great amount of information has been collected through research about criminal career patterns, career criminality can still not be confidently identified before it crystallizes.

Recidivism or persistence in crime is a crucial problem in the control of crime. A study on California prison inmates by Petersilia et al., (1978) has demonstrated that offenders are largely unspecialized, engaging in a variety of crimes during the course of their careers in crime. This study also demonstrated that the distribution of crimes is skewed heavily toward the high end with most offenders committing crimes at a low rate and only a small proportion committing crimes at high rates. Research of Wolfgang and his associates has shown that a small proportion of about one fifth of the offender population is responsible for a majority of the serious crimes committed in society (Wolfgang, 1977; Collins, 1977).

RESEARCH AND PUBLIC POLICY

Much of the recent research on criminal careers was undertaken in order to assess penal policies directed at reducing crime by incapacitating a small number of career criminals. It is true that a number of offender characteristics are consistently correlated with high rates of criminality and it has been suggested that selective incapacitation of those criminals successfully identified might significantly reduce crime. However, we are, as yet, unable to reliably estimate the crime reduction effect of an incapacita-

tion program, mainly because the data to date do not permit us, with acceptable confidence, to predict the effects of alternative sentencing policies (Petersilia and Marvin Lavin, 1978).

Career termination is another area in which further research is needed. Little is known of the distinguishing characteristics of active criminals who shift to exclusively lawful pursuits. Another related area for research is career relapse. Offender self-reports indicate that more than half of all prison inmates do not profess criminal attitudes, hold criminal identities or believe crime pays and they engage in crime only sporadically (Peterson et al., 1980; Petersilia et al., 1978). There is little understanding of what motivates intermittent offenders to commit occasional crimes that are seemingly out of character.

Much research is required in the field of criminal careers to enable more accurate prediction of criminal careers. Simply knowing that some offenders commit a disproportionate amount of crime is not helpful in policy formulation. So far, the strongest predictors of adult criminal careers are thought to be the age at which serious juvenile criminality begins and the extent and seriousness of the juvenile criminal history. It should be borne in mind that prediction in criminal careers requires elaborate data and analysis which may carry prohibitive costs (Petersilia and Marvin Lavin, 1978).

In conclusion, it can be said that past experiences with a number of seemingly promising penal strategies suggest that there are not likely to be found any universal answers to criminal behaviour and the problems it poses

for society. Criminal career research has enabled criminology to make unprecedented progress as a behavioural science, but it cannot offer a panacea for all problems of penal policy. It must be said, however, that criminal career research does offer a unique perspective which can inform efforts to improve the criminal justice system.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, we review the relevance of a number of variables to criminal career research. These include sex, offender chronicity, age, the velocity of offences, offender specialisation, offence seriousness and the criminal justice response.

SEX AND CRIMINALITY

A popular truism in criminology is that crime is typically a male phenomenon. Dominant criminological theories of crime (e.g. anomie, cultural transmission, labelling) are essentially theories of lower class and male criminal behaviour (Weis, 1976). They disregard middle class and female crime because most official measures of crime suggest that both middle class and female criminality are relatively negligible. Weis (1978) contends that the neglect of female crime has resulted in the apparent inadequacy of the male specific theories. When applied to women male specific theories may be quite adequate to explain male delinquency. Sexism therefore tends to place female crimes outside the domain of criminological inquiry.

Theories of female criminal behaviour can be characterized as sex-role theories. The biological theories of Lombroso (1899) and the psychological theories of Freud (1905, 1931) saw female crime as a product of masculinization of female behaviour. They also saw a role reversal in the female criminal. She was seen as more masculine than non-criminal females; biologically, psychologically and socially.

The radicalisation of feminist movements in the 1960's saw a slow, but persistent revolution in which females were seen lessening the distance which had separated them from men in terms of both legitimate and illegitimate activity. Criminologist Freda Adler (1975) has suggested that the more the position of women approximates the position of men the more alike become their conforming and criminal behaviour. Adler maintains that there are inherent differences between men and women, but changing behavioural patterns demonstrates that women are first human, then female. Their needs and abilities are similar to those of men. It is principally their opportunities that have been different. Rita J. Simon (1975) infers that the needs of women have not changed but that their opportunities are increasing. In the past decade, both public and professional interest in female criminality and delinquency have greatly increased, along with interest in the general topic of women. Female criminals have been sensationalized by the mass media as murderers, bank robbers, kidnappers, hijackers, and terrorists. These women have been taken as indicative of a new breed of female criminal more violent than the traditional female law breaker. Freda Adler

buttresses this point by stating that "Females... are now being found not only robbing banks single-handedly, but also committing assorted armed robberies, muggings, loan sharking operations, extortion murders, and a wide variety of other aggressive, violence-oriented crimes which previously involved men", (Adler, 1975, p. 15).

The Uniform Crime Reports in the United States show that there has been an unprecedented increase in female arrest rates for larceny, fraud and forgery over the last two decades. There continues, however, to be a gross underrepresentation of females in official crime statistics, which could be attributed to actual differences in criminals of both sexes or to differential handling of women within the criminal justice system.

Self-report studies have shown that there is a great deal of hidden criminal behaviour (Short and Nye, 1957; Clark and Haurek, 1966; Wise, 1967; Gold, 1970; Hindelang, 1971; Weis, 1973) and that there are important and significant sex differences in the relative prevalence, frequency and seriousness of criminal involvement. However, they also show that the pattern of juvenile involvement is similar, in that boys and girls tended to commit similar kinds of delinquent acts.

From the study of national arrest data and self-reports of delinquent behaviour, it is clear that women are far less involved in violent crimes (Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973; Simon, 1975). The conclusion of the self-report data concerning aggressive offences is that boys are not particularly violent but that girls are virtually free of violence. This finding is contrary to the theory of masculinization of contemporary women.

Several criminologists have come to conflicting conclusions about the roles of males and females and their relations to violence. The general conclusion of Adler (1975) seems to be that as women experience social status more closely resembling that of men, female aggression and homicide rates should increase. Verkkö (1951) points out that when the general homicidal rate is low in a given culture, the percentage of female offenders is generally higher. This suggests a greater stability in the amount of female violence.

On the other hand, the anthropological evidence from societies with more than the usual amount of female economic involvement does not clearly indicate a greater rate of female aggression. Wolfgang remarks that the status of the sexes in many social spheres, especially in North America, have been approaching equality since there has been an increasing involvement of women in culture: "Instead of females becoming like males, males have increasingly taken on some of the roles and attributes formerly assigned mostly to females" (Wolfgang and Feracutti 1966, p. 259).

Although statistical evidence from various countries suggests that women are much less involved in criminal activity than are men there is a considerable controversy as to whether this difference is apparent or real (Walshaw, 1971). Some writers contend that women have a less criminal nature than men. In contrast, Pollock maintains that "the criminal activity of women is of a masked nature" (Pollock, 1950, p. 14) not reflected in statistics.

OFFENDER CHRONICITY

The chronic offender constitutes a small percentage of the delinquent population, but such offenders account for a vastly disproportionate number of all serious offences.

Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin (1972) defined the chronic recidivist as the offenders committing five or more offences. In the Philadelphia cohort study of juveniles there were 627 chronic offenders in a total of 3475 delinquents. These chronic offenders committed 5305 offences of which 1008 were offences against the person. Wolfgang and his associates (1972) reported that chronic offenders accounted for 61% of the violent crime committed by the whole cohort. Furthermore, chronic violent offenders constituted about 9.5% of all delinquents and 52.5% of the entire class of chronic offenders.

In the Philadelphia study, a 10% sample was followed up to age thirty in 1975. Collins (1977) reports that when adult offences were added to those committed by juvenile chronic offenders, 14.8% of the sample were chronic offenders and accounted for 74% of all offences and an unspecified, but higher percentage of the serious offences. Efforts to identify the chronic offenders early in their careers have thus far achieved little success. It is interesting to note that 11.1% of the chronics did not commit crimes after their eighteenth birthday, whereas 13.2% became chronic after they reached adulthood.

Wolfgang points out that "at whatever age the chronic offender begins his fourth or fifth offence, the next offence will be an index offence

nearly half the time. It may be, therefore, that if the severity of the sanction is proportionate to the gravity of the crime and to the cumulative history of serious crime, the sanction should be similar for chronic serious offenders whatever their age," (Wolfgang, 1977, p. 18). It would follow from his finding that whenever a criminal career reaches the "chronic" stage, the separation of the juvenile from the adult loses its meaning.

As a class, chronic, juvenile offenders will commit far more than their share of violent offences. Wolfgang and his associates state that "any social intervention that could stop these delinquent cases before they go beyond their fourth delinquency would decrease significantly the number of offences committed by a birth cohort. Such social action if concentrated... would not only reduce the amount but also the seriousness of the offences committed", (Wolfgang et al., 1972, p. 105).

Taking a cue from Wolfgang, Shinnar and Shinnar drew on data from the Uniform Crime Reports in order to estimate the amount of crime that might be prevented by protracted incapacitation (Shinnar and Shinnar, 1975). They concluded that recidivists constituted 16% of the criminal population but that they committed 90% of the total crimes. The analysis of Shinnar and Shinnar is consistent with the supposition that the reduction of crime can be achieved by incapacitating or otherwise restricting criminal opportunities for a small minority of offenders whose repetitious criminality defines them as disproportionately dangerous to the community.

In 1965, Preban Wolf, a Danish investigator, studied 557 men listed in the official penal register in a random sample of 3032 males on the National

Register of Denmark. These men accounted for 1260 offenses. Of this sample of 557, 37% had committed over 900 offences -- 70.7% of the total. (Wolf, 1965). Wolf's definition of the chronic recidivist referred to those with over six entries in the register. They constituted 8% of the sample and were responsible for 32% of all the offences.

Thus, it appears that many offenders are persistent wrongdoers and that their rate of wrongdoing is often high during their teenage periods. The evidence is impressive in that the chronic offender presents a disruptive threat to security. It is logical for us to infer that the selective incapacitation of these high rate offenders could curb crime in a significant way.

AGE AND CRIMINALITY

Since neither the infant nor the elderly possess the prowess and agility required for some forms of crime, some association between age and crime involvement can be expected on biological grounds alone. In 1940, Sellin noted that "a researcher who is in pursuit of an answer to the relationship of age to crime (utilizing then available information) is doomed to disappointment," (Sellin, 1940, p. 110).

Various hypotheses have been advanced by criminologists about changes in the type and extent of criminal activity as a criminal career progresses. One hypothesis is that offence seriousness increases over time, while the frequency declines. The other is that the offender ultimately burns out or matures out of crime in favour of lawful sources of income.

Self-report studies on criminal career at the Rand Corporation found that offence rate varied significantly with age and criminality peaking early in the career (Petersilia et al., 1978). The typical pattern is that criminal activity begins at about age fourteen and the offence rate increases until the early twenties tending to decline thereafter until age thirty, when most careers are terminated (Gluecks, 1934b).

Joan Petersilia and her colleagues at Rand have made a detailed study of the criminal careers of fifty habitual offenders (Petersilia et al., 1977). Their study has found that the most active period in these criminal careers occurred roughly between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two. However, the greatest punishment came at considerably later years. The amount of time the offenders spent in prison increased from 30% between ages sixteen and twenty-two to 80% between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-two. The judges gave increasingly stiffer sentences as the offenders' official records grew longer.

Age of Onset of a Criminal Career

Age of onset refers to the age at which a delinquent is first taken into custody by police. The Gluecks (1940) paid special attention to the age of delinquency onset. They found that the earlier that a young offender is convicted of an offence, the more protracted his delinquent career is likely to be. Robin (1964) has suggested that the earlier the age of onset the more extensive will be the delinquency. Lerman (1968) has observed that attention

to delinquent values at an early age has a more serious effect than has attraction at later ages.

In an Ohio study it was found that the percentage of repeaters tended to be higher among those who were first arrested at a younger age than among those who started later, especially those with three or more arrests. This study found no constant relationship between age of onset and the number of violent arrests (Hamparian et al., 1978). Wolfgang et al., (1972) found in Philadelphia that the offence rates for all offenders increased gradually from age seven to age eleven, and then increased rapidly from age eleven to sixteen with a significant decrease at age seventeen. The mean age of onset was 14.4 years.

There is a great deal of contradictory evidence on the significance of an early start in criminal behaviour. Hamparian et al., (1978) conclude that early starters will have longer careers and commit more delinquent acts. The percentage of violent acts that will be sprinkled through out their careers will not vary from year to year in relation to the age of onset.

The Initial Type of Crime

Most criminal careers begin with minor misconduct. Research so far indicates that the most frequent pattern begins with truancy, followed by petty theft, auto theft and then by more serious property crimes (Farrington et al., 1979; Petersilia et al., 1978; Wolfgang et al., 1972). In a self-report study conducted by the Rand Corporation on career robbers, nearly half the

inmates interviewed reported their first serious crime to be auto theft, 30% revealed that it was burglary and the rest mentioned purse snatching, larceny and drug sales. (Petersilia et al, 1978).

In the Philadelphia and Racine, Wisconsin birth cohort studies, a vast majority of first police arrests involved relatively minor offences (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Shannon, 1978a). The Philadelphia study shows that the more serious the first police arrest was the greater was the likelihood of a subsequent arrest. Those with a second contact were more likely to have had the first arrest for an incident involving bodily harm (Wolfgang et al., 1972).

Desistance from a Criminal Career

Very few studies have focused on the termination of delinquent activity. Most offenders terminate their career of law violation at some stage in their lifetime. The questions that arise are whether this desistance is caused by aging, or the disposition they receive.

Criminologists have advanced various theories about desistance. One is that over time the seriousness of offences increases while the frequencies decline. Another is that the offender eventually burns out or matures out of predatory criminal activity into less hazardous or demanding means of obtaining financial support.

In a study by Healy and Bronner in 1909-1923 empirical research was conducted on 420 boys (less than fifteen years in 1909) who appeared before the juvenile court. It was found that 39% of the sample committed no

further offences by the time of the follow-up study in 1923 (Healy and Bronner, 1926).

The Gluecks found a steady diminution of the number of persons who continued to be offenders until they reached twenty-nine years. At age twenty-nine, according to Gluecks about 40% of the offenders ceased to be criminals. At the end of the fifteen year follow-up the proportion of serious offenders dropped from 75.6% to 47.8% (Glueck and Glueck, 1943).

The Gluecks studied one thousand boys of an average age of thirteen and a half years in 1917 who were referred by the Boston juvenile courts. (Glueck and Glueck, 1934). The first study provided for a five year follow-up period till 1922 and the second study for a ten year follow-up ending in 1932. In the first five years 79.8% recidivated, in the second quinquennium 66.1% recidivated and in the third 58.9% recidivated. They found that 60% of their sample had ceased to be criminals by the time they reached an age of twenty-nine. Among those who continued to commit crime after the age of twenty-nine, the proportion of serious offenders dropped from 75.6 to 47.8 of the sample at the end of the fifteen year follow-up.

Based on these findings, the Gluecks tried to construct a theory of maturation in which they defined maturity as the "development and integration of... physical and mental powers (that) make it easier... to achieve a capacity for self-control, foresight, and playfulness; to postpone immediate desires for later ones; to profit by experience... and other similar attributes. These enable (the individual) to adapt successfully to the demands

of society and to avoid drifting into or persisting in crime," (Glueck and Glueck, 1940, p. 267). The Gluecks considered the years twenty-five to thirty-five important in an offender's life because during this age period there appears to occur the peak of a sifting out process which differentiates those who mature normally from those who are inclined never to reach a stage of maturity sufficient to enable them to abandon criminalism.

The Philadelphia birth cohort study found that 46% of the delinquents desisted after the first offence and 35% after the second offence (Wolfgang et al., 1972). They calculated rates of desistance at each offence up to the fifteenth offence. They found that a small proportion of the offenders continued to offend after fifteen offences.

The Probability of Arrests at Different Ages

An important variable is the probability of arrests at different ages in relation to the actual involvement in crime. It is possible that more seasoned offenders become more adept at avoiding arrests. If this is the case, the criminal activity of older offenders may be underestimated. But there is no persuasive evidence in relation to this issue.

Peterson, Braiker and Polech found that "efforts to relate systematic variations in arrest probabilities to offender characteristics have had only limited success... (But they did find) a significant relationship between arrest probability and juvenile criminality as well as between the probability of arrest and race," (Peterson, Braiker and Polech, 1980, p. 80). There was no

persuasive evidence that probability of arrest decreased with age and experience.

In the self-report study of Petersilia, Greenwood and Lavin, it was found that the propensity to plan offences did not increase with age (Petersilia, 1980). Those criminals who did not plan their crimes had five times greater chances of being arrested than the ones who did plan their crimes.

Analyzing the intensive and intermittent habitual offenders, Petersilia and her associates came to the conclusion that the intensive offenders had been arrested more frequently than the intermittent offenders because they had committed far more crimes. However, they found that the intermittent offenders were five times more likely to be arrested for any one crime than were the intensive criminals.

THE VELOCITY OF OFFENCES

Hamparian and her colleagues use the term "spacing" to indicate the time elapsing or intervals between arrests (Hamparian et al, 1978). Spacing can be calculated between the first and the second arrest, second and third, third and fourth arrest and so on. The spacing variable indicates the velocity of arrests in a criminal career.

By comparing intervals between different offences, we can determine whether there is an increase or decrease in criminal activity as an offender ages or as a criminal career progresses. A true measure of spacing between

any pair of arrests necessitates that we determine the time at liberty or "street" time of the offender during that period.

In the Ohio study a substantial number of offenders spent time in a juvenile institution. An offender who seemingly had no arrests for a year may have been incarcerated during that period with a much reduced chance of coming in contact with the police (unless the offender escaped). However a majority of offenders in the Ohio study, about two thirds, never served time in a facility of the Ohio Youth Commission (Hamparian et al., 1978).

The average time between all pairs of arrests in the Ohio study was 9.33 months. The average calendar interval between all pairs of arrests for violent offences was 19.6 months and the mean street interval was 17.6. Youths arrested for a violent offence at age twelve or younger had shorter street intervals than those whose violent onset occurred at other ages (Hamparian et al., 1978).

In the Philadelphia birth cohort study, the velocity of arrest kept increasing and those offenders who received criminal sanctions continued to violate the law committing more serious crimes with greater rapidity (Wolfgang et al., 1972). This progress of arrest frequencies was clear cut in the case of arrests following after the fourth and fifth arrests.

The Cambridge, England study conducted on 411 boys by Farrington (Farrington and West, 1979) found that the frequency of juvenile arrests and convictions was related to the frequency of adult arrests and convictions (West and Farrington, 1979). The Cambridge study found that a small group

of offenders first convicted between ten and twelve years had six arrests and convictions by their twenty-first birthdays.

The conclusion of most studies is that persons arrested at the earliest ages tend to become the most persistent offenders as adults. The more frequently they are arrested or incarcerated the more frequently they offend (Sellin, 1958; Wolf, 1965). These results may suggest that prevention and treatment efforts are ineffective. The Cambridge study (Farrington and West, 1979) and the Philadelphia study (Wolfgang et al., 1972) suggest that prevention and treatment efforts should be concentrated on boys who begin their criminal careers early as intervention in a later stage may prove to be ineffective.

CRIME TYPE SPECIALIZATION AND CRIME SWITCHING

There has been much controversy among criminologists on whether criminals have a homogeneous career or one comprising different types of offences. Recent studies based on self-reports suggest that offenders do not specialize even at the later stages of their careers (Petersilia et al., 1978). The combination of offences that they commit may, however, shift from one stage to another.

Half the inmates (twenty-five) in the Petersilia et al. study in 1977 reported committing at least four different types of crimes during the three-year period before their last incarceration. Only ten percent of the sample could be considered as specialists — offenders who committed only one type

of crime. Most of the offenders within this specialist category were specialists in robbery, forgery, confidence games or drug trafficking. The lack of specialisation was shown for diverse offences committed by offenders.

In the Cambridge study, there was little evidence of specialization in criminal careers at least by the age of twenty-one. The vast majority of youths convicted of violence or vandalism or drug offences also had convictions for dishonesty (Farrington and West, 1979). In another English study (McClintock, 1963) nearly half of those convicted for a violent offence had previous convictions for nonviolent offences and the same was true of eighty percent of those sustaining a second conviction for violence.

The findings of studies on retrospective searches of records covering more than twenty years on rapists (Soothill, Jack and Gibbens, 1976), incest offenders (Gibbens, Soothill and Way, 1978), arsonists (Soothill and Pope, 1973), sex offenders (Christiansen et al, 1965) indicate that these offenders were more likely to have been convicted of previous or subsequent property offences than previous or subsequent sex offences or arson.

Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin found that the likelihood of committing two offences of the same type, in a sequence, was greater than that of committing an offence of a different type (Wolfgang et al., 1972). Within that cohort study, the second offences were slightly more likely to be the same type as the first offence than to be of a different type. In the transition from the second to the third offence, index offences were more

likely to be followed by an index offence. But it was considered unlikely for a juvenile to repeat criminal homicide, forcible rape and aggravated assault, probably because they had been to prison for these crimes.

Harold S. Frum in his study of a limited sample of offenders found that young people who had begun their criminal career with property felonies tended to stay with that type of offence as adults. These offenders specialized in forgeries and burglaries (Frum, 1958).

Yochelson and Samenow concluded in 1976, after fourteen years of research on 240 legally insane inmates, that criminality is a general feature of personality (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976). Thus, a person who steals is likely to rape and kill. They claimed that the search for distinctive personality patterns among types of crimes was a fruitless exercise.

Nettler, on the other hand, disagrees with Yochelson and Samenow (1976) indicating that there is no one criminal personality (Nettler, 1982). He assumes that there are styles in criminality, and that criminal work, like other occupations, differentially attracts people who possess appropriate tastes and talents. Nettler assumes that, "constitutions produce differential vulnerability and immunity to kinds of career", (Nettler, 1982, p. 111). He contends that there are many roads and that physical as well as psychological constitutions make some courses easier for some people than others.

THE SERIOUSNESS OF CRIMES

Beccaria in 1764 stated that punishments should be carefully graded to correspond with the gravity of offences (Beccaria, 1963). The principle that Beccaria emphasised was that the severity of punishment should be commensurate with the seriousness of the offence. "Seriousness" depends both on the harm done (or risked) by the act and the actor's culpability.

Legislatures in most democratic countries make judgments on seriousness by the maximum penalties that they set. The prescribed maxima in criminal codes are usually scaled according to the legislature's sense of gravity of the offence. Murder and other heinous crimes carry the maximum penalties. The minimum penalties are for minor offences.

Empirical research has been conducted in recent times on the popular perception of seriousness of offences. In 1960, sociologists Thorsten Sellin and Marvin Wolfgang (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964) took a group of judges, college students and policemen and asked them to rank "seriousness" of various offences on an eleven point rating scale. There was considerable agreement on the ranking of seriousness of crimes. This was purely a psychological scale of seriousness. It was, however, criticised on the grounds that the sample was unrepresentative (Rose, 1966).

A similar study research conducted by Peter Rossi (1974) found little variation in the ranking of crime seriousness of the Philadelphia study. These studies suggest that people from widely different walks of life can make similar common sense judgments on the comparative gravity of offences.

The seriousness of an offence, then, depends on how harmful the conduct is, mainly as perceived by the victim or victims. In gauging seriousness, an important consideration is the harm characteristically done by the act of a single offender. The debatable issue is whether or not there is a progression in seriousness when offenders recidivate and commit more crimes.

As offenders gain experience it is natural to hypothesize that career criminals undertake crimes of mounting seriousness. This is especially so when the expectations of the offender increase.

Studies so far do not support this contention of a progression in the seriousness of crime. In the Racine cohort study, the seriousness of offences and the police arrests did not increase systematically as the number of arrests by police rose (Shannon, 1978, 1978b). In the Philadelphia study, the probability of a police arrest, when the crime was classified by seriousness — non-index, injury, theft, damage combination—demonstrated no regular variation with the increase of police arrests (Wolfgang, 1977; Collins, 1977).

CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESPONSE

The criminal justice system consists of the formal mechanisms for the enforcement of the criminal law, the imposition of criminal sanctions under that law and the administration of the punishment levied in an attempt to control, cure or rehabilitate the offender. The police, the courts and

corrections are three elements that represent formal means established by the state to control crime. These three elements maintain the social order through enforcement of the criminal law and punishment of those who violate it.

The Role of the Police

The police role in the criminal justice response is crucial in that they are basically responsible for the initiation of the criminal justice process. It is generally assumed that the police enforce the criminal laws and preserve the peace mechanically by arresting those who have deviated from the legislated norms of accepted behaviour (United States, Task Force Report: The Police, 1967). This concept of mechanical enforcement of all criminal laws underplays dramatically the difficulties of the police role.

Firstly, the police do not have the resources to enforce all criminal provisions equally. Secondly, the other components of the criminal justice system cannot cope with all law violators. Furthermore, there are in the law books certain laws regulating social conduct which are often unpopular, ambiguous and outdated, e.g. drunkenness and gambling laws. The intent of the legislature is to apply these laws to the activities of certain kinds of criminals (United States, Task Force Report: The Police, 1967). If the police were to enforce these laws fully, some of the commonly accepted activities of law abiding citizens would be affected and the society would suffer.

Justice Charles D. Breitel sums up this situation by stating that, "If every policeman, every prosecutor, every court and every post-sentence

agency performed his or its responsibility in strict accordance with the rule of law precisely and narrowly laid down, the criminal law would be ordered but intolerable," (Breitel, 1960, p. 427).

Defining, grading and fixing levels of punishment for all acts made punishable by the criminal code, be they minor violations or grave crimes, is persistently difficult. Many marginal offenders are channeled through the criminal process. That is, although they are guilty of serious offences as defined by the penal code they may not be habitual and dangerous criminals (United States, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, 1967). It is not in the interest of the community to treat marginal offenders as hardened criminals, nor does the spirit of the law require us to do so. Framing statutes that identify and prescribe every nuance of human behaviour is impossible; a criminal code has no way of describing the difference between a petty thief who is on his way to becoming an armed robber and a petty thief who succumbs once to a momentary impulse (United States, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, 1967).

Making distinctions on the basis of characteristics of the individual offender which differentiates him from other offenders in personality, character, socio-cultural background, the motivations of his crime and his particular potentialities for reform or recidivism, is vital to effective law enforcement. Such decisions involve decision making, not strictly governed by legal rules but rather by a significant element of personal judgment by

various individuals: by police and prosecutors in making arrests and in bringing charges, by judges in imposing penalties; and by correctional authorities in determining how offenders shall be treated in prison and when they shall be released on parole. In short, policemen, prosecutors, judges and correctional officers are personally responsible for prescribing rigorous treatment for dangerous criminals and for giving an opportunity to mend their ways to those who appear likely to do so. Both the individual's future and the general safety of the community depend on the quality of such decisions.

This point of view is endorsed by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals which states:

Most criminal statutes have been drafted so that the maximum penalty provided would be appropriate for the worst conceivable criminal offence. Since most offences fall short of this status, administrative process that often results in impositions of less than most severe dispositions is an effective and an efficient method of implementing legislative intent. (United States, NAC Courts, 1973, p.15).

Perhaps the most important of such decisions are made at the very outset by policemen, not only in dealing with violators of the law but also during all police duties they are called upon to perform. The policeman is guided by the law, but in practice the criminal code is not a set of specific instructions to policemen; rather, it is a more or less rough map of the territory in which policemen work. How an individual policeman moves around in that territory depends largely on his personal discretion.

According to Davis (1969), police officers make far more discretionary determinations in individual cases than any other administrator. Thus, it is seen that the use of discretion is the heart of police work. The police initiate the criminal justice process by making arrests and maintaining charges against offenders in the court of law.

The nature of police work is such that most decisions by police officers must be made within the span of a few moments and perhaps under emotional, apprehensive, hostile environment and within the physical context of the most aggravated social problems. Yet the police officer is just as accountable for these decisions as is the judge or correctional official for decisions deliberated for months (United States, National Advisory Commission: Police, 1973).

The police role in the criminal justice system can be compared to a gigantic filter. Of those who commit crime, some are not caught, some are caught but not arrested, and some are arrested but never tried. Police have vast discretionary powers in this filtering process.

The Role of the Judiciary

Punishments are imposed by the judiciary on criminal law violators in order to produce a deterrent effect on the violator as well as on society. Punishment may strengthen moral inhibitions and hence may stimulate

habitual law abiding conduct (Andenaes, 1974). Thus, judicial sentences are mostly based on the theory of deterrence in determining the nature and magnitude of punishments. It is important initially to distinguish between the deterrent effect of punishment on society (general deterrence) and the deterrent effect of the imposition of punishment on the individual. Unlike the general deterrence which is focused on the general public, the special deterrence focuses on the effect of punishment on the punished (Andenaes, 1974).

Penal reforms in the past two centuries have resulted in humane efforts to better the lot of the imprisoned offenders. In addition there is also a modern tendency to place primary emphasis on probation, with incarceration only as a second alternative pursued in serious and repeated crimes. The use of physical torture, mutilation, or whipping has almost disappeared in most civilized parts of the world.

Though the criminal codes have defined the maximum punishments for different categories of offences, the choice of sanctions is left at the disposal of the courts (Andenaes, 1974). Furthermore, special methods of treatment for juvenile delinquents, habitual offenders and alcoholics have been developed partly within and partly outside the framework of the penal system. This has resulted in the methods of treatments being partly punitive and partly non-punitive in nature. Kenneth C. Davis (1969) considered these developments in the methods of treatment of offenders as having resulted in many uncontrolled discretionary powers of the legal system.

From a Canadian perspective the Canadian criminal code does not only fail to provide guidelines to the courts as to the proper principles or purposes of sentencing but leaves it entirely to the courts' discretion to determine the amount and kind of information that it should use in sentencing (Hogarth, 1971).

The alternatives left with the judge in sentencing a convicted person are incarceration, suspended sentence, probation or imposition of fines. Jaffary in his empirical study on sentencing of adults in Canada was in a position to show that an offender convicted of theft was nearly twice as likely to be sent to prison in Quebec as in Canada as a whole and almost five times as likely as in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan or British Columbia. Jaffary stresses the strongly 'punitive philosophy' of Canadian courts (Jaffary, 1963).

In light of Jaffary's conclusions, it is interesting to peruse the results of some recent public opinion polls regarding the courts. In 1981 "seven in ten Canadians were of the view that the Canadian courts did not deal harshly enough with criminals," (Canada, Selected Trends, 1981, p. 29). The polls also indicated that the sentences most Canadians believed to be appropriate for different categories of offences are often very severe and harsher than those actually handed down by courts.

Research in public opinion polls suggest that, the "majority of Canadians seemed to demand harsher sentences, primarily on offenders who

commit the most serious crimes, which are seen as a threat to the community," (Canada, Selected Trends, 1981, p. 30).

The National Advisory Commission of Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (United States, NACCJS) in the United States found that in many courts more than ninety percent of criminal convictions are not obtained by the verdict of a jury or the decision of a judge. Rather they are based on the defendant's own plea of guilt. Such a plea functions not only as an admission of guilt but also as a surrender of all constitutional rights and the right to be proven guilty by proof beyond a reasonable doubt (United States, NACCJS, 1973).

Regarding the issue of plea bargaining the NACCJS found that plea bargaining also affects the police who have accumulated evidence of guilt, the victim who has suffered at the hands of the offender, and the public at large who demand protection against future offences (United States, NACCJS, 1973). The types of plea negotiations vary from case to case. Some guilty pleas may be the result of express agreement between the defendant and the prosecution. Pleas to a lesser or different charge are a frequent occurrence in most courts of law. Hogarth analyses sentencing as a human process and highlights the apparent disparities of sentences imposed by different judges for cases which do not appear to be substantially different from one another. He contends that unequal sentences are imposed for the same offence or for offences of comparable seriousness without clearly

visible justification. Hogarth concludes that the notion that the Canadian criminal justice is fairly and evenly applied is a myth (Hogarth, 1971).

The working group of the Solicitor General's study of conditional release (1981) identified the anomalous sentences and other disparities and urged that the Canadian judiciary recognize and take action to reduce the unexplained and unwarranted inequities in sentences including the initial decision whether or not to imprison the offender. In order to rectify these lapses the working group recommended that a serious study be made of numerical sentencing guidelines projects (Gottfredson, 1979) and presumptive sentencing in California and other states in the USA.

The Role of the Correctional Services

Lastly, considering the role of the prison system, a prison can be defined as a place where persons are deprived of liberty on the grounds that they have committed a specified offence. The main concern of the Canadian criminal justice system, generally, is broadly articulated as "protection of the public" or participation in the "protection of all members of Canadian society from criminal conduct and the effects of crime," (Canada, Solicitor General's Study, 1981, pp. 11-12).

The main concern, therefore, is with the protection of society. The other function of criminal justice and corrections, is to punish unacceptable behaviour for pure retributive ends and to denounce violations of the social

contract. Incapacitation of the offenders is an important goal of the prison system. By incapacitation it seeks to block the offender from the opportunity or capability of offending in the future. This is done principally by incarceration and keeping the offender, who presents a potential risk, away from potential victims in society through physical separation.

Treatment of the offender is another aspect upon which the prisons focus on. This is sometimes called the 'risk reduction' effort which includes the different programmes implemented to have some impact on the offender. This treatment of the offender is for the purpose of curbing the seriousness or re-offending behaviour of the criminal. In principle, then, the prisons are expected to protect the public from the offender and, at the same time, treat the offender in a just and humane manner. Efforts are also made to minimize tension within the prisons in order to motivate the inmate to work (Canada, Solicitor General's Study, 1981).

The court of law specifies the period of incarceration in sentencing an offender. This is mainly in accordance with the sentences specified in the penal code. But numerous official inquiries and reports (Fauteux, 1956; Ouimet, 1969; and the Law Reform Commission, 1973) have recommended a decrease in prison sentence lengths in Canada, in part on the grounds of cost effectiveness. This decision was also based on a belief that the damaging effects of prolonged stays in prison increase the eventual risk of recidivism. There is a considerable amount of American research which suggests that prison inmates released after serving a shorter time are somewhat more

likely to succeed after release than are those serving longer terms (Jaman and Dickover, 1969; Mueller, 1965; Gottfredson et al., 1973; 1977).

The release of the offender is a matter that was carefully analysed by Fauteux (1956); Ouimet (1969); and the Law Reform Commission (1976). The prison has a unique place in the criminal justice system. It has no discretion over its admissions. It has to adjust itself to meet the demands of the criminal justice process initiated by the police and decided by the courts (Newman and Price, 1977). How long an offender serves in prison is based on the discretionary decisions of the National Parole Board and the Correctional Services. The treatment philosophy predominates in considering aspects of release which require the re-integration of the offender into the community. The release is granted by the provision of parole supervision, mandatory supervision, a gradual programme of temporary absence and day parole. These considerations for the early release of the offender conflict very much with the harsh sentences imposed by the judges who have decided the fate of these offenders. Some judges who are aware of this conflicting situation set prison sentences in such a way as to ensure that the offender will not be conditionally released until a minimum period of imprisonment has been served. Hogarth (1971) in his study of Ontario magistrates found that 59.2% of the judges acknowledged taking into account the possibility of mitigating action by the Parole Board. Mandel (1975) comes to the conclusion that the introduction of parole in Canada has resulted in an overall increase in sentence length and in time served in prison.

As a general rule it is fairly accurate to assume that all federal penitentiary inmates earn close to the maximum of two-thirds remission, but that not all of them may be entitled to parole. This results in some prisoners serving more time in prison than was intended by the sentencing judge (Canada S.G. study of conditional release, 1981).

The National Task Force on the Administration of Justice (1977-78) and Hogarth (1971) emphasise that there is enormous unexplained variation in sentences given to similar offenders from region to region, city to city and individual judge to individual judge. The parole may have the effect of evening out some disparities, particularly in longer sentences. Yet the different criteria applied in the release of offenders through parole and the correctional services can easily be confusing and can create institutional tension when two inmates convicted of the same offence and same sentence may have different eligibility dates (Canada, S.G.'s Conditional Release Study, 1981). This has been caused mainly by the requirement of a minimum period to be served prior to release eligibility. The minimum periods prior to release eligibility vary. These decisions are made by the parole board and by political authorities. They bear in mind the interest of the public and also standardise punishment from time to time (Canada, S.G.'s Conditional Release Study, 1981).

According to the minimum sentence requirement' in Canada, a life sentence inmate convicted of first degree murder automatically receives a twenty-five year minimum period to parole eligibility. They are also eligible

to apply for a judicial review to have their term reduced after serving fifteen years. The minimum period to be served does not greatly affect the inmates who have short sentences to serve.

Numerous studies on National Parole Board decisions (LeVeille, 1972; Macnaughton-Smith, 1976; Demers, 1978) indicate that National Parole Board decisions are influenced more by factors in the offender's criminal career (its seriousness, length and consistency) than by personal or biographical reasons. Hann and Palmer (1980) note a number of factors that may contribute to parole decisions. The annual parole granting rates in Canada varied from a low of twenty-five percent to a high of sixty percent between 1967 and 1978. Differences between regions, too, were identified especially by the high parole rates in Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces. The general inference of these studies is that the release with conditions has not proved to be a deterrent against future criminal behaviour of the offender in the community (Demers, 1978; Macnaughton-Smith, 1976).

In conclusion, it could be said that police, courts and corrections are three important adjuncts of the criminal justice process. The discretionary powers of these three adjuncts are not clearly laid out. The effective utilization of discretionary powers by these adjuncts could bring about a better coordination of the criminal justice process. This very fact was emphasized by the Canadian Committee of Corrections (1969) which insisted that "Discretion in the application of the criminal law should be allowed at each step in the process of arrest, prosecution, conviction, sentence and corrections," (Ouimet, 1969, p. 16).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY OF THE OTTAWA STUDY

This study examined the criminal careers of a selected group of offenders arrested in the City of Ottawa during 1981. These offenders were selected on the basis of the nature of their 1981 arrests. There were ten categories of offences which led to their selection: homicide, rape, armed robbery, robbery, assault, break and enter, auto theft, theft over \$200, theft under \$200, and fraud. Subsamples of twenty persons were selected from each category, with the exception of homicide where only seven persons were arrested during the course of 1981. Within each offence category, cases were selected in such a way as to maximize the equal distribution of arrests over the year. Thus, for example, there were 200 offences of robbery committed during the year. The study thus selected every tenth offence rather than merely the first twenty offences of robbery committed in 1981. By this random saturated sampling method, 187 offences were selected from the police occurrence sheets. These cases were identified by their individual occurrence numbers.

The relevant police occurrence report files were traced from these occurrence numbers. The report files indicated the history of the case with details on the accused and the victim. If the offence turned out to be an

"accused unknown" case, then the case was dropped and the offence file found immediately after was selected. When there was more than one accused person listed for an offence, only the person listed as the first accused was included in the sample.

Whenever an offender was arrested by police in Canada for the first time, an identification number was assigned to him called the PRN number. With the PRN number the criminal histories of the resulting 187 offenders were then determined through the use of police form C480.

POLICE FORM C480

The police form C480 was the principal source of information. In an effort to reconstruct the official arrest histories of the offenders this study has heavily relied on the R.C.M.P. national arrest data, the crime occurrence sheets of Ottawa police as well as court records. These records contain a complete listing of all previous police arrests of the offenders in the sample and the information on the disposal of all previous cases with dates of arrest and incarceration.

The police form C480 contains the name of the offender with his identification PRN number. In addition to listing all dates of previous arrests this form also gives the different charges for each of the arrests with the different court dates, postponements and the final disposal of the cases. The other details included are the dates of sentence, the type of sentence and the dates of parole and early release from the prison.

In this study the dates of arrest contained in the criminal histories were taken as being the offence dates as these were often not available. Most frequently when arrests were made, these occur almost shortly after the offence had been committed (Jayewardene, 1982).

The data analysis of all records was personally done by this author at the Ottawa Police Station.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The primary objectives of the study were:

1. To analyse the criminal careers of randomly selected Ottawa offenders along various dimensions. Some of these were: the gender or sex, offender chronicity, age, the velocity or rate of offences, offender specialization, offence seriousness and criminal justice response.
2. To describe the different types of offenders.

THE VARIABLES

The study focused on the following variables:

1. **Sex:** The gender of the offender was chosen to determine the relative prevalence of criminality for the two sexes as well as differences in career patterns for males and females.
2. **Offender Chronicity:** Offender chronicity was usually measured by the number of arrests incurred by an offender. Habitual or chronic

recidivists were defined as those offenders arrested on five or more occasions. This variable indicates the proportion of offenders in each category that are career criminals and the number of arrests amassed by some of these offenders.

3. **Age:** This was computed by subtracting the offender's birth date from his date of arrest. The study looked at such things as the ages of onset of a criminal career as well as the frequency, velocity and seriousness of criminal conduct at varying ages.

For the purpose of analyzing the effect of age in a criminal career, a subsample was selected. The subsample consisted of twenty cases of offenders who had been arrested on three or more occasions and had reached thirty-two years of age by 1981. The main consideration in obtaining the subsample was to have offenders with long criminal careers. The subsample included offenders arrested for all ten classified types of crimes committed in 1981.

Seriousness was basically categorised in terms of the violent and non-violent crimes. The violent crimes were murder, rape, assault, armed robbery and robbery. The rest of the offences were considered non-violent. This was done in order to identify broadly any relationship between age and seriousness of crime.

Similarly an analysis was done on the type of offences in which the arrestees were involved at different age intervals, in order to give an overall picture of the types of offences for which offenders are frequently arrested.

4. **The Velocity (Rate) of Arrests:** This variable was measured by the spacing or intervals between any pair of arrests. The spacing between arrests was in turn measured by the amount of time elapsing between successive arrests. This variable indicates the speed of recidivism and its relationship to the progress of a criminal career.

Months were the units of analysis used and intervals that were not multiples of thirty days (each month is assumed to comprise thirty days) were rounded to the nearest month. Thus if one arrest followed another within 54 days, this was taken to be an interval of two months.

A true measure of offender velocity must consider the time that an offender spends in confinement. When an offender is incarcerated, the police files most often do not contain the date of release. In such cases an estimation procedure is used to determine the institutional time served by an offender.

In the review of literature, it was seen that the maximum sentences ordered by the court of law were very rarely effected on the prison inmates. The minimum sentence that had to be served, before consideration of parole eligibility, was one third of the original sentence. There were also incentives for early release for participation in individual programme plans. In addition there were temporary absences and earned remissions. In view of these early

releases most offenders were released after they had served one third to two thirds of their sentences. On this basis we estimated in those cases where information on release dates was unavailable that the offenders served half their actual sentence in prison before being released back into the community.

In all instances where the criminal records indicated the date of parole or early release, the time served was calculated from the exact date of release. In all other cases the time served was estimated hypothetically.

This analysis was performed on the same subsample of twenty offenders as was used in one of our analyses of age.

5. **Crime Type Specialisation and Offender Classification:** This analysis sought to determine the extent of homogeneity in a criminal career, indicates whether offenders tend to persist in one area of expertise or tend to drift from one offence to another.

Two analyses were performed. One was for all persons arrested on three or more occasions. It was essential for the study of crime type specialisation for an offender to have been arrested on at least three occasions. There were 104 offenders in this category and all offences for which they had been arrested were included in this analysis. All offenders who had committed similar offences at different stages of their careers were pooled. This would give an overall propensity to commit a particular crime. The higher the

number in proportion to the total number of crimes committed the greater the specialisation. The next step was to add up all other types of offences committed by the different categories of offenders. This total of all other crime types for which each of these offenders had been arrested gives an indication of specialisation or non-specialisation. If the proportion of the other offences too was as high as the main classified offence, it was an indication of non-specialisation. If the proportion of all other offences was low with a high proportion for the main classified type of crime it was a clear indication of higher specialisation. The percentages worked out on the total number of crimes committed gave a relative picture of the propensity to commit different offences. This analysis was done separately for the subsample of twenty offenders, i.e. the identical subsample studied for age and velocity. The procedure was the same as above.

In the second type of analysis, we attempted to identify various career patterns from the criminal arrest histories of the offenders. In order to detect patterns in a career only those arrested several times should be observed. Thus this analysis also considered only offenders with three or more arrests.

The offender typology in this instance was categorised according to the nature of offences for which these offenders had been arrested. The offenders were considered under five major

categories which included (1) violent (2) non-violent turned violent (3) intermittent (4) violent turned non-violent (5) pure non-violent.

The basic differences were between the violent and non-violent offences. The violent offences included murder, rape, assault, armed robbery and robbery. The remaining offences were considered as non-violent offences. The different offenders were identified according to the proportion of the violent and non-violent offences in which they had been involved:

- (1) The "pure violent" offender continued to commit only violent offences;
- (2) The "non-violent turned violent" was one who had started his career as a non-violent but had changed over to violence at a late stage;
- (3) The "intermittent" was one who alternated between violent and non-violent offences throughout his career;
- (4) "Violent turned non-violent" was one who had started his career in crime by being arrested for violent offences and had later switched to non-violent crimes;
- (5) The "pure non-violent" was one who continued to be arrested for non-violent offences only, (this category included especially the property offenders).

The criminal career period was estimated from the time duration between the first arrest and the last arrest. It was assumed

that the length of the career could be related to the violent or non-violent nature of the first offence and other related factors of age and seriousness. The criminal career period was divided into three equal sectors in order to evaluate the seriousness of criminality at different stages in the criminal career. The seriousness scale used will be described with the next variable.

6. **Offence seriousness:** In this analysis, the seriousness of criminal behaviour and its relationship to the progress of a criminal career were examined. Ten offences were classified according to gravity on the basis of the relevant sanctions contained in the Canadian Criminal Code.

A seriousness score was given to all offences that were analysed in the careers. Specifically this was based on the maximum punishments specified for each of the offences. Offences were classified into four degrees of seriousness. The first degree was given to offences with a maximum punishment of life imprisonment. Second degree was for a maximum punishment between five and ten years. Third degree was for a maximum punishment of two to five years. Fourth degree was for less than two years maximum sentence.

Table I depicts the scale of offence seriousness.

For the seriousness analysis, again, we used the subsample of twenty offenders with long careers. The seriousness scores were worked out for age and velocity analysis.

The Scale of Offence Seriousness

Seriousness points

Offence

Homicide, rape, robbery, armed robbery, break and enter 1

Auto theft, theft over \$200, assaults 2

Theft under \$200 fraud 3

Other minor offences 4

Seriousness points in degrees - an inverse relationship as in first degree murder and second degree murder.

TABLE I

7. **The Criminal Justice Response:** In this analysis we looked at all police arrests, the number of prosecutions, and convictions among them. Different disparities in sentences by way of fines, suspended sentences and probation and incarceration were studied. In addition the aspects of parole and period served in incarceration were also analysed. Current sentencing practices were analysed based on 1981 offences. Finally, we included four case studies in order to illustrate the criminal justice response and the offender reaction to it.

18

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

There were 187 cases selected for this study of criminal careers in the City of Ottawa. Their general characteristics are displayed in Table II. Of these cases, 174 were males and thirteen were females. The youngest arrestee to be included in the sample was fourteen years old and the oldest was fifty-eight years old. The criminal activity of the sample ranged from those arrested on only one occasion (65) to one offender who had thirty-three arrests. The earliest arrest on record was at the age of seven and the oldest at fifty-eight. The crimes committed included the ten classified crimes as well as other minor offences which included: causing a disturbance, public mischief, indecent acts, statutory violations, impaired driving, escaping from legal custody, vagrancy, prostitution, running a bawdy house and impersonating a police officer. The total number of offences for which the persons in the sample had been arrested amounted to 992.

The General Characteristics of Selected Types
of Ottawa Offenders classified according to the 1981
Instant Offence

	Cases	Male	Female	Mean Age	Average no. arrests	First Offenders	Mean Age First Arrest	Total Arrest	Convicted	Not charged with drawn discharged	Pending	In jail at time of study
Murder	7	7	-	31.2	4.0	4	27.2	41	28	10	3	2
Rape	20	20	-	30.9	3.0	13	28.0	61	43	10	8	1
Armed robbery	20	19	1	21.5	5.6	4	18.3	119	65	33	21	5
Robbery	20	20	-	22.4	5.9	3	18.4	125	81	27	17	8
Assault	20	18	2	28.6	3.8	9	25.3	82	33	30	19	2
Break and enter	20	19	1	19.1	5.0	6	17.5	114	66	28	20	3
Auto theft	20	20	-	23.1	4.8	5	18.8	94	65	26	3	2
Theft over	20	17	3	24.0	3.35	10	21.5	71	37	20	14	-
Theft under	20	18	2	23.1	7.0	8	19.5	156	95	36	25	-
Fraud	20	16	4	30.75	6.8	3	24.2	129	92	31	6	1
TOTAL/AVERAGE	187	174	13	25.1	4.0	65	21.87	992	605	251	136	7 1/4

TABLE II

SEX AND CRIMINALITY

Only 7.5% (thirteen) of the sample were females and 92.5% (174) were males. The 174 males had been arrested for committing 940 criminal offences during their life prior to 1982. The thirteen females amassed fifty-two arrests as their share of offences committed prior to 1982.

The offences for which the females were arrested include eighteen frauds, twelve thefts, two armed robberies, one robbery, two assaults, one break and enter and sixteen minor offences such as possession of fire arms, vagrancy, running bawdy houses and prostitution. Table III gives all details in relation to total crime committed by the sample.

The 174 males were arrested for 180 break and entries, eighty-eight robberies of which thirty-nine were armed robberies, 236 thefts, sixty-seven auto thefts, forty-four assaults, eighty frauds, twenty-seven rapes, thirteen murders and 205 minor offences. The males accounted for most of the offences classified in the study. The minor offences included the possession of a prohibited weapon, drugs, impaired driving, causing a disturbance, public mischief, escape from legal custody, parole violations, failure to remain at the scene of an accident, failure to provide a breath sample, impersonating a police officer and indecent acts.

Females accounted for only five percent of the total crimes for which offenders in the sample were arrested. Sixty-one percent of the females were arrested on one occasion only. Most of them were involved in minor offences as well as thefts and frauds. Only in exceptional cases were they arrested for armed robbery, assault and break and enter.

Female, male, total arrests for the ten classified
criminal offences and other minor offences

	Murder	Rape	Robbery armed	Robbery	Assault	Break and enter	Auto theft	Theft over	Theft under	Fraud	Others	TOTAL
FEMALE			2	1	2	1		7	5	18	16	58
MALE	13	27	39	49	44	180	67	73	163	80	205	940
TOTAL	13	27	41	50	46	181	67	80	168	98	221	992

TABLE III

The males not only exceeded the females on all classified types of crimes, but they were also responsible for a greater proportion of serious crimes. Based on the seriousness scale in Table I, the mean seriousness for all offences committed by females was 3.04 as opposed to the mean seriousness scale of males which was 2.28.

Considering the violent and non-violent types of offences, the females were mainly involved in non-violent offences, whereas the males were involved in both violent and non-violent ones. The males committed 768 non-violent offences, which were mostly property offences, the females committed five violent offences; and the remaining forty-seven cases were all non-violent offences.

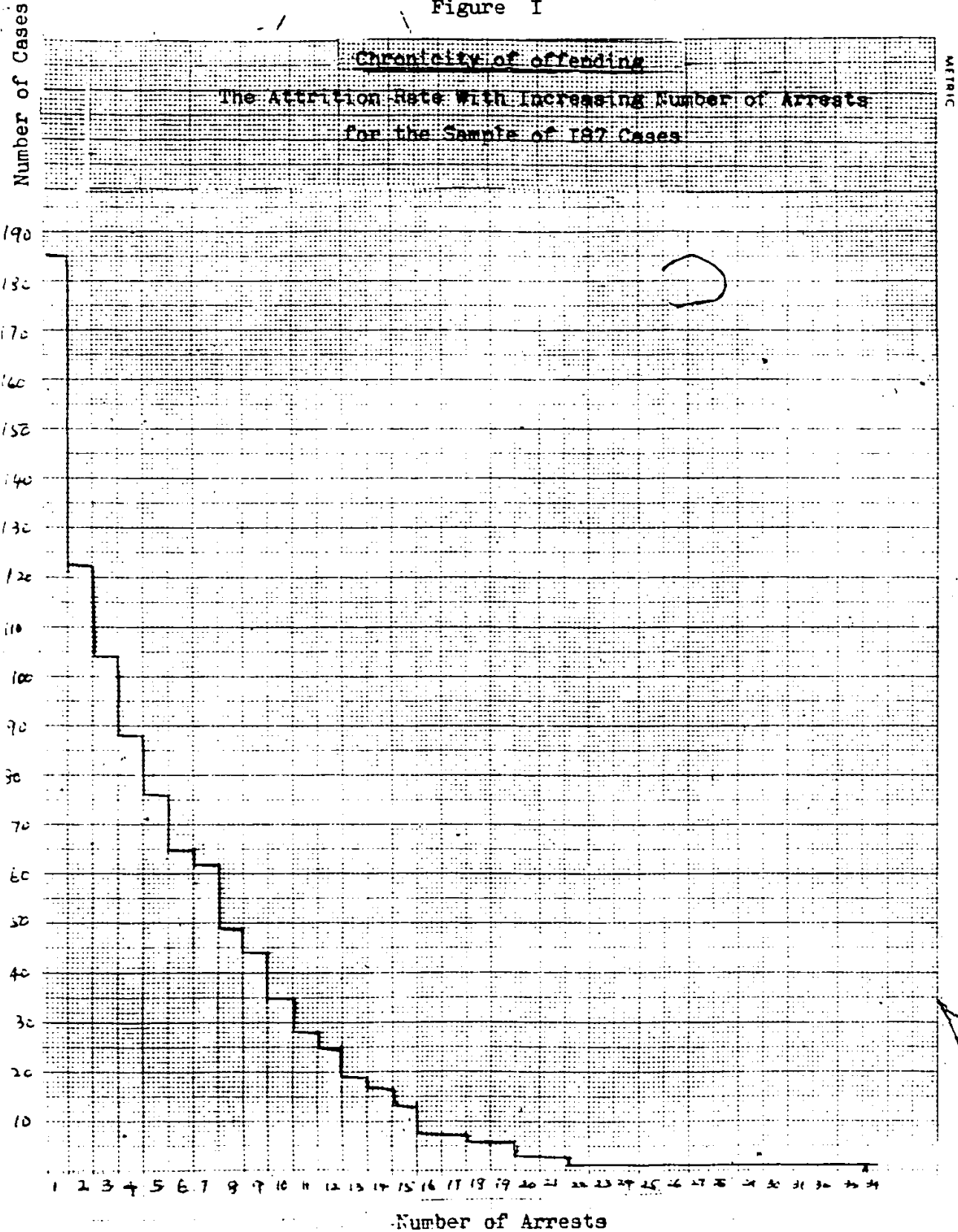
Even on the proportion of arrests per person, the males had a mean of 6 as opposed to 4 for the females.

OFFENDER CHRONICITY

Of the total sample, forty-one percent of the arrestees could be categorised as chronic offenders. They accounted for eighty percent of all the recorded arrests of the sample. About fifty percent of the chronic offenders had been arrested on more than ten occasions. The mean age of the chronic offenders at the time of the study was twenty-seven years.

The chronic offender arrests can be visualized clearly in Figure I which depicts the volume of crime with the increasing number of arrests of

Figure I



these offenders. Table IV and Fig. I show the attrition rate with the increasing number of arrests.

A majority of the females in the sample were first offenders. Table V indicates the drop-out rate with increasing numbers of arrests. There were only three females who could be classed as chronics and two of them had more than ten arrests. The maximum number of occasions on which a female offender had been arrested was nineteen.

Among the males, forty-two percent were chronics. Thirty-three of them had more than ten arrests and twelve had more than fifteen arrests. There were three persons arrested on more than twenty occasions and the maximum number of individual arrests was thirty-three.

The involvement of the chronics in serious offences against person such as murder, rape, armed and unarmed robbery and assaults, was considerable. They were arrested on 114 occasions for such crimes. The whole sample had been arrested 177 times for such serious offences. The chronics committed 686 property and minor offences.

AGE AND CRIMINALITY

The mean age of the 187 selected Ottawa offenders was 25.1 in 1981. Table VI classifies the mean ages of the offenders according to the different types of instant offences. The mean ages varied considerably for the different types of offences.

The mean age of offenders arrested in 1981 for murder, rape and fraud was above thirty years. Most of the offenders arrested for robbery,

Table IV

Chronicity of Offenders
The Attrition With Increasing Arrests of 187 Cases in Sample

Number of Arrests	Number of Cases	Offences.
1	187	992
2	122	927
3	104	891
4	87	840
5	77	800
6	65	740
7	62	722
8	49	631
9	44	591
10	35	510
11	28	440
12	25	407
13	19	335
14	17	309
15	13	253
16	8	178
17	8	178
18	6	144
19	6	144
20	3	87
21	3	87
22	2	56
23	2	56
24	1	33

Table V

Female Offender Chronicity

Number of Arrests	Number of Cases	Offences
1	13	53
2	6	46
3	5	44
4	4	41
5	3	37
6	2	32
7	2	32
8	2	32
9	2	32
10	2	32
11	2	32
12	2	32
13	2	32
14	1	19
15	1	19
16	1	19
17	1	19
18	1	19
19	1	19
20	0	0

Table VI

The Mean Age of the Ottawa Offenders
Classified According to the 1981 Instant Offence

Number of Cases	Offence Sample	Mean Age at times of 1981 Instant Arrest	Total Number of Arrests
-	Murder	31.2	41
20	Rape	30.9	61
20	Armed Robbery	22.5	119
20	Robbery	23.4	125
20	Assault	23.1	82
20	Break and Enter	19.1	114
20	Auto Theft	23.1	94
20	Theft over \$200	24.0	91
20	Theft under \$200	23.1	156
20	Fraud	30.7	129
<u>20</u>		<u>30.7</u>	<u>129</u>
Total 187		251.1	992
	Mean Age of Sample	25.1	

assault, auto theft, theft under \$200 and theft over \$200 were between twenty-two and twenty-four years. The lowest mean age was found among arrestees who committed break and enter thefts. Most of them were less than nineteen years old in 1981.

The youngest age at which males in the sample had ever been arrested was seven. The oldest person arrested was sixty-three years old. In the case of females the earliest arrest was at age fifteen and the oldest was at age fifty-four. From among the thirteen females only three in 1981 were above thirty-five years of age, while four of them were less than eighteen years. Among males twenty-six were above thirty-five years, of whom seven were over fifty years old. There were also thirty-two males under eighteen years of age in the sample.

The ages at arrest for all recorded crimes committed to date are indicated in Table VII. The highest number of crimes had been committed between ages eighteen and twenty-one as well as prior to eighteen years. Fifty-six percent of all arrests had been for offences committed by offenders prior to twenty-one years. About twenty-four percent or 237 cases of all arrests involved young offenders below eighteen years. Those over thirty-four years of age accounted for 114 arrests, which was about eleven percent of the total number of offences committed.

Considering the types of offences and the arrests for such offences, the age group eighteen to twenty-one contains the highest number of arrests for all classified types of offences excluding break and enter, rape and

Table VII

The Ages of Arrest for All Offences Committed
by Selected Ottawa Offenders

Ages	Below 18	18-21	22-25	26-29	30-33	Over 34	Total
Murder	2	4	3	2	1	1	13
Rape	4	5	1	3	6	8	27
Armed Robbery	9	16	2	5	5	4	41
Robbery	10	21	2	6	7	4	50
Assault	7	16	9	3	6	5	46
Break & Enter	88	55	18	7	9	4	181
Auto Theft	25	19	14	3	2	4	67
Theft Over \$200	19	29	15	7	6	4	80
Theft Under \$200	38	63	30	14	8	15	168
Fraud	11	24	22	14	8	9	98
Others	24	70	37	22	22	46	221
Total	237	322	153	86	80	114	992
Mean Seriousness Score	1.92	1.81	2.65	2.57	2.4	2.77	

frauds. The break and enter, theft and auto theft arrests were highest among young offenders under eighteen years. The over thirty-four year group had the highest number of arrests for rape or indecent assault offences.

Table VII indicates the mean seriousness scores calculated for the offences committed by the different age groups. The seriousness score was also highest for the age group eighteen to twenty-one. The next group was the juvenile group whose offences were just .11 degree less serious than those of the previous group. The lowest seriousness of arrests was found in the over thirty-four year group (2.77).

The seriousness of arrests from twenty-two years to over thirty-four ranges from 2.4 to 2.77. Though the general seriousness of this age group is low, a marked peak in the seriousness could be observed in the thirty to thirty-three year age category. Finally, offences against property and serious offences against the person were also most frequent in the age group eighteen to twenty-one. Table VIII shows property and other minor offences as opposed to the serious offences against the person.

Age of Onset

The age of onset, or the age of initial arrest, of 33.1 percent of the sample was less than eighteen years of age. Another 32.1 percent (sixty cases) had been initially arrested between eighteen and twenty-one years. Initial arrest or first offender arrests had rarely occurred between ages twenty-six and thirty-three. Table IX depicts the ages of initial arrests

Table VIII

The Ages of Arrest for ~~Serious~~ Offences Against the Person
and Property and Other Minor Offences

	Below 18	18-21	22-25	26-29	30-33	Over 34	Total
Serious Offences Against the Person	32	62	17	19	25	22	177
Property and Other Minor Offences	205	260	136	67	55	92	815
Total	237	322	153	86	80	114	992

Table IX

Age of Onset for 187 Cases Studied Classified
According to the Nature of 1981 Instant Offences

	Below 18	18-21	22-25	26-29	30-33	34 >	Total
Murder	3	-	1	1	1	1	7
Rape	2	3	4	2	4	5	20
Armed Robbery	6	10	3	1	-	-	20
Robbery	9	8	2	1	-	-	20
Assault	6	2	3	2	2	5	20
Break & Enter	8	10	-	2	-	-	20
Auto Theft	8	8	3	-	-	1	20
Theft >	4	7	6	-	2	1	20
Theft <	7	10	1	-	-	2	20
Fraud	9	2	2	3	1	3	20
Total	62	60	25	12	10	18	187
Criminals with over two arrests	46	46	18	6	-	6	122

according to types of initial offences and instant offences. The age of onset was rather advanced in the case of 1981 instant rape offenders. But in the case of assault by instant offenders the age of onset had a peak before eighteen years as well as after thirty-four years.

Table X indicates the age of onset of the offenders who committed only one crime. The majority of such offenders were young offenders below eighteen years. The second largest group of first offenders was in the eighteen to twenty-one age group. The over thirty-four years group was the third largest group of first offenders in the sample. Considering the types of offences, first offenders were arrested most often for such offences like rape, assault and theft. It is interesting to note that offenders who were over twenty-two years had not been arrested for such offences like robbery, armed robbery, break and enter and theft under \$200.

The mean and median ages of onset for the entire sample are presented in Table XI. The mean age of onset of the 187 cases was 22.87 and the median was eighteen. The mean age of onset of the recidivist group (offenders with three or more arrests) was 19.06 and the median was seventeen. In the case of first offenders, however, the mean age of onset was 26.6 and the mode was 23.8.

A striking feature is the similarity in the age groups involved in offences such as armed robbery, robbery, break and enter, and theft. The mean was between seventeen and nineteen years for the whole sample (the recidivists as well as the first offenders). The general picture is that most initial arrests were prior to twenty-three years.

Table X

Age of Onset For One-Time Offenders
Classified According to the Nature of 1981 Instant Offences

Instant Offence	Below 18	18-21	22-25	26-29	30-33	34 >	Total
Murder	-	-	1	-	1	1	3
Rape	3	-	-	2	4	4	13
Armed R	2	2	-	-	-	-	4
Robbery	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
Assault	-	-	1	3	2	4	10
Break & Enter	3	3	-	-	-	-	6
Auto Theft	2	-	2	-	-	1	5
Theft >	1	2	3	1	2	1	10
Theft <	3	5	-	-	-	-	8
Fraud	-	1	-	-	1	1	3
	<u>16</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>65</u>

The mean and median ages of onset for the entire sample, recidivists and one time offenders classified according to the nature of instant offence

A G E O F O N S E T

TYPE OF OFFENCE	187 cases in sample		The recidivists (104 cases)		One time offenders (65 cases)	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Murder	29.25	24	18.5	17	40	24
Rape	26.98	24	19.86	21	34.1	33
Armed Robbery	19.00	18	19.5	18	18.5	19
Robbery	18.30	17	18.7	17	18.0	17
Assault	26.50	22	18.8	17	34.2	31.0
Break and enter	17.55	17	17.5	17	17.7	17.0
Auto theft	20.45	17	17.7	17	23.2	22.0
Theft over	21.65	18	17.5	17	25.8	24.0
Theft under	19.80	18	21.08	17	17.8	18.0
Fraud	29.23	18	21.47	17	37.0	33.0
TOTAL	228.71		190.61		266.3	
OVER ALL AVERAGE	22.87		19.06		26.6	
MODE		18		17		23.8

TABLE XI

The Initial Type of Crime

Table XII lists the initial type of crime for which the offenders had been arrested. Most offenders were first arrested by police for a wide variety of offences prior to twenty-one years. First arrests occurring after the age of thirty tend to involve rape, assault, fraud or theft. The initial crime was of a non-violent nature in 137 cases and involved violence in fifty cases. Of the fifty offenders that started with a violent crime, fifteen continued to commit further violent offences. About seventy-three percent of the first arrests were for property and other minor offences. Fifty-four cases, or 28.8 percent, of the sample were involved in theft as a first offence. Break and enter was the initial crime for thirty-five cases or 18.7% of the sample. In twenty-four (12.3%) of the cases, their first offence was a minor one, such as public mischief, the possession of drugs, vagrancy, and disorderly conduct. The other initial arrests included seventeen cases of robbery, sixteen cases of assault, fourteen cases of rape, fourteen cases of auto thefts, ten cases of fraud and three cases of murder.

The subsample of twenty active offenders over thirty years of age and with at least three arrests was utilised to study the relations between the initial crime and criminal career as well as initial age of crime and criminal career. Table XIII reflects the initial offences committed by these twenty recidivist offenders and the length of their criminal careers. Six of these offenders had committed initial offences which were violent acts against the person. The remaining fourteen cases were for committing non-violent

Table XII

Initial Type of Crime of 187 Cases in Sample

	Number of Cases
Murder	3
Rape	14
Armed Robbery	6
Robbery	11
Assault	16
Break and Enter	35
Auto Theft	14
Theft Over \$200	20
Theft Under \$200	34
Fraud	10
Other Minor Offences	24
Total	187

The nature and age of the instant offences,
the first arrest and career length of ten-
sub sample

<u>Case no</u>	<u>Instant offence</u>	<u>First offence</u>	<u>Age at first arrest</u>	<u>Age at instant arrest</u>	<u>Length of criminal career</u>	<u>Total number of arrests</u>
1	Robbery	Drive with disqualification	19	31	12	9
2	Robbery	Traffic in narcotics	21	33	12	9
3	Robbery	Assault.	17	34	17	15
4	Fraud	False pretence	18	39	21	16
5	Fraud	Robbery	27	36	9	8
6	Fraud	Theft	17	46	29	7
7	Robbery	False pretence	21	33	12	9
8	Auto theft	Theft	19	55	36	6
9	Theft under	Break and enter	16	38	22	33
10	Theft under	Auto theft	17	38	20	15
11	Theft under	Assault	22	39	17	4
12	Assault	Rape	18	35	16	13
13	Rape	Theft	20	39	18	21
14	Murder	Break and enter	16	34	18	12
15	Break and enter	Attempted robb	27	32	5	7
16	Armed robbery	Assault	17	34	17	15
17	Armed robbery	Damage to property	21	36	15	15
18	Armed robbery	Auto theft	28	41	13	15
19	Robbery	Drug possession	23	32	9	3
20	Assault	Theft	17	34	17	3
Total			40.1	739	335	235
Mean			20.5	36.95	16.75	11.75
Mean deviation	13.25					
The variation	3.5					

TABLE XIII

property and other minor offences. The mean length of criminal career of property offenders was 18.1 years as opposed to 13.5 years of the violent offenders.

It is difficult to see any pattern in the type of initial offence and the length of the career especially when we compare Table XIII with the overall sample. There were thirty-three first offenders who were arrested for committing violent crimes. There were also thirty-two first offenders who were arrested for committing non-violent property crimes.

Analyzing next the initial type of crime at the beginning of a career and the type of instant offence a relationship is found between the type and seriousness of these two offences. The instant offences tend to be more serious than the initial offences. The mean seriousness score of the initial type of offences was 2.5 and the mean seriousness score of the instant offences was 1.13. There is no pattern of property offenders escalating in property offences or violent offenders escalating in violent offences. This is a complex picture of alternating crimes from violent to non-violent and from non-violent to violent offences. There were few exceptions where violent offences were committed as initial offences and as instant offences.

The length of the criminal careers of the offenders in the subsample is indicated in Table XIII. The mean age of initial arrest of this subsample was 20.5 years. The mean age of the subsample at the time of the study was 36.95 years. The mean length of the criminal career was 16.75 years. The

subsample arrests totalled 235 instances, which accounted for a mean arrest rate of 11.75 per individual (in his career).

There was a negative correlation (-.52) between the length of the criminal career and the age of onset or initial arrest (was -.52. The mean deviation for the age of onset was 13.25 and the variance was 3.5. The mean deviation for the length of criminal career was 41.4 and the variance was 6.7). This indicates that early age of arrest was related to longer criminal careers. About fifty percent of the subsample had been arrested as juveniles. Table XIV depicts the distribution of arrests of the career criminals in the subsample. The career criminals had been arrested in relatively few occasions as juveniles.

It is noticeable that their arrest records increase, there is a greater tendency for their being arrested more often. The arrest figures indicate that career offenders were arrested more often between twenty-two and thirty-three years. Table XIV shows a gradual progression of arrests with increasing age until the mid thirties at which point a decline occurs.

THE VELOCITY OF OFFENCES (STREET TIME)

The subsample of twenty offenders was also used in this analysis. The average interval between arrests for these offenders was 9.8 months. The median interval was 3.45 months. The great difference between the mean and median indicates the wide variation in the size of the intervals. The velocity of the offences is shown in Table XV.

Table XIV

Distribution of Arrests at Different Age Intervals
of the Sub Sample of Career Criminals

Number of Cases	Arrests Before 18 yrs	18-21	22-25	26-29	30-33	Over 33 Years	Total Arrests
20	25	29	43	43	55	40	235

The mean and median spacing between different arrest pairs for a sub-sample of 20 offenders selected on the basis of the best 2 prior arrests and age of at least 32 years

<u>Arrest pairs</u>	<u>No cases</u>	<u>Mean spacing (street time)</u>	<u>Median spacing (street time)</u>
1 to 2	20	26.2	11
2 - 3	20	19.99	11
3 - 4	18	8.94	7
4 - 5	17	9.29	4
5 - 6	17	11.41	5
6 - 7	16	19.62	7
7 - 8	14	4.21	1
8 - 9	13	9.46	3
9 - 10	10	11.0	3
10 - 11	10	8.3	2
11 - 12	10	8.4	3
12 - 13	9	7.44	1
13 - 14	8	1.87	3
14 - 15	8	9.75	1
15 - 16	3	14.33	5
16 - 17	2	4.0	1
17 - 18	2	0	0
18 - 19	2	1.5	3
19 - 20	2	20.0	0
20 - 21	2	0	2
21 - 22	1	4	0.5
22 - 23	1	1.0	1.0
23 - 33**	10	4.8	4.8
	215*	9.30	3.45

* this total excludes the first 20 arrests of ten 20 cases in ten sub sample

** includes combination of arrests in one case

The average street time interval showed some irregularities but on the whole the intervals between pairs of arrests decreased with successive pairs. The decrease indicates an increase in the velocity of offending with the progress of a criminal career. Logically enough, as the total number of arrests increased for an offender the intervals between their arrests decreased. Those offenders with eleven or more arrests tended to be arrested at least once a month.

The criminal career period was divided into three equal sectors to study the velocity of arrests with the length of the career. Table XVI displays the mean street time of eighteen cases in the subsample. Only cases with three pairs of arrests were considered in this analysis. The mean street time for the first third of the career was 14.35 months. This increased to 14.96 months in the second third and came down to 9.8 months in the final third. This gives the impression that offenders are arrested more often as the length of their career increases. The mode for the three sectors of the career gives a better picture of the velocity. The mean street time mode for the first stage (first third period) of the career was 8.0 months. This narrows down to 5.0 for the second stage (second third period) and increases slightly to 5.2 months in the third stage (final third period). The finding was that with the increase in the length of the career, offenders tended to be arrested more frequently.

Six of the offenders in the subsample were involved in a violent initial offence. Three of these offenders who had been arrested for

The mean interval between offences
at different career stages

1981 Instant Offence	MEAN STREET TIME			Total Arrest	Length of career	Age at first arrest	
	first third of career	second third of career	final third of career				
1	Robbery	14.3	11.0	18.0	15	12	19.
2	Robbery	12.6	15.0	6.6	9	12	21.
3	Robbery	8.0	17.6	4.0	15	17	17
4	Fraud	10.2	0.8	9.0	16	21	18
5	Fraud	27.0	6.6	4.5	8	9	28.
6	Fraud	54.5	15.0	18.5	7	29	17
7	Robbery	3.3	39.0	3.0	9	12	21
8	Auto theft	3.5	3.5	1.5	6	36	19
9	Theft under	3.3	4.0	4.5	33	22	16
10	Theft under	8.4	5.0	18.6	15	20	17
11	Theft under	63.0	109.0	33.0	4	17	22
12	Assault	7.7	4.5	27.2	13	16	18
13	Rape	2.7	2.0	6.7	21	18	20
14	Murder	3.2	0.6	5.7	12	18	16
15	Break and enter	13.5	2.0	4.0	7	5	27
16	Armed Robbery	8.4	18.2	5.2	15	17	17
17	Armed Robbery *	6.4	3.5	4.4	15	15	21
18*	Armed Robbery	8.4	12.0	2.6	15	13	28
TOTAL		258.4	269.3	177.0			
Sub Sample average Street Time		14.35	14.96	9.8			
The mode		8.0	5.0	5.2			

* Two cases in sub sample with only three arrests were excluded in this analysis

TABLE XVI

committing violent offences as juveniles had a very long career in crime and had a very short street time. The three other cases who were arrested after their twenty-second year had a more spaced street time than those who were arrested as juveniles.

CRIME SPECIALISATION AND CRIME SWITCHING

The lack of specialisation is shown by the diverse offences committed by the offenders. A breakdown of the type of offences committed by the sample, grouped according to their 1981 offences, is shown in Table XVII. The percentage of arrests for other offences committed by the sample appears in Table XVIII. Table XIX indicates the different types of offences committed by offenders characterised by a variety of offences in their criminal histories. Table XX shows the percentage of arrests for other offences committed by the sample.

Those with a robbery instant offence had, in the past, been arrested primarily for robberies, break and entries, thefts, auto thefts and minor offences. Persons committing break and enter as their instant offence primarily had break and entries, auto thefts, thefts and minor offences in their criminal histories. They were arrested only on a few occasions for robberies and tended to avoid violence. Persons in the theft category were arrested for a large number of break and entries, auto thefts and frauds, in addition to thefts. Offenders in the fraud category had often been arrested for fraud in their past but were also frequently arrested for thefts, break and

The types of offences contained in the Criminal Histories of selected Ottawa offenders classified according to the 1981 instant offence

NATURE OF THE INSTANT OFFENCE	TYPE OF OFFENCE											TOTAL
	Murder	Rape	Robbery armed	Robbery	Assault	Break and enter	Auto theft	Theft over	Theft under	Fraud	Others	
Murder	7	-	-	-	2	5	3	-	4	-	20	41
Rape	1	20	1	-	-	6	1	4	10	3	15	61
Robbery armed	4	2	32	6	5	18	5	3	21	3	20	119
Robbery	3	-	6	33	7	21	8	9	11	2	25	125
Assault	1	1	3	3	29	10	1	1	17	-	16	82
Break and enter	2	-	-	3	3	62	10	4	10	3	17	114
Auto theft	-	-	1	2	-	27	24	4	15	9	12	94
Theft over	-	-	-	3	5	7	2	30	10	6	8	71
Theft under	1	1	4	-	-	10	13	5	57	8	57	156
Fraud	-	-	-	3	2	9	-	6	19	59	31	126
TOTAL	19	24	47	53	53	175	67	66	174	93	221	992

TABLE XVII

The percentage of arrests for ten types of offences contained in the criminal histories of selected Ottawa offenders classified according to the 1981 Instant Offence

	Murder	Rape	Armed robbery	Robbery	Assault	Break and enter	Auto theft	Theft over	Theft under	Fraud	Others
Murder	17.02	-	-	-	4.88	12.2	7.3	-	9.8	-	48.8
Rape	1.7	32.62	1.7	-	-	9.85	1.7	6.6	16.47	5.01	24.58
Armed robbery	3.3	1.6	26.8	5.8	4.2	15.1	4.2	2.5	17.6	2.5	16.8
Robbery	2.4	-	4.8	26.4	5.6	16.8	6.4	7.2	8.8	1.6	20
Assault	1.3	1.3	3.6	3.6	35.4	12.1	1.3	1.3	20.7	-	19.5
Break enter	1.7	-	-	2.8	2.8	54.3	8.7	3.5	8.7	2.8	14.9
Auto theft	-	-	1	2.2	-	28.8	25.6	4.3	15.8	9.6	12.7
Theft over	-	-	-	4.2	7.04	9.8	2.8	42.3	14.08	8.5	11.3
Theft under	.65	.65	2.6	-	-	6.5	8.5	3.3	36.5	5.73	36.5
Fraud	-	-	-	2.33	1.55	6.89	-	4.65	14.71	45.74	24.49
TOTAL	27.07	36.17	40.5	47.33	61.47	172.34	66.5	75.65	153.16	81.05	229.57
	2.7	3.6	4.1	4.7	6.2	17.2	6.7	7.6	15.4	8.1	23.0

* percentage error in rounding

TABLE XVIII

The types of offences contained in the criminal histories of selected Ottawa offenders classified according to the Commission of Selected Offences

	Murder	Rape	Armed robbery	Robbery	Assault	Break and enter	Auto theft	Theft over	Theft under	Fraud	Others	TOTAL
Murder	13	1	1	9	7	26	6	5	6	-	33	107
Rape	1	27	2	8	4	7	2	4	22	5	35	117
Armed robbery	1	2	41	16	7	22	9	13	21	8	46	186
Robbery	6	5	7	50	13	56	17	28	33	17	49	281
Assault	4	1	5	17	46	34	7	14	48	4	70	250
Break enter	10	7	9	43	18	181	53	37	97	24	107	586
Auto theft	5	3	6	21	9	79	67	21	51	22	58	342
Theft over	2	4	7	29	9	74	30	80	58	30	69	392
Theft under	4	11	9	34	23	80	34	37	168	69	164	623
Fraud	-	3	5	22	5	35	20	19	74	98	78	359
TOTAL	46	64	92	249	143	594	245	258	578	277	709	

TABLE XIX

The percentage of arrests for the types of offences contained in the criminal histories of selected Ottawa offenders classified according to the Commission of Selected Offences.

	Murder	Rape	Armed robbery	Robbery	Assault	Break and enter	Auto theft	Theft over	Theft under	Fraud	Others
Murder	12.1	1.0	1.0	8.4	6.5	24.3	5.6	4.7	5.6	-	30.8
Rape	.8	23.1	1.7	6.8	3.4	6	1.7	3.4	18.7	4.2	30
Armed robbery	.6	1.2	20.9	9.4	4.1	12.9	5.3	7.6	12.9	4.7	27
Robbery	1.9	1.6	2.3	23.7	4.6	18.4	5.0	9.2	10.9	5.6	16.2
Assault	1.6	.4	2	6.8	18.4	13.6	2.8	5.6	19.2	1.6	28
Break enter	1.7	1.2	1.5	7.3	3.07	30.9	9.05	6.3	16.6	4.09	18.3
Auto theft	1.5	.9	1.8	6.2	2.7	23.09	19.6	6.11	14.9	6.5	16.7
Theft over	.5	1.2	1.7	7.4	2.6	18.8	7.6	20.4	14.7	7.6	17.6
Theft under	.65	1.8	1.5	5.5	3.7	12.8	5.5	5.9	26.9	11.08	26.4
Fraud	-	.8	1.3	6.4	1.3	9.7	5.5	5.2	20.8	27.3	21.7
TOTAL	21.35	33.2	35.7	85.9	50.37	170.4	68.25	74.41	162.7	72.67	231.9
Mean	2.1	3.3	3.6	8.6	5.0	17.0	6.8	7.4	16.3	7.3	23.2

* percentage error in rounding

TABLE XX

entries and minor offences. The offenders in the rape category were not arrested for any prior rape offences. One person had been arrested before for murder and an armed robbery. The rest of their arrests were for non-violent offences such as theft, break and enter, fraud and minor offences. Murder suspects had not been arrested for any other murder offences. Two murder suspects had been arrested for a total of two violent offences in the past; these were for assaults. The rest of their offences were for theft, break and enter and minor offences. Persons in the assault category were arrested for a wide variety of serious offences with the exception of fraud. They also had a high number of arrests for minor offences including impaired driving and public mischief.

The percentages reflected in Tables XVIII and XX indicate the high crime switching that was taking place mostly between property offences. The property offenders in Table XVIII were not arrested frequently for violent offences. The violent offenders switched between minor offences and property crimes.

Tables XXI and XXII show a marked trend in crime switching among the career criminals in the subsample. Though there was no sharp specialization of a category of offenders being arrested for one specific type of crime, there was a high degree of specialization of offenders in fraud, break and enter and theft categories.

From the total crime arrests excluding minor offences, it can be inferred that thefts and break and entries were more frequent than all other

The types of offences contained in the criminal histories of offenders in the sub sample selected according to the Commission of Selected offences

	Murder	Rape	Armed robbery	Robbery	Assault	Break and enter	Auto theft	Theft over	Theft under	Fraud	Others
Murder	2	1	3	1	1	3	2	-	2	-	12
Rape	1	4	3	1	3	-	1	-	10	3	23
Armed robbery	1	1	12	5	5	6	7	3	12	4	19
Robbery	1	1	9	14	6	5	3	4	16	5	25
Assault	1	2	7	5	13	10	7	2	13	1	25
Break enter	1	-	1	6	3	21	14	4	19	3	25
Auto theft	1	2	9	5	11	15	22	5	23	4	34
Theft over \$200	-	-	3	9	2	11	15	10	14	8	16
Theft under \$200	1	4	12	11	12	17	20	7	45	28	55
Fraud	-	1	5	6	2	5	15	8	25	31	26
TOTAL	9	16	64	63	58	93	106	43	179	87	260

TABLE XXI

The percentage of arrests for the types of offences contained in ten criminal histories of offenders in sub sample classified according to Commission of Selected Offences

	Murder	Rape	Armed robbery	Robbery	Assault	Break and enter	Auto theft	Theft over	Theft under	Fraud	Others	Percentage error due to rounding
Murder	7.41	3.72	11.11	3.72	3.72	11.11	7.41	-	7.41	-	44.44	100.06
Rape	2.04	8.16	6.32	2.04	6.32	-	2.04	-	20.41	6.32	46.94	100.05
Armed Robbery	1.33	1.33	16	6.57	6.67	8	9.34	4	16	5.33	25.33	100
Robbery	1.13	1.33	10.11	15.73	6.74	5.69	3.37	4.49	18.2	5.61	28.08	101.29
Assault	1.32	2.63	9.21	6.57	17.11	13.16	9.21	2.63	17.11	1.32	32.89	113.16
Break enter	1.03	-	1.03	6.19	3.09	21.65	14.43	4.12	19.58	3.09	25.98	101.19
Auto theft	.76	1.53	6.87	3.83	8.39	11.46	16.79	3.83	17.56	3.06	25.12	100.62
Theft over	-	-	3.41	10.21	2.27	12.5	17.04	11.36	15.91	9.09	18.16	101.05
Theft under	.47	1.42	5.67	5.14	5.67	8.12	9.44	3.32	21.23	13.21	25.95	99.64
Fraud	-	.81	4.03	4.83	1.61	4.03	12.09	6.45	20.16	25	20.96	100.97
TOTAL	15.41	20.71	73.75	64.92	61.58	95.16	91.25	40.18	174.67	72.02	293.84	
Mean	1.5	2.1	7.4	6.5	6.2	9.5	9.1	4.0	17.5	7.2	29.4	100.4

TABLE XXII

offences. Arrests for minor offences were generally common among all types of offenders, but there was a high concentration of arrests for minor offences among those offenders involved in frauds and thefts.

Another analysis was done to identify any career patterns among 104 offenders arrested on at least three or more occasions. Table XXIII shows that 37.5% (thirty-nine cases) of the offenders in this analysis remained strictly non-violent in their career. This included the offender arrested on thirty-three occasions for non-violent property offences. There were 33.6% (thirty-five cases) of the offenders in this analysis who turned to violent offences after an initial career of non-violent offences. Another 19.2% (twenty cases) of the 104 cases had been intermittent offenders alternating between violent and non-violent crimes. Only a small percentage of 5.8% (six cases) were violent offenders who turned completely non-violent in their careers, while 3.8% (four cases) remained violent throughout their careers in crime.

OFFENCE SERIOUSNESS

The seriousness of criminal behaviour and its relationship to the progress of criminal career is shown in Table XXIV. The mean seriousness for all 104 cases of persons arrested on three or more occasions indicates that seriousness increased with the length of the career. The change in seriousness in the first and second stage was very slight. The marked change was seen in the final stage.

The offender typology of persons arrested
on three or more occasions

<u>OFFENCE PATTERN</u>	<u>NUMBER OF CASES</u>
Violent	4
Non-violent turned violent	35
Intermittent	20
Violent turned non-violent	6
Pure non-violent	39
-TOTAL	104

* The study looked at 104 offenders with three or more arrests to study the pattern of seriousness with time

**Seriousness of offences (including minor offences)*
across stages of criminal career of 104 offenders
with two or more arrests**

<u>Cases</u>		<u>First Third of the Career</u>	<u>Second third</u>	<u>Final Third</u>
3	Murder	2.25	2.80	2.40
6	Rape (indecent assault)	2.95	2.68	2.13
13	Armed robbery	2.13	1.76	1.36
16	Robbery	2.55	3.11	1.72
9	Assault	2.61	2.66	2.38
13	Break and Enter	2.14	2.13	2.02
11	Auto Theft	1.86	1.90	1.87
6	Theft over	2.55	2.16	2.78
10	Theft under	2.63	3.05	2.82
17	Fraud	2.96	2.88	2.96
<hr/>				
Total	104	24.62	25.13	22.44
Mean seriousness		2.46	2.51	2.24

* Minor offences included with possession of prohibited weapons, drugs, related offences, public mischief, indecent acts, escape from custody and statutory violations.

TABLE XXIV

Since minor offences had been committed by all types of offenders a separate analysis was done after excluding minor offences. The seriousness scale tended to be inconsistent due to the number of minor offences committed by all offenders in between the ten classified types of offences. Hence it was considered more realistic to work out seriousness scores without minor offences. Table XXV clearly shows the progression of seriousness within the length of the criminal career. The offence seriousness mean at the first stage was 2.19. During the second stage the seriousness increased to 1.95 and it further increased to 1.94 in the final stage. In this analysis it transpired that offenders involved in armed robbery, murder, break and enter and auto thefts committed very serious crimes during the three stages of their careers. The persons involved in fraud offences and theft under \$200 committed less serious offences throughout their careers.

A separate analysis was done with the twenty career criminals in the subsample. Table XXVI shows that seriousness increased from the first stage to the second stage but that it dropped slightly in the final stage. If we compare this Table with Table XIII we can see that some offenders who had had their initial arrests prior to sixteen years had committed instant offences which were higher in seriousness than their initial offences. There were some others whose instant offences were less serious than their initial offences. An analysis was also done after excluding the scores for minor offences. This appears in Table XXVII. This gives a clear picture of progression of seriousness with advancement in criminal careers. The mean seriousness in

Table XXV

Seriousness of Offences (Excluding Minor Offences*) Across Stages of a Criminal Career of 104 Offenders with Three or More Arrests

Cases	First Third Of The Career	2 nd Third	Final Third
3 Murder	1.83	1.67	1.40
6 Rape (Indecent Assault)	2.88	2.25	1.90
13 Armed Robbery	1.51	1.24	1.17
16 Robbery	2.15	2.41	1.37
9 Assault	2.38	2.02	2.23
13 Break & Enter	1.80	1.48	1.56
11 Auto Theft	1.81	1.62	1.82
6 Theft Over	2.56	1.95	2.68
10 Theft Under	2.13	2.38	2.62
17 Fraud	2.86	2.52	2.71
Total 104	21.91	19.54	19.44
Mean	2.19	1.95	1.94

* Minor offences excluded were possession of prohibited weapons, drug related offences, public mischief, indecent acts, escape from custody and statutory violations.

Table XXVI

Seriousness of Offences (Including Minor Offences) Across Stages of Criminal Career of 20 Cases in Sub Sample

	1 st Third	2 nd Third	Final Third
1.	3.66	2.33	2.0
2.	4.0	1.0	1.0
3.	4.0	3.0	2.33
4.	3.0	2.0	2.2
5.	3.4	3.83	3.40
6.	2.0	2.0	3.33
7.	3.5	3.33	3.0
8.	3.66	1.33	2.0
9.	3.55	1.0	1.5
10.	2.54	2.72	2.91
11.	2.0	3.0	2.2
12.	2.0	3.5	3.0
13.	3.0	1.0	2.0
14.	2.75	2.6	3.0
15.	3.42	3.85	3.14
16.	1.25	3.5	3.0
17.	2.5	2.66	3.5
18.	3.0	1.8	2.75
19.	2.6	2.2	3.4
20.	2.2	3.0	1.2
Mean Seriousness	2.75	2.48	2.54

Table XXVII

Seriousness of Offences (Excluding Minor Offences)
 Across Stages of Criminal Career of 20 Cases in Sub Sample

No. of Cases	1 st Third	2 nd Third	Final Third
1.	3.0	2.0	1.0
2.	4.0	1.0	1.0
3.	3.0	2.0	1.0
4.	2.0	2.66	1.0
5.	3.0	3.0	3.0
6.	1.0	2.0	3.0
7.	3.0	3.0	3.0
8.	2.5	1.0	1.0
9.	2.0	1.0	1.5
10.	2.14	2.13	2.22
11.	1.75	2.8	1.75
12.	2.0	3.0	3.0
13.	3.0	1.0	2.0
14.	1.66	2.5	2.0
15.	3.0	3.0	2.66
16.	1.0	1.66	2.0
17.	1.0	2.0	3.0
18.	2.0	2.66	1.0
19.	2.0	1.0	1.0
20.	2.0	1.33	1.5
Mean Seriousness	2.75	1.97	1.88

the first stage was 2.25. This escalated to 1.97 in the second stage and increased further to 1.88 in the third stage.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESPONSE

The study analysed criminal records of 187 offenders who had been arrested by police on 992 occasions. The charges ranged from possession of drugs, public property damage, and indecent acts, to homicide. The criminal records indicate that most arrests were pursued with court action. Twenty-three percent of cases were withdrawn by the Crown after charges were laid on the suspects. Thirteen percent of the cases were pending at the time of the study. (The study was conducted in July, 1982 and arrest histories were followed up to June, 1982).

Leaving aside the undecided cases and the cases withdrawn, the rate of conviction in cases prosecuted by police was very high. The probability of conviction was seventy-five percent for all offences in which prosecutions occurred. The accused were acquitted only in 50 of the 666 prosecutions. In 236 of these prosecutions, the suspects were ordered to be incarcerated. This included several recidivists who had been incarcerated on more than five occasions. There were 83 offenders in the sample who had been incarcerated at least once prior to 1982. Sixty-six offenders were incarcerated for traffic offences, bail violations, mischief, possession of weapons and for retention of stolen property. They served very short prison sentences from two days to two months.

The heaviest punishments were for murder. The mean sentence for murder was about forty-eight months incarceration per offence. The average incarceration for rape and assault was fifteen months; for robbery it was thirteen months; for break and enter, seven and a half months; for auto theft, seven months; for other types of theft, six months; and for fraud, five months. The sentences were on an average less than ten percent of the maximum punishment prescribed by the Criminal Code.

There were 52 instances where a fine was tried as an alternative to incarceration. The fines ranged from \$10 for a day to \$500 for two months. These fines were imposed for minor offences especially when the main charges were withdrawn. Fines were imposed mostly in minor offences, but there were nine cases of thefts, seven cases of assault, a case of fraud and a case of rape where fines were inflicted. Probation was given as the only form of punishment accompanying a suspended sentence in 113 of these cases. Thirty-five percent of the cases of probation were for offences of theft, twenty-three percent for break and enter and eighteen percent for auto thefts. The rest were for minor violations.

Since the 187 offenders committed 992 offences at various stages in the past, the sentencing may seem to have been inconsistent. For the purpose of understanding the current characteristics of criminal justice response, we studied all police arrests for the instant offences that took place in the year 1981. The dispositions given in these cases are presented in Table XXVIII.

INCARCERATION SENTENCES PASSED, BY
COURTS FOR 1981 OFFENCES

	INCARCERATION No cases	TOTAL PRISON SENTENCE In Months
Murder	5	180
Rape	1	0.13
Armed Robbery	9	160
Robbery	10	95
Assault	2	3
Break and Enter	35	50
Auto Theft	10	10
Theft Over	6	5.3
Theft Under	16	25
Fraud	13	54
Retain Stolen Property	10	82.33
Escape from Custody	9	46.5
Damage Public Property	8	23.5
Mischief	3	3
Possess Weapon	3	5.33
Bail Violation	8	5.5
Drugs Charge	7	50.66
Impaired Driving or Driving when Suspended	18	19

TABLE XXIX

In 1981 there were 332 charges laid by police of which sixty-nine charges were pending at the time of the study. Twenty-seven percent of the cases pursued by police in court were withdrawn at a later stage by the Crown. The accused were found guilty in 175 of the 201 offences adjudicated in court which accounted for an eighty-eight percent conviction rate. Only twenty-six individuals (ie. twelve percent) were acquitted.

The heaviest sentences imposed were for murder and the mean sentence for murder was three years. Mean sentence for armed robbery was sixteen months. For the rest of the offences classified the mean sentence was less than ten months. In the case of robbery it was 9.5 months; for break and enter, 6.3 months; for fraud, 3.2 months; for theft under \$200, one month; for theft over \$200, .89 month; for assault, .43 month; and for rape, .06 month. The lowest sentences were for offences of rape and assault.

Probation and suspended sentences were ordered for 29.6 per cent of the offences which were convicted in court. Except for cases of murder a suspended sentence was adjudicated at least once for the nine other classified offences. Sixty-six percent of the rape perpetrators received suspended sentences. The percentages of suspended sentences for other offences were for: theft over \$200, fifty percent; auto theft, forty-seven percent; assault, thirty-seven percent; fraud, twenty-four percent; robbery, twenty-three percent; theft under \$200, twenty percent; break and enter, nineteen percent; and armed robbery, ten percent.

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESS IN 1981

FOR THE 187 CASES IN THE SAMPLE

OFFENCE	Plaints Filed	Inquiry Pending	Withdrawn By Crown	Accused Acquitted	Ending In Conviction	Percentage of Probation or s/s	No. of Incarceration orders	Average Sentence In Months
MURDER	9	3	1	-	5	-	5	36
RAPE	23	11	5	1	6	67.7%	1	.06
ARMED ROBBERY	22	6	6	-	10	10%	9	19
ROBBERY	23	6	3	1	13	23%	10	9.5
ASSAULT	24	8	5	3	8	37.5%	2	.43
BREAK AND ENTER	72	7	17	5	43	19%	35	6.3
AUTO THEFT	30	4	7	-	19	47%	10	1.0
THEFT OVER \$200	39	7	6	8	18	50%	6	.89
THEFT UNDER \$200	54	8	14	7	25	20%	16	1.0
FRAUD	36	9	9	1	17	24%	13	3.2
TOTAL	332	69	73	26	164	-	107	-

TABLE XXVIII

Fines were imposed as an alternative to incarceration only in cases of assault, rape and thefts both over and under \$200. The remaining classified offences were dealt with by incarceration only.

The incarceration rate for murder was one hundred per cent; for armed robbery, ninety percent; for break and enter, eighty-one percent; for robbery and fraud, seventy-six percent; for theft under \$200, sixty-four percent; for auto theft, fifty-three percent; for theft over \$200, thirty-four percent; for assault, twenty-five percent; and for rape, fourteen percent. Incarcerations were ordered on 117 occasions or in forty-two percent of the cases. The maximum sentences specified in the Canadian Criminal Code are in Table XXX.

It is clear from the criminal justice response that all offenders arrested by police appeared in court. Police do not appear to have used any discretion to divert any offender away from the judicial process. Juveniles had been charged for their first offence in court, and had subsequently been sentenced to incarceration. The courts too have not utilised their discretionary powers to divert juveniles away from the criminal justice process. If the mandate of the criminal justice process is to punish as well as to rehabilitate the offender, then the punishments should be in keeping with that motive. In some cases suspended sentences were being indiscriminately applied to offenders who had committed several offences year after year. Traffic offenders too were incarcerated. From the incarceration rates, it is

Maximum Incarceration Sentences Specified in the Canadian
Criminal Code, for the Ten Classified Offences and other
Minor Offences

TYPE OF OFFENCE

MAXIMUM PUNISHMENT

Homicide, rape, robbery, break and enter:

Life imprisonment

Auto theft, theft over \$200, assault:

Between five and ten years

Theft under \$200, fraud:

From two to five years

Mischief, damage to property and other minor offences:

Less than two years

(SOURCE: POCKET CRIMINAL CODE 1982. ONTARIO, CANADA, D. CARSWELL CO., LTD.)

clear that a majority of those incarcerated were property offenders and offenders involved in robberies. The heavy concentration of property offenders helps the educative process of the offenders, especially by the exchange of know-how. This may be a reason for the escalation of property offences. It is with the intention of highlighting critical problems in The Criminal Justice Process that we introduce four case studies in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES

THE MASTER'S CASE

The first case referred to is that of an offender who had been arrested on thirty-three occasions and whose most recent case was pending at the time of the study. The study does not intend to disclose any identities, hence he will be called 'Master' for the sake of convenience.

'Master' was sixteen years when he was first arrested and charged for a break and enter and theft. He was found guilty on two counts and was sentenced to twelve months of imprisonment definite and six months indefinite on each count and the sentence was to run concurrently for three months. 'Master' had served thirteen months of his prison sentence when he was paroled. Two months after his release from prison, 'Master' was arrested for theft of an automobile and was charged again in court. He was sentenced for six months definite and three months indefinite stay in prison. In this second instance he was paroled within two months. But shortly after being released on parole he was arrested by police for parole violation and his parole was cancelled.

'Master' was next arrested eight months later for theft under \$150. He was found guilty of the charge. He was given a suspended sentence for his third arrest. The suspended sentence did not deter him very much. He was

arrested within twenty days for theft under \$50 and was convicted and sentenced to twelve months definite and four months indefinite stay in prison. The definite and indefinite stay in prison was not of much avail. 'Master' was arrested a few months after his release for theft over \$50 and was charged and sentenced to three months definite stay in prison.

It appears that 'Master' did not like the prison walls and made his escape from prison after having served four months. Immediately after escape from custody 'Master' committed a theft of an automobile and was arrested again. He was found guilty of escaping from custody and theft of automobile and was sentenced to two months for the escape and one month for the theft. About two months after his release 'Master' was arrested for a theft of a motorcycle and was sentenced to two years in prison. 'Master' was just twenty years old at the time of the sentence.

'Master' was well past his twenty-first year when he was once again arrested for carrying a concealed weapon and was sentenced to two months in jail. Within a month of his release he was arrested for a theft of an automobile and was charged on four counts, but 'Master' was eventually acquitted of the charge. Two months later he was apprehended again for theft of an automobile and was sentenced to eighteen months definite and six months indefinite stay in jail.

Exactly one month after this sentence 'Master' escaped from legal custody and was arrested before he committed another offence. He was tried in court for the escape and was given a sentence of nine months. The police

appear to keep track of 'Master', and were thus able to apprehend him usually within two months of every one of his releases from prison.

Upon his subsequent arrest for theft of an automobile, the Crown decided to withdraw the charge. It seems that this withdrawal of the charge allowed some breathing space for the offender in liberty. Possibly the criminal justice system got "tired" of treating the 'patient' and withdrew for a while.

The breathing space only lasted for two and a half years. 'Master' was twenty-five when he was again arrested for a theft of an automobile and was convicted and sentenced to twelve months definite and six months indefinite stay in jail. Thereafter he was arrested, within about one year after release, for an offence of theft over \$50 and was given a suspended sentence of six months. Almost six months after receiving the suspended sentence he was again arrested for theft of an automobile and was sentenced to thirty days in prison.

For about six months the police did not arrest him for any offence. Eight months later 'Master' was arrested for theft under \$50 and possession of stolen property. This charge was withdrawn on the request of the Crown.

Master appears to have been undeterred by the efforts of the criminal justice system and was arrested again for theft of an automobile the day after the withdrawal and was convicted and sentenced to fifteen months definite and six months indefinite stay in jail. Within about six months of his release, police apprehended him for remaining illegally in a dwelling house

but the charge was dismissed in court. Within seventeen days after this dismissal he was arrested for failing to appear in court and remaining unlawfully at large and was sentenced to fourteen days. 'Master' had just turned thirty years of age by then. Again within six months after his release he was apprehended for theft and was sentenced on two counts to thirty days consecutive prison terms.

For about one year after his release he kept clear of the police until he was arrested for possession of stolen property. He was charged in court but was acquitted. Six months later he was apprehended again for possession of stolen property. Police withdrew the charge of possession of stolen property and laid an alternative charge of fraud and attempted fraud for which 'Master' was convicted and sentenced to thirty days in prison. By that time 'Master' had completed fifteen years of his career in crime.

Soon after this anniversary, with the completion of a fifteen year career, 'Master' was apprehended for a break and enter theft for which he was convicted and sentenced to thirty days in jail with probation for one year. Within four months of his release he was again arrested for theft and possession of stolen property. This charge was withdrawn and a fresh charge was introduced for fraudulently obtaining food and lodging and for theft and possession of stolen property. 'Master' was released after spending twelve months in jail and was arrested for failing to comply with conditions of probation. This charge was withdrawn by the Crown.

Just two months prior to his thirty-fifth birthday 'Master' was arrested for theft of an automobile and breach of probation. The charges were withdrawn again on the request of the Crown. Six months later 'Master' was arrested for possession of stolen property and for failure to appear in court. He was convicted and was sentenced to eighteen months and three months consecutive incarceration. After having completed this long sentence he was arrested again about two years later for theft under \$200 and was convicted and sentenced to ten days in prison.

The most recent offence included in the study was theft under \$200 for which he was arrested. This case was pending at the time of the study. The offender was thirty-eight years old at that time. In his last offence 'Master' had taken a wallet from an open room when the owner was away. The wallet contained cash and credit cards.

The above case history indicates how as a young offender 'Master' had been given harsh jail sentences for his first two offences at sixteen and seventeen and less serious punishments, such as suspended sentences and probation, were tried out on him, only in his later years. One important feature in 'Master's' career is that he has not so far been arrested for any violent offences. He has been arrested on ten occasions for auto thefts, on eleven occasions for thefts, twice for frauds, three times for break and enter and seven times for other minor offences including an escape from custody and breach of probation. He has been arrested on thirty-three occasions and has been sentenced to jail nineteen times. The sentences for

deprivation of liberty amount to twelve and a half years. 'Master' has just completed a record twenty two years long criminal career. It is with this impression of his criminal record that we must consider the next case, concerning a female offender.

THE LADY'S CASE

The second case discussed is a case of a female offender. The study has named her 'Lady'. 'Lady' was thirty-five years old when she was first arrested for keeping a bawdy house. She was sentenced to a \$100 fine or fifteen days in prison. Six months later she was arrested for the same offence and was fined \$200 or thirty days in prison. She paid both these fines. Three months later she was arrested for damaging property but the charge was dismissed in court. For the next three years in regular succession she was arrested three times for vagrancy but the charges were dismissed in court.

'Lady' was forty-four when she was arrested for an armed robbery but the charge was withdrawn on the request of the Crown. A month after this arrest she was arrested again for carrying dangerous weapons in a public place. She was convicted and was given a suspended sentence. She was ordered by court to refrain from using firearms for the next five years. In the next two years she was arrested on two occasions for theft and was convicted and was fined \$25 and \$69 with an option of five and ten days in prison.

During the five year period of suspension on the use of firearms she was again arrested for possessing an imitation of a weapon, a firearm and ammunition and was sentenced to thirty days in prison. The condition prohibiting the use of firearms was extended for another five years. 'Lady' was arrested again about fifteen months later for causing disturbance and was sentenced to a fine of \$25 or four days in jail.

'Lady' was fifty when she was next arrested as an inmate of a bawdy house but the charge was withdrawn. Three months later she was arrested for a theft under \$50 and was convicted and sentenced to twenty-one days in prison. She was arrested a year later for possessing firearms and ammunition during the period of suspension. She was charged in court but the case was dismissed. Four months later she was arrested for possessing firearms and for theft under \$50. The charge for possessing firearms was withdrawn and she was found guilty of theft and was sentenced to one month in jail. Almost immediately after her release from jail she was arrested for mischief and damage to property. This charge was withdrawn on the request of the Crown. Two months later she was arrested again for possessing firearms and for failing to attend court. She was acquitted of these two charges in court.

The instant offence for which 'Lady' was arrested was for an offence of shoplifting committed in 1981. 'Lady' has completed nineteen years of her criminal career and has been arrested on nineteen occasions, five times for theft and once for armed robbery. The remaining arrests were for minor offences. For the shoplifting charge she was sentenced to forty-five days in

jail which, incidentally, is the maximum punishment she has so far received. In this particular case she had stolen a carton of cigarettes and a pair of gloves and left the store without paying. She has been sentenced to jail on four occasions.

'Lady' is now fifty-four years old and it appears that the criminal justice system has given her an experimental heavy dose of forty-five days in jail to see how she would react to the 'prescription'. 'Lady' no doubt presents a baffling picture of how complex the issue of sex and age can be in the context of the inimical justice system. Though she has not involved herself in any cases of violence, she has been arrested once for armed robbery and on several occasions for possessing firearms. It is not clear what else she has done having armed herself with an illicit firearm. 'Lady' may confound most theoreticians and as for the criminal justice system the experiment is not yet over. What is going to deter 'Lady' from offending again is a matter that has to be decided in time to come. The fear that is lurking in this writer's mind is whether 'Lady' would become more daring and violent in time to come.

THE CASE OF KID

The third case is that of a mature offender. The criminal justice system had treated him like a kid hence he has been named 'Kid' in this study. 'Kid' unlike 'Master' was first involved in an arrest quite late in life. 'Kid' was first arrested when he was twenty-seven years old for attempted robbery

with violence. He was convicted of this offence and was given a suspended sentence and probation for two years. Ten months later 'Kid' was arrested for public mischief while on probation. He was found guilty for his second offence and was ordered a suspended sentence for a second time with probation for one year.

Seventeen months later he was arrested by police for a break and enter and theft of jewelry. He was found guilty of this third offence and was given a suspended sentence for the third time with probation for one year and restitution.

A week after his conviction and suspended sentence 'Kid' was arrested for shoplifting. On this occasion too, 'Kid' was charged and found guilty and was given another suspended sentence. In addition police charged him for possessing stolen goods at the time of the arrest. He was found guilty of retaining stolen property and was given the now routine suspended sentence. By that time 'Kid' had completed four years of his criminal career and had been charged on five occasions. 'Kid' had the privilege of being pampered by the criminal justice system with suspended sentences. The very purpose of a suspended sentence is defeated if a person violates the conditions of probation. Violations during the suspended sentence period should be met with heavier effective punishments which would normally include the penalty for the new offence as well as the previous suspended penalty. Five consecutive suspended sentences had been given to 'Kid' before he had reached thirty-one years.

Five months after the shoplifting case he was arrested and convicted for willful damage. He was sentenced to fifteen days in provincial jail for the first time. Almost immediately after release from custody he was arrested for being drunk and for disturbing the peace. He was found guilty and was sentenced to several days in prison. Eight months later 'Kid' was arrested again for shoplifting (theft under \$200), for which he was convicted and sentenced to twenty-one days of deprivation of liberty.

'Kid' has been included for this study sample for his third offence of break and enter. He has committed six offences and was thirty-two years old at the time of the study.

In the case of 'Kid' another extreme situation is seen in the pattern of sentencing of an adult offender. In fact he has been treated by the criminal justice system more as a juvenile. 'Master' was sixteen when he committed his first offence of break and enter for which he was given thirteen months in jail without any consideration for his age or his crime-free record. 'Kid' was twenty-seven when he committed his first offence of attempted armed robbery, which must be considered a more serious offence than a break and enter, but he was treated lightly and was granted a suspended sentence.

The cases of 'Master' and 'Kid' show clear inconsistencies in the sentencing of offenders. Most striking is the simple injustice of treating offences of comparable culpability so differently. The principle of equality before the law is even more offended by the provision of a less serious

sanction for a more serious offence. The practical result of such disparities in sentences is that it may induce a cynicism about the law in the public, in the bench and bar, and most importantly among the offenders themselves. An offender who is convinced that he has been more harshly treated than others who have committed similar offences is likely to be much more difficult to deal with in a correctional setting.

THE CASE OF MISTER

The fourth and final case introduced in this analysis is that of 'Mister'. 'Mister' was just nineteen when he was first arrested for driving a vehicle after his licence had been suspended. He was convicted and sentenced to prison for one month and fined \$100 (or fifteen days in jail as an alternative sentence). Furthermore, his driving licence was suspended for an additional period of two years. Within six months of his release from jail he was arrested again for driving whilst disqualified and was charged and convicted. He was sentenced to one month of deprivation of freedom.

When 'Mister' was twenty-three he was arrested for committing theft and was convicted in court. He was sentenced to one month in jail and was to be on probation for two years. Seventeen months later 'Mister' was again arrested for another offence of theft under \$200. He was charged and convicted for this offence and was fined \$50 (or ten days in jail as an alternative). 'Mister' had turned twenty-five by that time.

Fifteen months after that arrest 'Mister' was arrested for robbery. He was charged and convicted in court. This time his jail sentence was for a period of twelve months. About a year after his release 'Mister' was arrested for a break and enter offence. He was acquitted in the court of law.

One year after his acquittal, 'Mister' was arrested again for possessing stolen property. He was charged and was again acquitted in court. The offence for which he was apprehended in 1981 involved picking up a prostitute in his vehicle and promising payment. When he had suggested oral sex to the prostitute she had flatly refused it. It appears that in that moment 'Mister' was taken by surprise. 'Mister' was apparently annoyed and, robbing the prostitute of her purse containing \$200, pushed her out of the vehicle. It is for this instant offence that 'Mister' came to be included in the sample. This case was withdrawn by the Crown. It can be presumed that the prostitute was not interested in pressing charges. It is unlikely that she would dare to expose her guilt or innocence in a court of law.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS

DISCUSSION

1. **Sex and Criminality:** The results of the Ottawa study reveal that the females accounted for only twenty percent of all criminal arrests by police in the sample. The study emphasizes the fact that females were not only involved in armed robberies, robberies and break and entries but were also capable of brutal assaults. Females in most cases committed frauds, thefts and minor offences.

Men, too, were involved more in property offences and minor offences. They were arrested only in ten percent of the cases for committing violent offences. Twenty per cent of the offences committed by females were violent offences.

The Ottawa study findings do not contradict the suggestions of Freda Adler (1975) that the more the women approximate the position of men, the more alike become their conforming and criminal behaviour. She infers that women are first human, then female and their needs and abilities are similar to those of men.

It is interesting to note that in conformity to some other criminological studies, the research in Ottawa showed that victims in the daring armed robbery, robbery and assaults committed by females were males and not females.

Most researchers including Hoffman and Bustamante (1973) and Simon (1973) have concluded that females are virtually free of violence. While the Ottawa findings do not contradict this tendency they nevertheless indicate that women are capable of violence.

It is best that the Ottawa findings are backed up by two examples of violent offences committed by females in Ottawa in 1981. In one instance the ex-boyfriend of the accused woman visited her apartment and wanted to straighten out past problems. She invited him to the bedroom to give him a back rub. As he got ready for the back rub, the accused girl pulled out a butcher's knife and cut him across his back. The accused woman was twenty-seven years old.

In the next incident, there were two girls who were in need of money. They had armed themselves with a gun and walked innocently towards the male victim in the dark at 11.30 p.m. They asked the victim for the whereabouts of a street and gained his attention. As he halted, one of the girls pulled out the gun and asked for cash, pointing the handgun toward him. Since the victim had no money on him, he was asked to go. The girls were just sixteen years old.

2. Offender Chronicity: The Ottawa study found the most active group of offenders to be between eighteen and twenty-one. This study also found that only eighteen percent of the offenders were arrested for committing fifty percent of the total crime committed by the sample. This finding is similar to the findings of Wolfgang and his associates (1972). They

found that 14.8 percent of the offenders accounted for seventy-four percent of all crimes.

According to studies by Shinnar and Shinnar (1975), Petersilia et al., (1978) and Greenberg (1975). These criminologists feel that the reduction of crime can be achieved by incapacitating or otherwise restricting the criminal opportunities of this small group of offenders. They claim that selective incapacitations of chronic offenders could reduce crime. The Ottawa study found that selective incapacitation policies would be ineffective when there is a high percentage of first offenders. In 1981 alone sixty-five arrestees participated as one time offenders. These first offenders constituted more than one-third of the criminals studied in the sample. In view of the high first offender entry into criminal activity it is unlikely that positive results could be expected by selective incapacitation policies in Ottawa.

Furthermore, the ethical issues of selective incapacitation, whereby two people who commit the same crime may receive different sentences, are serious enough. What is more objectionable is the fact that offenders may be punished for their potential rather than their actual criminality. Such policies, if advocated to the letter of the theory, could result in a disrespect for the law. Thus, the higher the disrespect for the law, the more the offenders would tend to be anti-social and would less likely be rehabilitated.

In considering selective incapacitation as a crime preventive policy, we should bear in mind the acute problem of "false positives". In addition, the research findings of Berecochea et al., (1973) showed that the length of time served in prison had no effect on recidivism.

3. Age:

a) Age of Onset: The Ottawa study found that there was a close association between early onset of crime and long criminal careers. This is similar to the findings of Gluecks (1950), and Robin (1964). But the study does not see any association between early onset and the propensity to commit violent offences. The mean age of onset of Ottawa offenders was nineteen years, whereas the mean age of onset in the Ohio study of Hamparian et al., (1978) was 14.4 years.

b) Initial Type of Crime: The Ottawa study found that the initial types of crime committed by most offenders were less serious offences. This is similar to the findings of the Cambridge study of Farrington et al., (1979), Petersilia et al., (1978) and Wolfgang et al., (1972). Their findings were that most initial offences were petty thefts, auto thefts and less serious offences.

c) Desistance: The Ottawa study found the peak age of criminality to be between eighteen and twenty-one. This is similar to the findings of Healy and Bronner (1926), Gluecks (1943, 1940) and Petersilia et al., (1978). They emphasized that the rate of offending increased from adolescence to twenty years and decreased uniformly up to thirty years, when there was a high likelihood of desistance. Instead of the desistance period for offending that was identified by Gluecks and Petersilia, the Ottawa study identified a drop in arrests after twenty-five years and a stabilization of arrests between

twenty-six to thirty-three years. Next, the rate of offending increased again after thirty-three years. It is possible that the drop in the rate between twenty-five and thirty-three years may be due to the heavy sentences passed on mature offenders.

c) Probability of Arrest at Different Ages: The probability of arrest was high for the age group eighteen to twenty-one in the Ottawa study. The other groups that had high probability were the under eighteen year old group and the twenty-two to twenty-five year old group of offenders. Peterson, Braiker and Polech (1980) found that the arrest rates were high for juveniles and declined gradually with age. The juveniles in the Ottawa study were not chronic offenders and their arrest rate was comparatively low.

Velocity of Offences: The Ottawa study findings were that the street time decreased with the increase in the length of the criminal careers. Hamparian et al., (1978) found the average street time between offenses to be 9.3 months which is identical to that of the Ottawa study.

The Ottawa study also found that the arrests kept increasing with sanctions. This is similar to the findings of Wolfgang (1977) who found the arrest rates increasing with sanctions.

5. Crime Type Specialization: The Ottawa study found very little evidence of offender specialization. This finding is similar to those of Petersilia et al., (1978), Harold Frum (1958), and the Cambridge study of

Farrington and associates (1979). There was little evidence forthcoming in our study to support the contentions of Yochelson and Samenow that a person who steals was likely to rape and kill.

The evidence was that a small proportion of offenders tended to remain with a specific type of offence. This was similar to the findings of Harold Frum (1958). The Ottawa study comes to the conclusion that there is no one criminal personality. Nettler's (1982) hypothesis of differential selection by persons with appropriate talents and tastes appears to be very precise. The author fully agrees with Nettler's hypothesis.

6. **Seriousness of Crimes:** The Ottawa study found a systematic progression in seriousness with time. Three different analyses resulted in the same conclusions. One analysis was done on all offenders who had committed three or more offences. Another analysis was done on the subsample of career criminals. A third analysis was done after excluding the minor offences committed by all these offenders.

Studies so far have not supported the contention of progression in seriousness of crime. In the Racine study by Shannon (1978b, 1978c) the seriousness of offences and police arrests did not increase systematically as the number of police arrests rose. In the Philadelphia study (Wolfgang et al., 1972, 1977; Collins 1977) the probability of police arrest when classified by seriousness, showed no variation with the frequency of past arrests.

The Ottawa study categorically emphasizes that there is a systematic progression in the seriousness of offences with time and criminal careers.

7. **Criminal Justice Response:** The Ottawa study found that the police play an important part in deciding the career of a criminal. There is ample evidence that discretion is a crucial aspect of the role of a police officer in arresting an offender. This discretion is an unwritten aspect of the day-to-day routine of the police. There is little evidence to the fact that discretion helps in the diversion of a one time offender away from the criminal justice system. It appears that police do not utilize the alternatives but continue to comply with the requirements of the law and process the offender who happens to be arrested for a criminal offence.

There is little evidence that juvenile courts or diversion methods were applied to the youthful offenders who were arrested for some of the offences included in the study. The four case studies of 'Master', 'Lady', 'Kid' and 'Mister' show how a wrong move by the criminal justice process has resulted in breeding an intricate pattern of criminality in the offender.

On the role of the police, the telling remarks of Jayewardene that, "as long as the 'house-carl of the tribal chief' image remains, the role of the police would be difficult to define, not because of any difficulty in so doing but because of an already existing definition which makes clear their role to be doing the bidding of the 'chiefman' — a bidding that alters with his whims and fancies" (Jayewardene, 1975, p. 41) are thought provoking especially when we consider the unwritten discretionary powers of the police. They can use discretion in whatever way they want.

The role of the judiciary has been found to be of paramount importance in the life of a criminal. Most importantly it educates the criminal about all the lapses that he has committed which have resulted in his being arrested by police. The various types of evidence presented in court, such as fingerprint experts' evidence, forensic evidence, the way in which the police handled the inquiry, the cross examination of the witnesses and the accused, all enlighten the offender as to how he should act on the next occasion, were he to repeat a similar offence and attempt to avoid arrest. The criminals who await their trials also have the advantage of watching other trial proceedings in the court house. Thus, the educating process covers not only the circumstances of their own cases but also other types of offences. Hence, the ideas about the 'do's' and 'don't's' are bound to remain in the minds of an offender and to be useful when the appropriate situation arises. It is for this reason, and mainly to avoid stigmatisation, that pretrial diversion is expected to bring better results.

Courts in Canada have a wide discretion as to the choice of sanctions. With few exceptions there are no minimum, but only maximum sanctions. The consequences of inappropriate judicial decisions were seen from the cases of 'Master', 'Kid', 'Lady' and 'Mister'. It is the selection of the right type of treatment that is essential for the rehabilitation of the offender. A wrong move no doubt complicates the situation for the offender.

Finally, considering the role of the prisons, the Ottawa study found that the most frequently incarcerated persons were those arrested for

committing property offences. The Canada, Solicitor General's Study (1981) found that the majority of incarcerated persons were those arrested for property offences and robberies. Since the majority of inmates in prisons are persons who have common interests in robberies, property and allied offences, it is natural that an offender who is incarcerated for the first time becomes immersed in the subculture prevailing in prisons. This could be one reason why the rate of property offences continues to increase. The more that an exchange of the 'knowhow' regarding the commission of similar offences takes place in prison, the more intensive is the educative process in such offences. The end result is education through differential associations in prisons.

What is seen from the criminal records is that the more often a person is arrested and incarcerated, the higher is his propensity to offend. Diversion from prison at an early age is an important solution. 'Master' was sent to prison when he was just sixteen for his first offence and served there for about one year. Subsequently he has been arrested on thirty-three occasions and his experiment is not yet over.

Criminologists have ample opportunities to sit and ponder these issues. They need not make frantic moves as if nothing worked. If sane thinking prevailed, what would be needed would be an understanding of the offender. It is wrong for us to rush into short-sighted social policies based on misinterpretation of the main actors involved.

LIMITATIONS OF THE OTTAWA STUDY

This study relied exclusively on the official records, especially the police arrest data. Police arrest data are not representative of the large amount of criminal activity that actually takes place in the given area. Officially recorded data do not take into consideration the large volume of unreported crime. Moreover, there are many cases in which crimes are recorded by police but offenders are not detected or apprehended.

The shortcomings of utilising official records were identified as far back as in 1930. Self-report surveys concerning law violations and victims are methods devised subsequently by researchers to overcome these shortcomings. Yet, they too have their own methodological problems. The question that is yet to be answered is whether or not and why the respondents in these surveys grossly exaggerate or underestimate their involvements. The point of view that is put forward against self-report studies conducted on offenders is that the criminal would have to be insane to divulge his own trade secrets especially when he is aware that he has not come to the end of the road in criminality. Another question that is posed is whether the criminal is grossly exaggerating his involvement in order to prove to the world the inefficiency of the criminal justice system. The criminal wants a vote of no confidence on the criminal justice system and he is entitled to his own strategy.

In the Ottawa study the principal source of information was the police form C480. This form gives the arrest histories only. If a person

committed eleven robberies in a week but was apprehended on only the eleventh occasion, then the record would indicate only one arrest and would not reflect the ten other robberies for which the criminal could eventually be charged along with the eleventh offence. Thus, police records of arrests only reveal a small proportion of the crime that is taking place in Ottawa.

The selection of samples for the ten different types of crimes committed in Ottawa is not in proportion to the number of occasions on which different types of crimes are committed in Ottawa. For instance, there were only seven murders that took place in Ottawa in 1981. All seven accused in these murder cases were included in the study.

The Ottawa criminal career study was undertaken by the author without any financial aid, without any research grant, or any other financial aid. Hence, any sophisticated methods of analysis which would require access to a computer as well as further more elaborate research could not be undertaken.

The total number of crimes committed by the 187 cases in the sample was 992. We cannot estimate the extent to which their official criminal histories reflect the actual crimes they committed in Ottawa.

In view of the exclusive reliance on the official records, we had to confine ourselves to a few variables that are related to criminality, such as sex, chronicity, age, velocity, offender specialization, offence seriousness and the criminal justice response. This study could not consider important socio-demographic variables related to crime. The official criminal data give

no insight to the inner motivations of the criminal. In spite of this limitation, the author has strived to get the best out of the criminal histories in order to obtain as reliable as possible a picture of criminal career patterns in Ottawa.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this research confirm some pertinent findings of previous studies. Our study has forced us to recognize the long overlooked presence of women in crime. Women are human and human necessity knows no laws. Necessity is said to be the mother of invention. It is not strange that females are involved in armed robberies, robberies, break and enters and brutal assaults. Our findings on the association between the early onset and long careers and on the relationship between age and seriousness as well as on the lack of specialization in a particular crime may be regarded as hypotheses to guide further efforts in achieving the understanding of criminal careers.

It is unquestionably necessary to continue and enlarge research efforts that could reflect the socio-demographic variables of crime in Ottawa. The Ottawa study, despite the limits of the empirical method used, has revealed much about the cross-section of the criminals in Ottawa who commit different types of crimes. Official records are a valuable source of data for criminal justice research. Indeed the author believes that the strengths far out-weigh the weaknesses. Not only are these sources of information significant in themselves, but when combined with other criminological methods such as longitudinal and self-report studies, work on

selection of targets and interviews and follow-up studies on recidivists, they become a powerful tool in the hands of researchers. It is only by utilising a combination of these methods that the subjective as well as the objective information about criminal careers could provide a near perfect image of crime in reality. This is just a beginning in the endeavour to understand criminal careers in Ottawa. The author intends to pursue in his doctoral research the effort begun here. The research would involve an effort to utilise different criminological methods and also to associate closely with criminals in their subcultures and also to collect some supplemental information from family members, acquaintances and case workers.

What most studies reveal is just the tip of the iceberg of crime in our society. Much of the research in the past has been confined to the few offenders who happen to be caught up in the system. To know the inner truth of exactly what is happening, the researchers have to combine different criminological methods and should also be prepared to study criminals in their own subcultures. They should also become participant observers and see the true nature of the underworld as was done by several researchers in the past. Merely confining ourselves to questioning the criminal as to why he commits a crime and accepting his reasons as solutions is of little use. A criminal is human and he has his own reservations about telling the whole truth. It is like setting a thief to catch a thief. We criminologists have to go out into the field, make the best use of different criminological methods and also live with criminals and spell out our experience on exactly what is happening in the world of crime. Otherwise it is a question of the blind leading the blind.

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